# Reasons for emigration from Africa: A recent analysis on Cameroon

## Afrika'dan göçün nedenleri: Kamerun üzerine güncel bir inceleme

**Usmanu Maliki** [1] iD , **Gülen Göktürk Baltas** [2] iD

# A B S T R A C T

One of the biggest issues facing humanity in the current century is mass migration from the developing to the industrialized world. While some migrations are legal, many others are not, which poses danger and risk, and are frequently fatal. In Sub-Saharan Africa, emigration through Libya tremendously increased after 2011 following the collapse of Qaddafi's government, which led to civil war and the absence of a powerful government to enforce law and order in the country. Even though thousands of migrants die every year trying to cross the Mediterranean into Europe, many African youths still scramble to emigrate from the continent using both legal and illegal means. This study analyses how economic hardships and political instability act as push factors for emigration from Cameroon, as well as the risks faced during the emigration process. The paper also addresses the challenges faced by Cameroonian immigrants in their host country and the socioeconomic impact of emigration on Cameroon and concludes that push factors are more influential than pull factors in driving irregular immigration from Cameroon.

**Keywords:** Migration, Cameroon, push factors.

**Jel Classification:** F22, N47, O15, R23.

1. Yüksek Lisans Öğrencisi, Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Üniversitesi
2. Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi

# Ö Z

Bu yüzyılda insanlığın karşılaştığı en büyük sorunlardan biri, gelişmekte olan ülkelerden sanayileşmiş dünyaya doğru yapılan kitlesel göçtür. Bazı göçler yasal zemine dayanmakla birlikte pek çoğu yasal değildir; bu durum da tehlike ve risk oluşturmaktadır ve sıklıkla ölümcüldür. Kaddafi hükümetinin çöküşü sonrası yaşanan iç savaşın ardından ülkeye yasa ve düzen getirecek güçlü bir hükümetin olmaması nedeniyle Sahra Altı Afrika'dan Libya üzeri göç 2011'den sonra muazzam bir şekilde artmıştır. Her yıl binlerce göçmenin Akdeniz'i geçip Avrupa'ya ulaşmaya çalışırken hayatını kaybetmesine rağmen birçok Afrikalı genç hâlâ hem yasal hem de yasadışı yollarla kıtadan göç etmeye çalışmaktadır. Bu çalışma, ekonomik zorlukların ve siyasi istikrarsızlığın Kamerun'dan göç etmede itici faktörler olarak nasıl işlediğini ve göç sürecinde karşılaşılan riskleri incelemektedir. Makale ayrıca Kamerunlu göçmenlerin ev sahibi ülkelerde karşılaştıkları zorlukları ve göçün Kamerun üzerindeki sosyoekonomik etkisini ele almakta ve Kamerun'dan düzensiz göçü yönlendirmede itici faktörlerin çekici faktörlerden daha etkili olduğu sonucuna varmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Göç, Kamerun, itici faktörler.

**Jel Sınıflaması:** F22, N47, O15, R23.

## 1. Introduction

Beginning in Great Britain and later spreading to the rest of the world, the Industrial Revolution had a significant impact on migration patterns in the 18th century. The change in economic activity altered the world's socio-economic and political status quo and shaped global migratory movements. Marked by advances in technological knowledge and establishment of industries, this period witnessed improvements in transportation and communication, thereby enabling Europeans to migrate more easily (Corbett, 2003: 2). The increase in industrial growth resulted in rapid urbanization, rural-to-urban emigration, and eventually an increase in domestic and international migration.

As a result, the society we currently live in is made up of immigrants who moved there at a specific point in history. Due to disparities in economic and political prospects between the center and the periphery, international migration is most typically from developing to developed nations, and domestic migration is most commonly from rural to urban areas.

Following the Arab Spring uprising, Muammar Qaddafi was overthrown, and Libya descended into civil war, accelerating unauthorized exodus from Africa. The main reason was the lack of a strong and stable government that could handle the nation's security problems. During his reign, Qaddafi provided his country with some degree of economic and political stability, attracting millions of foreigners from all over the world. Libya was home to around two million immigrant workers, including Chinese, Filipino, Turkish Vietnamese, and a few thousand people from Sub-Saharan Africa. When the crisis started, developed states withdrew their citizens, the others were left with little choice except for traveling to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) camps, adding to the region's already high migratory pressures (Fisher, 2014: 120). This further exacerbated the migration issues in Libya since so many people were passing through the country on their way to Europe. However, the Libyan route was quite risky, and many migrants endured unbearable and cruel treatment during their journey. Some were sold as slaves, while thousands of migrants perished in the Mediterranean Sea while trying to reach Europe (Mafu, 2019: 1). Even though traveling via Libya is dangerous, it is still one of the most popular routes for a variety of reasons, some of which include the country's proximity to poor and violently unstable countries and its status as a gateway to Europe (Hamood, 2006: 5). Many determined African migrants took advantage of the political situation in Libya and embarked on a perilous journey for greener pastures in Europe, irrespective of the risks and challenges involved.

In general, African migration primarily occurs within the continent and is dominated by the movements within regional blocks, even though there are many African migrants around the world. This pattern is influenced by integration policies being adopted after the independence. More than half of Africa's 34 million migrants were still living in Africa by 2015, particularly in the continent's most well-liked immigration destinations such as Nigeria, South Africa and Ivory Coast (Abebe, 2017: 2). Even though much of the research on international migration in Africa focuses on emigration out of the continent, many African migrants choose to stay inside the continent due to less severe border controls in the continent.

Increased social unrest, economic hardship, and political instability in Africa have spurred a surge of migration throughout the continent, with thousands of young people travelling to other parts of the world in search of better opportunities. Migrants employ a variety of ways and routes to escape the continent, whether through legal or illegal means. Depending on where the country of origin is, clandestine migration occurs throughout the continent. There is a unique, and arguably the most dangerous type of illicit emigration in Africa wherein migrants cross the desert, mostly in cargo trucks, and travelling across the Mediterranean Sea to Europe without required documents. Although this type of irregular emigration from Africa is not new, it has picked up speed since the

fall of Qaddafi in 2011. After Qaddafi's death, Libya deteriorated into a weak and unsafe nation, enabling traffickers to smuggle people illegally from Africa to a variety of locations. According to the World Organization Against Torture (OMCT), since political and military groups in Libya in the east and west of the country have failed to reach any agreement on establishing a unified government, continued division, political and military instability has led to the spread of impunity and lawlessness (2023:8). The situation remains largely unchanged today, many Africans die while crossing the Mediterranean, and those who reach their destination are subject to cruel and inhumane treatment.

Where Cameroon's concerned, migration is mostly caused by violent conflicts rooting from country's colonial past. Cameroon was governed by the British and the French until French Cameroon's independence on January 1, 1960, and the reunification of two parts in 1961. Today, it is among Africa's most prosperous nations with its geographic and cultural diversity and high literacy rates. Nonetheless, the Anglophone crisis resulting in death of 6000 civilians from 2016 until today is one the biggest problems in the country (Politt, 2020: 16). Additionally, the Boko Haram strikes have been another internecine problem since 2013. Cameroon is rich in natural and economic resources like cocoa, tea, petroleum, minerals, and a wide range of other things. However, two major crises, the 1986 economic crisis and the 2007-2008 global financial crisis devastated economic activity in Cameroon and triggered emigration from the country. Further, Cameroon has been one of the most corrupt counties in the world (ranking first in 1998 and 1999) for a long time driving especially young people, who have been tired of waithood and hopeless expectations, out of the country.

The present study firstly employs the works of Ravenstein, one of the pioneering scholars in migration studies, and the Pull and Push theory by Everett Lee to analyze emigration from Cameroon. As one of the earliest researchers to propose a theory about migration, Ravenstein established himself as a "migration guru" when he outlined his laws of migration following the publication of his works in 1885 and 1889. His writings provided the foundation for several hypotheses about migration, many of which are still relevant in contemporary migration studies. From a geographical perspective, he understood that migration is a very important element of development, which led him to conclude that economic forces motivate migration. He largely relied on Newton's law of gravity in his studies of migration, which helped him determine movement both in origin and destination areas in line with population, distance, and economic prospects (Castles et al., 2014: 28). It is very important to note that Ravenstein's views on migration were influenced by his observations and experiences in Europe, especially in the second half of the 19th century. During this period, rural-to-urban migration was common, as was migration from Europe to North America, facilitated by tremendous economic development, urbanization, and improved transportation systems (Ravenstein, as cited in Çağlayan, 2006: 69). According to him, the migratory trajectory generally moves from remote areas to centers, with most migrants only migrate a short distance. He argued that this causes a vacuum in rural areas consequently attracting migrants from other remote areas, thereby leading to migration movements even in the most backward and underdeveloped areas (Corbett, 2003: 3). Ravenstein's observations and interpretations differ from those of modern researchers in that he offers few remarks on the behavior of migrants, whereas contemporary scholars focus on migrant attitudes and characteristics such as tribe, gender, and social class. Nonetheless, his findings such as the effect of urbanization and growth on movements are still relevant in contemporary migration research (Rees and Lomax, 2020: 351-352). His writings created a solid basis for migration studies, and he is frequently referred to as a first researcher in migration studies.

The Push and Pull Theory, developed by Everett Lee, is one of the most significant hypotheses that can be utilized to explain migratory patterns in contemporary society. The theory dwells on how economic factors affect migration in both regions of origin and destination. According to Lee, the push factors are socio-economic and political conditions, including wars, starvation, and political instability, that trigger migrants to leave their homeland. Pull factors, on the other hand, are the components that draw people's attention to destination areas, like employment opportunities, educational opportunities, and peace. People from sending regions are drawn to receiving regions by a range of economic opportunities and benefits, including job opportunities, high earnings, social security, and better working conditions (Karaduman and Çoban, 2019: 324). This theory holds that migration is a process in which people weigh the advantages and disadvantages of moving from their country of origin to their country of destination. Thus, migration mainly takes place when the advantages in the destination country outweigh the disadvantages in the sending country (Dimkpa, 2019: 12). Lee further asserted that factors such as duration of the journey, health obstacles, expense, and immigration limitations in the country of destination can have an impact on a person's decision to migrate (Lee, 1966, as cited in Castles et al., 2014: 28). Lee identified two key drivers of migration: personal or household (micro) and non-personal (macro) level. The migrant determines push and pull components of migration by weighing the costs and risks, as well as the advantages and disadvantages of migration in both sending and receiving regions (Çağlayan, 2006: 74).

This study follows Everett Lee's theory in explaining the causes of emigration from Cameroon. For millions of African migrants, the push and pull factors of migration have been the ideal motivators. This theory is useful in identifying the primary drivers of migration in Africa. It has its own weaknesses, though as it overlooks historical issues such as slavery and colonialism that still determine migration patterns in Africa. This is a serious problem especially because many of the present problems in the region, including migration, are consequences of Africa's colonial history.

Contemporary African migratory patterns are heavily influenced by the historical realities of European colonialism and imperialism. In the second half of the 19th century, European powers rushed to colonize Africa to meet their economic and political demands. Without any representation from Africa, the European leaders gathered at the Berlin West African Conference (15 November 1884 to 26 February 1885) under the leadership of former French Prime Minister Jules Ferry and the former German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck to demarcate and balkanise Africa for their interest (Craven, 2019: 38-39). This is known as "the Scramble for Africa." With the arrival of the colonial administration in Africa, the migration system was completely altered as new political and economic headquarters were established to meet the needs and demands of the colonial masters. For instance, during the French colonial rule in the French West Africa, the French instituted an administrative-military system that gave them greenlight to carry out brutal military expeditions into the hinterlands to concretize and portray their power and dominance, thereby stripping traditional authorities of their powers and authority (Dembele, 2006: 286). By impoverishing the countries, colonialism robbed Africa of its natural resources and political stability, forcing people to leave. Furthermore, for a variety of reasons, such as cultural and linguistic affinities, many Africans were directly or indirectly urged to immigrate to their former colonial state. All these factors point out how crucial it is to comprehend African political history to understand migration patterns on the continent. In the case of Cameroon, its colonial past is a key factor in the Anglophone crisis. Since the reunification in 1961, Cameroonians in the English-speaking areas, that is twenty percent of the overall population, have been complaining about discrimination and exclusion by the Francophone majority (Pollitt, 2020:16-17). Despite its shortcomings on such important matters, the Push and

Pull theory is still ideal for describing contemporary migration phenomena in Africa and is employed in our investigation.

This study investigates how political and social instability, economic hardships, security concerns and corruption have driven emigration from Cameroon as push factors and the risks faced during the emigration process. The study also addresses the difficulties experienced by Cameroonian immigrants in their host countries as well as the economic, social and political impacts of emigration on Cameroon. For the study, international organizations' reports as well as articles and news from notable international news agencies were reviewed, in addition to secondary literature.

## 2. Political and Economic Causes of Emigration from Cameroon

> "Plagued by economic and
> political crises, Cameroonians have tended to define their lives as structured
> by *la crise* – the French term for economic crisis" (Fokwang, 2023: 8).

In this section, the study outlines some of the most important political, economic and moral crises that prompted emigration from Cameroon. The Anglophone problem in the English-speaking regions and the Boko Haram insurgency in Cameroon's far north are two of the main political reasons of emigration. Other reasons include inflation, unemployment, corruption and other economic problems like low salaries.

The Anglophone crisis has been a serious factor triggering emigration from Cameroon. The crisis began in late 2016 when lawyers and teachers from Cameroon's two English-speaking regions complained about marginalization and discrimination by the Francophone-dominated government, representing the majority, among other things. This set off a series of incidents that led to a major conflict in these areas. The marginalization and assimilation of Anglophone Cameroonians, according to activists from the Anglophone districts, contributed to the crisis. Thus, the struggle to maintain the identity of Anglophone Cameroonians in a nation with a predominately Francophone system was at the heart of the Anglophone issue (Mbuy, 2018: 39). The army engaged in a significant battle with separatists known as "Ambazonia" in late 2017 after they declared their independence from the Southern Cameroon. A humanitarian disaster happened in these areas because of the conflict between the military and the secessionists. As a result, numerous residents were forcibly relocated to Nigeria and/or to tranquil regions of Cameroon. Due to the unrest in Cameroon's Northwest and Southwest regions, over 160,000 people had been internally displaced by 2019. (Fonkeng, 2019: 16).

Apart from the Anglophone crisis, another political problem is the Boko Haram terror activities in Cameroon's Far North region. Muhammed Yousoufa, an Islamic cleric founded Boko Haram in 2001 under the name "Jamatul Ahlis Sunna Lidda'Awati Wal-Jihad" with the intention of promoting and defending Islamic laws and values in Nigerian regions with a Muslim majority. Nonetheless, this movement developed into Boko Haram, which is currently among the most vicious and heinous terrorist groups in West Africa (Pichette, 2015: 2). This organization's basic goal is to reject Western ideals and secularism in all state institutions in favor of Islamic institutions. Since 2012, the organization has taken a more aggressive stance, resulting in hundreds of casualties in clashes between militants and government troops. By 2014, around 600,000 people were reported to be killed because of the conflict between government troops and terrorists (Pichette, 2015: 2). Boko Haram expanded their activities to neighboring countries like Cameroon, Chad, and Niger as their influence and position grew in Nigeria. This move was intended to bolster their warriors' morale and assist them in realizing their fictitious ambition of establishing an Islamic Caliphate in West Africa. In 2012, the Cameroon Armed Forces launched a counteroffensive after Boko Haram

made its first foray into Cameroon territory, sparking a big fight in the area. According to Cameroonian government, between 2013 and 2017, more than a thousand people were killed in Northern Cameroon due to Boko Haram strikes (Kouma, 2017: 727-728). In addition to the losses, the region had around 190,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs), 23,000 refugees, and 35,000 Cameroonians returning from Nigeria, resulting in massive humanitarian disaster (Rackley, 2017: 3). This violence has forced many people to leave their homes. Frightened Cameroonians started to migrate both within the state and internationally. As a result of the conflict with Boko Haram in Northern Cameroon and the Anglophone problem in the country's English-speaking regions, about 180,000 people have been internally displaced. These two ongoing conflicts are among the major push factors driving both domestic and international migration in Cameroon.

International migration often flows from developing nations to the developed world, hence Cameroon's status as a developing nation suggests that there will be more individuals leaving than entering the country. Prior to the financial crisis of 1986, Cameroon had a rather healthy economy compared with other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (Hodgkinson, as cited in Nkongho, 2014:21). This was due to Cameroon's diverse economy, rich in natural and economic resources such as cocoa, tea, petroleum, minerals, and a wide range of other things. However, the 1986 economic crisis brought Cameroon's economy to a grinding halt and had an impact on the nation's international migration. The 2007-2008 financial crisis, which started on Wall Street in the United States of America, was another economic catastrophe having an impact on economic activity in Cameroon. Economic effects of this crisis were catastrophic for emerging nations like Cameroon. It had a direct impact on both Cameroon's export industry and financial system, which was open to foreign markets. All of these factors contributed to a decline in the prices of export goods including rubber, oil, cocoa, and aluminum (IMF Country Report No. 09/318, 2009: 12). Internally, the crisis decreased the activity of several businesses, including oil, aluminum, timber, and rubber industries causing severe costs for the employees (Nkama, 2009: 20). All of these factors led to economic hardship, poverty and unemployment in the country, forcing young people to leave their homeland in pursuit of better opportunities both for themselves and their families.

Unemployment is a global issue that primarily affects developing nations. Even the most industrialized nations cannot claim to have completely eradicated it. Simply put, unemployment is a situation in which people who have the ability to work are unable to find work at a current wage rate. After the late 1980s, and particularly since 1986, when Cameroon was plagued by an economic crisis, youth unemployment has skyrocketed. The government took steps to address the economic crisis, such as reducing the salaries of civil servants and devaluing the CFA Franc, but these measures were fruitless and unemployment remained high, especially among university graduates. Unemployment can be either structural or individual. While structural factors mean any measure put in place by the state that may affect unemployment such as the educational system; individual factors concentrate on an individual's limitations such as a lack of education and skills. Youth unemployment in Cameroon is more intense in cities compared to rural areas, and the causes of unemployment are usually structural and rarely individual in nature (Ekane, 2010: 60-70). This means that the government must work harder to reenergize the educational system, give young people opportunity to reveal their talents and potential, and create a more favorable economic climate to develop the economy to minimize unemployment in the country.

According to the 2024 World Bank Document, Cameroon's economy is growing when compared to previous years, however, 23% of its population still lives below the international poverty line and life expectancy at birth remains at 60.3 years of age. Half of the working age population is either unemployed or no longer looking for a job (World Bank, Cameroon, 2023/24). This demonstrates how poverty and unemployment are persistent problems in Cameroon, as they

are in many other developing nations. Therefore, young people in Cameroon who cannot engage in profitable jobs look for ways to leave the nation to claim a better future, and emigration from Cameroon will continue as long as unemployment remains a problem there.

Corruption is another important problem in Cameroon both in public and private sectors and anti-corruption programs have not changed the situation. According to the German-based anti-corruption watchdog Transparency International, Cameroon ranked as the most corrupt country in the world twice (1998 and 1999) and since then the country has been listed among the most corrupt countries (Transparency International, as cited in Fokwang, 2023:9). According to the 2023 report of the same institution, Cameroon is ranked 140th out of 180 countries (Transparency International, 2023). Corruption is a widespread phenomenon in Sub-Saharan Africa. The region's persistent problems lie in the decades-long underfunding of public sectors. While corruption occurs through illegal financial transactions, basic public services cannot be provided. Corruption in the justice system disproportionately affects the most vulnerable, those who are mostly dependent on public services, such as disabled people, women and children (CPI 2023 for Sub-Saharan Africa, Transparency International, 2023).

In the last twenty or thirty years, the world's young population has increased more than at any other time in human history. Africa is the youngest continent in the world, with approximately 20% of its population aged 15-24. The fact that young people constitute the majority of the continent brings with it many problems for young Africans and state actors. Aspirations for satisfying and meaningful citizenship are no more than dreams. The diminishing capacity of the post-colonial state to control its resources, the failure of the once popular nation-building project in the post-independence period, the problems created by AIDS and, in recent years, COVID-19, and large-scale unemployment are among these problems. Many young Africans facing unemployment think that they have their youth prolonged and their transition to social adulthood is delayed. This is especially true for many unemployed and unmarried people and for those who are unsure of their future in their 20s and 30s. The state of Cameroon let its youth down in countless ways. Increasing privatization, instrumentalization and working in favor of the ruling oligarchy thanks to its international support mean that the state in Cameroon cares less about its citizens. Things have worsened because of the Anglophone crisis (Fokwang, 2023:5-6), a separatist movement mentioned above. All these push factors ultimately drive people, who are tired of waiting with a crumb of hope, out of the country either through legal or illegal means.

## 3. Major Risks Encountered by African Migrants During Their Journey to Destination Countries

Depending on the path taken by migrants, international migration from Africa to the rest of the globe is typically laden with risks and difficulties. The main dangers that irregular migrants from Africa face as they go from their region of origin to their destinations are highlighted in this part. This section focuses on the main risks faced throughout the journey: the possibility of death, enslavement and the lack of adequate protection.

Smugglers regularly act as middlemen in Sub-Saharan Africa to transport migrants to their various destinations, facilitating irregular migration. Irregular immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa frequently travel via the Sahara Desert to Libya before traveling across the Mediterranean Sea to Europe. Some migrants die, particularly in the deserts and at sea because of the incapacity of smugglers and the widespread abuse of migrants. Migrants have reported stories of sexual assault and general violence perpetrated by traffickers in the past. Smugglers load migrants onto boats in large numbers from the seashores, which may cause the vessels to capsize. The figure below shows some of the predicament involve in illicit migration.

**Table 1: Migrant arrivals and deaths in the Mediterranean Sea**

| Years | Arrivals | Dead and/or Missing |
|---|---|---|
| **2024 by August** | 95,550 | 850 |
| **2023** | 270,180 | 4,110 |
| **2022** | 160,170 | 3,017 |
| **2021** | 123,540 | 3,231 |
| **2020** | 95,666 | 1,881 |
| **2019** | 123,663 | 1,510 |
| **2018** | 141,472 | 2,277 |
| **2017** | 185,139 | 3,139 |
| **2016** | 373, 652 | 5,096 |
| **2015** | 1,032,408 | 3,771 |

Source:UNHCR, Mediterranean Situation, 2024

As shown in the table, many migrants followed the Mediterranean route to reach Europe, but many died at sea before reaching their destination country. The overall death toll of migrants from 2015 to 2024 is over 28,882 with more than 5,000 migrants dying in 2016, making it one of the worst years on record. Since Qaddafi's death, which resulted in a civil war and political unrest in the country, Libya has emerged as a key country of transit for migrants. Most migrants who crossed the Mediterranean Sea did so via Libya. Due to political and economic upheavals in their home countries, the number of people prepared to leave Africa has climbed drastically year after year, despite the danger of dying on the road.

Enslavement is one of the most disappointing threats that have overwhelmed African migrants in recent years**.** Slavery is one of the most disgraceful problems that African migrants have encountered, particularly in clandestine migration. Slavery and the slave trade, which played a significant part in history, are no longer legal in our modern society, and are regarded to be a thing of the past. According to United Nations (UN) agency, however, Sub-Saharan Africans were held captive and sold into slavery in Libya by traffickers (UN, 2017). This most unpleasant and inhumane action was made possible by Libya's ineffective government and the growth of armed militias fighting for their personal gain rather than the good of the society. This was among the most terrible crimes that Africans encounter when they try to escape internal strife in their own countries in pursuit of a better and happier life.

Racism based on skin colour is a global problem and slavery activities recall the Atlantic slave trade, which sparked indignation and controversy on a global scale. All these obstacles, however, did not deter migrants from making these deadly journeys. The mass migration of Africans from their homelands is a clear indicator of the continent's socio-economic and political problems exacerbated by corrupt leadership and imperialist actions. African leaders and stakeholders must assume responsibility for fostering long-term economic opportunity and political stability in their

own nations to reduce this young outflow (Mafu, 2019: 9). One of the most effective ways to stop mass migration is to provide means for political and economic stability, something that African leaders and stakeholders can prioritize to reduce migrant flows on the continent. This will create a friendly environment where young people may succeed in their many endeavours. Unity is therefore crucial for a powerful and prosperous Africa. The next step should be reversing the brain drain, as knowledge is the engine that drives economic growth. Economic growth cannot be achieved, and poverty cannot be alleviated without increasing Africa's intellectual capital. Otherwise, Africa will always remain dependent on the outside (Forje, 2020:135).

Migrants typically do not have enough protection because their operations are frequently carried out illegally and covertly, further complicating the issue of irregular migration. States, NGOs, and IGOs frequently fail to provide proper protection to refugees, internally displaced people, and migrants, putting them in a dangerous and vulnerable position. Even before the Arab Spring, African migrants in Libya and other Middle East countries faced systemic bias from administrative authorities, particularly security agents (Hamood, 2006: 41). This bias was generally more obvious in cases where a foreigner and a citizen had a conflict. Government authorities would tend to support their citizens regardless of who was at fault, and irregular immigrants would certainly suffer more than regular immigrants.

From the point of origin to the point of arrival, the process of migration to Europe from Sub-Saharan Africa is dangerous; in most cases, migrants are exposed to smugglers and exploitative travel agencies. According to Amnesty International's 2023/24 report, foreign nationals in Libya have been subjected to ill-treatment, including sexual violence and extorsion of ransoms to secure their freedom (OHCHR, 2023), and the European Union, rather than working to change the situation, supported the Libyan coast guard to capture and return refugees to Libya (Human Rights Watch, 2023). Europe's externalization and securitization policies especially after the 2015 refugee crisis have not prevented irregular migration to the continent. These policies did not give Europeans greater control over immigrant flow, but it changed Europe's relations with its southern neighbors. As migration cooperation becomes increasingly scrutinized, Europe delegates border control responsibilities to its neighbors (Martini & Tarek, 2023). This demonstrates how ineffective the EU is at alleviating the suffering of migrants; little progress has been made, and migrants—especially undocumented ones—face challenges wherever they go. The anecdotes told by migrants about their experiences traveling through the desert are terrifying and irritating. Most of the time, migrants travel in pick-up trucks, which squeezed over 30 people into an uncomfortable and unhygienic space for hours at a time. In certain dire situations, vulnerable migrants are forced out of the car and killed, but regrettably no one is held accountable either during or after the trip (Hamood, 2006: 46). This demonstrates that migrants are powerless and unprotected during their journey from their point of origin to their point of destination, especially when they have no other hope but to follow illegal ways.

## 4. Challenges Faced by Africans Migrants in Countries of Destination

Racism against Africans, particularly black Africans, is widespread among African immigrants residing outside Africa. Racism against black people has persisted for a long time in Europe, Asia, and America, and a solution to this fundamental conundrum remains elusive leaving black immigrants in a vulnerable and perilous position, despite all attempts to combat racism. Given that international migration flows mostly from poor to developed nations, there are many African immigrants in the rest of the world because of Africa's economic and political conditions. Nearly 970,000 immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa sought refuge in Europe solely between 2010 and 2017. These startlingly high numbers of asylum seekers are encouraged by resettlement of refugees

and international students (Connor, 2018: 3). About 4 million Sub-Saharan African immigrants entered Europe in 2017, primarily because of political and economic push factors (Mbanya et al., 2019: 3). Including immigrants and those born in Europe, there were around 7 million black individuals living throughout the EU countries in 2019 (Small, 2019: 513). Despite the large number of black immigrants from Africa living in Europe, many of them have integration problems unlike their counterparts from North Africa, who are more successfully integrated (Fokkema and De Haas, 2011: 21). Racism may be an obstacle to social integration. When the locals discriminate against black people or other visible minorities, they would possibly not have the desire to be integrated.

Since some immigrants with African ancestry find it challenging to access social services, racial discrimination may also be present in health and education sectors in Europe. For example, African immigrants find it complex to navigate the Norwegian healthcare system due to variety of problems, such as lack of adequate information, financial instability, job commitments and language barriers (Mbanya et al., 2019: 1). For immigrants, especially coming from Sub-Saharan Africa, all these obstacles and hurdles make it difficult to get properly integrated into European society. Unfortunately, high-ranking officials, notably lawmakers protected by parliamentary immunity, promote some of Europe's anti-immigrant and racist views (Nwabuzo, 2015: 18). For a very long time, there has been racial discrimination and hostility toward people of African descent in Europe. This pernicious tendency has made it difficult for immigrants to integrate into their host countries (De Freitas et al, as cited in Idemudia and Boehnke, 2020: 30).

Where the Gulf nations are concerned, violence against domestic workers is the most apparent problem. Due to strict immigration rules enacted in Europe and America, many people around the world have been moving to the Middle East in recent years. This shift has encouraged numerous Africans and economic migrants from other developing countries to move to the Middle East, which has now emerged as a new hub for global migration. In six Arab Gulf countries (Oman, UAE, Qatar, Kuwait Bahrain, and Saudi Arabia), nearly 25 million migrant workers made up over 60% of the population by 2015, making the region one of the most well-liked migrant hubs in the world (Geilsdorf and Pelican, 2018: 155). Nationals made up just 12% of the population in the UAE and Qatar, owing to an influx of migrants from all over the world, particularly from underdeveloped nations. Even though some Africans have achieved success and built strong businesses in places like Dubai in the United Arab Emirates (Pelican, 2013), a sizable portion of Africans work in inhumane conditions.

Moreover, in countries like the UAE and Saudi Arabia, various systems like the Kafala, which fail to offer workers proper protection and security, contribute to this dangerous work environment. The Kafala system often only provides a short-term resident program and does not allow employees to remain in the country permanently (Geilsdorf and Pelican, 2018: 156). With this system, workers are permitted to enter the country on short-term contracts that allow them to remain as long as the contracts are still in effect; once these contracts expire, they must either leave the country or find another employment. This arrangement leaves immigrants in a vulnerable position, allowing their employers to act inhumanely reducing them in positions of slaves and second-class citizens, especially those hired as domestic servants. The government services and authorities in both sending and destination countries seem to be adamant about finding a solution. Since individual actors are not able to alleviate the condition of African migrants, African governments must step up and safeguard their nationals overseas by pressurizing state officials in the country of destination to take effective action.

Irregular immigrants from Africa and other developing nations often find themselves in migrant camps and detention facilities and may be subject to arbitrary deportation. This distrupts the journey of many migrants and destroys their dreams of reaching their intended countries. This

is particularly true for migrants in industrialized nations, where the procedure for applying for asylum and a residency card is complicated and typically entails a ton of paperwork and bureaucracy. Some countries even undermine and disregard their rights. Multiple examples of discrimination against migrants have been reported by human rights NGOs in several European countries owing to a lack of respect for EU ideals (Refugee Rights Europe, 2020). Different countries have used different techniques and strategies in an attempt to reduce migration to Europe. Some countries, such as Sweden, have implemented stringent and decisive measures to boost the expulsion of unauthorized immigrants (Dimkpa, 2019: 25). In France, severe tactics were used after a few incidents in recent years including police attacks on and demolitions of migrant camps in cities such as Paris (BBC, 2020). Lately, another case took place in Paris. "To make room for the beautiful Paris postcard" as claimed by the aid group Revers de la Medaille, French police expelled migrants from an encampment next to Paris City Hall few months before the 2024 Summer Olympics (Euronews, 2024). Such incidents disclosed some of the challenges that migrants experience in refugee settlements, where they are mistreated and neglected with no regard for national and international law.

Undocumented immigrants in the United States (US) endure a similar situation. They may spend a lot of time travelling between camps while ironically spending a lot of their resources to get documents that usually turn out to be fraudulent as they end up being repatriated. Furthermore, many asylum seekers in camps are often denied freedom of movement, access to legal work, or opportunities for education in the US (Capps et al., 2015: 353). Donald J. Trump's anti-immigration policies, restricting migrant entry and deporting many undocumented immigrants, made his administration one of the most difficult and divisive in history when he was voted into power. His immigration policies specifically targeted African states as well as other developing nations; citizens of some of these nations were denied US visas, while others were deported back to their own countries. In 2020, an aircraft departed for Africa from the US, carrying irregular African migrants including Cameroonians, Angolans, and three Congolese who had been deported from the US under deplorable conditions (Quartz, 2020). This unveils the difficulties and distress of African immigrants face in the US.

## 5. The Positive and Negative Effects of Emigration on Cameroon

Using primarily secondary data, this section will present a balance sheet on the benefits and drawbacks of youth emigration from Cameroon. Brain drain is amongst the most glaring negative effects of migration in Cameroon, while remittances from those living abroad represent one of the advantages for the home country. So, this section will concentrate on brain drain and how the diaspora population contributes to political and economic growth in Cameroon.

The British Royal Society used the phrase "brain drain" in the 1950s to describe a situation in home country after skilled workers' migration to the New World for a brighter future (Gibson and McKenzie, as cited in Boyo, 2013: 1). When professionals and other qualified employees leave their native countries for employment because of political and/or economic factors, the phenomenon is called brain drain. It can also be seen as the transfer of human capital from developing to developed countries. It is typically used to describe people with higher education who migrate from developing to developed nations (see Docquier and Rapoport, 2011). According to Milio, brain drain is a situation where professionals and other highly educated people abandon their native country for a location where people can labour without restriction and where living conditions allow for high and lucrative earnings (Milio, as cited in Ache, 2016: 17). Since salaries in Africa are low in comparison to the developed world so as are working environment and living conditions, African professionals

prefer to migrate to areas where pay is higher and the security system is more efficient than their own country.

Brain drain was effectively implemented by the colonial masters during the colonial era, and by African leaders in the post-independence. During European colonization, it was customary for children of the upper class to travel overseas for education to take over colonial administration from the conquerors. As a result, the concept of international travel became a focus for African growth (Germain et al., 2014: 2). Brain drain has a massive detrimental impact on the place of origin, particularly in a region like Africa, where human resources in numerous fields are insufficient to accelerate growth. Easterly and Nyarko (2008), posited that the most significant consequences of brain drain for countries of origin, include the loss of human resources that may have a positive influence on the political system and leadership in the country of origin (Easterly and Nyarko, 2008: 3). In sum, more than 40% of Africa's best minds reside outside the continent (Boyo, 2013: 2), resulting in big void in both human and material resources. To the continent's detriment, a sizable number of medical specialists have left the continent to other parts of the world especially to the Western world, including places like Europe, Australia, and North America (Kirigia et al., 2006:1). Furthermore, according to Tafah (2004), Africa lost about 60,000 professionals, including doctors, engineers, and university professors, between 1985 and 1990. Since then, Africa has lost an average of about 20,000 professionals annually. For instance, even though there are around 21,000 Nigerian doctors currently working in the US, Nigeria's healthcare facilities remain understaffed (Germain et al., 2014: 1).

As in many other developing nations, brain drain has a negative effect on the economic and political landscape of Cameroon. The health and higher education sectors in Cameroon are the most affected by brain drain (Mberu and Pongou, 2012: 109). In the OECD countries alone, more than 57 thousand Cameroonian migrants were present in 2005, with more than 40% of them having advanced degrees (Dumont and Lematre, as cited in Mberu and Pongou, 2012: 109). Over time, the number of talented and educated Cameroonians leaving the country in search of better economic and political opportunities has dramatically increased. Salary and compensation structures, especially in the higher education sector, are one of the main factors causing brain drain in Cameroon. After Cameroon experienced an economic crisis in 1986, the government implemented certain strict measures to address the issue, one of which was to reduce salaries of university lecturers and other government officials thereby culminating in mass exodus of university lecturers to other countries (Evina, as cited in Mberu and Pongou, 2012: 110). According to World Health Organization assessments from 2013, Cameroon lacks human and financial capital for the recruitment of critical health staff. The data also reveal that between 1990 and 2009, less than 30% of nursing school graduates in Cameroon were hired by the Ministry of Health (Ache, 2016: 55). This reflects the government's indifferent approach toward recruiting medical experts and offers an explanation for why many of these competent professionals leave their country to practice their profession overseas. Brain drain has harmed and continues to harm Cameroon and Africa in general, particularly in the health and higher education sectors. However, these two sectors are not the only industries affected by emigration and brain drain; many others, such as industry, the arts, sports, entertainment and many more, face comparable challenges.

For many prominent scholars, there is a bright side to brain drain since its benefits sometimes outweigh its drawbacks. Such claims prompt a debate over whether it is a brain drain or a brain gain. Even though it has long hampered political and economic progress, brain drain has also facilitated advancements in the social, political, and economic spheres. Africa's future growth and development will depend heavily on contributions from the diaspora community. To increase their GDP, several African countries rely on remittances from the diaspora. The connection between

Africa and its diaspora population has been reiterated and supported by the African Union (AU) for many years, and it is now beginning to bear fruit as several nations have opened their doors to Africans abroad to support the economy of their continent.

Since the colonial era, when European colonists sent Africans abroad to receive education and training before returning home to assist with colonial administration, brain drain has played a key role in Africa. As a result, formal schooling was established, and more importantly, political leaders who would later support African independence appeared. African leaders encouraged their peers to travel overseas even after independence to acquire the necessary skills and expertise to remodel their young businesses and support advancement on the continent due to the dire economic conditions they inherited from former European masters (Easterly and Nyarko, 2008: 28). Hence, the diaspora population has played a critical role in Africa's social, political, and economic growth, and this tendency continues today. This demonstrates that if properly employed, brain drain may provide positive results in the region of origin (Benedict and Ukpere, 2012: 2424). Such events portray brain drain as a beneficial phenomenon that can bring economic prosperity and political stability to both sending and receiving countries, making it a win-win situation.

In Cameroon, the diaspora community has made significant contributions to the socio-economic and political realms. Given the country's economic difficulties, remittances from individuals residing abroad remain an essential source of income for many families. The Cameroonian diaspora, reached over 390,000 as of 2013, has been praised for making a significant contribution to the country's economy, accounting for more than 1% of GDP (Ache, 2016: 59). Without accounting for unrecorded transactions and other difficulties in quantifying tangible gains from the diaspora, contributions from the diaspora as of 2010 totalled over 218 million USD. The social contributions made by the diaspora to Cameroon are just as important as the remittances and other financial contributions. Travel has been easier due to developments in air and sea transportation facilitating frequent visits to Cameroon by people living overseas. The diaspora community possesses the necessary skills and knowledge to bring critical concepts learnt overseas, such as democratic principles, policy changes, technology, and expertise (Nkongho, 2019: 37). International Organization for Migration (IOM) projects such as Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA) programmes, have made it possible for African skilled workers to come home and contribute significantly. In Cameroon for example, people like Dr. Chantalle F. Ebongo, a member of Cameroonian diaspora in Belgium, were able to come and work in the health sector, where she coordinated several programmes and projects aimed at improving the way nurses and other hospital staffs manage hospitals (IOM UN Migration Blog, 2016). Additionally, the diaspora population, with the help of the government and NGOs, has been engaged in the construction of schools and providing other social services in their home communities, such as the supply of potable water. Such volunteers and initiatives assist to instil optimism in the local populace and shift the perception of brain drain from a curse to a blessing.

From a political perspective, members of the diaspora have been voting in national elections and swaying public opinion by supporting the candidates they find most appealing. A parliamentary decree permitting Cameroonians living abroad to cast ballots in their home nations was enacted in 2011, but since Cameroon does not recognise dual citizenship, only non-naturalized citizens were permitted to vote (Nkongho, 2019: 41). The people in the diaspora have also been effectively participating in Cameroon's decentralization process, according to news reported by Cameroon Radio and Television (CRTV). This participation was done during a gathering arranged by the High Council of Cameroonians Abroad and several government leaders on March 19, 2021. By taking part in Cameroon's decentralization process, this action would enable Cameroonians residing in France, Belgium and other countries to collaborate with local government officials t improve local

development (IOM UN Migration Blog, 2016). This was a watershed moment in Cameroon's diaspora politics, as they were given the freedom to exercise their political rights. Once again, the diaspora population of Cameroon, like that of many other African nations, frequently takes part in protests overseas to voice opposition to the government's actions or policies. From a political perspective, this is a component of the diaspora population's contributions and political engagement.

Emigration has both positive and negative impacts on the place of origin. A realistic analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of brain drain in both countries of origin and destination reveals that it benefits destination areas more than the source. Some new research refutes these ideas and shows brain drain as an advantageous process for both sending and host countries.

## 6. Conclusion

This study was primarily carried out to examine the underlying reasons for young people's emigration from Cameroon. Terrorist attacks of Boko Haram, political instability due to separatist Anglophone crisis, longstanding economic crisis, corruption, unemployment and other economic problems such as low salaries serve as the key push factors steering emigration from Cameroon. Considering the difficulties faced by migrants in the migration process such as death, abuse, and general maltreatment, Cameroonians still prefer clandestine migration. As this study has shown, migrants face several difficulties when they reach their destination regions. They face racism, inadequate protection, and the threat of deportation. Those who emigrated to Gulf countries were enslaved and forced to serve as domestic servants for minimal pay, reminding modern slavery. Therefore, push factors are more effective than pull factors in driving emigration from Cameroon. When it comes to the impacts of emigration in Cameroon, the most negative effect is brain drain, whereas remittances from Cameroonian expatriates is one of the most favourable benefits.

Emigration can be seen as a phenomenon driven by the failure of the government to handle problems like corruption, unemployment, low wages, economic crises, and political unrest. All these factors act as push factors, driving people away from their home countries toward those with better social, political, and economic conditions. From a personal standpoint, it can be seen as a situation where someone chooses to move away from their hometown after performing a cost-benefit analysis. If African governments provide political, economic, and social stability, individuals will probably choose to stay at home. To curb this migration phenomenon, African states must find a long-term solution to the continent's socio-economic and political issues, which have plagued the continent since independence. To resolve all their economic and political challenges, the African Union and African nations should cooperate closely. To achieve this, a solid political and economic foundation must initially be built from the ground up, ensuring the continent's sustained prosperity. For things to change, the continent must assemble around common interests and pool its resources for the good of future generations. Africa and Africans have faced numerous challenges both at home and in foreign lands. Unity is therefore crucial for a powerful and prosperous Africa. A second step should be reversing the brain drain. As knowledge is the engine that drives economic growth, African intellectuals abroad must be part of the rebuilding process not only financially but also intellectually. Poverty in Africa and the migration it causes will not cease to revive unless Africa's intellectual capital is strengthened.

## References

Abebe, T.T. (2017). *Migration policy frameworks in Africa*. Institute for Security Studies (ISS).

Ache, A.I. (2016). *The impact of migration and brain drain in Cameroon*. Unpublished MSc Thesis, Tallinn University, Tallin.

Benedict, O.H. & Ukpere, W.I. (2012). Brain drain and African development: any possible gain from the drain? *African Journal of Business Management, 6*(7), 2421-2428. DOI: 10.5897/AJBM11.2385

Boyo, T.M. (2013). *The African brain drain and the social impact of skilled migration*. Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Çağlayan, S. (2006). Göç kuramları, göç ve göçmen ilişkisi. *Muğla Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, 17*, 67-91. Available at https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/217328

Capps, R., Newland, K., Fratzke, S., Groves, S., Auclair, G., Fix, M., McHugh, M. (2015). Integrating refugees in the United States: the successes and challenges of resettlement in a global context. *Statistical Journal of the IAOS, 31*, 341–367. Doi: 10.3233/SJI-150918

Castles, S., de Haas, H. & Miller, M.J. (2014). *The age of migration, international population movements in the modern world*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Corbett, J. (2003). *Ernest George Ravenstein, The laws of migration*, 1885. Santa Barbara. Available at https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3018p230.

Craven, M. (2019). Between law and history: the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 and the logic of free trade. *London Review of International Law, 3*, 38-39. https://doi.org/10.1093/lril/lrv002

Dembele, M. (2006). Colonial legacy and changes of West African cities - comparative studies between Bamako and Segou cities. Rep. of Mali. *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering, 5*(2), 285-292. https://doi.org/10.3130/jaabe.5.285

Dimkpa, P. (2019). *Africa-Europe migration: A qualitative analysis of Nigerian migration to Europe via the Libya-Mediterranean route*. Unpublished MSc Thesis, Dalarna University Centre for African Studies, Falun.

Docquier, F. & Rapoport, H. (2011). Globalization, brain drain and development. *Discussion Paper No. 5590.*

Easterly, W. & Nyarko, Y. (2008). Is the brain drain good for Africa? *Brookings Global Economy and Development Working Paper, 19*. Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=1121853 or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1121853

Ekane, D. (2010). *The context of an urban social problem in Cameroon: case study of youth unemployment*. Unpublished MSc Thesis, Stockholm University, Stockholm.

Fisher, M.H. (2014). *Migration: a world history.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Fokwang, D. (2023). *Cultivating moral citizenship. an ethnography of young people's associations, gender and social adulthood in the Cameroon Gra.* Spears Books.

Fonkeng, P. (2019). *Insecurity, forced migration, and internally displaced persons along the Cameroon Nigeria border, 2003-2018.* AfriHeritage Research Working Paper 002 Enugu.

Forje, W. (2020). *Unravelling the mysteries of Africa's underdevelopment*: *changing Africa, one idea at a time*. Langaa RPCIG. https://muse.jhu.edu/book/75999.

Geilsdorf, S.D. & Pelican. M. (2018). Between regular and irregular employment: subverting the kafala system in the GCC countries. *Migration and Development*, *8*(2), 155-175. CCDOI: 10.1080/21632324.2018.1479215

Germain, S., Edokat, T., Maurice, F. O., Gnignindikoup, I. (2014). Brain drain in Africa: stakes and perspectives for Cameroonian Universities. *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications, 4* (11), 1-9. Available at https://www.ijsrp.org/research-paper-1114/ijsrp-p3572.pdf

Hamood, S. (2006). *African transit migration through Libya to Europe: the human cost*. Cairo: Forced Migration and Refugee Studies.

Idemudia, E. & Boehnke, K. (2020*). Psychosocial experiences of African migrants in six European countrie*s. Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland.

Karaduman, H.A. & Çoban, E. (2019). Brain drain in Turkey: an investigation on the leading motives of skilled migration*. Avrasya Sosyal ve Ekonomi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, *6* (7), 322-339. Available at https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/784744

Kirigia, J.M., Gbary, A.R., Nyoni, J., Seddoh, A., Muthuri, L.K. (2006). The cost of health-related brain drain to the WHO African Region. *African Journal of Health Sciences*, *13,* 3-4. DOI: 10.4314/ajhs.v13i3.30830

Kouma, J.C.G (2017). Cameroon fighting Boko Haram, *Vestnik Rudn. International Relations, 17*(4), 727-737. https://doi.org/10.22363/2313-0660-2017-17-4-727-737

Mafu, L. (2019). The Libyan/Trans-Mediterranean Slave Trade, the African Union, and the Failure of Human Morality. *Sage Open, 9*(1). https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244019828849

Martini, S. L., and Tarek, M. (2023). *Road to nowhere: Why Europe's border externalisation is a dead end*. Retrieved on November 19, 2024 from European Council on Foreign Relations: https://ecfr.eu/publication/road-to-nowhere-why-europes-border-externalisation-is-a-dead-end/

Mbanya, V. N., Terragni, L., Gele, A. A., Diaz, E., Kumar, B.N. (2019). Access to Norwegian healthcare system – challenges for sub-Saharan African immigrants. *International Journal for Equity in Health 18*(125). https://doi.org/10.1186/s12939-019-1027-

Mberu, B.U. & Pongou, R. (2012). Crossing boundaries: internal, regional and international migration in Cameroon. *International Migration, 54*(1). DOI:10.1111/j.1468-2435.2012.00766.x

Mbuy, T. (2018). *The mission and role of the Catholic Church towards peace building in a crisis situation: perspectives from the Anglophone problem in contemporary Cameroon*. Bamenda: ARISE Bamenda.

Nkama, A.H.G. (2009). *Analysing the impact of the global economic and financial crisis in Cameroon*. Rethinking African economic policy in light of the Global Economic and Financial Crisis Conference. Yaounde.

Nkongho, K.F. (2019). The role of the Cameroon diaspora in the socio-economic development of Cameroon. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences, 9*(14), 32-43. DOI:10.7176/RHSS/9-14-05

Pelican, M. (2013). International migration: virtue or vice? Perspectives from Cameroon. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 39*(2), 237-257. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.723256

Pichette, A. (2015). The rise of Boko Haram: an analysis of failed governance. *Outstanding Gateway Papers*. Available at http://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/gateway/

Rackley, E.B. (2017). *Cameroon's Far North: Responding to Boko Haram*. Oxford Research Group.

Rees, P. and Lomax, N. (2019). Ravenstein revisited: The analysis of migration, then and now. *Comparative Population Studies, 44*, 351-412. https://doi.org/10.12765/CPoS-2020-10

Pollitt, R. (2022). In Cameroon, the "Anglophone crisis" descends into banditry and chaos. *America*, *227*(5), 16–17.

Small, S. (2019). Ethnicity, race, and black people in Europe. S. Ratuva (Ed.) *The Palgrave handbook of ethnicity* (pp. 513-534)*,* Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-2898-5

BBC. (2020). Paris police in 'shocking' clash at migrant camp. Retrieved August 8, 2024 from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-55055914

Euronews. (2024). French police clear migrant camp near Paris city hall before Olympics. Retrieved August 8, 2024 from https://www.euronews.com/2024/04/30/about-100-men-and-boys-have-been-living-in-tents-outside-the-council

Human Rights Watch. (2023). Already Complicit in Libya Migrant Abuse, EU Doubles Down on Support, Handing Over of Search Boat Makes EU More Complicit in Abuses. Retrieved August 8, 2024 from https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/02/08/already-complicit-libya-migrant-abuse-eu-doubles-down-support

IMF Staff Country Reports. (2009). International Monetary Fund (IMF) Country report, Cameroon: staff report for the 2009 article IV consultation and request for disbursement under the rapid access component of the exogenous shocks facility. Retrieved March 10, 2021 from https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/CR/Issues/2016/12/31/Cameroon-Staff-Report-for-the-2009-Article-IV-Consultation-and-Request-for-disbursement-23423

IOM UN Migration Blog. (2016). How Diaspora Contributes to Development in Cameroon. Retrieved August 8, 2024 from https://weblog.iom.int/how-diaspora-contributes-development-cameroon

OHCHR. (2023). Libya: UN experts alarmed at reports of trafficking in persons, arbitrary detention, enforced disappearances and torture of migrants and refugees. Retrieved August 8, 2024 from https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2023/07/libya-un-experts-alarmed-reports-trafficking-persons-arbitrary-detention

OMCT. (2023). How to Achieve Positive Change for Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Libya? Recommendation for the Libyan Authorities. Retrieved November 19, 2024 from https://www.omct.org/site-resources/legacy/Policy-brief-on-migration-in-Libya.pdf

Refugee Rights Europe. (2020). RRE Annual Report. Retrieved August 8, 2024 from https://refugee-rights.eu/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/RRE_AnnualReport_2020.pdf

Transparency International. (2023). Our Work in Cameroon. Retrieved November 18, 2024 from https://www.transparency.org/en/countries/cameroon

Transparency International. (2023). CPI 2023 for Sub-Saharan Africa: Impunity for Corrupt Officials, Restricted Civic Space & Limited Access to Justice. Retrieved November 18, 2024 from https://www.transparency.org/en/news/cpi-2023-sub-saharan-africa-corruption-impunity-civic-space-access-justice

UN. (2017). African migrants reportedly being sold in 'slave markets' in Libya, UN agency warns. Retrieved August 8, 2024 from https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/fr/node/100043193

UNHCR. (2024). Mediterranean Situation. Retrieved August 8, 2024 from https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean/location

Quartz. (2020). A wave of US deportations has left the fate of African asylum seekers in the balance. Retrieved April 20, 2021 from https://qz.com/africa/1932261/trump-ice-deporting-african-asylum-seekers-before-bid

World Bank. (2023/24). Cameoon. Retrieved August 8, 2024 from https://thedocs.worldbank.org/en/doc/bae48ff2fefc5a869546775b3f010735-0500062021/related/mpo-cmr.pdf