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Msc in Development and International Relations, Global Refugees Studies

CAMEROONIAN CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS IN DENMARK AND HOMELAND DEVELOPMENT:

CASE STUDY: THE NORTH WEST CULTURAL ASSOCIATION OF DENMARK

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ABSTRACT

Since 2007, the government of Cameroon through Cameroon-diaspora forum is seeking ways to engage the Cameroonian diaspora in an effort to help boost homeland development. Within the frame work of the diaspora-homeland engagement, this thesis looks at the contributions of Cameroonian cultural associations in Denmark with the case study of the North West cultural association of Denmark(NOWEDCA) to the development of Cameroon. The assessment of NOWEDCA homeland engagements was made possible using data obtained from members of the association and secondary data supported by the social identity, diaspora and remittance concepts. Using the social identity concept, I began by analyzing the role of cultural and place identity on the formation of Cameroonian diaspora cultural groups in Denmark and their homeland engagements. Further, the diaspora and social remittance concepts were used as an analytical lens to understand NOWEDCA's homeland engagements in the educational, humanitarian and entrepreneurial sectors in the North west region of Cameroon, outlining the challenges faced by the association in achieving homeland projects. An overview of Cameroon government's diaspora policies and institutional framework to engage its diaspora is evaluated.

This thesis is structured into six chapters. Chapter one introduces the thesis topic with the research problem, research questions, objectives and significance. Chapter two deals with the research background, looking at Cameroonian migration to Denmark and the formation of Cameroonian cultural association in Denmark and their common characteristics. In chapter three, I defend the research methodology I have chosen for this thesis and the choice for the case study. Chapter four looks at the theoretical frame work. Here, I discussed the diaspora and social identity theories and the social remittance concept as an analytical framework to understand NOWEDCA homeland engagements. Chapter five is the analysis where I looked at NOWEDCA homeland engagement in the domains of education, humanitarianism, entrepreneurial ship in the North west region of Cameroon and chapter six deals with finding and conclusion.

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Abbreviations

NOWEDCA	North West Cultural Association of Denmark
MECUDA	Meta Cultural and Development Association
ACAD	Association of All Cameroonians in Denmark
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
UN	United Nations
UNO	United Nations Organization
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION.

In the modern era, the mobility of capital, goods or people be it in the form of volunteers, students, refugees or labour migrants is increasing celebrated as a new normal that helps interconnect the globalized world and our social life. According to Appadurai (1990), the birth of large volumes of migration mostly from the global south to the global north is thanks to improvement in transport, media exposure of migrants, imaginary, modern communications and social networks that has eased population movement across the globe. To him, the new global cultural economy born by migration has to be understood differently as there is no singular cause of migration as people migrate for various reasons such as the search of greener pastures, better education, jobs and to escape from political persecution. Today, most migration from the global south to the global north has been orchestrated by violence in the third world with many seeking political asylum and refugees status in the global north, and the search for better living conditions (Castles, 2009). This has contributed to the mass influx of people from the global south to the global north, creating diasporas in most countries in the global north.

Denmark with a population of about 5,840 million inhabitants and 817,418 immigrants and their descendants from western and non-western countries is a diverse society with multicultural traits (statistics Denmark 2021). Amongst these foreign citizens in Denmark are citizens from Cameroon who constitute the Cameroonian diaspora in Denmark. Most Cameroonians in Denmark came for studies and with the establishment of the green card program by the Danish Government, Cameroonians have been able to live in Denmark for many years. They form a significant percentage of Cameroon's diaspora in Europe in general and Denmark in particular maintaining a strong connection with their homeland through cultural, economic and political associations (Nkongho, 2019).

Cultural associations are tribal organizations comprising of people who share a common place and ethnic identity as well as cultural heritage (Clair Mercer, 2008). Awang(2013), argued that Cameroonian diaspora cultural associations are tribally oriented, mostly made up of people coming from the same region or ethnic group in Cameroon (Awang, 2013). In Denmark, there exist a handful of Cameroonian cultural associations such as the North West cultural association

of Denmark(NOWEDCA),Metal cultural association of Denmark, Lebialem cultural and developmental association of Denmark and the Bakossi cultural association of Denmark. Through cultural association forums, Cameroonians bond with one another, share cultural exchanges and raise funds for community projects in their country of origin (Clair Mercer, 2008). These diaspora cultural associations often referred to as home associations are sometimes extended branches of the domestic association in the home country operating within the transnational space (Awang, 2013 and Clair Mercer,2008).Through these associations, Cameroonians contribute to the GDP of their home country through remittances and community projects engagement in their local communities back home, political activism and as drivers of social and political change in their country of origin (Awang, 2013).For the purpose of this study, development would be understood in terms of economic and social growth and modernization (Jane L. Parpart, 2014). Within the economic growth framework, the purpose will be to assess the contributions and challenges faced by the Cameroon diaspora in Denmark using the case study of the North West cultural association of Denmark as my point of departure in framing Cameroonian cultural associations in Denmark homeland –development nexus.

1.2 Problem statement

Between 2010 and 2013, Cameroon experienced an average economic growth rate of 4% which falls short of 1% of the country’s envisaged vision 2035 targets (WorldBank, 2014).To achieve its vision of 2020, Cameroon will need to seek new avenues that can boost its economic growth between 4.8 to 5.4 % as projected by the world bank. One of such areas is the renewed attention and policies development by the Cameroon government towards Cameroon diaspora to boost economic development (Winterhagen, 2016). A lot of research and reports have been written by scholars on the Cameroonian diaspora. Much of this research gives a general overview of the Cameroon diaspora and its contribution to homeland development with no specific interest on Cameroon’s diaspora cultural associations and how they can help boost development in the homeland. This diaspora if well harnessed can help Cameroon increase its economic growth and development index (Nkongho, 2019).However, there is little literature on the impact of Cameroon’s diaspora cultural associations in Denmark to the socio-economic development of Cameroon even though the diaspora- homeland development discuss has caught the attention of scholars and developers. According to Dembele Moussa(1999) as cited by Awang, ‘ *Diaspora should not be considered as instruments but rather should be understood as partners in*

development” (Awang, 2013). In this vain, this group of transnational citizens have the potentials to speed up development in their country of origin. Nkongho (2019), asserts that the Cameroon diaspora play a major role in homeland development although they are tribally aligned to achieve developmental goals (Nkongho, 2019). This is similar to the Cameroon diaspora in Denmark where citizens align to a particular cultural or regional groupings to carry out development works in Cameroon. Despite the growth of Cameroonian cultural associations in Denmark, there is little literature on the impacts of these associations to the development of Cameroon. This thesis seeks to understand Cameroonian diaspora cultural associations in Denmark and their contributions to development in Cameroon by using the Cameroon North West cultural association of Denmark (NOWEDCA) as a case study to better understand the Cameroonian diaspora cultural associations in Denmark -development nexus with the following research and sub research questions:

1.3 Research question

This thesis therefore seeks to investigate how Cameroon’s diaspora cultural associations in Denmark with the case study of the North West Cultural Association of Denmark (NOWEDCA) have contributed to the development of Cameroon (homeland) with the following research and sub research questions

1. What is the North West Cultural Association of Denmark concretely doing to promote development in Cameroon?
2. How has the cultural and place identity of NOWEDCA help in promoting homeland development in Cameroon

1.4 Sub research questions

3. What difficulties does the North West Cultural Association of Denmark face in achieving development projects back home?
4. What policies do the Cameroon government institutions offer for Cameroonian Diaspora Associations in the domain of development?

1.5 Research objectives

1. The research seeks to investigate how The North West Cultural Association of Denmark contributes to homeland development

2.To assess how the cultural and place identity of NOWEDCA contribute in promoting development in Cameroon.

3.To examine the difficulties faced by the Cameroon North West cultural Association in Denmark in promoting development in the homeland

4.To examine/assess the diaspora policies of Cameroonian institutions.

1.6 Significance of the research

A lot of research and reports have been written by scholars on the Cameroonian diaspora. Much of this research gives a general overview of the Cameroon diaspora and its contribution to homeland development with no specific interest on Cameroon's diaspora cultural associations and their influence on homeland development. Through this research, I hope to fill in the gap and contribute to the new discourse on Cameroonian diaspora cultural associations and home development and Cameroon's institutions policies on this type of Diaspora. Using the case of the Cameroon North West cultural association of Denmark will open a new path in studying the Cameroon diaspora not as a single entity but rather as a broad diaspora with strong cultural divides in which members align themselves along ethnic boundaries to promote homeland development

CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND

This section begins with the location of Cameroon, traces the contemporary history of Cameroon, the causes and movement of Cameroonians to Denmark. This helps to provide an understanding of the growth of the Cameroonian diaspora in Europe in general and Denmark in Particular. This will give the reader an inside into the causes of the present Cameroonian migration to Denmark and the motive behind the formation of Cameroonian diaspora cultural associations in Denmark. Also, this section looks at the mapping of Cameroonian diaspora organizations in Denmark with particular attention on Cameroonian cultural associations and their characteristics. The mapping of the Cameroonian diaspora landscape in Denmark is aimed at drawing attention to the fact that Cameroonian diaspora cultural associations in Denmark are diverse and their members mostly align themselves along ethnic and regional boundaries. Having an understanding of the structure of Cameroonian diaspora cultural associations in Denmark gives a clue on their developmental engagement back home usually carried within their region of origin.

2.1 BRIEF HISTORY OF CAMEROON

The Republic of Cameroon is located in Central Africa and is bordered by Chad in the north, Nigeria in the west, Central African Republic in the East and Gabon, Congo and Equatorial Guinea in the south. It was a German colony from 1884-1915 and in 1916, the territory was split between the British and the French after the expulsion of Germany from Cameroon towards the end of the first world war (Ngoh, 1979). From 1916 to 1960, Britain and France governed their respective portions of Cameroon as trust territories under supervision of the League of Nations from 1919 to 1945 and as mandated territories of the UNO from 1945-1960 respectively (Ngoh, 1979). During this period, the administered portion under the French was known as French Cameroon and that under the British was known as British southern Cameroons. In 1960, French Cameroon became an independent country and was referred to as the Republic of Cameroon (La Republic du Cameroon) while British southern Cameroon through a plebiscite gained independence on February 11, 1961, by reunifying with La Republic du Cameroon to form the federal Republic of Cameroon composed of the Republic of Cameroon and former British Southern Cameroons under the presidency of Ahmadou Ahidjo (Ngoh, 1979).

The Present Republic of Cameroon is headed by Paul Biya and the country is divided into ten administrative regions, with each region grouped along tribal affiliations. Cameroon been a multicultural society with over 250 tribes, its socio-anthropology reveals a nation divided along ethnic lines where groups of people come together under tribal associations to promote development of their regions of origin and Cameroon as a whole (Nyamnjoy et al, 1997, Claire Mercer et al, 2008). The North West cultural association of Denmark is one among the many Cameroonian diaspora cultural associations form to assist Cameroonians living in Denmark and to promote homeland developments. Membership to this association is restricted only to Cameroonians originating from the North West region of Cameroon residing in Denmark

[2.2 History of Cameroonian migration movement to Denmark and the formation of Cameroonian diaspora in Europe and Denmark.](#)

The present clustering of Cameroonians in America, Asia and Europe could be traced from the slave trade era but for the purpose of precision, the voluntary movement of Cameroonians abroad started in the 1960 following the initiation of emigration programs by the Cameroonian government (Awang, 2013).The purpose of this emigration scheme was to send Cameroonians abroad to acquire skills that will propel the nation towards economic growth. In line with this, many Cameroonians were able to migrate to West Germany, United Kingdom, America, France and Switzerland under the Government emigration programs thereby paving way to the first Cameroonian diaspora in Europe.

However, after the 1970, a small proportion of Cameroonians migrated out of the Country due to political and economic reasons. According to Awang (2003) and Nkongho (2019), the political upheavals in Cameroon after independence provided little space for political liberty and those who felt persecuted for political reasons were forced to move abroad to seek asylum. These individuals though small, had hopes to come back to Cameroon to assist in developing the homeland, a dream which never materialized as they became refugees and critic of the regime.

In the 1980s, Cameroon experienced an exponential rise of migration abroad born by economic hardship. The drastic drop in agricultural prices and the structural adjustment plans of the IMF plunged the economy of Cameroon into recession and made life hard for an average Cameroonian forcing many Cameroonian youths to seek greener pastures in Europe and America (Awang, 2013, p. 3). The devaluation of the CFA franc and the deduction of salaries of civil servant further increased their dismay for the country forcing them to migrate abroad with aims to have a better life abroad. With the implementation of the economic liberalization programs by the government of Cameroon in the 1990s, much of the economy was left in hands of the private sector that provided little jobs with low salary for workers pushing Cameroonians to migrate abroad. During this period, there was the rise in the “Bush faller syndrome”, a common connotation referring to Cameroonians living abroad creating migrant networks with those wishing to emigrate from Cameroon (Awang, 2013, p. 3). These migrant networks and imaginaries created by media forced many young Cameroonians especially the male to emigrate to European countries such as Denmark. According to Appadurai (1990), these migration networks and imaginary has pushed many people in the third world to seek better future in the advanced economies (Appadurai, 1990). Cameroonians are therefore caught within this web of migrant networks and imaginaries in seeking a better future in countries such as Germany, France, Italy, USA and Denmark.

Recently, most Cameroonians have migrated out of Cameroon thanks to family reunification with their spouse and children. Denmark in particular has seen an increase in the number of Cameroonian immigrants under the family reunification program. The Green card scheme issued by the Danish government in 2007 made it possible for foreigners in and out of Denmark to be granted a year resident and work permit with possibility of a three -year renewal (Opulentuz, n.d.). Cameroonians residing in Denmark and other European countries took advantage of this opportunity and the Green Card scheme laid the foundation for the Cameroonian diaspora in Denmark and set the pace for migratory networks of Cameroonians who have emigrated under the green card and higher education scheme programs of the Danish government and its universities. With the termination of the Green Card scheme by the Danish government, most Cameroonians living in Denmark came as students under the student visa programs and upon completion of their studies are provided with two years resident and work permit that give them the opportunity to prolong their stay in Denmark (Statistics Denmark 2021). In order for

Cameroonians to have a prolonged stay in Denmark, they have developed a survival strategy that entails bringing their spouses to Denmark with the intention of sending them to school upon the expiration of their two years resident and work permit. This has helped most Cameroonians to extend their stay in Denmark. This strategy has made it possible for many Cameroonians to obtain permanent stay in Denmark and thus creating a large Cameroonian diaspora in Denmark who are bounded by cultural ties through social activities organized by Cameroonian diaspora cultural associations /organizations in Denmark.

2.3 Cameroonian diaspora organizations in Denmark

John Ako Ojong (2015), asserts that the most visible common characteristics of migrants after settling in a foreign nation is to identify themselves with people they share a common characteristic which could be national, cultural and racial. Cameroonians in Denmark are a no exception to this migrant or transnational traits, and they turn to identify and share amongst themselves through Cameroonian diaspora cultural organizations in Denmark. The German statistical office in 2005 defines migrant organizations as organizations that have at least 40% of its members having a migrant background and biographies associated to migration and displacement (Winterhagen, 2016, p. 5). These diaspora organizations usually have a strong bond with their country of origin and participate in solidarity and development projects in the homeland. Though these associations are few in Denmark, they provide a support system to Cameroonians residing in Denmark and engages in homeland development projects

2.4 Types of Cameroonian Diaspora organizations in Denmark

1. Cameroon cultural and integration associations.

These organizations/clubs connect Cameroonians living in a particular city or region in Denmark. They focus on cultural events and assist members in time of needs. According to Winterhagen (2016), such cultural organizations are usually divided along ethnic and tribal lines or regions of origin from the homeland aimed at promoting their cultural heritage, development projects, raise funds for charity donations back home and engages politically with the government of their country of origin (Winterhagen, 2016). This diaspora cultural associations are also referred to as “home associations” comprising of members who share a common cultural origin to a particular home place (Clair Mercer, 2008, p. 13). According to Clair Mercer et al(2008), it is wrong to view Cameroonian diaspora cultural associations as a single

entity within the transnational network of diaspora and homeland but rather, the structure reveals fractured organizations/associations that are independent of one another and connected to a particular home place (Claire Mercer et al, 2008). The assertion by Claire Mercer is evident in the Cameroonian cultural association landscape in Denmark fractured along ethnic and regional affiliations. Prominent Cameroonian diaspora cultural organizations operating in Denmark include North West Cultural Association of Denmark (NOWEDCA), Southwest Association of Denmark, Bakossi union Denmark, Metal cultural and development Association (MECUDA) Denmark and Lebang Cultural Association of Denmark (interviewee A and B)

2.5 Structure and Characteristics of Cameroonian Diaspora Cultural Associations (home Associations)

Cultural or home associations are increasingly being studied and the increasing interest in these associations is due to their transnational expansion as they now operate in different continents. However, the structure and characteristics of Cameroonian cultural associations show a dichotomy since domestic and international migration are often studied separately (Claire Mercer et al, 2008). This dichotomy in domestic and international migration has pushed scholars in domestic migration studies within Africa such as Triger (2001), as quoted by Claire Mercer to view cultural associations as ethno-territorial grouping of individuals united by a particular home place living within the African continent united through binding 'chapters' that inter-connect members (Claire Mercer et al, 2008). Looking at the transnational and migration development angle, "*International home associations express a transnational ethno-territorial relationship connecting the home with its national and international chapters in which each branch or chapter is connected to a place(home) through the flow of people, ideas and money*" (Claire Mercer et al 2008, P.28). Therefore, international home associations; those operating in the diaspora are often branches of the home cultural association operating within the transnational space bringing together people with common ethnic identity who share a common home place. In cultural or home associations binding constitution or charter, the geography(place) of origin is more important than ethnicity as cultural associations often do not comprise of a single tribe(ethnicity), but rather a multitude of tribes sharing attachment to a common home place (Claire Mercer et al, P.34). Therefore, cultural associations are place-based consisting of one or many ethnicities. It is important to note that the structure and characteristics of cultural associations are not always fixed since the home place is not static as the original home place

landscape vary and can overlap leading to multiple associations where people align themselves based on their shared common identities creating contradictory “homes” (Claire Mercer et al 2008, P.31). This gives diaspora cultural associations the latitude to operate independent and mobilize separately. As such, different chapters or Branches are likely to emerge with each paying allegiance to the home place but retaining their autonomy and separate constitutions.

The structure and characteristics mentioned above are common with Cameroonian cultural associations (home Associations) in Denmark where members are bonded by a common home place, although they may belong to different tribes. NOWEDCA’s membership is restricted only to Cameroonians originating from the North west region of Cameroon. (interviewee A and B). The North west region of Cameroon is made up of many tribes who share a common identity and home place. As such, the most important unifying factor of members of NOWEDCA is the geography which constitutes the North West administrative region of Cameroon.

2. Cameroon expats in Denmark (Inter Nations Copenhagen).

Inter Nations is a large platform bringing together global expatriates. It was founded in 2007 as a global expats network and currently has about 4.1 million members spanning over 420 cities globally (InterNations, n.d.) This platform has a large community of Cameroonian expats in Copenhagen with members having connections with Cameroon. The goal of such platform (inter Nations Copenhagen) is to bring Cameroonian expats in Denmark in a common platform where they can share knowledge, experiences and Network.

3. Association of all Cameroonians living in Denmark(ACAD)

This body is an umbrella association of all Cameroonians living in Denmark irrespective of their tribes and region of origin from Cameroon. This body is responsible for bringing Cameroonians together in Denmark and assist them in navigating the social space in Denmark in the domain of integration and cohabiting with other Cameroonians in Denmark (Ako Ojong, 2015). This body organizes social events such as sports, cultural week and celebration of important national day in Cameroon such Cameroonian youth day and national day celebrations.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This section delineates the research methodology and considerations used in this thesis paper. It commences by looking at the strategy I employed in this paper followed by the ontological and epistemological perspectives of this thesis, an overview of the research design used in this study, data collection methods, the research process, choice of case study and research participants, interview process, ethical considerations, scope, limitations and delimitation of the topic under study and finally, the motivation of respondents to participate in the research process. Therefore, I intend through this section to present, explain and justify the methodology I have chosen to approach this thesis paper. However, this research is rooted in existing literature on diaspora and homeland relationship (Shuval,2000, Cohen 1997, and Sheffer, 1986), diaspora and development nexus (Peggy Levitt et al, 2011; Claire Mercer et al, 2015; Winterhagen, 2016; Nkongho, 2019 and Awang 2013), which offer a theoretical perspective for answering the Main research and sub research questions supported by interviews carried out by the researcher with participants belonging to the North west cultural association of Denmark(NOWEDCA), Lebialem cultural and developmental association of Denmark and Bakossi cultural association in Denmark.

3.1 Research strategy.

After researching on Cameroonian cultural associations in Denmark and their development in Cameroon, I came to realize that there was insufficient data in this domain despite the presence of several Cameroonian cultural associations in Denmark. As such, it awakens my curiosity and drive to understand how Cameroon's cultural associations in Denmark have contributed to homeland development using the case study of the North West cultural Association of Denmark. Creswell (2003), argues that qualitative research that takes the form of a case study opens the possibility for a phenomenon to be studied in details. To realize this, I opted for a qualitative research method in which I use the North west cultural association in Denmark as a case study to understand Cameroonian cultural associations in Denmark and their contribution to homeland development and the challenges they encounter by means of a semi-structured interview with four research participants whom I got to know using the snowball sampling technique. This method gave me the possibility to explore the knowledge, perceptions and experiences of members of the North West Cultural associations in Denmark and other Cameroonian cultural

associations in Denmark towards development back home, the various challenges they face in achieving development in Cameroon and Cameroon's government policies towards its diaspora. However, in this thesis paper I am not going to use directly the interviews conducted with members of the Lebialem cultural and development association of Denmark (Audio 3, interviewees 'C') and member of the Bakossi cultural association of Denmark (Audio 4, interviewee "D") as they only supplement the other interviews carried out with members of NOWEDCA and also because the interviewees are not members to NOWEDCA. Notwithstanding, these interviews gave me an insight into Cameroonian cultural association grouping in Denmark and the politics of tribal barriers as an in-group characteristic. This research is a case study research to investigate the contribution of NOWEDCA to the development of Cameroon and therefore any interviews carried out apart from the ones with its members was only done to give the researcher an inside into Cameroonian cultural associations in Denmark home land engagements to better appreciate the case under study.

3.2 Ontological and Epistemological perspectives.

Ontology and epistemology are concerned about how knowledge is viewed by people within the social world. Ontology is interested on how people view the social world ; that is how beliefs and reality are constructed within the social space (Al-Saadi, 2014, p. 2). In the social research field, reality can be perceived objectively or subjectively depending on the individual. Objectively, reality is perceived as a social entity which exist independently of other social actors while subjectively, reality is perceived as being dependent of other social actors (Bryman 2008). That is, reality is a social construction resulting from the actions and interpretations that society offers to the world. Meanwhile, epistemology is having to do with the nature of knowledge; that is how valid knowledge is generated and used within the social world in a given discipline (Al-Saadi, 2014). The ontological position of this paper is interpretive constructivist approach. By this approach, Knowledge is generated by exploring and comprehending the social worlds of the people being studied, with a focus on their understanding and interpretation of a phenomenon (Al-Saadi, 2014, p. 4) . Throughout this paper, I will be investigating the contribution of the North West Cultural association of Denmark to the development of Cameroon by interpreting my interviewees social construction of knowledge to this field of Cameroonian diaspora cultural associations and homeland development.

3.3 Research design

This research paper is based on qualitative research methodology. It used the inductive approach in which the theories used in the analysis is generated from the data that the researcher has at hand. Qualitative research methodology was used because this approach relies on interpreting and making meaning out of participants' account of their lived experiences in a given social context (Cathryne Palmer, 2006).The data for this research was obtained by means of a semi-structured interview to extract information about the research participants' perspective on the contribution of Cameroonian diaspora cultural associations in Denmark to homeland development. This thesis paper therefore used Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis(IPA) as a point of departure in its analysis; an approach that takes into consideration the qualitative and experiential dimension drawing ideas from phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography based on the subjective experiences and personal accounts of participants (Shinebourne, 2011).The IPA method was chosen for this study because Smith et al (2009), quoted by Shinebourne (2011),content that IPA used idiographic interpretive commentary together with extracts from the participants' account that give details on the case under study through participants lived experiences (Shinebourne, 2011, p. 24) Thus, in understanding the research participants knowledge on the contribution of Cameroonian diaspora cultural associations in Denmark in general and the North West cultural association of Denmark in particular in fostering development in Cameroon and the difficulties they faced in this domain, I will use the IPA method to interpret and extract my respondents' account to this effect. This forms the basic epistemology framework on which I will use the IPA method in interpreting and analyzing my research participants lived experiences and accounts of their knowledge, perceptions, encounters and experiences in a constructivist approach to understand the contribution and challenges faced by Cameroonian cultural associations in Denmark to homeland development. In addition, I use the IPA method because according to Heidegger (1962) as quoted by Shinebourne (2011), *The IPA considers phenomenological inquiry as an interpretive process; phenomenology requiring uncovering meanings concealed in the phenomenon mode of appearing through hermeneutics means*" (Shinebourne, 2011).I intend to use the IPA method in this research as it would be useful in understanding how Cameroonian diaspora cultural associations in Denmark with the case study of the North West cultural association of Denmark(NOWEDCA) engages in

homeland development by means of making meaning out of the research interviewees account of these engagements in homeland development through the interpretation of what they say as individuals and as members of Cameroonian cultural associations in Denmark. In this regard, through interpretation of my interviewees account and experiences I would be making meaning out of my participants' experiences in what Smith (2004), termed "double hermeneutics" in which research participants in an attempt to make meaning of their social and personal world, gives the researcher the opportunity to make meaning out of the participants' personal and social world (Smith, 2004 as quoted in Shinebourne 2011, p 21). To achieve this, I would employ descriptive interpretive analysis and contextualized my research participants' accounts into themes that would be used in the analysis chapter using the diaspora and social remittance theories in order to understand Cameroonian diaspora cultural associations in Denmark and their developmental activities back home to better comprehend the diaspora-homeland – development nexus (Shinebourne, 2011 and Peggy Levitt et al, 2011). Social identity theory would provide the researcher an insight into the grouping and formation of Cameroonian cultural diaspora identity and the influence of this common identity formation on homeland development. Therefore, I will discuss the contribution of the North West cultural association of Denmark to the development of Cameroon as well as Cameroon's government policies approach towards its diaspora by using the theoretical framework of diaspora and homeland relationship as well as the concept of social remittances as my point of departure to inductively understand and interpret my interviewees' experiences and their accounts of their associations to home land development and their subjective perception on their homeland government's diaspora policies. These theories were chosen because the data obtained from the interviewees reflected on diaspora-homeland relationship and state-citizen social contract. All the research participants agreed that they constantly sent money home and thus, the concept of social remittance was chosen to help the researcher to analyze this angle. To answer the sub-research questions on the difficulties faced by North West Cultural associations of Denmark in achieving development in Cameroon and the evaluation of Cameroon's government institutions policies towards its diaspora, I explore the diaspora theory to understand the diaspora-homeland relationship.

3.4 Data collection method

Primary data:

Primary data used in this thesis paper was obtained through semi-structured interviews with two members of the North West cultural association in Denmark, and one member respectively from the Lebialem cultural and developmental association of Denmark and the Bakossi cultural association of Denmark in march 2021. According to Cathryne Palmer(2006), a semi-structured interview is a method that enables the researcher to “*gain insight into the interviewee’s world and have a deeper understanding of the nature or meaning of the interviewees’ everyday experiences through formulated questions asked to interviewees who have the latitude to respond and deviate from the questions thereby providing an in-depth meaning to the question asked*” (Cathryne Palmer, 2006, p. 2) This approach was used during the interview process to obtain primary data from four research respondents. Before the interview began, I established a smooth and calmed environment necessary for an academic interview. All my interviewees agreed to shut down their phones and electronic devices in their home during the interview process to avoid distractions and noise that could impede the recordings. Also, I and my interviewees had to talk and I recorded our short conversation before the actual interview. The reason for this scenario was to ensure that our voice speech was good and could be listened fluently after the interview process since the final voice records would be very important in the interpretation and analysis of my respondent’s knowledge to the case under study. This was to avoid us recording interviews with low volume. Two separate open-ended semi-structured interview questions (see appendix A and B) were used providing the interviewees the opportunity to express themselves without necessary sticking to the questions asked. The research respondents chosen for this paper had the possibility to elucidate the contributions of their associations to homeland development, and they challenge they face in meeting development goals. I decided to include two other Cameroonian associations because firstly I wanted to explore the nuances that may occur from studying Cameroonian cultural associations in Denmark. Secondly, I wanted to have a broad perspective on Cameroonian cultural association and evaluate how they have cooperated to achieve homeland development. The interview questionnaire was divided into two sections. Section one of the interview contained nineteen questions to be answered by members of NOWECAD while section two contained twelve questions to be answered by members of other Cameroonian cultural associations. The

choice of questions asked to the research participants were a reflection of the topic under study with the aim of answering the main and sub research questions. These questions were drafted purposefully with the view in mind to solicit research participant's knowledge and perception of the case under study. All the four interviews conducted were recorded through a voice recorder device after soliciting the consent of all interviewees at the beginning of the interview process.

Secondary data

This paper in addition to primary data, uses secondary data sources to broaden and enhance the primary data. The main source of secondary data was through the review of relevant literature on Cameroonian diaspora cultural associations and homeland development as well as Cameroon's policies on the diaspora through published articles on academic journals, government website and newspapers relating to the thesis topic. The authenticity and reliability of primary data was guaranteed by using triangulation techniques where the primary data obtained via semi-structured interviews were compared with the secondary data sources to ascertain the reliability of the data sources used in answering the research questions (Roberta Heale, 2017). Through multiple sources, the validity of the data at hand could be tested and verified.

3.5 Selection of research participants.

The participants used in this research paper were chosen by means of a snowball sampling technique. This is a nonprobability sampling method in which the research participants are chosen based on the researcher's convenience with the first sample and his/her acquaintances (Mahin Nadirefar et al, 2017). Through this method, I had to select the participants for this research based on the recommendation of a friend who linked me up with my first participant who happened to be the president of the North West cultural association of Denmark. Through him, I was able to network with other participants and my encounter with him saved as my starting point in getting to know other participants for this research paper. The reasons for using snowball sampling technique for this paper is because it was difficult to access members of these associations given that the regular meetings held by these associations were now taken place in the virtual space due to the Covid-19 restrictions in Denmark forbidden the Gathering of people. In such a situation, the researcher could not carry out focused group interviews which could be possible if these associations had real live meetings where the meeting avenue would have brought members of these associations together to ease this process. In addition, this method was

cost effective and convenient for me and my research participants since they were busy and not easily available for interviews. As such, I had to fix and reschedule interview dates to suit our tight schedules. Furthermore, I intended to get a deeper understanding into the phenomenon under study and it became paramount for me to interview people who are vest with the topic under study and this could best be sought through the snowball sampling method since people are likely to recommend their close friends with whom they share a common cultural identity and belong to the same cultural associations with common developmental ideology. This helped me to save time and engaged easily with people who were ready to speak about themselves and their associations' development activities and challenges they face in Cameroon. Lastly, this method offers me the opportunity to have many research participants who met the research criteria for selecting interview participants, as recommended participants were close friends of my interviewees who belonged to the same Cameroonian cultural associations in Denmark and other Cameroonian cultural associations which they network. I was aware of the dangers and traps involved when using the head of an association as my starting point in a snow ball approach to reach out to other research participants. In order to mitigate the possibility for him to derail and offer me only participants whom the share a common thought and ideology, I clearly predefined the criteria I would use to choose the research participants for this study. Thus, despite many potential participants recommended to me for interviews, I ended up interviewing four respondents and had to decide on the choice of the people to interview based on predefined criteria. Firstly, upon recommendation, I selected my interviewees based on their activeness and the number of years they have being part of the North West cultural association of Denmark and other associations involved in this study. By 'activeness', I was focused on how the said interviewees were engaged in the above associations through meetings and financial contributions to the associations and by longetivity, I was looking at the number of years the participant has being active as a member to the association. In this paper, the research participants had to be active members of their associations and must have being part of the association for at least a period of three years. The main reason for this choice is to ensure that my participants have enough knowledge on the topic under study and are involved in the day to day running of the association so to be vested with some developmental activities and the difficulties their association faced in this regard to have a wider view of the topic under study. In addition, this choice helped me to

delimit my participants only to active members of North west cultural associations of Denmark, Liebialem cultural and developmental association in Denmark and Bakossi cultural association to avoid ambiguities that may arise by interviewing people with little knowledge on Cameroonian cultural associations in Denmark.

Secondly, another criterion used in selecting participants for this research was based on their nationality. My interviewees had to be Cameroonians living in Denmark. This is to ensure that I am interviewing people who have direct bond with Cameroon and can relate to the diaspora homeland relationship. This choice was decided upon realizing that cultural associations sometimes have members who do not belong to the same nationality. To avoid these odds, I had to choose only Cameroonians residing in Denmark who belonged to the above Cultural associations.

In total, four participants took part in this thesis, three male and a female. Age and sex of the research participants were predetermined. I chose three males because I came to realize that the associations under study are male dominated and the people in power were mostly the male. The reason for this is that females shy away from responsibility and the cultural cast system put females at the background. It was therefore reasonable to select three male and one female interviewees for this study.

3.6 The interview process

The first interview was conducted on Sunday March 21st, 2021 with the president of NOWEDCA on a one-on-one basis. In this thesis, he would be referred to as interviewee A (audio 1). Interviewee 'A' has been a member of this association from inception and the interview took place at his residence in Greve. Before the interview, we both agreed on the time to meet and his residence was chosen as the venue for the interview as it was convenient for him since he was alone at home as at the time of the interview creating a conducive atmosphere for both of us to engage in-depth. The interview lasted 29mins28sec

The second interview was carried out on Sunday March 28th, 2021 with a member of NOWEDCA. He would be referred in this paper as interviewee 'B' (audio 2). The interview took place at his residence in Hvidovre and lasted for 32 minutes.

The third interview was conducted on March 30th, 2021 with a member of the lebialem cultural and developmental organization. The interviewee would be known as interviewee C (audio 3) and the interview took place at his residence in Albertlund and lasted for 30mins59sec.

The fourth interview was conducted on April 4th, 2021 with a member of the Bakossi cultural association of Denmark at her residence in Taarstrup and the interview lasted for 16mins59sec. She will be known as interviewee D (audio 4)

3.7 Ethical considerations.

Ethics is very important in every research paper and in this thesis, several ethical issues were taken into consideration before and after the research process. Polonski (2004), stressed on the importance of ethics in every research process especially when the research has to make use of participants accounts through their interaction with the researcher which could take the form of an interview, surveys or focused group (Polonski, 2004). In this research, I pursued the principle of informed consent and voluntary participation. The research participants were informed in advance the objectives of the research and asked if they would like to take part in the research to which they all agreed. Therefore, only participants who voluntarily gave their consent were used in this thesis paper. However, some participants requested for the interview questions which I sent to them in advance via mail. Their motives were to ensure that what I had discussed with them regarding the research topic and objectives falls in line to the questions I would be asking them during the interview to avoid coercion and deception (Polonski, 2004, p. 58). In addition, I took into account the confidentiality of the research participants by asking if they would like their names to be included in this paper to which they all preferred to be anonymous.

Confidentiality consent was sought because the interview was to be recorded and I assured the participants that their data would be used only for the purpose of this thesis and would be stored in a file with no access to a third party. They would be referred in this paper as interviewee A, (audio 1), interviewee B, (audio 2), interviewee C, (audio 3) and interviewee D, (audio 4) (see appendix). Finally, I ensured and took into considerations the need not pose any potential harm to the research participants. Research Participants harm may occur psychologically, emotionally or may be in the form of an embarrassment (Polonski, 2004, p. 62). To prepare my participants Psychological and to avoid embarrassment, I had to pre-informed them by sending a reminder text message on the date, place and time of the interview. Also, interview questions were sent in

advanced at the request of participants to acquaint themselves in advance, so they could have a broad perspective of what await them on the interview day.

3.8 Motivation of respondents

The participants desire to participate in this research process was motivated by a number of factors. To begin, the research topic sounded appealing to them as they were proud to express their cultural heritage and identity (audio 1, 2:9-2:20 seconds). This is so because they are deeply involved in the day to day running of their cultural associations and were amazed to have their achievements documented for the first time. In addition, I was able to establish a good social network with the research participants. Despite several failed meetings, I was patient and willing for them to reschedule meetings at their convenience where we could meet and discuss on the interview questions. After accepting to meet them at their premises, they were willing to do the interview and this motivated them to express themselves freely.

3.9 Scope, limitations and delimitation of the study

This study is delimited to Cameroonian diaspora cultural associations in Denmark and their development activities in Cameroon using the North west Cultural association of Denmark as a case study. However, the researcher encountered some limitations while carrying out this research. One of the biggest limitation is the researchers' inability to visit Cameroon to verify the authenticity of these diaspora engagements in Cameroon due to limited time for this research and covid-19 restrictions limiting travel and the gathering of people. In addition, diaspora cultural meetings had been cancelled and occasionally held in virtual space. This posed a problem to the researcher as I was unable to have a first- hand encounter on how these cultural associations operate and manage their meetings which would have provided me with enough primary information via observation. It is worth noting that as at this time of writing, these diaspora groups have not held any meetings in 2021. This limited my inquiry process as only few participants accepted to participate in the interview process. Further, the interview with members of lebialem cultural and developmental association of Denmark and that of the Bakossi cultural association of Denmark was not used in the analysis. The reason for this is explained in the methodology chapter. Despite not using the interviews directly, it gives me an understanding of Cameroonian cultural association in Denmark and the different tribal barriers to membership and

regional orientation when it comes to mapping out development plans by Cameroonian cultural associations in Denmark.

CHAPTER FOUR

THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter aims at exploring the theoretical framework that would be used in analyzing the data obtained from the research participants. In this section, the diaspora theory, social remittance concept and the social identity theory would be used to explore the diaspora-host-homeland relationship. The choice of theory is based on the data obtained from the research participants and the theories relate to diaspora-homeland relationship and diaspora identity formation; providing a lens through which diaspora cultural organizations and their engagement in homeland development could be understood and framed in order to answer the main and such research questions. The main research question for this thesis is: *What is the North West Cultural Association of Denmark concretely doing to promote development in Cameroon?* And the sub-research questions are: 1. *What difficulties does the North West Cultural Association of Denmark face in achieving development projects back home?*

2. *What policies do the Cameroon government institutions offer for Cameroonian Diaspora Associations in the domain of development?*

Further, social identity theory was chosen in order to understand Cameroonian cultural association's group identity formation and how this common group identity bond can facilitate and/or hinder homeland engagements. Meanwhile, social remittance theory was chosen to facilitate and understand the social exchanges that take place between diaspora groups and their homeland to give the researcher an alternative means in looking into the diaspora –homeland development nexus. Therefore, these theories would enable the researcher to understand diaspora identity formation and the diaspora–homeland-development engagements which is critical for this thesis paper. It is on these premises that the chosen theories are discussed below

4.1 Diaspora theory

The literature on the diaspora is a complex one. The reasons been that the term diaspora has been defined and used by different authors in different ways depending on the angle of their research. However, the diaspora discourse is based on three principal actors - the homeland, the Diaspora group and the host country whose relationship may be bifocal (diasporic group-homeland or diasporic group –host relationship) or trifocal(diasporic group-homeland –host relationship) and these actors form the nexus of the diaspora theory (Shuval, 2000, p. 7).In this research, all the

three principal actors would be looked into but with a primary focus on the diaspora community and homeland relationship. For the purpose of this thesis, I will use the diaspora literature from Shuval (2000), Butler (1998), Cohen (1997) and Sheffer (1998) to better understand the diaspora discourse on diaspora –host –homeland relationship which is the focus of this research topic.

The diaspora terminology was classically used to refer to the dispersion of the Jewish, Armenia and Greek people with the literature strongly rooted in a mythical ‘homeland’. However, Shuval (2000), assert that the term diaspora has acquired a broad semantic meaning and refers not only to people who have been forcefully uprooted from their homeland such as refugees but include other new categories such as voluntary migrants residing overseas as guest workers, alien residents, immigrants and oversea communities (Shuval, 2000). The term is used today to refer to transnational or deterritorialized population living in a foreign land (host country) but maintains a strong connection to their homeland (Wayland ,2004; Butler 1998; and Vertovec,1997). As transnational citizens, Diasporas are seen as non- state actors capable of acting beyond their state borders (Wayland, 2004) .As such, *“They are part of the growing transnational network that include a homeland characterized by a sense of living in one place while simultaneously remembering and/or desiring and yearning for another place”* (Shuval, 2000).This ‘home sick’ nostalgia is as a result of the relationship that diaspora communities have developed with their homeland despite been found far away from their country of origin. Thus, the diaspora discourse is grounded in people being part of a transnational network of displaced individuals who retain a unique characteristic and solidarity for the homeland.

The diaspora concept is also linked to globalization. The globalization discourse is centered on the flow of people, goods, capital, finance, technology, knowledge and culture across national boundaries (Shuval,2000 and Appandurai,1990). With rapid globalization and improvement in transport and communication networks bridging distance, diaspora communities now have a strong bond with their homeland as the distance barrier has been destroyed. This present to them the opportunity to maintain relations with the homeland through communication with family, friends and build networks that further encourage immigration of their kinsmen, and they can participate effectively in homeland politics and development (Shuva,2000; Wayland,2004; and Appandurai,1990).

Typology of diaspora

The diaspora discourse has further been conceptualized using different typology by different scholars. According to Sheffer (1986), there exist two forms of diaspora namely stateless diaspora referring to migrants without state of origin and state based-diaspora; migrants with state of Origin. To him, diasporas are defined by three categories which are:

1. Diaspora communities maintain and develop a collective identity.
2. The presence of an internal organization that is different from that of the host or homeland organizations.
3. Have real or significant contact with the homeland.

To Sheffer, the existence of a collective identity and diaspora organizations is what distinguished one diaspora from another and how large the diaspora may be is a product of time. This categorization is reflected in the Cameroonian diaspora in Denmark—a state-based diaspora and would be used subsequently in analyzing Cameroonian diaspora organizations—host –homeland relationship.

To buttress this categorization, Cohen (1997), identified four typology of diaspora which depend on the circumstances orchestrating migration into Labour diaspora, Victim diaspora, trade diaspora, imperial diaspora and cultural diaspora and global-deterritorialized diasporas (Shuval, 2000; Poornima et al, 2015).

Labour diaspora in its earliest form was made up of people who were forced to move to other places as workers in plantations. These were mainly servants and slaves transported to other countries as labourers in plantations. Today, the labour diaspora mostly constitute voluntary migrants who move in search of better jobs. This is the case of African migration to the global north in general and the Cameroonian migration to Denmark in particular.

Victim diaspora are diasporas formed from the forced displacement of people which could be as a result of persecution such as the case of the Jewish Diaspora or as labourers such as the case of the African slaves in the new World (Poornima M.D, 2015)

Imperial diaspora is centered on colonialism and is used to refer to the diaspora form by the colonizers such as the British, French and Portuguese diaspora in India, America and Africa (Poornima M.D, 2015) This diaspora is formed due to trade and commerce. The imperial diaspora is the corner stone of the trade diaspora which origin can be traced back to

antiquity in which people migrate to form trading purposes. This form of diaspora is growing and today are visible in the Chinese diaspora in America and Africa.

Amongst the different diasporas proposed by Cohen, labour and trade diaspora best describe the Cameroonian diaspora in Denmark. The migration of Cameroonians to Denmark is premised on the hope of finding a better job in Denmark while others after acquiring wealth in Denmark engaged in trading activities. In Cohen's diaspora typology, the boundaries are not fixed. For Example, the African diaspora can be seen as a victim diaspora as well as a trade Diaspora and labour diaspora. The flexibility of Cohen's diaspora typology makes it appropriate for this research topic.

Summary

From the diaspora literature above, different scholars have conceptualized the diaspora discourse and proposed diaspora typology based on their research findings. The diaspora typology by Sheffer and Cohen best suit this research as they lay emphasizes on state-diaspora groups-host – home land relationship. While Sheffer's diaspora typology combines some characteristics proposed by other scholars and put emphasis on state-based diasporas who have a common identity, form diaspora organizations and maintain significant contact with the homeland, Cohen's classification of diaspora into labour, victim, imperial, trade, cultural and deterritorialized diasporas made the concept of the diaspora flexible as his categorization is not static but rather opens up a wide range on how a diaspora can transform from one form to another which is reflective to the case under study. (end here) This flexibility is reflective in the Cameroonian diaspora in Denmark, a majority of whom came as student and ended up as labour diaspora in Denmark. This thesis is about Cameroonian diaspora cultural organizations in Denmark and its contribution to homeland development and therefore, Cohen and Sheffer diaspora typology helps to understand the Cameroonian diaspora in Denmark as a dominant labour and a state-based diaspora that maintains real contact with the homeland through their diaspora engagement with homeland communities.

4.2 The concept of social remittance

To understand the concept of social remittances, I will depart with literature on this subject using Peggy Levitt and Deepak Lamba-Nieves (2011) article titled “Social Remittances Revisited”.

They conceptualize social remittance as the norms, social capital, identities, practices and social exchanges that take place between the host country where migrants reside and their homeland (Peggy Levitt, 2011). These exchanges take place when migrants relocate or pay visits to their country of origin and/or when non migrants visit a foreign land (Peggy Levitt, 2011). Peggy coined the term to understand how ideas, practices and knowledge flow within transnational spaces occupied by migrants and the literature in this field is grounded on the impacts of social transfers between sending and receiving countries, thus providing a lens through which culture, migration and development nexus could be framed and understood (Ilka Vari-Lavoisier 2014; Peggy Levitt and Deepak Lamba-Nieves 2011).

In framing this concept, they identified and differentiated two types of social remittances namely individual and collective social remittances. Individual remittances look at exchanges between people, friends, family members as well as society. Meanwhile, Collective social remittances is concerned not only on an individual but sees him as a social being capable of engaging with others in a collective effort via an organization (Peggy Levitt, 2011). This could take place through a Cultural organization, hometown organizations, political and church organizations where they exchange ideas and capacity building between the organization and the society (Peggy Levitt, 2011, p. 2). In addition to the above, they purported that The amount of social remittances migrants send back home will depend on their prior migration experiences as this determines the type of jobs they will have when settled in the foreign land thus providing a means to analyze migrants social remittances through a transnational lens. In this regard, Peggy et al (2011), argued that “*The ideas and practices migrants bring with them actively shape who and what they encounter in the countries where they move, which then shapes what they send back home as remittances*” (Peggy Levitt, 2011, p. 4). However, scholars in this field have argued that social remittances must take cognizance of the cultural flows that occur between sending and receiving countries and that the methodological conception of social remittances flowing in one direction are untrue but rather, ideas and practices flows continuously between migrant and non-migrant communities (Peggy Levitt, 2011)

Conclusively, they argued that social remittances do not only affect local-level organization culture but has the potential to drive changes at the regional and national levels. According to

Evans (1996), social remittances that turn to influence politics can have a spiral effect on the economic and religious impact of the home country as well as determining how individuals and organizations relate and interact with the state (Evans 1996 cited in Peggy Levitt and Deepak Lamba-Nieves 2011, p. 7)

By using social remittance concept in this research, I intend to find out how Cameroonians in Denmark individually and collectively through their membership in the North West cultural association in Denmark engaged in social transfer that aimed at developing their country of origin. Collective remittances would be the focus since the research question resides on how Cameroonian cultural organizations with the case study of the North West cultural Association engage in homeland development and therefore would be critical in the analytical section of this research.

4.3 Social identity theory

The literature on the social identity concept is rooted in similarities and differences between people who define themselves based on in-group characteristics. Richard Jenkins (2008) book titled “Social identity” and Tajfel and Turner (1979) work titled “An integrative Theory on intergroup Conflict: The Social identity theory of intergroup relations will be used as the point of departure on the literature on individual and collective group identity. This will enable the researcher to have a grasp on the social identity framework which serves as the basis for Cameroonians in Denmark to form Cameroonian cultural association to foster homeland development.

Social identity theory introduce the concept of social identity as a way to explain inter group behaviour (Tajfel, 1979). That is, a person’s sense of who they are based on their group membership(s). Tajfel and Turner (1979) argues that groups defined by Social class, race or religion and by extension sexuality and gender that people belong to give them a sense of social identity in a divided world in which people are categorised into groups in which they belong or identify (the in-group) as being different from the other group which they do not identify (the out-group) (Tajfel, 1979). Building on this, Jenkins (2008), argues that identity helps “*in determining and knowing who we are, what we know and think about others and what others know and think about us*” (Jenkins, 2008, p. 5). Therefore, the literature on social identity opens the door for social identity to include all sought of categories of identities such as Ethnic

identities, Gender identities, sexual identities, Class identities, Age identities etc. In this study, the concept of social identity would be viewed in the lens of ethnic or Racial collective identity (Judith Howard 2000; Jenkins 2008; Tajfel and Turner 1979). However, the personal identity (selfhood), would be included in this study.

To better appreciate the social identity theory, it would be important to understand the cognitive structures of the social identification process. In this vain, the social identification process could be examined at the individual and collective domains. At the individual level, the focus is on selfhood; which is the way individuals construct and redefine themselves and their relationship to others by means of self –schemas such as knowledge about themselves, behaviour patterns and preferences they associate themselves with (Judith Howard 2000; Jenkins,2008). Meanwhile, collective identity (group –schemas) moves beyond the selfhood to include individuals who share a common belief, ideology, customs and traditions. That is, it looks at the internal-external lens of identification and rest on the premises that all identities be it collective or individual are constituted and predefined (Jenkins, 2008, p. 40).In line with this, Jenkins(2008) purported that the individual and collective identity could be viewed as same since people are likely to only align to groups they share common traits and this can only materialised through interactions with one another (Jenkins, 2008, pp. 37-38).That is, people define and place boundaries on their identities into us(in-group) and them(out-group) by means of predefined categories(Tajfel and Turner 1979).Therefore, in theorizing social identity, Jenkins(2008) emphasized that one must include the individual and the collective as the individual(who I am) determines the collective(Who we are) through interaction with one another in the society (Jenkins, 2008, p. 38).Social identification is thus a process and occurs in stages.

4.4 Stages of Social identification

Social identity stages

Tajfel and Turner (1979) emphasized that the collective social identity defined by groups in the form of in-group(us)and the out-group(them) are made possible through Social categorisation, social identification and social comparison.

1.Social identification

The first phase, social categorisation, involves grouping people in order to better understand their social environment. White, black, race, ethnic origin, class, as well as gender are among some social categories commonly used to define people in society. By recognizing the categories to which they belong, Christians and Muslims tend to reveal characteristics about this people that are distinct from others and unique to themselves (McLeod, 2019 as cited by Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Groups define standards of behavior with which members identify and belong, however an individual can belong to more than one group if he retains the attributes of the other groups. This will result in a psychosocial continuum even though social behavior will want a person to change his or her behavior while in a group and varies along a spectrum between individual and group behavior (Tajfel, 1979). Tajfel and Turner (1979) asserted that in a realistic social situation, purely personal and social or intergroup behavior is unlikely to be found, but rather behavior is expected to be driven by agreement between the two

The second mental process is social identification in which individuals adopt the identity of the groups they have categorised themselves as belonging to while at the same time are motivated to achieve positive distinctiveness. The positive distinctiveness strategy adopted by individuals is an outcome of the “*perceived permeability of group boundaries as well as perceived stability and legitimacy of the intergroup status hierarchy and include individual mobility, social creativity and social competition*” (Tajfel and Turner 1979)

2. Individual mobility, social creativity and social competition

Individual mobility is common where group boundaries are permeable such that individuals are able to dissociate from a group and pursue individual goals for personal gains rather than that of their in-group (Haslam, 2001). Social creativity on the other hand takes place where group boundaries are considered impermeable and reasonable stable such that individuals are forced to engage in social creativity behaviours. Here, in-group members struggle to increase their positive distinctiveness without necessarily changing the attributes of the in-group or out-group by comparing both groups on some new dimension, changing the values assigned to the attributes of the group, and choosing an alternative outgroup by which to compare the in-group (Haslam, 2001). Lastly, social distinctiveness can be achieved through social competition in which in-group seeks positive distinctiveness through direct competition with the outgroup in the form of

in-group favouritism (Haslam, 2001). In-group favouritism is competitive as it occurs on a value dimension shared by all relevant social groups and where group boundaries are impermeable

3. Social comparison.

The last stage is social comparison. Social comparison occurs when individuals have categorised and identified themselves as belonging to a certain group and tend to compare that group with other groups to maintain self-esteem and pride (mcleod, 2019). Social competition is important in understanding group hostilities and rivalries towards each other

Summary of chapter

In this section I have discussed the theoretical framework I intend to use in the analysis section to answer the main and sub-research questions. I begin with the diaspora theory aimed to understand diaspora-host -homeland relation using Shuval (2000), Cohen (1979) and Sheffer (1986) diaspora discourse to comprehend the diaspora –homeland -development nexus. To further have a grasp on the invisible exchanges that occur between diaspora communities and the homeland, I employ the social remittance concept coined by Peggy Levitt (2011). This concept aimed at expanding on the diaspora- homeland discussion as it moves beyond the physical exchanges to include the social transactions that occur between diaspora groups and their homeland. Lastly, I ended this chapter by introducing the concept of Social identity borrowing from the work of Richard Jenkins (2008) and Tajfel and Turner (1979) to comprehend the formation of diaspora identity and diaspora organizations. The aim of using this concept was to understand how diaspora groups/organizations map and identify themselves to engage in homeland development.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS

In this section, I will be analyzing the data at hand aimed at answering the main and sub research questions. This research paper is focused on examining the contribution of the North West Cultural association of Denmark (NOWEDCA) to the development of Cameroon. The diaspora, social remittances theories and social identity concept previously described in the theoretical framework would be used in analyzing North West Cultural Association of Denmark (NOWEDCA) engagements in Cameroon to answer the main research question. The sub-research questions centered on the difficulties of NOWEDCA in achieving development back home and Cameroon government's institutions policies towards its diaspora would be analyzed using the diaspora theory. The analysis would therefore be focused in describing and examining obtained data from the research interviewees by using IPA approach together with secondary data s to answer the main and sub research questions. At the end of this analysis, I hope to meet up with the research objectives.

I have divided this analysis chapter into three sections. The first part of the analysis begins with the examination of NOWEDCA engagements in Cameroon in the field of development. This will be aimed at conceptualizing and framing Cameroonian cultural associations home land development. In this section, diaspora cultural and place identity would be analyzed in relation to development. The

second part looks at the difficulties NOWEDCA and other Cameroonian diaspora cultural associations faced in realizing development in Cameroon and the last section would be focused on analyzing Cameroon's government policies towards Cameroonian diaspora associations. It is important to emphasize here that each section would be analyzed based on scale (themes). The chosen themes would be examined in details based on the subjective responses of the interviewees and the interpretations of the interviewees' data by the researcher in addition to secondary data sources.

5.1 Cameroonian cultural associations' engagements in Cameroon

Cameroonian migrant resident in Denmark have individually and/or as a group made efforts to promote home land development. Despite the difficulties and challenges faced by Cameroonian migrants in Denmark in integrating into the Danish society, they have managed to form Cameroonian cultural associations where they can protect their Cameroonian cultural identity and assist in homeland development. I will therefore use the conceptualization of identity by Jenkins (2008) and Tajfel and Turner (1979) to understand the social identification process of NOWEDCA as a cultural group whose membership is limited only to Cameroonians from the North West regions of Cameroon. In the identification process, ethnicity, geography and regional politics of country of origin play a focal role in identifying members of NOWEDCA in Denmark, thereby creating boundaries which serve as in-group barriers to other members (Jenkins 2008 and Tajfel and Turner, 1979) In addition, NOWEDCA identifies and implements its development projects based on regional and tribal affiliations as all of its homeland engagements are limited to the North West region of Cameroon (Audio 1 and 2). According to interviewee “A”, the president of NOWEDCA, he said *“If you read the acronym of NOWEDCA you will realize is a cultural association that represent the identity of the people of the North West region of Cameroon; bringing together different clans within the north west region of Cameroon who share a similar culture....and also the association was formed to assist the people back home”*(Audio 1,7:24-9:43 Sec).It is on this ground that interviewee “A” identifies himself and participate in NOWEDCA homeland engagement as he recounts: *“I am naturally a cultural man like it is said that a man without a culture is a man without an identity; so everywhere I go or work, I always make sure I identify myself with my tribes people, my clan people, so I was always in any association that controls my clan”*(Audio 1, 2min to 2:39secs). Thus, shared common identity is the primary reason why Cameroonians associate with each other in Denmark; enabling them to form Cameroonian cultural associations based on tribal and regional affiliations in the country of origin. These cultural associations provide the forum through which Cameroonians engage in homeland solidarity projects aimed at developing the region where they come from in their country of origin. It is on the basis of this shared identity (in-group characteristics) that NOWEDCA is able to organize itself as a Cameroonian cultural group in Denmark to galvanize support for home land development (Jenkins, 2008 and Tajfel and Turner, 1979). This is revealed in my findings below structured in an attempt to conceptualize NOWEDCA developmental engagements in Cameroon.

5.2 NOWEDCA DIASPORA ENGAGEMENTS IN CAMEROON.

5.3 NOWEDCA contribution to homeland development through remittances.

The diaspora host-homeland relationship as discussed by Shuval (2011), Shefer (1986) and Cohen (1979), is reflective in the Cameroonian diaspora in Denmark. The Cameroonian diaspora in Denmark is a state-based diaspora and the migration pattern to Denmark is centred on economic benefits which they hope to get in terms of jobs and better wages (Castles and Miller 2009, Sheffer 1986 and Cohen 1979). Through diaspora cultural associations and individual endeavors, Cameroonians in Denmark maintain contacts with their country of origin. One of such methods they used to keep contacts with the homeland is through communication with friends and family and exchanges through remittances as revealed by my interviewees (audio 1, 2 and audio3). This is made possible thanks to globalization, where there is rapid flow and exchange of ideas, goods, money and capital between the Cameroonian diaspora in Denmark and the domestic community in Cameroon. Financial and social remittances dominate this exchanges and NOWEDCA and its members have used it to achieve development targets in Cameroon. According to interviewee “B”, a member of NOWEDCA, *“I maintain contacts and communicate with people back home as I regularly communicate with my wife and sometimes with friends, and I send money on a monthly basis to my wife and sometimes to my friends depending on our attachment to each other”* (Audio 2, 2:18min-4:45sec). This view is supported by interviewee “A” who recounts that *“I have roots in Cameroon and have contacts with my friends and we often communicate regularly and our discussions varied depending on our attachment to each other and I send money a lot to Cameroon to assist my family and friends”* (Audio 1, 3min-6:40sec). The act of sending financial support to assist one family, friends and the local community in Cameroon is seen as a kind gesture to alleviate poverty back home. Since Cameroonian migration to Europe is caused by poverty and hardship, Cameroonian migrants in Denmark are aware of the importance of their financial support to their families and the communities they have left behind. This is true as diaspora remittances constitute a large chunk of revenue to most households in Cameroon (Nkongho, 2019 and Awang, 2013) Also,

financial support sent in the form of remittances help in improving the standards of living of Cameroonian families and the society at large, and therefore contribute in promoting human development in Cameroon. Through the North West Cultural Association of Denmark (NOWEDCA), Cameroonians in Denmark raise huge sums of money to finance community projects back home. As stated by interviewee “A”, *“One of the primary source of raising money by NOWEDCA for development projects in Cameroon is by organizing fund-raising parties where members freely contribute money on embarked projects by the association”* (Audio 1, 10:50-11:45sec). This was supported by interviewee ‘B’ who said *“we sent money to Cameroon and part of the money is used to buy farm inputs like insecticides and pesticides to support rice farmers associations in Ndop Cameroon”* (audio 2, 10:22-11). NOWEDCA through Diaspora Remittances sent home contribute much to the socio-economic development of Cameroon as Cameroon being in the global south relied much on remittances from its diaspora in the global north (Awang, 2013). Nkongho (2019), argued that remittances from the Cameroonian diaspora save as one of the country’s primary sources of external financing in realizing development projects (Nkongho, 2019). This assertion by Nkongho (2019), is affirmative in relation to NOWEDCA socio-economic drive in Cameroon aimed at reducing poverty in the North west region of Cameroon. According to world bank and OECD report in 2006, about 267 million US Dollar was remitted by the Cameroonian diaspora to Cameroon making up about 1.5 percent of Cameroon’s GDP (OECD 2005 as stated by Awang, 2013). This is true as projects such as the construction of schools, financing of scholarship programs and humanitarian assistance carried out by NOWEDCA in Cameroon constitute a small quota to the country’s foreign financing. Below, I will examine the various developmental projects carried out by NOWEDCA in Cameroon through the money they have raised and sent home in the form of remittance

5.4 NOWEDCA and education in Cameroon.

Diaspora are today seen as one of the key stake holders in the education sector of their country of origin. They being part of the transnational community forms networks that help to improve on the educational sector of their country of origin. Cameroonian Diaspora cultural associations in Denmark are part of this transnational network of non-state actors helping the government of Cameroon in the domain of education (Shuval, 2011 and Wayland, 2004). Diaspora remittances in

the educational sector in Cameroon helps to increase the number of children likely to enroll in schools since they will not be sent home for not paying tuition fees (Nkongho, 2019). NOWEDCA through its project in the educational domain have constructed schools and pay tuition fees for vulnerable children in the north west region of Cameroon. Interviewee “B” recounts on this aspect as he said *“Before the outbreak of the conflict we were more concentrated on the educational sector like in providing assistance to the various schools and sponsoring the education of some orphans...buying books and paying fees”* (audio 2,13:30-14:07). In addition to the above, interviewee “A” emphasized that *“The main objectives of creating NOWEDCA is to promote development back home, and we have assisted in the construction of modern toilets in lay private schools and in some areas where kids can not access education, we assist in sponsoring them to school”* (Audio 1,11:30-12:50 sec).Nkongho (2019) agreed on this and argued that it is with the help of diaspora remittances from Cameroonian cultural associations that most local community projects on education are realized (Nkongho, 2019).This is evident as most community school projects in the North west region of Cameroon are financed from remittances sent home from the local associations within the diaspora. Without diaspora remittances in the educational sector, most Cameroonian students would find it difficult to meet up with their educational demands. NOWEDCA by sponsoring orphans and constructing educational infrastructure contribute to the social and economic development of Cameroon. Thanks to their proactiveness in the domain of education, they have contributed in fighting illiteracy among Cameroonian youths and arming the youth for better leadership role in the society.

In identifying projects in the educational domain, NOWEDCA work in partnership with the local community thereby involving them in community development(Audio 2, 22-24 minutes) NOWEDCA in using the bottom-up approach to identify and implement its projects in the educational sector ensures effective participation of the local community in realizing developments projects (Audio 2,23-24) Therefore, NOWEDCA does not only promote education in Cameroon but contribute in training community leaders that will help shape the future of their local communities in the North West region of Cameroon.

5.5 NOWEDCA Humanitarian assistance to Cameroon

Over the past four years, Cameroon has been ravaged by internal conflict in the North West and South West regions of the country. This conflict has brought untold suffering to the civilian population as over 25000 Cameroonians have become refugees in Nigeria with many displaced internally as IDPS (Africanews, 2019). With this new dynamics, NOWEDCA and other Cameroonian cultural associations in Denmark have shifted their attention in the field of development and now focused in Humanitarian activities as an attempt to provide the people with basic needs and livelihood support (Shefer 1986). In my interview with interviewee “A”, he recounted the efforts made by NOWEDCA in Assisting IDPS when he said “ *We organized a fund- raising projects where large sums of money was raised and with the assistance of the Bishop of Bamenda, we were able to reach out to IDPS in the region with items such as rice, Savon....In addition, with the help of Shey Tata, we assisted Cameroonian refugees in Nigeria by buying pads for women, and providing them with foodstuffs and working with the Aya foundation, we were able to identify some difficulties faced by Cameroonian refugees in Nigeria and IDPS in Cameroon* ” (Audio 1, 13:13-16:30). By engaging in humanitarian activities, NOWEDCA is setting a new paradigm of diaspora engagements in Cameroon by putting the human life first and bringing hope to the vulnerable population of the North West region of Cameroon. In doing this, NOWEDCA solicit the support of other Cameroonian diaspora associations in an attempt to create a transnational network aimed at helping the suffering people of the North west region of Cameroon in general (interviewee A and B) In line with this, interviewee “C” recounted on his humanitarian engagements as he said “ *I must often use my wife to run some humanitarian work for me as I often try to reach out to the less privilege....I know the condition of people back home and now that I have completed my studies and have a job, I can send money back home to help some people improve on their livelihoods* ” (audio 3, 3:3:56). As the conflict in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon worsen, the government relies on elites from the various regions to help alleviate the sufferings of their people and also to negotiate a path to peace. By engaging in humanitarian activities, NOWEDCA is indirectly participating in the politics of the homeland as they are being seen as non-state actors capable of improving on the livelihood of the suffering population (Cohen, 1979 and Sheffer, 1986) With this new approach to development, NOWEDCA has extended its engagements with the local community in improving on their livelihood through the training of young people in technical

and professional works. In the words of interviewee “B” *“we help train IDPS in professional works and technical works such as hair dressers in Salons and other handicraft work”* (Audio 2,3-3:18). Therefore, NOWEDCA help in the restitution of livelihoods of Cameroonians displaced by the armed conflict in the North west *region of Cameroon* by providing them with alternative means of survival in times of hardship. Through NOWEDCA’S collaboration/or partnership with the Church and Humanitarian organizations, the association is creating local partnership that will help cement its achievements in the field of development. According to interviewee “A”, NOWEDCA is finding it difficult to have assistance from the Danish government and private donors in Denmark and therefore the association relies on the church and private NGO in a collaborative effort to achieve humanitarian successes in Cameroon (interviewee A, Audio 1.). This collaborative effort by NOWEDCA falls within the sustainable development goals(SDG) of the UNO that encourages transnational partnership to achieve development. NOWEDCA developing a transnational partnership with local actors in Cameroon in the Humanitarian field is setting a new strategy on how Cameroonian diaspora cultural association can engage with the homeland in times of humanitarian needs.

5.6 Social remittances and development in Cameroon

Apart from financial transactions, my findings reveal that Cameroonian migrants in Denmark contribute to the development of the homeland through the exchange of ideas and culture when they visit. This can be done individually and /or collectively through a group or association (Peggy Levitt, 2011).In analyzing my data on this subject I will depart with the individual exchanges of members of NOWEDCA and the collective exchanges between NOWEDCA as a group and the north west society in Cameroon. I will borrow from Peggy levitt conceptualization of this kind of exchanges in the form of social remittances between diaspora communities (sending society) and the receiving society (country of origin) Cameroonian Migrants in Denmark having lived in the diaspora for many years tend to acquire skills, knowledge and ideas that helped in homeland development. This is achieved via exchanges with friends, families and their home government. This is revealed by interviewee “B” who stated that *“There is no formal way of transferring knowledge but indirectly with communication back home we explain to people our experiences here and if we can send money back home for educating children, we are in a bid transferring knowledge and ideas indirect (audio 1, 14:39-*

15:42). This idea is supported by interviewee “A” who said “you overhead me emphasizing on technical education because everybody has an inborn skills and by giving advice on the type of education the youth should undertake is due to my experiences and knowledge on what is best for the youths in my region....presently we sponsor desperate kids to school and the money is used to acquire knowledge, that is money is been converted to a different form to produce value which is not same as buying goods in the market”(Audio1,18:04-19:18).In many cases, the developmental ideas and knowledge required to improve on the socio-economic aspect of the society in the North West region of Cameroon is often born out of diaspora social remittances. For examples, the construction of modern toilets in secondary schools in the North West region of Cameroon is thanks to ideas from the diaspora community who had as objective to prevent the spread of diseases often transferred through old unkempt pit toilets. Today, the modern infrastructural designs of most houses and offices is done to reflect the ideas and standards of the Cameroonian diaspora who often compare the country’s level of development to that of their host countries. According to interviewee “B”, he had to renovate his parents’ house to give it a face lift of a modern house to reflect his ideas of what a house should look like in response to his perception of modern Danish houses(05:40-6minutes) The construction of modern schools and bridges by NOWEDCA in the North West region of Cameroon is a reflection of the acquired ideas and their new found development culture in Denmark that has helped in the transformation of the physical and cultural landscape of the North West region of Cameroon . The participation of NOWEDCA in community development projects give them the opportunity to transfer new ideas and knowledge into the rural milieu visibly in their social and economic engagements in the region and thus, helped in promoting the socio-economic development of Cameroon.

To conclude this section, the amount of money remitted to Cameroon by NOWEDCA and its members is not known as there is no statistics showing this flow of income between the diaspora host nation in Denmark and the receiving country. Besides, all of my interviewees concealed their financial transactions but acknowledged sending money to Cameroon without mentioning the amount and means through which these exchanges occur (Audio 1, 21-22:10) The reason for this is probably because they send money to Cameroon through the black market to avoid paying exchange fees and to escape the low exchange rates often offered by financial institutions. In addition to the above, the government of Cameroon monitors all diaspora

transactions to Cameroon as they are accused of sponsoring the arm conflict in Cameroon between the government and separatist fighters (Audio 1, 13:58-14:38 and audio 2, 17 minutes - 17:18:44) This has made the Cameroon diaspora in Denmark and NOWEDCA in particular to rely on Non-Governmental organizations (NGO) and the church to carry out developmental projects in Cameroon (interviewee A and B) Lastly, they preferred the black market in doing exchange to prevent possible tracking of their financial transactions by the Danish government. Given this situation at hand, one can only rely on the World Bank and OECD records on Cameroonian diaspora at large to evaluate Cameroonian diaspora financial remittances. According to the OECD and World Bank, Cameroonians abroad in 1980 remitted 11,0 million dollars and the amount increased to 60.6 million dollars in 1990. In the early 2000, the amount remitted drop to 40.0 million dollars and later skyrocket to 103 million dollars and 267 million dollars in 2004 and 2006 respectively (OECD 2005, cited in Awang 2013, pp.5-6). With this statistics, one can affirm that the Cameroon diaspora play a vital role in financing and implementing projects in Cameroon and NOWEDCA diaspora engagements in the North West region of Cameroon is a prove on the importance of diaspora remittances in the socio-economic development of the homeland. However, social remittances mostly in the form of ideas, knowledge and cultural exchanges between NOWEDCA and Cameroon is a plus in improving homeland engagements.

5.7 Difficulties faced by NOWEDCA in achieving developments back home and Cameroon government's diaspora policies

1. poor transnational networks:

The Cameroonian diaspora like any other diaspora faces a lot of problems in achieving its development targets in the homeland. Despite its high contribution to local development through remittances, the Cameroon diaspora is lacking in its efforts to promote home development (Awang, 2013). NOWEDCA in an attempt to promote homeland development lacks the transnational network needed to raise huge capital to carry out large scale projects in Cameroon. NOWEDCA only network with local NGOs and the Catholic Church mostly in the implementation of local projects (audio 1 and 2). The inability of this organization to get assistance from international NGO and foreign governments limit its revenue and potentials to

assist the local communities in Cameroon's northwest region. In the words of interviewee "A" *"NOWEDCA relies totally on members' financial contributions to carry development projects in Cameroon and neither receive support from the Danish government, the Cameroonian embassy or private NGO to meet its development targets"* (Audio 1 and 2). Interviewee "B" agreed to this view and pointed out that NOWEDCA does not have any sponsor presently but hope to get one in future (Audio 1,19:20 -19:43) The lack of funding is limiting the association's development target in the North West region of Cameroon. The president of NOWEDCA recounts on the problem of lack of funding when he said; *"Before the corona virus came into existence, and we are now living with it, we had plans to organize another party to raise funds to support our people back but unfortunately, we have not been able to do that as of now"* (Audio1,17:30-18). Financial constraints limit NOWEDCA homeland engagements and is therefore one of the major setbacks faced by NOWEDCA in meeting its objectives of assisting the people in the North west region of Cameroon.

2.Lack of collaboration efforts from other Cameroonian diaspora cultural associations

The Cameroonian diaspora in Denmark is segmented along tribal lines. The existence of many tribal diaspora groups in Denmark and their limited collaboration with each other has limited their capacity to achieve homeland development. NOWEDCA faces this challenge as the association has never received support from other Cameroonian associations in Denmark to meet it homeland development goals. Since the association was formed to cater the needs of the people of the North West region of Cameroon in Denmark and those at home, other Cameroonian home associations in Denmark feel they are left out of the association's goals. When asked on the need for collaboration with other Cameroonian cultural associations in Denmark in the field of development, the president of NOWEDCA says *"I do not think is possible and the simple reason is that Cameroon is one of the most diverse territorial boundary defined by God that you can find on earth.....it has more than 250 ethnic tribes/groups and everybody is focused on where he/she comes from"*(audio 1, 25:45-26:20Sec).The alienation of homeland development projects by the Cameroon diaspora in Denmark based on tribal sentiments is the reasons hampering homeland engagements efforts since it is not reasonable for one to abandon his own tribe for another. In an idiomatic expression, interviewee "A" said *"you cannot remove a speck from a person's eye while there is a log of wood in your eye; everybody*

should focus on where he comes from because you cannot leave your own problem to solve the problem of another”(audio 1, 26:21-17)The social identity constructions by the various Cameroonian diaspora associations and NOWEDCA in particular as “us” and “them” works against Cameroonian diaspora collaboration efforts in Denmark. Nkongho (2019), recognized the negative effects of tribal sentiments on homeland engagements and argued that for the Cameroonian diaspora to effectively collaborate and achieve homeland development, the tribal division must be subsumed for national unity (Nkongho, 2019).This is quite difficult to achieve as the Cameroon government’s development efforts is centred on the regional policies put in place by the central government. The demarcation of Cameroon into regions is based on tribal groupings and in doing this, the Cameroon government indirectly creates regional identity which is reflected in the tribal groupings of people from the same region to foster homeland development. Therefore, NOWEDCA’S lack of collaborative partners in development within Cameroon’s cultural associations in Denmark is inherent to tribal home politics of the government of Cameroon aimed at ruling its people indirectly through the divide and rule policies of the central government of Cameroon.

5.8 Cameroon’s government diaspora policies

In this section I will assess Cameroon’s government policies towards it diaspora with specific attention on Cameroon’s government engagement with the Cameroonian diaspora in Denmark. According to Winterhagen (2016), the government of Cameroon, despite its large diaspora, lacks effective policies to maximize the full potentials of it citizens abroad (Winterhagen, 2016).In 2009, the International organization for migration(IOM) reports claimed Cameroon was at its early stage of engaging its diaspora in homeland development efforts(IOM 2005, cited in Winterhagen, 2016,p.11).This assessment by the IOM(2005) and winterhagen (2016) is similar to the views shared by interviewee “A” and “B” in this study. In this vain, interviewee “A” lamented on the neglect of Cameroon diaspora in Denmark by the home government when he said *“I am proud of where I come from but the government’s attitude towards its diaspora is not good and the Cameroon consulate in Denmark has little to offer to the Cameroonian diaspora in Denmark due to the rules put in place by the government....You cannot imagine that the Cameroonian consulate in Denmark has no power to issue Cameroonian passports and Cameroonians in Denmark will have to travel to Germany, Belgium and the UK to have an*

ordinary passport”(Audio 1,22:40-24:20).The absence of the Cameroonian embassy in Denmark in interviewee “A” assessment proves the point that the government of Cameroon is yet to see the Cameroonian diaspora in Denmark as a major partner in development. That is, the presence of a consular service in Denmark rather than an embassy which can perform the full function of the government goes a long way to affirm Cameroon government’s poor institutions framework in harnessing the potentials of its diaspora population in Denmark and other parts of the world. In another perspective, interviewee “A” reiterated on the Cameroon government’s poor policies in relations to the tax system. To him, the high taxes imposed on imports in Cameroon contribute to restraining diaspora-homeland relationship. According to interviewee “A” *“The atmosphere put in place in Cameroon has pushed the Cameroon diaspora away and the structures put in place by the regime especially in terms of the tax system is very poor...there are Cameroonian diasporas that have money, and they are unable to invest because of the structure of the task system”* (Audio 1,21-22). In framing the development policies by the Cameroonian government and the tax framework in particular, there was little consultation on the part of the Cameroonian diaspora (Awang, 2013, p. 8).The absence of the Cameroonian diaspora consultation in framing the tax policies by the Cameroonian government have had a negative effect on their home engagements. The Cameroonian diaspora in Denmark find it difficult to effectively invest in Cameroon as the high taxes on imports and start-up companies helped in reducing foreign direct investment from the Cameroonian diaspora(audio 1, 20:40-21:13).These group of individuals have the capital to invest in the Cameroonian economy and help it grow but are caught on the web of uncertain and arbitrary task system that tends to slice their profits (Awang, 2013).According to interviewee “B”, the government of Cameroon lacks the will power to fully engage with its diaspora (Audio 2,26:30-27:30).Citing on the first Cameroonian –diaspora forum, he lamented on the lack of attitude on the ministry of external relations to fully engage the Cameroon diaspora abroad. The lack of follow up by the Cameroonian government on its diaspora committees placed under the ministry of external relations has cast doubt on the government’s determination of using the diaspora to boost homeland development. In addition, he recounted on the government’s poor attitudes to fully engage its diaspora in Denmark but rather sees the diaspora as a threat to its internal peace (Winterhagen, 2016)Interviewee “B” recounted on this when he said *“The government of Cameroon has an attitude which I think has even worsened due to the ongoing Anglophone crises which has really impacted on our*

activities with people back in Cameroon as the government has the impression that the ongoing armed conflict is being perpetrated and encouraged by the diaspora and with this, any money one send home is being seen as sponsoring one of the rebel groups and this has a negative impacts on our activities back at home”(audio 2, 17;44 -8:50).The Cameroonian government mistrust of its diaspora is embedded in home politics as the Cameroonian diaspora are been seen as foreign actors interfering in the domestic politics of Cameroon (Awang, 2013).The absent of mutual trust between the government of Cameroon and its diaspora have created a deep vacuum in diaspora-homeland engagement and hence, limiting diaspora foreign investment in Cameroon(audio 1, 20;40-21;23)

5.9 AN Overview of Cameroon’s diaspora policies and legislative framework

Winterhagen(2016), purported that an overview of Cameroon’s diaspora policies and legislative framework shows a nation which has little relevance for its diaspora population (Winterhagen, 2016).The 1968 nationality code provides no room for Cameroonians abroad to be recognized as Cameroonians once they take up the citizenship of their host nation. This legislative frame work prevents Cameroonians from participating in homeland politics, reducing their zeal to drive homeland development. Cameroon in designing its development policies made little efforts in engaging its diaspora .In its vision 2035 plan, the government sought ways to improve on the development of Cameroon by mobilizing funds for homeland projects (WorldBank, 2014).In this growth plan, the government came up with strategies to harness its diaspora but little effort was made on this as it was only a written document without concrete action put in place to realize it (Winterhagen, 2016)

However, since 2007, the government of Cameroon has put in place a new framework aimed at engaging its diaspora. To facilitate knowledge transfer, the ministry of higher education has embarked on a policy to modernize the higher education sector where Cameroonians abroad can transfer their acquired knowledge through recruitment in Cameroon’s higher education sector (Winterhagen, 2016).Also, the Country has revised it migration policies to incorporate its diaspora population abroad. The extension of voting rights to Cameroonians abroad give them an opportunity to participate in domestic politics and have their voice heard. The institution of dual citizen by the Cameroonian government has further increased Cameroonians engagement in domestic affairs (Winterhagen, 2016). Although this came into effect in 2019, the dual

citizenship legislation by the Cameroon's parliament has helped to boost the government's efforts to fully engage its population abroad. This has been achieved through Cameroon-diaspora forums organized to engage the government of Cameroon and its diaspora.

In an effort to harness the Cameroonian diaspora, the government organizes annual Cameroon-diaspora forum. since 2008, these forums have been organized by the Swiss organization Cameroonian skills Abroad(Cassa.net) together with the participation of different ministries of the government of Cameroon in an effort to share ideas and knowledge (Winterhagen, 2016).However, the lack of proper engagements has made these forums to be fruitless.

According to interviewee 'B' (Audio2), most of the Cameroon-diaspora dialogue has always ended at the level of sharing ideas with little implementation on the resolutions arrived in these forums.

CHAPTER SIX

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Findings

In this section I will provide the interesting findings this thesis paper reveals in the course of writing, collecting and analyzing participant's data. This thesis provides answer to my research overview aimed at assessing the Contribution of NOWEDCA to the development of Cameroon. It also examines the challenges encounter by NOWEDCA in achieving homeland development and assesses Cameroon's government policies towards it diaspora in Denmark. After analyzing my interviewees data together with relevant academic work in this research field, some interesting findings were revealed on NOWEDCA diaspora engagements in Cameroon together with some barriers limiting its diaspora efforts in the homeland.

My findings reveal that NOWEDCA engagements in home land development is focused on the North West region of Cameroon. This is because the members of NOWEDCA are bonded to each other by shared common identity and geography from their country of origin (North west region of Cameroon). They participate and achieve homeland commitments to the local communities in the North West Region of Cameroon thanks to the financial contributions of its members. This money is sent home in the form remittances to finance designated projects by the association. Financial remittances in the form of money is generated by NOWEDCA through fund- raising parties in which the association members freely contribute money for designated homeland development projects. The main projects carried out by NOWEDCA in Cameroon is in the field of education, agriculture, humanitarianism and livelihood supports to the local communities in the North West region of Cameroon.

NOWEDCA has assisted in the promotion of education in Cameroon. The association assist lay private schools to realize development projects such as the construction of class rooms and modern toilets. This has helped to decongest overcrowded schools in the North West region of Cameroon. In addition, the association provides scholarship programs to orphans and vulnerable children. The scholarship program is aimed at reducing illiteracy rate in the North West region of Cameroon in particular and Cameroon in general. Lastly, NOWEDCA through it entrepreneurial programs engage the youths in vocational training programs. In these programs, youths in the North west region are taught handicraft work aimed at helping them to generate money to sustain

their livelihoods. Therefore, NOWEDCA assist in the restitution of livelihoods for many people displaced by the conflict in the north west region in an attempt to help reduce poverty in the local communities of the North West region of Cameroon

In another perspective, NOWEDCA diaspora engagements in Cameroon is aimed at reducing poverty in the North west region of Cameroon. The money sent in the form of remittances by NOWEDCA and its members to Cameroon help to reduce poverty within families and communities in the north west region of Cameroon as diaspora financing is one of main revenue sources to most households in Cameroon.

In the domain of humanitarianism, NOWEDCA has assisted in fighting poverty, hunger and malnutrition through its humanitarian relief packages offered to IDPS in the North West region of Cameroon and Cameroonian refugees in Nigeria. Through its partnership with local NGOs such as the Aya foundation, and the church, NOWEDCA provides humanitarian relief items like Soap, Pads, rice etc to IDPS in Bamenda, Cameroon and to Cameroonian refugees in Nigeria. The shift to humanitarian work by NOWEDCA is novel and welcoming by the homeland population who were in need of humanitarian relief items. The participation of NOWEDCA in humanitarian relief activities opens the door for the organization to network with local actors, forming partnership which is much needed for the association to meet its development needs. By providing food to the needy, NOWEDCA is indirectly participating in the local politics aimed at reducing the effects of the conflict on the civilian population.

An assessment of the challenges of NOWEDCA as a Cameroonian diaspora cultural association in Denmark reveals an association plaque with financial challenges. The reason for this is that NOWEDCA depends on the financial contribution of its members and lack funding from foreign governments and NGO to realize its developmental projects in Cameroon. The absent of international partnership is because NOWEDCA lacks the much needed transnational network which is vital for every international partnership aimed at promoting homeland development. Also, there is a lot of division amongst Cameroonians in Denmark when it comes to homeland engagements. The present of many diaspora cultural associations in Denmark pose a barrier for corporation as each cultural association focuses in the development of their region of origin. As such, they lack the much needed capital to carry out huge development projects in Cameroon. Looking at Cameroon diaspora policies, it reveals a nation still at the early stages of engaging its diaspora in homeland development. The tax policies of the government discourage diaspora

homeland engagements as Cameroonian diaspora feel they are being cheated of their hard-earned money. The Cameroonian law on citizenship has further compounded the problem given that the law considers Cameroonians abroad who have acquired foreign citizenship as non-Cameroonians. The period from 1960-2019 where dual citizenship was not recognized in Cameroon deprived Cameroonians abroad who have acquired foreign citizenship the zeal to contribute to the country's development agenda for over fifty-nine years. This discourages homeland participation by Cameroonians with dual citizenship who feel they are being neglected by their home country's legislative framework. Though this law was recently changed in 2019 in which dual nationality is now recognized by the government of Cameroon, the zeal for homeland engagements is yet to be revitalized by some Cameroonians having dual nationality abroad. Despite this shortcomings, the government of Cameroon in the past two decades has reorganized its institutional framework to incorporate its diaspora. Through the Cameroon-diaspora forum, the government is strategizing its diaspora policies to include the Cameroonian diaspora. The creation of the department of Cameroonians abroad by the ministry of foreign affairs is a bold step to engage Cameroonians abroad in an effort to galvanize foreign investment (Winterhagen, 2016)

6.2 CONCLUSION

The overall objective of this thesis paper has been to investigate the contribution of the North West Cultural association of Denmark (NOWEDCA) to the development of Cameroon, to examine the difficulties and challenges it faces in achieving homeland development and to assess Cameroon government's institutional framework towards its diaspora population in Denmark. Within the framework of diaspora-homeland engagements, the analysis reveals NOWEDCA as a major partner in the development of the North West region of Cameroon. NOWEDCA participate in homeland development because its members share cultural and administrative bond with the people of North West region of Cameroon. They identify themselves as people originating from the geo-political administrative North West region of Cameroon sharing a common culture and developmental problems. Even though the North West region consists of many ethnic tribes, the regional identity (place identity) and the shared common culture of the people of the North West region of Cameroon is the main reason for the formation of NOWEDCA in Denmark to promote homeland development. It is on the basis of this shared

common cultural and geographical identity of the people of the North West region of Cameroon and the common developmental challenges they face that members of NOWEDCA associate and contribute their resources to home land development.

By engaging the local population back home in identifying and implementing the development needs of their communities, NOWEDCA prioritizes community participation in development.

That is, NOWEDCA raises money for community projects and use the local actors in the North West region of Cameroon to identify and implement these projects. Through the collaborating with local stake holders in the North West region of Cameroon such as the Catholic Church and non-governmental organizations such as the Aya Foundation, NOWEDCA is pushing beyond its cultural limits to help redress socio-economic development problems in the North West region of Cameroon. In realizing its development projects in Cameroon, NOWEDCA depends solely on the goodwill of its members to raise funds. The money raised by NOWEDCA is sent to Cameroon in the form of remittances to help finance projects in the educational, entrepreneurial, agricultural and humanitarian domains. Among these sectors, NOWEDCA prioritizes its limited budget to the restitution of livelihood to the suffering population of the North West region of Cameroon engulfed by arm conflict between the government of Cameroon and Anglophone separatist fighters.

Since 2017, NOWEDCA humanitarian engagements in providing relief materials to IDPS in the North West region of Cameroon and Cameroonian refugees in Nigeria has taken precedence over educational engagements. This is because almost all of NOWEDCA's recent fund-raising parties have been organized to raise money to buy humanitarian relief items such as soap, pad, and food items to IDPS in the North West region of Cameroon and Cameroonian refugees in Nigeria. In addition, the shift to humanitarian work by NOWEDCA is partly due to the closure of most schools in the North West region of Cameroon due to insecurity and NOWEDCA's lack of sufficient funding to carry out multiple projects at the same time. As a result of this new dynamics in the region of origin in Cameroon, NOWEDCA thus prioritizes the basic needs of the people of the North West region of Cameroon over other non-essential needs. Further, NOWEDCA lacks of transnational network and development partners has further shrunk NOWEDCA's financial power. Most of the organization's humanitarian engagements in Cameroon has been halted because of insufficient funding by members. The problem has been further compounded by the COVID-19 restrictions limiting the gathering of many people in

Denmark. As such, fund- raising parties cannot be organized regularly to help raise money for homeland engagements. More so, the absent of collaboration among Cameroonian diaspora cultural associations in Denmark has further compounded NOWEDCA's homeland development efforts couple with the poor institutional diaspora frame work of the Cameroonian government. Therefore, for NOWEDCA to maintain its role as a major development partner in Cameroon and the North West region in particular, it would have to create transnational networks and seek the assistance from foreign NGOs and Governments. This assistance would enable NOWEDCA to get enough funding to finance prioritized home projects mostly in the humanitarian, educational and entrepreneurial sectors in Cameroon. Also, NOWEDCA has made little efforts to engage the local municipalities in the North West region of Cameroon that could be of great help to the association's homeland efforts. To boost its financial needs, NOWEDCA must think of other ways of engaging with the administrative authorities in the North West region of Cameroon in an effort to raise funds for its homeland projects.

In another perspective, NOWEDCA through the exchange of ideas, foreign culture and knowledge with the local communities in the North West region of Cameroon is engaging the youths in vocational institutions. In these schools, students are taught handicrafts work where they can acquire skills to be self -employed. Thus, NOWEDCA has assisted in the restoration of livelihoods to many people displaced by the armed conflict in the North West region of Cameroon.

Looking at Cameroon's diaspora policies, shows a nation which has made little efforts to fully harness the potentials of its diaspora in Denmark. Despite the will by Cameroonian diaspora associations such as NOWEDCA to help improve on the livelihood of Cameroonians back home, her efforts have been cut short by the Cameroon government's poor diaspora policies. Cameroon government's vision 2035 is seeking foreign partners to help assist her in her development but has made little efforts to fully engage the Cameroonian diaspora. The high import tax on goods imported by Cameroonians abroad and the absent of dual citizenship law in Cameroon until 2018 proves that the government lacks the will power to put the Cameroonian diaspora at the Center of her development agenda. Further, the absent of the Cameroon embassy in Denmark shows the government lack of will power to fully engage the Cameroonian diaspora. Despite the new reawakening of the Cameroonian institutions to engage the Cameroonian diaspora through Cameroon-diaspora forums, the absent of a concrete institutional framework to

implement the resolutions arrived at these forums pose barriers for effective homeland engagements by the Cameroonian diaspora. Therefore, for the government of Cameroon to fully benefit from its diaspora cultural associations such as NOWEDCA, there is need for continuous dialogue between the government of Cameroon and its diaspora population. This dialogue which is taken place under the banner of the Cameroon-diaspora forum must continue and the decisions arrived at these forums should be implemented to encourage diaspora-home land participation in developmental projects.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CAMEROON NORTH WEST CULTURAL ASSOCIATION OF DENMARK(NOWEDCA)

1. What is your name, age, gender and profession?
2. How do u experience life living in Denmark compared to that of Cameroon?
3. How do you keep contact with the people back in Cameroon?
4. Do you have any relatives in Cameroon and how often do u communicate with them?
5. How often do you send money to Cameroon and for what purpose?
6. Can you tell me what the Cameroon North westerner's Association of Denmark is all about?
7. What kind of activities does the Cameroon North westerner's Association of Denmark carry out in Cameroon to assist the people back home and how has it impacted the people in Cameroon?
8. How do you evaluate your engagement in developing your community back home and which sector do you think needs more attention for this association?
9. What are some of the means used by members of your association to transfer knowledge, skills and experience back home?
10. Does the government of Cameroon provide a conducive atmosphere for the Cameroon diaspora in Denmark to undertake development projects in Cameroon? and how do you people operate this association under the Danish law?
11. What is your take on the Cameroon government approach towards its diaspora community?
12. Is the any partnership or cooperation of your association with any Danish institution aimed at promoting development in your country of origin?
13. How does your association raise fund to finance its projects and how committed are members of this association towards its financial need?
14. Are there any difficulties/ problems faced by this association in meeting its development target in Cameroon?
15. What is your opinion about the Cameroon government approach towards its diaspora in Denmark?
16. Do you think the Cameroon government has done enough to harness the potentials of its diaspora community?

17. In what domains have Cameroonian Cultural Associations in Denmark corporate to achieve development initiatives in Cameroon?

18. In your opinion, has the grouping/alignment of Cameroonians in Denmark by tribe foster or hinder development initiatives in Cameroon?

19. How legal is your association operating in Denmark and has the host Country being cooperative enough to assist you people to meet your goals?

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR OTHER CAMEROONIAN CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS IN DENMARK

1. what is your name, age, gender and profession in Denmark?

2. How long have u being living in Denmark and how engaged are you with people in Cameroon?

3. Are you a member of Any Cameroonian cultural organizations in Denmark? if yes can you tell me about it.

4. What are some of the activities are you people engaged in Cameroon?

5. How has your knowledge, skills and experience helped the people in Cameroon?

6. how do u people raise fund to carryout out development projects in Cameroon?

7. In your opinion, are Cameroonian diaspora cultural associations in Denmark corporate enough to assist in homeland development?

8. What problems do Cameroonians in Denmark face in achieving development projects in Cameroon?

9. How do you evaluate Cameroon's government approach towards its diaspora in Denmark?

10. What are some of the problems faced by Cameroonians in Denmark in achieving development projects back home?

11. What is the relationship between your association and the Cameroon Consulate in Denmark?

12. Under what legal frame work is your association operating in Denmark and has the host Country being cooperative enough to assist you people to meet your goals?

