

I PRAY FOR IT EVERYDAY

Migration Aspirations of Cameroonian Youth



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Master Thesis

Radboud University Nijmegen

April 2015

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S4071506

Master Thesis Human Geography
Globalisation, Migration and Development

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Nijmegen, April, 2015

Front cover: students of G.H.S. Kendem in classroom (picture by Sanne Tober)

PREFACE

Finally this day has arrived. The day I finish my thesis. It has been a long and instructive process. One year ago I was in Cameroon in order to collect the data for this thesis. It was a wonderful period, mostly because of the many helpful and welcoming people in Cameroon.

I want to thank my internship organization: United Action for Children (UAC). Thank you Mr. Orock and Divine, for facilitating my research and letting me feel so welcome in Buea. Thank you for introducing me to the schools where I could conduct my research and where everybody was so helpful. Also, the cooperation with Kendem could not have worked better. It was an amazing period because of the welcoming school and Tabi, my wonderful host.

To all the respondents who gave me an insight in their wishes and who were willing to share their dreams with me, thank you !

I also want to thank some people in the Netherlands. Lothar Smith, thank you for your valuable suggestions and input for this thesis. Your feedback helped me grow during the process. Anne-Floor, Anouk, Charlotte, Heiltje, Lennert, Liselot, Michal & Selina, thank you for your feedback and input. Without your suggestions, this thesis would not have been of the same quality.

Sanne Tober

Nijmegen, April 2015

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CHAPTER 1: BUSHFALLING

“Literally speaking, to fall bush means to go hunting in the wilderness to chase down trophies to bring back home. Figuratively speaking, bushfalling is a metaphor expressing both the promise of migration, and the kind of determination and strength that it takes to weather the potential dangers along the way to gaining this wealth and success by migrating” (Alpes 2013, p.5).

Bushfalling is a popular term in literature about Cameroonian migration culture. Although it is in Pidgin, the lingua franca of Cameroon, a lot of researchers use it to emphasize the striking metaphor of the term (Alpes 2012, Jua 2003 & Nyamnjoh 2011). Not all migration destinations are seen as ‘bush’, only countries which have a visible prosperity (Pelican and Tatah, 2009). Alpes (2012) writes for example that international migration to Europe and the United States is desired by many Cameroonians. My thesis focuses on Cameroonian youth who do not yet have the possibility to go abroad, the thoughts and dreams that include their aspiration to go abroad have been studied.

1.1 Migration out of Cameroon

Cameroon is a bilingual country in Central Africa, a consequence of the countries colonial history when Cameroon was divided, resulting in a large French region and a significantly smaller British region (Fanso, 2009). In colonial times, France saw in Cameroon a part of their larger territory in Central Africa. They invested a lot in Cameroon because of the excellent deepwater port of Douala. On the contrary, the British did not invest as heavily in their part of Cameroon. They did not have an administration of the territory, instead governing West Cameroon by the administration in Nigeria (Gros, 1995). This research is about the Anglophone part of the country. Anglophone Cameroonians feel marginalized because of the developments in the Francophone part: two big cities in the Francophone part (capital Yaounde and the port Douala) and because the language of administration is French, jobs in this section are often more difficult to obtain. Pelican (2013) did her research in both parts of the country and she noticed how differently the media spoke of migration in each region. In the Anglophone part, migration was spoken about optimistically, while in the Francophone part she noticed a greater critique on migration. A reason for this could be that Anglophone Cameroonians feel politically marginalized and therefore they do not see a bright future in their country and this can cause the wish to migrate out of the country (Pelican, 2013).

Alpes (2012) researched the bushfalling phenomenon and from her research emerged that while many people had the aspiration to migrate, only a few had the possibility to actually leave the country, about 5% of her respondents. Although countries that are seen as 'bush' are the most preferable destinations, a lot of migration happens within the continent. 52.4% of the migrants stay within Africa (IOM, 2008). Gabon, Nigeria, Chad and Central African Republic, all neighbour countries of Cameroon are the countries where the most Cameroonians migrate to (IOM, 2009). In 2005 57050 Cameroonians lived in Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, from which 42.3% were highly skilled (Dumont and Lemaitre, 2005).

Most migrants leave Cameroon by aeroplane (Alpes, 2012). De Haas (2008) states that there is much attention on the boat migrants who are entering Europe without papers, but that the majority of the Sub-Saharan Africa migrants travel in less risky ways and enter Europe by plane with a visa. Some will overstay their visas by not returning. These are often migrants who came to search for work. In addition to labor migrants from Cameroon there are also students who are registered at universities abroad. An example of this is Germany where many Cameroonian students are enrolled, approximately 1000 a year (Fleischer, 2007). That there are many Cameroonian students in Germany could be a result of the historical links the countries share. Castles and Miller (1993) state that historical bonds often explain certain migration preferences, as could be the case here. Cameroon was a German colony from 1884 till the first war in 1916, after which it became a French and British colony (Echu, 2004). According to De Haas (2008) most migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa are relatively well educated and from reasonably well-off backgrounds. This is important because the trajectory of migration is relatively costly, it is therefore rarely the poorest of the poor who migrate (Skeldon in de Haas, 2008). As previously stated, Europe and the United States are the preferred destinations of many Cameroonian migrants, although some migrants also go to the 'bush' in eastern countries as United Arab Emirates and Kuwait. Due to increasing restrictions on migration to western countries, the east has become an alternative destination (Pelican, Tatah & Ndjio, 2008). This does not have to be their ultimate destination however. Pelican found out that a lot of Cameroonian migrants she spoke in Dubai were saving money to try to make it to Europe or the United States in the long-term (Pelican, 2013). The destination country is often chosen because of connected ties between the country of residence and the destination country; through kinship, friendship and ethnicity, this is also called 'chain migration'. These networks reduce the cost and risks of migration, as there is an established network of people who have knowledge about the destination country and who can offer help to new migrants (Massey et al., 1993). According to Fleischer who is

going to migrate is often a family decision in Cameroon and thereby they do not make a difference between boys and girls. It is often that parents send their oldest children abroad, so that they can take care of the younger children, with the money that is sent back (Fleischer, 2007). There exists some differences in the migration trajectory between males and females however. Females work for example often in healthcare, whereas males work often at construction sites and restaurants (Fleischer, 2007). Another difference is that migration for the purpose of marriage is often only done by women, if men marry a Cameroonian woman who lives abroad, they are expected to pay a bride wealth and they can often not afford this in combination with the travel costs (Alpes, 2012).

1.2 Migration culture

He is also a 'second generation migrant' who received a transnational upbringing and, moreover, grew up within a pervasive 'culture of migration'. As an 'aspirant migrant', he imagines his future life abroad searching for the material and symbolic resources that would make him progress in his home community (Gaibazzi, 2014, p.44).

Gaibazzi writes this about a 27 year old Gambian. I see this phenomenon also in Cameroon where there is a big emphasis on international migration nowadays and many youngsters have an aspiration to go abroad. There is also another side to this story however, mobility has been part of many African cultures for a very long time. In this section I will pay attention to both meanings of migration culture in Africa/Cameroon.

1.2.1 Mobile Africa

Mobility, in various shapes and intensities, has been important in the shaping of African societies. These forms of mobility include: explorations, travel, pastoralism, refugeeism, nomadism & trade (de Bruijn, 2007). The authors in the book 'Mobile Africa' state that 'Africa is a continent on the move', this because of the mobility that is part of the daily experience of many Africans, in the past due to The Slave Trade and ecological disasters e.g. and nowadays because of globalisation and historic forms of mobility such as; labour migration cattle herding (de Bruijn, van Dijk & Foeken, 2001). Hahn (2007, p.149) states that "*migration is not born out of need, but embodies part of the everyday strategies of many people in Africa*". Due to this mobility through the past, geographical and social spaces are linked to each other. Ancestors of families can be spread over several regions (de Bruijn, 2007). De Bruijn noticed in her research that

mobility indeed is important in Cameroonian families, as much today as it was in the past (de Bruijn & Brinkman, 2011).

1.2.2 Current migration culture

Since the sixties more and more people have moved to wealthier parts of the world. Since then it has become easier and cheaper to travel to faraway places. Many Cameroonian families have family members who are situated abroad in the US and Europe (De Bruijn & Brinkman, 2011). Presently many of the younger generation in Cameroon have the aspiration to migrate abroad (Alpes, 2012). Migration aspirations include, dreams, wishes and perspectives about migration without the consideration of feasibility (Schapendonk, 2011).

De Bruijn and Brinkman (2011, p.42) state that *“In western Cameroon, mobility is culturally and economically inspired and young people are migrating in ever widening circles in search of education, life experience, and cash”*. Culturally migration exists because, as stated above, most African societies have a history of mobility and furthermore there currently exists a habit amongst the younger generation to imagine their future abroad (Jallow in Gaibazzi, 2014). In Cameroon many have the opinion that Cameroon does not have much to offer due to its economic and political situation (Jua, 2003). Unemployment is a big issue in Cameroon, in particular it is hard for students to find a job after graduation (Jua, 2003). This high unemployment rate is partly due to the African crisis in the 1990s that was caused by the liberalisation of the market. These reforms caused a lot of unemployment (de Bruijn, 2014) and Cameroon is still struggling as a result (Alpes, 2013). The unemployment in Cameroon is one reason to migrate but the social status one can gain by migrating can be another. *“When a person with no education goes to the bush and then comes back, for example, his ‘level’ and status will be higher than that of a person who spent the last ten years studying and learning in Cameroon”* (Alpes, 2012, p.105). This social status is important for many youngsters, although they have a strong desire to migrate and to search for greener pastures, they also have a strong sense of belonging with their homes and their family.

This dream to migrate abroad is also influenced by social and financial remittances. Youngsters in the village see migrants coming back with gifts and money (Thorsen, 2007). Thorsen (2007) met in rural Burkina Faso many youngsters with positive ideas about migration, due to the colourful stories about migrants that circulate in the village. She discovered in her research that some return migrants did not tell the truth about their migration experience, they talked about professions they did abroad which they actually did not do. These colourful stories about migration and the money and gifts migrants bring back to the village is a cause of the positive

image that many youngsters have about migration. Another reason that could influence the image of youngsters about migration is the wish of their parents. Thorsen (2007) states that many parents consent if their children want to migrate and Hashim (in Thorsen, 2007) adds to this that a lot of parents save money to let their children migrate instead spending it on immediate needs. When a family wants to send a family member abroad they often hire a 'migration broker' to help with the migration process. *"Brokers have special powers, as well as connections that they use for their clients. Given that access to bush is understood as a matter of connections, information on immigration procedures has no value for potential bushfallers"* (Alpes, 2012, p. 104). This can be very costly. Jua states that the costs for this are around CFA 650 000, a significant costs for families when the average month salary in Cameroon is about CFA 80 000 (Jua, 2003). When a family has managed to send somebody abroad, the migrant himself has to deal with high expectations from his/her family. These expectations can lead to what Nieswand, whose research focused on Ghanaian migrants living in Germany, calls the paradox of migration:

The migrants are perceived as socially successful, modern and wealthy in the Ghanaian context and at the same time as backward, poor and marginalized in the German one. The gaining of status in one context is achieved by the loss of status of the other (Nieswand in Martin, 2007, p.212).

As the migrants often conceal their living conditions in Germany, the aspiration to migrate stays alive in Ghana (Nieswand in Martin, 2007).

Although many have the wish to move abroad it is certainly not easy for everybody due to financial and bureaucratic reasons. Not everyone who applies is awarded an entry-visa, as it is a very selective procedure, in particular for citizens of the 'global south' it is difficult to obtain a visa. Further to this the possibility to move abroad is also highly dependent on the help of others (Gaibazzi, 2014). That is equally important in the application for a Schengen visa. To receive this document one must provide a letter of invitation and proof of economic means. Thus for this application social capital is as important as economic means. Gaibazzi (2014) states that in Gambia when people hear that someone has migrated the first question they ask is not: 'How did he manage to migrate?', but: 'Who took him there?'. Connections are thus seen as very important as a means to migrate. Access to mobility is unequal due to the state of finance and connections people may or may not have (De Bruijn, 2014). This inequality is growing as foreign states have stricter restrictions on migration today than in the past, therefore the younger generations are more immobile than the older generation were (Burrell, 2009).

1.3 Increasing communication technologies

In a relatively short time there have been tremendous changes in the field of communication technologies in Africa. While in 2000 one in 50 Africans had access to a mobile phone, this number has risen to 1 in 3 Africans in 2008 (de Bruijn, Nyamnjoh & Brinkman, 2009). Internet access is lower in most developing countries than access to mobile phones (Pelckmans, 2009), but this has also grown in a short time. Internet connectivity is becoming cheaper and there are many cybercafés in Africa (Mutula, 2003). Additionally Internet access on mobile devices is also developing (Coetzee & Eksteen, 2011). In this paragraph there is a focus on the changes mobile phones and Internet bring to the field of migration and also on factors that remain the same despite the increasing communication technologies.

1.3.1 The mobile phone

The mobile phone had a momentous effect on the communication in African society and therefore the mobile phone can be referred to as a 'change agent' (de Bruijn et al. in de Bruijn, 2014). Through the mobile phone, regions without good infrastructure became suddenly well connected (de Bruijn, 2014). This in comparison with the fixed line which was never in wide use in Sub-Saharan Africa (Meso, Musa & Mbarika, 2005). Regions that are better connected can benefit the national economy, but additionally the mobile phone has been very important for improving social bonds. In Sudan social bonds were re-established, reinforced and even created a new network of phone users (Brinkman, de Bruijn & Bilal, 2009). As result of the numerous migration patterns that happen inside and outside the continent, families have often been separated. The mobile phone gives the opportunity to restore and intensify the family bonds (Brinkman, de Bruijn & Bilal, 2009). Migrants often bring or send mobile phones to their family so they can keep in touch with each other, this gives them the opportunity to have contact on a regular basis (de Bruijn & Brinkman, 2011).

Although the mobile phone can cause changes in the way people communicate with each other, according to de Bruijn and Brinkman the way the community functions remained the same. Even over a distance the power relations and hierarchy that existed in a community remained the same (de Bruijn & Brinkman, 2011). As the Bruijn (2014, p.331) formulates it:

(...) beneath these apparent drastic changes is a basic 'grammar' of communication that refers to values and norms in society that have been there for a long time. After all, the family structure, the perceptions of roles, the exchanges of support and information have not changed fundamentally.

Despite the distance, migrants hold the same values, because of this, Cameroonians who move abroad often marry a Cameroonian wife. This is a wish of the family and a way to keep close to the Cameroonian culture (de Bruijn, 2014).

1.3.2 Internet

The accessibility of Internet in Africa grows. Especially through Internet cafes (also known as cybercafés), but also through Internet on mobile devices. A lot of youngsters spend a lot of time in the virtual world. This encourages even more people to consider migration as an attempt to make the virtual real (Pais, 2000). Internet plays a role in the wish to migrate by youngsters. As Burrell (2009, p.162) states: *"The Internet provided opportunities to make faraway places tangible and personal"*. It gives the opportunity to fantasise about foreign countries and migration. To achieve this goal, youngsters want to make contacts abroad. They do this with Internet. This is seen as important because they can possibly help these youngsters to migrate (Burrell, 2009). One way this happens is by Internet-mediated marriages, women hope to find a man who can provide them with papers (Alpes, 2012). It is also possible to search for a scholarship via the Internet (Gaibazzi, 2014). Slater and Kwami (in Burrell, 2009) discovered that the contacts that are made, the pen-pals that are collected on the net, are not valued by the content of the conversations, but more by the thrill of the contact itself, that is already valuable for these youngsters.

There are several reasons why youngsters use the Internet. It is a place where youngsters come due to tedium, either during the long vacations or during the gap between secondary and higher education when necessary funds are being generated for the cost of further schooling. Another reason is to escape the surveillance of the elderly, cybercafés are one of the few places that are dominated by young people. A visit to the cybercafé is therefore not only attractive due to the global processes but also due to the opportunity to have face-to-face contact with local youngsters. Recreational pursuits such as playing computer games are also part of the activities in the cybercafé. The use of Internet can add value to one's social status, by chatting with foreign pen-pals (Burrell, 2009). There are many reasons why youngsters go to the cybercafé and this can contribute towards a change in the migration aspirations of youngsters, due to images and information they face on the Internet and chat conversations.

1.4 Internal migration before international migration

Research is conducted in two locations. Half of the respondents live in an urban area and half of them live in a rural area. This is done to see if the migration aspirations of Cameroonian

youngsters differ as a result of their living environment. The urban and the rural are linked in the migration debate. King and Skeldon (2010) wrote that international migration is often seen as a process of moving from one country to another country, but that there are often additional steps. This is called stepwise migration. This happens when one migrates first from the rural to the urban and after that to another country. This is done to earn necessary funds in a city and/or because the place of departure is often a major city or a port (King & Skeldon, 2010). This does not have to be the case however, King and Skeldon also describe many other processes of how migration can be conducted. That these processes may consist of several steps is described by Schapendonk (2010). His research is about overland migrants from Africa to Europe, where they often stay for a while in transit countries, such as Morocco.

1.5 Relevance

After a bachelor in cultural anthropology and development studies I decided to follow a master in human geography and specialise in international migration. During my bachelor I was always interested in topics around migration and especially when the focus was on the experience of people, how people see migration/their migration process. When choosing my research topic it was for me clear that I wanted to look from the perspectives of people. My choice of topic arose after the realisation of the modest amount of literature that exists around migration aspirations and the societal importance of knowledge about migration aspirations.

1.5.1 Scientific relevance

During my masters a lot of migration theories were discussed. Why people make the decision to move for instance. A famous book as the age of migration pays a lot of attention to these theories. Less attention in this book was given to migration aspirations. Creighton (2013) experienced this as well in migration studies and asks for more research about the phase where migration is considered but has yet to occur. This research will focus on this phase and tries to develop a theoretical model with help of existing theories about migration aspirations. The first theory used is created by two scholars who also noticed the lack of literature and developed a theory to cover the whole decision making process of migration. Van der Velde and Van Naerssen (2011) developed the threshold model where the whole decision phase is discussed. Another scholar who experienced a lack of literature about people who want to migrate but are not able to is Carling (2002). He set out how migration aspirations and abilities are formed. This research will focus on the specific parts of these theories that detail migration aspirations and will contribute to this knowledge through empirical research. The theories will be used in another geographical area to see if the models are equally applicable.

This research will link the migration aspirations to virtual mobility. The accessibility to communication technologies is growing in Africa. This changes the immediate living environment of these youngsters and therefore has the potential to influence the migration aspirations of these youngsters. According to De Haas (2005, p. 1271) *“socio-economic development in the form of rising incomes, educational levels, and access to information tends to be associated initially with increasing migration”*. If this is the case with Cameroon, migration can increase due to greater access to information. In literature there is little discussed about the link between migration aspirations and virtual mobility, and therefore is an interesting topic for discussion. In my opinion to see how the relationship exists between these two concepts, and how this access to information will develop further in the future is of deep significance to Cameroonians and the wider world.

1.5.2 Societal relevance

In addition to the limited scientific knowledge about migration aspirations where this research can contribute, there is also a societal importance. I believe it is very important to understand the migration aspirations of youngsters. Nowadays many people ask themselves why a significant number of African youngsters want to come to Europe. This research can give insights into the thoughts of these youngsters and the reasons why they want to go migrate. These insights can be valuable in politics and the media where topics such as this are often covered. This understanding could be used to contribute to policies about migration. For instance a lot of European countries have policies about migration, why African youngsters want to migrate and how their decision is made to move, influences the migration trajectory and the policies made around these trajectories.

1.6 Aim of this research

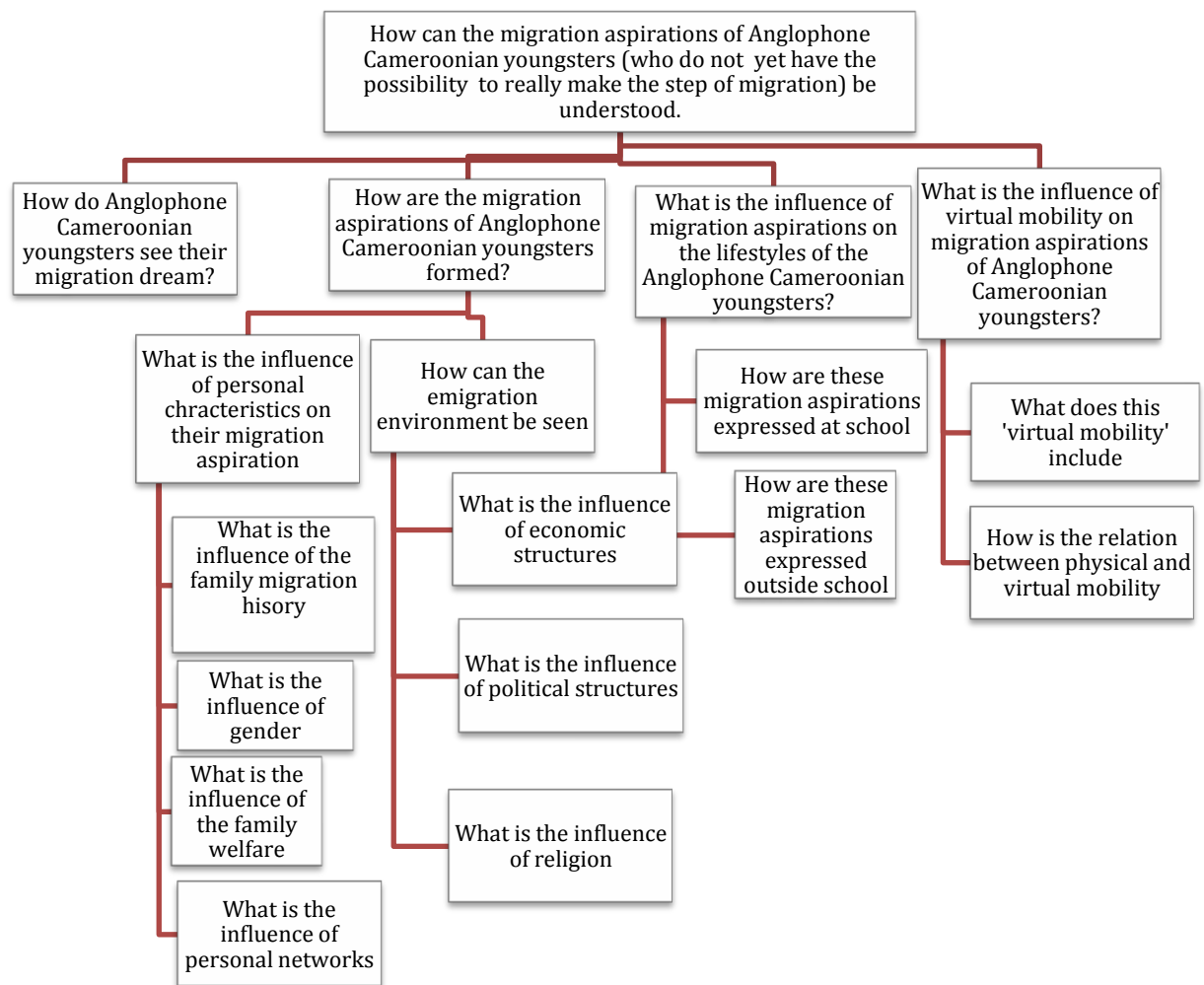
In Cameroon there exists a culture of migration, particularly youngsters have a wish to migrate abroad. Although many wish to go abroad, not everybody is able to make the step. So how can their aspiration be understood, how serious are these? The upcoming communication methods in Cameroon make it much easier to have a bigger imagination. I am curious how this then influence migration aspirations. This thesis tries to provide answers to these questions, therefore the aim of research is formulated as followed:

The aim of this research is to gain better understanding about the aspirations of youngsters in the Anglophone part of Cameroon, who do not yet have the possibility to really make the step of migration, the effects of their aspirations on their lifestyle and the influence of virtual mobility on their migration aspirations.

This aim of research is to achieve a better understanding about the aspirations of Cameroonian youngsters. This is done with two specific goals that are related to the understanding of their aspirations. Firstly this is the influence of these aspirations on their lifestyle. With lifestyle is meant “a distinctive, hence recognizable, mode of living” (Sobel in Stebbins 1997, p. 348). Stebbing adds to this definition that “lifestyle consists not of the values, attitudes, and orientations of the person, but of the routine, tangible behavior patterns that are eminently observable or deducible from observation” (Stebbins 1997, p.348). I see this as an important factor, because while these youngsters can have the aspiration to consider and achieve migration it may also influence their behavior. It can take time, influence school performances, influence social relations. I believe it is an important factor to have a complete image of how youngsters have these aspirations and what part they fulfill in their life. Moreover I want to pay attention to the influence of communication and media technologies on their migration aspirations. Through these technologies international activities are more accessible and this increases ‘transnationalism’. As Ghorashi & Tavakoli (2006, p. 90) states: “Transnationalism is more than cross-border interactions: it is about the ways that the local space gets redefined through transnational activities and vice versa”. Thus international activities can redefine the local space, influencing the migration aspiration of youngsters. I will focus on virtual mobility in this research. When you are virtually mobile, it means that you can ‘travel to places’ without physically moving. By focusing on this concept I want to find out how involved youngsters are in the virtual world, how their fantasies are formed through the virtual world and how it influences their lifestyle. Cameroonian youth is influenced within the virtual world and it could impact their image of migration, therefore I think it is a valuable factor in the attempt to understand the migration aspirations of Cameroonian youngsters.

1.7 Main questions and sub questions

This aim of research leads to questions for the actual research. The main question and sub questions are shown below.



Some of these questions are based on the aspiration/ability model of Carling (2002), more attention will be given to this theory in the next chapter. The first sub question is chosen to show the side of the individual perspective, this is important because this shows how youngsters imagine life abroad and shows the content of their dream. The next sub questions provide more information about the background of this aspiration and try to give more insight into the structures that influence the migration aspiration of youngsters. The second sub question gives insight in the way these aspiration have been formed, this can be due to personal characteristics as family migration history and gender e.g., but also due to the 'emigration environment' as it is called by Carling (2002), with this is meant the political and economic situation which leads to migration, so also what the culture in the country is in relation to migration. The third sub question is about the influence of virtual mobility on migration aspirations. Whether migration aspirations are a subject of change because of virtual mobility. The last sub question is about the influence of the aspirations on their lifestyle, if these aspirations have consequences on their daily life. I chose to work with these four sub questions because together they show different

sides of the migration aspirations of youngsters and this will contribute to a more complete image of the migration aspirations of Cameroonian youngsters. Research is done from multiple perspectives. The individual perspective, so how youngsters see their aspiration themselves, as well as the cultural perspective and factors that influence their aspiration e.g. family that have migrated.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The introduction of the subject and the intent of this research had led us to the theoretical framework. This theoretical framework will be explored using the following three concepts: *migration aspirations*, *bounded rationality* & *virtual mobility*. The goal of this research is to gain understanding of the migration aspirations of Cameroonian youngsters. *Migration aspirations* is therefore the main concept of this thesis. I will start to elaborate on two theories I have used about migration aspirations, after this there will be elaborated on the concept of *bounded rationality*. With this concept I emphasize further on how the aspirations of these youngsters can be understood. The last concept that will be elaborated on is *virtual mobility*. Virtual mobility could influence the wish to migrate because it shows the possibilities of migration. More and more youngsters have access to communication methods, and therefore virtual mobility, these days. This chapter will be concluded with the presentation of the conceptual model.

2.1 Involuntary immobility

Carling states there is: *the age of involuntary immobility*, he refers hereby to the well known book of Castles & Miller: *the age of migration*. He states that due to restrictive immigration policies, many people are not able to migrate anymore while in the past there were more possibilities. In the threshold model and the aspiration/ability model the phase where people have the wish to go, but do not make the step of migration yet is emphasized.

2.1.1 Threshold model

Van der Velde and van Naerssen developed the threshold model (2011). These are three thresholds that have to be overcome before one is migrating. The indifference threshold is the phase where people start thinking about migration, to leave the place where they belong behind. The locational threshold is a phase where people consider the different possibilities where they want to go to. When people have decided that they want to move after considering all these factors they cross the locational threshold. The trajectory phase is about the route someone will take. This threshold can be hard to overcome due to dangerousness or not being able to pay the costs. This model as presented in Figure 2.1 emphasises that not everyone who has the wish to migrate will go, because one could not be able to cross the locational and the trajectory threshold. For every individual the order where these thresholds need to be taken can differ. In the case of family reunion the location threshold often comes before the indifference threshold. In the case of sub-Saharan labour migrants they can already make the step to migrate before knowing exactly where to go to (Smith, in press), but these migrants often have a direction in

mind (Europe) which can later change and be specified, so migration projects could be redefined along the way. As seen in Figure 2.1 it is a multidimensional process. For instance, the location influences the trajectory and the trajectory can influence the locational threshold, if the location is redefined along the way as stated above. The mobility area is influenced by the outside square, these are macro, meso and micro factors which can influence the different thresholds. A micro factor can be the comfort of living in your home town. A meso factor could be the unemployment in the region you are living in. A macro factor can be the migration policy of the country you wish to go to.

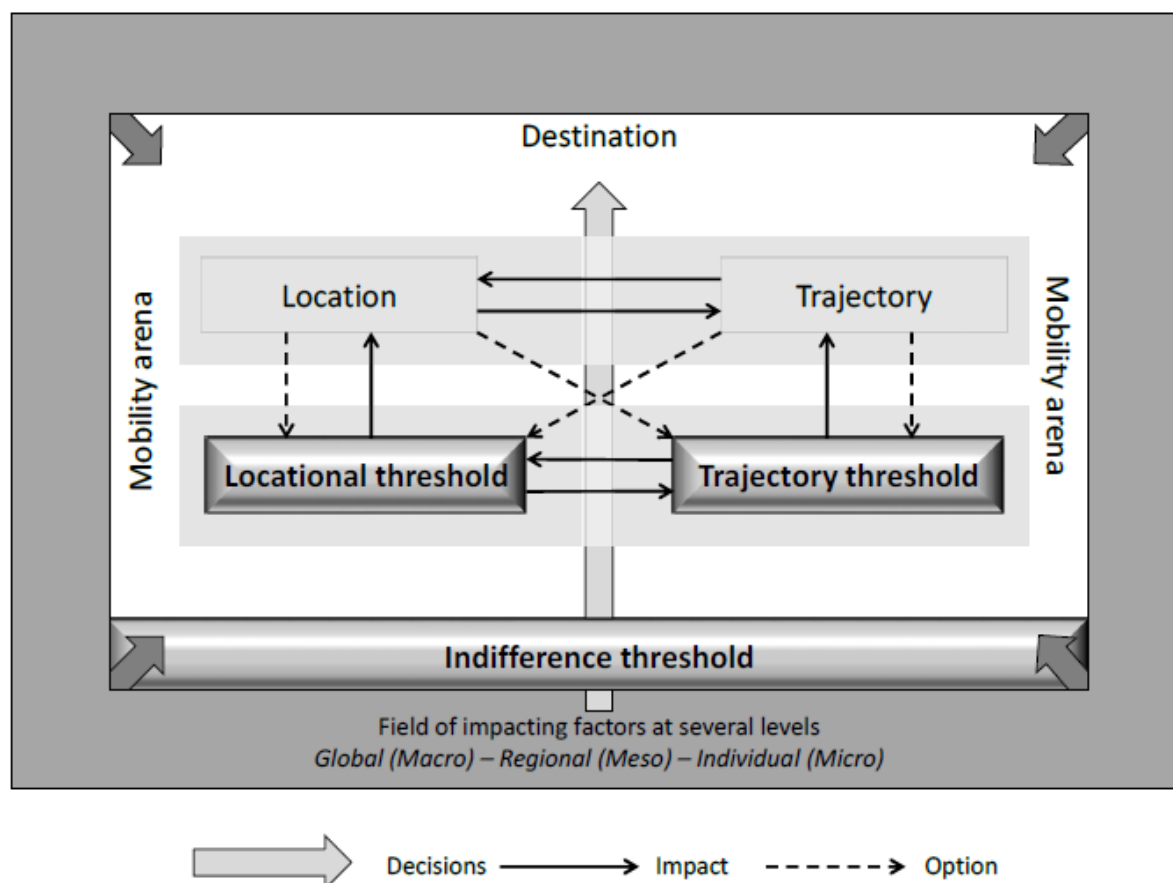


Figure 2.1 Threshold model (Van der Velde & Van Naerssen, in press)

2.1.2 Aspiration/ability model

Carling (2002) designed the aspiration/ability model in order to do research about the migration aspirations and the ability to migrate in Cape Verde. Carling's model arose with the realization that an emphasis was missing on migration aspirations in migration theories. He states that: *"a person either finds migration advantageous and migrates or does not find migration advantageous and stays. In other words, immobility is accounted for, but it cannot be involuntary"* (Carling, 2002, p. 10). Carling (2002) focuses in his model on aspirations, when migration is

preferable to non-migration. He focuses on the wish of people, because this is needed first, after that comes a phase of 'realization of the wish'.

To give attention to involuntary immobility, Carling designed the 'aspiration/ability' model. In this model he distinguishes three categories of migrants within the concepts of aspiration and ability. The first category consists of people who have an aspiration to migrate and also the ability to do so. The second category consists of people who have the aspiration to migrate but do not have the ability to do so, these people can be seen as involuntary non-migrants. The last category consists of people who believe that to stay is preferable than to migrate, they do not have aspiration to migrate and therefore they are voluntary non-migrants. Migration aspirations can be analyzed at two different levels. The first one is at the macro-level and contains the question why so many people want to migrate, this can be seen as the 'emigration environment'. This refers to the social, economic and political environment which are roughly the same for whole the society. I have also added religion to this, because in Anglophone Cameroon there is a widespread Christian belief which also influences the individual. The second level is the micro-level and this contains the question which individual wants to migrate and which individual wants to stay. This refers to characteristics as gender, age, family history, social status, educational attainment and personality. Also relations between individuals are important on the micro-level, these can encourage or discourage migration. The emigration environment at the macro level and the individual characteristics at the micro level are both important to analyze migration aspirations (Carling, 2002).

The ability to migrate will be analyzed on macro and on micro level. The macro-level is about to overcome all requirements, costs and risks of migration and this is called 'immigration interface', immigration restrictions are a big part of this too. The micro-level is about individual characteristics. These characteristics influence if a potential migrant has the ability to migrate (Carling, 2002).

Carling (2002) makes an important addition to this model, namely to argue that while social networks are often seen as present at the 'meso level', this should not ignore certain individual characteristics. He sees social relations within and outside the household as one of the most important individual characteristics. In his model Carling (2002) separates aspiration and ability, although he acknowledges that it is sometimes difficult to place someone in one category because sometimes these two categories intertwine. He still thinks people can be placed in one phase, but that people can move from one place in the model to another. In figure 2.2 the model is shown.

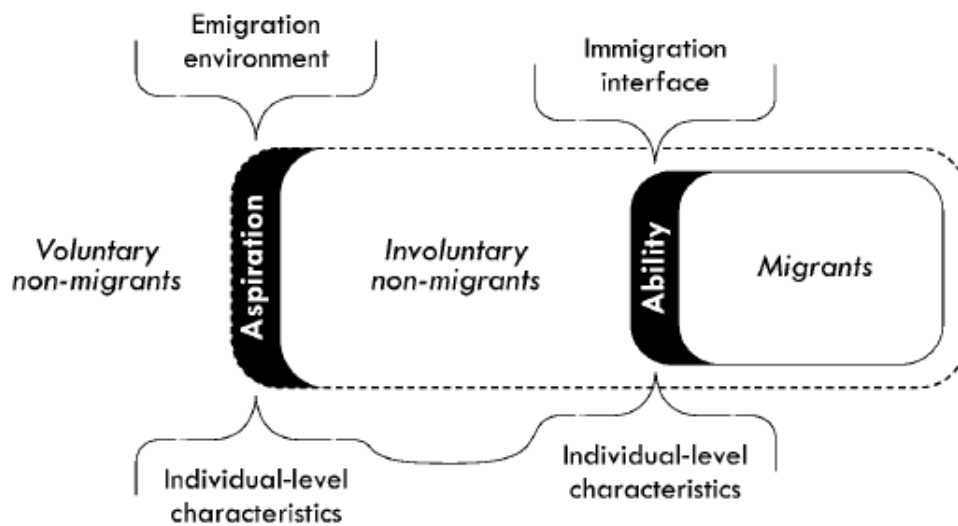


Figure 2.2 The aspiration/ability model (Carling, 2002, p. 12)

The focus of this research is on the migration aspirations of Cameroonian youngsters. Therefore, specific parts will be used in the two models. In the threshold model, these will be the thresholds why people stay immobile although they have the wish to migrate; the locational factors and the trajectory factors. In the aspiration/ability model of Carling (2002) the aspiration part will be focused on. These models connect with each other in my opinion because they both arose out of criticism on existing models, both notably arguing that there was too little attention on the immobility of persons who may have had the wish to migrate. Where Carling (2002) focuses more on how the aspiration is formed, van der Velde and van Naerssen (2010) focus more on why people do not make the step of migration yet while they have the wish to. Although my research questions have more in common with the aspiration/ability model, the threshold model can support Carling's (2002) theory by looking in which threshold most youngsters can be placed, so what the following trajectory for them would be.

2.2 Bounded rationality

The theories above explain how the decision to migrate is made and how the aspiration can be formed, through gender and family wealth e.g. In this paragraph another concept will be elaborated on that is linked to the aspiration to migrate: bounded rationality.

The concept of bounded rationality is about the knowledge potential migrants have about the destinations they want to go to. There is a general notion people are well prepared before they are migrating abroad (Smith, in press). This can have an originality in the push and pull theory

which dominated the migration discourse for a while. This theory states that migration is caused by 'push factors', these are factors why people want to leave, and 'pull factors', factors why people are attracted to other countries. This theory therefore assumes that people have a perfect knowledge of employment possibilities and wage levels in the country they want to go to (Castles & Miller, 1993). This thought is now tested by the concept of bounded rationality. Smith (in press) revisited the concept of bounded rationality by Massey et al. (2008). He states the following:

Many migrants purposely maintain a certain vagueness in the final destination they seek to reach in order to make this dream achievable. Making a list of all the issues they might come across along the way would make the idea daunting and result in them not setting of at all, even though this was their strong desire. Again this shows how the boundedness of rationalities not only pertains to what actually known, but also to what is considered relevant moment to moment (Smith, in press, p.23).

Massey et al. (2008) states that the indifference towards migration would change if they want to take the decision to migrate. Smith (in press) states that this bounded rationality can continue when people start migrating. According to his experiences from his research in Ghana, respondents only focus on the positive sounds they hear about migration and do not recognize e.g. that not everybody who goes reaches a foreign destination (Smith, in press). With this theory in mind I will look at the wish to migrate by the respondents and how they perceive their dream. Is this positively or do they also have doubts about the project?

2.3 Virtual mobility

To understand virtual mobility it is important to see that globalisation plays an important part in it. According to Castles and Miller (1993) there are many definitions of globalisation, but they choose to work with the following: *"the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life"* (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt & Perraton, 1999, p.2). The world has become more connected and through globalisation youngsters in Cameroon are now able to connect easily with youngsters across the world. In paragraph 1.3 communication technologies in Africa and Cameroon are already described. Through these communication technologies they are able to be virtually mobile. Thulin and Vilhelmson (2006), describe virtual mobility as 'on-line computer use'. According to them virtual mobility can change in long term the socio-spatial structures of the society (Thulin & Vilhelmson, 2006). I think it is important in the case of this research to acknowledge the influence virtual mobility can have on the image that exists about migration. Through the Internet they can virtually 'travel' to the places they want to go to. This makes their image more specific and this

could influence their aspiration to migrate. Thulin and Vilhelmson (2006) only see Internet use as virtual mobility. I, on the other hand, actually see all the mobilities where one can travel virtually to another place, as virtual mobility. Through television e.g. someone also forms the ideas and images about migration, the same as when one is calling abroad. I will approach virtual mobility as a collection of different mobilities where you can go to places without physically going to them.

Through the extended time-geographical model of Vilhelmson and Thulin (2008), the influence of online activities as well as other mobilities can be seen. They expanded the classical time-geographical model, which maps the visible movement of an individual over time. In their model they make a differentiation between three types of human spatial behavior. The first one is physical mobility, this means interaction through transportation by car, foot and train. The second one is virtual mobility, by this the two-way interpersonal interaction by computers, Internet and mobile phones is meant. The last type is media-related communication. This is a one-way mass communication by television and radio. A combined form is also possible, e.g. when several forms of mobilities are used at the same time. This happens when one is using Internet on his mobile phone or using you phone when you are on the train for example. Vilhelmson and Thulin (2008) have extended the classical time-geographical model by including virtual and media-related activities and mobilities an individual carries out during a day. The extended time-geographical model is seen in figure 2.4.

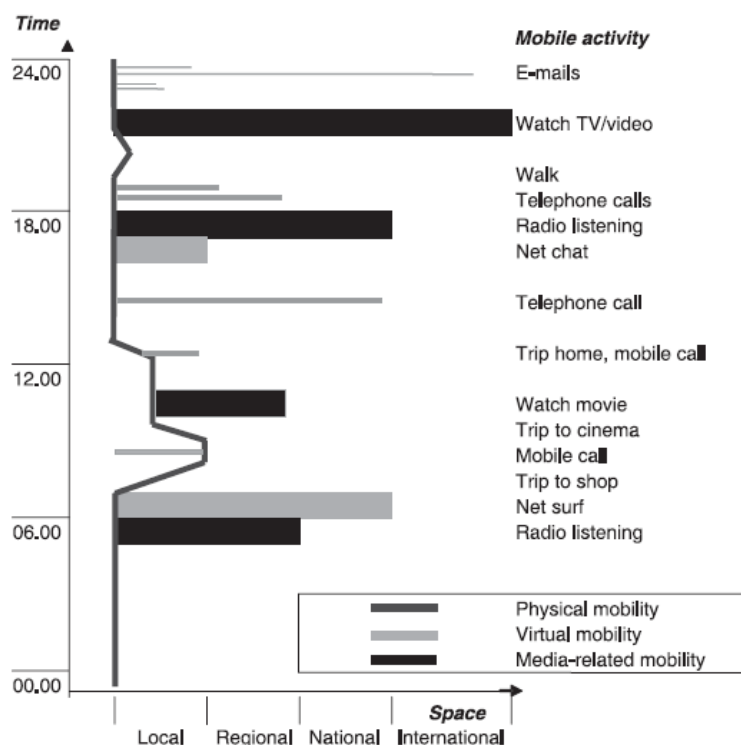


Figure 2.4 Extended time-geographical model including physical, virtual and media-related trajectories of an individual (Vilhelmson & Thulin, 2008, p. 605)

I will use this model to find out what the influence is of virtual mobility on the migration aspirations of youngsters. However, I would like to add a dimension to this model. This is the movement of money and goods, because these flows can also have a decisive influence on the youngster's aspiration. Money sent to the household could redefine the idea someone may have of migration. Virtual mobility can have various influences on physical mobility, for instance that it replaces existing forms of physical mobility (Moktharian, 1990). This could also cause conflict if youngsters are spending more time with virtual mobility than is expected from them. On the other hand, virtual mobility could also prevent boredom (Thulin & Vilhelmson, 2006).

2.4 Conceptual model

In the prior sections the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis have been sketched. From this, three key concepts emerged: migration aspirations, bounded rationality and virtual mobility. With the description of these three concepts I seek to provide a clear image of the conceptual approach taken in this research using the conceptual model shown in Figure 2.5. 'Migration aspirations' is the main concept of this research, as may also be derived from the main question: *How can the migration aspirations of Anglophone Cameroonian youngsters (who do not yet have the possibility to really make the step of migration) be understood.* It is therefore important what theoretically can be understood as a migration aspiration and how an aspiration is formed, this has been discussed in paragraph 2.1. In the conceptual model the factors that influence migration aspirations are seen within the concept. The next concept is bounded rationality, this also influences the migration aspiration youngsters have but at another level, therefore it is seen as another concept. Bounded rationality has to do with the individuals themselves, how they perceive their migration dream. Although they could be influenced by their family abroad that it is hard to get a job, the question is if this will play a part in their dream or that they choose to ignore it, because they do not want to be discouraged. This will therefore influence the concept migration aspirations. The concept of virtual mobility will be used to see if and how this influences migration aspirations. Bounded rationality is between the concepts of virtual mobility and migration aspirations as is seen in the conceptual model. This is because the information which is conceived with virtual mobility goes through a phase of bounded rationality, after this their view about migration aspirations is formed. The conceptual model is therefore a flow chart. There is an indirect link between virtual mobility and bounded rationality. As described before, bounded rationality can also influence migration aspirations without information that is perceived from virtual mobility.

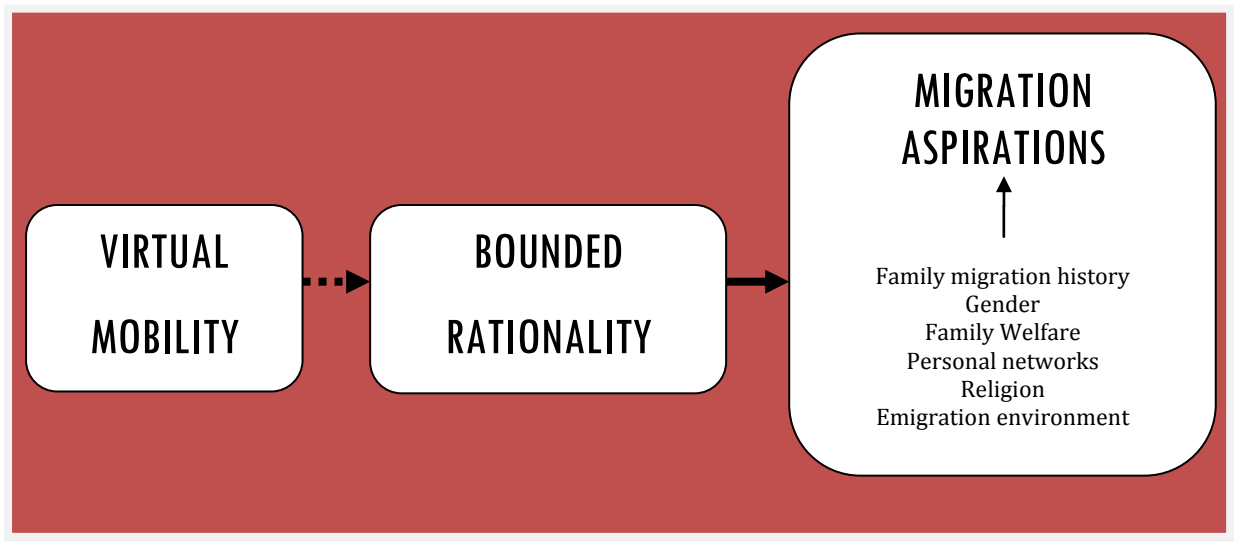


Figure 2.5 Conceptual model

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH APPROACH

I: Do you consider to go to Spain where your brother lives?

Dorothy: I want to go to Holland

I: Why?

Dorothy: I just like it and go to school

Above shows a part of the interview with Dorothy. She did not answer the question extensive. She was not an exception. The majority of the respondents answered the questions without giving too much detail. This was a condition I experienced during my research and where I had to react to as an researcher. How I did this is seen in the qualitative section of this chapter. Before I will elaborate on the used methods and reflect on them, I will introduce my research field, which are other conditions that need to be taken into account in this research.

3.1 Cameroon

In figure 3.1 a map is shown of Cameroon. This map shows the provinces of Cameroon. The two Anglophone provinces are North-West & South-West (these are shown on the map with an arrow), the other eight provinces are Francophone.

In 2013 Cameroon had a population of 22.5 million (Worldbank, n.d.). In 2013 43% of the population was between 0 and 14 years old (Worldbank n.d.) and 53.8% between 15 and 64 year old (Worldbank n.d.). 50.4% of the population with official secondary education age is attending secondary school (Worldbank n.d.).

According the World Bank, Cameroon is a lower middle income country (Worldbank, n.d.). In 2013 the GNI per capita was \$1290 (Worldbank, n.d.). At the time of research Cameroon was relatively safe, the ministry of foreign affairs gave a warning for the extreme north region where kidnappings have found place. Now in 2015 the insecurity in the north has grown with more attacks from the rebel group Boko Haram (BBC, 2015). Of the total labor force in Cameroon there is an unemployment rate of 4.0% (Knoema, n.d.). The underemployment however was 69.6% in 2010 (Knoema, 2013).

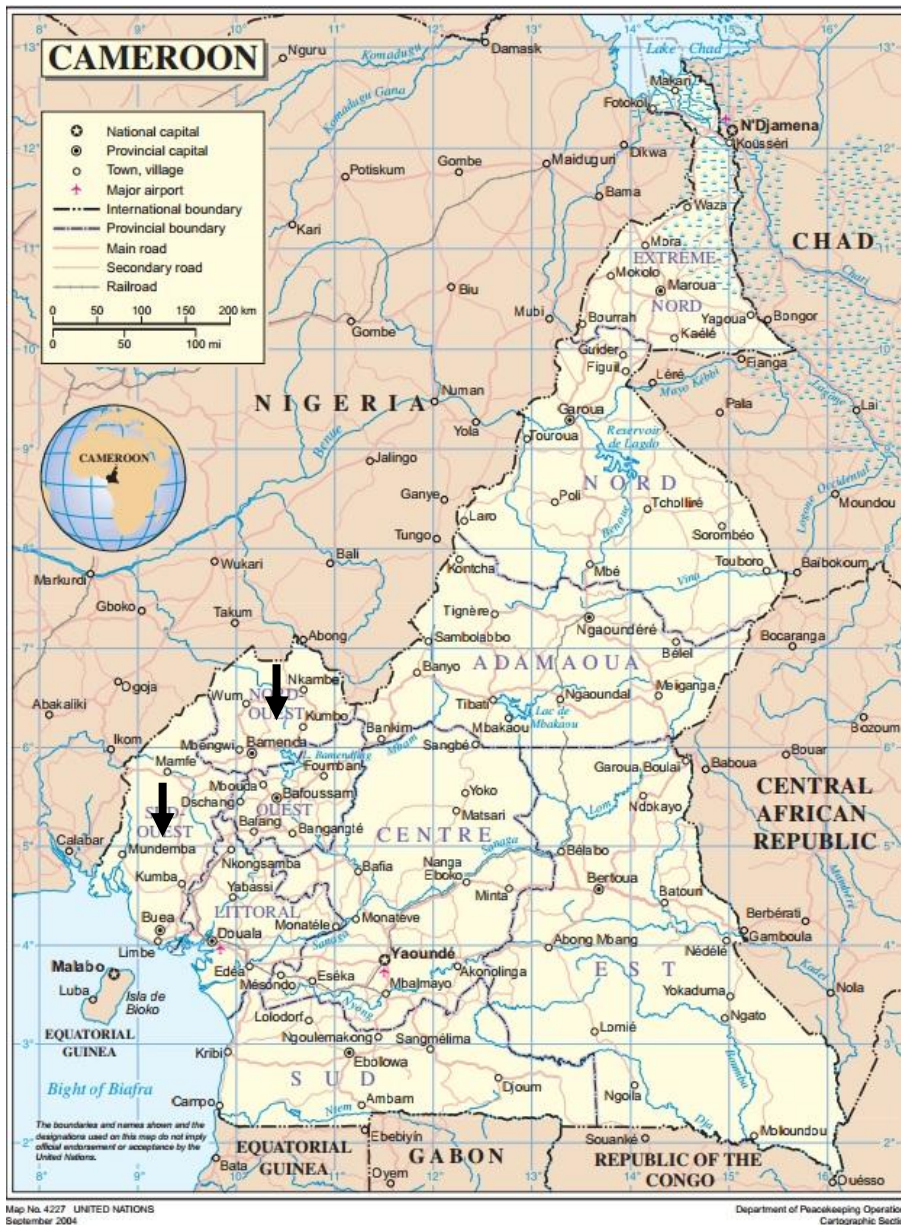


Figure 3.1 Map of Cameroon (Source: United Nations, n.d.) Edited by: Sanne Tober.

The Gini coefficient measures the income equality of a country. 0 stands for total income equality and 100 stands for total inequality. In 2001 Cameroon had a Gini coefficient of 44.6 (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d.). This is the 43rd country, where the 1st country was Lesotho with a Gini coefficient of 63.2 and the 141th country was Sweden with a Gini coefficient of 23. The number of Cameroon is dated, and it is unknown what the coefficient is now in 2015. The Gini coefficient is related to the corruption rate. Where there would be not much corruption, the money would be divided more equally, because an elite would not possess a large amount due to corruption. In 2014 the corruption rate of Cameroon was 27 (Transparency International [ca. 2014]). A corruption rate of 100 means very clean and a rate of 1 means highly corrupt. Cameroon ranks 136th in a list of 175 countries.

Cameroon is known for its many different ethnic groups. There are about 250 different ethnic groups (Mbaku, 2005). This is more than the Sub-Saharan average. There are different religions practiced in Cameroon. More than 50% of all Cameroonians practice Christianity. Approximately 25% adhere traditional beliefs and about 22% are Muslims (Mbaku, 2005). This seems to be strict numbers but this is also mixed. Although many Cameroonians define themselves as a Christian, traditional beliefs are often mixed with Christianity. These mixed traditions are important with funerals, marriages and medical practices (Mbaku, 2005). Most Muslims live in the north of Cameroon and most Christians in the south of Cameroon, although there are also Muslim populations in the south and vice versa. Cameroon is a patrilineal country, with some exceptions of matrilineal ethnic groups (Segal, 2009). A common family form in Cameroon is the extended family, Mba & Bangha, (2006, p.179) state that:

while there is some degree of 'nuclearisation' of the family with modernity and adaption of Western culture, for the most part even a nuclear family household in Africa and Cameroon in particular does not necessarily imply 'nuclear family' obligations exclusively in the Western sense.

With a marriage both families handle the arrangements and the groom is expected to pay a brides wealth to the bride. *"It is considered a token or symbolic gift in compensation for the supposed good upbringing that also guarantees the stability of the marriage by ensuring that both parties will meet their contractual obligations"* (Mba & Bangha, 2006, p.179). Cameroon is a more collectivistic than an individualistic society (Pirttilä-Backman, Raul Kassea & Ikonen, 2004).

3.2 Research location

This research is conducted in as well an urban as a rural space. The urban space is the city Buea. Buea is the capital city of the South West Province, within the Anglophone part of Cameroon. It has a population of 200 000 inhabitants (Akoachere, Palle, Mbianda, Nkwelang & Ndip, 2014). Kendem is the rural area where this research is conducted. This village lies between two larger towns in the Northwest province, these towns are Bamenda and Mamfe. In 2001 a research was done in Kendem, the researchers estimated that Kendem had a populations size of 1130 (Anderson & Krüger, 2004).

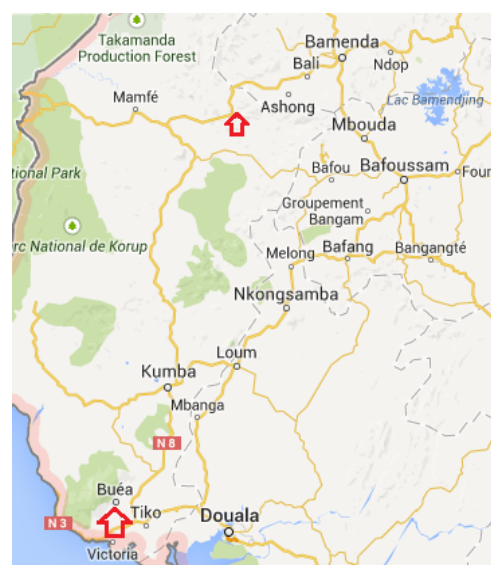


Figure 3.2 Map of western Cameroon where research areas are located (Google Maps, n.d.) Edited by Sanne Tober.

Now 13 years later it is unknown how many inhabitants Kendem has, due to non existing data. In figure 3.2 arrows are drawn in a map of Western Cameroon to show the location of Buea and Kendem. These locations were chosen with help of the organization United Action for Children where my internship is fulfilled. Research is done at two high schools in Buea, a private and a government school and at a government school in Kendem. While choosing respondents I made a division between a poor family wealth, an average family wealth and a rich family wealth. To find respondents with different family backgrounds I chose to select respondents from a private and a government high school. The fees are higher on a private school and because of this I expected that students are often from a wealthier family. In the rural area I only conducted my research on a government school, due to the fact that this school was the only high school in the area.

3.3 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis of this research are the migration aspirations of youngsters between 16 and 21 years old who attend one of the two last classes of high school. In Cameroon these classes are called: lower sixth and upper sixth. Aspirations are seen in this research as: dreams, wishes and perspectives about migration without the consideration of feasibility, as mentioned before in paragraph 1.2.2. The research is carried out from the perspective of the respondents, the emic perspective. It has to be taken into account that the respondents are adolescents, therefore the answering of questions from a stranger could be different than when they are in another age group.

I chose this focus group because I think this is a group of students who are in a phase where they have to think about their future. They are finishing their high school, but most of them do not have the possibility yet to really make the step of migration, because they are still in high school and due to their age and financial opportunities they can only dream about migration. To collect empirical data about these migration aspirations I use several methods. This is done because together these methods can give a good understanding of the migration aspirations of Cameroonian Anglophone youngsters. Using multiple methods gives a more holistic view about the experiences of the respondents that are studied (Jick, 1979). In addition to this, a triangulation of methods increases the validity; this is because it ensures the data will reflect the trait and not the method (Campbell and Fiske in Jick, 1979).

The aim of this research is to find out how the migration aspiration of Anglophone Cameroonian youngsters can be understood. Therefore, the research group needs to represent the youngsters of this area. To make sure that the heterogeneity between respondents is respected I have

chosen different factors and variables of inclusion. I included youngsters from both urban and rural areas. I interviewed also youngsters who have family abroad and youngsters who have not. Also the differences in family wealth as is explained above is taken into account when finding respondents. Last but not least gender is seen as an important variable, therefore 50% of my research group is male and 50% is female.

My research was conducted from March 2014 till June 2014. During this research I had no trouble to find respondents, students from the high schools were willing to participate in the survey and when I selected the respondents, all of them were willing to work with me. Also the schools were very welcoming and it was no problem that I conducted my research at their school. They helped me to find the right classes, told me when school was finished and answered my questions about the school system. On the other side, making appointments with the students was a little bit harder. They often forgot an appointment, so what worked the best for me is to go to school during break to tell them I want to interview them after school and then I came back right before the school was ending. Not all students were always at school, an example of this is when I asked a student why he was not at school the day before, the answer was that he had to do his laundry. Especially before and after holidays it often happened that many students were not at school. At the end I managed to obtain most of the data I wanted, I did all the interviews, but two respondents did not obtain a focus group and I did not collect a mobility scheme from one respondent.

3.4 Spread of research locations

The unit of analysis is studied in two research locations as written before. This is done to compare the urban and the rural, but also to form a heterogeneous group which presents Anglophone Cameroonian youngsters. I expect to see some differences between the aspirations of youngsters from the rural and the urban area and, I expect that there are more possibilities to perform virtual mobility in the urban area. My research shows to what extent this is influencing the migration aspirations of youngsters.

What has to be taken into account when comparing the urban and the rural area, is that the distinction between the urban and the rural is not always clear. In 1988 Jamal and Weeks already published an article that was called the 'vanishing rural-urban gap in sub-Saharan Africa', they argued against the dichotomous interpretations that are often used by researchers when writing about the urban and rural. In 2001, de Bruijn, van Dijk & Foeken wrote that they still experienced this dichotomy in migration research.

The urban and rural are economically connected through multi-spatial households. This is a situation where some members of the household are living in town and some in the village (Tacoli in Foeken & Owuor, 2001). By having several income sources risks are spread. In one household there can be e.g. income sources from farming and from activities in the informal sector (Foeken & Owuor, 2001). Although many urban dwellers are born in the urban environment they still feel strongly connected with the village of their elder family members and see themselves also as migrants originating from the rural area, as Hahn (2007) found out during his research with Ghanaian youngsters. In addition to this *“Building a homestead on a plot of a few acres is an expression of a migrant worker’s membership of the rural community and of his natural desire to be buried there”* (Andersson, 2001, p. 14). Although some have lived their whole life in urban places, there is a wish to retire and be buried in the place of residence of their ancestors (Andersson, 2001). There is a non-material value that people attach to their rural land, because of family bonds (Foeken, & Owuor, 2001).

Households of respondents can be spread between the urban and the rural, whereby they will often be confronted with the other area. Urban respondents can visit the rural often, although they could live their whole life in the urban area. In the analysis it will come forward to what extent the rural and urban overlap in the case of migration aspirations of youngsters and where differences between the two areas can be found.

In the next paragraphs I discuss the methods I used, why I did this and reflect on them.

3.5 Survey

In this research a survey was used to gather a general view of the migration aspirations among Anglophone Cameroonian youngsters, on the basis of a larger number of students. This gives a broader image of the high school population and it gives an idea what the percentage is of students who use Internet; have family who are abroad or has dreams of going abroad e.g. Secondly, I used this survey as a way to select respondents for further qualitative research. The survey is a short questionnaire that asks questions in these categories: gender, age, family migration history, family wealth and migration aspirations. Instead of handing out the questionnaire to the students I chose to do it in another form in the hope that it will



Figure 3.3 Crowded classroom at G.H.S. Kendem.(picture by Sanne Tober)

increase the validity of the research. In African schools it often happens that classrooms are overcrowded and there are multiple students sitting in one bench. In figure 3.3 a classroom is shown of the high school in the rural area. If I would hand out the questionnaires it could be possible that students would look at each other's questionnaires to see what they filled in. This could influence the validity of the survey. Besides this it could be that some answers would not be clear to me and therefore it could be hard for me to place a student in a category. Therefore I chose to ask the questions orally. I sat with them separately from the other students, I asked the questions and wrote down the answers. This helped to clarify some answers from the students. For example one student said that his mother was doing 'business', this could mean several things, when I asked, it meant that his mother had her own clothing shop. It took some time to do this one by one, the questionnaire that I made was therefore not too long. The questionnaire can be found in appendix 1.

I made 12 categories which depends on youngsters' gender, family wealth and the history of family migration. I labeled the participants of the survey with the category which resembles to their answers. I chose these categories because I think these categories can tell something about the migration aspirations of these youngsters and it can show us if migration aspirations of these youngsters differ due to these categories. The division of categories can be seen in figure 3.4. The plan was to interview 2 students in every category, one from the urban area and one from the rural area, this means that I would have to conduct 24 interviews. Unfortunately in Cameroon it did not work out as I wanted while in the rural area it was hard to find students from a wealthy background. In paragraph 1.3 I mentioned already that wealthy rural families often sent their children to a private school in the urban area. Therefore I chose to include two youngsters with average family wealth, instead of one student with high family wealth in the rural area. These categories are subjective, I placed students in categories due to their answers and my own impression. This was not easy, because in my opinion the students did not differ too much in family wealth. Although the fees are higher on a private school, parents could still have trouble to pay the fees and are therefore not able to sent their children abroad. The government was situated in Yaounde and large businesses were situated in Douala, therefore I had the feeling that the families who were really wealthy lived and sent their children to school in these cities. I experienced also some difficulties with the category 'migration in family'. Family is a broad concept, so I placed someone in the category 'migration in family' if one or multiple persons migrated that the respondents saw as part of his/her family. The students that were selected through the survey are shown in appendix 5.

I conducted the survey with 96 students in total, 56 from the urban area and 40 students from the rural area. In total 45 males and 51 females. I found it hard to have equal numbers of the urban and rural area and of male and female. This was because I was dependent on the classes that had a break or did not have class. In the rural area I could not use my research spot in the break and because it was almost holiday, less students were at school. I found it hard to collect as many children for the survey as I did in the urban area. Therefore this number is smaller. Besides this I was dependent on the students that wanted to do the survey with me, in general the females were more enthusiastic than the boys, in the end when I collected much more girls than boys, I only asked for the boys to get this number more equal.

Gender	Migration family history	Family wealth	Category
Male	Yes	Low	1
		Average	2
		High	3
	No	Low	4
		Average	5
		High	6
Female	Yes	Low	7
		Average	8
		High	9
	No	Low	10
		Average	11
		High	12

Figure 3.4 Categories of respondents

3.6 Qualitative methods

To get the most complete image as possible, I use a triangulation of methods. Besides the quantitative method I use four qualitative methods. These are in-depth interviews, participatory appraisal methods (namely: the H-form and drawing out of aspirations), participant observation & a focus group.

3.6.1 In-depth interviews

When I finished the survey, I started to select students with whom I could do the qualitative methods with. I selected on both the urban and rural location 12 students. I took the high schools as a location for the interviews. I chose to do this because it is a location where I could easily meet the students and where I could do the interviews after school in an empty class room. I saw this as the best possibility to have some privacy and to be able to meet the students. I designed an interview guide with questions that I divided in several categories, these are: emigration environment, social networks, family migration history, gender, migration costs, migration itself, virtual mobility, religion and chance. This interview guide is shown in appendix 2. When I conducted the interviews I had to take into account to not use my scientific jargon but to try to use the interviewee's own language (Gobo, 2008). So I did not speak about 'migration aspiration' as this was not a word I often heard, I spoke more about the wish to migrate. When I referred to the countries they want to go to I used 'over there' and the Internet café became the 'cyber'. I wanted to use the interview guide as a guideline and let the respondents talk. When I was conducting the interviews I noticed that this was quite difficult and I kept more strict to the interview guide than I had planned. In my interview guide are some closed questions as: *"Did someone in your family migrated before?"*, when someone answers yes to a questions like this, I asked more about who it is, how close this person is to him/her, but in general I kept quite strict to my interview guide. This was especially because most of the students (there were some exceptions) did not gave detailed answers, but short answers. Over all I did not gather as much as information as I wanted. An example is the next question and answer of one of my respondents: *"I: Why do you want to go abroad?" "R: Because I think study abroad makes you know more about the world"*. This is an answer of the question, but it also could be more detailed, unfortunately I found it hard to get to hear more detailed answers from my respondents. One of the students who was in my impression an exception with regard to the answers, answered this to one question:

I: What is the main reason why you want to leave Cameroon? R: The main reason why I want to leave Cameroon, is because to become somebody very responsible and hard working and all sorts of reasons. Like looking for a good job, because here in Cameroon, in Cameroon though, if you are going to look for a job, if you don't speak French, they can never employ you. Very difficult.

Because I noticed some difficulties as stated above I tried to focus more on participatory appraisal methods as a starting method and then ask more questions about it. With some (not all) students it worked better and I gained more information this way and sometimes while

talking about the participatory appraisal methods I already gained information about the questions in my interview guide. Like this gaining data went more smoothly.

3.6.2 Participatory appraisal methods

I have used two participatory appraisal methods. This is a method that originates from the discipline of cultural anthropology. *“Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) describes a growing family of approaches and methods to enable local people to share, enhance and analyze their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and to act”* (Chambers, 1994, p. 953). I see this method as a creative and alternative way to gain information. I used the H-Form and a ‘drawing’. I have not seen this actually in the literature about participatory appraisal, but one part of participatory appraisal is ‘mapping’, this is where respondents have to draw maps to represent the area e.g. In the article that explains all the different forms of PA-methods it is stated that: *“The research team will select the most appropriate and useful set of techniques each time a PRA method is done and should experience with, invent, and adapt methods as necessary”* (Theis & Grady, 1991, 41). Ndao writes about data collection through play and states that: *“these methodological innovations make it possible to ensure greater involvement of children in the process of producing and organizing knowledge”* (2012, p.239). With the adaptations of these authors in mind I started to ask the respondents to draw their migration dream hoping this would provide more information.

H-Form

The main idea of an H-form is that an individual or a group gets a big paper with a question on it and is asked to give a rank for that question. So in the case of my research: How do you see your migration dream? Then individuals have to give an individual rank, from 0 = extremely negative to 100 = extremely positive, for themselves and write on post-its reasons why their rank is not lower and reasons why it is not higher (Guy & Inglis, 1999). I have used this method with all the respondents I have selected and I have done this before the in-depth interview. I already wrote down the question the paper I brought with me. I have used this as a method to find out their migration aspirations, while this method makes it possible to pose further questions about their rank, for example what is influencing their migration aspiration. In total I have performed the H-form 24 times, 12 times with respondents from an urban area and 12 times with respondents from a rural area. An example how this should look like is shown in figure 3.5. In figure 3.6 one of the H-forms a respondent made is shown.

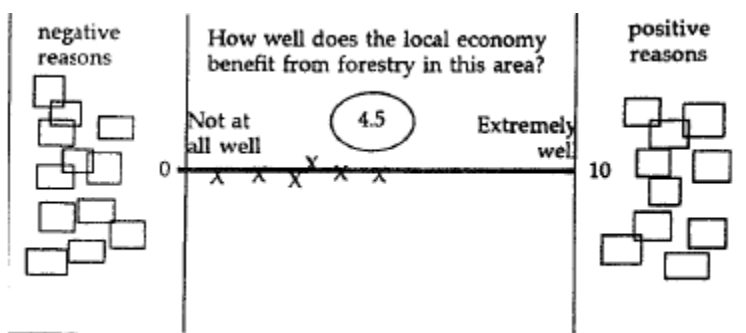


Figure 3.5 Example of H-form (Inglis & Guy, 1999, p. 86)

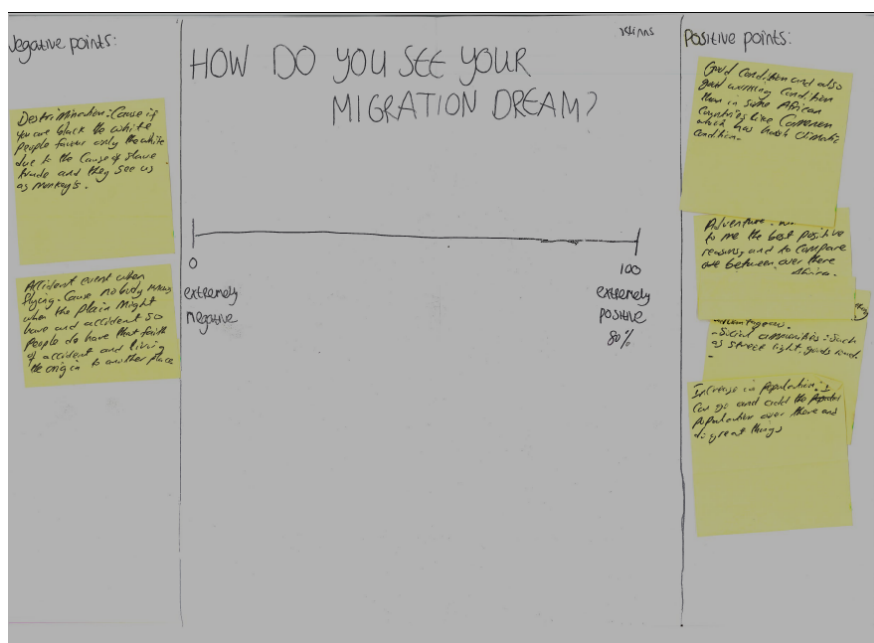


Figure 3.6 H-form made by a respondent

Drawing

In total I gathered 18 drawings. I did not make a drawing with everybody, because this was not part of my research proposal. During the interviews, as said before, I did not gain as much information as I wished, therefore I decided to try a 'drawing' and ask more questions about what they drew. I bought pencils and I let them draw on the other side of the H-Form. Every method I started with the drawing, then the H-Form and then asked the questions I still needed to ask from the interview guide. I have a positive experience with the drawings, I had the impression that most respondents thought it was a little bit weird that they had to draw, or did not fully understand what I meant with it, but once they started most of them were seriously focused on their drawings, I gathered different drawings and one of them is shown below in figure 3.7. Once respondents were finished with their drawing I asked them questions about it. I

had the impression that through the drawing I got a more detailed view of their dream to go abroad.



Figure 3.7 Drawing made by a respondent (redrawn by Sanne Tober)

3.6.3 Participant observation

Participant observation is also a part of my research. Spradley describes the role of the researcher as following: *"A participant observer (...) studying this common social situation, would seem, to all outward appearances, like an ordinary participant"* (Spradley, 1980, p. 54). I planned this to do more in my research, but when I was there I experienced some difficulties with it. The target group was not really a group I would see outside of school, although I saw them sometimes on the streets near school. When I saw respondents within school or on the streets I had a quick chat with them. This was because we had a social relation and I felt a little bit uncomfortable to always bring the subject migration up, therefore most of my information was gathered when I had an appointment with them and spoke with them personally than with the informal talks we had. Furthermore I observed the schools and street life and I spoke informally with university students about migration, so this gave me information about migration in Cameroon. It was not really a method to gain information about the migration aspirations of respondents, because I did not really felt part of the students at the high schools, I felt more as an outsider. I think you have to stay longer to become part of a community, as they also prescribe for participant observers to do fieldwork for a longer period.

I have performed participant observation in another way, I went with four respondents to the cybercafé to see what their activities were on the Internet. I had made an appointment with

them separately where I paid for an hour in the cybercafé and I sat next to them and wrote down what they did and asked some questions about their activities, this gave me insight about the Internet use of these respondents.

3.6.4 Focus group

During my research I wanted to do something with the time-geographical model. I designed a form, which is seen in appendix 3, where the respondents had to fill in their mobility in several forms every day for one week. I asked them to fill in their physical mobility, how much television they watched, how much they called, how often they went on the Internet and if they received any goods or money. The idea was to collect the forms and do a focus group with 5/6/7 students every time, so in total 4 focus groups about the way these forms influence their aspirations (the guideline for these questions can be found in Appendix 4). In a focus group respondents are encouraged to talk with each other instead of just answering the question of a researcher. The advantage of a focus group could be, if it works well, that the research is going to a new and unexpected direction for the researcher (Kitzinger, 1995). I noticed in the focus groups that I got answers that I did not expect from them, this was because through the group dynamics respondents were complementing each other. Practically it was not so easy to perform the focus groups. An example of this was my first focus group, I went on a Wednesday to the government school in Buea where the students would finish their mobility forms on Thursday. I called them together, they were all at school, I told them that I came Friday to school to do a focus group with them after school, so they had to bring their papers with them. On Thursday night I texted them all (except one which did not have a phone), Friday I came to school and there were only 3 students, 2 did not come to school that day. When I came back from the rural area I tried to do a discussion with the other 2 students from the government school in Buea and on the last day of school this worked out. I did this a little bit later in my research, it was at the end of the school's term, it often happened that not all students were at school so I did some focus groups with multiple students but I also talked through the form sometimes with just one respondent.

3.7 Data analysis

After the collection of the data I had to translate the data into 'analyzable' content. I did this through transcribing, coding and further use of Excel and Word. I will discuss this in the following topics.

3.7.1 Transcribing

When I performed an interview I recorded it with my phone and also tried to write down as much as possible. The interviews were not done in the ideal situation to record it. I did my interviews at the school often in an empty class after school. Often there were other children around after school, mostly in other classes, but because the acoustics were so bad, there was a lot of background noise and therefore when listening to the recordings, it is hard to hear what is said. Therefore I tried to write down as much as possible, but this in combination with the short answers did not bring me to long transcripts. What was said with the drawing and H-form I also transcribed. The subjects and questions were mostly the same and therefore I did not write down all the things I said, only when I saw this as necessary.

3.7.2 Coding

In order to ensure compatibility in findings gained through the various methods I used several main codes and sub codes. In the box underneath the main codes and their sub codes are showed. These codes were assigned to parts of transcribed interviews in Word.

Emigration environment: economic environment, education, knowledge about migration, political environment, religion & social status

Family migration history: contact with family abroad & information family member is giving

Family welfare: able to support migration dream & financial status

Future family plans: stay abroad, wish to start a family & women/husband from where

Individual dream: negative points about migration, planning the dream, preferred country & reasoning the wish

Migration wish expressed: wish expressed at school, wish expressed outside school

Personal networks: friends abroad, other Cameroonians abroad, supportive family & supportive friends

Remittances: financial remittances & social remittances

Virtual mobility: influence of Internet, influence of phone, influence of television & use of Internet

3.7.3 Further use of Excel & Word

The questionnaire of the survey I typed down in Excel. With this I have an overview of the several answers. It is not really an extensive survey and the numbers are not equal, therefore I do not use SPSS. With the help of Excel and Word, where I made some graphics in, I can say enough about the data for my research. This is also because the focus of my research is on the qualitative methods.

3.8 Bridge to empirical chapters

In this chapter the methodology that is used in this research has been discussed. The data which is collected through the different methods will be analyzed in the coming three empirical chapters. The information that was given about Cameroon will be partly discussed in chapter 5, but also serves as background information while reading the chapters, to know the context of the research.

CHAPTER 4: THE DREAM TO MIGRATE

Kelly is a 17 year old girl who lives in Buea. She attends the private school 'Salvation' in the area Molyko, where she is in her final year of high school. On Monday she walks to school at 7.30 in her yellow uniform. Here she meets her fellow students, from lower classes and also students from upper 6th. As the exams are coming closer she spends a lot of time studying at school. She also goes to church to study. In the evenings after school she often watches television, such as the show 'Sa pili mo' or 'Hand full of tears' on the channel 'My TV Africa'. On Sunday mornings she goes to church from 6.30 to 8.30 am and after church she spends one hour at the cybercafé to search literature for school and to chat with her friends. In the afternoon she travels to Douala where her father lives.

Samuel is an 18 year old boy who lives in Kendem. To go to school he has to walk about 10 minutes. He is the oldest of 5 children. He is in upper 6th so he is preparing for his exams. According to the teachers he is a good student, but due to his low family wealth it is not sure if he will be able to continue his studies. He goes to school from Monday to Friday and in the evenings he sometimes watches television, Nigerian movies mostly. On Saturdays he goes to the farm from 2 to 5 pm to help his family. On Sundays he goes to church or spends a day in the house. In the weekend he surfs on the Internet on his mobile phone to download music.

Above is sketched the mobility pattern of two respondents, one from the urban area and one from the rural area. In this chapter I will show how respondents see their migration dream, in rural and in urban areas. The outcome is an answer to the first sub question: *How do Anglophone Cameroonian youngsters see their migration dream?*

4.1 Reasons to move

Although in the literature is described that many of youngsters have a wish to migrate, I wanted to see if this was actually the case when I started my research in Cameroon. In the rural and urban area I started with a survey to select students. From the 96 students who attended the survey 93 had the wish to migrate abroad. These numbers correspond with the literature, in which is written about a wide-spread wish to move abroad (see paragraph 1.2). What are the reasons of these students wanting to move abroad? In figure 4.1 the answers of this survey question are shown in a chart. 88 students answered the following question: why do you want to move abroad? I divided the answers in 6 categories: educational opportunities, better social status, see other places, help family, economical opportunities & doing sport.

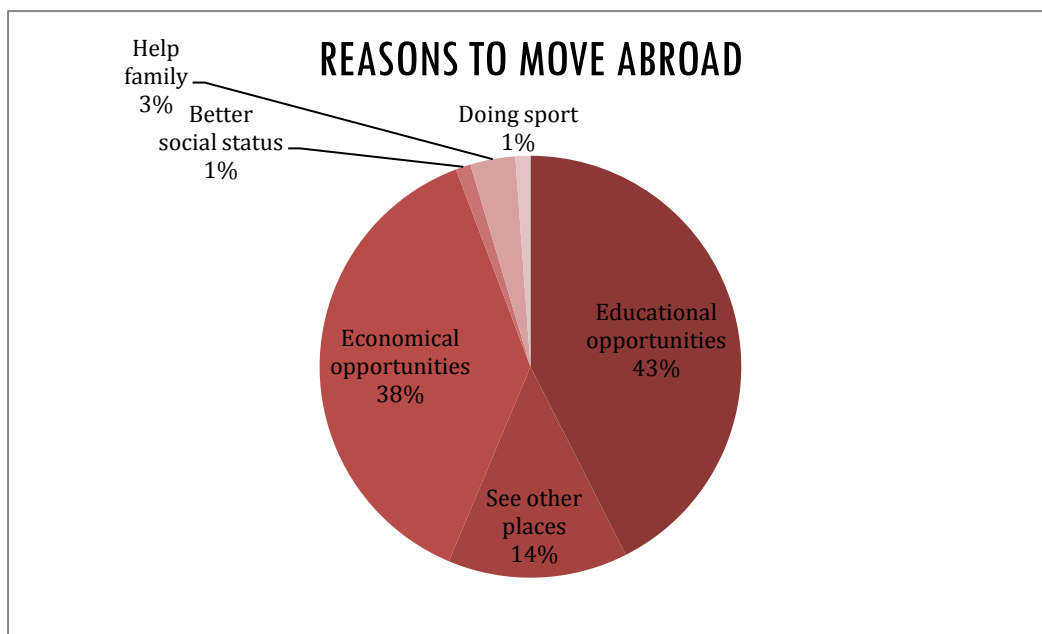


Figure 4.1 Reasons to move abroad, answers from survey

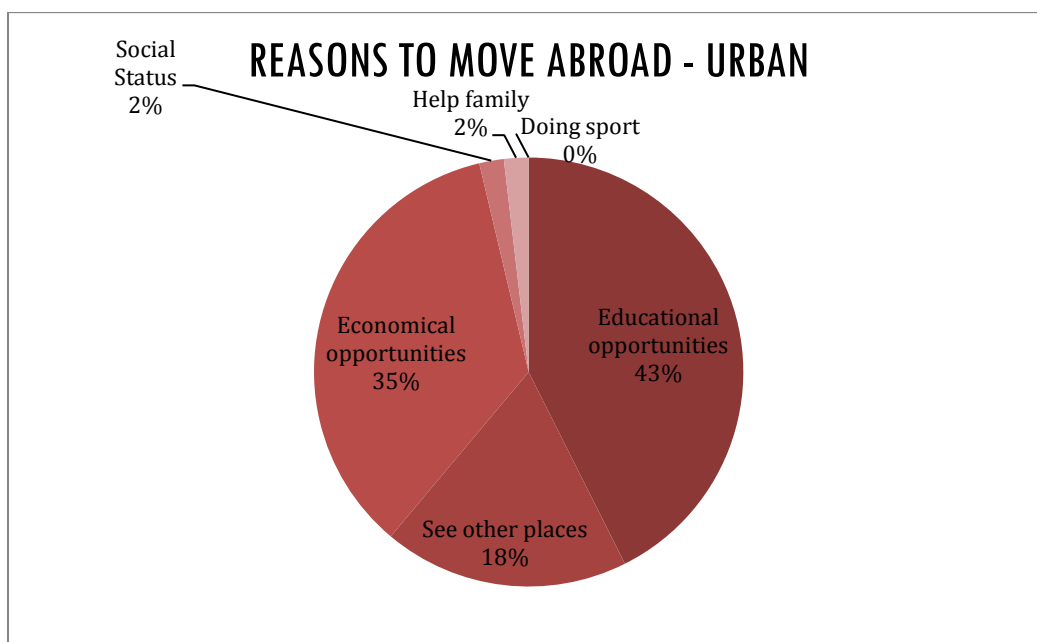


Figure 4.2 Reasons to move abroad, answers from survey of urban respondents

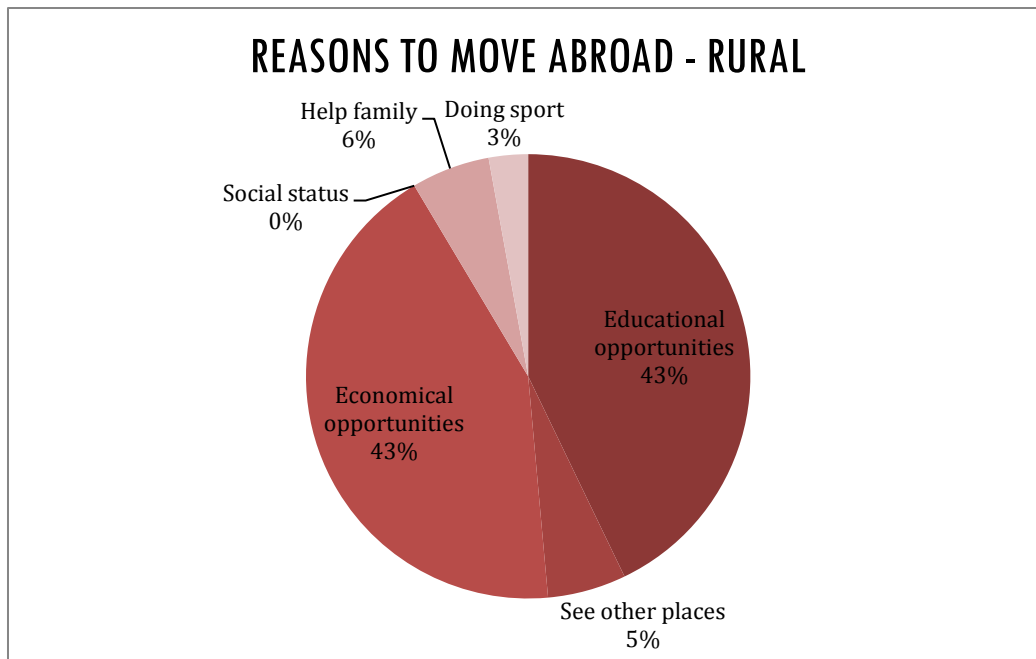


Figure 4.3 Reasons to move abroad, answers from survey of rural respondents

In figure 4.2 & 4.3 the answers to the question “why they want to move abroad” are shown, respectively from students in an urban area and students in a rural area. In the urban area, the wish to see other places was much more mentioned than in the rural area. This difference could be explained by the more images urban people see in daily life about life abroad than people in the rural area. There are a lot more televisions and posters in street life for instance showing images of life abroad. The wish ‘to help family’ was mentioned more in the rural area than in the urban area. In the rural area many respondents came from a family with a low family wealth, therefore the wish to help them could be stronger. In the urban area more students expressed the wish to study abroad. A reason for this could be that they already have more opportunities to continue their studies.

A lot of students who participated in the survey had the wish to study abroad. I think this is partly influenced by a lot of stories these students know about youngsters who have been studying abroad. The brother of Hastings e.g. studies in Dubai to be a doctor. Hastings is still in high school but also wants to study abroad. The sister of Kelly is studying in Germany, Kelly states in the H-form that *“All I know is that I always thought that I want to attend university abroad”*. Not everybody has a brother or sister who is studying abroad, but in Cameroon these stories are often heard. I think that, for students, moving abroad is a good opportunity. A lot of answers from students stated that living abroad will improve their lives. They believe more jobs and more income are available abroad. This belongs to the category ‘economical opportunities’.

A lot of students talked about the high unemployment under graduates in Cameroon, this is seen for many students as a reason to study abroad or move abroad to try to find a job.

4.2 Positive points about migration

As stated above, many students would like to move abroad and find a job. It is clear for the majority of the respondents that finding a job abroad is a lot easier than in Cameroon. During my fieldwork I noticed the positive image many Cameroonians and also respondents have about migration. I asked respondents to fill in the H-Form. They had to rate the question 'how do you see your migration dream?' with a number between 1% and 100%. In total 20 respondents answered this question. The answers are seen in the table below.

%	50	60	70	80	90	100	Total
Urban	1	1	2	3	3	2	12
Rural	1		2	1	1	3	8
Total respondents	2	1	4	4	4	5	20

Most of the respondents answered the question with a high rate. When I asked them what the positive reasons are of their migration dream I got several answers, I selected some answers:

- A person can easily be employed without using any bribe (*Sylvanus*)
- Becoming rich, I will take my family out of the extreme poverty that has been roaming the past en present generation (*Samuel*)
- I will like to go because of the high standard of living which is there (*Etuge*)
- Social amenities: such as street light, good roads (*Klinns*)
- I see my migration dream to positive in that I will meet and see many friends (*Valery*)
- It is not that I don't like Cameroon, I just want to go out and make life better, because over there is more fortune and people succeed. I have a wish to be like them and that is why I am working hard and with god everything is possible. (*Kelly*)

'Improve living standards' is one of the main themes in these answers. I asked them how life will look like abroad and asked them if they could draw it for me. A few drew themselves as the profession they want to be, but then abroad. Ibrahim drew two farmers, one boy with a machete by which he wrote: home. The other boy had machinery to harvest with. Next to this picture he wrote: abroad. Hastings drew a doctor and Queenta drew a hairdresser. Some respondents also drew themselves in nice suits with a house, car and a wife. Samuel drew a man and wrote with it:

'Dress in good cloth. I would like to be a gentleman of high reputable standard. A man who will be able to take care of his family.' Alice drew a girl who is holding hands with another person and wrote with it: *'going for shopping with a friend'*. Sandra drew an office, a car, a house, herself, her husband and three children. She told me that she wanted her husband to be white so she gets handsome and beautiful children.

These answers give an insight in the dreams these students have about migration. They dream of improving their life by better jobs and more money. As Klinns states:

Job opportunities too much over there. Over there if you have a talent you can have more income, but here, you can have a talent, but it is wasted. But over there, at least you can do something. There are so many things you can do.

I also asked the respondents if they have a specific country in mind where they want to go to. A lot of respondents have the wish to move to Britain, Canada or the USA. This could be related to the language, because my research was done in the Anglophone part of Cameroon. Other countries in Europe that were named were: Switzerland, Belgium and Holland. This was mostly because the respondent knew someone who was living in that country. Dubai and South Africa were also named as destinations outside Europe. Dubai especially was named a few times and this is seen as an upcoming destination for African migrants (see paragraph 1.1). That these preferred destinations can change, shows Adelle. In the survey she told me that her wish was to move to Canada. When I spoke her during a focus group at the end of my research this was changed. She wants to go to South-Korea now, because a teacher of her lives there and he could help her.

Generally I noticed that the respondents have a bright image of the countries they want to go to. As seen above they have the idea that they can easily obtain a job and earn money. The idea of having 'white' friends abroad also motivated a few respondents. I noticed that some respondents were looking up to me and admired me. Dorothy e.g. told me the following: *"I want to be like you"*. I always asked respondents if they wanted to ask something about life in Europe, most respondents did not ask more then: *'how is life over there?'*.

4.3 Doubts about migration

Besides reasons why someone wants to move abroad, there could be reasons why someone has doubts to migrate. In the H-form I asked them about the difficulties of migration, why they did

not rate the question: 'how do you see your migration dream' with 100%. Underneath I portray some of their answers which were seen as difficulties of migration:

- It is negative due to the policies of the country. For instance the taxes and even the visa. (*Ibrahim*)
- I will lose my tradition in the village because when I go it will not be easy to go back (*Divine*)
- Discrimination: cause if you are black the white people favour only the white due to the slave trade and they see us as monkeys. (*Klinns*)
- As I will be going I am going to miss my family members and they will also miss me (*Alice*)
- Negatively I know it will be difficult for me to become used with the climate and food in Europe, because I know it is different from those in Africa (*Queenta*)
- It will also affect me negatively because of the language barrier, I will find it difficult to communicate with one another (*Augusia*)

For most respondents it was hard to think of difficulties. Most gave more positive points in the H-form than negative points, but at the end I got several answers. A lot of respondents said a difficulty is that they are going to miss their family so much. They did not really see this as a point to stay in Cameroon however. A reason for this could be that many respondents were used to not see some family members for a while. A lot of them were living with their aunt or cousin while going to school. The reasons of Ibrahim, Klinns and Augusia were just named once. These were reasons that were not really on the mind of most respondents. The answer of Divine shows a strong affection with his village, one other female respondent from the rural location gave this reason too on the H-form. Not one respondent from an urban location gave this kind of answer. I also noticed also a difference in gender, some girls had the same answer as Queenta. Not many, but more than boys did.

During the interviews with respondents I asked them more questions about difficulties of migration. About the papers and money they needed in order to migrate and also about cultural differences they could experience. When I asked them about the required paperwork the visa, some did not know what I meant. I expected that respondents would speak more about the problems of getting a visa. Gaibazzi (2014, p. 38) states that: "*Gambians talk a lot about visas, but relatively few obtain them, and many have never even seen one in their lives.*" Because of this quote I had the impression that in Cameroon people would discuss this topic frequently. I experienced

this differently in the field, where money was seen as the most important reason of migration in order to make everything possible. A few respondents mentioned the required visa, especially the respondents who already had family living abroad. Another explanation could be the age of the respondents. They were not well informed about the paperwork in the migration process as they were still in school and unable to migrate yet.

I asked them if they thought it was easy to start living in a foreign country and what kind of cultural differences they thought they would experience. Some did not see any difficulties by moving to another country. Others thought they would experience difficulties in the beginning, but after a while they would get used to it. Divine told me:

In fact, when I am there for a while, I will be sick, think of my friends and then the type of food I will be eating there, I will be thinking of my mom, it will make me sick for a while, the water that I am drinking there. Before my system is adapted to the whiteman style. It take some time.

A lot of them see another culture as something they need to adapt to, it would not be so difficult. Klinns says: *"They say when you go to Rome, do what the Romans do. What they want me to do, I do it. And when I come back here, I do my own culture"*. Most respondents did not see cultural differences as an obstacle. It was only mentioned a few times on the H-form.

4.4 Planning the dream

All 24 respondents have a wish to migrate. When do they think they are able to migrate? I asked them where they see themselves in 5 years and when they want to travel abroad. Many of them told me that it depends on when they have sufficient money. Some doubt if they ever get the possibility to move abroad. Ibrahim said: *"My chances are limited, because of my family background, they are not rich. Can't support me that well"*. Others acknowledged that their family has not much money but said they will work here in Cameroon themselves to raise money to go abroad. Some respondents want to attend professional school in Cameroon and then proceed their education abroad. Chad e.g. wants to go abroad in three years time. First he wants to go to the university in Cameroon and then he wants to go abroad to continue studying.

In my research I noticed that respondents from both research locations have the dream to go abroad and these dreams do not differ much. However, in planning the dream, I noticed some differences between youngsters from the urban and the rural area however. Youngsters from the urban area saw it as an obvious step that they would continue studying, in Cameroon or abroad, most youngsters from the rural area need to take an extra step. Most of the rural

youngsters have a poor family background, which means that they are not so sure if they can continue their studies. These youngsters see moving to a city for their education as the first step. After moving to a city, the next step is to think of international migration.

4.5 The content of the dream

Respondents want to go abroad mainly for the educational and economical opportunities. They see their dream as positive. Once they are able to go abroad their life will improve. Difficulties about migration were hard to mention for the respondents. The reason that was told the most was that they will miss their family, some other difficulties were mentioned as well, but positive reasons overshadowed the wishes of all the respondents. Most respondents do not think they will migrate abroad after high school, most of them see themselves first continuing studying in Cameroon and afterwards they might move abroad. For rural youngsters this first step was extra important, because for them it was not so obvious that they would continue studying as compared to urban youngsters. This chapter have shown the content of the dreams of these respondents, the next chapter will focus on how these dreams are formed.

CHAPTER 5: CREATION OF THE DREAM

In chapter 4 there is shown how Cameroonian Anglophone youngsters see their migration dream. In this chapter I want to focus on how this dream is formed. What factors are influencing this for all of them (the emigration environment) and what factors are influencing them individually? I will use the concepts I described in the theoretical chapter. Starting with the emigration environment of Cameroon. I see religion as one of these because it is so present in Anglophone Cameroon. After this I will start with the influence of the migration aspirations on the lifestyle of the youngsters, because I think religion is also influencing the lifestyle of youngsters in the case of migration. This chapter will end with influence of the individual characteristics, namely: gender, family welfare & family migration history.

5.1 Emigration environment

The emigration environment of Cameroon consists of three parts: the influence of economic structures on the migration aspiration of youngsters, the influence of political structures and the influence of religion. This in totality will influence the youngsters and it leads to a migration culture which exists in Cameroon. In paragraph 3.1 some facts about Cameroon are named. In this paragraph there will be discussed how these statistics and numbers influence the migration aspirations of the respondents.

5.1.1 The national economy of Cameroon

The respondents talked a lot about the economic situation in Cameroon especially about the difficulty to find a job after graduation. Of the total labor force there is an unemployment rate of 4.0%. The underemployment rate in 2010 was 69.6%. In 2013 the GNI per capita of Cameroon was \$1290. How are these numbers influencing the migration aspirations of youngsters? Although the unemployment rate is not too high, the underemployment rate is very high. In my opinion this is partly caused by graduates who cannot find a job. They start working for instance at the farm or start a small business. In Cameroon I knew a boy who graduated two years ago as a historian. He could not find a job so now he was the handyman of the neighborhood. He had a job, but it was below the level he had studied for. This kind of stories you hear a lot in Cameroon and so did my respondents. During the interviews a lot of them told me that graduates cannot find a job in their field of studies easily. Or they talked about the low wages in Cameroon and that they are dissatisfied about that. As seen in chapter 4, the motivation to move abroad for youngsters is the better opportunities they hope to have abroad, a job in their field of interest

and sufficient wage. I think this is influenced for most youngsters by the temporary underemployment rate and the GNI per capita.

5.1.2 Politics in Cameroon

I asked respondents if there was a political reason why they want to leave. Some did not mention anything. The others gave me just two answers. One respondent gave an answer that it is very hard to be employed if you are not speaking French, because a lot of jobs are situated Yaounde and Douala, cities in the Francophone part of Cameroon. All the others who spoke about a political reason to leave had an answer in the same category: corruption. As Adellette states: *"Here in our country, if you have a degree and you are looking for a job, if you don't have somebody who can drop your application, when you don't have somebody, there is a lot of bribe and corruption"*. A lot of respondents talked about the bribe that needs to be paid to be employed and the connections that seem to be very important as Adellette also stated. Many respondents do not know important people who can help them getting a job. Klinns called these people: 'Godfathers'.

As discussed in paragraph 3.1 Cameroon ranks 137th of the 175th countries on corruption. In which the 175th is the most corrupt country. The corruption rate was 27 in 2013. In this rate 1 means highly corrupt and 100 means very clear. These are numbers which emphasize the stories of the respondents. A lot of them stress the importance of bribing or knowing the right people, Godfathers, to get a job, but also a lot of respondents talked about tribalism. Alice says it is more about your tribe than your qualities. Dieudonné states that: *"If you are in this tribe and another person is in another tribe, they take the person that is from the same tribe as the employer. He will not take you."* Going abroad seems for the most of them a better alternative, because abroad they will look to your qualifications as Dieudonné told me.

5.1.3 Religion

My research was done in the Christian part of Cameroon, I knew that there was a small Muslim population in the city I stayed and one respondent was a Muslim. I asked the respondents if their religion was important in their wish to migrate. Sandra stated: *"I see my migration dream as positive because with God in life everything is possible"*. A lot of respondents gave similar answers, it would depend on God if they would be able to migrate. Sporah also experienced it that way: *"That depends on God, he is the almighty God, if he says you will be dead, you will be dead. When God says you won't, you will stay"*. Some were more sure God will help them with their migration,

Divine e.g.: *"God will help me, because if God could help my brother to go to Dubai, what about me? We have the same religion"*.

These answers of the respondents are showing that religion plays a large role in their wish to migrate. I see this as the emigration environment because it seems that for all the respondents the influence of religion is roughly the same. In their opinion God plays a role in their future and also their migration future will depend partly on God.

5.1.4 Migration culture

The emigration environment which Carling (2002) described leads also to migration. The factors above can be seen as factors why Cameroonian youngsters want to migrate. The low chances on the employment market, low wages, the corruption in Cameroon and the idea that everything is possible with the help of God. In totality this can also be seen as a migration culture in my opinion. I described this phenomenon already in paragraph 1.2 and this migration culture influences many of Cameroonian youngsters. They hear often stories about unemployment after graduation e.g. and also about the jobs that one can easily gain abroad for a much better wage. These stories are part of the migration culture and are influencing many youngsters in their wish to migrate. Another part of the migration culture in Cameroon is established by the many signs on the streets that refer to abroad. In Buea there were some businesses specialized in migration, they had signs on the road and posters at street lights as seen in figure 6.1. These businesses often advertise on the local channels. To illustrate this: 'Landmark University' was often advertising with studying abroad, a migration business was advertising with jobs in Kuwait and Dubai. Besides these direct influences, there are also many indirect influences like bars and shops named after a migration destination. I think this influences the migration culture as well, a bar like this is seen in figure 6.2.

Also part of this migration culture is the feeling that many youngsters have, that they can be an important person when they move abroad. As already stated in paragraph 1.2, one's social status rises much more when you migrate than when you are studying in Cameroon for a long time e.g.. Most of the respondents agree to this. Etuge states that: *"They would look at me like a 'great somebody'. I will gain some status in society"*. Sporah says: *"When we see someone who has travelled and come, I do envy this person, because I would really like to be this person"*. A lot of youngsters admire migrants and that is one reason why they want to be one themselves.



Figure 6.1 sign of migration advertisement (picture by Sanne Tober)



Figure 6.2 bar with international name (picture by Sanne Tober)

5.2 Lifestyle

As described before in this thesis. Lifestyle means in this research the influence of migration aspirations on daily life activities. I will describe this in two subparagraphs. Their wish expressed at school and their wish expressed outside school.

5.2.1 Wish expressed at school

Many respondents told me that they talk with their friends in school about their wish to migrate. They say that they talk about countries where they want to go to and how it is 'over there'. They do this especially in breaks and when the teacher is not there, so when they have free time. Divine says: *"In school, we discuss about our dreams with most of my friends"*. Relindis says also that she talks with friends about it, in free time they talk about the countries they want to go to. Many respondents discuss this topic about once a week. When I asked teacher Rolland about it he said that the students are indeed talking about 'bushfalling', *"they compare Cameroon for example with America, in terms of schooling. Mostly they talk about the advantages of going outside"*.

However, not all respondents talk at school about their wish. Hastings told me that he is keeping it a secret and only told his best friend about it, which he knows for a long time. He says that other friends would feel jealous and he will be afraid that something will happen along the line. Dorothy had the same reason to not tell her friends, she told her family about it, but was afraid to share her wish with her friends, because they could have bad intentions. Some respondents stated that witchcraft might be a negative consequence of sharing their wish. Many Africans believe in witchcraft and that something bad can happen along the line. Samuel states it as following: *"In Africa, especially the village in Cameroon where I come from, the more you progress in life, the more obstacles are formed against you"*. This also comes back in literature. Alpes (2012) states that many potential migrants in Anglophone Cameroon are keeping their migration plans secret. *"In Cameroon, witchcraft is often said to cause the failure of migration. Because migration is related to success, jealous people can seek to prevent the success of other through witchcraft attacks"* (Alpes, 2012, p. 97).

5.2.2 Wish expressed outside school

Many respondents talked with their family about their migration dream. Aberna said that she tells her mother that she wants to migrate and that her mother is happy to hear that and encourages her. Faith tells that he does not live with his mother, but when he sees her she tells him that he should migrate. A lot of respondents tell stories like these, they talk with their family about it when they see them and that they support them. However there are also four respondents who did not talk with their family about their wish. Valery does not talk about his migration dream with his family, because he wants to surprise them. He is planning to discuss his dream when he finishes his education. He thinks his family will support him then. Klinns told me that his family is not supporting him, especially his mom, but that they will accept it by the time he is going. Samuel however does not tell his migration dream to his family for another

reason. *"Because when I talk to my family, I am going to bother them, they are going to think about the financial difficulties, they feel bothered"*. Alice did not tell her family either because of this reason.

Respondents also told me that they talked about migration outside school with friends from school or from outside school. Outside school e.g. when they see a wealthy person who comes from abroad, they talk about it. Another way their wish to migrate is expressed outside school is by praying. Many youngsters told me as, discussed earlier, that with God everything is possible, but that you need to pray for it too. As Etuge states: *"You can't go abroad and forget about God. You have to pray to God, so he can give assistance. I do pray every day for it"*. More respondents told me that they pray about their wish to migrate, some did it every day. Others said they did it often. Chad sees praying also as something very important: *"I pray often about going abroad (...) Yes, it helps, that is the greatest part to pray. You cannot do anything without God."*

5.2.3 Influence in daily life

This paragraph showed that inside and outside school, respondents think about their migration dream and share it with others. Even when they do not share their wish with their friends or family they could be thinking about it a lot. This is expressed in their praying behavior. They say they pray for it in the hope it will succeed and that God will help them to achieve their dream. The fact that some of the respondents do this on daily basis demonstrates the ambit of their wish.

5.3 Individual influences on aspirations

According to Carling the emigration environment is something which influences all the youngsters in the country. The personal characteristics influence the migration aspirations of each individual. I have chosen to work with some of the personal characteristics Carling worked with as well. These are: gender, family welfare and family migration history. I have added to this: personal networks. In paragraph 3.1 is shown how I have selected students with these specific characteristics.

5.3.1 Gender

As stated in paragraph 1.1, parents do not really distinguish in who moves abroad, the boy or the girl. It is often the oldest so he/she can help his/her younger brothers or sisters to go abroad. I experienced this too during my research. The ones with younger siblings states that if they were

abroad they could help to bring the younger ones too. Some respondents already had a sibling abroad; they expected help from them to come. During my fieldwork I did not notice a large difference between the migration aspirations of boys and girls. I already described one difference in chapter 4, that is that girls gave more examples of cultural differences they would experience. A lot of girls did not do this however, and the content of their dreams did not differ much. The reasons why they want to leave were the same for them. In the city I stayed, Buea, I also noticed that many girls continue their education and go to university. In this part of Cameroon a lot of women work somewhere or have an own business, a shop for instance. I have noticed one difference in the migration aspirations however. Sandra saw a difference in the migration aspiration being a woman: *"If my uncle refuses that I should migrate when my parents are no more there and I should get married in Cameroon. I cannot migrate because I will be married with children and I need to take care of them"*. Although other girls did not say things like this, I had the idea that in Cameroon many girls had the wish to be a mother, this was very important for them. I think for these girls this dream is more present than for boys. Girls may have the aspiration to migrate, but the wish to be a mother might be even bigger. It would be perfect if this could be combined. A lot of girls wanted to raise their children abroad. Boys had this wish too, but it seemed that for them it was important to have a good career and earn good money and after that they can take care of their wife. As Hastings states it: *"When I have become a medical doctor, after that I can marry and get children"*.

I also asked the respondents if they would like to marry a husband or wife from Cameroon or from abroad. I got different responses to that. Some did not know and said it would depend on love. Others had a preference however. Hastings had a preference: *"I want to marry to a white, because the whites are intelligent"*. Sandra also has the dream to marry a white man, and if that is not possible, she would like to marry someone from her own tribe. Aberna also want to marry abroad, because the men know more about the country and then her children will grow up abroad and get the nationality. Girls who have a wish like this will have a smaller time span to realize this wish than boys. They have to take into account their time management when they want to start having children. They have to migrate before that time, if they want to marry abroad and get children abroad. Hastings states above that he wants a wife and children when he is having a career, it seems that with boys there is not so much pressure to have children at a certain age, it seems that it is more important for them if they can take care of their family. So the time span is larger for boys to migrate and become a parent abroad.

A lot of respondents however had the wish to marry someone from Cameroon and these were especially respondents from the rural area. They expressed the wish to marry someone from their own tribe. Divine who lives in Kendem says:

When I study I come back to have a wife in Cameroon. Definitely from this area. Since in our tradition in the village, once you are matured, you have the advanced level. Your parents are already looking for a beautiful girl for you, who is so hardworking.

Dorothy who lives in the rural area, wants to have a Cameroonian husband, because she thinks it is important to marry someone from the same tribe. Augustia from Kendem sees it like this as well: *“Because with a Cameroonian man we have the same culture, same tribe”*. The quotes above show that there is not really a difference in gender, but more where they come from. For many youngsters the rural background is seen as very important, which is less the case for youngsters from the urban areas. Although this differs too, because what is described in paragraph 3.4 is also something I experienced. A lot of respondents lived with their aunts and uncles in Buea e.g. and then during the holidays they went back to their village. Some students lived in Mamfe (a city 2 hours from Kendem), but moved to Kendem to live with their grandmother e.g. This differs very much, although in my experience, urban respondents more often have a background in the village than the rural youngsters have an urban background. That Africa is a very mobile continent, as mentioned before, definitely comes back; for these youngsters it was common to move a couple of times to live with different family members. Therefore the urban and rural are not fixed concepts but these concepts overlap each other.

When choosing categories of respondents for this research it was clear to me that I should differentiate between male and female respondents, although in the literature it was stated that parents send both boys and girls abroad. As explained in this paragraph, I indeed experienced that both boys and girls have the aspiration to migrate and that these aspirations do not differ tremendously. It is interesting however too see if and how the roles of women are changing in society. I did not research this precisely and when I asked respondents if their family supports them, almost all of them agreed, both boys and girls. I can imagine however that households change, if girls have the same aspirations as boys to migrate. As result, the traditional role girls have in the household might change. The question is if everybody agrees with this and if families will let girls migrate as easily as boys. Further research about the changing role of girls due to the aspiration to migration would be interesting.

5.3.2 Family welfare

I want to find out what the influence is of one's family welfare on his/her migration aspiration. The intention was to select students with a low family wealth, with an average family wealth and with a high family wealth. Unfortunately as already described in paragraph 3.4 this did not work out the way I planned. For instance, it was difficult to find students with a high family wealth in the rural area. Nevertheless, in this section I will try to say something about how family welfare could influence the migration aspiration of a youngster.

The welfare of a youngster's family could tell us if it would be easy for a youngster to be financially able to migrate. The question is also what it would mean for a youngster if the family is not able to send him/her away. From all the respondents there was not really someone who came from a family with a high wealth who would be able to send him/her away immediately. There were some students who worried less about the money than others did; for instance if a brother or sister was already sent away, he or she would expect that the parents could do the same for them even if they did not know if their family could afford it. This was the case also with Kelly. Her sister lives in Germany and she believed her parents would send her there as well.

Some had an idea of how they could get the money together. Sylvanus thought it would cost a million franc to go abroad, I asked him how he thought he would get the money together, he answered that his uncle can tap and sell wine. Etuge says: *"My dad will even sell a farm to send me abroad. He will do everything. He didn't say, but I know he will do it if he asks"*. Many did not know how much it would cost, but some knew that their family would support them. It was not clear for everyone that their family would help them migrate. Faith is not sure that if his family can help: *"My chances are limited, because of my family background. They are not rich. Can't support me that well"*. Alice has this worry as well, she says her family is not able to support her, so she does not know how she can get the money together.

Above, I have sketched two different situations. One where the respondents believe their family is able to send them abroad and one where the respondents do not know how they can get the money together to move abroad. I did not really notice differences in the dreams and the way in which they are sketched in chapter 4. The students with a low family wealth, the ones who were not sure how they could finance their migration dream, had more doubts. They dreamed the same way but if I talked about how this dream could be realized they had more doubts. Some told me that they have a plan to work in the holidays or work after school to raise money to migrate, but still they doubted about the amount that is needed.

I experienced a difference between the urban and the rural. This was in the family wealth of the families as also seen before in this thesis. In the rural area there were more respondents with a low family wealth, who also doubted more about the means of their family to send them abroad. For some respondents it was already the question if they could continue their study after high school, therefore, to move abroad would definitely be a higher barrier.

5.3.3 Family migration history

Half of the respondents have a family migration history. Some had a really close connection if their brother or sister migrated. Others had a less close connection, if it was an uncle or aunt which they did not speak very often. For almost all these respondents their family members played an important role in their wish to migrate.

Most of the respondents who have family abroad have contact with them. The intensity of the contact differs. Sylvanus has contact with his brother every one or two weeks by phone. Kelly calls her sister at least 3x a month. Most respondents, who often have contact with family abroad, have a brother or a sister who live abroad. Ibrahim's uncle lives in Spain, in the beginning they had contact occasionally, but now he has not spoken to him for a while. The amount of contact also depends on the area where they live. In the urban area the contact differs from the rural area. Etuge goes to the cybercafé twice a week, he chats with his uncle from Belgium on Facebook chat. Divine also chats with his brother in Dubai, but because he has to go to Bamenda (about 2 hours driving) to use the Internet he chats with his brother only once a month. Sporah states that if her brother calls and she has network that they talk, but if not, he tries to call her mother or sister.

I asked them about the information the family member is giving about their stay abroad. I see this as 'social remittances'. Levitt (1998, p.926) states that: *"social remittances are the ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving-to-sending-country communities"*. In 2011 she wrote an article with Lamba-Nieves which is called 'Revisiting social remittances'. She adds to the concept that: *"The ideas and practices migrants bring with them actively shape who and what they encounter in the countries where they move, which then shapes what they send back"* (Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2011, p. 3). In addition to this, they distinguish between individual and collective social remittances. When individuals remit to family or friends, they can also affect organizations in their home town as their church or political party, in the way they organize. This is at the local-level but according to Levitt & Lamba-Nieves (2011) this can also influence the regional and national organizational culture.

Respondents receive social remittances from their family members. The information that is given by the family members about their stay abroad is predominantly positive. Hastings says that his brother tells him that Dubai is second heaven. His brother does not experience negative things only that he is separated from his family, according to Hastings. Etuge says that his uncle is mostly saying positive things, but that he is searching for a job. The brother of Klinns is in Thailand, he says it is good, *"far better better than here"*. The only problem Klinns knows of is that his brother has troubles to extend his stay. The respondents have a positive view about the lives of their family abroad. I noticed that the knowledge of the respondents about their family who is abroad is not very detailed. Many did not know in which part of the country their family member was staying, or what they are mostly doing there, they knew about their profession but they did not have much details about their lives there. This could depend on the social remittances the family members are giving. Sporah states:

We really don't talk about it much, the other day when he called I told him that after his studying he should find a job. He has never told me anything about his life there. He is just saying 'I am still studying and I do not have a job yet.'

Adellette says about the phone calls with her aunt: *"On phone, she always asks about me, don't know that much about her life there, just know they are okay. She always talks about positive things"*. It seems that the family members do not give so much information about their life abroad, this could be because of what Nieswand stated in paragraph 1.2, that migrants sometimes gain their social status in their home country by the loss of their social status in their country of residence. They can conceal certain information because of that. The migration culture that is described in this chapter, which is present in Cameroon, can be partly influenced by social remittances. The remittances arrive at the local level but these can become collective remittances as Levitt stated and change the organizational structure at a national level.

Most respondents did not receive financial remittances often. Some respondents who had a brother or sister abroad, occasionally received financial remittances and others did not receive remittances at all, this was because most of them were studying. Others with an uncle or aunt abroad did receive money sometimes. The uncle of Etuge sends some money to the family around the December period. The uncle and aunt of Adellette sometimes send money for special occasions, for weddings and funerals in the family. The brothers of Dorothy send money back home and the living standard of the family has risen because of that.

That some of these respondents have family abroad makes them hopeful. Etuge wants to migrate to Belgium, his uncle will help him come to Belgium. To know someone 'over there' seems very important for these respondents, it is for them the way to go abroad. As seen in paragraph 1.2 it is important to know someone abroad for visa applications. And if someone migrates people want to know who took him there instead of how did he manage that e.g. Some respondents hope their brother or sister who is abroad can support them when they start to earn money. Chain migration may occur. Through the family bond, migrants are going to the same place as their family members, with help of them and by making use of the social network which their family member already built up. With this chain migration the step which was described before, from rural to urban prior to international migration can be skipped. A youngster can migrate directly from the rural to another country. Gideon does not see his migration dream as very positive, this is because he does not have a family member abroad.

5.3.4 Personal networks

Some do not have family abroad but have friends or people they know who are abroad. These people can also influence the migration dream of youngsters and are seen as important by youngsters. Divine has friends in Switzerland who are from his village, although his brother lives in Dubai he really wants to move to Switzerland. His friend told him that the technology is very high in Switzerland, this is the reason why he prefers to go Switzerland. He says about them: *"Those friends are like my brothers, they will wait for me, they can show me how to get a job"*. Some are trying to make friends abroad with help of the Internet. They hope that these contacts will help them move abroad. More about these online contacts is written in paragraph 6.2.

I asked respondents if they would like to migrate to a place where other Cameroonians are living as well. All of them would like that except for one. This had to do with witchcraft, according to Gideon they can envy you. *"If they see you progressing for example when they were there before you and you started progressing more, they don't like it"*. When I asked him if other Cameroonians could not help him, he said that they could teach him how to adapt to their system, so it seems he has mixed feelings about it. Other respondents would like it. Samuel said e.g. *"If you go to a country where you don't know anybody you have to meet friends. To go there and already meet your brothers, gives a lot of happiness"*. Syniah also sees it like this: *"All of us are Cameroonians, we can help each other"*.

5.4 How the dream is formed

In this chapter the factors which form the migration aspirations are discussed and how the aspirations influences daily life activities. The aspirations can be formed through several factors. Macro factors influence all respondents collective and micro factors influence the respondents individually. The dream of respondents is to a large extent influenced by the emigration environment, the migration culture of Cameroon. All the respondents are obviously influenced by this. The individual characteristics were not so clear, some respondents were influenced by gender, but not all. Migration in your family is seen as very important and these respondents feel that they have a higher chance to go. Respondents perceived from their family members mostly positive information about their life abroad, they did not know too many details about the life of their family members abroad. Many urban respondents saw it as an obvious step to continue their studies, for rural respondents this was not the case. For them it was the question if there were means to continue studying and move to a city.

The aspirations influences the lifestyle of youngsters. They talk and think often about it, within and outside school. Most respondents shared their aspirations with family and friends, but not all. Some did not because of witchcraft. Others did not because they wanted to surprise their family or they did not want to bother their family with it.

In the next chapter another factor which influences migration aspirations is discussed. The use of virtual mobility and the information they perceive through that about migration.

CHAPTER 6: TRAVEL VIRTUALLY

Cameroonian youngsters grow up in an era where communication methods are offering more and more possibilities. As written in paragraph 1.3, there are many cybercafés in Africa and the number of people who have access to a mobile phone is growing. In my research I asked respondents to write down their mobility for one week in a mobility scheme (appendix 3). They were asked to fill in their physical and virtual mobility. Virtual mobility through television, phone, Internet and remittances. In this chapter I will describe the use of virtual mobility, the relation between virtual and physical mobility and the influence of virtual mobility on their migration aspirations. In these paragraphs I make a distinction between the urban and the rural area.

6.1 Use of virtual mobility

In the survey I asked 96 students if they had a mobile phone and if they were using Internet. The results are shown below, hereby a distinction is made between the urban and the rural area. In the urban area, 56 students have participated in the survey, while in the rural area 40 students have participated.

	<i>Own a mobile phone</i>	<i>Percentage of total respondents in area</i>	<i>Use Internet</i>	<i>Percentage of total respondents in area</i>
Urban	48	85.71%	24	42.86%
Rural	35	87.5%	7	17.5%
Total	83	86.46%	31	32.30%

6.1.1 Mobile phone

The table shows that there is not much difference in the use of a mobile phone between individuals in the urban and rural area. The percentages do not differ much from each other, although the percentage of the rural area is a little bit higher. This surprises me though. In Kendem, the rural area, there was limited access to the mobile network. There was a road through the village and mobile phones have access here to the network, but when you were just a little bit off the road, the network was off. Mobile phones were therefore not used much inside the village, because both persons have to be near the road. With this in mind I expected that less youngsters would own a mobile phone and also due to the average lower family welfare. In the

urban area, Buea, there was almost everywhere access to a mobile network, so it does not surprise me that 85.71% owns a mobile phone.

In the mobility schemes I asked them how often they called in one week and which scale this was; local, national or international. From all 12 respondents from the rural area almost everyone called outside Kendem but inside Cameroon when they made a phone call. Scola was an exception, since she called in one week twice to Angola where family lives. Some respondents did not call at all during the week, but most of them made a phone call at 4 or 5 days of the week. The length of these calls differed, most of them were around 5 minutes, but there were also calls that lasted 30 minutes.

In the urban areas there was called inside Buea and there were sent texts inside Buea, but most of the calls and texts were sent outside Buea and within Cameroon. Some respondents from the urban area also called or texted outside Cameroon. Etuge e.g. he called on Tuesday two times, one time within Cameroon and one time outside Cameroon. On average they used their phone to call or text 6 days in the week, which is a little bit more than in the rural area.

6.1.2 Internet

The percentages of the use of Internet surprise me less however. In the urban area, Buea, there were many cybercafés. In my neighborhood there were two next to each other which were often crowded and I knew also some cybercafés nearby in other neighborhoods. I expected that the number of students who use Internet would be a little higher. The difference between the urban and the rural seems logical to me. In comparison to the urban, in the rural area Kendem, there was no cybercafés. The city lies between two towns: Mamfe and Bamenda, both of them are about 2 hours driving. Sometimes respondents visited one of these towns when they stayed with family e.g. and then they used Internet. Nine of the Internet users in the survey used Internet on their mobile phone. Five of them lived in the rural area. This is an interesting development. In the rural area the cybercafé with Internet is skipped and they start to have access to Internet on their mobile phones. A smartphone is often associated with an expensive new one. There are smartphones produced by Huawei and Microsoft e.g. especially for the African market, a simple budget smartphone can be found in Kenya for 50 dollars (da Rosa & Lamas, 2013). Besides this, 45% of the phones in Africa are second hand (Scott et al., 2014), The low prices and second hand market makes a smartphone therefore more accessible for Africans. This is noticeable in the rural area, where one respondent had a very poor background, but still he had a smartphone. He told me lately on Facebook that there is not enough money to continue his education. This is an important development, which is probably now at a starting point, because more and more

Cameroonians in all parts of a country will have access to the Internet through the mobile phone, without having a cybercafé in the area.

In the mobility schemes I asked them if they used Internet this week. In the rural area 5 of the 12 respondents used Internet at least once that week. Augustia used for instance the Internet twice that week, on Saturday and on Sunday. Saturday afternoon she used Internet for one hour, she checked her inbox and had a chat with some friends. Sunday afternoon she used the Internet for one hour and ten minutes. She did research on some professional nursing schools as well in Cameroon as abroad. Most of the students who used Internet in the rural area, used it once or twice in the week and mostly in the weekends. In the urban area 9 of the 11 respondents who hand in the mobility scheme used Internet this week. Two more respondents used Internet than was told at the survey. From one respondent I knew that she said she was just learning it with her sister. In the rural area more respondents said to use Internet in the mobility scheme than they did in the survey as well.

In the urban area many respondents used Internet also during schooldays and not only in the weekend as in the rural area. Some rural youngsters went to town in the weekend and used Internet there. Faith went to the cybercafé on Wednesday for 45 minutes and surfed to Facebook, a mp3 site and Youtube. Aberna went to the cybercafé on Wednesday afternoon for two hours. She was chatting with friends and her aunt who is in London. Furthermore, Aberna also visited the cybercafé on Sunday for two hours to discuss with/talk to her cousin in Switzerland.

During my time in Buea I was often in the cybercafé in my neighborhood to keep in touch with family/friends. I noticed that the cybercafés were often filled with local youngsters, Burrell (2009) wrote that the cybercafé is often a place to escape the elderly and that it is a recreational place. I noticed this often at the cybercafé where many young people came, mainly high school and university students, and where often two students were sitting behind the computer while discovering the Internet.

6.1.3 Television

In the rural area all the 12 respondents watched television during that week, but most of them just a few times. Valery for instance did not watch television until Sunday, then he watched a Cameroonian channel for 1 hour. Alice watched three times that week Nigerian movies for one hour. Samuel watched three times television during that week, 2 times Nigerian movies and one time an international channel. In the rural area, the ability to watch television depends highly on

the electricity. Not every house has electricity and often the 'lights are off'. When televisions have access to a satellite however the rest of the world is nearby. When I was visiting the principal of the high school in his house, he showed me the Dutch satellite channel.

All of the 11 respondents in the urban area watched television that week. They watched it more than the respondents from the rural area. Averagely about 5 times a week, where some watched television every day of the week, like Gideon, others watched less often. Most of them watched almost every day television on a Cameroonian channel and also the international channel at some days. Emmanuel tv was called a few times, which is a Christian channel from Nigeria. Klinns watched e.g. an American movie on an international channel and Gideon watched CNN and a South African channel that week.

6.1.4 Remittances

I asked the respondents from the rural and urban area if they received goods or money today. If they did I asked them from who, from where and what. All the respondents in the rural area received something that week. 7 of them received only goods or money from someone from Kendem. Sporah got on Friday Plantain from a friend. Samuel got on Friday candies at school from a white lady (me). 5 respondents received goods or money from outside Kendem. Augusia got on Monday money from her grandmother in Mamfe. Dorothy got on Wednesday shoes from her uncle from Douala. The only one who received money or goods from outside Cameroon was Divine. He received money from his brother in Dubai which he picked up at the bank in Bamenda on Monday.

One respondent in the urban area did not receive any goods or money that week. 6 respondents received goods or money from someone in Buea. Sandra got on Monday some money from her mother. Etuge got on Thursday something from his brother at home. 4 respondents received that week money or goods from outside Buea, but within Cameroon. No one received that week something from outside Cameroon. Kelly received on Tuesday money from her dad in Douala and Aberna received on Wednesday money from her older sister in Yaounde.

6.2 Relation between physical and virtual mobility

There could be a friction between the physical and the virtual mobility if youngsters spend e.g. much time in the cybercafé instead of doing the jobs they should do in the household. As seen above youngsters see the cybercafé as a recreational place where they can escape the elderly.

This will be more the case in the urban area than the rural area. Watching television could also cause problems in the rural area, when there is electricity, youngsters want to watch television instead of doing jobs in the households e.g.

Another way these two mobilities can interact and a friction can arise is in the planning of their future. Youngsters could be planning their dream and are so busy in their thoughts with migration and so interested to travel virtually abroad through television and Internet that they do not focus anymore at school or to build a possible future in Cameroon. This can also work the other way around. Through virtual mobility the wish to migrate is encouraged, youngsters realize the importance of their current education to continue their education abroad, so they start focusing on high grades at their high school. Some respondents told me they are working very hard for their grades so they can improve their chance to move abroad. To really see the relation between physical and virtual mobility I think I should have stayed longer in the field and should see respondents more outside school and also in their home situation.

6.3 Influence of virtual mobility on migration aspirations

6.3.1 Mobile phone

Some mobile phones have access to Internet as mentioned above, in this section I will only discuss the influence of calling and texting on migration aspirations. In my opinion the influence of calling and texting on migration aspirations is not too big. As seen in the section above only one respondent called outside Cameroon that week and that was too Angola. Some respondents who have family abroad will probably call sometimes. What was stated too in paragraph 5.3 is that when they call they do not always get to know much about the lives of their family members. I noticed that mostly positive social remittances are communicated through the phone. Both in the urban and the rural the mobile phone is seen as an important communication tool to communicate with family abroad. In the rural area even more than in the urban area due to no existence of cybercafés. I think calling with family members abroad will make the youngsters feel connected with them and it will influence their social status. They can tell their friends and classmates that they have called with someone abroad and as seen before, international connections are very important.

6.3.2 Internet

With the ones that used Internet I discussed the influence of it on their wish to migrate. For many Internet is seen as something very important in their migration process. For the ones who

were not using Internet now it seemed a necessary step to use it before they could migrate. It seems that in their opinion it was needed to migrate. This could be related to papers and tickets where they have access to online, but also the contacts that they make online to migrate. The Internet is also seen as very necessary once you are migrated, to stay in touch with your family back home.

I went with 4 respondents to the cybercafé and observed their Internet behavior there. These respondents were: Klinns, Etuge, Faith & Adelle. I noticed that two of them were more experienced with using the Internet. These two went fast to some websites and seemed to know where they had to find them. They had different activities on the Internet. Etuge showed me his favourite Nigerian actors on Yahoo, tried to download some music and went to Facebook. Adelle only used Facebook. Faith downloaded music, went to Facebook, searched on Yahoo for articles about Boko Haram, watched Priest Joshua on YouTube, tried to watch a video about a dancing child on YouTube but this did not load. Klinns searched on Yahoo: 'ways of becoming a bank manager', went to Facebook, went to the website: UNICAF this is a site about scholarships for Cameroonian students, he leaved his details on the website. As seen above the youngsters carried out different activities, one activity however did they all have in common, the use of Facebook. Facebook is seen as an important tool in Cameroon. As seen in paragraph 1.3 youngsters want to make contacts abroad through the Internet, this is seen as important because this can help them to migrate. In paragraph 1.3 there also states that the contacts that are made on the Internet are not really about the content of the conversations but to have contact itself is already valuable. Etuge tried to make contact with foreign people on Facebook. When he opened Facebook chat I saw a lot of messages he wrote to people he did not know, to me he expressed his frustration about it: *"even if you write them, they never talk back"*. Klinns and Faith also chat sometimes with strangers, they did not do it when I was with them. It seems important for them to chat with a stranger from abroad, especially for Etuge. Sandra said in the discussion: *"when I was on the Internet I met a white girl, her name is Marina, I asked her how their culture is, how their living standard is, I used to ask her and she used to tell me"*. That these contacts can be important is described in Granovetter's (1973) 'strength of weak ties'. These weak ties can work as a bridge between different social networks, a bounded social network with strong ties can constrain the information that is coming into the social network. The contacts that are made online can be a bridge between Cameroon and a social network in their destination country. I think what was described in paragraph 1.3 is true that it is thrill for these youngsters to have contacts with strangers from abroad, however I think they also hope for more, that these contacts can help them to migrate abroad and give them access to another social network.

Faith, Etuge and Adellette had between 25 and 30 Facebook friends. Adellette and Klinns showed me people they know from Cameroon who are now abroad. Klinns showed his brother and cousin, he reacts to the picture of his cousin that he is looking good, that he is growing fat. Adellette shows a picture from a boy from her high school who is now in Britain with his family, this boy is standing in a street. If she sees pictures like that she believes: *“that life there is better than here”*. Klinns said in the discussion that when he is on the Internet and sees something from abroad he always wishes that he is there. Respondents who were using Internet also used Internet to get to know more things about the country they want to go to. Gideon searched for the currency in several countries in Europe. Sandra searched for the language they speak in some countries. Adellette also decided to change her preferred destination country to South-Korea because she saw on the internet that South-Korea is a rich country. Internet is also used to search for further education. There are also negative things found about foreign countries on the Internet. That there is war in some countries they do not like, Sporah states that she sees on the Internet that in the beginning it is not easy.

6.3.3 Television

In paragraph 6.1 is seen that all respondents watched television in the week that they filled in the mobility scheme. Most respondents watched African channels, and many said they watched Nigerian movies. Some also said they watched international channels as is seen in paragraph 6.1.3. These international channels probably influence their view about migration the most. A lot of respondents said that if they watch television and they see images of abroad, they imagine that they are there. They talked about the good infrastructure, the houses and the jobs. In a discussion group in the rural area was said the following when I asked them if they saw Africans on televisions that are abroad: *“They have more money, they are very high. They work very hard, they have a lot of money”*. When I asked about negative things they saw on television about countries they want to go to they could name several points: the cold, the snow, they are eating salad, floods, earthquakes. In one group I asked them if they also saw things like homosexuality or prostitution on television and what they thought about that. They answered that prostitution is now allowed in Africa, that they do not accept it. Divine said then: *“Madam, I don’t think it is necessary to live that type of life, because I am going there to work”*. In that discussion group they all wanted to go despite the negative points. I asked the respondents if they talk with the people they are watching television about the countries they want to go to. Many of them did. Kelly said that she says then to her mother that she wishes to be like that. In one discussion in the village someone told me that the other day the television was broadcasting something about America and that he was talking about it.

6.3.4 Remittances

As seen in paragraph 6.3 one respondent received something from abroad when they were filling in the mobility scheme. That most respondents do not often receive money or goods from abroad does not mean that financial remittances are not influencing them. Klinns says his family abroad sends several things: money, shoes, cash a computer, he states that it is not difficult for them, because they have the money because they are working. Adellette says that she feels jealous that other people get things, because it feels like nobody is thinking about her. She asked her aunt for a laptop, but since then her aunt has not called yet, so she called again and told her aunt not to bother about it. She thinks her aunt has the means to because she has done it too for others. Faith does not receive anything but sees that others get money, laptops and phones. Kelly receives things from her sister, sometimes money, pants and dresses, which she likes very much and she knows it is not easy for her to send these things. Divine states that over there it is very cheap, but that here things are very expensive. When I asked Dorothy if it is easy for her brothers to buy these things and sent them abroad, she said it is easy for them because they have the money. A lot of respondents thought it is easy for people to send things abroad. Some respondents also expressed the wish to send things home once they are abroad.

6.4 The use and impact of virtual mobility

Many youngsters have access to virtual mobility, if it is not in one way than they have it in another. They are able to travel virtually to places, because all the information and images that are available. Between the urban and the rural area the biggest difference was seen in the use of internet, this was lower in the rural area. Although there is no cybercafé in the rural area, many had experienced Internet, in town or with the mobile phone. Youngsters their aspirations are influenced by these mobilities. Especially the television and the use of Internet influences the aspirations of youngsters. Through these mediums they see a lot of images of abroad and perceive a lot of information which makes them able to 'travel abroad' and form a view of how life is there.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

In these past six chapters a lot of information has been given about the migration aspirations of youngsters. In this last chapter I will merge all the information that is given. The analytical chapters will be compared with the theories that were given in chapter two. All the sub questions of this research are handled in the analysis, now there remains only one question left unanswered. This is the main question. This conclusion will aim to answer all the proposed sub questions and from which the main question will be answered. The main question is: *How can migration aspirations of Anglophone Cameroonian youngsters (who do not yet have the possibility to really make the step) be understood.*

7.1 How do Anglophone Cameroonian youngsters see their migration dream

As seen in my research, the dream to migrate is widespread. Many youngsters have the desire to move abroad, from both urban and rural areas. There are a lot of similarities between the reasons why they want to move, but there are also differences. In urban areas more respondents expressed a motivation to see other places whereas in the rural areas more respondents expressed a wish to help their family. The youngsters that took part in this research crossed the indifference threshold already, they had a wish to move abroad. The countries that they wish to travel to differ, the United States and countries in Europe were named often, but also new destinations such as Dubai. That these destination countries can change shows the threshold model. In the threshold model the locational threshold has to be overcome, but this is not fixed, this can change along the way (literally and figurative after some time). One of the respondents Adellette demonstrated this very clearly in this research. When I first met her, she had a preference to migrate to Canada. At the end of my research when I met her for a discussion group, her preference had changed. She wanted to go to South Korea, a teacher of hers was living there now and she had heard positive stories about the country from him and he could help her with the move. The locational factor changed, but the indifference threshold was still crossed. She did think about the trajectory threshold, she doubted about when this could be overcome. This was the same for many of the respondents. All passed the indifference threshold and had a wish to migrate; they were thinking about the locational threshold but also how they could be able to cross the trajectory threshold, because the respondents were not able to do this yet.

This thesis opens with a citation of the definition of bushfalling. A term in pidgin which is often referred to in Cameroon. A part of this definition by Alpes (2013, p. 5) is: *“figuratively speaking, bushfalling is a metaphor expressing both the promise of migration, and the kind of determination*

and strength that it takes to weather the potential dangers along the way to gaining this wealth and success by migrating". As a result of this definition I expected that the youngsters would be more aware about the difficultness and hardness that could be a part of migration despite the promise of migration. In my research however respondents spoke mostly about the promise of migration and the improvement it would give to their living conditions. None of these respondents anticipated many difficulties concerning migration. This refers to the concept of bounded rationality which is discussed in chapter two. With 'bounded rationality' the respondents experience their migration aspirations in a certain way. They do not absorb all the information there is about migration, but they protect themselves in a certain way to keep the dream achievable. They view their dream to migrate as positive and repel the hurdles and difficulties. Generally all the respondents saw their migration dream as positive and if they would be able to migrate they are optimistic about how their living conditions would improve. It was hard for them to mention their doubts about migration and even if they had some doubts they were optimistic that these would be overcome and they would get used to the food for instance. The limited knowledge they had about migration and migrants in Europe surprised me first, but with the bounded rationality of the respondents according to migration this is explained. They did not ask me to discuss how migrants live in Europe or the difficulties they face, instead they asked me 'how life is over there', hopefully to gather positive information about migration. The bushfelling metaphor does therefore not totally cover my experiences.

7.2 How are the migration aspirations of Anglophone Cameroonian youngsters formed?

According to Carling's theory, migration aspirations are formed by different factors. He makes a distinction between factors that influence respondents in general and factors that can influence respondents individually. In Cameroon I observed that the respondents were influenced by the emigration environment. These were factors which influenced all the respondents. According to Carling, individual characteristics such as: gender, family migration history and family wealth can determine an individual's wish to migrate. In response to this theory I expected the aspirations of respondents to differ because of different factors. In my research I noticed however that there were not so many differences between the respondents. This could depend on the age group of the youngsters. These youngsters are in a phase where high school is ending and they have to make plans for their future. The respondents are still attending high school and unable to migrate yet, even so many of them expressed the wish to continue their education in Cameroon first and after that migrate abroad. Migration was for some seen as a long term project and therefore their aspirations were not formed with their individual characteristics. Rather, was mostly influenced by the emigration environment and, the migration culture of Cameroon. Some differences were observed in the aspirations between the rural and urban

areas, the dream sketched was similar, but the steps required were viewed as different. For some rural respondents there is a step before international migration and that is to move to the city. For some rural respondents it was uncertain if they were able to make that step to the city due to a low family wealth. I experienced differences between individual characteristics in my research, but less than I expected. In gender e.g. a few respondents expressed an aspiration that was influenced by their gender, but not all of them did. These results are seen in chapter 5. Two individual characteristics that I want to mention here are family migration history and personal networks. When respondents know people who are abroad; family or friends, this influences their migration aspirations. Often they wish to migrate to the same country as their family and friends and often they estimate their chances to migrate abroad to be higher than respondents who do not have relatives or friends abroad. When they have contact with their family/friends abroad they receive social remittances, which are often are positive. Most of them do not know many details about the lives of their family/friends abroad and because of the age group of the respondents it is likely that more serious matters would be discussed with elder family members. However this individual characteristic could also be part of the emigration environment. Although some respondents do not have family or friends abroad when they make contact, they hear stories about migrants abroad, they see the financial remittances some receive and they share the positive image about migration. These positive stories and the presence of remittances are part of the existing migration culture of Cameroon and therefore is a part of the emigration environment, a general factor which influences the aspiration to migrate.

How these aspirations are formed is not a fixed process. The factors which influence the migration aspirations can change according to time. There could be a shift of thinking about migrants. There can be a change in what is expected from migrants. The world is changing, Cameroon is changing, this is also seen with the access to virtual mobility, which is rising. In this research the situation is sketched in 2014, but I am sure there will be changes in time.

7.3 What is the influence of virtual mobility on migration aspirations of Anglophone Cameroonian youngsters?

The virtual mobility of these youngsters was explored with the extended time-geographical model. This was to find out how communication technologies are influencing youngsters migration aspirations. I expected to find the biggest difference between the urban and the rural area in the use and influence of virtual mobility. This is what I indeed experienced, in the urban area there was greater access to communication technologies. Still this should not be overestimated. As described in paragraph 3.4 the urban and rural are not separate islands, but are rather very interconnected. A lot of respondents were mobile between the rural and the

urban. The flow from the rural to the urban was higher than the other way around, because of this many rural youngsters are experienced with using the Internet but they do not use it as often.

The influence of virtual mobility on migration aspirations is also connected to the concept 'bounded rationality'. These youngsters nowadays have access to much more information than years ago. Through different forms they can travel virtually abroad. It is possible to do a lot of research about the route of migration, the visa procedures, the housing prices in their destination country and the job market. None of the respondents I spoke with access to Internet had conducted such a research. What they experienced through virtual mobility were mostly positive images and confirmations of why they want to go. Some concerns they encountered with virtual mobility were about earthquakes, snow and the food e.g.. These were not themes which made them doubt if they wanted to continue their migration dream. This indicated the bounded rationality of these youngsters. They have the possibility to inform themselves with a lot of knowledge about migration, opportunities but also the difficulties. They choose however to inform themselves with just a small part of the knowledge and this is positive knowledge.

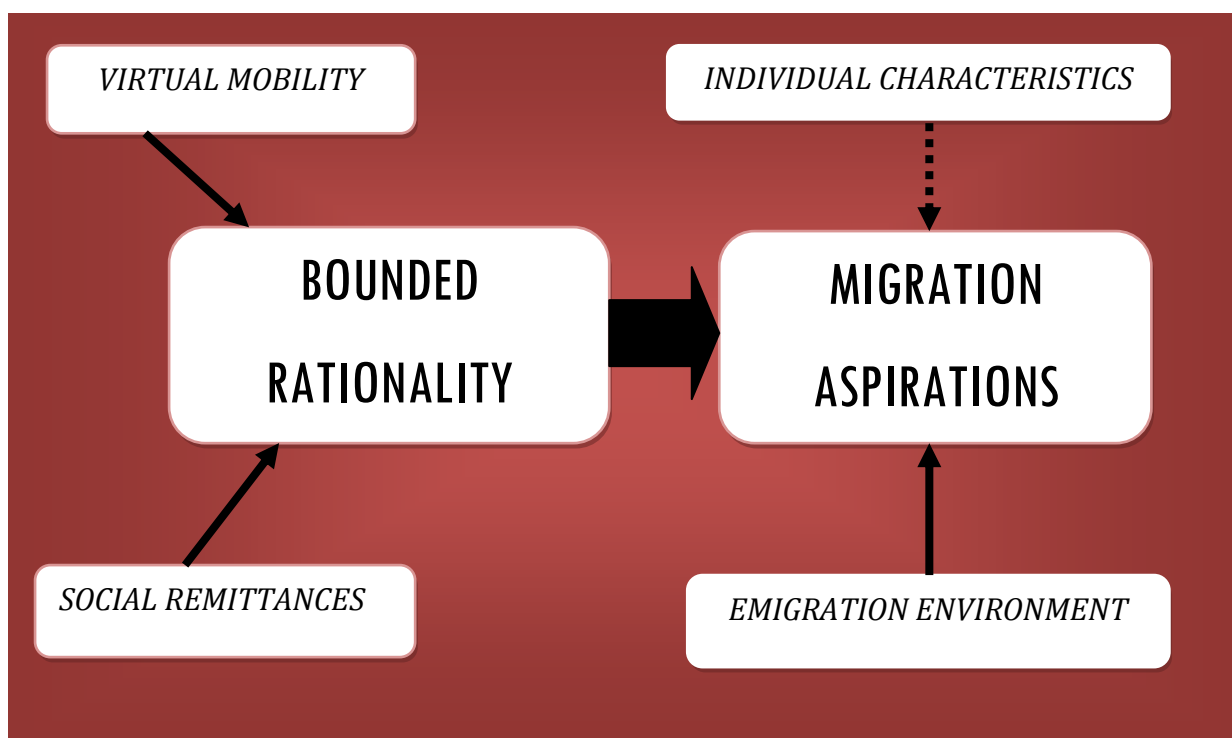
7.4 What is the influence of migration aspirations on the lifestyles of the Anglophone Cameroonian youngsters

For most respondents their aspiration to migrate plays a big role in their life. It is a wish which is envisioned when they are thinking about their future, when they are confronted with virtual mobility and stories from abroad. I think however, that this role should not be overestimated. Yes I think these respondents are thinking about it often, this comes back in their prayers and the discussions they have about it with friends and family, but they are also high school youngsters who probably have a lot of subjects on their mind. How they are going to make their exams, what they are going to do in the weekend, when they have to do laundry, if the boy or girl they like, likes them too and moreover what their future is going to look like.

7.5 Rethinking of conceptual model

The conceptual model has been shown in paragraph 2.4. This conceptual model was based on concepts from the literature. This conceptual model will be compared with my findings from the analysis. As seen in the above paragraphs the flow of the conceptual model corresponds to the analysis. Bounded rationality is influencing the migration aspirations of youngsters. How youngsters conceive virtual mobility according to migration depends also on the bounded rationality. So the information of virtual mobility has to go through a phase of bounded

rationality, the youngsters decide which information they absorb. In the conceptual model the emigration environment and individual characteristics are influencing the migration aspirations directly. I think most of them still do this, the family wealth does influence the chance for a person to migrate, but the social remittances of family and friends are also going to a phase of bounded rationality. They choose which stories of migrants they want to believe. As seen above in paragraph 7.2 the influence of individual characteristics do not always have to be present. So instead of a direct link to migration aspirations I change this into an indirect link to migration aspirations. The theoretical model which arose out of the conceptual model and the analysis is shown below.



7.6 Answering of main question

In paragraph 1.7 the structure is seen of my research questions. It is shown that the four sub questions together give an answer to the main question, how the migration aspirations can be understood. The migration aspirations of Cameroonian youngsters are bright, positive, unspecified and full of possibilities. These dreams of the youngsters can be explained with the concept of bounded rationality. They filter the information about migration to keep the project feasible. The emigration environment has a great impact on the wish of youngsters to migrate, it emphasises the reason why a future elsewhere could improve their living conditions. The aspirations of Cameroonian youngsters are less influenced by individual characteristics, these play a role, but the differences between the aspirations of respondents are small. Are these changing times of new communication technologies influencing these youngsters? Certainly!

However, not in a way that much information is retrieved about migration on the Internet, the information goes through a phase of bounded rationality and again most information these respondents retrieve confirms their wish to migrate. As is seen in this research, the wish to migrate plays a role in these youngsters lives, as well at school as outside school, and they are confronted with it through virtual mobility regularly. What really shows their determination however is their expression of their dream in their prayers. For some even every day.

7.7 Recommendations

I would like to recommend some areas for further research. As seen in paragraph 1.7 the knowledge about the step prior to migration, the aspiration to migrate, is concise. This research found place in Cameroon, the theories about the aspirations to migrate were tested. The results showed are outcomes of the aspirations of Cameroonian youngsters. It would be interesting to see if these theories have a universal aspect by doing research in another geographical location. By also focusing on another age group it could be possible to show how these outcomes correspond with people in another phase of their life.

After this research there are still some questions left unanswered about the migration aspirations of Cameroonian youngsters. In my research I attempted to create a complete image of the migration aspirations of the whole target group. One shortcoming is the lack of youngsters with a high family wealth, the elite of Cameroon. It would be interesting to see how they experience the wish to migrate, whether it has another form and whether they are more informed about migration? Are they shifting to a wish of more short-term migration, as in tourism? These are still open questions. Furthermore there could be more research done about the changing role of girls in society because of their migration aspirations. How do households change if girls migrate and what is the perception towards girls who want to migrate, is there a difference for boys. In this research I could not really answer these questions; therefore it would be interesting for further research.

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SUMMARY

Migration is a subject studied often. However, 'migration' is merely an umbrella term which entails a variety of different aspects. This thesis will contribute to the literature of an aspect that is studied less: the aspiration to migrate. The influence of 'virtual mobility' on migration aspirations will also be investigated. Times are changing and because of globalisation more and more people have access to communication technologies. This also makes knowledge about migration more accessible. People can now travel virtually to places without physically going there.

This research is conducted in Cameroon. Cameroon is a country with a migration culture. Many of its inhabitants have the wish to migrate abroad. A lot of Cameroonians live abroad, as a result of which the relationship between Cameroon and foreign countries have become very active due to social and financial remittances.

The focus group that has been chosen to study this phenomenon is a group of Anglophone Cameroonian youngsters from 16-21 who attend one of the last two classes of high school. The unit of analysis is the migration aspirations of these youngsters. The main question is: *How can migration aspirations of Anglophone Cameroonian youngsters (who do not yet have the possibility to really make the step) be understood.*

In this research, the urban and the rural area have been compared to see how aspirations differ according to their living environment. The aspirations of these youngsters are investigated with the help of multiple concepts: emigration environment, gender, family migration history, family welfare, personal networks and religion.

Youngsters in the urban, as well as the rural area do not appear to have a significant difference regarding their aspiration to migrate. All respondents have the wish to go abroad, particularly to the United States or a country in Europe. They dream of continuing their studies abroad and/or work abroad, with the attention of becoming successful. All things considered, the positive aspects of migration were considerably more present than the negative aspects. The main difficulty these youngsters foresaw was to be separated from their family. Cultural differences and access to papers were not really seen as a hurdle.

Differences between the urban and rural area were seen in the way they use virtual mobility. In the rural area there are less possibilities to do this. The family wealth also differed. For many urban respondents it was obvious that they would continue their studies after high school. Many rural respondents were not so sure about this and saw a first step in migrating to a city to continue their studies there, after which they intend to migrate internationally.

The dreams of these youngsters can be explained with the concept of bounded rationality. They filter the information there is about migration to keep the project feasible. Therefore, their dreams are very positive and they do not see many difficulties. When they would think of all the difficulties that could occur, their dream would not be so bright and feasible. Although these youngsters nowadays have a lot of access to knowledge about migration through the web e.g. they choose not to inform themselves with all of this and filter the information to get the result they want, in order to keep their dream livable.

APPENDIX 1 - SURVEY

General questions

1. Name
2. Sex
3. Age
4. Name of school
5. Which class
6. Do you live in Kendem (question in the rural area)

Migration aspirations

1. What will you be doing after high school?
2. Do you have a wish to migrate?

- Yes:
- 2a. Where to
 - 2b. Do you think it is easy?
 - 2c. Why do you want to migrate?
 - 2d. Do you think often about your future?

- No:
- 2d. Why not?
 - 2d. What kind of future do you see in Cameroon?

Migration family history

1. Did someone in your family migrate before?

- Yes:
- 1a. Who did? (age, where, family relation)
 - 1b. Do you have contact with him
 - 1c. what do you think of his living place

- No:
- 1a. Do you ever talk with your family about migration

Family wealth

1. Are there school costs?
- Yes:
- 1a. How much?
 2. With who do you live together?

3. Who is the breadwinner in your household?
4. What kind of job does your parents (or at least the breadwinner) have?
5. Do you have to pay schoolfees
6. What kind of house do you live in
7. Does your family has money problems?
8. Do your consider your family poorer than the average Cameroonian family, the same, richer

Virtual mobility

1. Do you have a mobile phone?
2. Do you use Internet?

- Yes: 2a. How often?
- 2b. Where do you use it?
- 2c. What are your main activities on the Internet?

Contact

Can I have your number (if you have it), for if I want to interview you

APPENDIX 2 — INTERVIEW GUIDE

Emigration Environment

- What is the main reason you want to leave Cameroon? Why do you not wish a future in Cameroon (for example a lot of people just want to stay in the Netherlands).
- Leaving for an economical reason?
- Also leaving for a political reason?
- What does migration do for your social status in Cameroon?

Social networks

- Do you talk with your friends about your wish to migrate? Often? Where do you talk about then?
- Do you talk with your family about your wish to migrate? Often? Where do you talk about then?
- Would your friends and family support you if you would go abroad?
- Do you talk in school about migration with your friends?
- What kind of influence does the wish to migrate have on your life? (so costs it time? Do you get more serious in your education e.g., talk with your friends about, dream)
- Please describe how the perfect life look like for you? So what is your wish migration would give you?
- Where do you see yourself in 5 years?

Family migration history

- Did someone in your family migrated before?
- How often do you talk with this person? Ever one to one or via family?
- Does this person sends money to your family? (much, often?)
- How does this person talks about his/her living place?
- Did you hear mostly positive stories or also some negative stories about his/her environment?

Gender

- Women: You have a wish to migrate but you have maybe also a wish to start a family how do you see this two wishes together? With an Cameroonian man? Do you have an age in mind when you want to get married and have children?

- Man: You have a wish to migrate but you have maybe also a wish to start a family how do you see this two wishes together? Do you want to marry an Cameroonian women? Do you have to give the bride's family something?

Migration costs

- There are some costs involved when you want to migrate do you have an idea how much?
- Do you have an idea if your family is willing to support you?
- What if you are not the only one who wants to go abroad, but also sisters and brothers?

Migration itself

- Do you think it is easy to make the step of migration?
- How do you think you will enter the country (travel mode, visa)
- Do you think you will come across some difficulties? (social/cultural difficulties)
- Do you like to go to a country where also other Cameroonians are?
- In case of study: do you see any difficulties in the possible different level of education?

Virtual mobility

- Do you use Internet?
- Do you think Internet helps to make the step of migration?
- What do you do on the Internet?
- Does Internet influences your thoughts about migration (more detailed dream)
- Do you chat with people outside the country? Do you know these people personal? Where do you talk about then?
- Does your family think you spent too much time on the Internet?

Religion

- How do you see religion in your wish to migrate

Chance

- A lot of people have a wish to migrate, how do you see the chance that you actually go?
- If you will not migrate, do you think you will be happy in Cameroon?

APPENDIX 3 – MOBILITY SCHEME

NAME:	
MONDAY¹	
Where did you go to today?	
At which times did you do that?	
Did you watch television today?	
At which times and how long?	
Which programs did you watch? (Regional, Cameroonian or international channel?)	
Did you call and text today?	
When and how long?	
Did you call and text within Cameroon or also outside Cameroon? And outside Buea?	
Did you went on the Internet today?	
At what time and for how long?	
What did you do on the Internet?	

¹ This page was handed out to the respondents 7 times, one for each day for one week

Did you receive any goods today?	
From who and where?	

APPENDIX 4 — FOCUS GROUP MOBILITY SCHEME

1. Discuss individual schemes. To see if everything is clear to me.

2. *Television*

- You talked about your dreams to migrate, how is television influencing this you think?
- Do you know more about the world through television?
- What do you think if you watch (name a channel or series they watched)?
- Do you see only positive things or also negative things?
- When watching television do you talk with the people you watch about other countries, how?
- Do you think often about migration when you watch television?

3. *Telephone*

- How is the telephone broadening your world?
- Do you know more about the world through the telephone?
- If you ever call outside Cameroon, how does this feel?
- Do you sometimes text or call about your wish to migrate?
- How is the telephone influencing your dream to migrate?

4. *Internet*

- Do you know more about the world through the Internet?
- How do you think about your wish to migrate through the Internet?
- Do you see mostly positive things, or also negative things?
- What do you think when you see a picture of the country or continent you want to go to?
- Do you think often about migration when you are surfing on the Internet?
- Do you talk with others about things you saw on the Internet
- For the ones who don't use Internet, do you have a wish to use it? Why?

5. *Goods*

- What does it mean for you if you receive something?
- Do you ever receive something from abroad?
- How does that make you think about other countries?
- Do you hear stories about people get sent things from abroad?

APPENDIX 5 – LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Students

	Name²	Gender	Age	Urban/Rural	School	Class	Category³
1	Sylvanus	Male	18	Rural	GHS	Lower 6 th	1
2	Ibrahim	Male	18	Urban	GBHS	Lower 6 th	1
3	Hastings	Male	18	Rural	GHS	Upper 6 th	2
4	Etuge	Male	17	Urban	Salvation	Lower 6 th	2
5	Divine	Male	19	Rural	GHS	Lower 6 th	3
6	Klinns	Male	19	Urban	Salvation	Lower 6 th	3
7	Samuel	Male	18	Rural	GHS	Upper 6 th	4
8	Gideon	Male	17	Urban	GBHS	Lower 6 th	4
9	Dieudonné	Male	17	Rural	GHS	Lower 6 th	5
10	Valery	Male	16	Rural	GHS	Lower 6 th	5
11	Faith	Male	16	Urban	Salvation	Lower 6 th	5
12	Chad	Male	18	Urban	Salvation	Upper 6 th	5
13	Alice	Female	21	Rural	GHS	Lower 6 th	7
14	Sandra	Female	17	Urban	GHBS	Lower 6 th	7
15	Sporah	Female	21	Rural	GHS	Upper 6 th	8
16	Dorothy	Female	17	Rural	GHS	Upper 6 th	8
17	Kelly	Female	17	Urban	Salvation	Upper 6 th	8
18	Adellette	Female	18	Urban	Salvation	Upper 6 th	9
19	Augusia	Female	21	Rural	GHS	Upper 6 th	10
20	Queenta	Female	18	Urban	GHBS	Lower 6 th	10
21	Scola	Female	21	Rural	GHS	Lower 6 th	11
22	Relindis	Female	17	Rural	GHS	Lower 6 th	11
23	Aberna	Female	18	Urban	GHBS	Lower 6 th	11
24	Syniah	Female	19	Urban	Salvation	Lower 6 th	12

² Most of the students told me 2 or 3 names of them, I will use one name of them in this thesis

³ The different categories are shown at page 30

Experts

	Name	Gender	Profession	Organization
25	Mr. Orock	Male	Project Coordinator	United Action for Children
26	Rolland	Male	Geography Teacher	Salvation

APPENDIX 6 – LIST OF DISCUSSION GROUPS

	Urban/Rural	Names	School
1	Rural	Dieudonne, Syhvanlus, Relindis, Valery & Divine	GHS
2	Rural	Sporah, Samuel, Augusia & Hastings	GHS
3	Rural	Dorothy	GHS
4	Rural	Alice & Scola	GHS
5	Urban	Ibrahim, Queenta & Gideon	GBHS
6	Urban	Sandra & Aberna	GBHS
7	Urban	Klinns	Salvation
8	Urban	Adellette	Salvation
9	Urban	Faith	Salvation
10	Urban	Kelly	Salvation
11	Urban	Chad	Salvation

APPENDIX 7 — PAPER COVER OF THESIS, LIST OF RESPONDENTS

Name	U/R ⁴	Gender ⁵	Family Welfare ⁶	Migration History
Aberna	U	F	A	No
Adellette	U	F	H	Yes
Alice	R	F	L	Yes
Augusia	R	F	L	No
Chad	U	M	A	No
Dieudonné	R	M	A	No
Divine	R	M	A	Yes
Dorothy	R	F	A	Yes
Etuge	U	M	A	Yes
Faith	U	M	A	No
Gideon	U	M	L	No
Hastings	R	M	A	Yes
Ibrahim	U	M	L	Yes
Kelly	U	F	A	Yes
Klinns	U	M	H	Yes
Queenta	U	F	L	No
Relindis	R	F	A	No
Samuel	R	M	L	No
Sandra	U	F	L	Yes
Scola	R	F	A	No
Sporah	R	F	A	Yes
Sylvanlus	R	M	L	Yes
Syniah	U	F	H	No
Valery	R	M	A	No

⁴ U = urban / R = rural

⁵ F = female / M = male

⁶ L = low family wealth

/ A = average family wealth / H = high family wealth