



**UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN CAPE
FACULTY OF EMS
INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT**

**Assessing the migration-development nexus in the Buea community of Cameroon: A study
of the social impact of remittances.**

*A mini thesis submitted at the Institute for Social Development, Faculty of EMS, and University
of the Western Cape in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of a Master's in
Development Studies Degree.*

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DECLARATION

I.....Salome Mankaah Fuh..... undersigned, declare that *Assessing the migration development-nexus in the Buea community of Cameroon: A study of the social impact of remittances*, has not been submitted before for any degree, or examination in any University, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and duly acknowledged by means of referencing.

Salome Mankaah Fuh

Signature



June, 2022.



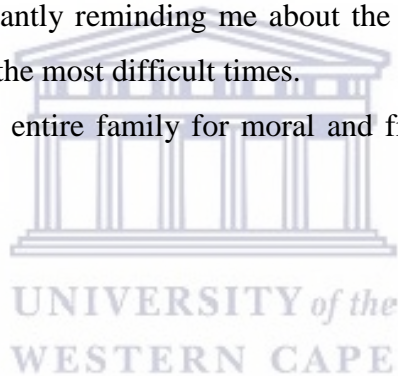
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my beloved husband Mr John Shubisi and our kids. I'm short of words to express how grateful I am for all your sacrifices, financially, morally, physically, just to name a few and the love you showed me to have been able to accomplish this. May God continue to bless and keep you.



ABSTRACT

The inflow of migrant remittances has been an increasing source of financial support to recipients in low and middle-income countries, often through informal channels. Remittances have been viewed as beneficial to migrant families to assist with quality education, health, basic food needs, and to establish developmental projects like building of residences for university students, and hence creating employment. However, remittances provide more than economic and material gains. This thesis brings into light social aspects of remittances such as networking, moral obligations, prestige, promoting and maintaining kinship ties, and altruism, with a critical look at the development concept of wellbeing. Specifically drawing from a case study of Cameroonian migrants living in Cape Town, South Africa and relatives and remittance recipients in the Buea municipality in the South West region of Cameroon, this study has assessed the migration-development nexus with an emphasis on the social impact of remittances. Drawing from qualitative online research during the Covid-19 pandemic of migrant narratives around remittance and notions of wellbeing, the study is centred around transnationalism and social capital theory in the development context.

Keywords: Migration, remittances, socio-economic development, Cameroon, Buea municipality, South Africa, social capital, wellbeing.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1. Introduction

Migration is linked to development through remittances and transnational migrant contributions (Faist 2008, Glick-Schiller 2018). The economic impact of migration and remittances are also embedded in local, social and historical contexts (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007, Koskimaki and Upadhya 2018). Remittance inflow to less developed countries as reported by the World Bank (2018) are the 2nd largest source of external financial inflows to their economies. Remittances have played a large role in the development context of Cameroon, which is the focus of this research. Many Cameroonian households depend on remittances for financial support (Atekmangoh 2017, Ofeh and Muandzevara 2017, Tazanu 2018, Nyamnjoh 2021).

Recently, there have been new interdisciplinary approaches from which researchers of development draw to study the impact of remittances (de Haas 2011). From the 1990s, researchers began to study the role of “transnationalism” to explain the way migrants “sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Basch et al. 1994: 6). Remittances are understood to be broadly part of the “migration-development nexus”, which is meant to explain the relationship between development and migration broadly.

A large focus on the impact of migration, remittances and development has emphasised its economic aspects. The World Bank (2017) indicated that Cameroon is categorised as one of the top receiving nations of remittances with an estimated remittance of over \$0.1billion. The concept of remittances has been a subject of research since the 1980s, with a focus centred around the role of information, and social interaction in explaining transfer behaviours of migrants (Ratha 2013). Remittance transfers from migrants in Sub-Saharan countries amounted to US\$36.9 billion in 2014 and US\$39.8 billion in 2015 (World Bank 2017). Remittances have greatly helped in reducing poverty as well as promoting socio-economic development (Ratha 2013, Das and Serieux 2016). In 2020 and 2021, there has been a documented decline of over 20% remittance flow to low and middle income countries due to the effect of Covid-19 that has resulted to the loss of income and employment of most migrant workers.

The debate regarding the use and benefit of migrant remittances continues to grow (Ratha 2013). The economic impact of migration and remittances are also embedded in local, social and historical contexts (Koskimaki and Upadhya 2018). Migrants bring skills, know how, labour and aspirations with them to destination countries often with the intention to send remittances, money and support to their home countries. They also contribute to “development” by sharing the knowledge and skills they must have gained from their destination countries, and by investing in businesses and charity. Migration and remittances may also affect inequality and economic dependency in home countries, or can create expectations that are unrealistic for a standard of living that is unsustainable (Faist 2016). Socio-cultural impacts are important to consider, because culture facilitates aspects of development as migrants carry and circulate along ideas, narratives, practices and different forms of memberships and belonging (Levitt et al 2016). Migrant experiences in their home countries before migration influence what they do in destination countries and equally affects what they remit back home. Hence, migration can be analysed through a transnational lens because ideas and practices brought by migrants’ shape what and how they remit (Levitt and Lamba-Nieves 2013). In summary, the impact of remittances differs by countries over time and also are utilised individually or collectively (Ratha 2013).

Remittances have played a large role in the development context of Cameroon. Baye (2011) found more than a decade ago that many Cameroonian households depend on remittances for financial support. In Cameroon, as many researchers have described, migrants who travel and live abroad are locally and prestigiously called “bush fallers” (Alpes 2014, Tazanu 2014, Nyamnjoh 2021). Because most remittances are sent through informal channels, and the inconsistency of remittance outflows from Cameroon (Adarkwah 2015) it is therefore not easy to evaluate the exact amount of migrant remittance on Cameroon’s economic growth. More qualitative research is needed, however, on the impact of remittances on development in diverse locally specific settings, especially at the social level to understand the social context to migrant contributions and their varied impact (Upadhya, Rutten and Koskimaki 2018, Crush, Walton-Roberts and Chikanda 2016).

1.1. Background and Contextualisation

Many households in the sub-Saharan Africa are faced with economic and social challenges with lack of support from their governments. People often migrate from sub-Saharan region largely due to political instabilities, religious, regional and ethnic conflicts, quality educational search, health reasons and the search for better jobs and better life opportunities (Nyamwange 2013).

Furthermore, there is a link between international migration and development, as migrants often send wealth and remittances home. Migration is linked to development in this sense because migrants send money and support to home countries for sustenance, which may have a local development impact. Hence migration and remittance has helped provide a temporal financial sustenance in areas where households may be lacking (Nzabamwita 2018). For example, trained doctors and many others who migrate from Cameroon and elsewhere do remit to their families in their countries of origin, which contributes to growth and development in their economy (Dinbabo and Nyasulu 2015).

In addition, Freemantle (2010) equally noted that remittance services can be used by most home state treasuries to facilitate growth on their infrastructures. Migration may foster development and growth in home countries as it helps to bring in skills back into home countries (Sithole et al 2016). For example, migrants from less developed nations migrate to first world countries and or semi developed nations and acquire new skills (Kanayo et al. 2019) and technologies in fields such as engineering and medical training. Migration can benefit sending nations in aspects of social and economic development since skills are being trained by the receiving nations and implemented in the countries of origin. In addition, remittance is also seen as a moral obligation and promotes social capital (Levitt et al 2016).

1.2. Overview of case study (Buea, Cameroon and Cape Town, South Africa)

Cameroon is a former colony of British and French, with an estimated population of over 26.55 million inhabitants, it is divided in to 10 different regions and each region is governed by an appointed governor. Cameroon is a country located in west Africa, bordered by Chad to the northeast, Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, and Gabon to the south, Nigeria to the west, and

the Central African Republic to the east. Cameroon's coastline lies on the Gulf of Guinea and the Atlantic Ocean (DeLancey et al. 2019).

In this research, focus is made on Buea which is located on the eastern slope of Mount Cameroon, and it is the highest mountain in west and central Africa. Buea is also the capital of the south west region of Cameroon with an estimated population of over 300,000 inhabitants as per 2013 census. It has textile, construction, wood industry and a banana plantation which is exported abroad, hence some migrants remit to invest in agricultural produce as well (Pelican 2013). Buea is a municipality originally inhabited by the Bakwerians an ethnic group which is equally divided into smaller villages like Bokwaongo, Bova, Bonjongo, Likombe, Bomaka, Buasa, just to name a few. Nevertheless, people from outside this ethnic group also reside in Buea. This information is important because Buea is part of the case study of this research. Most households in Buea do small commercial businesses and entrepreneurial work. They equally depend more on small scale farming of basic food and fruits like vegetables, coco yams, maize bananas and most of them often use remittances as start-up capital (Tazanu 2015).

Buea has renowned cultural and sporting events, the most popular of them all is the Bakwerians' Bonavada dance festival that takes place once in every year usually around February to promote cultural traditions, and the Mount Cameroon Race of Hope which involves running up and down the mountain of about 4,070-metre-high once a year usually every February (Njoh 2013). Buea has beautiful restaurants, hotels, shopping centres, primary and secondary schools and one of the most renowned and only public English-speaking university in Cameroon is situated in this community, which is known as the University of Buea (UB). It also has other higher institutes of learning like the St Francis School of Nursing and Midwifery which is presently known as Biaka University Institute of Buea (BUIB), and also has one of Cameroon's three Catholic universities, and therefore the local municipality encourages migrants and non-migrants within and out of this community to invest in building hostels to accommodate students and hotels for international tourists as well as local visitors (Njoh 2013).

This community is also known for its massive agricultural produce in the form of small-scale farming of fruits and food crops that are being supplied to local markets and equally exported to neighbouring countries like Equatorial Guinea and Garbon. Also, two main companies are known for massive production, industrial cultivation and processing of tea and banana which is the Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC) company located in a small town within Buea known as Tole and also the Del Monte company in the Molyko and Ekona area of Buea respectively for exports (Tazanu 2015). Most students in this community are dependent on family members abroad to pay for their education, fees, accommodation and food security (Tazanu 2015). Remittances promotes development in the lives of students and households in this community by providing them with new technologies like phones to facilitate communication, money to secure household food for consumption, promotion of social and cultural practices and also improvement of their living standards (Tazanu 2018).

Cape Town, South Africa as part of Research Area

The migrants who remit in this research are based in Cape Town, a city located in the western province of South Africa. It is the second biggest metropolitan city in the country in terms of population after Johannesburg (Western Cape Government 2013). Cape Town is also one of the tenth most populated cities in the African continent and a popular destination for migrants (Morris 2014). The City of Cape Town has an estimated population of 4.2 million (CoCT (2017) as cited in Mohamud (2020)). The key sectors in the Cape Town economy so far are manufacturing, finance and real estate, trade and catering services which forms almost 84% of the total output hence it has the lowest unemployment rate in the country (Stats SA 2016). Cape Town city is equally touristic hence it provides jobs in the tourism sector employing foreigners.

There are many determinants that encourage massive migration from Cameroon to South Africa and other countries, some of which include corruption and the late 1980s and 1990s fall in the prices of primary goods, not living out the recent crisis between the French and the English regions of Cameroon which has subjected and reduced the English region to frustration, marginalisation, poverty, and little to no access to education hence the quest to further education abroad (Nyamnjoh

2021). Most English speaking Cameroonians engaged and are still engaging in migration to seek better opportunities elsewhere, hence their most common destinations include South Africa, Nigeria, USA, Canada, Germany, China, and Thailand. In Cameroon as earlier mentioned, the word commonly used to describe Cameroonian migrants is “bush fallers” which comes with a lot of prestige and a feeling of belonging, (Ojong 2014) hence most families with “bush fallers” are sometimes envied by other households that are not privileged to have relations abroad (Nsah 2018). Most families with “bush fallers” also tend to command respect within their local surroundings, and other households would perceive them as living their best lives from the remittances they receive, which can be seen maybe from the nice foreign dresses and shoes they might be wearing, being able to own cars or a car, and showcasing other prestigious life styles (Nsah 2018).

In Cameroon, especially in Buea, migrants remit to sustain their families back home, often to invest in property like hotels for tourists, visitors and hostels for students for business purposes and also repay outstanding loans during their time of traveling abroad etc. Page and Sunjo (2018) equally added that migrants remit to their countries of origin (Buea, Cameroon) so that funds could be used to purchase land, houses, or other financial assets, and also establish some sort of businesses back home because they know their home markets more than that of the host countries. However, they note that the idea of “bushfaller houses” is partially misleading, because the houses vary in prestige and some are built as a form of insurance if migrants intend to come home (Page and Sunjo 2018 :16). A study carried out by Geschiere (2020) shows that most reasons for remittances is to be able to maintain kinship ties, keep a reasonable inheritance for the remitters and their families, gain social titles, create social capital, moral obligations and prestige.

Many Cameroonian migrants living in Cape Town, South Africa especially from Buea usually socialise in the Cameroonian association gatherings and meetings where they are most times called to offer contributions to assist members that might be in difficult situations, such as sending a body home after a death and assisting the family concerned (Pineteh 2011). Cameroonians in Cape Town also socialise in their meeting gatherings, some of which are called Elders meetings, Diplomats meetings, women of substance meetings, honourable mothers meeting, Bafut meeting, Bayangie meeting, Bakweri meetings etc. where they try to empower each other, assist each other in the

form of loans to solve urgent matters, and support those in difficulties through contributions as well as doing philanthropy work back in their communities in home country (Geschiere 2020). This summarises some of the social aspects and networks that are part of remittances and development in Cameroon especially in Buea.

1.3. Justification of the study

The impact of migration and remittances are very complex in Cameroon, and due to the pressures to migrate and remit, Pelican (2013: 251) argues that “both mobility and stasis may be viewed as a privilege.” However, despite this, more qualitative is needed into the ways in which remittance flows between South Africa and Buea, Cameroon, may contribute to social wellbeing from a development perspective. At the household level, the study connects to how social remittances effect development in this university and tourist town.

1.4. Problem statement

Looking at the concept of remittance, it can be noted that, the inflow into receiving nations have had some benefits (Ratha 2013). While much literature in the field of development studies concentrates on the broad impact of migration, this research contributes to understanding the micro-level impact of remittances, and the socio-economic and moral implications of remittance as they are connected to ideas of development and wellbeing. This research therefore narrows this gap and contributes to current literature on the social impact of remittances especially in the Buea community of Cameroon.

1.5. Research aim

The overall aim of this research is to assess the social impact of remittances to wellbeing in Buea, Cameroon, through a qualitative study on the relationship between migrant transnationalism and social capital.

1.6. Research objectives

The study has the following specific objectives

- To understand how remittances from Cape Town impact the wellbeing of family members in Cameroon.

- To understand how remittances may build social capital of migrants and family members in Cameroon and in South Africa.
- To critically assess the social aspects of remittances on wellbeing through understanding the moral and social aspects of migrant contributions to development.

1.7. Research questions

From the research problem identified above, this study provides answers to the following research questions.

- How might household remittances from Cape Town be used to impact the wellbeing of family members in Cameroon?
- How do notions and perceptions of wellbeing arise out of moral and social aspects of remittance sending between Cape Town, South Africa and Buea, Cameroon?
- In what ways do migrant contributions and remittances shape the social capital recipients in Buea, Cameroon?

1.8. Research hypothesis

This research is concerned with the impact of remittances beyond economic indicators. It explores how the locally specific social and political context informs the way remittances are channelled and how remittances are used in Buea, Cameroon. The researcher hypothesises that based on recent literature, while remittance flows are often channelled into helping household wealth, they are also an investment in futures, status, family and kinship networks in Buea, Cameroon. Remittances help to build social capital of migrants and recipients, and hence increase migration networks. Drawing from similar discussions in to Dzingirai, Mutopo and Landau (2014), Kankonde (2010), Levitt (2011), Koskimaki and Upadhya (2018), the researcher explores the social context and impact of remittance flows beyond household spending. The research shows whether or not the giving remittances is an expected and key aspect of social and kinship relations amongst the study participants. Finally given that the research was conducted online during Covid-19, the researcher addresses the potential impact of the pandemic on the nature of remittance spending and investments.

1.9. Tentative chapter outline

The researcher has organised this study in to six chapters.

Chapter one is an introduction of the study. It contextualises and provides background information about the study.

Chapter two presents a comprehensive literature review on the role of remittances.

Chapter three presents a conceptual and theoretical framework of the study.

Chapter four presents the research design and methodology.

Chapter five presents findings and analyses of data

Chapter six presents the conclusions and recommendations.



CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2. Introduction

The migration-development nexus and the impact of remittances have been widely researched; including on the social impact of remittances as a whole. However, this topic remains of key interest within this literature across disciplines due to the diverse effects in different local contexts. While there has been very interesting research in the Buea city of Cameroon with regards to transnational connections, this research focuses on the notion of wellbeing as a development indicator, in relation to the moral and social aspects of remittance and migrant contributions. Therefore, this chapter presents a review of transnationalism, obligations towards remittances, culture and collective remittances, and the role of trust and networking.

2.1. Migration- development nexus

Earlier theories of migration and development, such as the Structural/ Dependency view argue that most households would rather consume remittances than investing for more profit, and that remittances encourage a high rate of dependency by home countries on host countries (De Haas 2007). Literature has pointed to the outmigration of skilled workers that have been “brain drained” in destination countries at the detriment of sending or destination countries, in which their human capital would have been used to enforce growth and development (De Haas 2020). Recent reviews have also shown that migration was understood as depriving some families and or communities from some of their most productive members, or leading to different kinds of inequalities in communities (Faist 2016).

In the 60s, the Developmentalist/Neo- Classical View posited that there was rather a positive correlation between migration, remittances and development and that remittances play a vital role in the socio-economic development of recipient countries (Todaro 1969 as cited in De Haas 2007). Many governments in “developing” nations supported out migration so as to learn new skills and facilitate development; India fosters contributions of “Non Resident Indians,” for example (Koskimaki and Upadhyya 2018) and DRC is further promoting this as well (Mushiarhamina 2018).

Due to migration, many benefits are sent to home countries such as money, goods for consumption, and skills, hence bridging the global gap of unequal resources. This idea is accredited to the recent thinking of remittance policy debates brought about by both migrant sending states and international organisations. Recent work on the migration- development nexus seeks to engage with the social context of migration (Castles 2014) and discusses the kinds of obligations and connections that remittances forge, including social aspects such as networking, social capital, moral obligations, prestige, and humanitarianism. In all, the migration development-nexus remains an implicit or explicit indicator of contemporary development programs. Many reasons account for migration, but one of the most prominent is for the ability to secure better livelihoods, and migration has been seen as a contributing factor to development (Carling 2020).

2.3. Remittances as contributing to households

Remittances contribute to livelihood security and notions of wellbeing at the household and community level. Remittances from migrants are major aspects of transnational practices and actions with significant ramifications for individuals, households, communities, and economies as a whole (Siegel and Luecke 2013). In many less economically developed countries, remittances from migrants contribute to a significant portion of disposable income for most households that are recipients. Remittances are significant sources of external finance in most receiving economies as they tend to sustain and increase consumption levels (Siegel and Luecke 2013). According to Ncube and Gomez's (2015) study carried out in Zimbabwe, remittances can contribute to the establishment of small scale businesses and help secure jobs for family members. Remittances are a form of insurance that helps families and communities to weather external shocks (Ratha et al 2016) and increase household income, purchase and consumption level through money circulation, especially for rural families (Brown et al 2006). Remittances provide social insurance to households that are very poor and unable to access insurance as well as credit markets. It removes poorer households from vulnerabilities to a larger extent and provides them with opportunities of future investment.

Remittances also have a symbolic and social impact on households. Boccagni and Erdal (2020) noted that houses built with capital from migrant remittances in home countries could be referred to as “remittance houses.” This is so because most migrants send money to home country for relatives to build or repair their family houses or their personal houses marking a “middle class identity” (Page and Sunjo 2018) and hence also prestige. Remittances are equally used for investment in building hostels for students in Buea for students attending the University of Buea (UB). Remittances are thus used to secure homes for migrants, non- migrants and students back in one’s home country.

2.5. Transnationalism

Analysing migration using a transnational lens, Levitt et al (2016) argue that the ideas and practices of migrants shape their experience in destination countries, which equally shapes what they remit back home. According to Faist (2008) the “current enthusiasm” on the migration and development nexus must be looked upon from a transnational perspective which recognises the “emergence of a new transnational agent in the development discourse,” which is variably referred to as “‘migrants’, ‘diaspora’, or ‘transnational community’.” According to Portes and Martinez (2020) transnational migration refers to persons that have legal and economic freedom to operate across borders by carrying out their businesses and activities on their way. Transnationalism is focussed on the mobilisation of cross country social networks, which is very important for immigrants’ integration in to receiving nations and for the development of home countries (Portes et al 2020). In the 1990s, transnationalism described both material ties and symbolic flows and interconnectedness, and later as a form of contemporary migration in which migrants form long standing social ties and allegiance to more than one national community (White 2016).

Transnationalism also depicts new forms of governance and the development of institutions and social spaces that are organised across borders, and which either facilitate or resist cross border flows. In the last decade, ideas surrounding transnationalism have been expanded to other concerns like citizenship, integration, and return migration- for example the act of obtaining nationality in host countries is considered an important indicator of integration and equally makes it possible for

migrants to be able to visit their home countries at will (King and Christou 2014). The availability of multiple networks, activities, and obligations carried out by migrants and their families, friends and relatives far across international borders characterises transnationalism (Siegel and Luecke 2013).

Migrants' choice of remittance channels is dependent upon their transnational capabilities and the activities of both migrants and the beneficiaries; for example, migrants' decisions to make use of informal channels may arise from their membership networks, their visits in home countries or through relatives and close friends visiting home countries (Isaakyan and Triandafyllidou 2017). In this research, the narratives show that some Cameroonian migrants prefer to remit through informal channels because of their membership networks and close connections with friends that might be visiting home.

As most "agents of development" (Faist 2008), migrants also share new ideas back in home countries like changes in gender roles and family ties (Isaakyan and Triandafyllidou 2017). Transnational exchanges have impacted changing ideas around gender roles, as women have received jobs and contributed to financial security of the household. Transnationalism may also inspire creative new business transactions or practices, and new welfare arrangements for both migrants in destination countries and non- migrants in home country.

The transnational circulation of money and social remittances can also have a challenging impact for both migrants and their kin as it influences new aspirations that may grow out of false depictions of prosperity, as well as separation and changing of family units. As this thesis will also show, some migrants as "bushfallers" are usually perceived as wealthy from their lifestyles during a visit in home country, while they may not be able to sustain these images.

Transnationalism in Cameroon

At the moment migration in Cameroon is almost a "do or die" situation as many Cameroonians long to migrate in order to better their lives and family, and this section reviews the range of research that has engaged with the social context. Nyamnjoh (2021) has most recently written

about the burning aspirations of most Cameroonian youths who aspire to travel out of the country to better their lives and to further their studies abroad. She argues that these intentions to migrate are influenced by cultural and political factors within Cameroon, related to many issues like unemployment, the need to belong, the prestige of the 'Bushfaller' and the desire to provide for family and improve living conditions. Hence they try to connect with migrant agents in order to facilitate arrangement. The work of Alpes (2012) and Pelican (2013) similarly show that aspiring migrants most often ignore risks that are associated with bush falling. Even with the high rates of deportations of undocumented migrants, the zeal to migrate is never changing for Cameroonians. This is because of the need to change their present economic situations as they believe they will encounter many opportunities abroad and improve their lives and that of families through remittances.

Page and Sunjo (2018) write about house building in the Buea municipality, as a way Cameroonian migrants invest in their home country. Page and Sunjo discuss that locals and migrants residing in Buea engage in house building, shaping identities and the emergence of a middle class. According to these authors, the demand for houses in this small town is actually greater than the supply due to the presence of the university in that town (UB). This creates an opportunity especially for transnational migrants to build especially for investment purposes, and of interest is that most of the houses built by return migrants appear to be more modest than those built by local residents.

Page (2021) also writes that most transnational Cameroonian migrants aspire to build remittance houses in home countries especially in their villages so as to maintain ancestral links, modernize the village, and also a place where father, or they themselves could be buried. One would want to ask why building of remittance houses or the return of some transnational Cameroonian migrant to their home land at some point is important? Page (2021) argues that such actions are done in most cases to bridge the gap of traumatic experience of separation between migrants and their families left behind. He added that transnationalism in Cameroon in most cases is approved, granted and cemented on ancestral conditions for migrants to keep in touch after migration.

Page (2021) narrates a story from his 2018 field work in Cameroon about a particular transnational migrant from the US who visited his home land for ancestral connection. He talks about the building of migrant houses which equally demonstrates an outpour of emotions like fulfilment, pride, and satisfaction. Migrant houses for Cameroonian transnational migrants is equally a form of obligation which attracts blessings from parents or family in home land and to keep in line with ancestral ties (Page 2021). This phenomenon is similar to findings in India by Upadhya (2018) on the value and meaning of rural land for migrants and Koskimaki (2018) on migrants' reinvestment in rural spaces due to the social, ritual and ancestral ties there.

Furthering the literature on transnationalism in Cameroon, Awang (2013) emphasises the issues that Cameroonian diasporic groups are facing. According to his arguments, migrants' diasporic groups in host countries contribute to local developments in home countries through their various contributions to facilitate home projects. But similar to Pineteh (2011), Awang (2013) focuses on the difficulties involved in coordinating HTAs. These challenges as he mentions arise because instead of forming a united diasporic force, differences arise between different ethnic groups which in most cases brings division among HTAs. This therefore affects developmental projects back home that would have been facilitated by a common force rather than a divided force. Pineteh (2011) this discusses the collapse of HTAs due to internal challenges like divisions in ethnic groups within HTAs due to conflicting interest. He argues despite the fact that HTAs assist migrants in one way or the other, some have still managed to cope with life challenges without being part of HTAs.

On another note, Henrietta Nyamnjoh (2013) focuses on the spiritual world of migration both in Cameroon and in South Africa. Prayers are seen as tools for protection in the lives of both migrants and non-migrants. She discusses the role of churches play in expanding branches both in the home country and abroad, praying for aspiring migrants to achieve their dreams. Tazanu (2015) describes the obligation for migrants to remit; direct phone calls from migrants can generate conflict due to the needs of recipients.

Belonging

Nyamnjoh (2014) describes rituals (birth, marriage and death) within communities in the Cameroonian diaspora, which enhances their connectivity and expresses their sense of belonging. The concept of belonging is understood from the way Cameroonians in diaspora have used mediums such as emails and social networks to strengthen their ethnic identities while outside their home country. This has helped them to negotiate their relationship with the host country and also shaped diasporic identities in the local context.

Ndhlovu (2010), Amit and Bar-Lev (2015) argue that language is a platform on which people in diaspora can exhibit a sense of belonging. For example, most Cameroonians speak ‘Pidgin’ which unites them irrespective of social or ethnic background. Page, Evans, and Mercer’s (2010) research on home town associations and the politics of belonging refers to the ability to speak the local language in a particular ethnic group and have rights to campaign or lead in any leading position in that community, as well as rights to land ownership and to participate in community activities.

2.6. Social impacts of remittances

2.6.1. Obligations towards remittances

Remittances play economic, political and or material roles in the lives of recipients, as well as are sent in a social and moral context (Glick-Schiller 2018). Remittances inform a moral reassessment of family relations, economic practices, individual responsibility and development. In the context of Buea, (Tazanu 2018: 392) writes of the sacrifices that families in home countries make to send a “bush faller” overseas, which include the selling of land, farms, cars, businesses and even borrowing money. Tazanu (2016) discusses one of his respondents’ indebtedness to his sister and her husband because they supported him all through his life and sponsored his travel abroad, creating an obligation to send money to his sister and husband. Remittances raise moral commitments which lead to self-reflection and justification; this therefore enables one to bring into light the role of morality in informing, driving, and shaping remittances (Simoni and Voirol 2021). According to Simoni and Voirol (2021) migrants remit to home countries to fulfil some sort of a moral obligation.

The process of remitting and receiving remittances emerges out of moral expectations in relation to important people in our lives, be it family or friends, and the procurement of money and its appropriate use (Simoni and Voirol 2021). Often migrants remit for altruistic reasons or to fulfill religious duties (Mustafi and Koskimaki 2018, Osella and Osella 2009) or “affective accountability” (Espinosa 2016:67). Research has shown that altruism is the primary aim why most migrants remit to their families in Cameroon (Sandhya 2015). Altruism can be described as the joy migrants derive from the wellbeing of their recipients of remittances in home countries (Sandhya et al 2015). In addition, Agarwal and Horowitz (2002) describe altruism in the context of family arrangements.

There are moments where moral and social dilemmas arise when migrants are not financially stable to remit. Kankonde (2010) has shown further how such moral obligations may compel migrants to send money or risk “social death” or ostracisation. Remittances equally tend to promote and perform social relations (social capital and networks), the gaining of and or retaining of social status amongst people in a country or community, the passing of the rites of passage and promoting the emergence of a newly wealthy elites (Ratha et al 2016).

Much attention has been paid on reasons for migration and remittances so far, and less attention has been paid on the impact of remittances in communities on the social and moral evaluation of remittances. Remittances can assist most recipients in sustaining their livelihoods and wellbeing by providing their basic needs like buying of food, clothes, education, shelter, and health care, and beyond this, remittances also play a very important social and moral role, for example they help in sustaining social relationships through life cycle rituals that is based on reciprocity, and remittances is the force behind the development of every community (Ratha et al 2016).

While some recipients of remittances spend on immediate household needs, others also invest theirs into their social wellbeing. This is usually achieved through being charitable or humanitarian by investing remittances in the lives of neighbours, people living on the streets, support for the church, traditional or cultural functions associated with home communities, community fund raising, community events, and moral values from the society (Gérard 2011). This is important to

the data in this thesis as well, because most migrants expressed achieving subjective wellbeing by being charitable.

The actions and identities of migrants are rich in social and cultural meanings, which influence their ties with their country of origin (Levitt et al 2011). Cultural aspects are fundamental in promoting policies that strive to develop the social world that we intend to improve. Cultural contexts also contribute to and influence how developmental goals are rooted, the policies that are being placed in order to achieve them and how successfully they are being achieved (Levitt et al 2011).

2.6.2. Culture and collective social remittances

Migrants remit values, attitudes and practices to home countries and create a space where the implications of a transnational lens could be addressed (Boccagni and Decimo 2013). According to Levitt et al (2016) the impact of migration and remittances differs within countries and groups, and also in accordance as to whether or not remittances involve just individuals or a collective group. Migrants upon movement carry along with them different ways of thinking (ideas), behaviours (practices), ways of expressions (narratives), forms of membership and belongings (Levitt et al 2011). Migrants perform a key role in sending money to their families and friends in their home country, which symbolises value and negotiated power relationships (Boccagni and Decimo 2013). Levitt et al (2011) argue that migrant decisions are embedded social and cultural context and their social networks. They equally noted that these actions, practices, and identities of remitting are influenced by norms of culture.

Levitt et al (2011) also distinguish between individual and collective social remittances. Individual remittances as that which an individual send to his or her family member in his/her country of origin, and collective social remittances as that which is being contributed or donated by a migrants' association or organisation to their communities in the home country for developmental purposes (Levitt 1998, Levitt et al 2011, Markley 2011). Just as individuals would communicate their ideas and practices to each other as roles played in friendships, family and or neighbours,

they equally would communicate these ideas and practices in their capacities as members of a home town association (HTA), church or political party (Markley 2011). For example, individuals or members of a home town association contributing to promote cultural activities like cultural festivals, dance and rituals, and sporting activities to enhance the wellbeing of their communities back in home countries.

According to Levitt et al (2013) collective social remittances do not only affect what associations do but how they do it. It goes a long way to affect ideas concerning organisational management, capacity building, what development and progress mean and how communities would know when they have achieved them. They added that collective social remittances do not only affect local level organisational culture and practices, but can as well impact regional and national changes. Collective social remittance can affect politics, economic and religious practices and activities in home countries (Levitt et al 2013).



In addition to remitting to family members, some migrants equally donate money to charity and also to support hometown projects and activities. These collective remittances and donations are made by some informal or formal groups of migrants to be distributed in hometowns (Murray 2016). Some Cameroonian migrants in this research, as will be explained below, actually do give donations to support cultural home projects (Awang 2013). An example is the Bonavada cultural dance in the Bakweri community in Buea. Collective remittances in most cases are faced with limitations which includes but not limited to lack of cooperation amongst members of most hometown associations (HTAs). Collective remittances play a significant role in promoting local empowerment and civic participation through transnational ties; this makes collective remittances possible as migrants work to “preserve” their cultural practices throughout their stay in destination countries (Murray 2016).

2.6.3. Trust and networking

Trust and networking are linked to the development of social capital. Migrants need to establish trust especially with regard to remitting channels and also with their contacts and or networks in which they get involved (Kandilige 2017). Grabowska and Garapich (2016) review the that trust

can be built from many angles- that is, political, social, economic and psychological- and is vital for migrants and non-migrants in the process of building networks. Networking through remittances between migrants and non-migrants paves the way for exposure to new practices and connections, such as by securing new migrant channels, job positions and opportunities (Grabowska and Garapich 2016).

Through networking and interactions, migrants are exposed to different opportunities that could impact their lives in destination countries. For example, being part of a migrant diasporic association and membership group is a form of networking, allowing for exchange of ideas. For example, migrants gain knowledge of ways of going about securing permits and residence documentation, the easiest ways of bringing family members over, advertising of personal businesses, new job opportunities, and assistance in times of difficulty. Also, Grabowska and Garapich (2016) argue that through networking and interacting with migrants, non-migrants are equally exposed to different practices around gender equality and the ability and initiative to save for investment projects. Migrants are looked upon to bring creative and new innovations that are likely to be imitated.

On another note, Grabowska and Garapich's (2016) idea of an "agent of change" is that migrants tend to display social remittances they acquired via their own behaviour and activities, which they transmit to others and by having local contacts and transferring these social remittances. Migrants are usually very active in any given opportunity both in communities of origin and destination. For migrants to disseminate their various ideas and practices, they need to enjoy some sort of local social recognition, which does not necessarily translate into high social status in the community. Also, in order for migrants to be agents of change they need to have a broad network of contacts (Grabowska and Garapich 2016). Migrants communicate new ideas and practices based on their experiences as migrants. Thus in order to understand and implement the process of networking as a social remittance, agency is very important; this is because it composes of routine acts, innovative strategies and evaluation of action (Nyoni 2016).

Networking is also built based on trust; migrants' networks and trust amongst themselves is very vital. For example, a migrant couple can be in destination country leaving behind maybe their infant child in home country, and may decide to bring their infant baby to join them through another migrant who might have visited home at a particular time. Migrants would receive help from fellow migrants whom they trust and have strong networks with as channels to remit goods and services to their families in destination countries as well; trust is therefore an end to itself and a "lubricator" to both social and economic action (Nyoni 2016).

Nyoni's (2016) case study from Zimbabwe describes trust as a means to understand relations among entrepreneurs. In that study, trust is viewed as a social capital and functional for the day-to-day operation of entrepreneurs. The target group was remittance transporters popularly known as Malayisha. Trust, networks and relations in this study were shown to be built on family ties where in certain instances remitters tended to be close to the drivers or better still sharing the same neighbourhood in Zimbabwe (Nyoni 2016).

As migrants live abroad far away from home country and families, they tend to create social and cultural networks that serves as solid emotional supports to them which equally enhances their wellbeing as they can interact with one another. Migrants therefore form HTAs in host countries, these associations help them maintain their identities and triggers cultural practices amongst them. HTAs equally provide assistance to migrants in many ways and as well gives them a sense of belonging (Pineteh 2011).

2.7. Conclusion

In summary, migration and remittances effect development in both material and social ways and may be predicated and moral obligations. One of the reasons migrants remit is for altruism. Altruism has been defined as the satisfaction migrants derive from the wellbeing of their families and communities each time they remit and it also some sort of a cultural obligation. Wellbeing in development literature is reviewed in the following section.

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3. Definition of concepts

3.1. Migration

The International Organization of Migration defines migration as the movement of a person or groups of persons either across an international border or within a state (IOM 2016). Mobility encompasses any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, duration and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification (IOM 2016).

3.1.1. Development

Development does not have a single definition. While too vast for the scope of this thesis, the research understands the critical rethinking of development as a concept. In the late 1990s and 2000, literature on development critiqued what they called the “teleological” idea of development and that there was only one way to “be modern” (Crush 1995). These debates argue that development has affected peoples’ self-worth and devalued traditional knowledge (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2020).

The World Bank and IMF (2013) argued that development in the past was largely linked with economic growth, as a process of advancement and progress. Hence they encouraged economic reforms in 2013 which could lead to advances in “developing” countries. Countries in the Global North used to define development and in most cases assumed as the unavoidable model of the way forward. However, Broman and Robèrt (2017) argued that development can be defined as sustainability, which is the need to meet present needs without compromising future needs. This concept is important to this study because Omari’s (2021) review of the theoretical perspective Amartya Sen, defines development as improving the quality of life and human well-being and achieving growth. In the migration- development nexus, development is often linked with ideas of “progress”; Faist (2008: 27) outlines the link between migrant contributions toward basic needs such as improvement of infrastructure,” better access to education and health, “opportunities for investment” and “the flow of knowledge.”

3.1.2. Community

MacQueen et al (2001:1929) summarises the concept of “a community” as “a group of people with diverse characteristics who are linked by social ties, share common perspectives, and engage in joint action in geographical locations or settings.” Green and Haines (2015) see a community as a group of residents who collaborate in order to improve their quality of life. However, communities also have conflicts within, and tensions amongst them (Pineteh 2011). This is important because diasporic groups connect and often describe and consider themselves within a community. The above scholars in their definitions portray a community as group of individuals with common interest. Koskimaki and Upadhya (2018) discuss the tension between communities as cohesive or conflicted in a transnational context; they write of the “risk of essentialization” the role of “internal contestations or hierarchies,” and “political alliances” (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002 as cited in Koskimaki and Upadhya 2018:6). Despite this they similarly show that migrants often refer to their ethnic organisations and diasporic groups as a community.



3.1.4. Remittances

As described in the introduction to this thesis, remittance refers to the money, goods and investments that migrants send to their home countries to support their families, friends and community. Oladipo (2020) argues that remittances are analytical sources of foreign exchange for developing nations, and that remittances are major catalyst of economic advancements in most developing countries. On the other hand, Hassan, and Jebin, (2020) similarly posits remittance as income received from international job contracts, which can be temporal or permanent, by migrant workers that have managed to escape from unemployment and poverty, mostly from the poor and rural areas, they therefore transfer their income to their families in their home countries so as to improve on their livelihood, and also to increase their productive capabilities. Therefore, this money or income that is being sent to the migrants’ countries of origin to their families is called remittance. Looking at the socio-cultural aspect of remittances, it is also the sending of advice, messages through the use of phones, transfer of foreign cultural ideas, norms and values through the interaction of migrants and their communities back in home countries as they visit.

3.2. Theoretical framework

3.2.1. Social capital for migrant livelihoods

In order to interrogate the social impact of remittances in Cameroon, the researcher has engaged with theories regarding the role of social capital for migrants. Social capital has been most famously theorised by authors such as Coleman (1988) and Bourdieu (1979) who described social capital through the ability to live in the social structure of relationships among people. Portes and Vickstrom (2011) define social capital as the norms and social relationships that connect people and guide the coordination of their actions, in order to accomplish desired goals. Many scholars have situated social capital in the sustainable livelihoods framework (SLF). Shrestha (2015) for example applies the role of social capital as part of the SLF in rural Africa; Shrestha reviews that wellbeing as part of sustainable livelihoods can be analysed through five capitals which include social (such as education), natural (environment), human (skills), physical and financial (fiscal assets). In another example, Salinas (2013) has shown that human resource capital, which is an embodiment of the social capital, happens to be the key resource of most migrants upon arriving in a host country.

According to de Haas (2011) some migrants upon their arrival to any host country are also in possession of financial capital. This is important because a combination of both human and financial resource capital is what most migrants take along with them upon their arrival at their various destination countries. These networks can be facilitated through friendship ties, kinship ties, or shared community ties (HTAs).

Social capital facilitates migrants' ability to adjust and settle in their various destination countries (Barker 2012). Those with more reliable, and useful networks can easily secure employment, find means and ways of how they can remit cheaper, and easily to their families in home countries. As reviewed earlier, this connects to Faist's (2008) discussion of the role of networks of businesspersons and hometown associations as "development agents." Chrite (2014) added that, networks which could also be made possible by being part of hometown associations could expose migrants to learning new things, like savings habits, and what to invest in, that can be profitable

even in their home countries. Hence social capital goes a long way to facilitate migrants' movements to destination countries.

Networks for migrants have been described as like “bridges,” or to help each one of them cross during challenging times, and it equally provides quick informal ways amongst migrants on how to remit to their home countries (Gelderblom 2018, Wahba and Zenou 2012). Social capital is turned into networks that play a vital role in remittance transfers and also provide access to informal systems for remittance transfers (Wahba and Zenou 2012). Chrite (2014) also shows how social relationships are built and strengthened amongst migrants in their host countries and their family members in their home countries, thereby making it possible for them to have quick access to informal remittance channels which are being managed by migrants themselves.

Livelihood is the means of gaining a living, or a combination of the resources used and the activities undertaken in order to live. Livelihoods perspectives start with how different people in different places live and strive to improve on themselves and environment. Migrants' assets and capabilities are the basic components of sustainable livelihood. Food security, gender security, better health conditions, increase in income, better living conditions, and reduced vulnerability are some of the requisite as livelihood outcome for the sustainable livelihood that migrants strive to attain.

3.2.2. Wellbeing theoretical framework

Wellbeing has been referred to as freedom (Robeyns 2017). Wellbeing as a concept may indicate individual and community development. Conway (2012) describes wellbeing as relationships, engagements, happiness, positive emotions, meanings and accomplishments. Wellbeing can be achieved through gaining access to livelihood resources like natural, economic, social and human capital (Shackleton et al 2019). Chambers et al (2014) defines wellbeing as the ability to have a good life. Wellbeing is measured beyond economic factors, hence social indicators like freedom, household income (remittances) happiness, satisfaction, achievements, social progress can be defined as aspects of wellbeing (Robeyns 2017, McGregor et al 2015). This concept is explored in the research to the extent in which the very *act of remitting* and also *the act of receiving* remittances

fulfils ideas of wellbeing in both the lives of migrant and their receiving families. This is so because of cultural norms and social obligation for Cameroonian migrants to remit to their families (Tazanu 2016, Alpes 2014).

Altruism, humanitarianism, prestige, networking, kinship relations, societal norms are all parts of social capital which can be facilitated by remittances and thus can impact the wellbeing of givers and receivers of remittances. Sen, as cited in Ransome (2010), defines wellbeing as the freedom that is associated with one doing or engaging in what makes them happy. In this way, social aspects of remittances instil social aspects of fulfilment and freedom in the lives of migrants and non-migrants.

Traditionally, wellbeing has been measured by objective or social indicators such as educational outcome and or household income; for example, most migrants strive to better themselves by furthering their education while also remitting to assist their family members (Wright 2012). Subjective wellbeing can be measured by asking migrants and families back home about their sense of satisfaction in fulfilling social obligations in sending and receiving remittances. Remitting and increasing wellbeing has been referred to in development policy as one of the essential components of social progress; different aspects of life contribute to wellbeing, “happiness” derived from the act of remitting and receiving remittances can equally be a good measure (Wright 2012). To measure wellbeing, the first thing is to identify systematically what is important to migrants and their families back home for them to live their lives well, and to do so in a way that is universally comprehensible but nevertheless sensitive to particular social, economic and cultural contexts (Wright, 2012).

The economic growth of a country is never enough to determine satisfaction and wellbeing; hence other aspects of life, such as health and unemployment are important (Wright, 2012). Wellbeing may indicate the development of individuals and their communities. Wellbeing is associated to happiness, relationships, meanings and accomplishment.

Wellbeing is the pursuit of good life in a whole by taking into account the environment that offers the opportunity to access them. for example, freedom, power, justice, participation, and ethics of care (Robeyns 2017). It is also how people evaluate their lives through cognitive appraisal of satisfaction in relation to the effect of having a good mood and or emotions that such appraisal evoke. But on the other hand, authors like Atkinson et al (2016) argue that the concept is in some way an abstract norm as it is highly individualistic. For example, it fails to reduce health and other inequalities yet to which current health efforts remain tied.

According to Carella, et al, (2020) subjective wellbeing is one's own assessment of life satisfaction and sense of belonging. Socioeconomic status, social contacts and migrants support in host countries are vital indicators of migrants subjective wellbeing. Transnational parenthood, partnership and the feeling of loneliness affects migrants subjective wellbeing. Separation of families through transnational migration generates emotions of loneliness which affects migrants subjective wellbeing.



Wright (2011) argues that the concept of wellbeing serves as an umbrella that brings ideas from different disciplines (economics, psychology, sociology) into a common conceptual frame by highlighting the complex interplay that exists between material, perceptions and relational dimensions. In this way, it is about adequate standards of living, integration into the new community, having access to health care, employment and so forth. A study carried out on African migrants in Australia by Wood et al (2019) show that in pursuit of wellbeing, difficulties such as managing work life balance, disconnect form family and lose of traditional heritage outweighs the positive effects.

To derive the concept of wellbeing, Vernon (2014) questions that who does not want to live the good life? He argues that wellbeing is a question of meaning and response to life challenges. This is precisely what constitutes the Cameroonians in diaspora from this research sample, especially their expressed sense of connectivity with one another in terms of social support, financial, integration, freedom to run entrepreneurial activities, and access to health care and food from home. These notions seem to hold direct positive benefits to overall wellbeing of members of the Cameroonian diaspora in Cape Town.

An article by Nyamnjoh et al (2013), ““Do you eat Achu here?’ Nurturing as a way of life in a Cameroonian diaspora” views wellbeing from the perspective of migrants having links with home societies and how they maintain it in the host societies. This is done through maintaining eating home food like Achu (soup made from Cameroonian local spices). They argue that the Cameroonian diasporic community in Cape Town understands their wellbeing through cultural practices and association meetings which are based on places of origin back home (Nymanjoh et al 2013).

In light of the above, Veronese et al (2020) assume that the concept ignores factors (hardships that make people leave home) and how it leads to some describe as a good life in diaspora especially being able to provide to family members back home and the social ties with family or community in diaspora. Fomunyam (2012) argues that while in pursuit of wellbeing, migrant communities have a challenge of adjusting to new culture, absence from home, friends and a lifestyle that can be of traumatic experience.

3.3. Conclusion

Social capital facilitates migrants’ ability to adjust and imagine and increase their sense of wellbeing in their various destination countries, as well as support the wellbeing of networks back home. The wellbeing framework is holistic because people attach different reasons as to what really makes them feel satisfied. Therefore, this approach can be used by questioning or interviewing migrants and their families back home as to what contributes to their sense of purpose and living well. Social obligation to remit and other factors may also negatively impact wellbeing in various ways (see Kankonde 2010). Therefore, wellbeing is critically assessed in the context of the social impact of remittance.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

There are many ways of investigating a problem or issue when conducting research in social science. The problem or issue intended to be studied has to be clearly stated and the best possible way to go about it. This study is intended to access the migration-development nexus in the Buea city of Cameroon, with focus on the social impact of remittances. The main purpose of this chapter is to identify the various approaches used to achieve the objectives of the study. It begins with a brief outline of one of the research areas, being Cape Town, South Africa and why the researcher decided sample Cameroonian migrants based in Cape Town. It proceeds with the research design, which is very important because it provides the step-by-step processes adopted to answer the research questions by explaining the methods applied.

The study was qualitative and also incorporated a survey in order to collect descriptive statistics of the sample. Note should be taken that data is not representative but meant to get insight into some of the ways in which migrants and remittances beneficiaries may describe wellbeing as connected to remittance. The other part in this chapter consists of the research methodology where the sampling methods, data collection tools, data analysis and presentation are discussed. The researcher explains the approach in each case before justifying its use. The chapter ends with encountered limitations faced by the researcher and how ethical considerations were dealt with during the course of the study.

4.2. Research design

In social science research two main methods are qualitative and quantitative (Mouton et al 2013). Quantitative researchers are known for measuring variables, and testing hypothesis linked with cause effect explanations (Babbie and Mouton 2012). Qualitative researchers lay more emphasis on aspects like in depth, meanings, and interviews, in order to better understand human behaviours, their actions and their experiences (Taylor et al 2015).

This research employed qualitative research methodologies in order to gather data required to answer the research questions. This research employed the use of a questionnaire in order to gather data from migrants on the types of channels they use to remit to home countries and reasons behind their choices. The main research involved an in-depth semi-structured interview to provide understanding the motivations and perceptions of how remittances from Cape Town, South Africa may have been intended to increase the wellbeing of family members in the Buea, Cameroon, and how remittances has helped to build social capital of migrants and beneficiaries of remittances.

Creswell (2014) defines qualitative research as an approach that seeks to explore and understand meanings that individuals and or groups attributes to a human and or social problem. According to him, researchers involved in this type of method therefore support ways of conducting research that prioritises inductiveness, which focuses on meanings, in-depth explanations which are important aspects in understanding individuals. Using qualitative methods of research calls for respondents to give insight and complex information, which allows for originality and gives every respondent the opportunity to share an opinion. Hence qualitative research is more focused on how individuals experience and understand the world (Braun and Clark 2013).

A case study design requires in depth investigation about a particular problem and is not totally reliant on basic statistics from the use of a survey. The case study design is used to confirm if theories and or models used in studies actually correspond to phenomena in the world in which we live. Case study designs are useful in studying complex situations from which understanding could be derived through describing and analysing the said situation (Tetnowski, 2015). The rationale behind the choice of case study design is that it is suited for the understanding of complex issues related to how remittances from migrants in Cape Town impact the wellbeing of recipients in the Buea community of Cameroon, and influence the formation of social capital between migrants and their respective families in home country. Furthermore, attending to the local and social context of the research may inform and reveal new perceptions and conclusions in the literature.

4.3. Sampling strategy

The most crucial stage in every research is identifying the research sample (Boddy 2016). This is because a researcher cannot meet with and interview the entire population of a particular study area and also would hence be difficult to analyse. Babbie and Mouton (2012) defines sampling as the use of a subset from a certain population to conduct research since the entire population from which the subset was being selected cannot be used. There are two main types of sampling methods, probability and non-probability sampling (Babbie and Mouton 2012). Probability sampling is the process by which every respondent has an equal chance of being selected, mainly because they might have similar characteristics and demographics. Meanwhile in non-probability sampling, respondents do not always have equal chances of being selected; therefore, they are mostly targeted purposively for particular reasons that might be of interest to the researcher. Making decisions on sample sizes, the researcher identified and considered the background and characteristics of migrants and whether they send remittances. Due to the pandemic, the research also chose to do the research online, which allowed for interviews in two locations.

In this study, snowball and purposive sampling techniques were employed. The rationale of purposive sampling is based on the knowledge the researcher, who is herself a Cameroonian migrant in Cape Town, has on aspects of the Cameroonian migrants living in Cape Town and their families that are based in Buea. The snowball sampling is based entirely on referrals to reach other purposive respondents for questionnaires and interviews. Purposive sampling was also used because the researcher has previous contact with some migrants from Buea, Cameroon residing here in Cape Town, South Africa who do remit. The researcher employed both sampling methods to be able to get access to respondents that are linked to the study (Taherdoost, 2016). A combination of both purposive and snowball sampling helped the researcher to locate only those respondents that were needed or tied to the study and also gave the researcher the opportunity to be exploratory by touching on different subjects related to remittances and its influence on wellbeing, thus reducing the researcher's challenges on obtaining the right sample size (Babbie and Mouton 2012). The researcher contacted respondents through the Cameroonian association in Cape Town. Also, these two techniques in the non-probability sampling were employed by the

researcher so as to manage the uncertainties and risks that might be involved with it, hence samples were also mixed in terms of age, gender and occupation.

4.4. Sample Size

The larger the sample size, the more representative it is to the targeted population. Sample sizes for purely quantitative research are usually very large for the researcher to develop trends with the use of predefined formula. Sample sizes for purely qualitative research are not usually as large because they involve in-depth interviews. According to Braun and Clarke (2013) the number of respondents in a qualitative study might only increase to give more credibility to the research which on a normal basis do not usually exceeds 50 for larger projects. For this minithesis, the study focused on narratives and in depth interviews of 8 Cameroonian migrants living in Cape Town and 8 members from their respective families living in Buea, Cameroon, making a total of 16 respondents.

4.5. Data collection and tools

In every research, data collection can be primary and or secondary (Barrett and Twycross 2018). In this study, both primary and secondary data was collected. Primary data refers to the first-hand information that the researcher collected from participants with the use of a questionnaire and a semi-structured interview, while secondary data was also collected via the literature review. Research tools are basically instruments that researchers use to collect data in social science research. In this study the researcher used a questionnaire, a semi-structured interview and literature review in the data collection process.

4.5.1. Questionnaire

Questionnaires are instruments in the collection of data from a sample, usually for statistical analysis in the social science research (Krosnick, 2018). Also, questionnaires are often based on quantifying, predicting, and measuring relationships and phenomena (Brace 2018). Questionnaires collect numerical data, which is objective and often anonymous (Krosnick 2018). Also, another advantage of using questionnaires in research is its rate of return.

A total number of 16 questionnaires were administered to participants; 8 questionnaires were directed to Cameroonian migrants based in Cape Town and another 8 were directed to recipients of remittances based in Buea, Cameroon, making a sub total of 16 respondents. Usually, the researcher made appointment dates and time for meetings with respondents through WhatsApp calls. In some cases, face- to-face meetings in Cape Town took place depending on circumstances like finances and also Covid-19 measures for the completion of questionnaires.

The researcher divided the questionnaire into two sections. The first section was directed to Cameroonian migrants based in Cape Town, South Africa. The kind of information that was obtained from this section helped the researcher to answer questions regarding the remitter: age, occupation, gender, how long they have lived in South Africa, if they do send remittances, and how often and what channel do they usually use. The second section was directed to the recipients of remittances based in Buea, Cameroon. The kind of information that was obtained from this section included: age, occupation, gender, family size, if they have kin or other relations in Cape Town, South Africa, if they usually receive remittances, how often and through what channel.

The questionnaires were designed in a manner that was easy for respondents to answer because answers were provided already in the form of a multiple-choice questions and scaled questions. Only questions like age and occupation were left open ended. The rationale for using a questionnaire was because the researcher aimed to create a base or starting point and be knowledgeable about certain aspects of the respondents, which could actually lead to a follow up for details in the main interview which required in-depth explanations (Seale 2012).

4.5.2. Semi-structured interviews

The researcher equally adopted a semi-structured interview as a tool in data collection to gather data from some selected working Cameroonian migrants in Cape Town, South Africa, and a follow up of their family members in households that are recipients of remittances in Buea, Cameroon. The rationale for using a semi-structured interview method is that it allows the researcher to gather inside stories, in-depth experiences, and beliefs that are non-numerical to describe and analyse data (Evans and Lewis 2018). Due to Covid-19 regulations, and the practice of social distancing,

it was not possible for the researcher to engage in a face-to-face interview with some respondents, and hence some interviews were conducted synchronously online over the phone with the use of WhatsApp calls.

The researcher planned the semi-structured interviews into two categories with similar questions—one for senders and another for recipients. The interviews directed to migrants based in Cape Town, South Africa inquired on topics including: reasons for using formal or informal channels when remitting, reasons for remitting, explanations of in what way remittances may have helped to increase their wellbeing and that of their relations in home country and how it may have helped them to build relationships, networks and social capital here in South Africa and in Cameroon. The interview that was directed to the recipients of remittances based in Cameroon inquired about the kind of channels they used in receiving remittances, what they actually used remittances to do in their households, and community at large, how remittances might increase the wellbeing of their households and community in general and how remittances may have helped them in building relationships, networks and social capital in their community and outside of it.

The interviews took around 45 minutes to an hour and were all audio recorded. Interviews usually ease the whole communication process and shared constructions of meaning, and allows for diversity in the responses of participants to share in their own words (Braun and Clarke 2013). Semi-structured interviews also give room for unplanned questions to be asked. Putting all these questions in place and getting answers from both the questionnaires and interviews assisted the researcher to attain the research objectives and equally provided answers to the research questions.

4.5.3. Literature review

In order for the researcher to place the research in a wider context, a literature review formed part of the major undertaking in this study. Issues surrounding international migration and remittances, alongside a conceptual and theoretical framework were equally demonstrated via the use of literature reviewed. The review helped in identifying existing gaps in the study. Hence the literature in this study was drawn from mostly academic sources like books, internet sources, journal articles, reports from financial institutions, government, and international organisations.

4.6. Data analysis and presentation

Procedures for analysing data provide ways to explore, investigate and explain information that has already been collected, and target or bring out specifically the research objectives and questions. This reduces data size into various themes and patterns (Gibbs, 2018).

In this study, qualitative data analysis was employed along with some quantitative analysis of the sample. Survey data was analysed using statistics in the form of tables. These statistics were used to describe, explain and summarise migrants' responses towards remittances, while qualitative data was collected, transcribed and thematically coded and analysed using content analysis technique. This involves reading all data and breaking them down under themes for easy understanding (Sharma, 2018). Data was transcribed under various themes under each section, compared to the literature reviewed, and conclusions were made. The data is presented using verbal descriptions and quotations.

4.7. Ethical considerations

According to Cresswell (2014) research often involves the interaction with people, thus in the course of the research participants might be affected either positively or negatively. Hence, the entire process of research ought to observe a high ethical standard to protect respondents from any harm. Ethical norms and procedures also ensure that results and findings are credible and trustworthy, guard against any form of misconduct and promote research integrity.

The researcher submitted the research proposal for this study along with all the research tools such as the questionnaire and questions for the semi-structured interview to the Institute for Social Development, the Economic and Management Sciences Higher Degrees Committee, the Senate Higher Degrees Committee, and finally received approval from the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) of the University of the Western Cape. Hence the researcher conducted this study only after permission to do so was granted.

Before the researcher engaged in the research process, the purpose of the research was explained to all participants and their consent was sought and recorded. Also, during the interviews,

participants were informed that their participation was voluntary and that they had the right to withdraw at any given time. The researcher equally insured anonymity of the respondents. The personal information of the respondents and their names were not disclosed to anyone, hence only pseudonyms were used in the final report and will be used in all published reports to protect their privacy.

In addition, the researcher did not cause any harm to any respondent that was involved in the study. Interviews and information that were audio recorded were used only for research purposes and thereafter deleted. Also, both the researcher and respondents had to sign a consent form to bind their agreement. In order to maintain and ensure academic honesty, all materials used in this study by the researcher have been acknowledged with a complete list of references.

4.8. Limitations of the study

The aim was not to reach a representative sample but rather to provide in-depth information regarding a selected group of families. Therefore, the findings might not be used to make generalisations. However, situated alongside the large literature on transnationalism and that of Cameroonian diaspora, the findings contribute to and confirm the social impact of remittances.

Due to time and financial constrains in this period of Covid-19, the researcher restricted data collection to a small sample size of 16 respondents. The researcher equally encountered difficulties with some respondents who failed to keep to appointment dates and times during the course of the interviews, as they were mostly done through WhatsApp calls with just few face-to-face encounters. In addition, there were some respondents that requested compensation before they could take part in the interviews, but the researcher had to explain to them the lack of funding allocated for compensation, hence she only had to thank them for taking part in the study.

Chapter summary

This chapter looked at the methods involved in this study and indicated that mainly qualitative methods were employed. The study was exploratory and the case study design was used. For the quantitative data of the sample derived from the initial questionnaire, descriptive and statistical

analysis were employed with the use of tables while qualitative data was subjected to categorisation and thematic content analysis. Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were employed. The researcher used literature review as a tool for the collection of secondary data, while questionnaires and semi-structured interviews were used for the collection of primary data. The researcher implemented ethical considerations during the study and equally highlighted some limitations encountered. To conclude, the next chapter will present findings of the study.



CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5. Introduction

The overall aim of this research was to assess the social impact of remittances to wellbeing to a group of recipients in Buea, Cameroon. Social aspects of remittances in this thesis refer to the cultural norms, values, and identities that shape migrant aspirations and obligations towards remitting to home country, as well as the impact on subjective and social life of the recipient and their community. From a development standpoint, the objective of the thesis is to critically assess how remittances from Cameroonian migrants in Cape Town, South Africa may have impacted the wellbeing of their family members in the Buea community of Cameroon. Furthermore, given the role of social capital in implementing development schemes, the thesis aims to explain how remittances may increase the social capital of migrants and their networks in Cameroon. This chapter describes and connects the data collected. In the course of discussion, the findings are compared with the information derived from the literature in accordance with the aim and objectives of the study.

5.1. Information of respondents

This section presents statistics relating to the profile of all respondents that were interviewed in this study. The variables consisted of age, occupation, gender, and marital status. 16 respondents participated in the study. 8 participants are Cameroonian migrants based in Cape Town, South Africa and the other 8 participants are family members based in their home country namely in Buea, Cameroon.

Table 5.1.1. Information of all respondents

Country based in	South Africa	Cameroon	Total
Number of respondents	8	8	16
<u>Age category</u>			
25-35years	2	3	5
36-45years	2	1	3
46years and above	4	4	8

<u>Gender</u>			
Male	4	3	7
Female	4	5n	9
<u>Marital status</u>			
Married	7	2	9
Single	1	6	7
<u>Occupation</u>			
Certified hair stylist	1		1
Teachers		3	3
Works in hotel	2		2
Works in NGO	1		1
Business owners	4		4
Student in the university of Buea		4	4
Farmer		1	1

This table shows that 16 participants were purposively sampled and interviewed by the researcher, 8 participants are Cameroonian migrants based in South Africa and the other 8 participants are their respective family members based in Buea, Cameroon. Looking at the age categories of all respondents the table shows that 5 respondents fall between the age group of 25-35 years old. 3 respondents are between the age group of 36-45 years meanwhile 8 respondents are 46 years old and above. The table shows that 7 respondents are men while 9 are women. For marital status the table equally shows that 7 respondents are single while 9 are married.

The respondents had the following occupations:

1 Person is a certified hair stylist, 3 respondents are teachers, 2 persons work in a hotel, 1 person works in an NGO, 4 persons are into business, 4 persons are students in the university of Buea, and 1 person is a farmer.

Table 5.1.2. information of Cameroonian migrants based in South Africa

Cameroonian migrants based in	South Africa. Total 8 respondents
<u>Duration of stay in South Africa</u>	
1-10years	3
11-20years	5
<u>Just for clarity sake confirm that you have a family member in Buea Cameroon?</u>	
Yes	8
No	0
<u>Do you usually send them money?</u>	
Yes	8
No	0
<u>How often do you send them money?</u>	
Every month and during emergencies	4
2-4 times in a year and during emergencies	4
<u>What channel do you use to send money home?</u>	
Formal	
Informal	4
Both	2

This table is a representation of Cameroonian migrants in my sample that are based in South Africa only. 3 respondents have lived in South Africa for over 1 -10 years while over 5 respondents have lived in South Africa for over 11-20 years. As the sample was conducted purposively, 8 respondents had family members in Buea Cameroon and all 8 respondents agreed that they usually send money home to their family members in home country. Also, 4 respondents agreed that they

send money home on a monthly basis and during emergencies while the other 4 respondents equally agreed that they send money to family members in home country 2-4 times in a year and also during emergencies. From the table, 4 respondents remit using formal channels, 2 respondents remit using informal channel while the other 2 remit using both formal and informal channels.

Table 5.1.3. Representation of family members based in Cameroon

Family members of migrants based in	Cameroon. Total 8 respondents
<u>Do you have a family member (relation) based in South Africa?</u>	
Yes	8
No	0
<u>Do they usually send you money?</u>	
Yes	8
No	0
<u>How often do you usually receive money from them?</u>	
Every month and during emergencies	4
2-4 times in a year and during emergencies	4
<u>What channel do you use to receive the money?</u>	
Formal	4
Informal	2
Both	2

This table shows the representation of respondents (family members) based in Cameroon. As identified in creating the sample, all 8 respondents confirmed to having a family member based in Cape Town, South Africa and that they usually receive money from their relatives based in South Africa. 4 respondents confirmed that they usually receive money from their relations based in Cape Town, South Africa on a monthly basis and also during emergencies and the other 4 respondents equally confirmed that they usually receive money from their relations based in South

Africa 2-4 times in a year and also during emergencies. Lastly, of all 8 respondents, 4 respondents confirmed that they receive money from their relations based in South Africa using the formal channel, 2 via informal channel while the remaining 2 from both formal and informal channels.

5.2. How household remittances from Cape Town may have been used to increase or improve the wellbeing of family members in (Buea) Cameroon.

5.2.1. Wellbeing

As discussed in the theoretical framework, according to Robeyns (2017) and McGregor et al (2015) wellbeing is measured beyond economic factors; hence social indicators like freedom, household income (remittances), happiness, satisfaction, achievements, social progress and other subjective and social indicators are important conceptual aspects of wellbeing. From the results carried out in this study, 50% of respondents (Cameroonian migrants based in Cape Town) attest to the fact that they send money home on a monthly basis and during emergencies which is some sort of a household income to assist their families back home to be able to buy their necessities, and also 50% of family members based in Buea community of Cameroon confirmed these claims and both parties confirmed that they felt very happy, satisfied and fulfilled after each monthly transactions were made despite how small it could be. On the other hand, the remaining 50% of respondents equally confirmed that they remit 2 to 4 times in a year and also during emergencies. Hence the aim toward a feeling of happiness and satisfaction emerged in discussions with respondents.

According to Chambers et al (2014) wellbeing is the ability to have a good life. From the results of this study, 100% of respondents attested to the fact that remittances helped them to buy food, and pays for their health related expenses during times of ill-health, and also assists in payment of school fees, hence they expressed having the ability to have a “good life.” This is so because wellbeing is a term that is used amongst other things to acknowledge human development, which is also the ability to eat well, maintain good health and desired education.

On the other hand, the obligation toward remittances can be quite stressful to some migrants who as well struggle to meet their own needs in a foreign land or sacrifice an already minimal income

to remit, hence affecting their wellbeing. Tazanu's (2016) research on Cameroonian migrants shows how the ease of communication and phone calls facilitate remittance expectations of economic resources, which may generate conflicts if expectations are not met. From the results carried out in this study, some migrant respondents in Cape Town expressed their feelings of distress sometimes if expectation and demand from family members in home country becomes too high. Nonetheless, Tazanu (2016) argues that despite the difficulties, "bushfallers" aspire and engage in struggles for personal development so as to equally share their success stories with those in Cameroon, and equally lift their family members out of poverty through remittance.

5.3. Social impacts of remittances towards wellbeing

5.3.1. Obligation

The data from this study confirmed the intensity of social and cultural obligations to send money to family members or relatives in home country (see Tazanu 2016). Research has shown further how such obligations may compel migrants to send money or risk "social death" Kankonde (2010) or ostracisation (Atekmangoh, 2017). Moving forward, all the respondents in this study, attested to this claim that remittances is a cultural phenomenon that is expected of every migrant. Despite the potential struggles with obligation, respondents stated that remitting helps increase migrants' satisfaction of being able to fulfil this obligation. Receivers also confirmed that remittances increase their wellbeing through providing for their needs like food, clothes, and health care. Interviewing a 33-year-old respondent with the pseudonym Mrs Joy:

"Where I come from we have that belief that being out of the country we must always send money home to our family to assist them, and by so doing we also feel a lot of relief."

One can explain this viewpoint by referring to the notion of a bushfallers' readiness and desire to remit to a particular number of deserving family members and friends (Nyamnjoh 2021). In the interview, Mrs Joy attested that her parents made a great sacrifice for her to have been able to travel to South Africa, and hence she owes her parents a lot.

5.3.2. Altruism

According to Atekmangoh (2017) and Sandhya (2015) altruism is a primary reason for most migrants to remit to their families in Cameroon. From data carried out in this study, 100% migrants from the sample size attested to the fact they feel very happy each time they send money home to ensure that their families are well. The wellbeing of their families back home is their utmost priority (see also Atekmangoh, 2011). When asked whether remittances had helped increase his wellbeing and that of his family members in Cameroon, “Mr Emmanuel,” a 48-year-old man, said:

“Like I said before, my wife is studying at the university of Buea. My kids are also there at school, and my mom is also there. So it is my responsibility to make sure that my mom is having food on the table every day and my wife as well. The more they are happy, I’m also happy. I think it has increased their wellbeing because when I call most times they always have smiles on their faces because there is food on their table, and if I was not doing that I do not think they would even pick up my calls [laughs]. So when the family is happy, I’m also happy.”

5.3.3. Maintenance of social status and prestige

Remittances have been shown to promote social capital and networks and retaining of social status, as well as the emergence of new wealthy elites (Osella 2018). From the results of this study, some respondents noted that one of the reasons they equally remit to home country is to help and improve the wellbeing of their community back home by assisting in some projects, and by so doing helps them to maintain their social status, gain social and moral accreditation within the community or society. One respondent, “Mr David” stated that he has been able to build good relationships and gained recognition and status back home due to the little contributions he makes to his family and community. He confirmed that each time he visits home, his community recognises and appreciates him. He said has been recognised even in church sometimes for the little donations he gives. Because of this, he felt that his family is equally connected and have been helped in many instances.

5.3.4. Humanitarianism/ charity

While some recipients of remittances spend on immediate household needs, others would rather invest theirs into their social wellbeing. This is usually achieved through transnational giving or diaspora philanthropy by investing remittances in the lives of neighbours, support for the church, and community fund raising (Orozco and Garcia-Zanello 2009, Gérard 2011, Osella 2018 and Garbin 2019). The data from this study reveals that some migrants based in Cape Town and their receiving family members in Buea would channel remittances for humanitarian and charity purposes. This is by investing remittances in the lives of the needy in the society or community, such as helping to empower youths to build their future.

“Mrs Dorothy,” one of the recipients of remittances based in the Buea, explained that sometimes part of the money sent to her is invested in the community, because her daughters based in South Africa like to support charitable causes. They usually would ask her to use part of the money they send to support some youth within the community to learn skills and empower themselves. They usually also assist those intending to travel to South Africa and would support them “until they can stand on their feet.” She went further to say every December her daughters would ask her to buy bags of rice and share to some households, especially widows that are in need. Mrs Dorothy, confirmed that these gestures had increased her sense of wellbeing, as well as that of her family and community as a whole.

5.3.5. Belonging and cultural practices

According to Levitt et al (2016) the actions and identities of migrants are rich in social and cultural meanings, which influence their ties with their country of origin. From the results carried out in this study, some migrant respondents revealed that cultural practices are very important to them. Hence they sometimes remit to promote cultural activities in home country. “Mrs Namondo,” a respondent in Cape Town, made mention of the Bonavada association that helps in promoting their cultural traditions.

Mrs Namondo explained that she usually assists her community back home in a little way by supporting and contributing to “their culture.” For example, she said they have a cultural dance

back home called the “Malay dance,” which usually takes place once in a year from January to February. This dance is done by the Bonavada association in Buea. This association involves a collection of smaller villages in Bakweri in the Buea community, some of which are Bova, Bonakanda, Bokova, and Bokwai, where the community members usually gather to watch the dance display. Many Buea migrants from different countries especially migrants from Bakweri usually visit home for this cultural display if they can, to support the activity, and for those that are unable to be physically present usually send money to promote this cultural display. So as a migrant from this community back home According to Mrs Namondo this cultural display increases the wellbeing of households and the community because people gather to socialise and interact with different sets of people.

5.3.6. Feeling of belonging (Bush-faller phenomena)

As reviewed, in Cameroon, the word commonly used to describe Cameroonian migrants is “bush fallers,” which comes with prestige and a feeling of belonging, and many Cameroonians aspire to be a “bush faller” (Alpes 2014, Pelican 2013). Families with “bush fallers” are sometimes envied by other households that are not privileged to have relatives abroad (Ojong 2014, Nyamnjoh 2021). Most families with “bush fallers” also tend to command respect within their local surroundings, and other households would perceive them as living their best lives from the remittances they receive, which could be seen maybe from the nice foreign clothes and shoes they might be wearing, being able to own a car, and showcasing other prestigious lifestyles (Nsah 2018).

“Miss Claudia,” who is based in Cape Town, expressed that the wellbeing of her family has been impacted by remittances; just the thought that her mum has a daughter out of the country that sends her money has really impacted her state of mind in a positive way. She went further to say, “It’s not like her mum and family have been starving without her though, but just that *perception* that they have me in South Africa sending them little money has given them a sense of *belonging*.” The notion that she is a responsible person gives them that “pride back home” and in the community. She added that there is this perception people have in Cameroon about bush fallers; so “even if her mum buys something in the community people will always perceive that oh she has children abroad and they must have been sending her money.”

5.3.7. Properties for inheritance by next generation

Migrants most times remit to home countries to secure properties like houses for the future inheritance by their next generation and maintaining kinship. Boccagni and Erdal (2020) refer to and theorise the reasons and contexts for these “remittance houses.” They argue that the houses are (Boccagni and Erdal 2020: 10) “an asset for migrants’ present and future lives, and as tangible proof of their ongoing ‘social existence’”. They further argue that “Yet, the house also tells (or is made to tell) a number of stories (or at least rumours) to different audiences, on the emigration and the immigration side, on which migrants are not necessarily in control” (Boccagni and Erdal 2020: 10).

Cameroonian migrants also send money home for the building of houses and hostels, which is equally a form of future investment for the next generation (Page and Sunjo 2018). A 52-year-old respondent stated:

“I have been in South Africa for over 18 years now, and I am glad to have achieved some of my goals back home and be an owner of houses and hostels in the Buea community. I sent money home and upgraded our family house for my parent., I built one for myself to stay there each time I visit home. I equally built a hostel for business purposes because Buea is populated with students from different towns who come to attend University, hence there is high demand for accommodation. I still have one hostel under construction so I send money home for this project along other things. I am glad that it has helped to provide jobs for some people in the community. I can also say that these properties are a future inheritance for my kids when I pass on, because they would need take over and control in the next generation.”

5.4. How migration and remittance sending has helped to build social capital of migrants and receivers

5.4.1. Social capital

As reviewed earlier, social capital includes networks, skills, experience, education, and connections (Shrestha 2015). According to Barker (2012) social capital describes the migrants’

ability to connect with either friends or relatives that are already based in host countries. From the data carried out in this study, the researcher found out that remittances assisted in building relationships and networks amongst migrants here in Cape Town, South Africa and their families and friends back home.

5.5. Individual remittances

Individual remittance is that which an individual send to his or her family members, relations, friends, and community in his/her country of origin. A 53-year-old respondent based in South Africa said:

“Now because I’m here, and I’m able to reach out to my community back home, has kind of established some relationships between myself and most people within my community back home. I have helped many people within my community to come to South Africa: Those struggling to make ends meet to better their lives and that of their families as well.”

According to this respondent, when new migrants from Cameroon migrate to South Africa, they are usually encouraged to go to school and also look for small jobs that can assist them, otherwise will continually depend on people for help. Usually, from the data carried out, some migrants single-handedly sponsor or assist people back home especially to come to South Africa to fulfil their aspirations. In such instances, they are usually assisted with free accommodation and food by some individual migrants. Another respondent explained:

“What I do is that I mentor new migrants about life in general in South Africa. Take note, I’m not the only one who does this gesture; other Cameroonians that have been here for long and have had stability also do this, also support our own brothers and sisters who are just coming from Cameroon to South Africa until they are able to stand on their own. So in all, I can say that it has created a good network between myself, family and people in my community back home through the small help I render. And the policy is that if I’m able to help A, and A gets stability, then A should also be willing to help B, and B in the long run should be able to help C, and so on and so forth. and I’m happy to play a part in such gestures in my own little way. And I just feel blessed doing all these to assist people”.

As the speaker states, similar to the findings of Alpes (2014) in the Cameroonian diaspora, most well to do individual migrants are generous and assist others that are aspiring to support the success in their lives and that of their families.

5.6. Networks and building of relationships

The wellbeing of families in the home country is a priority to every migrant (Atekmangoh, 2011). Hence migrants form networks by building relationships that could help or facilitate remittance processes to their families. Keeping in touch with and connected to the home village is measured more through relationships, attitude and behaviour over time (Nyamnjoh 2011). In continuation to what respondents had to say concerning remittance and building of relationships, networks and connections, the researcher interviewed a 33-year-old respondent based in South Africa who stated:

“It has helped me build a good relationship within South Africa, especially with the people I contact to help me send money home as a channel. The relationship has helped me know so many things about sending money home using the cheapest means so far. Remittance has made me sustain these relationships because I know these are the people that I will always use and need for all my money transactions to my family back home. It has helped me to create more networks with different people in order to know different means that I can use to send money home, because one can never rely only on one means. So if a friend at a time is unable to assist at a particular moment, they would usually recommend another person to help, hence creating more network for my advantage. They would usually connect me to many other people hence creating a strong bond and a good relationship between them and myself by supporting each other in sending money home.

According to this data obtained from the study, the act of remitting has helped create bonds and friendships for migrants here in South Africa. This is due to their quest to know the various cheaper means through which they can send money to home country and equally to support each other in

these processes to ensure the wellbeing of their families in home country (also see Atekmangoh, 2011). Another respondent stated:

“It has also built a strong relationship for me back home because my family appreciates me so much, and they accord so much respect for me. The community in which I do a little charity pays so much respect for me and my family back home. They usually send words of prayers to me and encouragement while I’m on this adventure here in South Africa, and I believe that has made so much openings for me here”.

As this respondent states, after receiving remittances in most cases, family members and remittance recipients send their prayers to migrants in host countries for God to bless them more for taking up responsibilities. As most studies of altruism in diaspora philanthropy show, these religious connections connect to moral obligation (Atekmangoh 2017, Levitt et al 2016).

5.7. Collective remittances, and Home Town Associations

Collective social remittances are those that are usually being contributed or donated by groups of migrants or a migrant association or organisation based in host country to assist those that might be facing some major problems both in host country or in home country (Levitt et al 2011, Orozco and Garcia-Zanello 2009). The Cameroonian Association of Western Cape renders assistance to most migrants here in Cape Town in one way or the other. From the data gathered in this study, there have been many instances for which collective contributions have been made amongst migrant respondents based in Cape Town to support each other during times of difficulties. In an interview with a respondents based in Cape Town she stated:

“Here in South Africa I belong to the Cameroon association in Cape Town, and it’s all about helping and empowering each other to grow. This association is not only meant for people from Buea, but to Cameroonians as a whole to assist each other in times of trouble. I personally think that the Cameroonian association here has really helped create positive networks and has reached out to a lot of new migrants by helping them find their way and fit in. We support members here, and in case of deaths, we usually contribute and send dead bodies of fellow Cameroonians home

and assist the immediate family of the deceased. There is always a come together between Cameroonians to assist one another, and I am happy to play a part in such gestures in my own little way. And I just feel blessed doing all this to assist people.”

As this respondent stated, many Cameroonians turn to benefit from HTAs in one way or the other through collective contributions especially if a member is critically sick or dies. Hence money is usually contributed to assist the sick member or the family of the deceased to transport the body to home country and sponsor the burial. This is important because they expressed that Cameroonians would always want to be buried in their home country when they pass on because home has always been their root (Mercer and Page 2010).

Despite the importance of Hometown Associations in connecting migrants and facilitating remittances, many studies have shown the challenges that may also confront migrants in these associations. Pineteh (2011) argues that in these associations migrants often experience conflicting interests. The inability to come to a compromise in most cases is due to the presence of different ethnic groups within the associations. Pineteh (2011) adds that this has led to the collapse of some HTAs and hence some migrants have managed to cope with some challenges in host countries without the help of HTAs.

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Having said that, being that the research directly asked about wellbeing and may have thus elicited responses regarding positive experiences, one respondent stated:

“Here in South Africa we have our Bantu meeting where we attend all the time. When we go there we discuss about how to empower those that are just coming from Cameroon to South Africa because some of us have been here for a very long time. Some Cameroonians would come for their first time and not have anywhere to stay, so through this meeting we see how to assist them with temporary accommodation for a while until they are able to stand on their own. We attend this meeting on a weekly basis- that is once in a week- so we go there and discuss some of these things and we contribute money for that”.

From the interviews conducted, respondents attested to the fact that they built good relationships for themselves with other people here in South Africa through small meetings they equally attend. This is because they put money together and hand it to one person to empower them in any business or opportunity or to solve their personal problems here in South Africa or back home for personal projects. They equally offer contributions and hand the money to a particular member, and the next meeting they would also do contributions and hand the money to another member until it goes round to all members; this is usually called *njangie*. According to the respondents, these meetings have also helped build good relationship amongst them here in South Africa because they can also lend money to someone without any interest to assist in personal challenges and also for empowerment, then the person can pay back gradually within a certain range of time. Through this network, they also do small donations to support the poor. Another respondent stated:

“I think this has established a good relationship and network for me here in South Africa because I have also benefited from these meetings and networks in countless situations that have helped me personally, and also enabled me send money home in most instances when I’m stranded with emergency situations back home. So personally, I think the relationships we create are good because it makes everyone happy at the end of the day”.

Home Town Associations like the Cameroonian association (not named here for a degree of anonymity) equally provide assistance to Cameroonian migrants here in South Africa to facilitate the renewal of passports from Cameroon. This is something that many migrants would have had difficulty doing without support. Another respondent stated:

“Also I belong to the Cameroon association here in Cape Town. The relationships and networks I have built so far via this association has helped me a lot, and other Cameroonians here in Cape Town. For example, when I came here it was so difficult to make things like passports when they expire. But today you see with the help from the association there is a follow up of all our passports back home to enable that they reach us in one piece here in South Africa. If you need some documents from the embassy, you can meet [anonymous] of the Cameroon association. He will help out and communicate with the embassy back home, and they will send the document to you in

less than no time, than you would have been struggling on your own. So the Cameroon association acts like a mediator between Cameroonians here in South Africa and the Cameroon government back home.”

5.8. Conclusion

This chapter has provided results from research to understand how household remittances from Cape Town might be able to help increase the wellbeing and build social capital of family members in Cameroon. The results showed that family members were supported financially with needs like food, accommodation, school fees, and capital for businesses. The research also confirmed several findings presented in the literature on Cameroonian transnationalism, which reveals that these transnational connections have been ongoing and remain important during the Covid-19 pandemic. In analysing the social impact of remittances, this study found out that most respondents remitted for altruism, to maintain social status and prestige in home country, for charity and humanitarianism, to maintain cultural identity, and to feel belonging. From a development studies standpoint, bringing these social aspects into our analysis of remittances allows us to think further about how the concept of wellbeing may be defined and also subjectively understood. In the context of Cameroonian transnationalism between Cape Town and Buea, wellbeing was discussed in terms of satisfaction, charity, helping others, and altruism. The study equally revealed how social capital has helped both migrants and their families in home countries to foster their sense of subjective and community wellbeing. This can be seen in instances where they assist each other to grow in the connection processes and the presence of the Cameroonian HTAs.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION OF FINDINGS

6. Introduction

The aim of qualitative research was to support the mini-thesis and the exploration of the literature on migrant transnationalism and the migration-development nexus in a local and transnational context. 16 participants were interviewed by the researcher, 50% of the respondents were Cameroonian migrants based in Cape Town, South Africa and the other 50% were their family members based in Buea, Cameroon. From the research, Cameroonian migrants attested to the fact that they remit to their family members in home country as a means to support them with their needs like food, accommodation, school fees etc and equally improve on their wellbeing, and this was equally confirmed from the interviews conducted on their various family members in Buea, Cameroon.

From the findings, Cameroonian migrants attested to the fact that they remitted to family members, community and friends because of some social factors such as the need to fulfil a social obligation and also improve on the living standards and lives of their families in home country. The remarked about charity, which touches on research on the role of altruism in diaspora philanthropy. Migrants also discussed being respected; which resonate with the role of remittance sending in the maintenance of social status and prestige, humanitarianism/charity, to maintain cultural identities, and last but not the least the feeling of belonging, which is connected to the “bush faller” phenomenon.

Wellbeing has been assessed in both subjective and community terms. Belonging also impacts the sense of wellbeing; hence social indicators like freedom, happiness, satisfaction, social progress and other subjective and social indicators are important conceptual aspects of wellbeing Robeyns (2017). The sense of belonging as a bushfaller (Nyamnjoh 2021) impacts wellbeing. where the overall motive to remit was to improve the wellbeing of their families in home country. Despite all these, based on observations and experience, the researcher appreciates from previous literature on migrant transnationalism that social obligation associated with remittances could be quite stressful on migrants. The burden that comes with it most times is complex as it also comes with a sense of “happiness” when family members back home are living well. The connection between

social obligation and wellbeing requires further research, because as Kankonde (2010) and others have shown, the burden that these obligations might have on migrants create contradictions in aspirations. In addition, the research agrees with Pelican and Tatah's (2009: 242) discussion about bush falling, as they draw our attention to the spiritual support migrants receive from friends and relatives which could be praying over visas, and praying for safe journeys as well.

Migration and remittance-sending has helped build social capital of Cameroonian migrants and receivers (family members). Individual remittances strengthen family ties, bonds and relationships. Despite conflicts, political issues or community differences, remittances to home community created networks and also led to community wellbeing. Cameroonian migrants in Cape Town are in collaboration and support each other in times of difficulties and build social capital in the Cameroonian diasporic and Home Town Associations.

On the other hand, the researcher argues that despite the benefits that come with social capital, there are some "pitfalls" or limitations or disadvantages of social capital (Portes 2011). Instead of creating bond between socioeconomically privileged and disadvantaged groups, social capital may end up deepening the socioeconomic gap instead. In the context of this study, social capital may facilitate favouritism and discrimination among people from particular communities or societies. This is so because it tends to exclude outsiders from particular communities or societies from getting help or assistance even when they merit it, due to their inabilities of having good networks. For example, most migrants placed in better working positions and or institutions would normally choose to help a fellow migrant from the same home town if the opportunity arises. Faist (2016) reviews the uneven impact of remittances and migrant contributions and their effects.

6.2. Suggestions and implications

6.2.1. The need for Cameroon government to further recognise migrant contributions

Following the earlier literature on remittances and within the migration-development nexus, the findings confirm that migrants in one way or the other hope to contribute to the development and wellbeing of communities back home especially in Buea. They do so through remittances which

helps generate the flow of cash in communities and increases the social capital of recipients and their socioeconomic constraints (see for example similar discussions and research in Brown and Jimenez-Soto 2015 and Ratha et al 2016). Therefore, continued visibility of migrant contributions at local levels may help to understand the subjective aspects of wellbeing in the migration-development nexus.

6.2.2. The continued need for migrant support in the host country

Migrants have discussed the challenges they face and the need for support networks in their host country. While the HTAs are of assistance, migrants should not have to resort to community diasporic networks rather than also having of government and civil society support. From the study carried out it is noticeable that the aim of Cameroonian migrants is to improve on the wellbeing of themselves and family members in home country. Even though, for example, Pineteh (2011) has rightly highlighted the conflicts that might be involved in HTAs due to ethnic differences and personal gains, the research still shows the vital role of diasporic and in this case the Cameroonian associations and or small meeting groups help them to expand on their social capital and networks, and connect to opportunities and openings. Also they can assist each other when remitting either goods or money, updating documents and managing paperwork or employment.

Wellbeing of migrants in host countries is often facilitated by networking, which helps Cameroonians with migrants' aspirations to come to South Africa and get maximum support they need. The wellbeing framework allowed for an understanding the different reasons as to what makes them feel satisfied with obligation and livelihoods. Hence for most migrants, improving living conditions back in home countries and maintenance of status (belonging) is part of what really makes them fulfilled (wellbeing).

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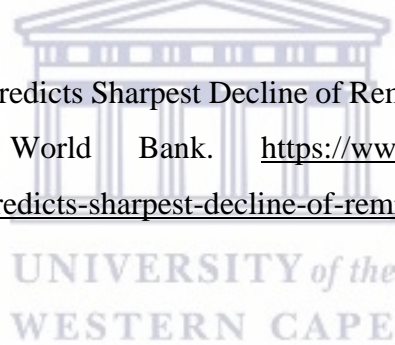
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APPENDICES

Semi-structured Interview/Questionnaire

I seek your participation in a study that I am conducting at the Institute for Social Development at UWC. This research project is being conducted by **SALOME MANKAAH FUH** a Master's student at the University of the Western Cape, Institute for Social Development. You are invited to participate in this project because you are a migrant to South Africa from Buea community in Cameroon. Or you are a receiver of money in Buea community of Cameroon being sent to you by your relation or family member from South Africa (a migrant).

Fill in where necessary and mark an X against the letter that fits your answer

SECTION A

Cameroonian Migrants from Buea Cameroon living in South Africa only.

1. Name
2. Age.....
3. Occupation
4. Gender; (A) male (B) female
5. How long have you lived in south Africa? (A) 1- 5 years, (B) 6-10 years, (C) 11-16years, (D) 17 and above
6. Do you have a family or relations in home country living in Buea? (A) yes (B) No
7. If yes to the above, do you usually send them money? (A) yes (B) No
8. if yes how often do you usually send them money? (A) every month (B) twice a year (C) once a year (D) other
9. what channel do you use to remit? (A) formal (B) informal

Interview

9. what channel do you use to receive? (A) formal (B) informal

Interview

10. if formal or informal explain.

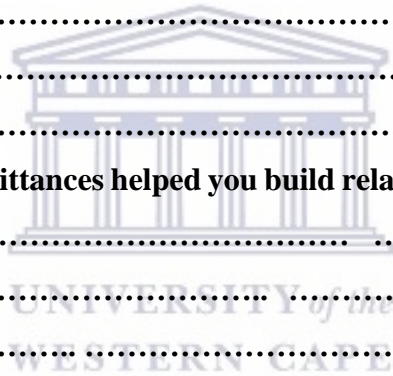
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11. For what reasons (especially social and moral benefits) do you use the money to do in your community, family and household? and how has it increase your wellbeing and that of your household and community in Buea?

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12. How have remittances helped you build relationships and networks in your community?

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Consent Form for semi-structured interviews.

Assessing the migration development-nexus in the Buea community of Cameroon. A study of the social impact of remittances.

I seek your participation in a study that I am conducting at the Institute for Social Development at UWC. This research project is being conducted by **SALOME MANKAAH FUH** a Masters student at the University of the Western Cape, Institute for Social Development. You are invited to participate in this project because you are a migrant to South Africa from Buea community in Cameroon, or a receiver (beneficiary) of money being sent to you by a family member or relation in South Africa.

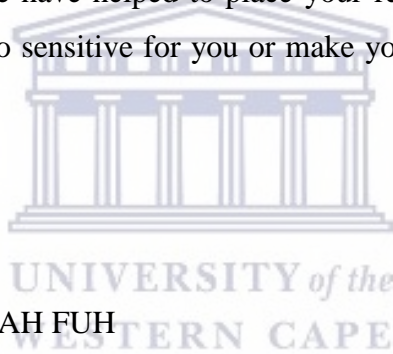
Section A. Cameroonian Migrants from Buea community living in South Africa only.

The purpose of this study is to understand the social and moral reasons and benefits of the money you always send to your family in Buea Cameroon, and how it has helped increase your wellbeing and that of your family members in Cameroon. I will ask questions about your name, occupation, gender, if you have a family back home in Cameroon, if you usually send money home and how often, and if you are comfortable I will also ask questions about how your being here and making money has helped you build good relationships with your family and community back home, with your friends and associations both in South Africa and in Cameroon, and where all of these have

helped to place your reputation as an individual in the society. If these questions are too sensitive for you or make you uncomfortable you are free to decline.

Section B. receivers (beneficiaries) of money in Buea community of Cameroon only.

The purpose of this study is to understand the social and moral reasons and benefits of the money you always receive from your family member or relation in South Africa, and how it has helped increase your wellbeing and that of your family members in Cameroon. I will ask questions about your name, occupation, gender, if you have a family member in South Africa, if you usually receive money from them and how often? If you are comfortable, I will also ask questions about how your receiving money or being able and opportuned to be receiving money has helped you build good relationships with your family and community in Cameroon, with your friends and associations in Cameroon, and where all of these have helped to place your reputation as an individual in the society. If these questions are too sensitive for you or make you uncomfortable you are free to decline.



Researcher: SALOME MANKAAH FUH

Please initial box

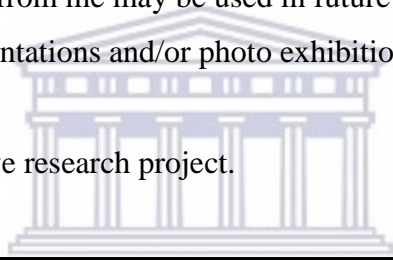
1. I confirm that I have read and have understood the information sheet explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving consequence.

3. I understand my responses and personal data will be kept strictly confidential.
I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my interviews and anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and while I will not be identified in the reports, publications, conferences and/or photo exhibitions that may result from this research.

4. I understand that my interview may be audio recorded or my recorded responses will be saved in a password protected secure location.

5. I agree that the data collected from me may be used in future research, publications, conference presentations and/or photo exhibitions.

6. I agree to take part in the above research project.



UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Name of Participant
(or legal representative)

Date

Signature

—

Name of person taking consent
(If different from lead researcher)

Date

Signature

Lead Researcher

Date

Signature

(To be signed and dated in presence of the participant)

Copies: All participants will receive a copy of the signed and dated version of the consent form and information sheet for themselves. A copy of this will be filed and kept in a secure location for research purposes only.

Researcher: SALOME MANKAAH FUH Tel. 073 821 9781 3942658@myuwc.ac.za	Supervisor Dr. Leah Koskimaki Tel. 021 959 4049 Lkoskimaki@uwc.ac.za	Acting Director, ISD: Dr. Razack Karriem akarriem@uwc.ac.za
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Institute for Social Development

Private Bag X17, Bellville 7535, Cape Town, South Africa

Telephone: 021 959 3858/6 Fax: 021 959 3865

Email: pkippie@uwc.ac.za (Administrator) or akarriem@uwc.ac.za (Acting Director, ISD)

Information sheet for semi-structured interview

Title of research project; Assessing the migration development-nexus in the Buea community of Cameroon. A study of the social impact of remittances.

What is this study about?

This research project is being conducted by **SALOME MANKAAH FUH**, a student at the University of the Western Cape, Institute for Social Development. You are invited to participate in this project because you are a migrant to South Africa from the Buea community in Cameroon, or because you are a receiver (beneficiary) of money sent to you by your family member or relation from South Africa. The purpose of this study is to understand the social and moral reasons and benefits of the money you always send or receive to and from your family member in Buea Cameroon or South Africa, how it has helped increase your wellbeing and that of your family members in Cameroon, and how it has helped you to build social relationships with family and friends, associations, here in South Africa and in Cameroon. This will help to make better policies and support systems for migrants from Cameroon. Finally, this study will look at how you stay connected to home, through travel or sending remittances.

What is the interview about?

Section A. Cameroonian Migrants from Buea community living in South Africa only.

The interview seeks to investigate the social and moral reasons and benefits of the money you always send to your family in Buea Cameroon, and how it has helped increase your wellbeing and that of your family members in Cameroon. I will ask questions about your name, occupation, if you have a family in Buea Cameroon, if you usually send them money and how often? And if you are comfortable I will also ask questions about how your being here and making money has helped you build good relationships with your family and community back home, with your friends and associations both in South Africa and in Cameroon, and where all of these have helped to place your reputation as an individual in the society. If these questions are too sensitive for you or make you uncomfortable you are free to decline.

I will not ask you about your visa or documentation status. If you end up discussing this, I will not share this information with any authorities or business entities. Your responses will be kept confidential and are for research purposes only. Your name will not be identified in the publications that will come out of this research.

Section B. receivers (beneficiaries) of money in Buea community of Cameroon only.

The study seeks to investigate the social and moral reasons and benefits of the money you always receive from your family member or relation in South Africa, and how it has helped increase your wellbeing and that of your family members in Cameroon. I will ask questions about your name, occupation, gender, if you have a family member in South Africa, if you usually receive money from them and how often? If you are comfortable, I will also ask questions about how your receiving money or being able and opportuned to be receiving money has helped you build good relationships with your family and community in Cameroon, with your friends and associations in

Cameroon, and where all of these have helped to place your reputation as an individual in the society. If these questions are too sensitive for you or make you uncomfortable you are free to decline. Your responses will be kept confidential and are for research purposes only. Your name will not be identified in the publications that will come out of this research.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

All participation will be treated with confidentiality and integrity. All personal information will be kept confidential and will remain anonymous. You will be required to sign a consent form before partaking in the study to protect your privacy and confidentiality. The researcher will not reveal the identity of the participants and will safeguard the confidential information obtained in the course of the study.

What are the risks of this research?

There are no risks involved in participating in this research project. From the beginning, aims and objectives will be clear.

What are the benefits of this research?

There are no material benefits for the participants (respondents). The researcher may provide data to your phone in order to conduct the online interview.

Do I have to complete the whole interview proceedings, or may I withdraw from the process at any time?

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. Should you feel the need to withdraw from the study you can do so at any time.

How long will it take to complete the whole interview process?

The full interview session will take about 30 minutes to 1 hour to complete. I may ask for another interview if I have further questions. You are free to contact me if you want to discuss any aspect of the interview after it is over.

Do I need to bring anything to the interview?

You do not have to bring anything.

Is any assistance available if I am negatively affected by participating in this study?

Yes, if you find that the questions bring back traumatic memories or psychological distress, then I will recommend that you seek support at the NGO, Scalabrini, which is an organization that support migrants and refugees in Cape Town.

What if I have questions?

This research is being conducted by **SALOME MANKAAH FUH** a Masters student at the Institute for Social Development (ISD) at the University of the Western Cape.

Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant or if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

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This research has been (undergoing approval) approved by the University of the Western Cape's Senate Research Committee and Ethics Committee.

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