

**UNIVERSITE DE YAOUNDE I
THE UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I**

**Centre de Recherche et de Formation
Doctorale en Sciences Sociales et
Educatives**

**Unité de Recherche et de Formation
Doctorale en Sciences de l'Education et
Ingénierie Educative**

Departement d'Anthropologie



**Post Graduate School for Social
and Educational Sciences**

**Doctoral Research Unit for
sciences of Education and
Educative Engineering**

Department of Anthropology

**TRADE NETWORKS BETWEEN AFRICA AND
ASIA, THE CASE OF THE SINO – CAMEROON
TRADE COOPERATION: A CONTRIBUTION TO
ECONOMIC ANTHROPOLOGY.**

*A Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of a
Doctorate/Ph.D in Anthropology*

Specialisation: Anthropology of Development

By

KUME Alfred GIMANDZE

Master in Anthropology

Supervised by:

Antoine SOCPA, PhD

Professor



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To

My late father Kume Simon Yumbem Ngatop

and

My mother Julia Ntare

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ABSTRACT

This research is based on trade and migration with the topic; “*Trade Networks between Africa and Asia, the case of the Sino-Cameroon Trade cooperation, a contribution to economic Anthropology*”. The Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation has over the recent years been characterized by unequal trade balances. Our main research question is; what are the main cooperation agreements reached by Asian and African governments that provide the development of a new trade network between the Asian and African countries? The main research hypothesis is: Good bilateral cooperation and cheap prices of Asian goods and services attract Cameroonian traders to Asia while rich natural resources, available markets and infrastructural development projects attract the Asians to Cameroon. The main research objective was to: Show how good bilateral cooperation between Cameroon and China can promote the movement of goods and people across the borders. Make Cameroonians to know what they are gaining and losing from the trade agreements with China. Qualitative research techniques were used in this work.

Two grounded anthropological theories were used to analyse our data. We have the Stone Age anthropology of Marshall Sahlins and the anthropology of marketing by Brian Morean.

The key findings were; firstly, that China and most Asian countries have developed an emerging trade culture with African states, which involves supplying some of their finished products thought to respond to the needs of African countries and in turn extract raw materials from these African countries and exported to their respective countries for transformation. Secondly, in the Sino – Africa trade relationships, there is parallel extraction and exportation of agricultural, mineral and human resources from Africa to China (Asia) which does not identify the source country of such material. In return, finished products from these extracted resurces are supplied to Cameroon through Sino-Cameroonian traders.

Thirdly, Cameroonian traders in the midst of trade competition with China have developed outreach strategies to purchase their goods and services in many different Asian countries. Their retailing options in Cameroon are diversified to their social networks (families, njangi, tontines, warehouses and provision stores) to capture a wider market whereas the Chinese are restricted to their shops established in market plazas.

The study is limited to the Sino – Cameroon trade cooperation, though Cameroon and China have been used as the baseline of the Sino – African trade, the outreach strategies provide a reason for the extension of these analyses to Africa and Asia.

The Asian- African trade network which is grounded on trade negotiations maybe a better economic or trade option for African governments to explore. This will enable them to setup new trade and economic systems. A new trade system grounded on negotiation deals with Asian trade partners as opposed to the imperialists (the Western) trade deals may help African countries to develop some business autonomy.

Keywords: Sino-Cameroon, trade network, cooperation, Africa, Asia.

RESUME

Cette recherche est intitulée: “*Trade Networks between Africa and Asia, the case of the Sino-Cameroon Trade cooperation, a contribution to economic Anthropology*”. La coopération bilatérale et commerciale sino-camerounaise s'est caractérisée ces dernières années par des bases et des événements inégaux. Notre principale question de recherche est: quels sont les principaux accords de coopération conclus par les gouvernements asiatiques et africains qui prévoient le développement d'un nouveau réseau commercial entre ces deux continents ? L'hypothèse principale de recherche est la suivante: une bonne coopération bilatérale et l'application des prix des biens et services asiatiques essentiellement bas attirent les commerçants camerounais en Asie tandis que les riches ressources naturelles, la disponibilité des marchés et les projets de développement des infrastructures attirent les Asiatiques au Cameroun. Le principal objectif de la recherche était de: Montrer comment une bonne coopération bilatérale entre le Cameroun et la Chine peut favoriser la circulation des marchandises et des personnes à travers les frontières. Faire savoir aux Camerounais ce qu'ils gagnent et ce qu'ils perdent des accords commerciaux avec la Chine. Des techniques de recherche qualitative ont été utilisées dans ce travail.

Deux théories anthropologiques ont été utilisées pour analyser nos données. Il s'agit notamment de l'anthropologie de l'âge de Pierre de Marshall Sahlins et l'anthropologie du marketing de Brian Morean.

Après analyse et interprétation des données, les principaux résultats suivants ont été obtenus. Premièrement, la Chine a développé une culture commerciale émergente avec le Cameroun, qui consiste à fournir certains de leurs produits finis censés répondre aux besoins de ce pays, extraire et exporter les matières premières du Cameroun destinés au ravitaillement de ses industries. Deuxièmement, dans les relations commerciales sino-africaines, il y a extraction et exportation parallèlement de ressources agricoles, minérales et humaines de l'Afrique vers la Chine (Asie) qui n'identifie pas le pays d'origine de ces matières. En contrepartie, les produits finis issus de ces ressources extraites sont fournis au Cameroun via des commerçants sino-camerounais.

Troisièmement, les commerçants camerounais en pleine concurrence commerciale avec leurs homologues chinois ont développé des stratégies de sensibilisation pour étendre leurs marchés de ravitaillement des biens et services à plusieurs pays d'Asie. Leurs options de vente au détail au Cameroun sont diversifiées à leurs réseaux sociaux (familles, njangi, tontines, entrepôts et magasins de provisions) pour conquérir un marché plus large tandis que les Chinois sont limités à leurs magasins implantés sur des places de marché.

L'étude se limite à la coopération commerciale sino-camerounaise, bien que les deux pays aient été utilisés pour cerner les bases du commerce sino-africain les stratégies de sensibilisation fournissent une raison pour l'extension de ces analyses à l'Afrique et à l'Asie.

Le réseau commercial afro-asiatique fondé sur des négociations commerciales peut être une meilleure option économique ou commerciale à explorer pour les gouvernements africains. Cela leur permettra de mettre en place de nouveaux systèmes commerciaux et économiques. Un nouveau système commercial fondé sur des accords de négociation avec des partenaires commerciaux asiatiques par opposition aux accords commerciaux impérialistes avec le pool commercial du Nord, pourrait aider les pays du Sud à développer une certaine autonomie dans le domaine des affaires.

Mots clés: Sino-Cameroun, réseau commercial, coopération, Afrique, Asie.

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND INITIALS

Acronyms

APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
BAPCCUL	Bamenda Police Cooperative Credit Union Limited
CETSDIC	Centre for Education, Training and Support for Development Initiatives in Cameroon
ECCAS	Economic Commission of Central African States
FOCAC	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
FODER	Forêt et Développement Rural (Forest and Rural Development)
IRIC	International Relations Institute of Cameroon
ITEC	India Technical and Economic Cooperation
JAICA	Japan's International Cooperation Agency
KAAC	Korea Alumni Association Cameroon
KOICA	Korea International Cooperation Agency
LIPID	Limbe Port and Industrial Development Corporation
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NTACCUL	Ntarinkon Cooperative Credit Union Limited
SOE	State –Owned Enterprise
TICAD	Tokyo International Conference on African Development
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

Initials

ADB	African Development Bank
AEO	African Economic Outlook
AM	After Meridian
AU	African Union
CI	Confucius Institute
CPDM	Cameroon People's Democratic Movement
CRBC	China Road and Bridge Corporation

EU	European Union
FCFA	Franc de la Communauté financière en Afrique
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GVC	Global Value Chains
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NMC	National Museum of China
PSO	Peace Support Operations
SDF	Social Democratic Front
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
TCM	Traditional Chinese Medicine
UNO	United Nation Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION



0.1. Context of the work

All human interactions are by definition intercultural. When two individuals meet, it is an intercultural contact since they both have different (sometimes drastically different if not opposite) ways to perceive, discover and create reality. Culture is a very important aspect of a society, it is acquired through acculturation or socialization by the individual from the society and it subsumes every area of social life (Donald Hendon and *al.* 1996). From this point of view, all diplomatic and international economic (trade) relationships are intercultural, hence when two or more countries sign bilateral cooperation, there is bound to be the exchange of a good number of socio-cultural elements. Socio-cultural problems of imbalance sets in when one of the partners in the cooperation dominates or imposes on the other. Before the signing of cooperation and business ties between Cameroon and some Asian countries, many Cameroonian traders used to go and buy goods from Asia and then retail in Cameroon (both wholesale and retail). The signing of these cooperation and business ties rapidly witnessed the progressive influx and installation of many Asian entrepreneurs in Douala, Yaounde, Bamenda and other parts of the Country with their goods and services. These Asian traders sell the same goods that are being retailed by their Cameroonian business men and women. The increasing advent of intermediary agents or middle men and women in our markets, supermarkets and shops is a call for concern to verify their importance, origin, how they work and why they do this type of work. Writing on the activities carried out by the middle men and women or intermediary agents, (Runckel and Associates 2016: 25), a group of Consultants said;

the business of doing business in Asia requires a sound business plan. We assist companies interested in investing, manufacturing or starting factories or offices in Asia. Our services are uniquely qualified as our staff has lived and worked in Asia, speaks most of the languages and understand the law, culture and challenges of living and working throughout the region. Additionally, we have major offices in China, Vietnam and Thailand and have the experienced people in place to ensure your job is done and done well.

Cameroonian traders going to China or Asia for their very first time should seek for advice from the other traders that are used to going there to avoid being dubbed. Some traders have complained of the Chinese not being so trustworthy that pay for a product but are served with something else or they mixed their goods at the level of loading their containers.

Cameroon in particular and African countries in general import finished products from Asia and the rest of the world and in turn export natural raw materials and cash crops. All of Africa's exports are natural raw materials and cash crops as confirmed by (Udoh:1994).

Throughout Africa, indiscriminate development and abuse of land and water resources are visible. Much of the land is farmed beyond its capacity to rejuvenate to its original nutrient-rich conditions. The carrying capacity of the land has been exceeded in many places because Africa is dependent upon the exports of raw materials. These commodities are subject to fluctuating World market prices. When market forces lower prices, the only way for African nations to continue their development projects at a reasonable pace, earning necessary foreign income, is to produce more raw materials and cash crops (Udoh:1994). Cameroon's dependence on the export of natural raw materials and cash crops turn to impoverish its citizens, who now live mostly on finished imported goods and services, thereby limiting their own socio-cultural innovative and inventive potentials and development. Increasing engagement in Africa has recently become a focal point of interest in Western public discourse. However we do not know enough about the cultural and economic repercussion as they are perceived from the local actors' point of view. In addition to macro-economic dynamics it is above all the cultural practices of local actors that greatly influence the organization of trade networks and the development of entrepreneurial strategies. The background of massive Chinese migration is that due to the reforms of the late 1970s, thousands of Chinese lost employment as civil servants and had no other choice than to leave their country. The Chinese government even encouraged them to found enterprises abroad and committed them morally and legally to maintain relations with their home country (Röschenthaler and Socpa : 2017).

When we depend largely on foreign finished products, we are in one way or the other losing our cultural heritage as one scholar (Desjardins 2008: 144) has said, "*let's eat what we can produce*" and he continued arguing that a Man's culture determines his behavioural patterns right up to what he produces and consumes. In this approach, there is a return to the cultural aspects over the natural view, permitting human societies to better integrate their ecosystems. What we produce, how we produce it, transforms it, distributes, prepares and consumes it, is determined by our cultures.

Trade is very important for growth; this is derived from studies concluding that outward-oriented economies consistently have higher growth rates than inward-oriented economies. This neoclassical view has been supported by the phenomenal growth and industrialization records of some Asian Countries like Hong Kong, Singapore, Korea and Taiwan, and later Malaysia and Thailand. These Countries are often compared with those in Latin America and Africa that opted for the import-substitution strategy (Moyo 2014). Over the last 30 years, these Asian Countries approximately doubled their standards of living every 10 years. China and India are

the latest to join this group and thus to lend more support to the argument that openness to trade leads to more rapid growth (Gilles and William 2000). Some authors like (Krueger 1995) identify trade policy as the crucial element of economic policy. The World Bank (1993) considers the experiences of these Asian Countries as a model for development. No country has developed successfully in modern times without harnessing economic openness – to international trade, investment and the movement of people – for its development. Trade and investment integration increases the size of the market available to domestic firms as well as driving potential value chains with which they could link up their own production. And it drives productivity and innovation by exposing firms to international competition, expertise and technology. Openness has non-economic benefits, too. Wider and deeper cross-border economic integration has contributed greatly to overall peace and stability since the Second World War. And it has increased individuals' freedom to produce and consume in daily life, thereby widening life choices and chances of large numbers of ordinary people. But openness on its own does not lead to success. It is the competitiveness of economies, whether continents, nations, sub national regions and even cities that determine their levels of productivity. And productivity determines how well economies translate openness into opportunities for their firms, farms and people (Razeen Sally 2016). Trade and competitiveness come together in global value chains (GVCs). These are the key drivers of employment, productivity and growth in international trade. Production stages that previously took place in a single factory, or in a single country, are now dispersed internationally across many factories and many countries. Trade no longer means just goods crossing borders; rather it is the international, interconnected flow of goods, services, investment, people and ideas along a value chain. This results in ever-tighter links between advanced and emerging economies. Also relevant are bilateral investment treaties between developed and developing countries. And, not least, are the “deep integration” regional trade agreements that go beyond tariff elimination to cover strong disciplines on “behind-the-border” non-tariff and regulatory barriers. Strengthening both openness in the global economy and domestic competitiveness has never been more important. A trade-and-competitiveness agenda should be a key priority for policy-makers around the world. This is needed to revive sluggish post-crisis productivity and growth, and to tap new sources of growth, innovation, job creation and development, not least through GVCs. In a free exchange, either sides or trading partners become better off. Quite simply, nobody would trade if they expected to lose from it. The buyer profit just as the seller does. Imports are just as valuable to us as our exports are to the others. A nation's wealth is not the quantity of gold and silver in its vaults,

but the total of its production and commerce-what is known today as gross national product (GNP).

The world has become a global village where people interact with others, goods and services crisscrossing the borders on regular basis. As such, it is thus necessary to adopt and adapt to the changing trends of the global village. Globalization is multidimensional, affecting all aspects of life-economic, cultural, environmental and social as well as relations between governments and nations on all the continents. It is characterized by an intensification of cross border trade and increased financial and foreign direct investment flows, promoted by rapid liberalization and advances in information technologies. Its implications range from the trade and investment flows as well as flows of capital. The global process of globalization has made the pursuit of development and maintenance of internal and external stability very difficult and delicate task. On one hand globalization holds out to those countries that are engaged in the process, the promise of a sustainable growth in trade and international investment. On the other hand, it heightens the risks of instability and marginalization. Globalization is multifaceted with many important dimensions composed by the flow of information, data, knowledge and technologies (Lewellen 2002), (Gao 2000) and (Cohen 2008). For instance, internet facilitates the exchange of information and makes various peoples around the world always connected. In this process a doctor located in Cameroon can obtain help from a colleague located in Hungary at any time on an extremely urgent case without need to travel, but just by using his computer and the internet connection. What we can do with the telephone of course in some cases. Two students from distant countries can work together when necessary using new technologies of information. In today's world, people advertise and sell their products online without having to move from one place to another which takes a lot of time and energy. The Cameroonians and their Asian counterparts are making great use of the high developments in information and communication technologies as traders are regularly informed of the recent developments in terms of products and the fluctuations in the prices of goods and services not leaving out the exchange rates of the various currencies. In a global economy, no nation is self-sufficient. Each is involved at different levels in trade to sell what it produces, to acquire what it lacks and also to produce more efficiently in some economic sectors than its trade partners (Bairoch and *al.* 1996) and (Daianu 2009).

Globalization began gaining momentum in the 1960s when businesses in search of larger markets expanded their reach and interests beyond national borders. Four major developments have defined and strengthened this process: the expansion of the universe of economic activity

beyond the nation-state; the liberalization of international trade; the growing importance of international financial flows; and the growth of information and communication technologies. These developments have almost completely refashioned the world economic system. We can also mention the aftermath of the Second World War with the creation of the WTO, IMF WORLD BANK during 1940 decade, to prevent another world crisis and to promote the reconstruction of Europe and the development of the global trade. Despite all these developments, Cameroon seems to be turning around a cycle or moving at very slow pace as reported in this newspaper Le Quotidien de l'économie (2016: 8):

le Cameroun est 166^{ème} pays au classement de Doing Business 2017, publié par la Banque Mondiale mardi 25 Octobre à 17h. Il gagne une place seulement par rapport à l'année dernière et progresse de moins d'un demi-point. L'année dernière le Cameroun avait été classé 172 pays Doing Business. Une place qui avait été révisée par la suite pour le situer à la 167^{ème} place en raison d'un changement des critères d'évaluation.

Cameroon is located in a very good strategic position in the Central African sub region and doubles as Africa miniature (from the geographical features with splendid touristic sites to the socio-cultural diversities). A position or location that favours trade (both exports and imports), yet Cameroon is found dwindling in a Doing Business classification of the World Bank.

Globalization has helped increase growth and wealth in recent years, but it has not done so for all continents and all countries (Ahmet 2015) and (Jean Paul 2017). In the least developed countries and on the African continent in particular, a worsening of existing imbalances has impeded development and aggravated poverty. The marginalization of these countries is reflected in their small share of world trade, output, and foreign investment. For countries like Cameroon, the situation is exacerbated by unsustainable external debt and by unfulfilled promises of official assistance at a time when the country cannot continue its reforms and development efforts without financial support. Despite a sometimes unfavourable international environment, marked by climatic constraints that have affected northern regions of the country, Cameroon has, on the whole, recorded satisfactory rates of growth in recent years. The country recorded growth of 5 percent or more in 1998, and the country is working to improve per capita GNP significantly while controlling inflation. However, this performance has been achieved at the price of costly structural reforms that have often negatively affected the most vulnerable segments of society. Moreover, Cameroon is still economically far from reaching its goal of an annual sustained growth rate above 7 percent a year, which is essential if it is to achieve the

quality of life of other developing countries. It is not impossible for Cameroon to accomplish this goal.

Politically, a combination of new technologies and the globalization of the economy present challenges to the government of Cameroon, the custodian of the wellbeing of its people. Until recently, the state's scope of activities had no defined limits. In addition to its sovereign functions (for example, security, justice, education, and health care), it was involved in economic life through direct control over the production and distribution of many goods and services. In Cameroon, the state has been responsible for managing even financial institutions, as well as controlling trade and capital flows between the national economy and the rest of the world. This interventionist system, which was justified in various ways, eventually ran out of steam in early 1990s. But it did not give way to a burgeoning private initiative. A restrictive regulatory framework limited private initiatives to marginal activities, stifling the emergence of a true entrepreneurial class.

Socially in Cameroon, civil society plays a dual role. First, as a mouthpiece for democracy, it is the chief challenger of the power of the state, limiting deviations from good governance and acting as a regulator in the political arena. This civil society (voluntary organizations, community groups, trade unions, church groups, co-operatives, business, professional and philanthropic organizations and a range of other NGOs) is growing remarkably fast. It is becoming more organized and collaborates effectively with civil society in other countries. Cooperation with institutions such as the International Federation of Human Rights is a good example of how this phenomenon works. In the areas of development, the environment or human rights, NGOs have added a new dimension to traditional politics and have helped to find new forms of addressing national problems. As evidenced in the privatization and deregulation schemes, Cameroon is forging ahead with the establishment of a proper functioning market economy. However, despite its overall efficiency, the market economy can generate negative social and environmental externalities. Civil society, as represented by consumer associations and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), serves as a watchdog to contain market excesses and to guard against environmental abuse by increasing public awareness of ecological problems for example, disposal of toxic waste.

As earlier mentioned above, the human world or universe has become a global village, hence nobody lives alone. You have to interact or partner with one another. The 17th and last point of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) is talking about partnerships, that is;

“Strengthen the Means of Implementation and Revitalize the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development”. The Cameroon government in this light signed bilateral and trade agreements with many countries all over the world; European, African, North and South America, Austria and Asian countries. Prominent amongst these is the bilateral and trade cooperation between Cameroon and China.

There are many terms that are being used to describe these agreements. Some examples include South - South cooperation and Operation win-win (operation gagnant-gagnant). According to (Tande 2011), China sees Cameroon as a long-time friend, with relations established in 1971. Cameroon has consistently supported the One China policy. China sees Cameroon as a linchpin in the Central African region, with a port and economy of regional importance. In order to strengthen and preserve their cooperation ties with Cameroon, a good number of these Asian countries have embarked on the construction of schools, hospitals, Conference Centres, Sports infrastructures, roads among other free will gifts to the Cameroonian government. These and much more are presented to our potential readers in the course of this work as they read further into the work.

0.2. Justification

For a better understanding of the research theme, it is necessary to justify the choice of this topic as well as the study sites. These include scientific and personal reasons.

0.2.1. Scientific reasons

Prior to this study, there were opinions and arguments on one hand that the Asians will take over the Cameroonian market village and on the other hand that Cameroonians in particular and Africans in general are creative, innovative and will find their way out despite the controversies. Hence a study on the mutual influences between the Cameroonian and Asian traders will clarify these arguments and opinions. Cameroon and most of these Asian countries were at the same level of socio-economic development in the 50s but today, those Asian countries in general and China in particular are classified among the world economic powers whereas Cameroon has become a poor and heavily indebted country.

In most of the Cameroonian households nowadays, we observed that at least 80 to 90 percent of imported Asian products and Chinese in particular. There are no many studies to clarify the preference for these Asian goods in Cameroon. The change of the business line from other African Countries, Europe and North America to the Asian business line by Cameroonian

traders is not well known and explained by scholars. On the same note, the progressive installation of Asian entrepreneurs, firms and industries in Cameroon is very little known as social science researchers are less interested in carrying out studies on the push and pull factors of the Cameroon government and traders with the Asians. There are insufficient studies describing or explaining the progressive influx of Asians in Cameroon in particular and Africa as a whole and how all these changes are influencing our consumption patterns or behaviours. We have earlier seen in the context that the world has become a global village where goods and services are being exchanged on a daily basis without the main actors (producers and consumers) being displaced from one place to another. Either we accept the Asians and their goods and services or not, they are already found in our societies, villages, homes and interfere in our daily activities. The earlier we study other societies to uncover their own cultures, physical and mental environments the better for us. As we the Cameroonians struggle to adapt to the changing world as a result of the changes proposed and imposed on us by the other societies, we need to propose and impose our own cultures. We need to know why they are interested in living in Cameroon and or trading with us despite all the negative names they usually use to describe us such as poor, underdeveloped, third world countries just to cite these ones. These and others can only be gotten through an ethnographic study of some of the Asian countries.

0.2.2. Personal reasons

Most if not all Cameroonians consider Asian goods to be of low quality and cheap (especially those from China). Despite these views or thoughts, it is these same cheap and low quality products that are flourishing in all the Cameroonian markets and ware houses and China remains Cameroon's first trading partner in terms of importation and sixth trading partner in terms of export (Moyo 2014: 6). Our reasons of choosing this topic are to find out why Cameroonians go in for the same goods they consider cheap and of low quality? Is it because these Chinese goods are available all the time or is it because they cannot afford to buy expensive and good quality products?

Secondly, we are interested to find out the first Cameroonians who started buying or importing goods from Asia, the strategies that they used to be accepted in the Asian milieu and vice versa. Thirdly we want to find out the business opportunities Douala Bamenda and Yaounde city dwellers offer the Asian traders that has caused so many Chinese traders to settle

in Cameroon. In the fourth place we would be researching on the business strategies employed by the Asian business men and women in Bamenda and Yaounde.

It is from all what we have said above, that made us to choose this topic so as to understand and explain the nature of the trade networks between Cameroon and Asia on one hand and the consequences of these trade relations to the Cameroonian cultures on the other hand.

0.3. Research problem

There is a direct link or relation between international trade and development especially for Countries that emphasize on more export and less importations as (Moyo 2014) affirms that outward-oriented (exporting) economies consistently have higher growth rates than inward-oriented (importing) economies. As earlier mentioned, the trade agreements were described as South-South cooperation, win-win relationships (cooperation gagnant-gagnant in French). International trade falls under the domain of globalization and (Tize 2011: 6), argues that “*la circulation des marchandises et des capitaux, des images, des idées et des personnes sont entre autres les caractéristiques de la mondialisation*». Mundialization can be equitable to transnationalism, the movement of people and goods across the borders. The movement of goods in this sense should reflect the various cultural settings.

Cameroon traders export very few raw natural resources to the Asian countries and import most of the finished goods from Asia Theresa Moyo (2014) more than two-thirds of Cameroon’s exports go to the European Union while less than 10 per cent goes to East Asia; and this share is on a downward trend. Cameroon is exporting virtually nothing to the United Arab Emirates but this country is one of the highest destination countries for many Cameroonian traders. Higher imports and lower exports have led to a negative trade balance with Asia since 2004. The exportation of raw natural resources and agricultural cash crops does not portray Cameroon’s rich cultural heritage. In 1999 exported goods totalled almost US\$2 billion, while imported goods amounted to almost US\$1.5 billion NIS (2015). It was supposed to be a ‘win-win’ economic relationship between Cameroon and Asia. Evidences point to the contrary. Cameroon is not only suffering from increasing trade imbalances, Chinese businesses are destroying local entrepreneurship as well as local businesses losing out to competition within Cameroon and Central African sub-region. In this globalization, mundialization, international trade or transnational’s, Cameroon in particular and Africa as a whole seem to be

drowning. Globalization does not mean the levelling of World inequalities. As a process, globalization has a centre and a periphery. What therefore genuinely constitutes globalization is the worldwide expansion of its core interests. Globalization is associated with domination or the new imperialism (Herkenrath 2007). Cameroon being a third World country occupies a marginal position in the various trade agreements. From this critical point, international trade agreements are leading Cameroon to a marginalization and domination position in the global market. Statistics show that Cameroon has witnessed a steady economic growth rate of 4% per year in the last five years as a result of these trade networks with the Asians but the standard of living of most Cameroonian citizens have not changed or have deteriorated (NIS 2015).

0.4. Statement of the problem

The bilateral and trade cooperation between Cameroon and China was supposed to be win-win cooperation. In this light, each partner was supposed to export goods and services to each other's country and to import from one another. It is thus necessary for us to find out how the trade cooperation between Cameroon and China can promote the socio-economic development of Cameroon. This is taking place at a time when Cameroon endowed with many natural resources is not benefitting from its rich natural resources. Cameroon has traded with the westerners (Europeans and Americans) but it was an imperialist form of trade. They now turn to trade with the Asians which is a new form of trade based on trade negotiations, agreements or cooperation. Despite these trade agreements with Asia, the Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation has witnessed so many lapses (trade imbalances, competition and over shadowing of local firms). Cameroon exports mostly raw natural resources such as crude oil, wood and cotton to China but imports almost all of what it cannot produce from China. Cameroonian entrepreneurs, firms and industries are fast losing out to competing Chinese entrepreneurs and products right here in Cameroon, Central African Sub region and Africa as a whole. Many Cameroonian citizens have lost their jobs, others have seen their salaries being reduced or slashed while some companies have closed down as a result of this trade cooperation with China. This competition is not limited to goods and services but extends to cultural aspects as more and more Cameroonians are learning Asian languages and cultures (Chinese and Japanese languages just to cite these ones).

The expected transfer of technology from the developed to the developing Countries has not taken place. In the numerous infrastructural projects and contracts accorded to the Asians, the few Cameroonians employed there, find themselves in marginal positions of labourers and

nothing more. For this to be done, our theoretical framework helped to guide our thoughts as well as the data collection, analysis and interpretation. Two theories were used in this study. They include; the Anthropology of marketing by Brian Moeran and Stone Age Economics by Marshall Sahlins.

For this to be done, we shall now ask some of the vital questions better known as the research questions that will lead us to better understand and have a clear view of the phenomenon under study.

0.5. Research questions

These are what we wanted to find out from the field from our key informants. They include a general question and secondary questions.

0.5.1. Main Question

What are the main cooperation agreements reached by Asian and African governments that provide the development of a new trade network between Asian and African countries?

05.2. Secondary Questions

- What are the cooperation agreements reached between the Asian and African countries?
- What are the impacts of the trade negotiations on the Cameroonian and Asian traders?
- How do Cameroonians represent the trade interaction between China and African countries?

0.6. Research hypotheses

Hypotheses are potential answers that the research is verifying or falsifying. We have the general hypothesis and the secondary hypotheses.

0.6.1. Main Hypothesis

Good bilateral trade cooperation, available markets for finished Asian products, cheap prices of goods and services, extraction and exportation of agricultural, mineral and human resources to Asia and the award of infrastructural development projects in Africa to the Asians.

0.6.2. Secondary Hypotheses

- The establishment of markets in Africa for Asian goods and services and the extraction and exportation of natural resources from Africa to Asia.

- The easeful movement of material and human resources across the borders.
- Cameroonian citizens perceive the Chinese's presence in their country with mixed feelings.

0.7. Research objectives

Research objectives are the aims or goals achieved from carrying out this research. They include one general objective and some secondary objectives.

0.7.1. Main Objective

Show how good bilateral cooperation between Cameroon and China can promote the movement of goods and people across the borders, increase trade which in turn enhances the socio-economic development of all the countries involved. Make Cameroonians to know what they are gaining and losing from the relationship with China, so as to devise a strategy to increase the benefits and reduce the losses.

0.7.2. Secondary Objectives

- Unveil the various trade cooperation agreements reached between the Asian and African governments.
- Demonstrate how Asians and Africans can easily go to either direction as a result of the cooperation agreements.
- Collect, analyse and interpret data on the mixed (negative and positive) feelings Cameroonians have on the presence of Chinese firms and companies in their country.

0.8. Methodology

This is the study of the research methods; that is the various methods, techniques and the tools that were used to collect analyse and interpret our data.

0.8.1. Research design

Our research design was qualitative research method where exploratory and explanatory phases were used. In some cases, record reviews were used for the clarification of the situation. In this light, we are referring to the use of statistics or figures to explain some facts in relation to the Cameroon-Asia business line in terms of exportations and importations.

0.8.2. The Study Population

The study sites were Yaounde in the Centre Region and political capital of Cameroon then Bamenda the capital city of the North West region of Cameroon. We also collected data

through review records from the Eastern, Littoral, South, South West and Northern regions of Cameroon. Our informants were comprised of Cameroonian traders who are dealing on the Cameroon-Asia business line and the Asian traders who are based in Cameroon, not leaving out some of the Asian contractors or workers. We interviewed both male and female traders insofar as we were told that this or that trader is dealing on the Cameroon-Asia business line, that particular trader was automatically qualified to be our potential informant, not leaving out hawkers, household consumer, Motorbike raiders and a number of Cameroonian students.

0.8.3. Sampling Method

The act, process and technique of selecting people purposively because they will give you the necessary information on a particular domain, topic and many more.

0.8.3.1. Sampling Approach

Purposive sampling was used in this work. The markets and some of the informants (Commercial motorbike riders, household consumers, hawkers and students) were purposively chosen to take part in their survey. Traders (that is Cameroonians and Chinese traders who deal on the Cameroon-Asia business line) and some administrative personnels were purposively chosen to take in the survey.

0.8.3.2. Sampling Procedure

Sampling procedure is choosing part of a population to use to test hypotheses about the entire population. Our sample data was generalized to reflect the entire population hence the reason why we used purposive sampling.

0.8.3.3. Sampling Technique

The snowball sampling was used for collecting data since the traders dealing on the Cameroon-China business line are so sceptical when it comes to furnishing information to researchers. We started by buying a mobile telephone from one of the Cameroonian traders who deal on the Cameroon-Asia business line and he later directed us to his colleagues who further continued directing us to other potential informants. For the Chinese, we bought some articles in a Chinese shop and we booked an appointment with the trader for an interview. After our interview with this particular Chinese trader, he directed us to other Chinese. We equally went to a Chinese construction site where one of the technicians working there linked us with a Chinese worker who later directed us to his colleagues.

Just as name of this technique implies, we needed to start from one person then continue with the others. As we moved from one informant to another, the number of informants were increasing like a snowball. This technique helped us to start with one person and later we captured a greater number of informants.

0.8.3.4. Sample Size

A total of 85 informants were interviewed in this work, 57 males and 38 females, 10 Chinese, 5 Nigerians and 70 Cameroonians. Any trader dealing on the Cameroon-Asia business line that we were chanced to meet was made a potential informant and their viewpoints were some sort a representation of the viewpoints of all the traders who deal on this business line. There was a saturation point (85) where the information given by the informants was what has been said by the other informants.

0.8.4. Research Method

Two types of data were collected; secondary or documentary data and primary data.

0.8.4.1. Secondary or Documentary Data

Documentary or secondary data: This is the data which can only be gotten from books, journals, articles, reports, thesis, dissertations and internet sources. These data had some direct or indirect connections with the research topic or the research sites. We collected such data from Libraries and research Centres in the various research sites.

0.8.4.2. Primary Data

These are the data we collected while on the field from the key or potential informants through interviews (direct and indirect, unstructured and semi-structured interviews), direct observation, life histories and focus group discussions. Questions were simply read and explained to the informants before they could answer. From the observations with the help of cameras, pictures were taken which were used to describe some of the phenomena.

Interviews (in-depth and informal)

We carried out both in-depth and informal interviews with a good number of Cameroonian traders who are dealing on the Cameroon-Asia business line in Yaounde and Bamenda respectively. These techniques were also used to collect data from the other participants (household consumers, administrative personnels, commercial motor bike riders and students).

Direct Observation

A good number of things and actions were observed directly during the field or data collection period. Following an observation checklist, we observed the goods and services offered in shops, supermarkets, hardware houses, ironmongers and some markets in Bamenda and Yaounde respectively. We equally observed the goods and services offered in some homes and public places such as Restaurants, schools and administrative offices to see and collect data on the various goods and services found or displayed in such places and especially find out where those were fabricated. A reasonable number of construction sites were visited to observe the workers (their nationalities), the machinery they were using and to sum it, the various tools and construction materials they were using and the countries that fabricated the tools and materials.

Life Histories

We used the narratives of our informants as the techniques to collect data on the informants' past experiences on how and when they started doing business. Many of these traders started by hawking perishable goods such as groundnuts and coconuts before getting on to non-perishable goods. Some started by pushing trucks in the various markets and warehouses while others started by working for some well-established business men and women who later settled them with enough capital to start off their own businesses. The reasons why they go to each other's country and the factors that pushes or pulls them to and from the various countries. This method also helped us to collect data on the attitudes or behaviours put up by the traders as they interact with each other and their perceptions concerning the presence of their counterparts in each other's country. Here we are equally talking of individual experiences, knowledge and testimonies. Some of the life histories concerning the traders were gotten from documents.

Focus Groups (Focus Group Discussions)

A number of focus group discussions were planned and held with some Cameroonian traders in Bamenda and Yaounde respectively, where the traders expressed their various view points and perceptions on the Cameroon-Asia business line. Their thoughts and challenges were all expressed in the course of these focus group discussions.

0.8.4.3. Data Collection Tools

Data collection tools were made up of; notebooks, pens and pencils for note taking in informal and indepth interviews, observation checklist for direct observation, question guide for focus group discussions, tape recorders, cameras and mobile telephones for pictures.

0.9. Ethical Considerations

Ethics have to do with the security of our informants. We did all that we can to preserve or protect the security of our informants. We advocated doing well and avoiding harm. We did all this by sorting verbally the consent of our informants and we assured them of the confidentiality of their responses not inserting the names of the key informants in all the verbatim of this work. Our informants were interviewed at their convenient places and time. They were free to choose which questions to answer and to leave out those questions which they thought were not convenient for them to answer. The informants participated in this study voluntarily as they were neither paid nor forced to answer the research questions.

In sum, the informed consents were done verbally to some participants while others were given the questionnaire to read for themselves and they wilfully accepted to take part in the survey and we equally told them to withdraw or stop at any time they so desired to stop. All the informants who did not give their consents were not interviewed and those who accepted were interviewed and some stopped at any time they wanted to stop.

0.10. Data Management

Data were collected mostly during the day and some other times in the evenings following the appointments the informants (traders) gave us. Interviews and focus group were recorded on tape recorder and mobile telephone and later downloaded to the memory card and stored in the laptop to avoid losing them. The notebooks helped for the jotting of some jests and for jotting down the things observed through direct observation. After interviewing four or five informants, we decided to transcribe those ones first such that we do not miss out the jests that were made by the informants. Some of the interviews were done in French and English languages while others were done in the Pidgin English, depending on which of the languages the informants understood best.

0.11. Data Analysis

For the analysis of our data, no software was used. The qualitative content analysis technique was used. We used content analysis to determine the presence of certain words, themes and concepts and the frequency of those words, themes and concepts in our data. It

permitted us to see all what the informants think about the Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation.

0.12. Interest of the study

These are the theoretical and practical contributions the work shall add to the existing literatures so as to solve some theoretical and practical problems concerning international relations and trade. It is divided into theoretical and practical interest.

0.12.1. Theoretical Interest

The findings, experiences and opinions generated from this study shall add to the existing literature on trade networks between Africa and Asia as a whole and Cameroon in particular. It shall equally contribute to the existing knowledge toward the understanding of economic anthropology, anthropology of migration and development. Our present research entitled *“Trade Networks between Africa and Asia: The case of the Sino-Cameroon Trade Cooperation. A Contribution to Economic Anthropology”* will refine, revise or extend existing knowledge in our area of investigation as emerging anthropologists. We hope that our investigation will have substantive theoretical or methodological significance following our methodical literature search including perceptions and views of our respondents.

0.12.2. Practical Interest

Experiences that shall be acquired from the secondary data as well as the fieldwork information on the various trade strategies shall be put at the disposal of our traders who can then apply them in their business centres for improvement. The information and knowledge obtained from other trade agreement policies shall be of great help to the Cameroonian government especially that which has to do with more exports and less importations so as to protect local firms and industries from competition with foreign goods and services.

0.13. Delimitations of study

This study was concentrated or limited on Cameroonian cultures (that is the Cameroonian traders who deal on the Cameroon-Asia business line) and the Asians based in Cameroon (both traders and non-traders). African cultures in general were employed somewhere in the course of this study for a better apprehension and clarification of the situation under study. The study sites were Yaounde and Bamenda respectively but other regions of Cameroon were included especially the places where the Chinese firms are operating. As for the time or period, April 2014 to December 2018 was the time or period that this study was intensively carried out. Information, issues or questions and other preoccupations before and after this time period shall

not be within our reach or disposal. Our study is focused on international trade cooperation between Cameroon and Asia (China), and to a certain extent on international relations and how these trade cooperation' influence our cultural patterns such as production, transformation, distribution and the consumption of goods and services.

0.14. Problems encountered on the field

Here, we are making references to the problems encountered in the course of the fieldwork when collecting the data (both primary and secondary data). We were faced with a lot of problems getting access to secondary information because not all the works of the authors who have worked on this theme are found in the renowned libraries in town. Most of the few authors who worked on similar topics were mostly referring to Africa – China, Cameroon – China, Africa –Japan and Cameroon – Japan all summed up to what is known as TICAD (Tokyo International Conference on African Development). These authors were only writing on the bilateral relationships between Africa or Cameroon and those particular countries and the presence of the Chinese in Africa as a whole and Cameroon in particular. In a nut shell, we could not even find one publication that was touching directly or indirectly on the trade networks between Africa and Asia or between Cameroon and Asia.

Cameroonian traders who deal on the Cameroon- Asia business line seem not to have confidence with the Cameroonian administrative officials especially those of the price control and taxation departments both in Bamenda and Yaounde respectively. Each time you are standing in front of a Cameroonian trader requesting for an interview, the first thing he or she wants to know is “are you working for the government”? When you say no; the next question is “who sent or directed you to me”? If the trader is not totally convinced by your answers, he or she might tell you that she or he has temporally stopped or is the husband, elder brother or sister that is travelling to Asia while the informant is only assuring the permanent role in the shop. One informant told us in Bamenda that;

some people came to my shop some few months back and told me that they were university students and that they have come to carry out a research on the various businesses in Bamenda town and I gave them detail information on my business and about three months later, the people of the taxation increase my taxes and from that day on; I have decided not to take part in any research concerning my business. (Interview realised with Informant 1 on the 2nd October 2015 at Mankon).

These sad and similar experiences made life difficult for us as the informants could not trust us from first view and required that I spend extra time on the field to assure my informants that I am actually a research student before they could attend to me. It necessitated that I go to

a particular informant two or three times before he or she could effectively take part in the survey.

The Asians on their part are not opened to dialogue especially the Chinese and this made the work more difficult than what we were expecting to have. The traders generally (both Cameroonian and Asians alike) are so busy during the day attending to their customers. As such, either you come and wait until when the trader is free or you go and come back later. At times I used to go and come back but on coming back; I will still find many customers waiting to be served.

Our success stories are that; we targeted potential informants in each of these cities who then directed us to their brothers, sisters, friends and colleagues who could now willingly take part in the survey. Secondly in other cases we had to buy some items or goods and services from the traders before booking appointments for interviews later the same day or the following day. For the Asians, who are closed up, we conducted indirect interviews with their workers/servants and through these same workers; we were then able to interview some few Asians.

1.15 Outline of the Thesis

The work is divided into chapters beginning with a general introduction, where all the sections of the work are briefly introduced or presented to give the reader a brief taste of what is found in each chapter in particular and the entire work as a whole. All the chapters open up with a chapter introduction, which introduces or presents all the subtopics and all what that chapter is talking about.

The ethnographies of Bamenda and Yaounde are presented in chapter one while chapter two is discussing the Literature Review and Theoretical Framework. International Relations between Cameroon and some four Asian countries (China, India, Japan and South Korea) are found in chapter three whereas chapter four focused its attentions on Traders (both Cameroonians and their foreign counterparts) and their Business Strategies.

The Chinese businesses in Cameroon are well elaborated in chapter five while chapter six is talking about the Feelings of the Cameroonians towards the Chinese. Cultural Difference, Economic Distance and Openness to Trade are presented in chapter seven and chapter eight presents its potential readers with interesting views of Acculturation, Adaptation and Cultural Change.

The work ends up with a General Conclusion, Sources cited in the work (both written and oral) and Annex.

In this part of the work, it was thus necessary to introduce all the parts and chapters as they are found in the work beginning with the background knowledge of the commercial networks between Cameroon and Asia, the justification of the choice of topic, statement of the problem (problematic) research questions, research hypotheses, research objectives, research methodology, interest of the study, problems encountered on the field, definition of concepts and the study outline.

Every scientific work begins with an introduction that serves as the gateway into the entire work. Our introduction is a giving a vivid presentation or description of what is found in the work properly said. The study context or background was done from the world or global perspective through the African continent then narrowed to the country (Cameroon) context. This is to well situate our readers from the global or world view, then the African level to the specific country in question for a better discernment of the topic of research or study.

The justification for the choice of the research topic and study sites followed suite, because there were so many topics and study sites where the research would have taken place but we chose to work on the topic: Trade Networks between Africa and Asia: The Case of the Sino-Cameroon Bilateral and Trade Cooperation, a contribution to Economic Anthropology. Our research problem and questions are well elaborated in this part of the work.

As can be seen with our main hypothesis that the good bilateral cooperation between Cameroon and China can booster the movement of goods and persons between the two countries likewise the movement of goods and persons across the borders can lead to the migration of people from one part of the world to another in search of business or trade opportunities. Upon hearing the bilateral and trade cooperation between Cameroon and China, many Cameroonians are quick to draw a conclusion that the Chinese have done and are still doing good to Cameroon since the prices of their goods and services are cheaper compared to the Westerners. It was thus necessary to point out all the positive and negative aspects of the Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation such that measures be taken to maximise the benefits while reducing the loses. The methodology, definition of concepts as well as the study outline is all presented in this part of the work.

CHAPTER 1

ETHNOGRAPHY OF BAMENDA AND YAOUNDE

1.1 Introduction

It was necessary to present or describe Cameroon as a whole in this part of the work, since we did not carry out fieldwork in the entire country, we are presenting the administrative locations of our studies sites Yaounde and Bamenda respectively. It is true that we collected data from other regions of Cameroon through record review (Eastern, Littoral, South West and the Northern regions), this does imply that we should describe the whole country. That said, we are presenting the geographical locations with the various physical elements and the histories of both sites, their political, economic and social organizations. Then we are ending the chapter by looking at the rapport between the administrative and geographic locations of the sites, their histories, human milieu and the research topic.

1.2 Administrative Locations

Yaounde is found in the Mfoundi division of the Centre region of Cameroon. Yaounde is the divisional capital of Mfoundi division, the regional capital of the Centre region and the political capital of Cameroon. It is the second largest city after Douala with a population of about 2.8 million inhabitants as of 2015 statistics. Yaounde is also known or nick named “*the city with the seven hills*” in English while in French it is: *la « ville aux sept collines »*. Yaounde is the host of the most important institutions of Cameroon in particular and the Central African Sub region as a whole. The Presidency, the Senate, the National Assembly, the Ministries and all the Embassies are found or located in Yaounde not forgetting the Forces of law and order, the Supreme Court and all the International bodies of the United Nations Organization. In terms of education, the capital is a host to a very good number of professional institutions such as the Combined war colleges of EMIA and Simbock, the National Advanced School of Administration and Magistracy ENAM, the National Higher Teacher’s Training School (ENS), the National Advanced School of Post and Telecommunications, the National Advanced School of Public Works (Polytechnique) and the foremost Universities of Yaounde I and Yaounde II (Soa). All these institutions welcome international students from the Central African Sub region (CEMAC countries) and the African continent as a whole. Yaounde is assessable through land and air.

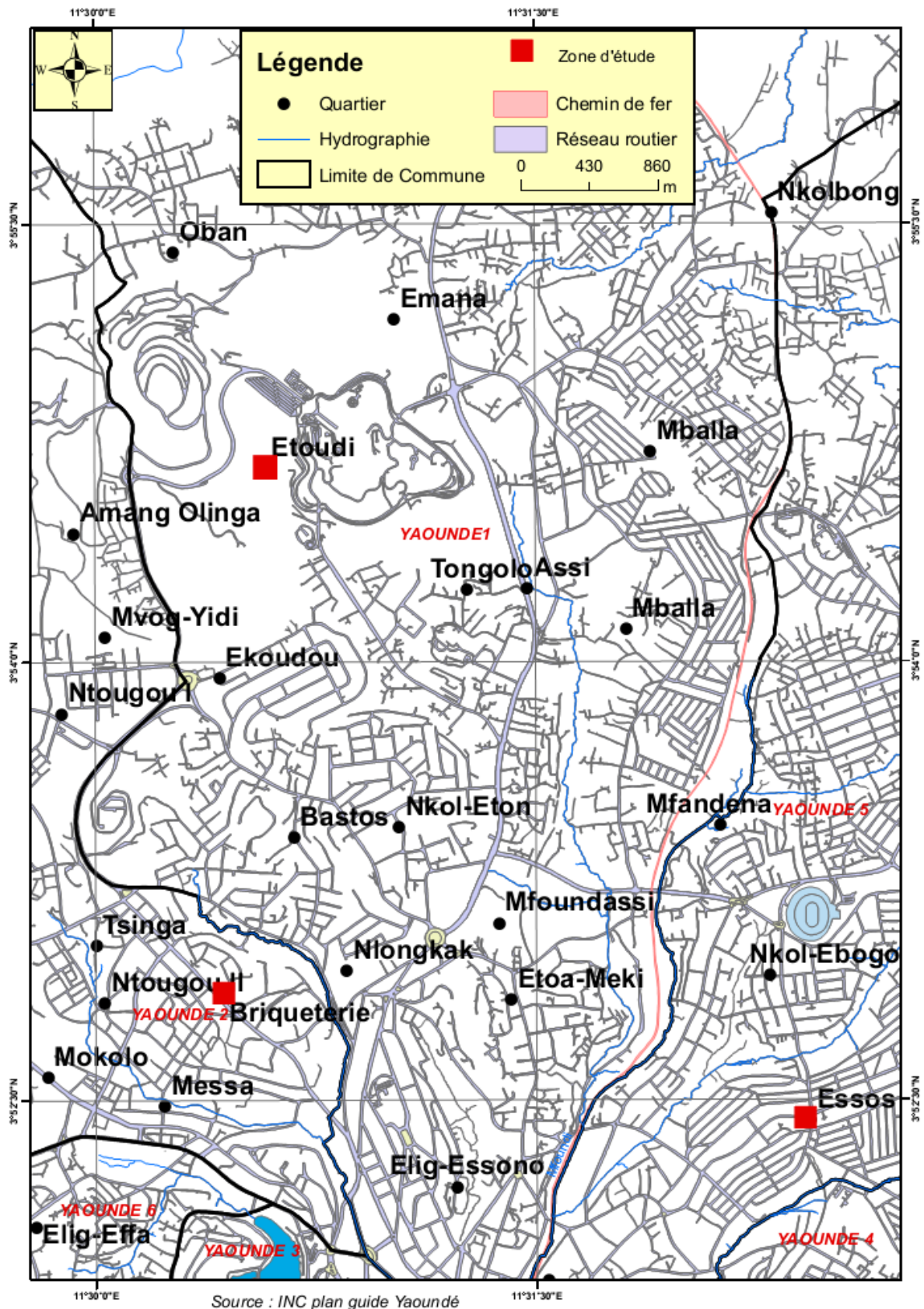
Bamenda, also known as “Abakwa city” on the other hand is administratively situated in the Mezam division of the North West region of Cameroon. Bamenda is the administrative capital of the Mezam division and doubles as the North West regional capital. Bamenda is peculiarly partitioned into two sections by the east-west aligned Bamenda escarpment. The northern sector of the town comprises parts of the highland villages of Njah and Mendankwe, also known as Up Station. It overlooks the low-lying and dominant sector which occupies the undulating plain stretching southwards from the original hamlet of Abakwa to incorporate parts of the Mankon, Nkwen, Chomba, Mbatu and Nsongwa (Mbunwe 2010).

Map 1: Bamenda and Yaounde respectively situated in Cameroon



Study Areas

- Centre Region
- North West Region



This city is also located some 366 kilometres North West of the political capital Yaounde with a population of over 800.000 inhabitants. Bamenda is well noted for the role it is playing as the seat of wisdom or education in Cameroon be it the public, Missions or Lay private schools. Many Cameroonians from the other parts of the country prefer sending their children to school in Bamenda may be due to the legendary hospitality of the inhabitants and the cold climate of the city. The city is assessable through land and air (the Bafut airport).

1.3. Geographic Locations and physical Features

Yaounde lies at the centre of the nation, with an altitude of about 600 – 1000 m above sea level. It is situated on latitude: 3° 52' 12 north and longitude: 11° 31' 12 east. It is estimated that Yaounde has a total of about 180 kilometre square surface area. According to (Atangana 1989 : 10) :

Les différents quartiers s'ordonnent en fonction du relief accidenté du site de la ville. Les routes et les bâtiments se développent principalement sur les hauteurs des différentes collines, tandis que les bas-fonds marécageux laissent souvent place à de l'agriculture vivrière, à la végétation et à de nombreux petits cours d'eau. Quelques-uns parmi eux sont les rivières Mfoundi, Ékozoa, Biyeme et Mefou. Près du centre administratif de Yaoundé se trouve un lac appelé lac Municipal, créé en 1951-1952.

The city first grew around the Mfoundi River. A network of hills make up its landscape such as Mounts Mbam Minkom (1295 m), Nkolodom (1221 m), Messa, Fébé, Akokdoué in the North and West, and Mount Eloumdem (1159 m) in the south. The rivers are the Mfoundi, Ekozoa, Biyeme, and Mefou. Today, Yaounde is the siege of power, the presidential palace, the house of parliament, all ministries and embassies.

Bamenda is located along latitude 05° 58N and longitude 10° 11E and covers an area of about 290 square kilometres at an altitude of 11,600 meters above sea level. *Bamenda*, also known as *Abakwa* and *Mankon* Town, is a city northwest of Cameroon and capital of the North West Region. The city had a population of about 800,000 people during the 2012 Cameroon Census, and its located 366 km (227 mi) north-west of the Cameroonian capital, Yaounde. Bamenda is known for its cool climate and strategic location showing its beautiful *scenery of hills* and vegetation. As the Regional capital of the North West Region, Bamenda is the melting pot of cultural groups from across the Region and beyond. Some of the streets are named after major tribal groups that inhabit the city, groups that provide diverse cultural animation through their associations and meetings. Community libraries, youth cultural centres, sports academy,

museums, handicraft centres, royal palaces, ancient architectural structures make for a very friendly cultural atmosphere.

1.3.1. Climate

Yaounde features a tropical wet and dry climate with varying temperatures throughout the year. However, primarily due to the altitude, temperatures are not quite as hot as one would expect for a city located near the equator. Yaounde features a lengthy wet (rainy) season, covering March to July and September to November. However, there is a noticeable decrease in precipitation within the wet season, seen during the months of July and August, almost giving the city the appearance of having two separate rainy seasons. It's primarily due to the relative lull in precipitation during these two months that Yaounde features a tropical wet and dry climate.

The climate of Bamenda, like that of most parts of the Northwest Region, is generally cool and pleasant. There are two main seasons: the rainy season that lasts for about six months with an annual rainfall of about 200 mm. The other half of the year is the dry season. Bamenda is known for its cool climate and scenic hilly location. Abakwa is all about a city and a people whose commitment to self-reliance sets the pace in individual and collective development. It is worth mentioning here that the type of climate will determine the type of vegetation and even the economy because business firms are not established anyhow but with a lot of climatic considerations. The climates of both cities have witnessed considerable changes as compared to what was recorded by the early Western explorers, colonizers and researchers like Kaberry and E.M Chilver due to the increasing effects of urbanization not leaving out the population increase and other economic activities that lead to temperature increase.

1.3.2. Vegetation

Yaounde formerly was a forest zone with savannah vegetation but as a result of urbanization, most if not all the forests have been deforested and one can now find an assorted vegetation of various types especially in the valleys and unoccupied lands that are being used for urban agriculture. Patches of rehabilitated forests can be spotted around the city with palm trees, mango trees, pear trees and eucalyptus as the dominant vegetation.

The topography of Bamenda is characterized by hills and plateaus, which make up the Grass fields. The Grass fields of Western Cameroon are an intermediate plateau about 1000 m

in altitude, with volcanic mountain ranges rising from 2 500 to 3 000 m. It is surrounded on its western and southern sides by lowland rainforest. The savannah, shrubs and other tree types grow on the hill tops and slopes, while the elephant stalk and water shed trees are visible in the valleys and the low lands. Rain forest trees can be found in the hinterlands as proof of the fact that High Equatorial Forest trees once grew there. It is said because of human activities like regular burning and exploitation by hunters, herdsmen and farmers the ecosystem from the onset has suffered depletion. This depletion may have been complemented by natural geographical activities. However, lots of tree planting exercises are coordinated from the ministry of wildlife and nature protection as a measure to reverse the threat of water sheds drying up. Yet, there is concern for the tree types planted for this purpose. Most people grow the eucalyptus trees for various needs like fuel wood, roofing, poles and for other uses. Contrary to the importance of eucalyptus trees, it is more sustainably useful in wetland areas as it is known for its huge water nourishments for growth. Therefore a semi-arid region like the North West Region will probably need other friendly tree species to rejuvenate its ecological system as already noted by officials of the ministry concerned (Anye 2013).

1.4. Histories of the Study Sites

In the history of the study sites, we are presenting the people, the languages and how these languages helped to give the names and meanings of the cities Yaounde and Bamenda respectively as they are known and called today. There are so many versions on the origin of the name Yaounde and how it became the political capital of Cameroon. In the course of this work, we presented a few of them as the available literature permitted us to in regards to the arguments put forth by the various informants and authors.

In the Béti language, Yaounde is often called, Ongola-Ewondo, or the Ewondos' enclosure (la clôture des Ewondos). The city was born around 1889, when the German traders implanted a camp in the Ewondo region and called it Sono station after a local Ewondo chief Essono Ela who had offered them hospitality (the Germans had encountered a strong resistance in the Vouté and Eton regions), (Atangana 1989). Hearing locals from the coast refer to it as Ya-Ewondo or among the Ewondo (chez les Ewondos), the Germans called it 'Jaunde' and it later turned into 'Yaunde', and in French Yaoundé. Reports written by the German soldier Lieutenant Kund Richard 1889 mentioned Jaunde when referring to the site Yaounde Zang-Atangana (1989). The station later turned into an administrative region under the leadership of the botanist Zenker who established a detailed map of the area in 1890. Upon its creation, it

was first a scientific post (probably because of the botanist), and later in 1895 became a military and trading post for ivory and rubber.

Yaounde was not always the country's capital. After the 1909 volcanic eruption of Mount (Fako or the Chariot of God) Cameroon in Buea (Gbéa in the Bakweri language of the South West region of Cameroon) which was then the capital, and the harsh climate of Douala, the Germans decided to move the capital to Yaounde because of its central location and its milder climate (and of course, no volcano). After Germany's defeat in World War I, Cameroon was placed under French (the eastern regions) and British protectorate (the western regions). Yaounde consequently became the capital of French Cameroon, and continued as the capital of the Republic of Cameroon after independence (it was first the Federal Republic of Cameroon in 1961, then The United Republic of Cameroon in 1972, which then officially became the Republic of Cameroon in 1984). From 100 inhabitants on 2 acres of land at the end of the 19th century, Yaounde is today a vibrant city home to almost 2 million inhabitants (World Gazetteer 2013).

According (Atangana 1989: 17)'s version of the origin of the name Yaounde, he said that: with the sole aim to penetrate the forest zone, the German colonial administration had to organize two expeditions towards the Hinterlands of the Cameroonian coast. He wrote that ;

Pendant que l'expédition sous le commandement d'Eugen Zintgraff se dirige au nord-ouest, celle des lieutenants Richard Kund et Hans Tappenbeck se rend à Kribi pour ensuite pouvoir contourner la zone d'influence des peuple Sawa par l'est. À la limite septentrionale de la forêt et au milieu des deux fleuves importants (le Nyong et la Sanaga), l'expédition a trouvé en février 1889 un accord avec un des chefs locaux du nom d'Essono Ela, pour créer un poste. Yaoundé fut dès sa fondation un poste scientifique, puis dès 1895 un poste militaire allemand sur une colline du pays Ewondo. Elle se développa grâce à des commerçants allemands, comme base pour le commerce de l'hévéa et de l'ivoire. Elle fut occupée par des troupes belges pendant la Première Guerre mondiale, l'entrée des troupes alliés le 1^{er} janvier 1916 marquant la fin de la colonie allemande), avant d'être placée sous protectorat français. Sa croissance fut d'abord assez lente, l'exode rural privilégiant Douala, puis s'accéléra après 1957 en raison de la crise du cacao et des troubles intérieurs touchant principalement la région de Douala.

(Franqueville 1984) on his part said the name Yaounde comes from the Ewondo groundnut cultivating farmers who when asked by the German soldiers; Lieutenants Richard Kund and Tappenbeck where they hailed from? The Ewondo groundnut farmers responded we are planting groundnuts; a version which the Germans thought was the name of the place as "Jaundo or Jaunde".

En février 1888, une première équipe allemande était passée avec à sa tête les lieutenants Kund et Tappenbeck. En se rendant au sud-Nachtigal depuis Grand-Batanga, ils aperçoivent des gens qui semaient des arachides dans cet endroit vallonné, ils leur ont donc demandé d'où ils étaient. Les planteurs ont répondu qu'ils étaient des Mia wondo, des semeurs d'arachides, expression que les Allemands ont perçue et traduit comme Jaundo ou Jaundeh (Yaoundé). Cette explication sur l'origine du nom de la ville n'est, malgré sa popularité, pas prouvée, car Kund et Tappenbeck faisaient une différence entre le paysage ou pays "Jaunde" et le poste qu'ils appelaient "Jeundo". Ce n'est que pendant l'époque de Georg August Zenker (décembre 1889 - mai 1895) que le nom "Jaunde" est devenu commun dans les textes de l'administration coloniale allemande. Franqueville 1984: 15).

Still another version of the history of Yaounde since each of them has its own particularity towards how and why the events unfolded as they were, Atangana Eteme Emeran projects a similar story to that of Andre Franqueville and Zang-Atangana but he goes further to cite other evolutions including the various quarters of the town. He however is presenting the same views that the name Yaounde comes from the Ewondo groundnut farmers. Below are his own points of view :

Yaoundé se dit Ongola chez les Ewondos, les premiers habitants de la ville, ce qui signifie « clôture » ou « enceinte ». Ongola désignait en effet l'enceinte militaire où étaient installés les colons allemands à la fin de XIXe siècle. Mais le nom de la ville vient d'Owondo, qui signifie « arachide », un légume très cultivé dans la région. Ewondo fut transformé par les allemands yewondo puis Yaoundé. La légende rapporte qu'autrefois, les populations Ewondo en provenance des savanes du Nord, auraient traversé le fleuve Sanaga sur un serpent géant avant de s'installer sur les collines et de fonder la ville. Selon les différents témoignages, le département du Mfoundi à l'origine était établi sur ce qu'on appelait alors "Ngola Ewondo". C'est-à-dire le pays des Ewondo, une tribu qui fait partie du grand ensemble Beti-Fang. (Emeran 2014: 25).

The outpost of Epsumb or Jeundo was founded between the Nyong and Sanaga rivers at the northern edge of the area's forests in 1887, 1888, or February 1889 by the German explorers Lt. Kund and Tappenbeck by the agreement of the chiefs of Ela Esono. From December 1889 to May 1895, it was occupied by the German botanist Georg August Zenker as an agricultural research station named Jaunde after the local Yaunde or Ewondo people. His settlement served as a base for the area's rubber and ivory trade, purchasing these from the natives in exchange for imported clothing and iron. It was also known in English as Yaunde Station. Major Dominik's establishment of a military garrison at the site in 1895 permitted a Pallotine mission and religious school at near by Mvolyé.

During World War I, Jaunde was occupied by Belgian troops from the Congo. After Imperial Germany's defeat in that war, France held eastern Cameroon as a mandate of the League of Nations and Yaounde was chosen to become the capital of the colony in 1922. Douala

long remained the more important settlement, but Yaounde saw rapid growth after 1957 due to the cocoa crisis and unrest along the coast. It continued as the seat of government for the Republic of Cameroon upon its independence, Archives of the Yaounde Central Hospital (2016).

1.4.1. Languages Spoken in Yaounde

The original language of the first inhabitants of Yaounde were the Ewondo and Eton languages of the great Bantu but with the transformation of Yaounde into the political capital of Cameroon, the two official languages of French and English are spoken on a daily basis with the French language dominating all the other languages including the Ewondo and Eton languages. This domination in the French language is due to the fact that when the Germans were defeated and forced out of Cameroon, the Eastern part of Cameroon was colonized by the French government that taught these people the French language, French culture and the judicial and educational systems. The Ewondo and Eton languages are spoken mostly in the homes and peripheries of the capital city. The English language is gradually taking roots now in Yaounde due to the influx of Anglophones, Embassies and International organizations from Anglo-Saxon countries then the creation of a good number of bilingual institutions of learning in Yaounde.

One of the languages that is purely a Cameroonian creation is the Frank-Anglais spoken in the quarters and markets mostly by the youths. It is a combination of the French, English and Pidgin English languages. This Frank-Anglais is being spoken nationwide by the Youths but cannot become a national language since it is not written anywhere and it is not organized as each speaker employs it the way he or she pleases. It is not standard and can be confused since the meanings might change as you move from one group of people to another.

Yaounde city as is known today is enclosed in the Yaounde City Council which is subdivided into seven subdivisions as follows with their headquarters; Yaounde 1 (Nlongkack), Yaounde 2 (Tsinga), Yaounde 3 (Efoulan), Yaounde 4 (Kondengui), Yaounde 5 (Essos), Yaounde 6 (Biyem Assi) and Yaounde 7 (Nkolbisson). Yaounde has close to one hundred quarters with each quarter having its particular characteristics either due to its creation, location or the activities that take place in that quarter. Some of the quarters are well noted and respected because of the high ranking personalities (Stars) in the society or country that are living there or have once lived there. Let us now present some of these quarters and their characteristics;

Anguissa: a foremost quarter in the Yaounde 4 subdivision with the renowned Stade Malien field where Cameroon's most titled football club Canon of Yaounde does its trainings. This quarter had once hosted the present President of Cameroon Paul Biya when he was then the Prime Minister. A number of Cameroon's international footballers live here such as Jean Paul Akono, Pierre Wome Nlend and Serge Ngal.

Bastos: named after cigarette company Bastos located in this quarter, now considered to be quarter for the wealthy people in Cameroon. It equally hosts the greatest number of Embassies and International organizations found in Cameroon.

Biyem Assi: Named after the River Biyeme that flows through this quarter. A very popular intense quarter since the 80s and now harbours the Acacias market.

Briqueterie: Also known as "Brique", the quarter that contains the highest number of Muslim faithful in Yaounde and the Sports Complex is found in this quarter. This quarter has its particularity for the roasting of soya (meat) of all varieties.

Camp SIC hippodrome: One of the oldest residential quarters and now host the Ministry of Communication and the Ministry of Arts and Culture.

Elig Edzoa: A very big quarter well noted with its foremost shoe vendors and second handed materials of all types (fripperies and casques). Elig Edzoa and Ntaba Nlongkack are known to be the most dangerous quarters in Yaounde as a result of the numerous thefts and arm robbery that usually take place in these quarters especially in the night.

Etoudi: A quarter in the Yaounde North hosting the car park for vehicles travelling to the West and North West regions of Cameroon. Etoudi is mostly noted for the Presidential Palace of Cameroon that is found in this quarter.

Nlongkack: The quarter hosting the Centre regional Governor's office with its road fly over and the foremost "rondpoint Nlongkack".

Essos: Popular quarter in Yaounde noted for the numerous Snack bars and Night Clubs.

Koweit City: A well planned and structured sub quarter in Odza with beautiful houses and seen as a quarter for the "new wealthy people" (Les nouveaux riches) and is inhabited mostly by International footballers, Ministers and Directors.

Mimboman: Popular residential quarter in the Centre-East having as its centre of attraction the car park for people travelling to the eastern region and other parts of Cameroon.

Mendong: Well secured quarter with a Police Station and a Gendarmerie Brigade. A good residential area constructed since the 1980s around the SIC houses. It has a Public bilingual high school with so many private secondary schools, many primary and Nursery schools.

Mokolo: A commercial site having the biggest market in the capital city with so many vendors fighting for available space beside or along the road. During the end of year festivity period, car drivers could be seen struggling and negotiating their way through the numerous vendors (Bayam sellam and sauveteurs) who occupy the main road. An intense quarter with traders and peoples of diverse nationalities.

Ngouso: It is a quarter in the North-East of Yaounde noted for hosting three important health facilities such as the Yaounde General Hospital, the Yaounde Obstetric and Paediatric Hospital.

Kondengui: A quarter in the South-East of Yaounde with the renowned Yaounde Central Prison. In fact when Kondengui is mentioned even a two people discussion, what comes first in mind is the Prison so much such that when you tell somebody that you are going to Kondengui, the person will simply ask if you have an inmate there?

Obili: This quarter is located west of Yaounde and is the seat of the International Institute of External Relations of Cameroon (IRIC). The name Obili comes from the Ewondos which signifies “obligé” in French and “obliged” in English. In the middle of the year 1950, the populations of Mvog Atemengue who were living at Plateau Atemengue (Ngoa Ekelle) were obliged to quite these sites and settle further downward from where comes the name “Obili”. It is situated near Ngoa Ekelle host of the University of Yaounde I, the National Assembly, the National Institute of Youth and Sports (INJS) and the Army Head Quarters (Quartier Général). One of the major reasons for the displacement of the Mvog Atemengue Plateau populations was the progressive creation and installation of the institutions cited above. Obili is a quarter that is well developed in the economic plan as it is saturated with bars and shops. It is worth mentioning here that Obili is quarter populated with University students and a very high Anglophone community.

Omnisports: A quarter North of Yaounde with the original name of the quarter being “Mfadena” but was later changed to Omnisports due to the construction of the most celebrated Ahmadou Ahidjo’s stadium which right up to this moment of time has no rival or challenger.

Santa Barbara: A new quarter named after a prestigious quarter in the western world reflecting the rich and prestigious people who live there commonly called in Yaounde as les “nouveau riches” in French and the “new wealthy” people.

Mvan: One of the quarters in the Yaounde 4 subdivision with so many car parks dotted here and there for people travelling to the Douala, the largest city and economic capital of Cameroon and other regions (South, East and the grand Northern regions).

Other quarters of the city which we could not present because we could not have informants and documents that can provide us with credible information on their creations and characteristics include; Emana, Camp-Sonel, Etoa-Meki, Mvog Atangana Mballa, Mvog-Betsi, Mvog-Mbi, Olembe, Olezoa, Ekounou, Ekoudou, Madagascar, Etoug-Ebe, Melen, Mini-ferme, Cité-verte, Oyom-Abang, Nkolbisson, Simbock, Ngoa-Ekelle, Mvolyé, Damas, Obobogo, Tam-Tam Weekend, Maison Blanche, Nsimeyong, Tsinga, Nkomkana, Carrière, Mvog-Ada.Messa, Odza, Mbankolo, Jean-Vespa, Mballa 2, Tongolo, Nkol-Ewoue, Nkolndongo, Eleveur, Messa, Nkomo, Emombo, Etoug-Ebe and Biteng.

1.5. Economy

Most of Yaounde's economy is centered on the administrative structure of the civil service and the diplomatic services. Due to these high-profile central structures, Yaounde enjoys a relative higher standard of living and security compared to the rest of Cameroon. Major industries in Yaounde include tobacco, dairy products, beer, clay, glass goods, and lumber. It is also a regional distribution centre for coffee, cocoa, copra, sugar cane, and rubber (Atangana 1989). Local residents engage in urban agriculture. The city is estimated to have “50,000 pigs and over a million chickens”.

Despite the security issues and humanitarian crises that have plagued the Central African nations, its economy remains stable. In fact, there is diversification of its productive economic activities, with the services sector contributing about half of the total domestic production. However, just like many countries on the continent, Cameroon has been grappling with

corruption, which dominates almost all the sectors, particularly in the capital city. Oil, gas, and mining revenues are rarely reported, which implies massive graft. In addition, there is weak protection of real and intellectual property, and the judicial system is vulnerable to political manipulation.

1.6. Markets

The commercial centre is found in the central part of the city at the place called Avenue Kennedy where one can find magazines, shops, social headquarters or representatives of certain enterprises, hawkers, bayam sellams, and sauveteurs. The most renowned and vast markets include; the Mokolo market (Marché Mokolo), the Central market (Marché Central) and the Mfoundi market (Marché Mfoundi). The other markets such as Biyem Assi, Ekounou, Nkol Eton, Madagascar, Melen, Mendong, Nsam and Huitième are not left out.

1.7. Political Organization

Being the political capital of Cameroon, the political organization of Yaounde turns around the Central state government with the head of State (President) as the supreme leader followed by his members of government right down to the masses. Despite the well-structured political organization of the State government, you still have the traditional rulers of the Ewondos and the Eton (les Patriarchs) people and each quarter in the political capital is headed by a quarter head (Chef de Bloc) where small despites and other minor issues are resolved. These positions are either inherited or the people are elected to those respectable positions because of their outstanding charismatic leaderships in their political or professional carriers.

1.8. Social Organizations

The human beings, seen as social animals, everywhere in the society, people are bound to live in groups. The Yaounde city dwellers are not left out so to say as people from the various socio-cultural backgrounds form various associations ranging from two to infinity. Insofar as social organization is concerned in Yaounde, social groups start at the level of the family which is the basic unit of the society. From the family we move to the level of the church (belief systems) where people are taught to live and work in groups carrying each other's burdens. In schools children start forming groups of two, three, four friends and the list continuous. As you move to the various ages, cultural and professional groups, the more you see people forming

social groups. The traders are the most remarkable people who have “njangi” or tontine associations where every day one member of the group has to benefit.

Most of the weekends in the nation’s capital are always covered with social group meetings here and there. As you move from one quarter to another, you can find people wearing uniforms of all types and colours. This altitude has obliged all the inhabitants of Yaounde to live in groups even thieves and arm robbers operate in groups of three and above. It will not be an over statement to say that it was this social life of the Yaounde city dwellers that prompted the Cameroonian First Lady to form the Circle of Friends of Cameroon (CERAC) that regroups the wives of Ministers, Directors and the Diplomatic Corps represented in Cameroon. Some of these social groups have done wonders in the areas of development as they have raised huge sums of money and then help to construct schools and provided portable water and hospital needs back to their local communities in the villages. It should have been a one sided presentation if we would have failed to mention that as human beings have their both good as bad aspects of themselves likewise are the social organizations or social groups. Many people have had to find themselves in difficult situations because of social groups. People should be very careful when it comes to joining an already existing social group especially groups that do not have any written document concerning their existence such as bylaws or legal documents signed by the legal authorities. These are what we were able to present to our readers insofar as Yaounde is concerned, so we shall now present the rest of the aspects in regards to Bamenda.

1.9. History of Bamenda

There are many versions as to what concerns the history of Bamenda city. Other writers project an amalgamation of three villages Mankon, Nkwen and Mendakwe while others project the fusion of seven villages to form the city. We shall present all the arguments or the different views so as to be able to know the differences and similarities that prevail in regards to the history of Abakwa.

The city is an amalgamation of seven villages - Mankon, Mendakwe, Nkwen, Chomba, Mbatu, Nsongwa and Bandjah. Bamenda's principal ethnic group is the Tikar. In the past, the Tikar faced invasions from peoples in the surrounding hills, and between 1700 and 1800, they joined a confederation established by the Mbum for defense purposes. However, Bamenda also encompasses the Nguemba people (Mbunwe 2010).

Bamenda was subjected to German colonialism in the late 19th century, and evidence of Germany's former occupation of Bamenda can still be seen today in structures such as the Fort at the Bamenda station; (the present day fort is used as the Bamenda High Court, the Court of first instance and the office of the Senior Divisional officers) the nearby Bafut Palace. After the defeat of the Germans in World War I (1914–1918) the League of Nations shared German colonial territories among victorious nations. Western Cameroon (the present day North West and South West Regions) were administered jointly with Nigeria under the protectorate of the British until 1961 when following a plebiscite it attained independence by joining the then already independent République du Cameroun (Ngende 1966).

(Mbunwe 2010) presents his own version on the history of the North West regional capital. According to this version, the name “Bamenda” comes from the Mendakwe village that is known today as Bamendakwe. Since a majority of the North Westerners are the Tikars, they usually refer to people as “BA”, for example Bafut referring to the people of Fut, Bansa the people of Nso, Bali people of Li and then Bamendakwe referring to the people of Mendakwe and so that is how Abakwa city got its name Bamenda as we know today. About 1890, the Germans who built their station in Bali later moved to Mendankwe village. Using Bali interpreters, the Germans changed the name of Mendankwe village to Bamendankwe, meaning "People of Mendankwe", and gave the name "Bamenda" to the area in which their fort was built.

The British colonial administration, which succeeded the Germans after the First World War, made the area the capital of Bamenda Province, an administrative unit in the then Southern Cameroons. It became the capital of Bamenda Division in the former West Cameroon, then Mezam (formerly Bamenda) Division and of the Bamenda Central Subdivision and finally of the Northwest Province and now Region following the restructuring of the administrative areas of the Republic.

The main settlers in Bamenda Up-Station were administrators, first colonial and then Cameroonians. Below the "Station" at the foot of the escarpment, a settlement developed made up mostly of self-employed people. The first distinct groups of settlers were Hausa men from Northern Nigeria who in 1916 were offered a piece of land by the late Fon of Mankon, Angwafor II. Their new home, Ntambeng, became widely known as Abakwa in Hausa language, meaning "Land of Strangers" and formed the nucleus of Bamenda town as we know it today.

Bamenda, also known as Abakwa and Mankon Town, is a city northwest of Cameroon and capital of the North West Region. The city had a population of about 800,000 people during the 2012 Cameroon Census, and its located 366 kilometres north-west of the Cameroonian capital, Yaounde. Bamenda is known for its cool climate and strategic location showing its beautiful scenery of hills and vegetation. The origin of the city shows an area covering three villages - Mankon, Mendakwe and Nkwen. The first was named for the Mankon people. An alliance of 5 ethnic groups converged to form a chieftaincy with a Chief known as the Mankon Chief (Fon).

Other immigrant groups soon moved in from Bali, Bansa, Bafut, Mamfe, Metta and Ibo land from Nigeria. The late 1950s came with another wave of settlers from Mbouda and Bafoussam, most of them refugees fleeing from the political upheavals in the former East Cameroon. Abakwa grew in size and population, with pockets of ethnic settlements spreading into the chiefdoms of Nkwen, Mendankwe, Mbatu, Chomba and Nsongwa.

Bamenda town prior to June 1977 was the administrative centre of the Mankon Rural Council, though the municipality was jointly administered by the Mankon and Tubah Rural Councils. The situation changed with the promulgation of Decree No 77/203 of June 29, 1977, creating the Bamenda Urban Council, known today as City Council.

1.10. Languages Spoken in Bamenda

Today, most of the city dwellers are English-speaking, and Cameroonian Pidgin English is the main language spoken in the shops and on the streets of Bamenda, even us the researchers, we interviewed most of our informants in this city using the Pidgin English. The influx of the neighbouring Bamiléké business people from Babadjou, Mbouda, Bafoussam and the other parts of the French speaking Cameroon has witnessed the increasing number of French speaking people in Bamenda. That notwithstanding, Frank-Anglais is also gaining ground in the North West regional capital as most Youths and students are expressing themselves in schools, quarters and any other social gathering through this language.

Abakwa or Bamenda has evolved to become an Urban or City Council with three subdivisions (Bamenda I, Bamenda II and Bamenda III). There are so many quarters in Bamenda that have some historical connotations and characteristics which we have decided to present to our readers as follows;

Foncha Street: A popular quarter named after the emblematic reunification icon John Ngu Foncha who was living in this quarter. This name was given as a form of tribute paid this foremost citizen for all that he did for the two Cameroons (Southern Cameroon and East Cameroon [La Republique du Cameroun]) to be reunited.

Sisia quarter: The quarter found immediately after descending from the Station, considered in those years of the implantation of the city as an accidental area to live in because of its topography, making it an abandoned area which automatically belonged to the State. As the town was increasing in size and population, some of the inhabitants including some Bamiléké traders from Babadjou and Mbouda went and cut portions of the land and constructed their houses there. They seized what belonged to the State through the use of force which was termed as “up eye”, threats and other forms of intimidation to any government official who passed by when they were constructing their houses. Sisia is a Pidgin English word which literally means to seize what rightfully belongs to somebody through force, threats and intimidation.

Atuakom: This quarter was named after a masquerade (juju) found at the Fon’s Palace. The head of this masquerade group was living in this quarter and all the people living in this quarter were overseen by this masquerade.

Ntarinkon: Means the tail end of a crowd. There were some influential personalities that left other places and entered this quarter where they decided to settle. These influential people were being accompanied by many people of lower personalities but who outnumbered the important personalities. They were called “ntarinkon” (tail end). This quarter now is widely known in Cameroon because it hosts the residents of the Chairman of the Social Democratic Front (SDF) Cameroon’s main opposition party and it is equally a car park for people going to Bafut.

Ngomham: A quarter named after the wooden drum that was placed in this quarter in those days to send out messages to the local population. “Ngomham” means a “talking drum”, so this quarter was then recognized as the place where the talking drum is found.

Nchuabuh: The quarter where the Sacred Heart College Mankon is found. In those days it used to serve as the Fon’s secret hunting ground.

Alahtah: Quarter named after snails as the quarter used to serve as a habitat for snails. “Alah” means home, habitat or country while “tah” means snails. Literally Alahtah means home, habitat or country of snails.

Alahbukam: Name gotten from the living things discovered in this quarter which were crabs. Etymologically “Alah” means home, habitat or country while “kam” means crab hence expressed as “the country, habitat or home” for “crabs”. These crabs are no longer seen today because of the human activities carried in the quarter and because they were eaten up by the humans.

Ntahmbah: Name given referring to a market place or commercial area for example the Commercial Avenue. Ntah means market, as such any place where people used to meet and exchange goods and services were called “Ntah” market places.

Ndamukong: Named after the first influential person who settled in this quarter whose name was “Mukong”. Literally “Ndah” means a house or a mountain. The name came as people were used to saying “they were going to Mukong’s house or Mukong’s mountain.

Cow Street: In those days it was a foot path for cattle going to the “Ticket market” where cattle were sold and bought. Each time people passed there, they were sure to see cattle “cows” and so the name Cow Street and confirming that Bamenda historically was a commercial town.

Ghana Street: This name was given because the street resembles a street in Ghana, so the Cameroonian who made the remark decided to give it the name Ghana Street.

Meta quarter: The first inhabitants of this quarter were people from Meta. It was rather easy to direct people to the place where the Meta people were living and then came the name Meta quarter.

Old Town: The first urban settlement of Bamenda but when the town increased in population and infrastructure, most of the houses and roads in this quarter were now seen or regarded as being old thus the name Old Town.

Commercial Avenue: This place is named following the high level of commercial activities that take place in this area not leaving out the ceremonial Grand stand, the Bamenda

Congress Hall and the many Banks, Microfinances or Credit Unions that make up the busy nature of the Commercial Avenue.

Up Station: This is the hill top over looking down town Bamenda. It harbours and or called the administrative quarter of the town and region.

1.11. Economy

The mainstay of the Bamenda economy is small businesses and agricultural produce from the neighbouring Divisions. Industrial presence is very minor, but human endeavour and ingenuity are enormous. In the past, Bamenda town served as a major market and avenue for the processing and channelling of coffee to other main cities such as Douala and Yaounde for direct sales or for export. The Bamenda city, therefore, boasted of the North West Cooperative Association and the Cameroon Produce Marketing Board. But the general economic slump that hit the Cameroonian economy in the 80s did not leave Bamenda untouched. In fact, if anything, Bamenda is one of the major cities in Cameroon that have been very seriously affected by this crisis. In Bamenda, the International Soap Factory and Bambui Family Industries account so far for some of the very few industries in this very limited industrial presence. There is as yet any industry that can boast of over 50 permanent employees. As a regional centre, the city has numerous markets, banks, and offices. The main industries are the processing of agricultural produce such as coffee, elementary food processing, handicraft, cottage industry, education (schools), tourism/hospitality, construction works and transport. The local museum and shops display a wide variety of local baskets, beads, woodcarvings and bronze statues (Mbunwe 2010). The city, is also an administrative commune, has numerous financial institutions, woodcarvings, bronze statues, local artworks and common craftworks, a wide variety of local baskets and beads, markets, and offices. Bamenda is also about people known to be poor and proud, with few government enterprises to absorb the unemployed. The main industries are the processing of agricultural produce such as coffee. Abakwa is well noted to be the founder and capital of many micro financial institutions. This is an encouraging factor for business men and women who can save and loan money from more than two or three micro financial institutions and get their businesses moving and booming. Financial institutions, notably banks and micro finance institutions have a prominent place in the city's economy. New banks are gradually making a head way into Bamenda. Meanwhile, existing competitors keep reinforcing their existence, and in some cases, are considering expansion possibilities. A case in point is the Cameroon Credit Union League, spread all over Cameroon, with headquarters in Bamenda. It

is worth noting that the Azire Credit Union, which is so far the biggest micro finance institution in the whole of West Africa, has its headquarters in Bamenda.

Besides being noted as the political hot bed of Cameroon, Bamenda has also come to be noted for its active civil society, with the presence of several civil society organisations and Trade Unions. These mostly take the form of social, cultural and economic interest groups and associations. Many international non-governmental organisations equally have their representations in Bamenda. The city of Bamenda has road links to Bafoussam, Yaounde and Douala and an airport, though without any scheduled services. To the north of the city is the Bamenda Ring Road, a 367 kilometres circular route through some of Cameroon's most spectacular mountains. Along this road is Mount Oku (3,000 m/9,800 ft), the Kimbi Game Reserve, the Menchum River waterfall, a huge chief's palace at Bafut, and a pyramidal thatched shrine at Akum (also known as Bagangu). There is another ring road which is facilitating business between Cameroon and Nigeria following the construction of the Bamenda- Mamfe-Ekok road, not leaving out the ring road though under construction, the Bamenda-Ndop-Kumbo-Nkambe ring road. All these road openings make Bamenda to be a junction town as people, goods and services can flow in from all the directions.

Bamenda's land, forest and social resources (cultural and educational) make it a continuous attraction for investment. This is heightened by the rich presence of numerous cultural groupings in Bamenda, and the hospitality of the people. Bamenda hosts and harbours some of the most prestigious Secondary and High School establishments in Cameroon, to which an increasing heavy influx of students, especially students from French-speaking Cameroon, is continuously on the rise.

1.12. Markets

Markets or commercial centres play vital roles in the economy of a town, country, continent and the world at large. The commercial centre of Bamenda is known as the Commercial Avenue with many Banks, Credit Unions and a lot of business enterprises located around it. Major markets include; the Mankon main market (Bamenda main market since the name is changing as one government Delegate takes over the other), the Nkwen market. Bamenda is equally the capital of many inter-urban transport agencies such as Amour Mezam, VATICAN Express, Guarantee Express, MOGHAMO, Professional Drivers Express, Psalms 23, Avenue Stop, Marathon and many others. These agencies or inter-urban transporters

facilitate the circulation of persons, goods and services within, the North West region and out of the region to places like Bafoussam, Yaounde, Douala, Buea, Limbe, Kumba, Mamfe and other places

1.13. Political Organization

Bamenda being the political capital of the North West region is politically organized following the hierarchical structure put up by the State government, with the Governor as the first political figure, followed by the government Delegate to the Urban Council, the Senior divisional Officer, the divisional Officers of Bamenda I, II and III respectively, the Mayors of Bamenda I, II and III Councils. Then you have the traditional rulers (the Fons as they are commonly known and called here) of all the seven villages that make up the City who work as the auxiliary administrators and then the general mass. The Governor, the government Delegate, the SDOs and Dos are appointed by the President of Cameroon while the Mayors are elected by the people in the Municipality. The Fons (traditional rulers) inherited their positions from their fore fathers or better still, you must be from the royal family before expecting to be crowned a Fon. Anthropologically speaking, the status of a Fon is an “ascribed status” rather than an “achieved status”, meaning that no matter your political achievements, professional achievements, your age, sex or social status, you cannot be crowned a Fon if you are not from the royal family.

Politically speaking, Bamenda is the birth place of the Cameroon People’s Democratic Movement the (CPDM) party and is still the founding place and seat of the country’s principal opposition party the Social Democratic Front (SDF).

1.14. Social Organization

Before we look at the social organization of Bamenda city, it is worth mentioning that the people in this town and the rest of the region inherited the cooperative or associative life style of their colonial masters the British. Following the lack of industries, natural endowments and enterprises to create jobs for the local inhabitants, the local populations have to rely on social groups or cooperatives so as to help themselves by helping each other. The British colonisers knew that for them to successful rule the Southern Cameroons, they needed to cooperate with the local populations through their leaders (Fons or traditional rulers). The Fons on their part were cooperating with their notables and the local masses. The Fons could not take decisions or agree to do something with the Westerners without consulting their notables.

Bamenda is the melting pot of cultural groups from across the region and beyond. Some of the streets are named after major tribal groups that inhabit the city, groups that provide diverse cultural animation through their associations and meetings. Community libraries, youth cultural centres, sports academy, museums, handicraft centres, royal palaces, ancient architectural structures make for a very friendly cultural atmosphere. With free public primary education, there is virtually a primary school in every backyard, and the best of secondary education is offered by religious bodies. Two State Universities have their antennas located around Bamenda and private initiative makes for 90% of the over 15 post-secondary tertiary educational facilities, with a bias for technology, vocational training, and mechanised agriculture.

There are so many social and cultural organizations in Bamenda due to the diverse nature of the inhabitants. There is a very high level of Nigerian community living in Bamenda with the sole aim of doing business. Among these Nigerians, there are a good number of them who are engaged on the Cameroon – Asia business line. Some of them leave Cameroon directly for Asia while others leave Cameroon and pass through Nigeria before leaving for Asia. As such, they do cooperate with the Cameroon traders based in Bamenda and with any other trader who is dealing on this Cameroon – Asia business line.

We have earlier mentioned that Bamenda is the founder and capital of Credit Unions in Cameroon; this is true due to the social and cultural groups that exist in the town. Most if not all these groups invest in income generating activities and the incomes generated from those activities need to be kept somewhere in a safe environment. The banks are there but the banks don't function exactly like the Credit Unions. Some of the Credit Unions saw the light of day thanks to the social groups. The people from one village or from a particular sector in the government can decide to form a social group and each time they meet, they contribute huge sums of money which are kept in the banks producing small profits. A very vivid example here is the Bamenda Police Cooperative Credit Union Limited (BAPCCUL). Before the creation of this Credit Union, it was discovered that many Police Officers working in Bamenda were suffering a lot before the end of the month when they were expected to earn their salaries. Faced with this situation, the Provincial Delegate of National Security for the North West saw that some of the Police Officers who were involved in social organizations or groups were not facing the same challenges like those who were not in social groups. So he decided to form a social group for the Police Officers, which was obligatory for all the Police who were working in

Bamenda town. All the members of this social group were obliged to save a reasonable amount of money at the end of every month after receiving their salaries. A saving account for the Police social group was created in the bank and any amount raised during their meeting was saved in that account. The Police Officers were now having a standby source from where they can loan money at any time of the month to solve pressing problems. As time went on, they saw how other social groups were creating Credit Unions; they decided to create their own Credit Union. Upon the creation of a Credit Union, many of these Police Officers' wives were not working so they had to loan money from the Credit Union to start up small businesses which came as a relief to their husbands as their wives could also support the home in one way or the other and not only looking up to their husbands. Some of the wives of these Police Officers were recruited to work in the Credit Union as branches were being opened in other quarters of the town. As more and more branches were being opened, they saw the need to integrate anybody who was interested to open a saving account in this Credit Union. Today, the Bamenda Cooperative Credit Union Limited has grown from strength to strength and now has branches in all the seven divisions of the North West region and in almost all the regional capitals of Cameroon.

The traders and people of all works of life in Bamenda have inherited that cooperative system and they now employ it in everything they are doing. What is important to them is the positive aspects of the various cultural and social groups found in the town, they are more objective than subjective. They have learned to cooperate with the people from the other parts of the region, those from the other parts of Cameroon, Nigeria, Asia and the rest of the world who are based in Bamenda. They have learned to copy what is good from a particular group of people and leave out the bad ones and that is why Bamenda is a melting pot of many cultural groups across the region, country, continent and the world.

1.15. Rapport between the History, Physical Environment, the Human Milieu of the Study Sites and the Research Topic

There are so many aspects of our study sites that have some direct or indirect influences on the trade and even the trading products and services.

1.15.1. Histories of Study Sites and Trade

Bamenda historically was a road junction site as people from Bafoussam, Douala and the South West were meeting with other people in Bamenda. People from the rest of the North

West region were also meeting in this town not leaving out the Hausa and Ibo people from Nigeria who came to this part of Cameroon either because they were fleeing from war or they came to buy cola nuts to go and resell in Nigeria. Before the arrival of the Germans, cola nut was a very precious seed that was flourishing in the entire North West region of Cameroon. In all the traditional weddings taking place in those days in the South West and North West regions of Cameroon and Nigeria, the presence of cola nut was a necessity else the whole event is cancelled or postponed. Even today as we usually watch in Nigerian movies, the first thing a man welcomes his guests with is cola nuts not even water or palm wine and this is to tell you how traders used to leave the Ibo land in those days in search of these cola nut seeds with Bamenda being the central market place for the cola nuts as cola nuts were also found in places like Widikum, Kumbo, Nkambe and the other towns of the North West region. The Central or road junction position of Bamenda started in those years and has continued to what we know and see today of Bamenda as a very good strategic position for doing business. In relation to our research topic, one of the reasons the Cameroonian and Asian traders go to each other's country is the strategic location of the places and their historical evolution of the places or countries in respect to welcoming strangers.

The Germans were using Yaounde with its central position to be a trading site for the purchase of ivory and rubber from the natives in exchange for imported cloth, sugar, iron, whisky and other flashy things. In those days, the Ewondo forest inhabitants were mostly hunters and the presence of so many elephants provided them with a lot of ivory that caught the attention of the Germans who demanded more of them in exchange of what they brought from their country. The Germans had equally set up a military post in Yaounde which secured them from any attack from whosoever and the traders were sure to go about their businesses without being perturbed. After the installation of a military post, the Germans saw that there was security so Major Dominik's establishment of a military garrison at the site in 1895 permitted a Pallotine mission and religious school at nearby Mvolyé. The progressive installation of these facilities saw the gradual increase in the business size of Yaounde. So these events and others that followed progressively transformed Yaounde into the political capital of Cameroon, making it a very good strategic site for doing business. Many business men and women have told us that they chose to settle in Yaounde because of the high level security that exist in Yaounde as the political capital of Cameroon compared to the other towns in the country. The central position of Yaounde in Cameroon and the other CEMAC countries makes it a good site for business. The presence of Embassies in Yaounde facilitates the processing of travelling

documents for the traders coupled with the fact that Yaounde is accessible through land inter-urban transport cars, trucks and Lorrie's carryings goods, railway line from Yaounde to Ngaoundere and from Yaounde to Douala. Yaounde has neighbouring cities and towns with very important seaports such as the Douala and Kribi seaports that facilitate importation and exportation of goods and services through these ports. The capital city is also accessible through air with availability of the Yaounde-Nsimalen international airport with so many air transport companies ready to take traders to their various countries of choice.

1.15.2. Relief and Trade

The relief of an area can have some direct or indirect influences on trade especially in Cameroon where road networks still have serious challenges. As such, it is good to know the relief where one intends to do business. The North West region in general and Bamenda in particular has an undulating relief due to the mountainous nature of the area. You have stiff hills and valleys here and there. With these stiff hills and valleys, the cars that have to ply these roads should be the ones that have for wheel drive else the cars shall always have difficulties ascending and descending the hills. In other places, the roads are so stony that not even all the four wheel drive cars can successfully transport passengers and goods but cars that have four wheels drive and are high. Very low cars cannot ply such roads even though they have four wheels drive.

The Centre region has a lowland relief while Yaounde in particular has an undulating relief. Any type of car can ply the Centre region during the dry season and not the rainy season, reasons being that during the dry season, roads are dry with no pools of water on the earth roads. During the rainy season, you have pools of water on all the earth roads making it difficult for low cars with no four wheel drive to go through these pools of water. If a trader has to go and supply goods and services somewhere on these earth roads, he/she has to take these conditions into consideration else the trader shall be blocked somewhere.

1.15.3. Climate and Trade

The climate of an area can make or mar a trade or business because there are certain goods and services that are affected by harsh climatic conditions. Even some of the goods are sold depending on the climatic condition of the area in question. One informant (a trader) told us in Bamenda that some ten years ago, he went to Douala and bought so many fans but when he returned to Bamenda, no customer asked for the price of a fan. He had to stay for about three

years as the climatic condition of the town was changing from cold to hot that customers started buying the fans. The social climate plays a very important role in trade as nobody would like to do business where there are socio-political unrests. Some people are allergic to heat or cold so much such that if the business is doing well but the trader is not comfortable with the climatic conditions of the place, he/she must be forced to leave that place and settle where his or her health conditions are not affected by the climate.

Another trader in Yaounde said he chose to do business in Yaounde because it was not too hot or too cold and that the presence of all the defence forces in the capital city makes it a good place for him to do business. Our informant here was talking of both the physical and the social or mental climate. The physical climate can be good for business to flourish but the social or mental climate has to be good as well. It is the mental or social climate that determines an individual person's stay and duration in a particular domain of activity and even in a given locality. We were made to understand in the history of Yaounde that it was not the original capital of Cameroon but became the capital of Cameroon because of its position and climate (physical and mental). The eruption of Mount Fako, presented some serious threats to the German colonial masters who thought it wise for them to relocate the capital where they will be safe from physical or natural disasters. So the presence of volcanoes in Mount Fako (Buea) made the town to be unsafe for the Germans to do business and Douala which was nearer to Buea was not chosen either because of the harsh climatic condition according to the Germans. The installation of a German military post in Yaounde was one of the reasons the Germans thought that it was safe for them to do business in ivory and rubber with the local populations since the armed forces were there to defend them from any attack; here we are talking of the social or mental climate. Most business men and women usually think of the climate where they want to do business before starting. This makes them to better prepare on how and what they have to do so as to adapt to the climate that is presented to them.

Traders who deal with perishable goods and services need to consider the physical climate seriously before starting their businesses. Traders talked of cases where they bought perishable goods in the remote villages where transportation facilities are still nightmares and before they could reach the town, most of the goods have already perished. This explains why importers of fish, meat and chicken usually look for standby generators as alternatives for electricity supply to avoid damages from power failures and excessive heat.

1.15.4. Vegetation and Trade

Vegetation is all about the plants or types of plants found in a given geographic area. In our study sites, we have the grass fields in Bamenda and savannah in Yaounde respectively. Some traders are interested in the vegetation of the place where they want to set up their business enterprises. The vegetation of a place influences the climatic conditions of that place and even the insects that live in the environment. The grass fields are generally cold in nature with fewer mosquitoes while the savannahs are found to be warm with mosquitoes harbouring in the various vicinities. The vegetation of a place will also influence the types of the various food crops cultivated in that place. Some traders might decide to do business in a particular geographical setting because of its vegetation even though people import food crops produced in a different geographic zone to another; many people prefer to consume what is just harvested fresh from the farms. Such people argue that as the food crops move from one place to another, they might lose their nutritive flavour as time passes. This way of reasoning and doing things can influence business in one way or the other. There are many business men and women who are dealing with the importation and exportation of food crops and other related first choice natural products, so the vegetation of a particular place can make them to settle in such places or orientate their businesses towards such localities.

1.16. Comparative Market Strategies between the Two Study Sites

Here, we are interested in comparing how traders relate with their customers in respect to the two (Francophone and Anglophone) cultures, the use of intermediary agents and the cooperation that exist between the traders themselves and the administrative authorities.

1.17. Relationship between Traders and the Customers

From our direct observations and interviews conducted on the informants and general market practices, we discovered that the typical Yaounde women (Ewondo and Eton) traders are aggressive to their customers compared to the typical Bamenda women (Ngemba and Tikar) traders. We came out with these conclusions as a result of the following observations and sayings; the Bamenda traders in general and the women in particular believe in the saying that “the customer is king”. Having this impression in mind, the traders know that they are supposed to treat their customers gently, welcome them to their shops and ready to sacrifice time and energy to lure these customers to buy their goods and services. Pidgin English is the trader-customer language that is mostly used in Abakwa city and no matter how a customer articulates

his/her words or the way the customers pronounce their wordings, is not a problem or a call for concern with the traders in this part of the country. We saw cases where customers were not able to speak English or the Pidgin languages but the traders had to manage the French language to satisfy the customers and persuade them to buy their goods and services. All the foreign traders who have settled in Bamenda know that customers are Kings and should be treated gently, they have to welcome their customers with kind hearts and even help to indicate or direct them where they can buy other goods and services they cannot provide.

In Yaounde, you can also hear traders telling you that “Le client est Roi” the customer is a King but from their deeds or actions, they are telling you that the customer is not a King. This is because nobody disrespects the King even if the King is wrong. Nobody talks to the King carelessly. The French language is the working language and from the customer’s articulations or pronunciations, the traders can quickly know that the customer is an Eton, Ewondo, Bassa, Bamiléké, Anglophone, Northerner or a foreigner. As such when a customer prices a good or service, if the customer ends up not buying the good or service, the trader would insult the customer in the native language. There are some explanations for the rude behaviour of these Yaounde traders towards their customers. One of such explanations is the fact that the word “King” or “Le Roi” is an ordinary word to the Beti people in general as compared to those from the grass fields and other parts of Cameroon. A King to the Beti people is just any type of person who mingles around with everybody, rubbing shoulders with whosoever in bars and other public places. With all these characters or behaviours, the Beti people have not really understood what it takes to give respect to a King. So when they are referring a customer to a King, they think that since they insult their own proper Kings whenever, however and wherever they want, they can also do same to any other person who stands in front of them. In the grass fields of Bamenda, the King is a person of integrity with a noble character. The King is the highest respected person who respects himself and other people. It is very rare to find a King or Fon rubbing shoulders with people in markets, bars and other public places. He goes to the market on special occasions and it is a great privilege for a trader to have a King as a customer.

The manner of approach is one of the many business strategies used by traders to cope in this business domain that is characterized by a very high rate of competition. A trader can have the best quality and quantity of goods and services in a particular place or market but if he or she lacks the manner of approaching his or her customers, it will be too difficult for such a trader to progress and withstand the high competitions in the business sector.

1.18. Use of Intermediary Agents

Intermediary agents or middle men are people who facilitate things or business between the sellers (traders) and the buyers (customers). Some of these intermediary agents have signed some agreements or contracts with the business owners either to be paid on a percentage from any good or service that is sold to a customer who was brought by the middle man or woman. In some cases, these agents have been given the authority to bring or attract customers to the shops and then bargain the prices of goods and services taking into consideration that whatever the customer shall buy, they are going to have a token from that amount. The more they attract or bring valuable or potential customers to these traders, the more the profits they are going to make. These intermediary agents are not used in the same manner or magnitude in our study sites.

In Bamenda the capital of the North West region of Cameroon, the common or market language employed by all the people is Pidgin English. As such, most of the traders and their customers can easily express themselves freely without necessarily soliciting or looking for an interpreter. This Pidgin English is very easy to learn as there is no standard way of speaking it. This state of affairs with the simplicity of learning the Pidgin English reduces the chances or possibilities of many middle men and women to be employed. Most of the Chinese traders found in Bamenda make use of these intermediary agents because they are still learning the popular communication language. The Bamiléké traders from Babadjou, Mbouda, Dschang and Bafoussam resident in Abakwa do not have any difficulty speaking this market language since they can easily mix French and English to express themselves to their customers. Now with the simplicity of the Pidgin English, most of the intermediary agents have resolved to position themselves at the major entrances of the major markets or big shops waiting for the customers or buyers. As customers are busy entering the markets, they will be proposing to the customers what and where they can purchase whatever they want at affordable prices. But when you go to the cattle markets (the Ticket markets), the use of intermediary agents seems to be obligatory as it is always very rare to buy cattle directly from the owners. At times customers have to negotiate with about two to three people before they buy cattle.

Insofar as Yaounde is concerned, the advent of intermediary men and women is increasing on a daily basis. The influx of many Chinese (Asian) traders with no basic knowledge of the French language into the various markets in the nation's political capital makes the business of the middle men and women to flourish as some of them are serving as interpreters or translators. When you enter the shops owned by the Asians in particular and other Western

countries that do not speak French and English languages, you will certainly find a Cameroonian serving there for interpretation and translation purposes. Despite the loyalty of these interpreters or translators, the Asian traders do not give them the opportunities to serve as Accountants or any other position which has to do with coming in contact with physical cash or money changing hands from one person to another. When you go to the Yaounde Central market, you will find many young men and women standing at the main entrances of the market with some of them holding posters of the goods and services their shop owners can offer their potential customers. So some of them serve as advertising agents while others are just there to attract customers and lead them to their employers' shops.

The massive recruitment of these intermediary agents started with the arrival of foreigners into the various Cameroonian markets with little or no knowledge of the languages spoken in those markets hence a necessity for people who can interpret or translate. This activity of interpreting or translating languages has made a good number of some Cameroonian citizens to undertake the study of the Japanese and Chinese languages respectively. Some of these intermediary men and women have made agreements with more than five traders or shop owners so much such that if a customer needs a particular good or service, this agent will take the customer to almost all these five traders. That is; if the customer is not satisfied with what was presented to him or her at the first trader's shop, the agent will continue until the customer finds satisfaction. Some of these agents are so sensitive and convincing such that they can easily convince customers to buy something similar to what the customer really wanted to buy. At the Mokolo market, some of the intermediary agents usually go and negotiate the prices of the goods and services before bringing the customers such that when any amount of money is added to the selling price of the product as accepted by the trader, the added amount now is for the intermediary agent. For example: if a trader is selling a television set for one hundred thousand francs (100.000 FCFA) and his or her intermediary agent brings a customer and convince the customer to buy the same television set for the sum of one hundred and twenty five thousand francs (125.000 FCFA), the twenty five thousand francs (25.000 FCFA) that has been added on the one hundred thousand francs, now goes to the agent. Other traders agree but on a percentage of any good and service sold as a result of the agent bringing and convincing customers to buy those goods and services.

This is what the informant told us at the Mokolo market:

I used to wake up at 4:00 AM and go to the Mokolo market where traders from Douala usually come and open or unveil their belts at about 5:00AM. I will get there and select

very good jean trousers and T-shirts with no money at hand eh. I will then call my Boss to come and pay for the goods I have selected. He will give me the amount to go and pay since I was the one who negotiated the price. After paying for the dresses I selected very early in the morning, at times I used to make gains of about fifteen to twenty thousand francs (15000- 20.000 FCFA). During the day, I will work as an intermediary agent, where I used to stand at the entrance of the market and approach any person I see dropping from a taxi or who is looking at dresses. I used to take these customers to my Boss since I knew almost all the types of dresses he was selling. After struggling like that for about three years, I was able to raise a capital of my own which permitted me to select jean trousers and T-shirts in the early mornings as usual and then pay with my own money. (Interview realised with Informant 42 on 8th January 2017 at Mokolo).

Some of our informants presented their life histories as successful business men and women today who started by working as intermediary agents.

1.19. Cooperation between the Traders

In this section, we are looking the social or cooperative life of the traders as they go about their daily lives in the presence of one another. We observed that the traders have the tendency of cooperating with each other; that is the traders in one market or a section of a particular market can easily cooperate with one another. But as one section is further from the other, the nature of cooperation seems to be weakening. Traders on a roll or a column and whatsoever name usually have their “njangi” or “tontine” that takes place every blessed day that the market holds. The tontine holds during the selling hours so the members bring their money to the secretary and accountant who writes down the names of the participants and at the end of the day, one person benefits what has been contributed that day.

Traders in the various markets in Yaounde do not have associations and some of the traders do not even know if there is an association of business men and women. One of the traders told us that even if such an association is created, he would not join it because traders will become jealous of one another and people will start hating others and might start killing those who are prospering. Here is what he said;

As for me, I don't know if such an association exist. But to the best of my knowledge, there were associations of friends or brothers that existed which did not last long as the traders were becoming jealous of their friends or brothers, some sending or cooperating with armed robbers to attack their colleagues. We even had rumours of traders killing other traders so as to reduce competition. This scared young traders from joining such associations or groups. There are people who do not like to associate with other people even when it comes to doing business. This explains why the few associations that existed never last. Now I think that we the Cameroonian traders dealing on the Cameroon-Asia business line seriously need such an association as it can help and resolve so many problems that we encounter on this business line, especially at the level

of the seaports, airports, markets in Asia and even here in Cameroon. Me I can call it an association of travellers or Travellers' Association so as to differentiate it from ordinary association of friends or brothers and sisters. (Interview realised with Informant 43 on 8th January 2017 at Mokolo).

A good number of traders in Yaounde after our interview saw the need to form an association of business men and women who deal on the Cameroon – Asia business line because they have discovered that they can express their worries or grievances to the government through an association not as individual traders.

In Bamenda, the situation is rather different as most of the inhabitants of this city usually live a life of cooperating with one another in the form of associations. This is confirmed by this informant as he said;

We have but the Bamenda Traders Union which is a general association for all the traders no matter the business line you are following. We have tried to form an association of Cameroonian traders dealing on the Cameroon-Asia business line, where we have always been failing. There is an association of Nigerian Traders based here in Bamenda who deal on the Cameroon-Asia business line and the Cameroon-Nigeria business line. (Interview realised with Informant 13 on 13 March 2016 at Food Market Mankon).

Despite the presence of Market Masters in all the major Cameroonian markets, traders really need to form associations through which they can properly managed their activities vis-à-vis solving their problems of price controls, clearing of their goods and services at the ports and other government related preoccupations.

Conclusion

In the course of this chapter, we have been presenting the administrative and geographic locations of our study sites, their histories, relief, climate and their vegetation's. We further demonstrated how the histories, administrative and geographic locations of Bamenda and Yaounde respectively directly or indirectly influence trade and the lives of the traders put together. We also made some few comparative studies on the business strategies used by the traders in the various sites (Bamenda and Yaounde respectively) such as trader –customer relationships, the use of intermediary agents and the cooperation between the traders.

In the justification of the choice of the study sites, we said that the place where a study was carried out is very important to any study for many reasons; such as the feasibility, the hospitality of the inhabitants, their geographic as well as their administrative locations. In one of the chapters of this work, we discovered that the place where a good or service is produced

or sold, plays a very vital role for the growth the company or business. A good strategic location or place will boost the growth of the business or company in question while a bad location or place of activity will mar the well-being of the business.

Many people would have expected us to choose Douala the economic capital of Cameroon for the research site but we chose Bamenda and Yaounde because of the geographic and administrative locations. There are so many businessmen and women who live in other towns such as Bamenda and Yaounde but they own shops in Douala. It is easier for such business owners to sign all the administrative documents for their business follow ups and the rest rather than traveling from time to time from Douala to Yaounde for those purposes.

From the histories of our study sites, we discovered that Bamenda has long been a very good junction site for merchants coming all the way from Nigeria and the rest of the localities in the North West, South West, West, Littoral and the Centre regions and has continued like that right to the present day. Kola nuts and other farm produce were brought from other parts of the region to be sold to Nigerian traders and other people coming from the regions cited above. Yaounde on the other was a business site for forest produce for the Germans and later on became the political capital of Cameroon thereby making Yaounde a strategic site for business.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORETICAL
FRAMEWORKS AND DEFINITION

Introduction

This chapter is discussing the literature review (the secondary data or the works of other authors that are directly or indirectly related to our study topic) and the theoretical framework. Many scholars and researchers have written on this topic but from different perspectives and view points. Hence we are reviewing their points and passed on our own views. The two theories presented in this work help us to analyse and interpret our data such that our reader can have a grasp of the debate. A reasonable number of concepts were used in this text and so we need to define them and how they are employed in this work.

2.1. Literature review

A literature review provides an overview of the scholarly information published to date on a specific topic, summarizing and synthesizing the ideas presented. At the graduate level, literature reviews often constitute a chapter of a thesis or dissertation and provide an intellectual context for the author's own research. It is a narrative document that synthesizes the sources consulted to develop a conclusion. To understand the problem of the “win-loss” trade cooperation between Cameroon and China and why the traders go to each other's country, we had to rely on secondary information (documentary research), mostly the authors who have written on economic anthropology, international trade and medium of exchange.

These include books, articles, newspapers, documents and reports from NGOS and governmental organizations, that have worked or written on the bilateral cooperation between Cameroon and China. It will also be occasion for us to summarize, synthesize and critically review the arguments and ideas of other works into our own writing. For a lot more clairvoyance, we will be familiarizing the reader with relevant literature and research in our area of study. It will also be an opportunity to demonstrate relationships among prior research, we will inform our readers about what has already been discovered to avoid duplication and identify gaps and discrepancies in some of the literature we will be show-casing. The works of

the various authors that are presented below are very pertinent because all the aspects of the human being are interconnected so much such that you cannot work on one aspect without touching the others.

The theories cited at the introductory parts of this work shall be operationalized following the definition of concepts and how they shall be used for the analysis and interpretation of data on the phenomenon of trade networks between Cameroon and China in the subsequent chapters of the work.

2.2. Economic anthropology

Economic anthropology is a field that seeks to explain human economic behaviour in its widest historic, geographic and cultural scope. It is practiced by anthropologists and has a complex relationship with the discipline of economics, of which it is highly critical. Its origin as a sub-field of anthropology began with works by the Polish-British founder of anthropology Bronislaw Malinowski and the French man Marcel Mauss on the nature of reciprocity as an alternative to market exchange. For the most part, studies in economic anthropology focus on exchange. In contrast, the Marxian school known as "political economy" focuses on production.

In his work on livelihoods, (Gudeman 1986: 1); seeks to present the "people's own economic constructions" that is, people's own conceptualizations or mental maps of economics and its various aspects. His description of a peasant community in Panama reveals that the locals did not engage in exchange with each other in order to make a profit but rather viewed it as an "exchange of equivalents", with the exchange value of a good being defined by the expenses spent on producing it. Only outside merchants made profits in their dealings with the community; it was a complete mystery to the locals how they managed to do so. This is further complicated by the fact that in an age of globalization most cultures are being integrated into the global capitalist system and are influenced to conform to Western ways of thinking and acting. Local and global discourses are mixing, and the distinctions between the two are beginning to blur. Even though people will retain aspects of their existing worldviews, universal models can be used to study the dynamics of their integration into the rest of the world. The domain of economic anthropology covers the recurring interaction of individuals, within and between social groups and with the wider environment, with the object of providing material goods and services necessary for social reproduction.

Another critical view of economic anthropology is the one presented by (Godelier 1972 : 20) that: *«L'Anthropologie Economique étudie les dispositifs mis en œuvre par les sociétés humaines afin de produire et échanger les biens matériels nécessaires à leur consommation et leur reproduction en tant que groupes»*. Maurice Godlier in this view is presenting the continuous process of producing and exchanging basic necessities by the various human societies for their consumption and the act of reproducing these goods and services as members of that group. This vivid view ties with the definition of culture as seen with E.B Taylor. In the elaboration of this definition of economic anthropology, the author incorporates the views and works of other anthropologists such as Smith, Richardo and Karl Max who stressed limited economic anthropology to the study of the production, distribution (exchange) and consumption of goods and services and the reproduction of these goods and services as members of that society.

We cannot objectively talk about economic anthropology without including the viewpoints or arguments from Karl Polanyi, which contributed enormously to the putting in place what the world knows today as economic anthropology. Polanyi argued against the restriction of economic anthropology to the mere study of the production, distribution and the consumption of goods and services and the reproduction of these goods as members of those societies. Polanyi emphasized that all the economic sciences either economic anthropology or political economics, all the social relationships in all the various societies make use of the production and distribution of material things. In the same way, all measures necessary for the functioning of social activities (political or religious), involves the circulation and usage of material things. For example; the construction of the sun Temples with the Incas, offerings to the gods and others all involve economic activities (economic anthropology). All political and religious activities are interconnected with the study of economic anthropology (economic studies). Karl Polanyi in his work; *The Great Transformation* (1944), argued that the term “economics” refers to the study of how humans make a living from their social and natural environment. And that a society's livelihood strategy is seen as an adaptation to its environment and material conditions. Economics according to him is simply the way members of society meet their material needs.

2.2.1. Medium of Exchange

A medium of exchange is an intermediary used in trade to avoid the inconveniences of a pure barter system. By contrast, as William Stanley Jevons restated by (Robert 1976) argued,

in a barter system there must be a coincidence of wants before two people can trade – one must want exactly what the other has to offer, when and where it is offered, so that the exchange can occur. A medium of exchange permits the value of goods and services to be assessed and rendered in terms of the intermediary, most often, a form of money widely accepted to buy any other good and service.

Money is the generally accepted medium of exchange and its most important and essential function is that it is a 'measure of value. (Rab 2009) has shown that the market measures or sets the real value of various goods and services using the medium of exchange/money as unit of measure that is the standard or the yard stick of measurement of wealth. There is no other alternative to the mechanism used by the market to set, determine, or measure the value of various goods and services. Just determination of prices is an essential condition for justice in exchange; efficient allocation of resources, economic growth welfare and justice. Money helps us in gaining power of buying. Thus, this is the most important and essential function of money. To be widely acceptable, a medium of exchange should have a relatively stable purchasing power (real value) and therefore it should possess the following characteristics:

1. Value common assets
2. Constant utility
3. Low cost of preservation
4. Transportability
5. Divisibility
6. High market value in relation to volume and weight
7. Recognisability
8. Resistance to counterfeiting

To serve as a measure of value, a medium of exchange, be it a good or signal, needs to have constant inherent value of its own or it must be firmly linked to a definite basket of goods and services. It should have constant intrinsic value and stable purchasing power. Gold was long popular as a medium of exchange *and* store of value because it was inert, was convenient to move due to even small amounts of gold having considerable value, had a constant value due to its special physical and chemical properties, and was cherished by men. Of all functions of money, the medium of exchange function has historically been the most problematic because

of counterfeiting, the systematic and deliberate creation of bad money with no authorization to do so, and leading to the driving out of the good money entirely.

(Bohannon 1959) in what he calls; “*The Impact of Money on an African Subsistence Economy*” says; all economists learned as students that money serves at least three purposes. It is a means of exchange, it is a mode of payment, it is a standard of value. Depending on the vintage and persuasion of the author of the book one consults, one may find money use- storage of wealth. In newer books, money is defined as merely the means of unitizing purchasing power, yet behind that definition still lie the standard, the payment and the exchange uses of money.

Money and the morality by (Jonathan and Boch 1989), deals with the way in which money is symbolically represented in a range of different cultures, from South and South-east Asia, Africa and South America. It is also concerned with the moral evaluation of monetary and commercial exchanges as against exchanges of other kinds. The essays cast radical doubt on many Western assumptions about money: that it is the acid which corrodes community, depersonalizes human relationships, and reduces differences of quality to those of mere quantity; that it is the instrument of man's freedom, and so on. Rather than supporting the proposition that money produces easily specifiable changes in world view, the emphasis here is on the way in which existing world views and economic systems give rise to particular ways of representing money. But this highly relativistic conclusion is qualified once we shift the focus from money to the system of exchange as a whole. One rather general pattern that then begins to emerge is of two separate but related transactional orders, the majority of systems making some ideological space for relatively impersonal, competitive and individual acquisitive activity. This implies that even in a non-monetary economy these features are likely to exist within a certain sphere of activity, and that it is therefore misleading to attribute them to money. By so doing, a contrast within cultures is turned into a contrast between cultures, thereby reinforcing the notion that money itself has the power to transform the nature of social relationships.

2.2.2. Distribution

Distribution is the transport of produced goods whether that is by land, air, or sea to the consumer. Examples include the shipping of a package around the globe or even simply taking food to the market to sell. Forms of distribution vary depending on level of development and technological means but it is a universal and is required to get a product to the potential

consumer. One way in which goods are distributed is through Physical Distribution Management and Efficient Consumer Response systems. These methods of transporting products have been increasingly important since the Industrial Revolution and are increasingly so due to the rapid rate of globalization and technological advance. This is because as industry makes the production of certain specific goods more efficient, the transportation of those goods becomes more vital because the distance to the places that need them is greater. Without the important aspect of distribution, industrialization would not be effective or even possible to sustain (Paul 2009).

It can also be the scattering or spreading of something over an area. In commerce or trade, distribution is the selling and delivery of goods to retailers and or consumers. This is often done through a distribution channel or distribution chain. By definition, a distribution channel or distribution chain is a path through which goods and services flow from vendors to consumers. Thus, distribution channels differ from each other by the number of steps here understood as intermediaries through which a good or service passes until it reaches the end consumer, the final stage. There are three types of channels:

1- The direct channel or direct distribution network allowing the producer to sell the good directly to the consumer.

2- The short channel: here the producer recruits a retailer responsible for selling to the consumer.

3- The long channel: between producer and consumer, there are several intermediaries to reach the consumer; the product passes through the wholesaler and then retail trader or retailer. Three groups, as provided for in Law No. 90/031 of 10 August 1990 on commercial activity in Cameroon, emerge from the distribution chain:

Producers:

Importers;

Wholesalers;

Retailers.

However, the distribution channel becomes longer depending on local realities, with the involvement of other types of intermediaries called semi-wholesalers and under-retailers commonly referred to as "street vendors".

2.2.3. Invention and Innovation

Invention is the act of creating something by somebody, especially a device or a process. It is the ability or talent to create something new. (Godin 2013) in his work titled invention, diffusion and a linear model of innovation says; culture starts with invention which, in a second step, diffuses through societies. Every human society in this planet earth started with some inventions which were later diffused to other cultures and societies. The explanation of civilization through stages has a long history going back to ancient philosophers and many other writers and theories that explain civilization in terms of evolution and distinct stages, like A. Comte on knowledge, H. Spencer on society, K. Marx on economics, L. H. Morgan on kinship, E. B. Tylor on religion, and various historians. Several assumptions are involved in such theorizations. The first is that human nature is everywhere the same, that there is one path which all nations follow. The second is that differences among societies represent different stages in the same process or different rates of progress. And last but not least is the idea that development by stages is an analogy to the embryo's life-cycle, or to organic change or growth.

In this same light trade networks or commerce has gone through or followed ²this historical evolution or stages of growth and development. Trade or business started in the form of barter where trading partners (traders) exchanged what they have or produce with what they do not have or cannot produce. In the course of time, this method or system of exchange was found to have so many lapses and needed to be replaced with something concrete and potable. A person for example could have a goat and intends to exchange it with plantains or yams, on getting to the place where the exchange has to be done, he might not find any of these items there and might be obliged to return with the goat or exchange it for something that he or she was not in need of. Another short coming of the trade by barter system was the value of the various goods and services. Suppose I have a bag of rice and intend to exchange for about three items such as beef, salt and oil. Now I will also be obliged to cut that bag of rice into three parts such that it can permit me to have those three items. The quantity of rice that I have reserved to be exchanged with salt can either be too big or too small leading to a problem of value (imbalances) in the trading items. The trade by barter system was also considered to be somehow confusing and archaic hence out dated so an evolutionary method or system "money" was introduced as a medium of exchange. Money as a medium of exchanged was highly welcomed as it solved some many problems such as portability, value and standard. This money that everybody cherishes came into use or being thanks to people's individual talents and abilities to invent new things. Later on money started facing problems of counterfeiting, theft

and easy to be misplaced. Now, electronic bank cards have been introduced where people now move without money but can buy freely without stress.

These evolutionary procedures were also observed in the Cameroon- Asia trade cooperation, where in some five decades ago, traders used to carry huge sums of money with them as they were going to their various places to buy and sell their produce. The moneys were stolen, misplaced or encountered problems with the exchange rates. The Cameroonians and their Asian fellow traders are not using the same currency. So, the Franc CFA needed to be exchanged before any business transaction could take place. Nowadays, following the evolution or modernization (growth) in this business line, traders are now traveling without carrying huge sums of money with them but transfer their moneys through the banks and only use their electronic bank cards to withdraw the money. In most of the shops, the traders can purchase their goods and services directly with their electronic bank cards.

Invention is a very important aspect or process in so far as trade is concerned as many traders prefer to purchase their goods from places where frequent inventions are taking place. Most traders if not all usually have as one of their business strategies to surprise or attract their customers with new inventions. These new inventions turn to be crowd pulling occasions for these customers to the particular traders or shops where they are found. The Asian continent as a whole is a very fast emerging continent where numerous industrial and technological inventions are taking place on daily basis. These industrial and technological inventions are now attracting traders from all the other continents of the world to Asia. This can be one of the many potential reasons why the Cameroonians prefer dealing on the Cameroon- Asia business line than the other business lines. Invention though considered a very good or important aspect or process in trade, human and economic development, is also one of the root causes of deviant behaviours. Innovation on the other hand is the introduction of new ideas, try out new things or devices. After invention, comes innovation because innovation is putting some slight changes or modifications to what was invented. A society that invents and innovates from time to time is likely going to attract more and more people from around the globe to trade with them.

2.2.4. Acculturation

(Herskovits 1937), sees acculturation as; comprehending those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups. Acculturation is

defined as the change in the cultural behaviour and thinking of person or group of people through contact with another culture. Another definition of acculturation is the cultural modification of an individual, group, or people by adapting to or borrowing traits from another culture. One can also talk of the merging of cultures as a result of prolonged contact. The Merriam Webster dictionary defines acculturation as the process by which a human being acquires the culture of a particular society from infancy. Acculturation is the processes of change in artefacts, customs, and beliefs that result from the contact of two or more cultures. The transfer of values and customs from one group to another is also known as acculturation. A perfect example of acculturation is Cameroonians being dressed like Chinese and vice versa. Stephen Grunland and Marvin Mayers (1988), distinguishes acculturation from assimilation in that; within the context of acculturation, a person adapts to the degree of his effectiveness within the context of the new. He assumes he will leave or the new culture will leave while he returns to his culture of birth or origin. He is a fully accepted and respected member of the new yet in essence has a dual identity. Assimilation is the more extreme process. It comes from the realization that one will never return to the society or culture of origin, so one takes on the entire lifeway of the new culture.

2.2.5. Adaptation

Adaptation is defined as the process or state of changing to fit a new environment or different conditions, or the resulting change. In other words, adaptation is the adjustment to physical, social, mental or psychological environments such as the adjustment of sense organs to the intensity or quality of stimulation. The modification of an organism or its parts that makes it more fit for existence under the conditions of its environment. A heritable physical or behavioural trait that serves a specific function and improves an organism's fitness or survival. It is equally the modification of characters or behaviours to suit different conditions or purposes. Biologists consider adaptation as the development of physical and behavioural characteristics that allow organisms to survive and reproduce in their habitats. According to Anthropologists, adaptive mechanisms are behaviours, strategies and or technics for obtaining food, shelter, prevent or treat illnesses, reproduce and surviving in a particular environment. Successful adaptive mechanisms provide a selective advantage in the competition for survival with other life forms. For humans, the most important adaptive mechanism is culture. Culture is a powerful human tool for survival, but it is a fragile phenomenon. It is constantly changing and easily lost because it exists only in our minds.

Adaptation is the core concept of any ecological studies in anthropology. It is not even a new idea and its scope is not limited to climate change studies. Human adaptation studies began long ago when the earlier scholars wanted to understand the differences between various human populations and explain human variability. (Herodotus 484- 425 B. C. and restated by Shafie 2017), explains human variability as a result of adaptation to different environments and considers culture as a modifier. In this light, culture is thus the tool that helps human beings to adapt to any new environment (physical, social and mental or psychological environments).

2.2.6. Culture change

All cultures change through time. No culture is static. However, most cultures are basically conservative in that they tend to resist change. Some resist more than others by enacting laws for the preservation and protection of traditional cultural patterns while putting up barriers to alien ideas and things. Culture change is a change that occurs over time to shared way of life of a group.

2.2.7. Win-win cooperation (operation gagnant-gagnant in French) and Mixed Feelings

By the terms win-win, we are referring to the bilateral and trade cooperation's that exist between Cameroon and some Asian countries. We are looking at the various gifts or dons, social, political and technical knowhow amongst others that the Cameroon government receives from some of these Asian countries and how these acts open up or give room for other aspects to be shared by both partners. Below, we shall be showcasing some of the bilateral and trade cooperation's between Cameroon and some Asian countries so as to see if actually we are experiencing win-win cooperation's?

2.2.8. Bilateral and trade cooperation between Cameroon and China

Top on the Cameroon-Asia trade networks are Cameroon-China bilateral and trade cooperation. Cameroon maintains trade cooperation with a very good number of Asian countries but China stands out to be Cameroon's first trading partner in the entire earth planet. Cameroon and the People's Republic of China established diplomatic relations in 1971, after 11 years during which Cameroon formally recognized Taiwan. Through the years, the two countries have maintained strong political ties. China has given aid to Cameroon with a conference centre, energy and agricultural projects in the capital, a women's and children's hospital, and an athletic stadium. Trade between the two countries reached nearly USD 1billion in 2010.

Chinese President Hu Jintao's January 30 - February 1, 2007 visit to Cameroon (and Cameroon President Biya's four visits to China) reflect this historical friendship and regional importance. China and Cameroon signed a trade agreement in 2002 giving each other "most favoured nation" trading status. According to Chinese government trade statistics for the first three quarters of 2009, Chinese trade with Cameroon totalled \$1.5 billion in 2009 (up 34%), with 916 million in Chinese exports to Cameroon (up 17%) and \$5.9 billion in imports from Cameroon to China (up 71%). According to 2008 WTO data, China is Cameroon's first largest source of imports (9.1%); according to the Chinese Embassy in Cameroon, China is Cameroon's sixth largest export market. Cameroon's main Chinese imports are building materials, chemicals, machinery, textiles, and electronics. Cameroon's main exports to China are oil, timber, rubber, cotton and agricultural products. China's commercial presence in Cameroon ranges from restaurants, small shops and vending operations, to at least 15 Chinese public works companies with business totalling over \$16 billion. According to Xinhua News Agency, the number of Chinese in Cameroon doubled from 2006 to 2008 to around 2,000. We would guess this has increased significantly since 2008, with Chinese citizens much more evident in the country over the past years.

The Vice Prime Minister of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Hui Liangyu left Cameroon on January 14, 2011 satisfied with fruitful discussions. *"The People's Republic of China and Cameroon have vast cooperation perspectives in the areas of economy, trade, agriculture, science, technology, education, culture, health and sports"*, the Vice Prime Minister of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Hui Liangyu disclosed on Friday, January 14, 2011. Cameroon Tribune (2011). He was speaking at the Yaounde-Nsimalen International Airport at the end of his three-day maiden visit to Cameroon. The development of future bilateral relations, Hui Liangyu further said, will be based on the 40 years of diplomatic relations whose anniversary celebration was one of the major highlights of his visit to Cameroon.

Cameroon's Prime Minister, Head of Government, Philemon Yang who received, Hui Liangyu and his delegation on arrival at the Yaounde- Nsimalen International Airport on January 12, also led the delegation of Cameroonian officials to see off the visiting Chinese delegation on January 14. China's Ambassador to Cameroon, Xue Jinwei on his part, led his country's delegation to the airport. Cameroon Tribune (2011). The Chinese vice Prime also reiterated cooperation agreements signed during his visit at the Prime Minister's Office.

Following the agreements, the Chinese government will disburse FCFA 33.5 billion for the financing of 1,500 low cost housing projects in Cameroon, FCFA three billion for economic and technical cooperation framework agreement.

In the third agreement, the Export/Import Bank of China (EXIM Bank China) will provide FCFA 207 billion for the construction of the Kribi multi-billion deep sea port project. Hui Liangyu left Cameroon for Senegal satisfied with the discovery that Cameroonians were welcoming, hospitable, great friends and partner to China. He had high-level State House talks and a toast with Cameroon's presidential couple Paul Biya and Chantal Biya. He also enjoyed Cameroon's hospitality and cultural wealth during the 40th anniversary celebration at the Yaounde Hilton Hotel and National Museum.

On the other side of the same coin, many Cameroonians do not perceive the Sino-Cameroon relationship as win-win cooperation. Such Cameroonians base their arguments on the fact that it is the Chinese who are getting a lion's share of the business cooperation. This view is also seen with Dibussi Tande (2011), who pointed out that; Cameroonians seem increasingly suspicious of China's presence and intentions in Cameroon. There is concern about the growing activity of small-scale businesses and the larger numbers of Chinese in Yaounde and Douala. There is also frustration with competition from cheap Chinese goods, problems with counterfeit Chinese imports, and the small number of Cameroonians employed in Chinese projects. China's image was damaged when Chinese were discovered smuggling ivory from Cameroon to China in 2006 and 2007. Many Cameroonians also resent illegal Chinese fishing in Cameroonian waters. In October 2008, the Cameroonian Navy also made a very high profile and well-publicized seizure of a Chinese fishing trawler that was illegally operating near Kribi. Traditional Cameroonian fishermen are especially antagonistic towards large-scale Chinese fishing operations. The Cameroonians believe that the Chinese are over-harvesting the coastal areas and making it difficult for traditional fishermen to survive.

Sub-Saharan Africa's accelerated economic growth over the last decade has been well documented. Feted as the next boom market, especially with the backdrop of the economic slowdown in the West, there has been a tendency by many commentators to hail it as the last frontier for growth.

When I attended the African Development Bank's summit in Tanzania for the launch of this year's 'African Economic Outlook' (AEO) report, there was a huge sense of optimism about Africa's economic trajectory. Yet I could not help but wonder whether

this was somewhat over-stated. Much was said about Africa's decade of growth. Cameroon Tribune (2011: 8).

The AEO report contended that Africa's resilience following the 2009 global recession meant that the continent's growth prospects remain highly positive. Yet less mention was made of how African governments are actively rebuilding their fiscal buffers, which were deployed to cope with the impact of the global recession on their domestic markets. Less still was discussed about what has been done to ensure that African countries diversify their export bases. (Njau 2012).

Writing on the Cameroon-China bilateral and trade cooperation, Ngala Killian Chimtom in the work titled "Cameroon-China, a wedding with uncertain prospects" (2012), focuses on the negative trade repercussions on the Cameroonian government as a result of their trade agreement with the Peoples Republic of China. In his own proper words, he notified that;

The Cameroon government is increasingly turning to China as a privileged partner in its development efforts. But there are many discordant voices who say the long-term effects of China's economic relations with Cameroon could be disastrous for domestic industry. "We are inviting Chinese firms to come in numbers and invest in Cameroon in all sectors, especially hydrocarbons, mineral exploitation, and wood extraction." That invitation was extended by President Paul Biya in January 2007 when Chinese President Hu Jintao paid the first-ever visit by a Chinese president to Cameroon. (Chimtom 2012: 17)

He wrote this article after the Chinese President Hu Jintao visited Cameroon in the year 2007 and the Cameroonian President made mention of the discoveries in the trade imbalances between Cameroon and China which from the original agreements were supposed to be win-win economic and trade agreements. The article presented the mixed reactions Cameroonians have in regard to the presence of the Chinese in their country Cameroon. There are those Cameroonians on the one hand who think that the Chinese have come to release them from the enormous expenses on the European and American goods and services that were too expensive. On the other hand are those Cameroonians who are not happy with the presence of the Chinese in Cameroon. In the lines that follow, this is what they said;

Meanwhile, many ordinary Cameroonians see cheap Chinese goods as a valid alternative. "With just 2,000 FCFA (about four dollars), I can afford a pair of shoes...the Chinese are helping people like us," says Christian Njah, a security guard in Yaounde who draws a monthly salary of about 50,000 FCFA (100 dollars). Official figures indicate that 40 percent of Cameroonians live below the poverty line.

But not everyone in this West African nation is happy about the Chinese presence. In Cameroon's North West region, small-scale traders have expressed anger. "We are not

against the Chinese investing in Cameroon, but when they come to compete with us in roasting and selling simple items like corn, plantains and barbecue on the road-side, then there is a big, big problem," complains Elizabeth Neh, a roast-corn vendor in Bamenda. (Chimtom 2012: 18).

Chinese goods provide poorer Cameroonians with cheaper access to more goods and services. This is good for the well-being of the people. But this is bad in the long term because it destroys local manufacturing capabilities and competitiveness. Besides, there is little or no technological transfer because the Chinese frequently bring along their own labour, with Cameroonians confined to peripheral positions as drivers and sweepers. President Biya recognized this when he told his Chinese counterpart in February 2007 that "we wish to benefit from export quotas for some of our products like coffee, cotton, cocoa, banana, just to name a few; so as to re-equilibrate as much as possible the trade imbalance between our two countries." So China's interest in Africa may not be based so much on "sincere friendship, equality, and reciprocal benefit." China's economy is growing at a perky 10 percent.

The author continues by saying that;

China's push in Cameroon and Africa is fuelled "by a desperate need to find oil and raw material to fuel its fast-growing industry" – a situation that has created serious trade imbalances, and has had the effect of strangling domestic industries. Ngala (Chimtom 2012: 18).

Cameroonian political economist Emmanuel Tatah Mentan, now a lecturer at the College of Saint Benedict in the U.S. state of Minnesota, has described Sino-African relations as "a wedding with uncertain prospects." This article comes up at a time when scholars, economists and traders have pessimistic thoughts and views regarding the Sino-Cameroonian bilateral and trade agreement. A wedding or relation with uncertain prospects unveils the doubts that fill the mind-set of the Cameroonian thinkers over these issues. From some retrospective to present observations on the Cameroon – China bilateral and trade cooperation, Cameroonian scholars are projecting the Sino-Cameroon relationship as a wedding with uncertain prospects. It was supposed to be a 'win-win' economic relationship between Cameroon and China. Evidences point to the contrary. Cameroon is not only suffering from increasing trade imbalances, Chinese businesses are destroying local entrepreneurship as well as local businesses losing out to competition within Cameroon and Central African sub-region. There seems to be no future insight.

People might argue that positive and negative trade imbalances have nothing to do with anthropological studies. We in the course of this work together with anthropologists like Karl

Polanyi and Marshall Sahlins are presenting contrary views. Karl Polanyi in his 1944 *Great Transformation*, says anything or action that has to do with production, repartition (movement or distribution) and usage (consumption) of material things is an economic activity (economic anthropology). The manner or how material things are exchanged between Cameroon and Asia particularly China have a lot of socio-cultural and psychological interpretations (anthropological interpretations). Marshall Sahlins' 1972 *Stone Age Economics* presents three types of reciprocities; gift or generalized reciprocity, balanced or symmetrical reciprocity and market or negative reciprocity. **Gift or generalized reciprocity** is the exchange of goods and services without keeping track of their exact value, but often with the expectation that their value will balance out over time. **Balanced or Symmetrical reciprocity** occurs when someone gives to someone else, expecting a fair and tangible return - at a specified amount, time, and place. **Market or Negative reciprocity** is the exchange of goods and services whereby each party intends to profit from the exchange, often at the expense of the other. Gift economies, or generalized reciprocity, occur within closely knit kin groups, and the more distant the exchange partner, the more balanced or negative the exchange becomes.

From the definitions or explanations given above, we can clearly depict and or agree with the scholars who said that the Sino- Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation is a weeding of uncertain prospects. The increasing trade imbalances on the Cameroonian side of the agreement clearly show that the Chinese are using the market or negative reciprocity method where their own interest only matter in this situation, even if the their Cameroonian counterparts are fast losing both at home and in the Central African sub region, it is none of their business.

Another work expressing pessimistic views instead of a friendly, win-win and reciprocal Cameroon-China cooperation is this article; **A Conversation on China in Cameroon** by (Lu 2011). The author is presenting the mixed and pessimistic views Cameroonians scholars have on the presence of Chinese and their products in Cameroon. He said;

Recently I chatted with a Cameroonian visiting scholar at Penn State. His research field does not do with China in Africa. But his perspective on Chinese involvement in Cameroon represents the view of the intellectual class. He mentions that both he and his colleagues in a university in Cameroon held a very negative position on the Chinese people in their country. (Lu 2011: 6).

According to him, Chinese reputation in Cameroon is considered as bad. In 1995 several Chinese scholars came to the University of Yaounde 1 with low quality research equipment that expired in short a period of time. Some Cameroonian merchants also imported Chinese laptops. These laptops were in low quality and quickly lost their market in Cameroon. Also, Chinese

people are unwilling to participate in activities in the local community, which was seen as impolite and mysterious by the locals. The accumulative effects of these incidents have increased mistrust of Chinese in the Cameroonian society. The Chinese traders are neither even polite nor welcoming when it comes to dialoguing or exchanging ideas between them and their Cameroonian partners. The Cameroonians were frustrated with these negative attitudes put up by the Chinese Contractors and businessmen. For there to be an effective transfer of technology, there must be a very high degree of dialogue between the Chinese and the Cameroonians. How can you transfer any technical knowhow to somebody when you cannot chat or discuss with the person?

The professor thinks just like many other Cameroonians that the Chinese are no different from Europeans because they bring their own labour to the construction camps. The professor believed Chinese didn't hire any Cameroonian to work for the new Olympic stadium and thus no knowledge was transferred to Africans. At the same time, Chinese used these projects in exchange of resources. He also mentioned China purchased a lot of land from the Cameroonian government to grow rice and export back to China. People criticized that the Africans living around these farms benefit nothing from the rice Chinese grow, and have to import rice from Thailand. Many of them are starving. When I asked how Cameroon has benefited from China's help with infrastructure building, he disagreed China really helped Africa with development. Rather, China won many bids because of low price, and they were merely business deals. Besides responding to the cheap price Chinese firms have offered, the government was in favour of China to show their discontent towards the Europeans. "The current way China deals with Cameroon will make China lose support by the government in 50 years," he pointed out, and also mentioned the Indians will bring more hope to the continent because they welcome diversity in their projects and workforce. Nothing goes for nothing in the Sino-Cameroonian relationships and any gift the Chinese have ever given their Cameroonian partners are paid back in one way or another. The author thinks that the scholars have these contrary and pessimistic views due to misinformation or lack of information on the part of the Cameroonian government and that if the Cameroonians were appropriately informed on a daily basis of what the Chinese are doing in Cameroon, they will not have mixed feelings on the presence of the Chinese in Cameroon in particular and the African continent as a whole.

In his **Jobs Clamour Grows over China Investment**, (Flynn 2013) came up with the following findings; China has brought cheap consumer goods, roads and schools, to many parts

of Africa over the past decade, but the continent's leaders are increasingly pushing for it to provide more of what many Africans want most: jobs.

From Pretoria to Abuja, governments have begun voicing frustration that China's use of Africa as a source of natural resources and a market for its goods may be hindering the continent in hauling its billion people out of poverty. A recent report by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (Uneca) highlighted the risk that the continent's relationship with the world's second-largest economy could strangle its attempts to industrialize. China's trade with Africa ballooned from \$10bn in 2000 to an estimated \$200bn this year — four years after it overtook the US as the continent's largest partner. But about 85% of China's exports from Africa are raw materials, such as oil and minerals. According to the African Development Bank, most minerals mined in Africa are exported raw; meaning the jobs and wealth from processing them is created elsewhere. A flood of Chinese produce, meanwhile, has accelerated the decline in industrialization since the 1980s. Africa's textile industry alone lost 750,000 jobs over the past decade, says the Johannesburg-based Brenthurst Foundation. Even in the continent's manufacturing powerhouse, South Africa, about 40% of footwear and fabrics come from China. Expressing the concerns of many African governments, President Jacob Zuma bluntly warned that such unbalanced trade was "unsustainable".

The Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade corporation is a mixed feeling type of agreement in the mindset of the Cameroonians. While others present a win-win corporation, others project an agreement with some long term negative repercussions on the Cameroonian side of the trade agreement.

Cameroon and Japan bilateral and trade cooperation

Japan is well noted for her outstanding nature in the production of automobiles from bicycles through motorbikes with names of motorbikes that depicts Japanese names such as Kawasaki, Honda, Suzuki just to cite these few and finally cars of all types. The Japanese are also well noted for the fabrication of good bicycle, motorbike and car tyres. Japan is equally a powerful nation when it comes to the manufacturing of electronics ranging from radios, televisions, computers and many others. The Cameroonian citizens are very much interested with the Japanese products such as those cited above hence a good number of Cameroonian traders are making profits in the buying and retailing of the Japanese goods.

In the bilateral cooperation between Cameroon and Japan, the Japanese government has provided a lot of aid to the Cameroonian government especially in the domain of infrastructure with the famous Don Japanese Project (Don Japonais in French). This giant project involved the construction and equipment of a very good number of school buildings across the Cameroonian territory by the Japanese government as a means of strengthening the bilateral cooperation between both partners. According to the information gotten from the Japanese Embassy in Yaounde Cameroon, The official handover ceremony for “Lifesaving emergency Nutrition response for children affected by Sahel humanitarian crisis and building back schools devastated by floods in Far North and North Regions” was held on 2nd March 2015 at Public School Poupoumé in Garoua, in the presence of Mr. Benoît NDONG SOUHMET, the Secretary of State at the Ministry of Basic Education, Ms. Keiko EGUSA, the First Secretary the Embassy of Japan, Ms. Félicité TCHIBINDAT, the Resident Representative of UNICEF, and Mr. Edi’i Jean ABATE, the Governor of the North region. 32,476 children have been benefitting from the educational package of 58 classrooms, 59 water pumps, and 58 blocks of 3 latrines, 3,000 benches and other equipment.

Still in this giant project of building equipping schools with modern classrooms and offices, the Japanese government continued to do the same in other parts of the country as in Bali, Mezam division of the North West Region of Cameroon. The hand-over ceremony for the 5th Project for Construction of Primary Schools was held in Bali which is near Bamenda in the Northwest Region, in the presence of the Minister of Basic Education, Mrs. Youssouf née Adidja Alim, the Ambassador of Japan, Mr. Tsutomu ARAI and the Resident Representative of JICA, Mr. Shinji UMEMOTO. The project was for construction of 29 Primary schools and 202 class rooms in the Northwest region, including Government School Bali where the ceremony was held. During the ceremony, the Ambassador gave the symbolic key to the Minister. The Japanese government has done a lot in Cameroon in other dons such as health, all of which were not kept in writing but in pictures.

Africa as a whole and Cameroon in particular have been benefitting from the Japanese technical cooperation as members of the following Japanese organizations TICAD V (Tokyo International Cooperation for African Development) and JICA. Following a Ministerial Conference held in Yaounde Cameroon on the 4th through the 5th of May 2014, Cameroon Tribune (2014: 1) reports;

Le Premier Ministre, Chef du gouvernement, Philemon Yang a présidé hier au nom du Chef de l’Etat, la cérémonie d’ouverture de la première réunion ministérielle de suivi

de la 5e conférence internationale de Tokyo pour le développement de l'Afrique (TICAD V). Le Chef du gouvernement a plaidé pour l'industrialisation de l'Afrique avec comme indicateur la transformation locale des matières premières.

Japan's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Kishida Fumio who is attending the Yaounde meeting said in an exclusive interview to Cameroon Tribune (2014: 3)

we will be discussing future measures to be taken by African countries, Japan and the international organizations. By discussing the important and timely issues for Africa and the international community, they will explore the future direction of Japan-Africa cooperation.

Minister Kishida Fumio said despite progress African countries have made since the inception of TICAD some 20 years ago in the area of high rate of economic growth, challenges still remain in the areas of health, education and poverty.

Themes for the Ministerial follow up meeting of TICAD V have been tailored to address key development challenges that constitute part of the Action Plan 2013-2017. After the opening ceremony, the participants evaluated the level of implementation of the Yokohama Action Plan and by mid-day discussed agriculture, food security and Nutrition. Other key themes of the meeting are the Post 2015 Development Agenda, as well as empowering women and Youths. Intra-African trade is one of the major activities to be accomplished in the 2013-2017 Action Plan of the TICAD V ministerial meeting.

Despite the global economic slowdown, growth in Sub-Saharan Africa has remained robust. It was close to around 5 percent in 2013, and is expected to increase to 5.5 percent by 2015. Nonetheless, poverty and inequality remain high in many countries, and efforts to reduce poverty and increase economic opportunities, including for the most vulnerable, are needed. It is for this reason that boosting economic growth is a key pillar of the TICAD process and the Yokohama Action Plan. Outcome targets under this pillar are a) increase the ratio of intra-African regional trade; b) improve the business environment in African countries; and c) increase the volume of African exports. To date, intra-African trade remains low, at around 12 percent, and there is room for considerable expansion, particularly in food staples and services. African countries continue to improve the business climate. In 2012-13, the pace of business-friendly reform in Africa was three times that in industrialized countries. The top three reformers were in Africa—Rwanda, Burundi, and Cote d'Ivoire. However, while exports of primary commodities from the continent remain strong, there has been little improvement in diversifying the export base **TICAD V (2014)**.

In the continuation of the 2013-2017 Action Plan, is the creation of an inclusive society for growth. Health and education constitute the foundations of human development for growth, and progress is essential to meet the MDGs. In this light, the TICAD process will support strengthening of health systems and promote universal health coverage on the continent. The TICAD process will also promote maternal and child health including nutrition and support AU's Campaign for Accelerated Reduction of Maternal Mortality in Africa (CARMA), as well as the prevention and treatment of infectious and non-communicable diseases. The TICAD process will also work towards improving the access to reproductive health services, safe water and sanitation and focus on increasing access to education and improving the quality of education at all levels. Against this backdrop, in the Yokohama Action Plan 2013-2017, 11 outcomes are set. They include primary and secondary education, health coverage, maternal, reproductive and child health, HIV/AIDS, TB and Malaria, Polio eradication as well as the access to drinking water.

Africa MDG Report 2013, published by UNDP and ADB provides a mixed pattern of successes and challenges, innovations and obstacles. Africa's substantial progress toward many goals, targets and indicators is beyond doubt. Africa is generally on track for MDG Goal 2 (universal and primary education), 3 (gender equality and women's empowerment), and 6 (HIV/AIDS, TB and Malaria), but off track on MDGs goal 1 (extreme poverty and hunger), 4 (child mortality), 5 (maternal health), 7 (environmental sustainability) and 8 (global partnership for development). Further, serious challenges remain especially in translating growth into decent job opportunities, improving service delivery and minimizing income, gender and spatial inequalities. Stepped-up collaboration to achieve remaining MDG goals and to reflect African experience and perspectives on post 2015 development agenda discussion remains the priority **(TICAD V 2014)**.

For trade cooperation to function well and blossom, there are needs or calls to consolidate peace, stability, democracy and good governance. In the absence of these, trade cooperation will be threatened. Peace and security remains a prerequisite for socio-economic development in Africa. The TICAD V process aims at enhancing the implementation of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), as well as building the capacity of the AU to address persisting and emerging peace and security challenges on the continent. These include issues such as maritime safety and security, counter-terrorism and anti-corruption among others. Apart from the operationalization of the key components of APSA such as the Panel of the Wise, the Continental Early Warning System and the African Standby Force, as well as support to Africa's Peace Support Operations (PSOs), the TICAD V process also aims to increase the

number of trainees on counter-terrorism and combating trans-national organized crime, support National Programme of Action to promote gender equality and women and youth empowerment TICAD V (2014).

In the recent past, the African continent has witnessed a resurgence of conflicts and crises, including growing terrorism activities. It is in this respect that the TICAD V process aims to strengthen African leadership in the peaceful settlement of disputes, conflict prevention, early warning and response, mediation, post-conflict reconstruction and development as well as administrative and institutional capacity, with the overall aim of promoting African solutions to African challenges.

Cameroon and South Korea Bilateral Cooperation

Cameroon and South Korea bilateral and trade cooperation are mostly witnessed in the domains of health, infrastructure and cultural exhibitions.

Under health, the Koreans have in 2013 provided free medical consultations to some local communities in the South West Region of Cameroon as part of their contributions in upholding the bilateral cooperation between Cameroon and Korea. In this regard, (Mbonteh 2013: 20) says:

The inhabitants of Isongo and Bakingili in the West Coast District of the South West Region, Thursday 12 June, could not conceal their joy and excitement over the free medical consultations and treatment for some diseases such as Malaria, respiratory infections, diarrheal, skin diseases, hypertension, diabetes and other public health problems.

The medical services organized by the Limbe Port and Industrial Development Corporation (LIPID) within the framework of the project's corporate social responsibility targeted some 500 people living within the host communities of the project. Launching the two-day exercise, the Inspector General at the South West Governor's office, sitting in for the Region's Chief Executive officer, underlined that the gesture is a mark of trust and cordial bilateral relations between Cameroon and Korea. On his part, the Korean Ambassador to Cameroon, His Excellency Cho June-Hyuck, appreciated the cooperation between the Cameroonian and Korean medical teams, stating that Korea and Limbe have a bond going by Korea – sponsored projects in Limbe such as the Advanced Vocational Training Centre, the Cement factory and the Limbe Deep Sea Port Development Project. The Limbe Port, the Ambassador stressed, will not only serve as a springboard for economic growth and

employment but will also contribute to the improvement of the livelihoods of the host community given that a medical Centre will also be constructed to cater for the medical needs. While hailing the fast growing bilateral ties between the two countries, H. E Cho June-Hyuck stated that Korea will continue to maintain links with Cameroon and accompany the country attain its emergence. According to LIPID's Assistant Project Manager Dia Mohammed Iya, the first phase of the construction works begins in August 2014. For her, the rapid growth of Cameroon's economy and political stability motivated the choice of Limbe-Cameroon to host the project which he says will provide more than 20.000 direct and indirect jobs. It should be noted that the Emergency Unit of the Yaounde Central Hospital was constructed and furnished by this same Korean government.

Concerning infrastructure, (Baikong 2014) writes the South Korean Ambassador and MINEPAT boss signed the framework agreement on July 1, 2014 in Yaounde. The government of South Korea has pledged to disburse close to FCFA 4 billion for the development of projects for the enhancement of contract award and professional training in Cameroon. The country's Ambassador in Cameroon, Cho June-Hyuck and the Minister of the Economy, Planning and Regional Development (MINEPAT), Emmanuel Nganou Djoumessi signed the aid framework agreement in Yaounde yesterday July 1. This was in the presence of beneficiary Ministers of Public Contracts, Abba Sadou and that of Employment and Vocational Training, Zacharie Perevet. It concerns a 6,400,000 US dollar (about FCFA 3.2 billion) project for the putting in place of a National Institute of Vocational Trainers and Program Development in Cameroon and 1,600,000 US dollars (about FCFA 800 million) project on online contract award (e-procurement).

Cameroon will by the grant benefit from an extended cooperation in the form of development of Cameroon's e-procurement system, construction of the National Institute, provision of equipment and materials in connection with the above- mentioned projects, dispatch of volunteers and experts to share knowledge and experiences and as well as invitation of Cameroon nationals to training programs in Korea. In respond, the Korean Ambassador to Cameroon, H.E Cho June-Hyuck said: the assistance will greatly contribute to enabling Cameroon to effectively meet the multiple challenges of development and will and further consolidate and expand bilateral relations. The fruitfulness of such expanding relations is already very visible not only in the domain of development assistance but also in the

investments of Korean businessmen in Cameroon notably, Korean companies participating actively in the Limbe Deep Seaport project and the Limbe Cement Factory by G-Power Cement.

Reporting on Cameroon and South Korea fortifying their bilateral and economic ties, (Bainkong 2013: 6) said:

The Republic of Cameroon and that of South Korea have reached a deal to protect their investments and considerably move it to higher heights for the mutual benefits of the two countries. Cameroon's Minister of the Economy, Planning and Regional Development, Emmanuel Nganou Djoumessi, and South Korea's Ambassador to Cameroon, Cho June-Hyuck, on Tuesday December 24 signed an agreement to protect and promote investments. This was in the presence of five other Cameroonian Ministers.

By the agreement, Cameroon will benefit from enhanced cooperation in the area of development through the dispatch of more Korean experts and volunteers along with other forms of grants and aid as may be mutually agreed by the two parties. Efforts will also be stepped up to increase the number of South Korean investments in Cameroon and bring in the country's wealth of experience in development to bear on Cameroon. Korean industries are looking forward to coming to Cameroon to establish good partnerships.

The agreement signifies a milestone in our bilateral relations. Cameroon's geopolitical position is very important in this part of the world. It has a good sea-shore, a good prospect for off-shore plant, a good potential for the exploitation of minerals and a good potential for energy infrastructure," Cho June-Hyuck said. The Korean diplomat said the conclusion of the agreement was testimony to Korea's commitment to supporting Cameroon in achieving sustainable economic development especially as it is set to implementing its lofty roadmap of becoming an emerging economy by 2035. "Korea is a country that has known sustainable economic growth in a short space of time and we are willing and happy to share our experience with Cameroon so that it can also know economic development and experience prosperity", the Ambassador noted.

In the domain of culture, Cameroon and Korea expressed their cultural diversities in a cultural jamboree organized in Yaounde Saturday the 26th October 2014. Reacting to the events that took place that day, (Bainkong 2014: 18) told us that:

Koreans living and working in Cameroon under the banner of Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) and Cameroonians who have studied in Korea, members of KOICA Alumni Association Cameroon (KAAC) have edified each other on the rich culture of both countries, diversified as it is, with the view of boosting the already cordial bilateral ties existing between them. Cameroon's dances, dishes and dresses

from the North to the South and East to West likewise those of Koreans were displayed in style and colour during a thrilling cultural jamboree at the head office of KOICA in Yaounde on Saturday October 26 2014.

From water fufu and eru to locally manufactured corn beer, fondly called, 'Shaa' passing through the njang, bikutsi, bottle dance from the southern part of the country to the waist-twisting dances from the Northern regions, the display of Korean dishes like Bibimpap, Bulgogi..., the cultural display was thrilling and attracted thunderous applause from the many attendees.

The Resident Representative of KOICA in Cameroon, Kim Tae Young, said when he first came to Cameroon, everything was strange. "I am increasingly getting used to it and this cultural jamboree will better help us to know the culture and eat each other's food," he said. Like him, Koreans who attended the jamboree said when they came to Cameroon, they thought Cameroon was one person but time and the display edified them on the rich cultural diversity of the people who although different in culture are interestingly united under one State and leader. The President of KAAC, Chancel Ako Takem, said

the jamboree was an opportunity to discover the two cultures and strengthen ties between the two countries. Korea has similar experiences with Cameroon in development because in the 1960s, Korea was almost at the same level of development with Cameroon. Today, it is a developed country and we believe we can learn a lot from the Koreans and that starts with their culture. We are seeing their attitudes, their values and since we believe that these values have enabled them to move from an undeveloped country to a developed one today, we believe that we can learn a lot from such values. He said. Godlove Baintong (2014: 18)

A view corroborated by the Secretary General of KAAC, Amina Abdul,

I am satisfied because our objective was to bring the two countries together to better discover their cultural values. It also allowed other non-Koreans and Cameroonians to discover our rich cultures. (Baintong 2014: 18)

The Cameroon government at times solicits financial aids from the Korean government to carry out some structural projects and all these go a long way to promote and or strengthen the bilateral ties that exist between the two countries.

Cameroon and India Bilateral Cooperation

Political Relations

Relations between India and Cameroon have been friendly and cordial. The Cameroonian leaders appreciate India's contributions to Africa, its secular democracy and economic progress

and the leadership it provided to the Non- Aligned Movement. Cameroon actively supported Indian candidature for the Commonwealth Secretary General. The High Commissioner in Abuja is concurrently accredited to Cameroon.

Bilateral Visits: The importance attached to the bilateral relations by the two governments has witnessed many high -level visits between the two countries are. Tables 1,2 and three below show some of the administrative personnel from both Cameroon and India that visited one another to strengthen their cooperation and business ties. The third table in particular is demonstrating the trade statistics between Cameroon and India in terms of exportation and importation.

Table 1: Administrative Officials from Cameroon who have visited India

President Mr. Paul Biya	March 1983 to attend NAM Summit
Mr. Philemon Yang, Prime Minister	March 2013 – visited New Delhi accompanied by 7 Ministers and a large business delegation to attend Africa-CII/Exim Bank Conclave.
Mr. Emmanuel Nganou Djoumessi, Minister for Economy & Planning & Mme. Bankang Mbock Catherine, Minister of Social Welfare	September 12-16, 2012 – visited India for signing of \$42m Credit Line for the Cassava Plantation Project
Mr. Angouen Michel Ange, Minister of Public Service & Administrative Reforms	October 2012 - visited India for a 3-day conference of Commonwealth Association of Public Administration & Management (CAPAM
Mr. Djoumessi Nganou Emmanuel, Minister of Planning & Regional Development	March 2012 – visited New Delhi to attend CII Conclave.
Mr. Edger Alain Mebe Ngo’o, Minister of Defence	March 2012 – visited New Delhi to attend the DefExpo India 2012.

Source: DGCIIS, Indian Department of Commerce (2014)

Table 2: Administrative Officials from India that visited Cameroon

MOS for Industrial Development visited Cameroon	February 1988
Minister of State for External Affairs visited Cameroon	April 1990
EAM met with Cameroon Foreign Minister in New York	September 2002
MOS(AS) met Cameroon FM at AU Summit in Sharm Al Sheikh, Egypt	June 2008.

Source: DGCIS, Indian Department of Commerce (2014)

Commercial and Trade Relations: Key potential areas for cooperation and investment are - oil and mining, telecom, fertilizers, oil and gas, agriculture and food processing, forestry, Information and Communication Technologies, railways and Indian exports of consumer and light engineering goods.

Bilateral Trade: Bilateral trade has grown rapidly in recent years, even at its full potential is yet to be realized. India's trade with Cameroon during the period 2013-14 is US\$527.82 million.

Table 3: India- Cameroon Bilateral Trade Statistics (Value in US\$ Mn)

Trade	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14
India's Export	77.21	118.07	196	251	259.62 (+3.4%)
India's Import	137.35	138.10	524	443	268.20 (-39%)

Table 4: Trade statistics as of May 2014 [08/05/2014] [In US\$ millions]

	Indian Exports			India's Imports			Total Trade		
	Apr-May 14	Apr – May 13	% Change	Apr – May 14	Apr-May 13	% Change	Apr-May 14	Apr-May 13	% Change
Cameroon	37.16	39.35	-5.5	146.7	72.49	102.3	183.8	111.8	64.3

Source: DGCIS, Indian Department of Commerce (2014)

Projects and Activities

Cameroon Alumina Ltd: In May 2009, Cameroon Alumina Ltd. (CAL), entered into negotiations with Cameroonian authorities for exploration of bauxite in the Adamawa region, in a consortium in which India's Hindalco (45%), Dubai (45%) and US company Hydramine (10%) have stake. While the project is currently at techno economic feasibility stage, it envisages a setting up of an alumina plant and rail and port infrastructure. Negotiations between CAL and Cameroonian authorities are ongoing.

Pan-African e-Network Project was inaugurated in June 2010 in Cameroon. The tele education and telemedicine projects have been installed at Cameroon State Regional University Yaounde and its hospital and have been performing satisfactorily.

Agriculture Sector

Nigeria-based NRI agribusiness Olam International has large operations in Cameroon involving plantations of coffee (7,500 Hectares), cocoa (12,000 Ha) being country's first and second largest producer of these two cash crops. It also imports rice into Cameroon. Its total annual turnover in Cameroon is around \$ 120 million.

In 2007 Government of India gifted 60 tractors and agricultural implements to Government of Cameroon. India has also provided Lines of Credit to boost agriculture in Cameroon.

Line of Credit

On May 29 2009, a \$ 37.65m Indian Line of Credit (LoC) for Cameroon funding a project each of Rice and Maize Farm Plantation was operationalized. In September 2012, India and Cameroon signed on a new LOC of \$ 42 million for Cassava plantation project in Cameroon.

Culture and Education

Training: Of the 31 slots allocated under Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programme to Cameroon during 2011-12, 15 were utilized. During 2012-13, 28 out of 31 allotted slots were utilized and in the year 2013-14, 35 slots have been utilized. A Cameroonian diplomat attended a one-month PCFD course organized by the Foreign Service Institute of Ministry of External Affairs in August 2012.

Culture and Media: Indian films are popular and a local channel Capital TV regularly telecasts Indian films. A Rajasthan folk dance troupe sponsored by ICCR performed in Douala, Cameroon in November 2010. Cameroon is officially a French-English bilingual country, even as most official work is in French language. An Indian Film Festival was organized by Honorary Consul of India in 2013. To commemorate 100 years of Indian cinema in Cameroon, an Indian Film Festival was organized from 25/9/2013 to 13/12/2013 in collaboration with the Institut

Francais du Cameroun, with French sub-titles by the Honorary Consul of India to Cameroon and the Indian Community.

Indian Community: There are about 700-800 Indian expatriates in Cameroon, engaged mostly in trading and small business apart from some professionals. While Indians are generally well-regarded, during the political crisis in Cameroon in February 2008, an Indian manufacturing unit in Douala was vandalized. In some commercial disputes, few incidents of physical violence against Indian nationals were also reported.

We discovered that there are a good number of Asian countries where Cameroonian traders go to purchase goods and services but those countries and Cameroon have not signed any trade or bilateral cooperation. Some of these Asian countries include; the United Arab Emirates (Dubai), Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Philippines, Vietnam and Taiwan just to cite these ones.

International Trade and Barriers to International Trade

International trade is the movement of goods and services across the borders. In this light, so many networks come into play to assure the movement of persons, goods and services across the various borders. Nations appear to trade too much with themselves and too little with each other. There is no specific spot on the planet earth that has been reserved for world market or international trade. As such, world market or international trade is mostly done through networks of information which upon agreement, will now see the movement of persons, goods and services across borders. So information networks are vital elements insofar as international trade is concerned. The absence of network information is one of the major barriers to international trade. Business and social networks that operate across national borders can help to overcome these kinds of informal trade barriers. In the work quoted above, for example, (Saxenian 1999) shows that a transnational community of Indian engineers has facilitated outsourcing of software development from Silicon Valley to regions like Bangalore and Hyderabad. Research can provide us with insight into how transnational networks overcome informal trade barriers, and at the same time can serve to document and even quantify the existence of these barriers. Determining the relative importance of contract enforcement versus informational barriers is especially important since they point to quite different areas of concern for policy makers.

(Rauch 2001) argues that the enforcement of contracts in international trade presents a difficult problem. This section is concerned with how networks facilitate trade across polities

by building, or substituting for, trust when contract enforcement is weak to non-existent. Regarding the overseas Chinese network, Murray Weiden- Baum and Samuel Hughes (1996, p. 51) report, "If a business owner violates an agreement, he is blacklisted. This is far worse than being sued, because the entire Chinese network will refrain from doing business with the guilty party." This kind of description suggests that transnational networks deter opportunism in a modern setting, yet the bulk of the more analytical literature has focused on the distant past or extremely underdeveloped environments. A more recent literature has emphasized that, in addition to being used to transmit information about past opportunistic business conduct, networks can be used to transmit information about current opportunities for profitable international trade (or investment). The literature surveyed almost always uses the "characteristics knowledge" definition of networks, since the key is knowing the agents' characteristics so as to be able to match them to opportunities. Transnational networks can facilitate this matching through provision of market information, letting suppliers know that consumers in a particular country will be receptive to their products, or enlightening suppliers on how to adapt their products to consumer preferences in a given country.

Suppose that a firm looking for foreign buyers or sellers does not belong to an appropriate network. Conventional search is an option, but often a poor one if what the firm is searching for is not sufficiently homogeneous to have an informative price. An alternative is to engage a network intermediary, that is, an agent who sells access to and use of his network, typically for a commission on the value of the transactions realized. These intermediaries go by the names agent, broker, trader and others, but not all actors so labelled should be considered network intermediaries. Network intermediaries are distinguished by what (Rhee and Soulier 1989: 25) call their "deep knowledge" of the capabilities and preferences of the sellers or buyers in their network. This point of view is confirming that the intermediary agents are worldwide and that these intermediaries are not only used to solve language barrier related problems but as people who have a mastery of the goods or products and where demands are very high. In Cameroon, the intermediary agents are people who know or have some connections with the various traders in the various markets. They position themselves at the various entrances of the markets persuading customers to go and buy from particular shops maybe where they have percentages over the goods and services that they brought or directed the buyers. Most of these intermediary agents prefer to negotiate the prices of the goods and services with the owners and then task the customers with prices relatively higher than the actual prices with the intentions to have their own share from the profits. The traders need the services of these intermediaries and the

intermediary agents also need the traders since they (the intermediary agents) are not businessmen or women.

Cultural and Economic Distances

It has long been recognized that bilateral trade patterns are well described empirically by the so-called gravity equation, which relates trade between two countries positively to both of their incomes and negatively to the distance between them (Deardorff 1998). Here, the author is presenting the advantages or benefits enjoyed between two trading countries especially when they are closed to each other. The author further argues that the further apart the trading countries are, the less beneficial they turn to have from their trade. This holds true for the less developed countries (African countries) that trade with far off developed countries and the less developed turn to be having only some little benefits or profits from the trade agreements while the developed countries are getting the lion's share of the profits. Transnational networks have primarily been studied as means of overcoming informal trade barriers; much of the research on the impact of domestic networks on international trade has been motivated by the perception that they constitute informal trade barriers in themselves, with network members colluding to increase their market power by restricting foreign competition. There is also a new line of work that investigates the effect of domestic networks on the composition of international trade (Rauch 2001).

The weight of exporters' supply has increased relative to importers' demand in explaining the long-run strong performance of global exports. The deterrent effect of economic and cultural distance on international trade increased until the early- to mid-1970s, at which point it began to decline. The openness variable devised by Sachs and Warner [1985], and shown by them to be associated with faster economic growth, is indeed associated with greater imports as well, with increasing intensity over time. Lower tariffs and export taxes are also associated with greater imports, while the effect of free trade groupings is more complex. The use of absolute price comparisons in the gravity equation is not particularly fruitful and yields counterintuitive results (Boisso and Ferrantino 1997). In some bygone decades, economic and cultural distances were serious impediments to international trade but with the development in technology, the world has become a global village where economic and cultural distances have well been taken care of. The problem persists in countries or societies that are not opened to trade (international trade).

Globalization and International Trade

Jean-Paul Rodrigue in his globalization and International trade (1998) says; no nation is self-sufficient. Each is involved at different levels in trade to sell what it produces, to acquire what it lacks and also to produce more efficiently in some economic sectors than its trade partners.

International Trade is the exchange of goods or services across national jurisdictions. Inbound trade is defined as imports and outbound trade is defined as exports. Trade promotes economic efficiency by providing a wider variety of goods, often at lower costs, notably because of specialization, economies of scale and the related comparative advantages. The **globalization of production** is concomitant to the **globalization of trade** as one cannot function without the other. Even if international trade (or long distance trade since there were no nations in the modern sense) has taken place centuries, as ancient trade routes such as the Silk Road can testify, trade occurred at an ever increasing scale over the last 600 years to play an even more active part in the economic life of nations and regions. This process has been facilitated by significant technical changes in the transport sector. The **scale, volume** and **efficiency** of international trade have all continued to increase since the 1970s. As such, space / time convergence was an ongoing process that implied a more extensive market coverage that could be accessed with a lower amount of time. It has become increasingly possible to trade between parts of the world that previously had limited access to international transportation systems. Further, the division and the fragmentation of production that went along with these processes also expanded trade. Trade thus contributes to lower manufacturing costs. Without international trade, few nations could maintain an adequate standard of living, particularly those of smaller size. With only domestic resources being available, each country could only produce a limited number of products and shortages would be prevalent. Global trade allows for an enormous variety of resources – from Persian Gulf oil, Brazilian coffee to Chinese labour – to be made more widely accessible. It also facilitates the distribution of a wide range of manufactured goods that are produced in different parts of the world to global markets. Wealth becomes increasingly derived through the regional specialization of economic activities. This way, production costs are lowered, productivity rises and surpluses are generated, which can be transferred or traded for commodities that would be too expensive to produce domestically or would simply not be available. As a result, international trade decreases the overall costs of production worldwide. Consumers can buy more goods from the wages they earn, and standards of living should, in theory, increase. International trade demonstrates the extent of globalization with increased spatial interdependencies between elements of the global economy and their level of integration. These interdependencies imply numerous relationships where flows of

capital, goods, raw materials and services are established between regions of the world. International trade is also subject to much contention since it can at time be a disruptive economic and social force as it changes the conditions in which wealth is distributed within a national economy, particularly due to changes in prices and wages. One particular challenge concerns the substitution of labour and capital. While in a simple economy labour and capital (infrastructures) can be reconverted to other uses, in complex economies labour and capital cannot be easily reallocated. Therefore, trade can at the same time lead to more goods being available at a lower price, but with enduring unemployment and decaying infrastructures (unused factories). The Setting of the Contemporary Global Trade System International trade, both in terms of value and tonnage, has been a growing trend in the global economy. It is important to underline when looking at the structure of global trade that it is not nations that are trading, but mostly corporations with the end products consumed in majority by individuals. The nation is simply a regulatory unit where data is collected since freight movements crossing boundaries are subject to customs oversight and tabulated as trade flows. Inter and intra corporate trade is taking place across national jurisdictions is accounted as international trade.

Production of goods and services

People all over the world rely on modes of production, distribution, and consumption in order to provide food and other commodities necessary in life. These modes differ based on cultural perceptions in the ways that humans relate to and make use of the natural environment, how humans relate to each other, how the institutions of society and federal states cause change, and how ideas impact the ways in which these relationships are conveyed. Production is the transformation of nature's raw materials into a form more suitable for human use. An example of a mode of production is the cultivation of wheat plants and the processing of the wheat grown in a field into flour to make bread. What makes it so is the conversion of the wheat into a form that humans can use for sustenance (that is flour for bread). All of the factors involved in the conversion of the plant into a form useful to humans, including the entire agricultural process, are considered to be factors of production (Paul 2009).

Consumption of goods and services

Consumption is defined as the use of material goods necessary for human survival- for example by eating food or wearing clothing. (Paul 2009) argued that most anthropologists agree on the fact that consumption is the third subdivided phase of economic activity, the first two being production and distribution. It has been suggested that the priorities of consumption determine the production and exchange patterns, not the other way round. Consumption is a main concept of economics, and gives rise to derived concepts such as consumer debt. It is generally thought that consumption originated before production. But the precise definition can vary because different schools of economists define production quite differently. Consumption is only considered to be the end use of a product.

Inward and Outward Economies (strategies)

Inward looking strategies (economies) were typical of the general approach to development which dominated thinking after the Second World War. This approach is interventionist and protectionist and guided policy in many African and South American countries. Some countries in the other continents are still practicing it. The general economic strategy was referred to as “import substitution which meant encouraging the development of domestic industry under cover of protective barriers such as tariffs and quota. The industries targeted were those that provided the largest quantity of imports (Economicsonline 2016). Inward oriented strategies include import substitution. This means that the basic strategy is to implement barriers to imports, such as tariffs. The definition of an inward oriented strategy is that it is a strategy that encourages the domestic production of goods, rather than importing them. It should mean that industries producing the goods domestically should grow, as will the economy, and they then should be competitive on world markets in the future. The strategies encourage protectionism. Inward oriented strategies also encourage domestic producers with subsidies (Balassa1983).

Outward looking strategy (economies), such as promoting tourism is seen as a more modern approach to development, and one that relies less on government intervention. A number of important global events forced many developing countries to become outward looking including a rising development gap between countries adopting inward and outward looking policies. In addition, the collapse of communism, created an opportunity to adopt more outward looking policies. Those that adopted them including India and China, clearly benefitted from increasingly outward looking policies in terms of growth rates and reduced poverty (Economicsonline 2016). Outward oriented growth strategies are used when a developing

country aims and export markets which involve focusing on industrialization and opening the economy by moving towards a somewhat more free trade and free capital flows from abroad. An outward oriented strategy can be defined as a strategy based on openness and increased international trade. Growth is achieved by concentrating on increasing exports and export revenue, as a leading factor in the aggregate demand (AD) of the economy. Growth in the international market should be translated into growth in the domestic market over time. Countries that have applied the use of outward oriented strategies include Malaysia, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Characteristics of outward oriented strategies include that they decrease trade barriers for increased trade, and capital markets are opened and regulations on capital flows are relaxed. Countries that use outward oriented strategies also focus on comparative advantage. It produces the products in which it has a comparative advantage (Balassa 1983).

2.3. Theoretical framework

All scientific works require scientific channels that will help to render the work or study meaningful with concrete forms and structures. Considering the fact that the theoretical framework will strengthen our work in several ways, we are going to make explicit statements of theoretical assumptions that will enable us to critically examine all the aspects related to this study. In the same vein, we will highlight facts about the theoretical framework and how it connects us to existing knowledge. While acknowledging that we are guided by relevant theories, we would have a basis for our hypotheses and choice of research methods. In articulating the theoretical assumptions of our research study, we are going to address questions of “*why*” and “*how*”. These will permit us to move from simply describing a phenomenon observed to generalizing about various aspects of that phenomenon. In doing all of these we would have projected the fact that having a theory helps to identify the limits to those generalizations. Therefore, a theoretical framework specifies which key variables influence a phenomenon of interest.

This work is situated in the field of economic anthropology. Economic anthropology studies the measures put in place by human societies to ensure the production, exchange or distribution of goods and services to the potential consumers and the reproduction of these goods as a group. Economic anthropology is a scholarly field that attempts to explain human economic behaviour in its widest historic, geographic and cultural scope. It is practiced by anthropologists and has a complex relationship with the discipline of economics, of which it is

highly critical. Economic anthropology is one of the social sciences that study economy or economic systems. An economy or economic system consists of the production, distribution or trade, and consumption of goods and services by different agents in a given geographical location. The economic agents can be individuals, businesses, organizations, or governments. Transactions occur when two parties agree to the value or price of the transacted good or service, commonly expressed in a certain currency.

Two theories shall be used in this study. They include; the Anthropology of marketing by Brian Moeran and Stone Age Economics by Marshall Sahlins. Summary of concepts retained from the authors and explain our problematic in function to the theoretical perspectives adopted from the theories or concepts retained.

2.3.1 Anthropology of marketing

From the anthropology of marketing, we are interested with the notions of reciprocity and the exchange of goods and services which are the supporting foundations of markets. Brian Moeran (1993) points out that there is more than one kind of market and that these markets like the free market beloved by economists are all socio-cultural constructions. We have conventional or standard places or venues where people meet; exchange goods and services (buy and sell). These conventional places (markets) also serve as social centres where people meet or gather to socialize, settle disputes, contract marriages and even for political rallies. He talks of the markets such as hackers who move from place to place selling goods and services, the type of market practiced between customers, friends and relatives who can meet at any place and exchange goods and services. He further said that the relationship that exists between these individuals goes beyond the mere exchange of goods and services to include trust, credit, charity and others.

Marshall Sahlins' Stone Age Economics

We identified three types of reciprocities in this work and they include; gift or generalized reciprocity, balanced or Symmetrical reciprocity and market or negative reciprocity. **Gift or generalized reciprocity** is the exchange of goods and services without keeping track of their exact value, but often with the expectation that their value will balance out over time. **Balanced**

or Symmetrical reciprocity occurs when someone gives to someone else, expecting a fair and tangible return - at a specified amount, time, and place. **Market or Negative reciprocity** is the exchange of goods and services whereby each party intends to profit from the exchange, often at the expense of the other. Gift economies, or generalized reciprocity, occur within closely knit kin groups, and the more distant the exchange partner, the more balanced or negative the exchange becomes.

2.2. Explain our problematic in function to the theoretical perspectives adopted from the theories or concepts retained.

From our problematic, it has been proven by economists that international trade can booster growth and development. This can be achieved if there is more or greater export than imports. Many Asian countries are employing this method of more export and less importations. It is thus necessary for us to find out how the trade cooperation between Cameroon and Asia can promote the socio-economic development of Cameroon. Brian Moeran's anthropology of marketing is very much interested with reciprocity and the exchange of goods and services, ideas and the transfer of technology. We will be looking at the various reciprocal activities, exchange of ideas, technologies, goods and services between Cameroon and China following their trade cooperation. We intend to find out if the Cameroon-China business cooperation is the type described by Marshall Sahlins as market or negative reciprocity, which is the exchange of goods and services whereby each party intends to profit from the exchange, often at the expense of the other. After analysing these observations, our proposal can either be for the Cameroon government to apply the protectionists' idea to protect its companies and industries from competing Asian companies or to continue with the free market exchange system where Cameroon stands out to be the loser.

Our present problematic; to find out how the trade cooperation between Cameroon and Asia can promote the socio-economic development of Cameroon and how the mutual influence between Cameroonian and Asian traders affects the consumption behaviours of the indigenous Cameroonian population shall be applied from a different perspective compared to the one earlier used by (Tezi 2011:8). Where he writes « il a été démontré que les migrants peuvent être des vecteurs du développement d'un pays. Si certains pays du Monde ont incorporé les migrants dans leur politique du développement, on se demande comment les migrants et commerçants Camerounais de Doubaï contribuent au développement du pays » Deli Tize's problematic was to find out how Cameroonian migrants and traders who are based in Dubaï can contribute to the Development of Cameroon. On our part, we are problematizing from a slightly different

perspective, which is Cameroonian traders based in Cameroon who deal on the Cameroon-Asia business line and Asian traders based in Cameroon selling the same goods or products made in Asia. We are equally problematizing on why the traders go to each other's country?

2.3. Construction of Hypotheses from the concepts retained

The socio-cultural relationships between Cameroon and China are based on the mutual exchange of goods and services, ideas and the transfer of technology.

The influx of Asians in Cameroon and their products such as building and construction materials, electronics, dresses and a number of Asian languages among others are examples of the market or negative reciprocity expressed by Marshall Sahlins.

The acceptance or adoption of the free market exchange system makes Cameroonian citizens to perceive the Asians presence in their country with mixed feelings because the Chinese are gaining or making more profits than the Cameroonian traders.

The protectionists' concept is good for the survival of Cameroonian firms and companies to a certain extent if the Cameroonian government intends to develop its productive forces.

2.4. Explication (operationalization of concepts)

Reciprocity is the relationship involving mutual exchange; that is the relationship between people involved in the exchange of goods, services, favours or obligations, especially a mutual exchange of privileges between trading nations. This type of reciprocity can be termed positive reciprocity as no partner in the deal or trading nations cheats the other. Negative reciprocity sets in when each party intends to profit from the exchange, often at the expense of the other. Some Cameroonian traders were complaining of being cheated by some of their Asian counterparts. That is, they pay money for a particular good or product and are served with a different good or product. All these fall under negative reciprocity.

The protectionists' concept or point of view is the fact that in the trade cooperation between two or more countries, each country should protect its national firms, companies or industries from competition with foreign firms, companies or industries. In the Cameroon-Asia business cooperation, the Cameroon government should do all it can to protect Cameroonian firms, companies or industries from competition with the Asians. These protectionists' believe

that due to the competition from foreign companies, national or local companies are losing out in these competitions and causing many societal ills. In Cameroon for example, many companies are losing out to competition to the Asian companies whose market strategies are to reduce the prices of goods and services as much as possible to attract customers. The Cameroonian companies cannot cope with these market strategies due to the cost of production following the quality of the goods they produce. The Chinese can survive due to low qualities of their goods and services. As a result of this competition, Cameroonian cultures of production/transformation, distribution and consumption behaviours are fast losing grounds or gradually disappearing.

The free market exchange supporters believe that each country in any business cooperation should be specialized in the production of goods and services whose cost of production are cheaper and then import the goods and services that are very costly to produce. They argued that if international trade is done in this direction, all the partners involved in the trade will not suffer any trade imbalance. In the relationship between concepts, we can clearly see that both reciprocity and exchange mean the interchanging of goods and services. Reciprocity is giving in return for something else or done in response to what has been done a long time ago whereas exchange has to do with a medium of exchange, usually a currency with equivalent standard. Exchange is done within the shortest time possible, as soon as the first partner gives the second responds immediately without the waste of time. Exchange can be done with known or unknown individuals in a conventional venue known as the market while reciprocity is usually done between kin groups and to a larger extent between friends.

From our data collected on the field, the Cameroonian government and some business magnets are offering most of their contracts to the Asians in response to the construction of some developmental infrastructures in Cameroon by the Asians such as the Yaounde Conference Centre, Sports Complex in Yaounde, classrooms, Hospitals and many others. More than 90% of all the household consumptions in Cameroon now are from Asia. It is worth mentioning that even the goods and services imported from Nigeria and some African countries are from Asia. All these go a long way to mastermind the Cameroonian cultural productions, innovations and inventions. According to the data collected from the field, the networks and cooperation's between Cameroon and Asia are not limited to the exchange of goods and services but extends to the exchange of some socio-cultural values such as dressing, language, ideas and the transfer of technology just to name a few. All, if not most of the Asian countries have adopted and adapted the outward economic growth strategy, which has helped them to withstand

competition from foreign companies worldwide. As such, they do not need the protectionists' theory to enhance the growth of their companies or industries. The Asians have even gone further than expected and have set up industries in Cameroon and all the other African countries such that the competition between the Asian and Cameroonian companies begin right here in Cameroon, Central African sub region and the African continent as a whole.

2.5. Definition of Concepts

A concept is a broad abstract idea, opinion or a guiding general principle that determines how a person or culture behaves, how nature, reality or events are perceived. All through this definition of concepts, we shall be providing the full meanings of the concepts and how they are being employed or their meanings in this thesis.

Bilateral: Involving two groups or carried out by two countries, especially the political representatives of two countries. In this research we are making references to the bilateral relations between Africa and Asia and between Cameroon and China.

Consumption : The act of using energy, food or material; literally used in this work to mean the act of buying and using goods (food and or products) and services produced in Africa or Asia and any other place in the universe.

Cooperation: The act of working or acting together to achieve a common aim. Help provided to one another so as to attain some guideline objectives. Africa working in partnership with Asia or Cameroon working in partnership with China.

Distribution: The act of giving or delivering something to a number of people, give food to a large number of people. The transportation of goods (food or materials) and services from their production sites to where they can be transformed and or consumed. Summarily distribution is the transportation of goods and services between Cameroon and Asia (we mean the movement of goods and services either from Cameroon to Asia or vice versa).

Contribution : Used in this work to express a set of ideas, opinions, suggestions, actions or services that help to solve a problem and cause or increase something.

Cooperation: A situation in which people come together to do something. The actions of someone who is being helpful by doing what is wanted or asked for.

Culture : Defined and used here following E.B Taylor's definition as that complex whole which includes knowledge belief, art, law, morals, customs and any other capabilities

acquired by man as a member of society. Another definition of culture applied in the work is the one put forth by Mason Carpenter and Sangjyot Dunung as the collective programming of our minds from birth.

Development : Applied in this thesis according to UNESCO's standard or definition; that is the Comprehensive and Multidimensional process which extends beyond mere economic growth to incorporate all dimensions of life and all the energies of a community, all of whose members are called upon to make a contribution and can expect to share in the benefits.

Economics: refers to the study of how humans make a living from their social and natural environment. And that a society's livelihood strategy is seen as an adaptation to its environment and material conditions. Economics is simply the way members of a society meet their material needs. In this light Africans in general usually turn to China for most of the finished goods which they cannot manufacture while the Chinese are turning to Africa for their raw materials.

Economic anthropology: Economic anthropology is a field that seeks to explain human economic behaviour in its widest historic, geographic and cultural scope. It is practiced by anthropologists and has a complex relationship with the discipline of economics, of which it is highly critical.

Environment: By environment, we mean all the components that make up this term; that is the natural world in which people, animals and plants live (the physical environment), the health, social, cultural, economic, political and the mental or psychological environments put together.

Globalization: Covering or affecting the whole world; considering or including all parts of something. The fact that different cultures and economic systems around the world are becoming connected and similar to each other due to the influence of large multinational companies and of improved or advanced development in information and communication technologies.

Innovation: The act or process of introducing or creating something new following an existing process or idea.

Invention: A thing that somebody has created especially a device or a process. The act of creating something new.

Medium of Exchange: A medium of exchange is an intermediary used in trade to avoid the inconveniences of a pure barter system. A medium of exchange permits the value of goods and services to be assessed and rendered in terms of the intermediary, most often, a form of money widely accepted to buy any other good and service.

Migration: The movement of people into or out of a given area or place.

Mixed feelings: Feelings of being happy and unhappy, contented and not being contented, appreciative and unappreciative of something or the presence of somebody.

Network: A group of people or organizations that are closely connected and that work with each other.

Norms: Standards of behaviour that is typical of or accepted within a particular group or society. Adjust something so that it is of the required standard, to establish a required standard for something.

Poverty: State of being poor, disadvantaged, needy/lacking something, impoverished, deprived and hard up. It is also used in this text to describe the state of not being able to provide one's basic needs such as health, shelter, foodstuffs and communication amongst others.

Poverty alleviation: Make something (poverty) less severe or painful; a number of measures taken to stop or reduce suffering either by proposing solutions or by the application of the lessons and experiences gathered from other places or areas.

Production: The process of growing or making foodstuffs, materials, goods and services in small, big or large quantities.

Socio-cultural manifestations: Happy and sad events (actions) that take place as a sign of relationship between society and culture: such as marriages, enthronements, annual dances, funerals and death celebrations just to name these ones.

Strategy: A careful plan or method for achieving a particular goal, usually over a long period of time. The skill of making or carrying out plans to achieve planned or desired goals.

Sustainable Development: Defined and supported in this work following (Muschett 1997)'s view that from the perspective of developing countries, the essence of sustainable development is to promote the development which reduces the disparities in life styles and global consumption, improves and maintains a healthful local environment, then and only then, contribute towards solving critical global environmental management of the global "commons" such as global climate change, oceans, fisheries and forests. The development of live and let others live after you.

Trade: The activity or process of buying, selling, or exchanging goods and services. The amount of things or services bought and sold. The money made by buying and selling things or services. The act of exchanging one thing for another.

Trait: A particular quality or character of a particular culture or society.

Transformation: A complete change or conversion of something, especially the conversion of raw foods, materials into a finished or semi-finished stage for it to last longer such as cassava into flour and many more.

Values: How much something is worth compared to be good/excellent, bad/poor. Cultural values; those qualities that are considered to be the best or excellent in a particular culture/society.

Win-win: A type of bilateral and or trade cooperation where both or all parties benefit from the relation. Everybody gains or benefits from the profits that are made from the trade agreements.

Conclusion

This chapter has permitted us to have an in-depth or detailed literature review of some prominent authors who have written on economic anthropology, the Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation in particular, China-Africa trade networks as a whole and above all the Africa-Asia business line. The reviews were done from the themes that emerged from the work and not following some particular authors. Many people have written on the Africa-Asia trade cooperation, while others have written on the Cameroon-China bilateral and trade cooperation from different perspectives. We on our part, we had to work on the Africa-Asia bilateral and trade network from an Anthropological perspective (being holistic thereby touching almost all the angles of the cooperation; from the political through economic, social, cultural and psychological dimensions).

We did not limit our study on the Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation but extended to other Asian countries such as India, Japan and South Korea on two grounds; one being the reason that most of our informants, that is the Cameroonian traders who go to Asia do not end in China but go to these countries cited above to vary or diversify the quality of their goods and services. The second being the fact that these three Asian countries (India, Japan and

South Korea) are very much involved in trade and infrastructural projects that are very visible in Cameroon.

We equally presented our theoretical framework (anthropological and economic theories) and how the theories have been applied in the work from data collection through analysis to data interpretation. The Anthropological theories used in this work helped us to remain focused or guided in the field of anthropology because the topic of research is a multidisciplinary one and so needed a lot refocusing on my anthropological background.

The economic aspect the research topic was very important and to do that, it needed that we employ the services of economic theories. When you talk of international trade, you are talking of imports and exports. The issue of imports and exports requires a high degree of rules and regulations for traders who export and import goods and services. This involves the rule regarding free market exchange systems and those concerning the exportation and importation of restricted goods and services. In Cameroon, there are some goods and services that have forbidden by the government to leave or enter the country hence it is up to the traders find out about such goods and services.

CHAPTER 3
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN
CAMEROON AND ASIA

3.1 Introduction

Cameroon has created and maintains international relations or bilateral cooperation with many Asian countries but in this work as a whole and this chapter in particular, we shall be focusing our attentions on some four Asian countries. This is justified by the fact that; their presence and activities in Cameroon are quite visible and outstanding. In this view, we

be talking of countries such as China, India, Japan and South Korea. This shall be done under three sub topics; generalized reciprocity, balanced reciprocity and negative reciprocity.

Before getting into the discussions proper in this chapter, it is thus necessary to talk about reciprocity as well elaborated by (Sahlins 1972). This will enable the potential readers to understand all the three forms of reciprocity in relation to the Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation. The classification thus in hand, one might proceed to correlate subtypes of reciprocity with diverse "variables" such as kinship distance of parties to the transaction.

The spectrum of reciprocities proposed for general use is defined by its extremes and mid-point:

3.2. Generalized reciprocity, the solidary extreme

Price refers to the genre as "weak reciprocity" by reason of the vagueness of the obligation to reciprocate.

Generalized reciprocity" refers to transactions that are putatively altruistic, transactions on the line of assistance given and, if possible and necessary, assistance returned. The ideal type is Malinowski's "pure gift." Other indicative ethnographic formulas are "sharing," "hospitality," "free gift," "help," and "generosity." Less sociable, but tending toward the same pole are "kinship dues," "chiefly dues," and "noblesse oblige." (Price 1962: 30).

At the extreme, say voluntary food-sharing among near kinsmen or for its logical value, one might think of the suckling of children in this context-the expectation of a direct material return is unseemly. At best it is implicit. The material side of the transaction is repressed by the social: reckoning of debts outstanding cannot be overt and is typically left out of account. This is not to say that handing over things in such form, even to "loved ones," generates no counter obligation.

But the counter is not stipulated by time, quantity, or quality: the expectation of reciprocity is indefinite. It usually works out that the time and worth of reciprocation are not alone conditional on what was given by the donor, but also upon what he will need and when, and likewise what the recipient can afford and when. Receiving goods lays on a diffuse obligation to reciprocate when necessary to the donor and/or possible for the recipient. The requital thus may be very soon, but then again it may be never. There are people who even in the fullness of time are incapable of helping themselves or others. A good pragmatic indication of generalized reciprocity is a sustained one-way flow. Failure to reciprocate does not cause the giver of stuff to stop giving: the goods move one way, in favour of the have-not, for a very long period.

3.2.1. Balanced reciprocity, the midpoint

"Balanced reciprocity" refers to direct exchange. In precise balance, the reciprocation is the customary equivalent of the thing received and is without delay. Perfectly balanced reciprocity, the simultaneous exchange of the same types of goods to the same amounts, is not only conceivable but ethnographically attested in certain marital transactions. "Balanced reciprocity" may be more loosely applied to transactions which stipulate returns of commensurate worth or utility within a finite and narrow period. Much "gift-exchange," many "payments," much that goes under the ethnographic head of "trade" and plenty that is called "buying-selling" and involves "primitive money" belong in the genre of balanced reciprocity. Balanced reciprocity is less "personal" than generalized reciprocity (Sahlins 1972).

From our own vantage-point it is "more economic." The parties confront each other as distinct economic and social interests. The material side of the transaction is at least as critical as the social: there is more or less precise reckoning, as the things given must be covered within some short term. So the pragmatic test of balanced reciprocity becomes an inability to tolerate one-way flows; the relations between people are disrupted by a failure to reciprocate within limited time and equivalence leeway's. It is notable of the main run of generalized reciprocities that the material flow is sustained by prevailing social relations; whereas, for the main run of balanced exchange, social relations hinge on the material flow.

3.2.2. Negative reciprocity, the unsociable extreme

"Negative reciprocity" is the attempt to get something for nothing with impunity, the several forms of appropriation, transactions opened and conducted toward net utilitarian advantage. Indicative ethnographic terms include "haggling" or "barter," "gambling," "chicanery," "theft," and other varieties of seizure. Negative reciprocity is the most impersonal sort of exchange. In guises such as "barter" it is from our own point of view the "most economic." The participants confront each other as opposed interests, each looking to maximize utility at the other's expense. Approaching the transaction with an eye singular to the main chance, the aim of the opening party, or of both parties, is the unearned increment. One of the most sociable forms, leaning toward balance, is haggling conducted in the spirit of "what the traffic will bear." From this, negative reciprocity 'ranges through various degrees of cunning, guile, stealth, and violence to the finesse of a well-conducted horse raid. The "reciprocity" is, of course, conditional again, a matter of defence of self-interest. So the flow may be one-way once more, reciprocation contingent upon mustering countervailing pressure or guile (Sahlins 1972).

3.2. Generalized Reciprocity between Cameroon and China, India, Japan and South Korea

Generalized reciprocity in economic anthropology refers to all the gestures and actions made or done in response to an earlier one put up by one of the partners involved in the cooperation or friendly ties. The act or gesture might not necessarily be the same or similar in value and quantity to the one earlier put up by the other partner but can be in any other form. In other words we can say that generalized reciprocity can be equated with the old system of exchange known as “trade by barter” where producers and or traders exchange what they have with what they desire to have or cannot produce.

3.2.1 Generalized Reciprocity between Cameroon and China

China has for a long time invested much political and financial capital in Cameroon. After the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries in 1971, the relationship has been dominated by the completion by Beijing of a handful of symbolic but visible projects and the regular exchange of delegations. As with many Sino-African economic partnerships, the Sino-Cameroonian one took off in the late 1990s and in the early 2000s. Today, China is one of Cameroon’s key partners in both trade and development and particularly, infrastructure projects (Cabestan 2015).

A series of events have taken place in the Sino-Cameroon cooperation with both countries making relentless efforts to see that the bilateral cooperation between the two countries come in to fruition. From 1971 to 1997, Sino-Cameroonian relations were mainly driven by Beijing’s willingness to increase the number of its diplomatic allies and showcase its solidarity with the ‘third world’ and, to a lesser extent, Yaounde’s non-alignment policy and hopes to loosen France’s dominating influence on Cameroon’s economy and foreign affairs. As with many other African countries, Cameroon’s relations with China were initially politically significant but economically marginal. Taking advantage of the Sino-Western rapprochement, Ahidjo visited China and met Mao Zedong in 1973: he was the first African president to travel to this country after the most chaotic part of the Cultural Revolution. Four years later, he paid another visit to China and met Hua Guofeng, Mao’s first successor. In the following years several visible and symbolic infrastructural projects were launched in Cameroon, including the construction of a new Presidential Palace (Unity Palace) and a National Conference Hall (Palais des Congrès) in Yaounde (inaugurated in 1977 and 1985, respectively). Additionally, a large hydroelectric project, the Lagdo dam in the north of the country, was financed with a \$75 million Chinese loan (completed in 1982). In 1972, the first trade agreement was signed

(followed by a second signed in 2002), and in 1984, a cultural cooperation accord was concluded. In the same period of time, Beijing launched a medical assistance programme, turning Cameroon into a window for the rest of the continent. As early as 1975, it started to send Chinese medical teams and it offered to build two hospitals equipped with Chinese doctors, one in Mbalmayo, south of Yaounde (which opened in 1975), and the other one in Guider, in the Northern Region (1976). This led to a very close partnership in the fight against malaria that took off not long after.

Despite these actions, for China, Cameroon was apparently not a priority. A limited number of Chinese high-level delegations went to the country in the first 25 years after normalization, the first one led by Vice-Premier Ms Chen Muhua in 1978 and the second one by State Councillor Zhang Jingfu in 1986. It was only in 1993 that China's Foreign Minister, then Qian Qichen, also State Councillor, visited Cameroon, and followed two years later by Vice-Premier Li Lanqing. The relationship started to gain significance after Premier Li Peng's visit in 1997 when a politically significant agreement for the reciprocal protection and promotion of investments was signed, highlighting Beijing's intention to do more in Cameroon, and in Africa. However, the turning point in the Sino-Cameroon relations was the first Forum on China–Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) held in Beijing in 2000. Since that summit, bilateral trade and economic cooperation projects have rapidly increased and China's presence in this country has substantially deepened and diversified. In the same year, a China Trade Promotion Centre was created in Douala and, in 2002, Premier Zhu Rongji visited Cameroon and signed an ambitious 'agreement for economic and commercial cooperation', a framework accord 'specifying Chinese willingness to offer grants and loans to Cameroon as well as giving orientations to boost commercial exchanges'. In 2006, Cameroon was granted Approved Destination Status for Chinese tourism and, a year later, Hu Jintao became the first Chinese president to visit this country. During this visit, eight agreements were signed worth \$129 million, increasing technical and economic cooperation and including the construction of a gynaecological, obstetric and paediatric hospital in Douala as well as two primary schools. In return, according to some sources, China was able to secure its participation in the Cameroonian oil sector. In 2010, China Political People's Consultative Conference Chairman Jia Qinglin led a parliamentary delegation that allowed the signature of an additional eight cooperation agreements, including a 3.2 billion CFA (\$6.4 million) grant and an interest-free loan of the same amount. The following year, two other Chinese vice-premiers visited Cameroon: Hui Liangyu, in charge of agriculture, and Liu Yandong, responsible for education.

On the Cameroonian side, 2000 is also perceived as a turning point. From the beginning, Yaounde played a very active role in the FOCAC, using this forum as a platform for promoting Cameroon's role in Sino-African relations as well as a closer bilateral partnership with Beijing. Biya has been a frequent visitor to China, having travelled five times to this country since 1982 when he gained office, including on three occasions since 2000 (2003, 2006 and 2011). His state visit to Beijing in July 2011 underscored the importance that he has vested in this relationship, which Biya described as 'exemplary' and, as a result, 'a model for the rest of the continent'. Praising China's 'crucial support' for Cameroon's economic development, Biya indicated that 'Chinese projects have a direct impact on the improvement of the socioeconomic conditions of our population and are highly appreciated by a large majority of the Cameroonian people', adding that 'China is among the most steadfast and faithful partners of our country'. The vice president of EXIM Bank China paid an official visit to Cameroon in March 2006, and Paul Biya again visited China in November 2006 to participate in the second China-Africa Forum. Cooperation between Cameroon and China was crowned by the first ever visit to Cameroon by a Chinese President (Hu Jintao) in January 2007. Cameroonian Presidents have however paid six official visits to China over the 36 years of diplomatic ties Cameroon Tribune, (30 January 2007). Cameroon and China have signed several agreements in the domain of economic and technical cooperation. Most of these agreements define the modalities of Chinese concessional lending to Cameroon, but others concern cultural, technical and also diplomatic relations. Among these agreements we have: Agreement for the reciprocal protection and promotion of investments signed in 1997, Agreement for Economic and Commercial Cooperation signed in 2002, and several Agreements on Economic and Technical Cooperation (Aninpah and Menjo 2008).

Today, Cameroon's relationship with China is presented in Yaounde as 'strategic'. Chinese companies are involved in 70% of Cameroon's official 'structuring projects', which are the key development and particularly infrastructure projects launched since the end of the 2000s. Among them are; the Memve'ele Dam in the South region, expected to be operational by June 2017; the Lom Pangar Dam north of Bertoua, due to be completed in 2016; the Mekin hydroelectric power plant, expected to be operational in 2016; Douala's two-phase water projects (2014); the construction of 1500 low-income houses in Yaounde (2014); the Yaounde-Douala Highway (2017); and the Kribi deep-water port (2014). In addition, 90% of the road construction or restoration projects have been won and carried out by Chinese companies. As a result, China has become Cameroon's main external creditor (Cabestan 2015).

This close economic partnership could not have been possible if it had not been supported by a strong political will on the Cameroonian side. Of course, mutual economic needs and interests have been key drivers of this new privileged partnership. China needs Cameroon's natural resources and raw materials (oil, cotton, timber and iron) and the latter needs the former's rapidly built and easily financed infrastructure.

3.2.2. Generalized Reciprocity between Cameroon and India

Relations between Cameroon and India have been friendly and cordial. The Cameroonian leaders appreciate India's contributions to Africa, its secular democracy and economic progress and the leadership it provided to the Non- Aligned Movement. Cameroon actively supported Indian candidature for the Commonwealth Secretary General. The High Commissioner in Abuja right up to September 2019 was concurrently accredited to Cameroon, but as of the end of September 2019, India has permanent resident Consulate in Cameroon indicating the good bilateral or friendly cooperation that exist between Cameroon and India.

The importance attached to the bilateral relations by the two governments has witnessed many high-level visits between the two countries. Cameroonian President Paul Biya visited India in March 1983 to attend NAM Summit, the Cameroon Prime Minister Mr. Philemon Yang accompanied by seven Ministers and a large business delegation visited India in March 2013 to attend CII-EXIM Bank Conclave on Africa. Defence Minister Mr. Edger Alain Mebe Ngo'o had visited India in March 2012 to attend DefExpo India 2012 held in New Delhi. In addition to these visits, there have been several Ministerial and official level visits to India. From Indian side, MOS for External Affairs visited Cameroon in April 1990. EAM met with Cameroonian Foreign Minister in New York in September 2002. In June 2008, MOS (AS) met Cameroonian Foreign Minister at AU Summit in Sham Al Sheikh, Egypt. A 60-member Indian Parliamentary delegation comprising of MPs, MLAs including Speakers of a few States Assemblies visited Cameroon to attend the 60th Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference (CPC) in Yaounde, Cameroon from October 2-10, 2014. Special Envoy to PM, Prof. Ram Shankar Katheria, MOS (HRD) visited Cameroon on July 15-17, 2015 to personally handover invitation letters from Honourable Prime Minister of India Shri Narendra Modi addressed to Cameroonian President Mr. Paul Biya to attend India-Africa Forum Summit-III scheduled to be held in New Delhi from October 26-30, 2015.

Potential commercial and trade relation areas for cooperation and investments are; oil and mining, telecom, fertilizers, oil and gas, agriculture and food processing, forestry, railways and Indian exports of consumer and light engineering goods. Bilateral trade has grown rapidly in recent years, even as its full potential is yet to be realised. India's trade with Cameroon during the period 2013-2014 is US\$527.82 million and this figure should be two or three times higher in the period 2017-2018 as more Indians are coming in to do business with Cameroon and vice versa as can be confirmed from the statement below extracted from the electronic website of the India's Consulate in Douala Cameroon that; *“There are 700-800 Indian expatriates in Cameroon, engaged mostly in trading and small business apart from some professionals.”* Some other domains of Cameroon- India bilateral cooperation shall be discussed in the balanced reciprocity between Cameroon and India.

3.2.3. Generalized Reciprocity between Cameroon and Japan

Japan has been for a very long time and is still a good friend of Cameroon following the numerous humanitarian aids it has been and continue to provide for Cameroon. We thought it wise to put all these humanitarian aids provided by the Japanese government to their Cameroonian counterparts under generalized reciprocity because it cannot be measured nor refunded in the same magnitude and value.

Picture 1: The inauguration of some classrooms constructed and equipped by the Japanese government and handed to the local population of Poumpoumré in the Northern Region of Cameroon



Source: Japanese Embassy Yaounde – Cameroon (2nd March 2015)

Schools, hospitals and other infrastructural projects realized in Cameroon by the Japanese government are dotted all over the national territory to confirm our affirmation that Japan is a very long time a good friend of Cameroon.

Picture 2: The Minister of Basic Education receiving the Symbolic key from the Japanese Ambassador to Cameroon.



Source: Japanese Embassy Yaounde – Cameroon (31st October 2014)

The picture above is on the occasion of handing over the school buildings constructed and equipped by the Japanese government in Bali, North West Region of Cameroon

Picture 3: Laying of the Foundation Stone of Phase five of some primary school construction funded by the Japanese government (Don Japonais) in Cameroon



Source: Japanese Embassy Yaounde – Cameroon (31st October 2014)

The inauguration ceremony for the project in Grassroots Human Security Grant Scheme for Japanese fiscal year 2011. The inauguration ceremony of “the Project for Rehabilitation, Extension and Improvement of the Tingoh Health Centre” took place in Bafut Subdivision, Northwest Region, in the presence of Mr. Tsutomu ARAI, Ambassador of Japan, Mrs. Tanda Mariana, the Program Coordinator of Mount Zion Foundation (NGO), the Divisional Officer of Bafut and the Mayor of the Bafut Council. In 2011, Mount Zion Foundation received a grant within the framework of assistance for Grassroots Human Security Grant projects of the Embassy of Japan. This enabled the NGO to rehabilitate a dilapidated building, to construct a five-wards building and to purchase laboratory equipment for the Tingoh Health Centre.

Picture 4: The inauguration ceremony of the Tingoh Health Centre in Bafut Subdivision North West Region of Cameroon.



Source: Japanese Embassy Yaounde – Cameroon (30th October 2014)

The Tingoh Health Centre constructed and equipped by the Japanese government and handed to the local population free of charge. We are not forgetting the official handover ceremony for the Emergency Assistance that was held on 26 November 2013 at the office of the Governor of the Far North region in Maroua, in the presence of the Governor of Far North region, Counsellor of Embassy of Japan, Kazuhiko FUJITA and Resident Representative of JAICA, Yujiro YABE. This emergency assistance composed of 100 tents, 500 mosquito nets and 250 hygiene kits were distributed to the victims who have suffered from the flood which occurred in the Far North region in late September 2013. Other inauguration ceremonies took place in the year 2011. They include;

Inauguration ceremonies for the three micro-projects that took place in the North and Far North regions in the presence of the Ambassador of Japan, Mr. Tsutomu ARAI. The titles of the projects and the date of inaugurations are as follows: 1) The Project for Installation of Ice Making Machine for Fishery Management Centre in Maga (21 November); 2) The Project for the Construction of Village Granaries for Grassroots Groups (22 November); and 4) The Project for Construction of Public Satellite School in Rey Bouba Village (23 November).

Picture 5: The inauguration ceremony of the Tingoh Health Centre



Source: Japanese Embassy Yaounde – Cameroon (30th October 2014)

It should be noted that Japan's aid is not limited to Cameroon alone but the entire African continent through the Tokyo International Development for Africa (TICAD V). Speaking on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the TICAD V conference that took place at the Yaounde Conference Centre from May 4th to 5th 2014, the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs His Excellency Mr. Fumio Kishida said;

Japan recently decided to extend the African Development Bank approximately 300 million dollars to assist Africa's private sector. Japan sincerely hopes that this assistance will help the private sector to further develop as the foundation for Africa's growth. Since the initiation of TICAD process, Japan has consistently maintained a principle of delivering its promises to Africa. Japan will continue to strongly support Africa's growth and steadily implement the assistance it has announced with the public and private sectors as one in cooperation with civil society.

Most of the Asian countries that offer humanitarian aids to Cameroon are mostly countries that are directly or indirectly benefitting from Cameroon's rich natural resources or have industries that are flourishing in Cameroon. Japan is an exception as Cameroon exports only timber and cocoa to Japan and imports automobiles from Japan. The generalized reciprocity that exists between Cameroon and Japan should be highly encouraged.

3.2.4 Generalized Reciprocity between Cameroon and South Korea

Cameroon had once been at the same state of political, economic, social and cultural development with the Republic of South Korea and they shared so many values during that

time. South Korea then underwent some political, economic, social and cultural reforms that propelled it to a developed nation. Having made friendship with Cameroon when it was still struggling to develop, South Korea then decided to remain a very good friend of Cameroon. South Korea has offered and continues to offer valuable gifts to Cameroon and is trying all it can to accompany Cameroon in its political, economic and cultural emergent plans. This can be seen in domains such as health, energy and infrastructural development as we shall see below.

The Republic of Cameroon and that of South Korea have reached a deal to protect their investments and considerably move it to higher heights for the mutual benefits of the two countries. Cameroon's Minister of the Economy, Planning and Regional Development, Emmanuel Nganou Djoumessi, and South Korea's Ambassador's to Cameroon, Cho June-Hyuck, on Tuesday December 24 2014 signed an agreement to protect and promote investments. This was in the presence of five other Cameroonian Ministers. By the agreement, Cameroon will benefit from enhanced cooperation in the area of development through the dispatch of more Korean experts and volunteers along with other forms of grants and aid as may be mutually agreed by the two parties. Efforts will also be stepped up to increase the number of South Korean investments in Cameroon and bring in the country's wealth of experience in development to bear on Cameroon. "Korean industries are looking forward to coming to Cameroon to establish good partnerships.

The agreement signifies a milestone in our bilateral relations. Cameroon's geopolitical position is very important in this part of the world. It has a good sea-shore, a good prospect for off-shore plant, a good potential for the exploitation of minerals and a good potential for energy infrastructure," Cho June-Hyuck said. The Korean diplomat said the conclusion of the agreement was testimony to Korea's commitment to supporting Cameroon in achieving sustainable economic development especially as it is set to implementing its lofty roadmap of becoming an emerging economy by 2035. *"Korea is a country that has known sustainable economic growth in a short space of time and we are willing and happy to share our experience with Cameroon so that it can also know economic development and experience prosperity"*, the Ambassador noted, (Bainkong 2014: 23).

The South Korean Ambassador to Cameroon on the 12th Of June 2014 assisted in a ceremony where the populations of some two communities in the South west region of Cameroon benefitted from some free medical consultations and treatment from a South Korean medical team. This gesture falls in line with the generalized reciprocity and bilateral

cooperation that exist between Cameroon and South Korea. This is further confirmed by (Mbonteh 2014: 23):

that the inhabitants of Isongo and Bakingili in the West Coast District of the South West Region, Thursday 12 June, could not conceal their joy and excitement over the free medical consultations and treatment for some diseases such as Malaria, respiratory infections, diarrheal, skin diseases, hypertension, diabetes and other public health problems.

The medical services organized by the Limbe Port and Industrial Development Corporation (LIPID) within the framework of the project's corporate social responsibility targeted some 500 people living within the host communities of the project. Launching the two-day exercise, the Inspector General at the South West Governor's office, sitting in for the Region's Chief Executive officer, underlined that the gesture is a mark of trust and cordial bilateral relations between Cameroon and Korea.

On his part, the Korean Ambassador to Cameroon, His Excellency Cho June-Hyuck appreciated the cooperation between the Cameroonian and Korean medical teams stating that Korea and Limbe have a bond going by Korean sponsored projects in Limbe such as the Advance Vocational Training Centre, the cement factory and the Limbe Deep Sea Port Development project. The Limbe Port, the Ambassador stressed, will not only serve as a springboard for economic growth and employment but will also contribute to the improvement of the livelihoods of the host community given that a medical centre will also be constructed to cater for their medical needs. While hailing the fast growing bilateral ties between the countries, H.E Cho June-Hyuck stated that Korea will continue to maintain links with Cameroon and accompany the country attain its emergence.

From all the examples cited in the bilateral ties between Cameroon and the countries mentioned (China, India, Japan and South Korea), the gifts or donations were given free of charge and not expecting something back from Cameroon. At this level or way of doing things, we found it to be some sort of a generalized reciprocity between Cameroon and those countries.

3.3 Balanced Reciprocity between Cameroon and China, India, Japan and South Korea

Balance reciprocity is the exchange of goods and services between people, individuals, communities and countries with the same or equal values (same quantity or quality). In this form of exchange, nobody gives anything for free and none of the partners is cheated upon and it is for this reason that it is called balanced reciprocity. Here it is the “one good turn that

deserves another” just as it is often said in Pidgin English “you scratch my back, I scratch your own”. If a partner does something good, the other partner will return that goodness in one way or another. There is no protocol because each of the partners is free to start or initiate a good will jest and the other partner will replicate the jest. In the paragraphs that follow, we shall be discussing the balanced reciprocities that exist between Cameroon and the Asian countries cited above.

3.3.1 Balanced Reciprocity between Cameroon and China

As earlier mentioned in one part of this work, Cameroon sees China as a very potential and instrumental friend and partner. China also finds Cameroon to be a very good friend and trading partner following her location in Central African sub region. China is very much interested with Cameroon’s rich natural resources while Cameroon is very much interested with the cheap Chinese goods and services.

Since the establishment of the trade and bilateral cooperation between Cameroon and China, we have seen the progressive installation of Chinese business men and women, firms or industries and a very high and reasonable quantity of Chinese goods and services in Cameroon. On the other side of the coin, Cameroonian traders and scholars have been flooding the Chinese cities for one reason or the other. Cameroonians from all walks of life are increasingly going to China on a daily basis for one activity or the other. Socially, Chinese are getting married to Cameroonians and vice versa, all these because of the balanced reciprocity that exist between Cameroon and China. A Chinese Artist had composed and sang a song in the native Douala (Sawa) language of Cameroon while Cameroonians are seriously learning the Chinese language and culture.

From 1971 to 1997, Sino-Cameroonian relations were mainly driven by Beijing’s willingness to increase the number of its diplomatic allies and showcase its solidarity with the ‘third world’ and, to a lesser extent, Yaounde’s non-alignment policy and hopes to loosen France’s dominating influence on Cameroon’s economy and foreign affairs. As with many other African countries, Cameroon’s relations with China were initially politically significant but economically marginal.

The establishment of diplomatic relations between Cameroon and the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in March 1971 and the end of any official link between Yaounde and Taipei were important for both sides. For President Ahidjo in Cameroon, this took place just after, with

the help of the French military, he had completely beheaded the Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC), a Marxist opposition movement that was trying to topple his increasingly authoritarian rule by force. With the opening of diplomatic relations, Beijing promised to stop supporting the rebel UPC organisation in exchange for gaining another ally in its fight against Taiwan at a critical time; later in 1971 the PRC replaced the ROC (Republic of China or Taiwan) as the sole representative of China in the United Nations. Taking advantage of the Sino-Western rapprochement, Ahidjo visited China and met Mao Zedong in 1973: he was the first African president to travel to this country after the most chaotic part of the Cultural Revolution. Four years later, he paid another visit to China and met Hua Guofeng, Mao's first successor. In the following years several visible and symbolic infrastructure projects were launched in Cameroon, including the construction of a new Presidential Palace (Unity Palace) and a National Conference Centre (Palais des Congrès) in Yaounde (inaugurated in 1977 and 1985, respectively).

Additionally, a large hydroelectric project, the Lagdo dam in the north of the country, was financed with a \$75 million Chinese loan (completed in 1982). In 1972, the first trade agreement was signed (followed by a second signed in 2002), and in 1984, a cultural cooperation accord was concluded. In the same period of time, Beijing launched a medical assistance programme, turning Cameroon into a window for the rest of the continent. As early as 1975, it started to send Chinese medical teams and it offered to build two hospitals equipped with Chinese Doctors, one in Mbalmayo, south of Yaounde (which opened in 1975), and the other one in Guider, in the Northern Region (1976). This led to a very close partnership in the fight against malaria that took off not long after. This later development was for a long time the most specific feature of Sino-Cameroon cooperation (Cabestan 2015).

Despite these actions, for China, Cameroon was apparently not a priority. A limited number of Chinese high-level delegations went to the country in the first 25 years after normalization, the first one led by Vice-Premier Ms Chen Muhua in 1978 and the second one by State Councillor Zhang Jingfu in 1986. It was only in 1993 that China's Foreign Minister, then Qian Qichen, also State Councillor, visited Cameroon, and two years later by Vice-Premier Li Lanqing. The relationship started to gain significance after Premier Li Peng's visit in 1997 when a politically significant agreement for the reciprocal protection and promotion of investments was signed, highlighting Beijing's intention to do more in Cameroon, and in Africa Jean- Pierre Cabestan (2015).

However, the turning point in the Sino-Cameroon relations was the first Forum on China–Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) held in Beijing in 2000. Since that summit, bilateral trade and economic cooperation projects have rapidly increased and China’s presence in this country has substantially deepened and diversified. In the same year, a China Trade Promotion Centre was created in Douala and, in 2002; Premier Zhu Rongji visited Cameroon and signed an ambitious ‘agreement for economic and commercial cooperation’, a framework accord ‘specifying Chinese willingness to offer grants and loans to Cameroon as well as giving orientations to boost commercial exchanges’. In 2006, Cameroon was granted Approved Destination Status for Chinese tourism and, a year later, Hu Jintao became the first Chinese president to visit this country. During this visit, eight agreements were signed worth \$129 million, increasing technical and economic cooperation and including the construction of a gynaecological, obstetric and paediatric hospital in Douala as well as two primary schools. In return, according to some sources, China was able to secure its participation in the Cameroonian oil sector. In 2010, China Political People’s Consultative Conference Chairman Jia Qinglin led a parliamentary delegation that allowed the signature of an additional eight cooperation agreements, including a 3.2 billion CFA (\$6.4 million) grant and an interest-free loan of the same amount. The following year, two other Chinese vice-premiers visited Cameroon: Hui Liangyu, in charge of agriculture, and Liu Yandong, responsible for education Cameroon Tribune (2014).

On the Cameroonian side, 2000 is also perceived as a turning point. From the beginning, Yaounde played a very active role in the FOCAC, using this forum as a platform for promoting Cameroon’s role in Sino-African relations as well as a closer bilateral partnership with Beijing. Biya has been a frequent visitor to China, having travelled five times to this country since 1982 when he gained office, including on three occasions since 2000 (2003, 2006 and 2011). His state visit to Beijing in July 2011 underscored the importance that he has vested in this relationship, which Biya described as ‘exemplary’ and, as a result, ‘a model for the rest of the continent’. Praising China’s ‘crucial support’ for Cameroon’s economic development, Biya indicated that ‘Chinese projects have a direct impact on the improvement of the socioeconomic conditions of our population and are highly appreciated by a large majority of the Cameroonian people’, adding that ‘China is among the most steadfast and faithful partners of our country’. Although relations are presented as ‘mainly economic’, Biya’s state visit to China, organised on the eve of the October 2011 presidential election, had a strong domestic political dimension,

in that it highlighted the key role that China had acquired in Cameroon's development strategy Cameroon Tribune (2014).

Today, Cameroon's relationship with China is presented in Yaounde as 'strategic'. Chinese companies are involved in 70% of Cameroon's official 'structuring projects', which are the key development and particularly infrastructure projects launched since the end of the 2000s. Among them is the Memve'ele Dam in the South region, expected to be operational by June 2017; the Lom Pangar Dam north of Bertoua, due to be completed in 2016; the Mekin hydroelectric power plant, expected to be operational in 2016; Douala's two-phase water projects (2014); the construction of 1500 low-income houses in Yaounde (2014); the Yaounde–Douala Highway (2017); and the Kribi deep-water port (2014). In addition, 90% of the road construction or restoration projects have been won and carried out by Chinese companies. As a result, China has become Cameroon's main external creditor, as discussed further below Cameroon Tribune (2014).

This close economic partnership could not have been possible if it had not been supported by a strong political will on the Cameroonian side. Of course, mutual economic needs and interests have been key drivers of this new privileged partnership. China needs Cameroon's natural resources and raw materials (oil, cotton, timber and iron) and the latter needs the former's rapidly built and easily financed infrastructure. Nevertheless, political convergence has also spurred the emergence of this 'strategic partnership'. President Biya had clearly taken over and amplified his predecessor's intention to diversify Cameroon's partnerships, particularly since the late 1990s. As elsewhere in Africa and other parts of the developing world, this has expanded the room for manoeuvre vis-à-vis traditional partners and creditors.

However, in Cameroon's case, diplomatic and political convergences have been deeper. China's anti-Western rhetoric has matched well with Cameroon's 'neutrality' on or, more accurately, lack of engagement in many international issues, as well as the opposition parties' often anti colonialist, anti-imperialist discourse. As seen in the debates of both the United Nations and the African Union, these inclinations have resulted in the two nations sharing very similar positions on a large number of international issues, from opposition to the American war in Iraq, to neutrality in the Syrian crisis and careful support for French intervention in Mali and the Central African Republic. In other words, China's international posture has well matched Cameroon's rather low-key and insular diplomacy.

Moreover, domestically, relations with China were warming at the same time that Biya was seeking to prolong his rule, in the face of criticism from the West (and Cameroon's

opposition party) regarding his country's human rights situation. Both China and Cameroon, it is clear, value a policy of non-interference in domestic affairs in their partnership. This diplomatic balancing act is reflected in some of the key features of the Cameroon–China economic relationship, as well, particularly in the areas of trade and investments.

Since the late 2000s, China has become one of Cameroon's top trade partners. In 2012, Sino-Cameroonian trade represented 12.3% of Cameroon's foreign trade, against 4% in 2005, elevating trade with China to about the same level as that with France and three times that with the US (3.8%), although China has remained behind the European Union (41.4%). When the EU is excluded, Beijing is identified in 2012 as Cameroon's top bilateral customer (15.3% of its exports), surpassing Portugal (11.8%), the Netherlands (11.3%, buying 70% of Cameroon's cocoa), Spain (11.2%) and France (8.6%). This is significant, as in 2012 China was only its third supplier with a 10.4% share, behind Nigeria at 17.8% (which does not include refined oil and consumer goods which are reportedly smuggled from this neighbour), and France (11.8%), NIS 2015).

Owing to the weakness of Cameroon's customs and statistical instruments, one is often confronted with conflicting figures. If we use Chinese data, Sino-Cameroonian bilateral trade has been more robust.

In continuation of the balanced reciprocal relationship between Cameroon and China, a Chinese top political Advisor and chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) Jia Qinglin paid a three days working visit to Cameroon from March the 23rd to the 25th 2010. In the discussions that took place between the Cameroonian and Chinese political authorities featured the bilateral and equitable relationships between Cameroon and China in particular and Africa – China relationships in general which we classified in this work as **“balanced reciprocal relationships between Cameroon and China in particular and Africa – China relationships as whole”** Highlights of the discussions were by the Chinese Ambassador to Cameroon Xinhua Huang Jingwen in a report found at the Chinese embassy in Yaounde Cameroon went as follows; China's top political advisor Jia Qinglin on Wednesday discussed with Cameroonian President Paul Biya the ways to lift the two country's bilateral relationship to a new height in Yaounde, capital of Cameroon.

"As developing countries, it is in the fundamental interests of China and Cameroon to seek bilateral friendly cooperation," Jia told Biya in their hour-long talks at the Presidential Palace Wednesday noon. Jia, chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's

Political Consultative Conference, was making a three-day official visit to the central African nation. Jia and Biya reviewed the progress of bilateral relationship since the two countries established diplomatic ties in 1971, particularly the significant improvement after the China-African Cooperation Summit in 2006.

To further China-Cameroon relationship, Jia proposed the joint efforts in cementing political foundation, widening economic cooperation, deepening people-to-people exchange and increase coordination on international issues. Biya echoed Jia's proposal, saying his country would like to work more closely with China in those fields.

Jia thanked Biya and his government for their efforts to free the Chinese sailors kidnapped in Cameroon early March. On broader China-Africa relationship, Jia said China was committed to implementing the new eight measures introduced by Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao last November in Egypt, which also include debt cancellation, agriculture production, infrastructure, education. "*China would like to listen to the suggestions of Cameroon and other African countries on carrying out those measures in a bid to generate more benefits for African people at an early time,*" Jia said. Biya said Africa-China cooperation was characterized by equity, mutual benefit and common development, which had brought substantial benefits to African nations.

The president said his country would support China's policy and initiative on Africa. After their meeting, Jia and Biya witnessed the signing of a number of cooperative deals between the two countries. Earlier Wednesday, Jia visited a multifunctional stadium in downtown Yaounde which was financed by China. At the landmark stadium, the largest of its kind in central Africa, Jia watched local people play table tennis and stage the performance of Chinese kungfu. Jia, who arrived in the capital of Cameroon on Tuesday afternoon, held talks with President of National Assembly of Cameroon Cavaye Djibril and delivered a key-note speech on China-Africa relationship.

Cultural and People –to- People Exchanges

One of the many areas of the FOCAC 2018, which caught our attention, is the cultural and people-to-people exchanges where a good number of resolutions were side lighted for action in order to strengthen the China-Africa cooperation. They include;

The two sides will advance China-Africa cultural exchanges, advocate equal-footed dialogue and mutual learning among civilizations, uphold cultural diversity and work together for the progress of human civilization and world peace and development. The two sides will expand exchanges and cooperation at various levels, continue to follow through with the implementation plans of intergovernmental cultural agreements, maintain the momentum of government visits and dialogues at various levels, set up sub-national exchanges, and build cultural exchanges and cooperation mechanisms through sister cities and other channels.

The two sides will open more African culture centres in China and more Chinese centres in Africa. The two sides will continue to encourage their art troupes and organizations to take part in each other's international cultural festivals to improve international understanding and appreciation of China and Africa's art and culture.

China will continue to support the development of Africa's creative economy, align the needs of the African Union (AU) Plan of Action on Cultural and Creative Industries, and promote and expand the training of art professionals for Africa in view of Africa's needs.

China will organize fifty joint cultural, sports and tourism events. China welcomes Africa's participation in the Silk Road International League of Theatres, the Silk International Museum Alliance and the Network of Silk Road Art Festivals.

The two sides will explore the possibility of cooperation in the cultural industry, and encourage and support governments and the business communities to step up exchanges and cooperation in cultural industry and trade. The two sides will encourage and support dialogue and communication over cultural philosophies, and will work to advance the development of Sinology and African studies internationally. The two sides will explore the possibility of establishing friendly partnerships between the training and research institutes and other similar cultural institutions of the two sides (FOCAC 2018).

3.3.2 Balanced Reciprocity between Cameroon and India

Cameroon and India have continued to maintain a high degree of balanced reciprocity as each partner reacts promptly to good will gestures of one another. Cameroon imports a good number of finished goods from India ranging from construction materials (plumbing materials such as pipes, paints both water and oil paints, rollers, brushes) through medication (it should be noted here that more than 60 percent of drugs and tablets sold in Cameroonian pharmacies including road side vendors are fabricated or made in India) to farming tools and dresses, not leaving out decorations.

India on her side, imports raw materials such as wood and cotton from Cameroon and we have a reasonable number of Indian business men and women based in Cameroon not forgetting Indian professionals in some particular domains who are based in Cameroon. All these are well explained in the following domains;

Trade: India's exports to Cameroon have been growing steadily over the years. However, India's exports dropped to US\$249.13 million in 2014-15 registering a decrease of 4% over 2013-14 figure of US\$259.62 million. India's imports, on the other hand, have recorded a quantum jump due to import of large quantity of Petroleum Crude from Cameroon. India's imports increased to US\$745.35 million in 2014-15 registering an increase of 177% over 2013-14 figure of US\$268.20 million. Out of total imports, Petroleum Crude import was worth US\$705.0 million NIS (2015).

Political Relations: Relations between India and Cameroon have been friendly and cordial. The Cameroonian leaders appreciate India's contributions to Africa, its secular democracy and economic progress and the leadership it provided to the Non- Aligned Movement. Cameroon actively supported Indian candidature for the Commonwealth Secretary General. The Indian government has just opened her first High Commission in Yaounde indicating that the Cameroon- India cooperation is growing from strength to strength, Indian Department of Commerce (2014)

Bilateral Visits: The importance attached to the bilateral relations by the two governments has witnessed many high -level visits between the two countries. Cameroonian President Paul Biya visited India in March 1983 to attend NAM Summit, the Cameroon Prime Minister Mr. Philemon Yang accompanied by seven Ministers and a large business delegation visited India in March 2013 to attend CII-EXIM Bank Conclave on Africa. Defence Minister Mr Edger Alain Mebe Ngo'o had visited India in March 2012 to attend DefExpo India 2012 held in New Delhi. In addition to these visits, there have been several Ministerial and official level visits to India.

From Indian side, MOS for External Affairs visited Cameroon in April 1990. EAM met with Cameroonian Foreign Minister in New York in September 2002. In June 2008, MOS (AS) met Cameroonian Foreign Minister at AU Summit in Sham Al Sheikh, Egypt. A 60-member Indian Parliamentary delegation comprising of MPs, MLAs including Speakers of a few States Assemblies visited Cameroon to attend the 60th Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference (CPC) in Yaounde, Cameroon from October 2-10, 2014. Special Envoy to PM, Prof. Ram Shankar Katheria, MOS (HRD) visited Cameroon in July 15-17, 2015 to personally handover

invitation letters from Honourable Prime Minister of India Shri Narendra Modi addressed to Cameroonian President Mr. Paul Biya to attend India-Africa Forum Summit-III scheduled to be held in New Delhi from October 26-30, 2015.

Projects and related activities: The Pan-African e-Network Project was inaugurated in June 2010 in Cameroon. The tele-education and telemedicine projects have been set up at Cameroon State Regional University Yaounde and its hospital and are performing satisfactorily. In 2007, the government of India gifted 60 tractors and agricultural implements to the government of Cameroon.

Education / Training: Of 31 slots allocated under Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programme to Cameroon during 2011-12, 15 slots were utilized. During 2012-13, 28 out of 31 allotted slots were utilized and in the year 2013-14, 35 slots were utilized. During the period 2014-15, 26 slots were utilized. Second time in a row a Cameroonian diplomat attended a one-month Professional Course for Foreign Diplomats (PCFD) organized by the Foreign Service Institute of Ministry of External Affairs in August 2012 Indian Department of Commerce (2014).

Culture and Education: Culture & Media: Indian films are popular and a local channel Capital TV regularly telecasts Indian films. A Rajasthani folk dance troupe sponsored by ICCR performed in Douala, Cameroon in November 2010. Cameroon is officially a French-English bilingual country, even as most official work is in French language. An Indian Film Festival was organised by Honorary Consul of India in 2013. To commemorate 100 years of Indian cinema in Cameroon, an Indian Film Festival was organised from 25th September 2013 to 13th December 2013 in collaboration with the Institut Francais du Cameroun, with French sub-titles by the Honorary Consul of India to Cameroon and the Indian Community SDGCIS, Indian Department of Commerce (2014)

3.3.3. Balanced Reciprocity between Cameroon and Japan

In the balanced reciprocity between Cameroon and Japan, each has been, is still and shall continue to be each other's keeper as they continue to work together for the wellbeing of each other. Cameroon and Japan have been exercising their bilateral ties in many different domains such as culture and education, diplomacy, economic growth and above all humanitarian aid.

Diplomatic Relations

It was in the year 1960 that each country recognized one another as a state. As of October 2013, they are approximately some 60 Japanese nationals living in Cameroon and about some 475 Cameroonian nationals residing in Japan according to the sources, news.cameroon-today.com consulted on the 24th October 2018.

Below are some of the dates of which some top government officials of both countries visited each other.

Japan's economic cooperation with Cameroon in figures stands at some 17.06 billion yen loans, 26.21 billion yen grants and 6.19 billion yen Technical cooperation. Cameroon exports about: 2,994 million yen (timber, cacao) to Japan and imports about: 2,711 million yen (automobiles) from Japan. According to the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs' website 2015; Although Cameroon is blessed with natural resources and suited to agriculture, the country's economic potential has not solved the problem of poverty caused by stagnant economic growth in recent years and widening economic disparity. With a per capita GNI of 1,210 dollars in 2011, the country was ranked 150 of 187 countries on the 2011 UNDP Human Development Index. JAICA's support to Cameroon is primarily focused on 1) human resource development, 2) economic development, 3) agricultural and rural development. Also, from the aspect of regional development, JICA supports 4) economic-infrastructure improvement and 5) environmental conservation.

Culture and Education

Many Cameroonian students were offered scholarships by the Japanese government better known as MEXT (Monbukagakusho: Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology of Japan). These scholarships were offered in the following three specialties; Research students, Undergraduate students and the College of Technology students. These scholarships are offered with the intensions to share or exchange knowledge, ideas and experiences between Cameroonian and Japanese students thereby strengthening the bilateral cooperation between the two countries (MEXT 2019).

On the 21st of December, 2012, a ceremony took place at Government primary school NGOMGHAM in Bamenda city, located in the North western region of the Republic of Cameroon, at altitude of 1,600 meters, laying the foundation stone to mark the official start of the 5th Project for Construction of Primary Schools under the Japan Grant Aid for Community Empowerment. It was attended by H.E. Mrs. Youssouf Hadidja Alim, the Minister of Basic

Education H.E. Mr. Tsutomu Arai, the Japanese Ambassador to the Republic of Cameroon, a representative of JAICA Ms. Mitsuko Kuwahata, Project Manager of JAICA Mr. Kiyotaka Takei, the administrative authorities and representatives of various schools involved.

After running national anthems, speeches were delivered by four officials at the ceremony. Between the speeches, the pupils performed songs and dances for celebration. The first speaker was the Government Delegate to the Bamenda Urban Community. He greeted the efforts of the both Governments that have continuously supported the education sector in the North western region where almost all schools established in 1922 had fallen into ruin. He hoped that the various stakeholders in the education sector would make good use of this gift.

Then, JAICA Project Manager Kiyotaka Takei explained the outline of this project, saying it is a grant from the Government of Japan to the Government of the Republic of Cameroon of nearly six billion CFA Francs to construct 202 classrooms, 31 administrative blocks, 22 latrine blocks in 17 sites spread over in this region and the construction works will end around June 2014. He also mentioned that this project is implemented under the program called "Grant Aid for Community Empowerment of the Government of Japan". This program aims to reduce the overall cost of the project and is implemented by Cameroonian companies under the supervision of Japanese consultants.

Dressed in the costume of the province, H.E. Mr. Arai, after being conferred a title of "Grand Notable of Northwest" said that the Government of Japan has assisted Cameroon since 1993 in development projects. He also mentioned that he hopes this Grant will enable the Government of the Republic of Cameroon to achieve its objectives that means to allow a greater number of children to learn.

Finally, H.E. Mrs. Alim said that the President of the Republic of Cameroon has placed education in the centre piece of its policy, and that the task of the state is not finished until all Cameroonian can get access to education. The Government of the Republic of Cameroon will spare no effort in achieving its objectives. She also expressed her gratitude to the Ambassador of Japan for the cooperation of Japan, not only for school construction but also for other projects.

Picture 6: Exhibitions of the Laying of the Foundation stone and Inauguration of some classrooms in the North West region of Cameroon by the Japanese Ambassador to Cameroon



Source: Website of the Japanese Embassy in Yaounde-Cameroon (January 2014)

According to news.cameroon-today.com consulted on the 24 th October 2018, Japan in 2010 disbursed about FCFA 17 billion for rural electrification and the country is also one of the donors for the construction of the trans-national Bamenda-Mamfe-Enugu road with a contribution of FCFA 23 billion.

3.4 Market or Negative Reciprocity between Cameroon and China, India, Japan and South Korea

Here we are looking at those aspects of the bilateral and trade cooperation where each partner does everything possible to exploit the other. With the exception of the Japanese who are helping Cameroon with the sole aim of helping, the rest of the Asian countries are doing so with some secondary aim (their personal interest; natural resource exploitation, trade imbalances and human resources exploitation just to cite these few). It is very easy for the Asians to gain entry visas to Cameroon whereas it is too difficult for Cameroonians to easily obtain entry visas into those countries.

"Negative reciprocity" is the attempt to get something for nothing with impunity, the several forms of appropriation, transactions opened and conducted toward net utilitarian advantage. Indicative ethnographic terms include "haggling" or "barter," "gambling," "chicanery," "theft," and other varieties of seizure. Negative reciprocity is the most impersonal

sort of exchange. In guises such as "barter" it is from our own point of view the "most economic." The participants confront each other as opposed interests, each looking to maximize utility at the other's expense. Approaching the transaction with an eye singular to the main chance, the aim of the opening party, or of both parties, is the unearned increment. One of the most sociable forms, leaning toward balance, is haggling conducted in the spirit of "*what the traffic will bear.*" From this, negative reciprocity 'ranges through various degrees of cunning, guile, stealth, and violence to the finesse of a well-conducted horse raid. The "reciprocity" is, of course, conditional again, a matter of defence of self-interest. So the flow may be one-way once more, reciprocation contingent upon mustering countervailing pressure or guile (Sahlins 1972: 25).

A good number of our informants reacted to this expressing their thoughts and viewpoints. Some of those views are presented below;

Au départ, je croyais que c'étaient les gens avec qui on pouvait collaborer mais tout ce qu'ils font c'est à leurs intérêts et rien pour le bien être des Camerounaises. Par exemple ceux qu'ils font dans la construction des routes. Ils font venir les gens de chez eux s'ils sont sorti de la prison ou quoi je ne sais pas pourtant nous avons besoin des mains d'œuvres ici au Cameroun. Il y a des Camerounaises qu'ils chôment dans les quartiers, dans les rues pourtant une entreprise Chinois qui est installé au Cameroun part chercher les manœuvres chez eux. Alors que nous avons les gens ici qu'ils peuvent faire les travaux là. Cet argent peut aider beaucoup des gens à nourrir leurs familles ici au Cameroun. Quand on leurs amènent qu'allons-nous faire nous les Camerounaises ? Qu'est-ce qu'on va devenir ? On va travailler où ? Dans ce sens, nos grands frères, nos papas qu'ils sont en haut, doivent essayer de leurs dire quand t'ils arrivent ici, ils doivent comprendre qu'on a les gens ici qu'ils ont besoin de travailler mais quand vous venez ici, vous devez avoir une catégorie des personnes que vous pouvez amener de chez vous comme les Ingénieurs et ils doivent être limité parce qu'on a les Ingénieurs ici qu'ils sortent de Polytechnique et des grandes écoles d'ingénierie en Europe mémé qu'ils chôment ici au pays. On ne peut pas prendre un Topographe en Chine pour amener ici, prendre un Ingénieur, un Chauffeur d'engin pour amener ici alors qu'on a des Chauffeurs d'engins ici qu'ils sortent partout et ils ont un problème ici que est le problème de main d'œuvre qu'ils ne payent pas. Ils sont tellement durs parce que nous avons nos clos au Cameroun, on sait qu'il y a des heures de travail et si tu signe un contrat de travail qui signifie que tu as cent heures de travail, c'est cent heures de travail mais avec les Chinois tu te trouves entraîne de faire cent cinq heures de travail par semaine. Ça veut dit qu'ils y a soixante-cinq heures plus que les heures normales mêmes. Quand je parle, je prendre un exemple moi-même, mon arrivée à Yaoundé, je travaillais à une société de la place, c'est ce que j'ai vécu.

C'est parce qu'ils sont méchant ils ne veulent pas nous apprendre puis qu'ils savent que déjà s'ils nous apprennent leurs technologie, nous serons comme eux et on ne va plus leurs donner les travaux. Ça c'est ce qu'ils savent et ils veulent garder leurs connaissances pour eux même, ils ne veulent pas qu'on bénéficie d'eux.

Here is another lengthy expression from one of the informants concerning the unclear attitude of the Chinese as they pretended to implement all the rules and regulations involved in the Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation.

This issue of transfer of technology was well mentioned in their bilateral cooperation but they are not respecting their terms of agreement. Here is what he said;

To me, I think that it was just a policy for the Asians (Chinese) to sign the agreement with the fake assurance that there was going to be a transfer of technology. You know that if you see something where you are going to gain and a certain condition is presented before you, you might decide to accept the condition not because you will respect it but because of your personal interest in that contract and you know how you are going to work making some resemblance or camouflage of respecting that particular condition whereas you are not exactly respecting the condition. This is because if you say no that you are not going to respect that particular condition, you may lose everything and I think that is what these Asians are doing here in Cameroon; that is what I have seen in this situation.

The plain truth is that none of these so called industrialized or developed countries would like to have a trade and bilateral cooperation with any less developed country when she is not going to reap much gains from the cooperation. Before they can accept any cooperation with the so called poor or under developed countries, they must be sure to have about 60 to 70 percent gain in the deal before starting if not they will not sign such an agreement.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the international or diplomatic relations between Cameroon and some top Asian countries were presented. As earlier stated in one of our hypotheses that it is the good international relations between Cameroon and some of the Asian countries that permits the Cameroonian government to sign bilateral and trade cooperation with a good number of Asian countries (China, Japan, India, South Korea, just to cite these few whose works are speaking volumes for themselves in Cameroon and Africa as a whole).

It was also necessary to inform our readers that it is the good international relations between Cameroon and the countries cited above that attracts investment and the movement of people, ideas, capitals and technologies across the borders. International relation is a very important aspect insofar as international trade is concerned. As a matter of fact, nobody does business of any type with his or her enemies but with one's friends and closed ones (neighbours and others). Just as (Sahlins 1972) said "friends make gifts and gifts make friends. In other words or as it is often said in daily discourse; one good turn deserves another. From the look of things, if two countries have not created good bilateral and trade cooperation, it is difficult to

see them do real business because there will be not trust or confidence between them. Trade requires confidence and trust.

The Cameroon government has in so many years now been creating and maintaining good and bilateral cooperation with many countries the world over and particularly the four Asian countries which include China, India, Japan and South Korea with the purpose of boosting trade and economic development. Cameroon at one point was at the same level of socio-economic development with these four Asian countries but they have had to undertake some governmental, social, cultural, economic and above all psychological reforms that have propelled them to be developed and why not highly developed nations. It was thus very good and necessary for Cameroon to take a retrospective and see how fast and how far these Asian countries have gone and make friends with them such that they too can help her attain its socio-economic development. One should never be ashamed of imitating good examples, so it's high time for the Cameroonians to copy and or follow the tracks these Asian countries have followed to be where they are today.

In a developing country like Cameroon that is also well endowed with many natural resources, many investors and business men and women are interested to propose their technical know how and products. As such the various investors need a high degree of strategy so as to convince and capture a wider market leading to provide making.

CHAPTER 4

BUSINESS STRATEGIES OF THE CAMEROONIAN AND ASIAN TRADERS

4.1 Introduction

Strategy is defined as the science and art of employing the political, economic, psychological and military forces of a nation or group of nations to afford the maximum support to adopted policies in peace or war. A careful plan or method, the art of devising plans or stratagems toward a goal. Strategy is also an adaptation or complex of adaptations such as behaviour, metabolism or structure that serves or appears to serve an important function in

achieving evolutionary success. In short strategy literally refers to the arrangements, blueprints, designs, games, game plans, ground plans, master plans, programs, road maps, plans and systems put in place by the various Cameroonian and Chinese governments and traders so as to achieve their various goals.

The market in particular and the art of doing business in general (buy and resell) is a world of competition and conflict that is not pronounced. Each and every producer and or trader is always looking for the means, methods or strategies that will make him or her to produce, sell and make more or the greatest profits. Due to the presence of competitions and conflicts in the market, producers and traders are obliged to devise or develop strategies that will permit them to cope or survive from these competitions and conflicts. China's "going global" strategy, involves the use of aid donations to encourage Chinese companies to internationalize and acquire overseas assets, especially oil assets, in Africa through influencing African governments to do fealty¹ in the award of Chinese government-funded contracts or assisting Chinese companies with generous loans and credits to outbid competitors, including sometimes overpaying for equity positions or underbidding contracts. Major Chinese companies have hit roadblocks in well established markets, but Africa's markets are untapped and strategically open. Africa has therefore become a strategic training ground for Chinese companies. Through public diplomacy, benign trade terms and large aid and investments deals with no political strings attached except withdrawal of diplomatic relations with Taiwan, China has gained considerable access to Africa's resources and consumer markets. China now receives 32 per cent of its oil imports from Africa, with Angola overtaking Saudi Arabia as the largest exporter of crude oil to China. Across the continent the Chinese are also ramping up investments in infrastructure, telecommunications and agro-businesses. While there is great optimism about the potential benefits of the new China-Africa co-operation, scepticism also abounds among local groups and the international community.

In this chapter, we are looking at the various strategies employed by both producers and traders so as to withstand or cope with the competitions and conflicts found in the market. All the strategies used by the producers and traders are summarized or grouped under what (Pinson and Jennet 1996) called the five Pies (5P). The five Pies stand for Product, Place, Price,

⁵ China has strategically used interest free loans and aids to lure African governments to remain committed, attached, faithful and loyal to them, thereby excluding the other potential competitors.

Promotion and Packaging. Each and every other method put in place by either the producers or the traders so as to increase their productions and sales fall under one of these Pies.

Let's now examine each of these pies in detail so as to uncover their importance to the producers, the traders and the potential consumers.

4.2 Products (the nature of goods and services as strategies)

Anything capable of satisfying needs including tangible items, services and ideas. Many producers and traders as a result of the competition in the market have decided to specialize in the production and selling of particular goods and services while others have decided to diversify their goods and services. Some of the producers have decided to make their products look attractive or appealing to the eyes of the consumers so much such that the customers prefer to buy and consume those attractive goods than the others. A very good example here is the Cameroonian produced Ndop rice and the Chinese rice. Many Cameroonians do not buy and consume Ndop rice not because it is not good but because they say it is not attractive in their eyes and even too difficult to prepare. We are told the Ndop rice is more tasteful and nutritive than the Chinese rice. This is what an informant said;

Yeah I would say they lack the tools or the equipment's to process the rice like the Asians and you can even notice the difference in the markets when traders show you Ndop rice and Chinese rice, you will see that Chinese rice is luring (attractive in the eyes) meanwhile Ndop rice is not attractive as a result of the lack of equipment. (Interview realised with Informant 54 on 8th March 2017 at Chapelle Obili - Yaoundé).

Yeah you have raised a good point there that the Chinese products are attractive to the eyes and quality wise too or what? *“Yes they are attractive in the eyes and quality wise I will not say they are good but since they look attractive and most of us Cameroonians like something shiny”*. Is it most of the Cameroonians that like shiny things or mostly the women?

It is mostly the women and since they make up about 60 to 80 percent of all the purchasing power (potential buyers), that is why Chinese goods and services are consumed on a very large scale by the Cameroonian population.

Going back to the strategy of producers and traders specializing in their products and services, there are various views put forth by our potential informants the traders. Others said that before engaging in doing business, they had to first of all study what people use mostly on a daily basis before engaging. Others said they decided to go in for products that get bad or missing quite often and people cannot afford to live without them such as electronics (telephones, televisions and batteries), dresses and food stuffs.

One trader said:

I specialized in the trading of food stuffs because no matter what happens or how people might complain about poverty, they must eat, their children must eat. We eat to live or survive, we eat to improve or spoil our health and food reveals our social status, our cultures, our origins and our moods. (Interview realised with Informant 13 on 13 March 2016 at Mankon-Bamenda).

We shall go through a number of reasons why traders specialized in particular goods or products so as to clarify why the choice of a particular product as a business strategy can make or mar an individual's business.

Looking or considering business as "Passion or a calling", it was just my passion for communication materials that made me to choose this business. You know when it is your passion for something even if things are very rough, you will not give up but when it is not your passion, the least difficulty you are gone and you shall never progress in business. These are the opinions of one businessman at the Mankon main market in Bamenda. The trader further said in this domain, he was equally influenced by the pioneer traders in the same domain of business "electronics". He said that: "in every human activity or sector nowadays, you must find those we can be called the pioneers or mentors. I mean the people who started that particular activity or business. For me, I do not have a direct mentor or instructor but I usually see them through the media and I wish to become like them. From their experiences and outstanding wealth, I am not only imitating them but trying to become more creative and leave my own footprints in the business sector. When I sit and reflect on how they started and their business strategies, I begin to reflect on how to innovate or create something slightly different so as to attract customers. All I am saying is that without the pioneer traders, the younger traders cannot do anything".

Other traders in order to specialize or strategize in their business activities, they had to look at the order of classification of human basic necessities. In this classification of human basic necessities, we have food (feeding) in the first place and clothing (dresses) in the second place while movement or transportation comes in the third position according to this trader and that is why he had to specialize in the sale of dresses, cars and motor spare parts. Going by his own words,

Business or trade is so vast and for you to excel, you have to choose one, two or three specific sections or domains in business and concentrate on those ones. I started with dresses because they are second on the classification table of the most consumed goods and services after food. When a baby is born, the first thing that is done is to cloth the

baby before breast milk. This is an indication that food and dresses are the most consumed goods and services in the world hence if you as a trader invests in one of them, you are likely going to make it. For the car and motorbike spare parts, I thought it wise that cars are very instrumental in the present world for the movement of people, goods and services. If a car has a break down due to failure from a particular part, then people and goods will not move and that part has to be replaced with immediate effect so I decided to go in for these spare parts. I have been doing this business for a very long time and I know and master it to my fingertips, meaning that it cannot fail me even if I have competitors left and right. (Interview realised with Informant 25 on 5 December 2015 at Commercial Avenue).

Some of the traders' choice of activities and strategies were influenced by other people such as friends (school and age mates), family members (uncles, aunts, mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters who were already businessmen and women) and above all the Bosses or business mentors. As explained by this trader below:

I chose electronics because it is what my Boss was dealing with and he trained me in the buying and retailing of electronics. After being trained in the domain of electronics, I could not divert except for other beneficial reasons which I have not yet seen. (Interview realised with Informant 25 on 5 December 2015 at Commercial Avenue).

Immediately after leaving the renounced business man (his Boss or Mentor), he did what he described with his own words as 'awarawara' meaning hawking for about five years before settling in a shop. Another trader told us his own life history how he started business by working for his uncle. "I have worked for my uncle for about six years and he was specialized in the sale of dresses for all the age groups. When he settled me with the capital to start up my own business, I only decided to continue with what I am already used to and I master this dressing business to my fingertips more than any other business". Continuing in the same business or choice of activity is a form of strategy for him since he knows that line of business already. In this trader's shop, we found more of female dresses than male dresses and this is what he gave as reasons or strategies:

The females in general like having many dresses as possible compared to the males. Some of the men (males) are polygamous or have extra marital relationships with more than two free girls and the men have to buy dresses for all the women or ladies who have some mutual relationships with them. After dealing with low quality products for about three years, I then switched back to these high or good quality products, because I have decided to make myself to be known as a specialized businessman in terms of good quality and moderate prices of goods and services. (Interview realised with Informant 60 on 9 January 2017 at Mokolo - Yaounde).

The state or the nature of the goods or products is also a very good strategy in business because if your business is located in an area where road networks are bad, you will suffer damages and loss of some of the goods. In such situations, you have to go for non-perishable goods. One informant said that the first thing that pushed him to choose the type of business activity was that the goods were non-perishable goods, such that even if the goods were to stay in the shop for a very long time, they will not perish. Secondly people are losing or misplacing their telephones every now and then hence obliged to buy and replace the lost ones. Thirdly the information and communication technology world is fast changing or evolving so much such that as new options are being invented or manufactured, people will like to use but those new ones. Every day people are buying new telephones and other information and communication technologies, so the traders are also supplying their customers with modified, sophisticated and well fashioned electronic equipment's' to feed their curiosities.

Other traders specialized in the sale of some particular goods and services to reduce competition with their friends, family members and even colleagues. The trader thought it wise to go for the products that are being sold like "hot cakes" in most Cameroonian markets that can easily fetch her some money. The lady in question decided to go for electronics and this is what she said motivated her choice for electronics:

When I left or abandoned hair dressing, I decided to do business and something or products that people quickly buy in our daily markets. Then electronics came first to my mind as most people in the world today are using telephones as the most appropriate means of communication. Secondly the youths like telephones with options, MP4 and all the necessary musical materials. (Interview realised with Informant 61 on 6 January 2017 at Rond Point Express - Yaounde).

Business does not require any long period or years of experiences as is often demanded when you apply for a job in any office. I also choose this particular business product to make a difference from my brothers, sisters and colleagues. These are the opinions and reasons given by a trader why he chooses a particular product as his business strategy.

Many things pushed me to choose this particular business. Many people from my area were selling dresses and I decided to start with something different. Secondly, it was very difficult to have a good paying job as most of the job opportunities were asking five to six years of working experiences. Business does not require any long period of experience. (Interview realised with Informant 68 on 19 April 2017 at Marché Ekounou Yaoundé).

Experiences gained in working for someone for a period of time has made some of the traders to specialize in the sale of some particular products, which are also forms of strategies

to survive competition in the market. Working for one's Boss, brother, sister, uncle, aunt and any other person is a learning process in business as the learners end up starting their own business structures with the experiences gained from working that individual. Some of these learners have gone as far as being more successful in business than the people who taught or initiated them into doing business.

It is the experiences I gained working for somebody in this business that motivated me to choose this business. Secondly, when I was working with my former Boss, I made contacts with so many people who were constructing houses and when I opened my own shop, most of them came and encouraged me by buying my products and it galvanized me a lot. (Interview realised with Informant 73 on 10 March 2017 at Marché Central – Yaounde)

As stated by one of our informants responding to the question; what motivated you to choose this particular business or what are your business strategies?

The art of doing business per say was not chosen haphazardly according to some of the businessmen and women interviewed on the field. Some said that business according to them, is some sort of destiny because they started by doing other things hoping to become civil servants and other “white collar” jobs but finally saw themselves as businessmen and women. Here are the reactions of one such trader interviewed in the Mokolo market in Yaounde:

Dans la vie il n'y a pas un seul choix. Tu peux choisir un métier mais six à huit ans après tu te retrouves entrain de faire autre chose. C'est alors comme ça que je me trouve dans le commerce. Même toi qui étudie l'anthropologie aujourd'hui, ne sois pas surprise que tu seras un grand commerçant dix ans après tes études. (Interview realised with Informant 75 on 10 March 2017 at Marché Central – Yaounde)

The said informant above was hoping to become an electrician as he did specialized in electricity in his secondary school studies but due to the lack of finances to further his studies, he ended up becoming a businessman. Following the long and exhaustive explanation on how he started doing business and the stages he passed through, one could only affirm that business was his destiny as can be seen below:

Moi, j'ai commencé à faire le commerce étant très petit. Comme on dit souvent qu'on peut devenir quelqu'un en vendant les arachides c'est vrai parce que je faire partir à cette groupe des personnes. Je vendais les arachides grillé et après les arachides, je suis entré dans la vente des noirs des cocos, le genre qu'on casse et on détaille à 25 ou 50 frs CFA pendent quatre à cinq ans dans les rues de Yaoundé. En ce moment-là, on avait la chance d'entrer dans les ministères et vendre. Comment est-ce-que vous avez commencé et qui vous a aidé ? J'ai d'abord poussé au marché de Mokolo devant le Commissariat et après deux ou trois ans, l'ancien Délégué de la Communauté Urbain de Yaoundé Emah Basil nous a chassés et il avait interdit tous les pousseurs de se placer en bordure du marché

Mokolo. C'est à partir de là, que j'ai réfléchi à faire quelque chose en peut stable. C'est la chaussure que j'ai commencé à vendre avec un capital de 37000 frs CFA et 13 paires des babouches. Je gagnais mes 1000 ou 2000F CFA par jours, personne m'aide à développer ce commerce. La première année était difficile que j'ai failli abandonner mais comme j'avais quelques expériences du commerce, c'est ça qui m'a fait de continuer sans être décourager. Un jour, un ami m'a vu entrain de battre avec mon petit capital et il a prêté une somme de 80000 FCFA dans une tontine pour accroître mon capital. J'ai pris cette somme et après avoir acheté et revendre les marchandises, la dite somme d'argent était remboursé dans deux semaines pour dire que le crédit n'est pas mal si on utilise bien l'argent prêté. Après ça, j'ai développé l'habitude ou le courage de prêter les 100000 ou 200000FCFA à rembourser dans trois semaines ou un mois. Chaque fois que je prêtais de l'argent je me retrouvais avec un profit de 30000 à 40000F CFA. La même année comme je prêtais et remboursais régulièrement, la Banque et ma tontine ont eu la confiance en moi et ils m'ont prêté 1 200 000 FCFA. Après avoir vendu les marchandises achetées avec les 1 200 000 FCFA, j'ai eu un bénéfice de 400000F CFA et une maman m'a introduit sur la ligne du Nigeria, Benin, Mali et d'autres pays de l'Afrique de l'Ouest. Après sept ans du commerce avec les conditions dur et difficile, Dieu a commencé à me bénir avec de l'argent et du succès dans le commerce et c'est à partir de là que j'ai commencé à aller en Asie. (Interview realised with Informant 75 on 10 March 2017 at Marché Central – Yaounde)

Another group of traders advocated their own personal lifestyles combined with passion that motivated them to do business and they have continued to apply both their lifestyles and passion as strategies to attract customers to their shops or shades in the market. The trader himself during his secondary school periods used to dress well and this caught the attention of his classmates who were in turn buying his dresses. He would go to the market and buy a particular dress for himself but his classmates and friends would oblige him to resell the dress. The attitudes of his friends and classmates pushed him into doing business and not with any type of dress but decent and quality dresses. These are some of the words of the informant during the interview:

The passion or affection for good and decent dressing pushed me into the business fashion shopping. I like putting on beautiful dresses and I also like seeing people looking well dressed. It is from this point of view that made me to do business and specifically dressing. Secondly, businessmen are fond of having very beautiful houses and cars, so these flashy things made me to like doing business. Thirdly, women usually buy shoes and dresses on a weekly basis compared to the men so I deal mostly with female dresses. (Interview realised with Informant 61 on 9 January 2017 at Mokolo – Yaounde)

Business according to some traders is like a cultural trait that is transferred or handed from one generation to another. More than ninety percent (> 90%) of the informants (businessmen and women) interviewed have already trained, are training and or are still planning to train their family members in the same business. Some have even influenced their

younger ones in the choice of their business activities or products. As can be heard from the horse's own mouth;

Yes, I have friends and family members who started selling shoes and dresses before me. When I was progressing from a hawker to settle on one spot in a market, they advised me to join them in the Trans boarder trade especially in the domain of shoes and dresses which I found interesting and I did as they were telling me to do. (Interview realised with Informant 68 on 19 April 2017 at Marché Ekounou – Yaounde)

Note should also be taken here that customers in certain cases account for about fifty to sixty percent of the goods and services provided by a trader. The customers usually request for particular products and if the trader cannot provide them immediately, he or she writes or notes them in his or her note book and will then assure the customers of the probable date the said products are going to be available:

There are many young people especially the females who usually desire to wear what they have seen on television and in many social gatherings. Each time the customers ask for something that I do not have, I will write down that item and if many customers are requesting that particular design, I will then buy it. The first thing is that I pay serious attention to customers' choices and secondly I have a good mastery of how Cameroonians dress. I buy my products in function to these criteria. (Interview realised with Informant 30 on 5 December 2016 at Old Town - Bamenda).

The trader following his or her mastery of the market environment or experiences together with the customers' choices can make the trader to become a great businessman or woman as confirmed beneath;

I am the one who reflects on what is good and attractive so much such that upon my arrival, the customers will be attracted to what they will see. Secondly the customers have a great role to play when it comes to the choice of the major products that I buy. Since I supply a good number of other retailers, their commands determine the quantity and quality of the goods that I buy in Asia. Each time I attend or am invited in an occasion, I try as much as possible to look at the way the people dress especially the Youths and the Women. They form the majority of the entire population, if you can supply them with the out fits they want, you will obviously have many customers and it determines one's fate in business. (Interview realised with Informant 30 on 5 December 2016 at Old Town - Bamenda).

Yet another strategy or reason for the choice of a traders' products are these two hypotheses; one being the level of the traders' level of business activity while the second hypothesis is the capacity of the trader to choose what is good and attractive to the customers. Let us have a practical example from one of the actors (the traders' own view points), who think that a particular stage of one's business career, the customers begin to think for the trader.

Il y a deux hypothèses ; la premier hypothèse c'est moi le commerçant qui doit attirer les clients à aimer mes produits et la deuxième hypothèse c'est le niveau d'affaire du commerçant qui faire en sorte que c'est sont les clients qui réfléchies pour le commerçant en ce moment. Les clients viennent avec les commandes je veux 100 paires de telle marque et couleur de telle chaussure et en partant en Asie, je ne réfléchis plus parce que les clients l'ont déjà fait. (Interview realised with Informant 80 on 20 April 2017 at Olembe - Yaounde).

As earlier said, the choice of a particular product as a business strategy can either make or mar a business because the goods and services offered by a trader can either attract or send customers away from one's shop.

4.3 Place (that is the place where goods are produced and sold as a strategy)

In the second position of the five pies of (Pinson and Jennet 1996), is the "place". Place refers to the decisions a company or an individual makes to insure that a product or service gets to the customer at the right location and in the right manner. In other words, place refers to a spot or location where a company or an individual has decided to set up his or her business firm. The place a company or an individual decides to set up a business can either foster or dwindle the business; we shall take a number of some businessmen and women to show how the place of a business activity can make the business to grow even faster or crumble.

Here, one informant talked of choosing two places; that is where your products of speciality are manufactured or sold in very large quantities at relatively moderate prices and where (the town or place) you the trader will retail your goods and services.

It is in 2012 that I started going to Asia in China to be precise, I usually go to Guangzhou and Guangdong because these are the two main cities that suite with my domain of business. The very first time I went to China was for a trade fair (commercial exhibition). My friends who are based in Guangzhou called me and told me about the trade fair which was to take place in that city and they told me that it will be of great help to me if I take part and then make contacts with some Chinese traders who sell shoes. I went to the Chinese embassy here in Yaounde and they asked me to present my invitation for the trade fair. I went and called my friends who then posted me an original invitation for the trade fair and the Chinese embassy delivered my visa without delay. When I attended that trade fair in Guangzhou, I equally made contact with another shoe vendor from Guangdong. Since then I have been going to these two cities but with time I will have to discover other Cities and Asian countries that produce good shoes. (Interview realised with Informant 31 on 21 April 2017 at Etoudi - Yaounde).

While in Cameroon, the trader is retailing his goods and services in Douala and Yaounde respectively for the following reasons;

I sell my products in Yaounde and Douala respectively. I chose these two towns because they are the most suitable cities for doing business in Cameroon. Douala is the economic capital of Cameroon and even the CEMAC zone, people leave from all the other towns in Cameroon and even the CEMAC countries to come and buy goods in Douala. As a good businessman, it was a matter of must for me to have a very big shop in this economic capital. Most people who want to buy in very large quantities prefer Douala, so it struck my mind to open at least one big shop which can meet up these huge demands. Yaounde on the other side is the political capital of Cameroon with all the partner countries represented by their embassies and associated organizations. Most of the International Organizations are located in this City, making it one of the best sites for business. Most of the Cameroonians if not all come to Yaounde for their visas into the various countries and others come to follow up their files in the various Ministries and State Institutions. When all these people flow in and out of this City as such, there must be a good business that will attract these people, so my installation in Yaounde was not done haphazardly. (Interview realised with Informant 31 on 21 April 2017 at Etoudi - Yaounde).

The seriousness or trustworthiness of the producers or the inhabitants of a particular town, city or country can either attract or scare customers away from that location (place) just like one of the informants said that it is in 2011 that she started going to Asia, particularly in Dubai (United Arab Emirate). The very first time she went to Asia was in China but discovered that the Chinese were not trustworthy. You buy your products in China as you want or like in terms of quantity and quality but when you return to Cameroon, you discover that the Chinese upon loading the container have changed or replaced your goods with something else. Even when you are changing your currency (money), the Chinese will always look for ways to cheat you. So it is as a result of all these fallouts that she decided to try Dubai in the United Arab Emirate and found them to be trustworthy. They are straight forward, honest and confidential so much such that If your supplier does not have all the goods you want, he/she will clearly tell you that I don't have this or that and will tell you where you can get them without asking for any additional payments.

In some of the places or countries, the citizens there feel superior to you and it is difficult to do business with someone who feels or thinks that he or she is superior to you. So our informants here justified their reasons of going to China (Asia), because the Chinese in particular and the Asians in general do not consider themselves to be superior to them.

It was in the year 2000 that I started going to Asia (China) and particularly Guangzhou because it is the Commercial Centre of China. The Asians and Chinese do not have nor think that they are superior to the Africans as the "Westerners" (I mean Europeans and the Americans) think and behave. It is good and even more preferable to trade with people who do not consider their selves to be superior to you that is people who do not have complexes (neither superior nor inferior). Secondly, the Asians seem to have understood the problems the Africans have and they produce their goods according to the various social classes. Now I do not only go to China but to other Asian countries

such as Japan, India, United Arab Emirate, Thailand, South Korea and Malaysia. I intend to explore all the Asian Countries so as to maximize my business especially when it comes to competition and the provision of quality goods and services to my customers. (Interview realised with Informant 3 on 6 October 2016 at Commercial Avenue - Bamenda).

Other traders say the place where you choose or decide to buy your goods is so important especially if the cost of producing your goods and services (labour force) is moderate or cheaper. Where and when the cost of production is cheap, the trader is likely to buy at relatively cheaper prices and would also retail at relative moderate prices as well and make enough profits. The cost of lodging in the purchasing country or place is also very important, because all these put together with the flights (to and fro) influences the price labels on the various goods and services.

Il y a de cela quatre ans aujourd'hui que je pars en Asie surtout en Chine et dans la ville qu'on appelle Guangzhou. Why China and Guangzhou in particular ?

J'ai choisi la Chine parce que le cout de vie et la main d'œuvre de la production est moins chère. En Chine, toute est basée sur le commerce et on trouve dans toutes les villes la fabrication et vente des habilles. La monnaie Chinois n'est pas si élevée que la nôtre par rapport à l'euro, le dollar et le pound pour citer que celles-ci. Ainsi, ça permet aux Africains d'échanger leur monnaie avec le yen et acheter autant des produits en Chine et venir revendre ici en Afrique et chaque commerçant trouve son compte. A Guangzhou, le cout de vie, la nourriture, les hôtels et les tarifs de transports sont moins cher par rapport à d'autres villes. (Interview realised with Informant 83 on 21 April 2017 at Briqueterie - Yaounde).

As for the retailing town, our trader says he is based in Bamenda for the moment even though he has customers who come from the other towns and regions of Cameroon to buy goods from him and then retail in their various destinations. His business is still growing that is why he is only based in Bamenda. It is one of his relatives who brought him there and he later on found the place to be a very good site for business. With time, he will try other places and see what he can do.

This other informant chooses his purchasing country following the level of economic development of that particular country and city. In the second place, he looks at the availability of his goods and services. Here is what he said in support to his argument:

Je pars en Asie depuis 2010 particulièrement en Chine dans les villes qu'on appelle Guangzhou et Kouchan. La Chine est le pays le plus développé en Asie et le deuxième plus puissant pays économique du monde entier et je pense qu'un commerçant peut trouver toutes les marchandises qu'il souhaite avoir. Guangzhou c'est le centre commercial ou la capitale économique de la Chine et moi je trouve tous les produits que je vends là-bas. Guangzhou est aussi une ville de débutante, parce que tous les

commerçants qu'ils viennent en Chine pour la première fois commencent toujours dans cette ville. Comme je fais dans les chaussures, j'ai trouvé qu'on fabrique les bonnes chaussures à Kouchan et maintenant je pars n'importe où qu'on fabrique les bonnes chaussures. (Interview réalisée avec l'Informant 83 le 21 avril 2017 à Briqueterie - Yaounde).

This businessman does his retails in Douala and Yaounde respectively because he thinks that Douala and Yaounde are the best towns for doing business in Cameroon following their geographic locations to neighbouring towns and countries. Secondly Douala and Yaounde are the economic and political (administrative) capitals of Cameroon offering greater opportunities for doing business.

Il y a Yaoundé et Douala. Mais Douala est mieux parce que c'est la capitale économique du Cameroun et l'Afrique Centrale. Il y a beaucoup de commerçants de l'Afrique Centrale qui viennent acheter les marchandises à Douala. Ainsi, la plus part de mes marchandises sont en vente à Douala. A Yaoundé il n'y a que les petits commerçants des quartiers qui achètent plus de 20 paires de chaussures pour aller revendre hors à Douala, il y a des grands commerçants de l'Afrique Centrale qui achètent leurs marchandises en grandes quantités. (Interview réalisée avec l'Informant 83 le 21 avril 2017 à Briqueterie - Yaounde).

Traders usually complain of air flights that cost so high for their reasons of increasing the prices of goods and services. In some cases they talk about the scarcity of the products in some particular cities. In other words the traders are saying that before embarking on a journey to Asia, one must first of all know the cost of the flight to the city where you want to go and buy your goods. Secondly, you must also find out if the goods are available in very large quantities and at moderate prices. When asked where he sells his goods and services in Cameroon and why that particular place? This is what he gave as response and reason:

In Yaounde, because I have lived here for a very long time before starting this business. Now I am still living in Yaounde, where many people know me. You know if you want to be a very successful businessman, you should be very popular. Yaounde is also the political capital of Cameroon with many workers (civil servants and all the higher professional institutes of learning), as such, I can easily progress than if I were in a small town or regional capital. (Interview réalisée avec l'Informant 50 le 31 mars 2017 à Melen - Yaounde).

He continued by saying that the place where you are based plays an important role in business as people know that this trader is located here or there selling these or those products and each time they are in need of them, they know where to find you. On the other hand, in business, a trader has his potential customers who buy to go and retail. At some particular times you have to give out products on credit which can only be possible if you the trader and such customers know yourselves very well and all of you live in the same place (town or city). All

of these can only be possible if you are stable in a well located place. You cannot give out things on credit when unstable and to people you do not know very well.

Some of the traders go and buy their products from countries following the choices made by their customers. The goods manufactured in a particular country can be so attractive to some customers and this will make the trader to go and buy those goods and services to satisfy his or her customers.

I go to United Arab Emirate (Dubai), I go to Dubai because the flight cost is cheaper compared to the rest of Asia. Goods are cheaper in Dubai than China. In terms of quality, most of my customers prefer telephones that are made in United Arab Emirate than Chinese products. . (Interview realised with Informant 50 on 31 March 2017 at Melen - Yaounde).

This is the response we got from one informant when asked; where exactly do you buy your goods in Asia and why that particular country among the many Asian countries? In continuation of the choice of a “place” as one of the strategies for doing business, this question was asked to the same informant; in which of the towns in Cameroon do you sell your products? Why this particular town? This is what she said in respond to the question;

In Yaounde, Because I was born here, I grow up and schooled here. Now I am married here where I live with my family. Yaounde is one of the two largest cities of the country and not neglecting the fact that it is the political capital of Cameroon, so with all these features and characteristics, it is a very good site for business. Although, I am only based in Yaounde with my products, immediate plans are on the pipeline for branches to be opened in Douala and Bafoussam respectively. . (Interview realised with Informant 50 on 31 March 2017 at Melen - Yaounde).

Another informant specialized with the provision of tiles and other building and construction materials says in the choice of a “place” for the selling of his goods and services, he choose Yaounde. This is because Yaounde is the political capital of Cameroon with all the embassies and other international organizations spotted all over it. Ministerial buildings are being constructed on a daily basis alongside the embassies and the international organizations are also putting up befitting structures for their organizations. All these construction projects are potential opportunities for him to sell his products as fast as possible and make more gains than if he were to choose a place where you do not have such golden opportunities. Concerning the country or place where he buys his goods and services before retailing them in Yaounde, he said that he goes to Guangzhou in China because to him, in terms of tiles and sanitary materials, no any other Asian country produces good quality tiles and sanitary materials than China. So he prefers going to the place or country that produces the best qualities of the goods he has

specialized in so much such that when it comes to the provision of quality tiles and sanitary materials, his customers can always count on him. He continued by saying that the provision of quality tiles and sanitary materials has made him to be so popular and to stand out tall amongst other tiles and sanitary materials providers thereby withstanding competition in the market.

The seriousness of the producers and the traders found in a particular country or place can attract or scare away customers. Here are the reactions of a trader following the seriousness of producers and the traders found in a particular country that have attracted him to that country.

I go to Dubai in the United Arab Emirate. I prefer this particular country because the people there are serious with the quality of products that they are selling and at moderate prices that permit us retailers to gain our own daily breads. This is in contrast to some of the Asian countries who sell very low quality products, some of which get bad before you even get to Cameroon. Not all the Asians are trust worthy, at times you ask for a particular brand of goods and you are served with something different from what you asked. Most of the time, we discover it only when we are off loading our goods from the containers here in Cameroon where you can no longer complain. (Interview realised with Informant 51 on the 31st March 2017 at Melen - Yaounde).

While in Cameroon, the trader does his retails in Yaounde where he is based and he has put up other shops in Maroua and Ngaoundere respectively. Yaounde is a coordinating city for him as he receives his goods from Asia before dispatching which or what quantity goes to the other towns. He has settled in Yaounde where it is easy for him to do all the necessary administrative dealings for his business to function well without delays and obstructions from whomever.

There are other Asian countries where it is easy to have entry visas and difficult for some. China the world's second economic power produces quality goods and sells them off to their neighbouring countries. This trader discovered that for him to buy good quality telephones, he has to go the Dubai in the United Arab Emirate than to go to China itself.

I go particularly to the United Arab Emirate. I choose Dubai because it is easy to obtain entry visas; secondly the flight to Dubai is less cost full as compared to the rest of the Asian countries. Thirdly, goods are sold in Dubai at relatively moderate prices and in accordance with the quality of the product. Electronics in general and mobile telephones are very cheap in Hong Kong but access to this country is too difficult. If you want to buy good telephones, you should not go to China. The Chinese fabricate very good telephones but they sell them to the other Asian countries while they stay behind and fabricate fake telephone marks of second and third choices. When you go and buy such fake telephone marks, you shall always be having problems with your potential customers. (Interview realised with Informant 50 on 31 March 2017 at Melen - Yaounde).

This trader sells his goods and services in Yaounde and also in Douala. When I asked him why Yaounde and Douala? He replied; because he started doing business here and he is based in Yaounde. As for Douala, it is the economic capital of Cameroon where almost all Cameroonian traders go there to buy their products. We equally find traders from neighbouring countries such as Centre African Republic, Chad, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Congo and Nigeria just to cite these ones.

This trader based in Bamenda says he choose this city (place) as a strategy for the location of his business site because of its geographic location. That is a junction town and the high concentration of renounced private schools (boarding schools) and the reference mission hospitals not leaving out the high concentration of microfinance organizations (credit unions). When I asked him the question; in which of the towns in Cameroon do you sell your products? Why this particular town? He replied:

In Bamenda, because it is a City that is witnessing changes every day and night compared to other big towns in Cameroon according to my own personal thoughts. Secondly the cost of living in Bamenda is moderate to me as I usually afford my basic necessities with a lot of ease. Thirdly, Bamenda is a major junction town in the North West Region where people, goods and services from the West, Littoral, South West region and neighbouring Nigeria meet on a daily basis making it a very good site for business. Bamenda in particular and the entire North West region in general is well known with very good private schools and reference hospitals that attract students and patients from all the other parts of the country and neighbouring countries to come study and receive their medical treatments here. There are so many people from Chad and Central African Republic who are to this part of the country because of some reference private hospitals such as the Mbingo and Banso Baptist hospitals, Shisong and Njinikom Catholic hospitals and the Acha Presbyterian hospital amongst others. With all these structures, the region is a very good site for business. In the fourth place, the trader-customer relationship is very cordial compared to our Francophone business men and women. We traders talk politely to our customers likewise the customers also talk to us politely and I can testify that many of our Francophone brothers and sisters like coming here to buy goods and services just because of the very cordial trader-customer relationship that we maintain here in Bamenda. In the Francophone regions the trader-customer relationship is much tensed as traders and customers talk very rude and arrogantly to each other. (Interview realised with Informant 4 on 7 October 2017 at Nkwen - Bamenda).

Bamenda is also known as the cradle and capital of credit unions. These microfinance organizations or credit unions play very vital roles in the daily lives of the businessmen and women. The credit unions help the traders to save and loan money whenever the need arises with moderate interest rates. As for the purchasing country, the trader says he goes to Dubai, in the United Arab Emirate. The person who took him to Asia was dealing with electronics and

he told him that Dubai is a very good place for all sorts of traders. He in turn likes Dubai because the people are very welcoming and very straight in business.

The varieties of the products (nature of business) can determine the place or places where the trader has to go in order to purchase his goods and services. There is this trader who deals with a variety of goods and services (dresses for all age groups, cars of all marks and spare parts of cars and motorbikes). This takes him to more than five Asian countries to buy his goods because there are countries that are so good in the manufacture of particular cars and not all the cars. There are equally countries that are very good in the manufacture of tyres, wheel drums and radiators and as such, the trader has to make inquiries to know which country produces the best of his goods and services. Below are some of the countries where this trader usually goes to buy his goods and the reasons for going there:

*I usually go to China particularly in Guangzhou (the commercial centre). I go to China because it is one of the economic powers of the world and things are relatively cheaper there even with lodging facilities are cheaper compared to other continents. I also go to Singapore, Bangkok in Thailand, Yokohama in Japan and Malaysia. **Why these particular countries amongst the many Asian countries?***

I usually go to these particular countries because they are good in the provision (production) of my brand of activity. Secondly the prices of goods and services are cheaper or moderate compared to the other Asian countries. Thirdly, the cost of lodging in these countries is moderate though Hotels are very expensive in Bangkok the capital of Thailand. (Interview realised with Informant 4 on 7 October 2017 at Nkwen - Bamenda).

He sells his goods and services in Bamenda but supplies other towns such as Bafoussam, Yaounde, Douala, Fundong, Mbengwi, Kumbo, Buea, Limbe and Kumba. He is based in Bamenda because his family is there. Secondly he tried doing this same business somewhere, it did not work and he decided to come back to Bamenda. He concluded by saying that “from every indication, Bamenda is a very good site for my business and it is very easy for me to supply the other towns cited above”.

The relative ease or struggle somebody or a trader undertakes to buy his or her goods can either attract or scare traders from a particular place or country. One of our informants said he goes to Dubai in the United Arab Emirate, because it is a very nice place to do business even with the smallest amount of money as compared to the other Asian countries. According to him, any type of businessman or woman (that is beginners and well established traders) can buy goods in Dubai with relative ease and not being disturbed or harassed by whom so ever. In

respond to the question: in which of the towns in Cameroon do you sell your products? Why this particular town? He said that;

For now, I am only selling here in Bamenda, because I grew here and I master the town very well especially when it comes to the domain of business. I know who is faithful and who is not before giving you my goods for credit, depending on our previous dealings if the customer respected the time he or she was supposed to pay the money. You can only do this in a town that you know or master very well. I also find Bamenda to be a very good place for me to live in and do business. (Interview realised with Informant 4 on 7 October 2017 at Nkwen - Bamenda).

So the place or country where a trader decides to buy his goods and services is very important in business hence any trader should think and reflect very well before taking a final decision where to buy and sell one's goods and services.

4.4 Prices of goods and services as strategies in business

Price is the exchange value of a product or service from the perspective of both the buyer and the seller. To be successful, a business owner must establish prices for goods and services that will allow for a profit margin will be competitive with other businesses and will be acceptable to the customers. Pricing can "make or break" a business. If the price is wrong (too high or too low) it won't matter that everything else is right (Pinson and Jannett 1996:85).

There are two types of prices; that is price ceiling and price floor.

4.4.1 Price Ceiling

Price ceiling is the highest amount that a customer will pay for a product or a service based upon perceived value. Pinson and Jannett (1996:86) pointed out that; the first thing is to recognize that the market determines the price at which a product or service will sell not your cost of purchasing that good or service. Products or services are bought on the basis of perceived value in the minds of buyers and not on the basis of what costs you to produce or purchase a product or provide a service.

4.4.2 Price Floor

Price floor is the lowest amount a business owner can charge for a product or service and still meet all the expenses. As earlier said, prices can make or break a business if a business owner gives exorbitant or too low prices for his or her goods and services, customers might be scared away from that business but if the prices are too low compared to the purchasing (cost) price, the trader is working on deficits which will ruin the business.

Business and or market, is all about competition, a competition that is not pronounced but a mental or psychological competition. This competition is taking active place or position in the minds of all the traders at all levels from simple hawkers to the renounced business tycoons at both national and international levels. In this type of competition, the quality and the prices of the goods and services play very vital roles. The traders who provide high quality products even if the prices of the products are high, customers who like and cherish quality goods and services would always buy from those traders. On the other side of the same coin, traders who provide low quality products with cheaper prices will also attract many customers and make profits as well. All the traders usually calculate their expenses (that is the cost price of their goods and services, their transportation fares, lodging, taxes and their rents) before attributing the price list of their goods and services.

The progressive influx and installation of Chinese businessmen and women in the various Cameroonian markets has made many traders to review their market strategies especially the prices and the qualities of their goods and services. The presence of these Chinese traders in Cameroon has made traders to have diverse views and opinions concerning the prices and the qualities of the goods and services offered by all the traders (both nationals and internationals). In a response to the question; what do you think about the arrival or presence of Asian traders in the local market, precisely in your own sector of activity? This is what a trader said:

The presence of Asian traders in our local markets is making things tough for me but it is still part of business that is competition. When there is competition in any sector, the competitors try to perfect themselves such that they shall always be selected or solicited and that is just what I am doing. If the Asian traders were not in our markets, we would have been sleeping or dragging our legs dreaming that we are doing business. Business is all about competing with people who might be at the same level with you or people who are better than you and it permits you to learn and improve on your skills. Cameroon is where it is today in terms of development because we were sleeping thinking and deceiving ourselves that we were the best forgetting that our fellow competitors were working harder. (Interview realised with Informant 30 on 5 December 2016 at Old Town - Bamenda).

The above informant talked of competition bringing about perfection which is a good thing in business in particular and economic growth as a whole. Countries and nations all over the world are at various levels of industrial and socio-economic development as a result of competition. Cameroonian and Chinese traders have developed different business strategies to cope with the competition. Other traders have decided to work on all the prices of their products while others have added politeness and the qualities of their goods and services.

Traders work on the choices of their products to cope with the competition in the market. The competitors in the markets are not only the Asians but Cameroonian and African businessmen and women. Some of the traders have diversified their shops with all sorts of trademarks and brands of goods. This is to withstand competition and then attract customers from the moment they set their eyes on their goods and services. The way you talk and hold your customers matters a lot in the fight against one's competitors. If you talk politely and you are very welcoming, customers at times prefer to buy from humble and polite traders even if the prices of your goods are higher than the other traders, these customers shall still come and buy from your shop. If you keep your customers well, you are indirectly preventing them from going elsewhere thereby helping the trader to overcome part of the competition.

One of our informants said he has no problem with the presence of the Chinese traders in Cameroon because each and every one has to work hard and to love one's neighbours, so he considers the Chinese as his neighbours. When asked the question; what do you think about the arrival or presence of Chinese (Asian) traders in the local market, precisely in your own sector of activity? He said:

I in particular, I don't have any problem nor anything wrong with their presence in our markets. On the contrary, their presence is doing us (the Cameroonian traders) a lot of good, because they are the ones (the Asian traders) paying for the adverts or publicity of some goods and services. When goods and services are advertised through the media, customers then begin searching for those particular goods and services; hence the customers buy from any trader who has the said goods that are being advertised. The Bible says that we should love our neighbours; so I consider them to be my neighbours. Some of us the Cameroonian traders are saying that the Asian traders have spoiled business in our markets. Personally, I haven't seen how they are spoiling business in Cameroon. This does not mean that the government should continue to allow them to come in numbers and do any type of thing as we find the, doing now in Cameroon. (Interview realised with Informant 30 on 5 December 2016 at Old Town - Bamenda).

This trader based in Bamenda said he works on the prices of his goods and services coupled with humility and politeness. Apart from this, he has no problem with the arrival or the presence of the Asians (Chinese), because it is not affecting him in particular in any way. This is because the Chinese do not have all the things or products that he has in his shop, so they cannot stop his customers from coming to him. The informant went further to say that;

There is no shop on earth that has all the goods and services needed by the customers all the time. Once you are not having this or that good or product at the required time for the customers, they will go to another shop. This does not mean that the Chinese should be allowed to do whatever they want because they are not in their home country here. In other countries it is not like that, for example in Nigeria there are so many

Asians (Chinese) traders but they are not allowed by the Nigerian government to do retails whereas in Cameroon the Chinese have been given the right to do whatever they want, wherever and how they want as if they are in their own country. In Nigeria, the Asians have constructed but warehouses where they do wholesale and not like here in Cameroon where they retail. With their cheap prices they are profiting while we the Cameroonian traders are losing. (Interview realised with Informant 10 on 8 November 2016 at Ndamukong - Bamenda).

A Yaounde based trader says he is not happy with the presence of Asian (Chinese) traders in the local markets. Their presence in the local markets are making things tough for them because they sell at relatively cheaper prices than they the Cameroonian traders and most people want to buy but from the Chinese traders.

Human beings in general and traders in particular have never been satisfied with what they have. Traders are always fond of crying that things are not moving even if the Chinese were there or not, the traders in particular will still complain. When asked; what do you think about the arrival or presence of Asian (Chinese) traders in the local market, precisely in your own sector of activity? He replied;

Me in particular, I don't have any problem with the arrival or presence of Asian traders in our local markets and especially in the electronics sector. Me I sell according to the price that I bought my goods in Dubai even if the Asians are there or not, I will still sell at that price. Traders are fond of crying that things are not moving and I think it is the general problem or habit of all businessmen and women not leaving out the Asian traders. (Interview realised with Informant 10 on 8 November 2016 at Ndamukong - Bamenda).

The presence or the arrival of the Chinese traders has made many Cameroonians to become fragile especially the Cameroonian youths who have been made to be hawking the cheap Chinese goods and services at cheaper prices too. These are the viewpoints of one informant and he continued lamenting that;

J'ai fait les tours des pays de l'Afrique de l'ouest et j'ai vu que la bas, les Asiatiques ne sont pas permis de faire comme ils veulent. Les Asiatiques/Chinois n'ont pas le droit de détailler leur marchandises mais ici au Cameroun, le gouvernement les a laissé de faire n'importe comment hors ; on devait leur demander d'ouvrir les usines et les industries pour pourvoir former et employer les jeune Camerounais. Même en Asie, on ne permit pas aux étrangers de faire le détailage mais d'ouvrir les grandes structures ou les entreprises. L'arrivée des Asiatiques dans nos marchés a fragilisé les commerçants Camerounais. Moi particulièrement je voyage pour le plaisir de voyager. Les premiers commerçants Camerounais qui partaient en Asie gagnaient en tous ; beaucoup des réductions sur les prix des marchandises en Asie et moins des couts douanières au port. Les Asiatiques sont en train de tuer la jeunesse Camerounais parce que les jeunes n'apprennent plus mais ils sont entrain de vendre les produits Chinois ou Asiatiques. Avant, on avait un Chinois qui nous livrait les Sebago ici au marché de Mokolo

aujourd'hui, c'est lui-même qui est entrain de détailler ces Sebago dans le même Marché. Ce commerçant Chinois qu'on lui a fait des réductions dans les usines et entreprises en Chine et zéro frais douanières au port de Douala, qu'est qu'un simple commerçant comme moi peut faire ?

Our trader who deals with fashion says he rotates the prices of his goods and services in the same way that fashion is rotating. When a particular product (shoes, dresses, caps, necklaces and others) is in fashion or mode, many people will like to that particular product. This in turn follows the traditional rules of demand and supply, that is when the demand is higher the price will increase and when the demand is lower, the price will drop or reduce. He says the difference between Cameroonian and Chinese traders is that the Chinese traders only have the privilege that they can go to the industries in China and order the fabrication of goods at their convenient prices whereas they the Cameroonian traders do not have such privileges. If those industries were here in Cameroon, he believes that they the Cameroonian traders can even do far better than the Chinese traders.

Going by the traditional rules of demand and supply in economics, when the demand for goods and services are high, prices will increase to a certain level and when the demand is low, prices will decrease to a certain level. This is where or when the issue or aspect of price ceiling (the highest amount that a customer will pay for a product or service based upon perceived value) and price floor (the lowest amount a business owner can charge for a product or services and still meet all the expenses) sets in. No matter the increase in the demand of goods and services and the increase in the prices, customers know and have the highest amount they can pay for a product or services based on the values they have for that product or services at that given time and place. In the other way round, no matter the lower in the demand of goods and services and the decrease in the prices of the products, business owners have the lowest amount they can charge for their products or services and still meet up with the expenses. So prices of goods and services can make or mar a business.

4.5 Packaging of goods or products as strategies in business

Packaging is the act or process of packing a commodity or a unit of a product uniformly wrapped or sealed. The manner in which a product or a service is packaged can have a direct bearing on its success in the market place (Pinson and Jannett 1996). Here, we are referring to the colours and symbols used to package a product or service.

Packaging helps to beautify a product just like the external beauty of a human being through dressing. A girl who is always beautifully dressed is like to attract suitors more than a shabby

girl. The same thing is true with goods and services in terms of packaging. Packaging makes the products to be more attractive and pleasing to the customers (consumers). Attractiveness permits the increase in sales and business figures. The newspaper *Le Quotidien de l'Economie* (2016: 8) while interviewing the Manager of a Petrol station says;

Le relooking des stations-services vient souvent d'un projet global qui vise surtout à rehausser l'attractivité des pointes de vente et des marqueteurs. On essaye de donner aux stations-services des couleurs, un ensemble de luminaire et de la signalétique qui font que le client de passage a très envie de rentrer dans le pointe de vente parce qu'il est attiré par un certain nombre d'éléments nouveaux, qui se trouvent sur le plan du design de la station. L'objectif précis c'est l'attractivité. Les conséquences logiques de l'attractivité c'est l'augmentation des ventes et des chiffres d'affaires. Donc, plus on attire un flux des personnes dans les stations-services, plus il y a les ventes, plus le chiffre d'affaire augmente.

Talking about symbols or colours as packages so as to attract customers, we will look at some few examples that will permit us to better understand the phenomenon.

4.5.1 Colours

There are so many colours in the world but not all the colours are good for packaging goods or products. Some of the colours are good for some sexes, age groups, professions, societies and countries at large while some are bad for all the above mentioned groups. Any colour that shines or looks bright is likely to attract the female sex more than the males. In the same manner these bright and shining colours are more likely to attract the younger ages (generation) than the elderly. The Chinese have understood this and that is why they are fond of manufacturing and packaging products with shiny and attractive colours because they know that the women and the Youths are the purchasing powers of all the nations on earth. Women buy decorative materials that are shining and attractive to the eyes and when they fade off, they will throw them away and buy some.

Any product that is to be sold to farmers, if packaged with red, yellow, brown and other dull colours are likely going to be rejected because those colours are not good signs to farmers. They are colours that indicate the crops are not doing well but if a product is packaged with green colour, it indicates that the product will help the crops to grow well leading to a good harvest.

All the decorations in and around a product can attract customers to a particular good or service. If the decorations are good, they will likely attract customers and if the decorations are not accepted by the customers (consumers), they will not buy that product or service. There are

some cultures where particular animals or objects are used as totems while others stand for taboos. All these can affect buying and selling of goods and services in one way or the other.

4.6 Promotions of goods and services as strategies to increase sales

Promotion is defined as the act of furthering the growth or development of something, especially the furtherance of the acceptance and sale of merchandise through publicity, advertising or discounting. In other words, promotion is the act or process of making a product, cause or organization more widely known or more successful. In so far as promotion is concerned, all the other “Pies” (Product, Place, Price and Packaging) are incorporated here. The product itself can attract or scare away customers and make or mar a business setting likewise the place where a business is set up. If a very good business is placed at a wrong or inconvenient place, customers may not find it comfortable coming there and it will ruin the business. The same holds true for the price and packaging of goods and services. If the prices of products are so exorbitant, it will scare customers but if prices are too low far beyond the cost or purchasing price, the business owner loses. The packaging of products can attract or send customers away from a particular product. The packaging of a particular product using particular colours and symbols conveys a lot of value and meanings in the various societies of the world. All these ideas put together will enhance the growth or fall of a business setting depending on how they are employed.

There are many different ways of promoting a business setting and in the Sino-Cameroon trade cooperation, the governments and traders of both nations are using a number of measures to promote their businesses. Some of these include; the qualities or marks of the goods and services, the creation and exchange of contact numbers, maintenance of good trader-customer business relations, the diversity of the products, discount (buy one take two), the use of national and local languages, intermediaries (démarcheurs or démarcheuses in French), tontine or “njangi” houses, give out goods and services on credit to potential customers and the use of musical instruments among others. Let us see in detail how these measures are used to promote the businesses of the Cameroonian and Chinese traders in Cameroon and in China respectively.

4.6.1 The qualities and trade marks of the goods and services

The qualities and the marks or the brands of the goods and services act as a form of self-promotion. When a trader has good quality products, customers will look for him or her in search of those products but when it is the other way round, customers will run away.

Most of the Asian (Chinese) traders sell what is produced mostly from their own countries, whereas I buy from more than six Asian countries and can be able to challenge my Asian competitor in terms of quality and the trade marks. Many if not all Cameroonians are quickly adhering to modernity in so far as dressing is concerned and as changes in dressing occur, I quickly buy those products that are in mode. This is to combat my competitors who are still selling old fashion dresses. Cameroon is my home country and I rely on my fellow brothers and sisters who will not let their brother down; so most Cameroonians prefer to buy from us the Cameroonian traders than the Asians. (Interview realised with Informant 70 on 10 February 2018 at Mokolo - Yaounde).

These are the viewpoints of a Cameroonian trader at the Mokolo market in Yaounde, who thinks that the quality and marks of his products speak for themselves and customers come from all the quarters of the city to buy this quality products and so he does not need to advertise his products because the products are advertising themselves.

4.6.2 Creation or Exchange of Contacts

All traders are profiting from the advanced development of the information and communication technologies (ICT) as traders and customers now exchange contact numbers and then communicate with each other regarding the supply of goods and services likewise the changes in terms of the prices and other modifications or innovations at the level of the manufacturers and big suppliers.

I have created contacts with all my potential suppliers in Thailand, Malaysia, Japan, South Korea, United Arab Emirate, India and China. As for the management of these contacts, the world has been simplified by high technological improvement such that I am able to write or communicate with all these suppliers in less than no time through internet, WhatsApp or simple calls. They also call or write to me from time to time to greet and brief me on subsequent changes and innovations". Yes, our fellow Cameroonian brothers out there have been very instrumental to me during the first trip and they are still very helpful. Now I am able to cope in any Asian country thanks to business tips and advice they gave me. I call and write them quite often and at times I arrive when the hotels are saturated then I will go and stay with them for some two to three days. The money I was supposed to pay for my lodging in the hotel, I give it to them. (Interview realised with Informant 70 on 10 February 2018 at Mokolo - Yaounde).

Another Cameroonian trader expressing how he is making use of the information and communication technologies to promote his businesses. He continued to say that while here in Cameroon, he has created contacts with many customers and he calls the customers as soon as he comes back from Asia. At times, he snaps or video tape the products and sends the customers the images before arriving Cameroon.

However, some of the Cameroonian traders told us that they don't want to create contacts with some of the Cameroonians living in China or Asia because they are not trust worthy. When asked the question have you created or made contacts with Cameroonians living out there in Asia? How do you manage them? He said: *“No, Cameroonians are not serious and they are not honest, I prefer to send money directly to my suppliers instead of Cameroonians. Some of them who are out there will do all they can to cheat you since they know that you do not know”*.

4.6.3 Maintenance of good trader-customer business relations

I only maintain good business relations with all my suppliers and each time I buy from them, they register my name in the computers including my address and they deliver me a receipt which I have here with me in Cameroon and I can write to them via the internet if I want goods and we do all the necessary financial transactions. At times I send them the money before going there because they are trustworthy and confidential. I do the same thing with my own customers back in Cameroon. I have the contact numbers of all my potential customers and I interact cordially with them as I trust them and they trust me too. These are the viewpoints of a trader when asked on what or how does he manage his trader-customer business relations?

4.6.4 Share with each other (celebrate together and morn together)

Sharing or carrying each other's burden is one of the measures employed by businessmen and women as a form of promotion to capture or buy the minds (consciences) of the various household consumers. Traders celebrate with their potential customers during happy moments or events such as promotion at job sites, marriages, child birth even when the customers are constructing their houses (traders offer material and financial assistances to their potential customers). They also morn or partake, share and carry their customers' burdens in times of pain such as the death of family members, disasters among the societal ills.

The Chinese government has used, is using and shall continue to use this form of promotion to capture the minds of the African leaders as a whole and Cameroon in particular. The Chinese have offered didactic materials to a number of ministries in Cameroon and as cited in some of the chapters in this work, China has constructed and equipped hospitals in Cameroon. There are public structures offered free of charge from the Chines government to the Cameroon government. These and others can be grouped under happy events. On the side of sharing or partaking in the pains of Cameroon, the Chinese government through her Ambassador in Cameroon in several occasions have donated humanitarian aids to flood

disasters, epidemic outbreaks and material or financial assistance to fight terrorism in Cameroon.

All these gifts and gestures are not completely free of charge because there are always other things that have to be done on the part of the Cameroonian government resulting from the gifts. They fall under what (Sahlins 1972) in his worked titled: “*Stone Age Economics*” described as Generalized and Balanced Reciprocities respectively. In his own words: “the connection between material flow and social relation is reciprocal”. A specific social relation may constraint a given movement of goods, but a specific transaction – “by the same token” – suggests a particular social relation. If friends make gifts, gifts make friends (Sahlins 1972:186).

This is clear of the Sino-Cameroon bilateral cooperation and trade partnership, as the Chinese continue to shower the Cameroonian government with gifts of all kind, the Cameroon government on her part, makes sure that most if not all of the infrastructural projects are awarded and executed by Chinese firms.

4.6.5 Special Discounts (buy one take two)

Business owners especially those giant Super markets and importers usually make use of this method within some specific periods of the year. Some of the periods of the year when traders do a lot of promotion; is the back to school period where book sellers mount up canopies and recruit some workers for those periods only (one to two months). During the back to school period, many traders get involved in the selling of books, didactic materials and other things related to education. Some of the traders usually write on sign boards “buy one take two” while others write “special discounts for those who buy this or that quantity or number of books”. Another period when book sellers and book publishing companies make promotions is during school graduations or end of year feasts in the various school establishments. During such ceremonies, the traders or publishing companies provide financial assistances, award of prizes to meritorious Teachers/students and they equally come along with some exercise books as support to the schools that usually buy their books (both test and exercise books).

During end of year festivity periods (Christmas and New Year celebration), 11th February which is the National Youth Day celebration in Cameroon, International Women’s day celebration (8th March of every year), International Labour Day celebration (1st May every year), the National Unity Day celebration in Cameroon (20th May of every year), the International Teacher’s Day celebration (every 4th October) and many other non-official festivities are the periods when business owners carry out a lot of promotions in various forms

and styles just to catch and grasp the minds of their customers. This extends to beer parlours and the brewery companies found in Cameroon that put so many drinks on promotion. For example winning corks of drinks where customers can win free bottles, T-shirts, balls, umbrellas, refrigerators, gas cookers, money, motor bikes, cars and even plots to build. Some of the brewery companies offer three bottles for the price of two bottles while others organize gala evenings and invite renowned artists or orchestras to come and animate just to attract customers and sell.

4.6.6 Use of National or Local Languages

Traders use all the possible means to attract their customers and one of these means is the language of communication. The Chinese traders do speak their language when they go to China. They equally benefit from some special discounts in the various factories just the fact that they are Chinese citizens. Some of the Cameroonian traders have started learning the Chinese language such that they can easily communicate with the Chinese out there in China and here in Cameroon.

In Cameroon, the official or national languages are English and French but traders usually use their local languages to attract customers as we can see with this informant: *“In so far as flattering the customers are concerned, we the Cameroonian traders are more talented in flattering customers to buy from us through signs, gestures and even local languages”*. Customers usually want to buy from somebody who speaks the same language with them because they can express themselves to the fullest especially when it comes to bargaining the prices of goods and services. They (customers) find it too difficult to bargain with somebody who does not speak the same language as them. Some of the Cameroonian traders try to make use of the “Pidgin English and Camfrancanglais” while other traders learn the simple basis of the local languages around their places of activity. They learn the names of goods and services, how to call money in the various local languages and even how to say good morning, good afternoon, you are welcome, thank you, good bye and see you next time just to cite these few. All these are done with the soul intention to retain those customers each time they come to the market.

4.6.7 Use of Intermediaries or Middle men and women (Démarcheurs or Démarcheuses)

The problem of language barrier led to the recruitment of interpreters, middle men and women (démarcheurs or démarcheuses in French). This is confirmed by this trader below:

You see now we have intermediaries in almost all the Cameroonian major markets. This practice was introduced by the Asian (Chinese) traders because upon their arrival in

Cameroon, almost all of them did not understand French even English. So they decided to employ Cameroonians as middle men or intermediaries between the traders and the customers. (Interview realised with Informant 15 on 20 March 2016 at Ntarinkon-Bamenda).

Some of these intermediaries do not work for only one trader but they work for about four to five traders so much such that if a particular trader is not having some particular goods and services, they will take the customer to another trader. A good number of traders in Cameroonian markets started as intermediaries and today, they are great businessmen and women.

A trader cautioned that some of these middle men are not trust worthy and they usually extort money from their customers while others even exchange good or quality products with bad ones, so customers should be very vigilant while dealing or using an intermediary.

4.6.8 Use of Tontines or Njangi Houses

A tontine is a joint financial arrangement whereby the participants usually contribute equally to a prize that is awarded entirely to the participant (beneficiary) who survives all the others. A “njangi” on the other hand is a social gathering where members meet weekly, monthly and even yearly to contribute money to help each other (members of the group), socialize and carry out developmental projects. Njangi is a Pidgin English connotation referring to a meeting, social gathering or an association of people from a particular family, village, clan, tribe or ethnic group, a district, sub division, division, region and even a country. It could also be a group of friends, colleagues or people involved in the same activity or business.

It is worth mentioning that some of these tontines or njangi houses serve as micro financial institutions to their members as they save and loan money whenever they meet. In confirmation to this viewpoint, here is what a trader said;

Un jour, un ami m'a vu entrain de battre avec mon petit capital et il a prêté une somme de 80000F CFA dans une tontine pour accroître mon capital. J'ai pris cette somme et après avoir acheté et revendre les marchandises, la dite somme d'argent était remboursé dans deux semaines pour dire que le crédit n'est pas mal si on utilise bien l'argent prêté. Après ça, j'ai développé l'habitude ou le courage de prêter les 100000 ou 200000F CFA à rembourser dans trois semaines ou un mois. Chaque fois que je prêtais de l'argent je me retrouvais avec un profit de 30000 à 40000F CFA. La même année comme je prêtais et remboursais régulièrement, la Banque et ma tontine ont eu la confiance en moi et ils m'ont prêté 1 200 000F CFA. Après avoir vendu les marchandises achetées avec les 1 200 000F CFA, j'ai eu un bénéfice de 400000F CFA et une maman m'a introduit sur la ligne du Nigeria, Benin, Mali et d'autres pays de l'Afrique de l'Ouest. Après sept ans du commerce avec les conditions dur et difficile,

Dieu a commencé à me bénir avec de l'argent et du succès dans le commerce et c'est à partir de là que j'ai commencé à aller en Asie. (Interview realised with Informant 65 on 10 February 2018 at Mfoundi - Yaounde).

Following the massive influx of the Chinese and other businessmen and women from all over the world in Cameroonian markets alongside competition, Cameroonian traders have developed strategies of using the tontines or njangi houses as the places where they can advertise and sell their products. This trader in Bamenda made the following remarks on the importance of the tontines, njangi houses or cultural and developmental associations;

We the Cameroonian traders only rely on our fellow brothers and sisters to overcome our Asian competitors. What I mean here is that we the Cameroonian traders are making great use of the Cultural and Development meetings, njangi houses and we give credits to our potential customers. We use the Cultural and Development meetings and the njangi houses to advertise our products and whenever a member of any of these meetings wants to buy something, they will first of all visit our shops. It is only when we do not have the goods they want before they can go to the Asian traders. That is why I, as a trader, I am a member of about four to five meetings and I have seen the importance of being in these meetings. (Interview realised with Informant 25 on 10 November 2016 at Nkwen - Bamenda).

Many scholars have been pondering on what accounts for the outstanding success of the Bamiléké people of Cameroon as businessmen and women? The use of these tontines as micro finances and their culture (solidarity or dynamism) could greatly account for it.

4.6.8.1 Success of the Bamiléké People in Business

The Bamiléké people are undeniably one of the most important ethnic groups in Cameroon following their enormous contribution to the development of the Cameroonian economy. They are often referred to as “the African Japanese” by their fellow Cameroonians due to their dynamism. The aspect or issue of the Bamiléké people succeeding in business because of their culture, “tontine or njangi” and individual responsibilities should be taken seriously.

Culturally speaking, the Bamiléké people have that culture or tradition of introducing their children into business in their early stages of life. Bamiléké children are introduced into doing business as early as from five years old either by accompanying their mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers and other family members to the various business sites. Some of these children maybe after classes or during holidays are found on the streets selling roasted plume and plantains; maize, boiled or fried groundnuts, kola nuts, balls, dresses and many other things. Some of the Bamiléké children are either pushing wheelbarrows or trucks in the various markets while others sell coco nuts.

Following the life histories of a good number of our informants who happened by coincidence to be Bamiléké people, many of them told us that they started by selling groundnuts, kola nuts, pineapple and others said they started by pushing either wheelbarrows or trucks in the various markets. With this way of doing things, the children grow up being business oriented and visionary as well.

One of the supporting or push full aspects of the Bamiléké people is the “tontine or njangi”, where people meet to contribute money and help each other with one or two people benefitting during each session. People also socialize and solve other problems facing members of that group. Each time a Bamiléké businessman or woman sees a virgin land or plot in town, he or she will begin to think or reflect on what type of business can suit that plot compared to the other tribes that see a virgin land or plot as something that can be sold or let out. Once the necessary agreements are made, the businessman or woman will quickly go to the tontine and loan money and invest on the plot.

Another particularity of the Bamiléké people is that they count on their personal efforts, they do not depend other people such top government officials. Based on their personal efforts, they have that tendency of establishing their businesses in places far from their villages or home towns and still able succeed.

Other scholars like (Dongmo 1981) have talked about the Bamiléké solidarity or dynamism (*Le dynamisme Bamiléké*) which is also a great factor for the creation of wealth among or between the Bamiléké people. The Bamiléké people have diversified their economy or economic activities so much such that they can trade within themselves thereby promoting growth and development.

According to (Jacques 2018: 5)

Les raisons de la réussite économique du « Bamiléké » peuvent être expliquées à travers la reconnaissance de l'individu comme facteur intangible de création de richesse, et l'échange de propriété comme seul moyen légal et légitime pour s'enrichir. En effet, la société Bamiléké est fondée sur l'idée de la promotion individuelle. Celle-ci suppose que chaque individu, dans le but de s'assurer une continuité doit progresser par ses propres efforts. Car chez les Bamiléqués, en plus du fait que « la famille bamiléké éclate à chaque génération pour donner naissance à de nouvelles familles », l'accession à certaines strates de la structure sociale, nécessite une certaine aisance financière. La société civile bamiléké joue ici un rôle fondamental. Elle est très structurée, comprenant des associations ou des confréries où les bamiléqués se réunissent périodiquement. L'intégration de ces associations et confréries suppose que l'on a plus ou moins atteint une aisance financière par l'échange et donc assuré sa promotion individuelle. C'est

au cours de ces rencontres que le système financier traditionnel appelé « tontine » entre en action. Ici, c'est le capital financier qui est mobilisé dans le but soit de le faire fructifier ou alors de résoudre des problèmes sociaux d'un certain ordre. Ces réseaux sont non seulement économiques mais fournissent aussi une sorte de sécurité sociale, privée, rassurante.

When any Bamiléké man or woman wants to construct a house, he or she will first of all consult the fellow brothers and sisters who deal with construction materials to ensure that they should first of all buy from one of theirs to encourage or promote the business.

4.6.9 Use of Musical Instruments

Due to the competition that naturally exists between traders, some of the traders have resorted to the use of sound systems or musical sets to attract customers. Some traders do not only play music but in addition, they look for talented dancers, comedians and at times much renowned actors or artists who come and perform on particular occasions of the month or year to attract customers. As one moves from one major market to another in the various towns and cities, one will hear music and people gathered in mass at one shop or another.

4.6.10 Use of the Media (Radio and Television Channels, News Papers and the Internet)

The development in technology has positively influenced trade as businessmen and women now use this means to advertise and sell their products without displacing themselves. Traders now go to the media houses to advertise their goods and services. Others pay direct cash to the media houses while others promote particular programs where people call to participate in some sort of competitions where the winners are awarded prizes which are given in kind or cash at the various shops. This is confirmed by this Bamenda based trader;

On the contrary, the presence of the Chinese is doing us (the Cameroonian traders) a lot of good, because they are the ones (the Asian traders) paying for the adverts or publicities of some goods and services. When goods and services are advertised through the media, customers then begin searching for those particular goods and services; hence the customers buy from any trader who has the said goods that are being advertised. (Interview realised with Informant 18 on 17 November 2015 at Mile II - Bamenda).

The Chinese and business tycoons are the ones paying for adverts on the media (newspapers, radio and television channels) while the beginners or small traders take advantage of the adverts and equip their shops with those particular goods and services.

4.6.11 Act of Crediting the Potential Customers

Crediting one's potential customers is one of the strategies traders or suppliers are using to keep or encourage their customers. When they do so, the customers will always come and

buy from them. This is in a bit to sustain the competition in the market and it is a strategy for some traders to sell more as can be seen with this trader below; « *Moi, je faire confiance à mes frères et sœurs Camerounais en donnant les crédits aux clients fidèles et ils payent une ou deux semaine après. C'est ma part de stratégie pour gérer la concurrence Asiatique* ». Our trader said he gives credit to his faithful customers who will come and pay on the stipulated date and not unfaithful customers who will tell you they will come and pay next week and you will not see them for a very long period of time.

4.7 Conclusion

In as much as this chapter is concerned, we have examined and presented some of the best possible business strategies. Any business or economic activity on the planet earth must have a strategic plan that it follows to resist and or cope with competition and then survive in the trade or business line. Every good business begins with a good strategic plan, because the business in which the trader or economic operator wants to invest in, is already being done somewhere in a different way.

It is the way or method better known as strategy that makes the new comer to attract customers and make profits. Most often, the new comer looks at the strong and weak points of the existing competitors before engaging in his or her own sector. By so doing, he or she knows where to put more emphasis or that special touch that will turn things good for him or her. The Bamiléké people in Cameroon are able to stand out tall in business in Cameroon in particular and the CEMAC zone as a whole because of their good strategic business plans. The same thing applies to the Chinese in Cameroon, Africa and the world at large.

Many of the (Bamiléké) traders we interviewed told us their life histories of how they started doing business by selling pineapple, groundnuts, kola nuts, coconuts, pushing truck and all the small or petit trade we can think of. Before starting with the selling of those things cited above, the Bamiléké businessman or woman has in mind that he or she ants or intends to become a successful or great businessman or woman. The trader in question now draws a roadmap to follow and the strategies he or she will use at each stage and quickly get to that final stage or place where he or she had intended to be before starting business.

There are so many other ethnic groups in Cameroon that have been engaging in business but failing woefully just because they had money and just decided to engage in business with no roadmap or any business strategy to follow. The end results of such business adventurers is total failure, because the type of failure is not the one the person can ever think of coming back

to do business; even though it is often when you fall don't remain on the ground but rise up and see your obstacles such that you do not fall again.

There are so many strategic business plans the world over but the ones we presented in this chapter were the best we could obtain from analysing our primary and secondary data respectively. In the following chapter we are presenting the activities and project of the Chinese in Cameroon Vis à Vis their various strategies.

CHAPTER 5
CHINESE BUSINESSES IN CAMEROON

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we shall be discussing the various activities carried out in Cameroon by the Chinese such as constructions (roads, dams, stadia, bridges, houses, hospitals, and schools), trade, agriculture, provision of potable water, humanitarian actions, restoration activities, socio-cultural and diplomatic duties. It is the sum of all these activities and projects that go a long way to strengthen the business cooperation between Cameroon and China. Some of the Chinese entrepreneurs do not import all their working materials from China but they also buy some of their materials from Cameroonian traders.

5.2 Diplomatic Duties

Here are talking about the various diplomatic activities being carried out in the People's Republic of the China embassy in Yaounde – Cameroon. The diplomatic activities are further divided into representation, policies, protection and management.

5.2.1 Representation

Ambassadors are diplomatic representatives that attend international meetings, banquets and parties and act as figureheads for their countries of origin. Ambassadors are also known as diplomats, a more general term describing those that work in a foreign country, known to ambassadors as the host nation, serves as their base of operation for promoting international relations while concentrating on specific areas of government including trade, military involvement and cultural relationships.

Ambassadors smooth relations between their countries (that is the home country and the host country) especially in the highly sensitive areas of politics and trade. In addition, they send information about economic and political development in their host countries to their home abroad. Ambassadors also assist travellers from their home countries, explain foreign policies and evacuate refugees from hostile environments. Due to the sensitive nature of their careers, ambassadors perform all of their duties with diplomatic demeanours, ensuring positive relationships between their countries of residence and their home nations.

The newly appointed ambassador meets with the leader (President) of the host country (Cameroon) in a ceremony where credentials are presented. When the leader (President) accepts the credentials, the ambassador can now get to work, relaying the policies and goals of his or her country and keeping the President and State Department informed of events in the host country. The ambassadors represent their countries at state functions such as dinners and conferences.

One perfect example of the ambassador representing his country is the visa exemption agreement signed between Cameroon and China. Cameroonian and Chinese holders of diplomatic or service passports will no longer require visas to enter either country. The agreement to this effect was signed on Thursday July 7th 2016 in Yaounde between the Minister of External Relations Lejeune Mbella Mbella, on behalf of the government of the Republic of Cameroon and the Chinese Ambassador to Cameroon, Wei Wenhua, for the People's Republic of China Cameroon Tribune (July 2016).

The agreement entails the reciprocal suppression of short-stay visas for nationals of both countries who are holders of diplomatic or service passports. Speaking during the signing ceremony in the Ministry of External Relations, Minister Lejeune Mbella Mbella noted that Cameroon and China enjoy excellent friendly and bilateral ties evidenced by the recent State visits of President Paul Biya to China and a similar visit of the then Chinese Head of State, Hu Jintao to Cameroon. The agreement comes to consolidate the relations between both countries and the confidence of their State institutions. He stated that the agreement does not in any way favour illegal emigration between the two countries but rather facilitate movement of officials of their respective administration. According to Ambassador Wei Wenhua, the agreement is part of the implementation of agreements with the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs during his visit to Cameroon in January 2015. The accord will foster the 45-year-old Sino-Cameroon friendly and bilateral ties. China is Cameroon's first commercial partner, while Cameroon is the second beneficiary in Africa of Chinese investments Cameroon Tribune (July 2016).

5.2.2 Policies

Consulting with their Presidents and state Departments, ambassadors relay policy stances and decisions to the Cameroonian government. In some cases, they may negotiate trade or security agreements, or help facilitate joint policy statements. Part of their duties in Cameroon is to encourage strong cultural ties and work to create good will in the host country by attending events and facilitating cultural exchanges between the two countries.

5.2.3 Protection of their Citizens

As many of the Asians come to Cameroon to study and for work, their ambassadors have as functions to oversee the safety of their citizens in Cameroon. Even though the majority of the work done to help their citizens in distress is performed by staff workers, typically consular officers, the ambassadors are ultimately responsible, much like the captain of a ship is responsible for passengers. Asians (Chinese, Indians, Japanese and South Koreans) with

passport, visa, safety, health and legal problems while in Cameroon can turn to their embassies and consulates for help. Ambassadors notify the State Departments when travel warnings should be issued for host countries.

5.2.4 Management

Plenty of mundane duties fall to an ambassador's lot. While some embassies have small staffs, some have large staffs composed of Foreign Service officers, such as public diplomacy, political and economic officers in addition to clerical staff. Other federal agencies separate from the Foreign Service also maintain offices in embassies. Overseeing, the coordination of activities and duties of staff and other related agencies can take up considerable time but the ambassador has to assume all these.

The reason we have taken some time to write up the activities the embassies and consular services in this part of the work is to present the major roles these diplomats play to enhance good bilateral cooperation between Cameroon and their home countries. They work to facilitate the quick and smooth movement of goods and services across the borders. All the Cameroonian business men and women have to pass through and or benefit from the services of these particular men and women to obtain their visas which permit them to travel to any part of those countries concerned to purchase goods and services. If there are some trade fares to be organized in those countries, the diplomats will help to pass out information to the Cameroonian public and then assist interested persons on how to obtain their visas and also facilitate things for them as they travel to their home countries.

According to (Aninpah and Menjo 2008: 25),

Despite this desire to have the Chinese invest in the private sector in Cameroon, there is no government department that can say the amount of Chinese investment in the country at the moment. There are apparently no official records tracking the activities of Chinese in the private sector of the economy. However, there are many Chinese working in the private sector in Cameroon. They are involved in diverse activities, which range from road construction, fishing and poultry farming, confectioneries, catering, medical care, forest exploitation and retailing of a wide variety of cheap goods imported from China.

These are essentially small scale activities. Given that there is no consistent data on the amount of Chinese private investment in Cameroon, this section will simply describe some of the activities of the Chinese in the private sector and the possible impact they are having on the Cameroonian society.

5.3 Construction works

Chinese firms are involved in the construction sector in Cameroon. One recent phenomenon is that of Chinese firms bidding for construction contracts. When the China Road and Bridge Corporation (CRBC) won the bid to construct some 13 km of road in Cameroon's economic capital, Douala, it was unprecedented. CRBC accepted US\$18 million, beating rival bidders who were requesting US\$30 million. The construction was successfully completed one month ahead of schedule and was appreciated by both the Douala municipal authorities and the World Bank, also involved in the project.

Chinese firms have been involved in huge construction projects in Cameroon since 1973, like the Lagdo Hydroelectric dam and the Yaounde Conference Centre. These are however firms hand-picked by the Chinese government without any tendering process in Cameroon. The activities of such firms nonetheless involve some investment (which is different from the aid given by China) whose amount is not known. All projects funded by Chinese aid are executed by Chinese firms.

Picture 7: Partial View of the Mfoundi Canal and Sports Complex Yaounde constructed by the Chinese



Source: Kume Alfred Gimandze (Fieldwork August 2018)

The picture above is a partial view of the Mfoundi canal and the Warda Multipurpose sports complex constructed by the Chinese. It should also be noted that all the maintenance in this complex are done by the Chinese. Presently one can see Chinese construction firms or individuals constructing houses for Cameroonian citizens. Generally all edifices or structures

that are more than four stories or levels are awarded to the Chinese. Most road and bridge construction works in Cameroon are being carried out by the Chinese while all the dams that are under construction or ongoing and the ones that are being renovated are all being executed by Chinese firms.

5.4 Trade

Trade between Cameroon and China, is a domain that needs not be introduced any longer to any Cameroonian as we see, feel and observe it on a daily basis. The signing of bilateral and trade cooperation between Cameroon and China witnessed the steady and later on rapid installation of Chinese traders in some Cameroonian towns and cities with the Chinese shops being filled with goods and services manufactured in China. Cameroonian traders were already going to China to purchase goods and services but the signing of the trade agreements accelerated the process as more and more Cameroonian traders could now go to China while some Cameroonian citizens took up residents in some Chinese cities for business ventures. Since the late 2000s, China has become Cameroon's first trade partner. In 2012, Sino-Cameroonian trade represented 12.3% of Cameroon's foreign trade, against 4% in 2005, elevating trade with China to about the same level as that with France and three times that with the US (3.8%), although China has remained behind the European Union (41.4%). When the EU is excluded, Beijing is identified in 2012 as Cameroon's top bilateral customer (15.3% of its exports), surpassing Portugal (11.8%), the Netherlands (11.3%, buying 70% of Cameroon's cocoa), Spain (11.2%) and France (8.6%). This is significant, as in 2012 China was only its third supplier with a 10.4% share, behind Nigeria at 17.8% (which does not include refined oil and consumer goods which are reportedly smuggled from this neighbour), and France NIS (2015).

Owing to the weakness of Cameroon's customs and statistical instruments, one is often confronted with conflicting figures. If we use Chinese data, Sino-Cameroonian bilateral trade has been more robust (Cabestan 2015).

This trade is very much modelled on the North-South structure, as China buys raw materials and sells manufacturing and consumption products. Its imports have been mainly driven by a rapid increase in oil purchases, especially since 2008 (62% of Chinese imports in 2012). Cameroon's oil exports increase caused a trade deficit for China in 2006 and 2008, but this has since been reversed. Chinese exports to Cameroon are mainly electrical appliance, textiles, footwear, vehicles such as motorbikes and tractors, mechanical and electrical products,

and cement. There was also a period of rapid increase of imports of food products from China, but since 2003 Cameroonian purchases of Chinese grains have gone down while the share of manufactured goods and machineries has gone up. In other words, China has replaced Cameroon's traditional suppliers in these areas. Cameroonians complain about their widening trade deficit with China (\$174 million in 2012 according to Chinese sources) and about the fact that some Chinese imports, such as ceramics or shoes, compete with local products. The smuggling of fake drugs (pharmaceutical products) from China and India coming through Nigeria has also been mentioned as a growing concern.

The activity attracting the bulk of Chinese into Cameroon nowadays is the retailing of assorted goods imported from China like electronic appliances, textiles, travel goods, footwear, clothing and many others. Chinese retail shops are found on almost every street in urban settlements in the country. They are relatively small-sized businesses, generally owned and managed by Chinese families. Local retailers are facing stiff competition from the Chinese, even though they equally import from China (Aninpah and Menjo 2008).

5.4 Agricultural activities

One of the sectors in which the Chinese are interested is agriculture. A Chinese firm known as Shanxi State Farms, in January 2006, reached an agreement with Cameroon to invest US\$60.5 million in projects linked to rice growing, cassava processing and ostrich rearing. Shanxi State Farms is operating in Nanga-Eboko in the Centre region. The firm has already started activities with 150 hectares of rice cultivation. The project is financed by a loan from EXIM Bank China. There are so many Chinese and some Cameroonian citizens working in these farms even though the Cameroonian nationals working there are complaining of low salaries and poor working conditions. The local citizens mostly the youths say what they have had as any additional support from the Chinese apart from their minimal wages are football T-shirts distributed free of charge to them by the Chinese that have bought more than ten thousand hectares of rich cultivable soil for rice farming that are being exported back to China. Preparation of the farmlands and most of the tedious or hard labours are being carried out by the local Cameroonian citizens of Nanga-Eboko while the Chinese expatriates sit comfortably on highly built hurts as directors and controllers.

5.5 Provision of Potable Water

Potable water supply has become a serious problem to Cameroonians and the Cameroonian government as a whole as some quarters, villages, towns and cities go for days

without water especially during the dry season. The scarcity of the golden liquid obliged many Cameroonian citizens to go fetching water supply from doubtful sources. This in turn came with some consequences to the Cameroonians as cholera and diarrhoea outbreaks were recorded from one town to another. The companies in charge of supplying potable water could not meet up with the fast growing Cameroonian population hence support and expertise was required to reduce the acute shortage of water supply.

The few Cameroonian citizens who deal with water supply are the Northerners (Les Nordists in French) who make up the highest borehole diggers, who are not even equipped but use rudimentary tools to dig and are blocked whenever they come across a rock. It was then very urgent and necessary to look for experts in such domains to deliver the Cameroonian citizens from the frequent water related diseases or waterborne epidemic outbreaks.

The Chinese were found to be apt and available to do just that which is needed and in the shortest time possible. This explains why we have a very high concentration of the Chinese population in Cameroon who are based in potable water supply. These Chinese experts ranged from small borehole diggers to very large corporations are found in all the ten regions of Cameroon exercising in this domain.

Picture 8: Installation of Equipment for the Construction of a Borehole for a Household



Source: Kume Alfred Gimandze (November 2018)

Provision of potable water could have been classified under construction but it has its specificities or particularities. The provision of potable water by the Chinese ranges from particular individuals through small firms to very large corporations. The type of Chinese firm solicited depends on the contracting agent or the nature of the water supply. This ranges from simple bore holes for individual households through pipe born supplies for a quarter, village and a town or city.

Picture 9: Work in Progress for the Construction of a Borehole for Household Consumption



Source: Kume Alfred Gimandze (November 2018)

The equipment and the personnel all depend on the nature or quantity of the water to be supplied.

Picture 1: Deployment of Heavy Machinery Equipment for the Construction of a Borehole to supply water for a Hotel and a Supermarket



Source: Kume Alfred Gimandze (November 2018)

From the pictures exhibited above, you can see for yourself that the type of equipment and the number of personnel involved depends largely on the nature of the work and or the volume of water to be supplied. In some of the sites, we saw some six workers (four Cameroonian locals and two Chinese expatriates). As we earlier described somewhere in this work, the Cameroonian locals are hired by these Chinese as labourers while the technical or expertise involved here is done by the Chinese.

In other sites where many people were working between ten to fifteen people one could see ten Cameroonian nationals and about five Chinese expatriates. Some of the Cameroonian local workers said the Chinese permit them at some point in time to work with the machines but that all the technical planning, realization, installation, modifications, changes and repairs are mostly done by the Chinese.

5.6 Humanitarian Activities

Under humanitarian activities, we are thinking of such domains where the Chinese come and stay or live in Cameroon for a very good number of days, weeks, months and years carrying out those activities and when they are done then they return to China. We are referring here to

the Chinese medical corps (Nurses and Doctors), Chinese Language teachers and a host of technicians.

Presented in 2008 by the then Chinese ambassador Huang Changqing as ‘one of the most fruitful areas of cooperation between China and Cameroon’, the health sector has remained a key area of Beijing’s development assistance in Cameroon. To be sure, China has developed medical cooperation with no fewer than 47 African countries, and has set up 27 antimalarial centres on the continent. This area has been very successful in Cameroon, attracting much interest in the local society. Another one has been traditional Chinese medicine (TCM). Simultaneously, China’s participation in hospital construction and modernisation has continued.

In Cameroon, China has put on the market an antimalarial medicine which is a combination of injection (Artesunate) and tablet (Arsumoon), derivatives of DihydroArtemisinin. Manufactured by Guilin Southern Pharmaceuticals, a laboratory based in the Chinese city of Guilin (Guangxi), this medicine and this combination have been recommended by the World Health Organization since 2004. Efficient and cheap, this treatment has been welcomed by the Cameroonian public. In addition, at FOCAC 2006, China decided to donate to Cameroon a malaria research centre (at a cost of \$0.4 million) housed by Yaoundé’s Hospital of Gynaecology, Obstetrics and Paediatrics, which was also built by China for 5 billion CFA or \$10 million. This centre was inaugurated in 2009.

Since the 1970s, China has also trained Cameroonian doctors in TCM, as they have done in Mali and Tanzania. The lack of infrastructure and doctors (the ratio has actually deteriorated to 1/15,000 inhabitants in 2009) have enhanced the popularity of TCM. Like in China, TCM is practised in public hospitals side by side with Western medicine and in private clinics. Cooperation with some specific Chinese provinces, such as Shanxi, has also developed. With the agreement of the Ministry of Public Health, Chinese companies, such as Chinese Pharmaceutical Cameroon Company, have penetrated the Cameroonian public health sector, selling antimalarial drugs and TCM.

Considered by some as an efficient feature of China’s soft power, TCM and Chinese doctors are also in effect ‘agents of a “discrete” form of globalization (based on survival strategies)’. Since the early 2000s, China has increased its assistance to the construction of hospitals. Apart from the already mentioned construction of hospitals in Yaounde and Douala, Beijing also restored and modernized the Buea hospital in the English-speaking southwest

region (3 billion CFA or \$6 million). For a long time, Chinese doctors have been attached to hospitals built by China. The numbers vary depending on the source but are probably between 10 and 30 per hospital. As an indication of their real number, it was reported in 2006 that 44 new Chinese doctors had arrived to take over from the team that had been there for 2 years (Cabestan 2015).

5.7 Professional and Socio-cultural Activities

A Chinese Language Teaching Centre was created in Yaounde in 1997 and is jointly managed by the International Relations Institute of Cameroon (IRIC) and the Chinese University of Zhejiang. The centre provides training for professionals from the diplomatic and foreign trade cycles and has attracted students from several countries in the Central African sub-region. Starting in 2004, the centre organises a Chinese language competition each year and the winners benefit a trip to China. This indicates that there are a good number of Chinese who live in Cameroon with the sole purpose of teaching the Chinese language and culture to interested Cameroonians in particular and Africans as a whole. In September 2005, cooperation between the education ministries in Cameroon and China gave birth to the Cameroon National Ballet with the assistance of two dance instructors from China Sunday Aninpah and Francis Menjo (2008). From time to time, these Chinese professionals are being recycled making way for other Chinese to come and have a glimpse of the Cameroonian and African cultures put together.

Socio-cultural activities are organized in Cameroon yearly to mark or celebrate the Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation. These activities usually give room for non-resident Chinese to come to Cameroon for short visits and then return to China. During such events, the cultures of both countries are being demonstrated and at times, Cameroonians who have studied the Chinese language and culture have to express themselves in Chinese. Here we are making references to the Cameroon National Ballet team and the Members of the Kung Fu Association of the Confucius Institute, Yaounde.

Note should be taken of some infrastructural edifices constructed by the Chinese and their Cameroonian counterparts do not master their way of functioning so much such that innovations and repairs can only be done by the Chinese. Clear examples here include the Multipurpose Sports Complex and the Yaounde Conference Centre where repairs and innovations there are being carried out by the Chinese professionals and not the other way round. It would have been expected that these structures be put up by the Chinese with the active participation of some

Cameroonian professionals or Technicians who can carry out repair works and innovations when need arises thereby transferring knowledge and or the technical know-how. If it is the Chinese who are doing everything from conception through realization, maintenance and repairs or innovations then a different type of partnership between Cameroon and China should be sorted out rather than talking of partnership when the other partner is just a mere spectator.

5.8 Restauration Activities

One of the domains where Chinese presence can be felt in Cameroon is the restauration business activity as many Chinese restaurants are spotted in so many quarters in some of the Cameroonian cities. Many Cameroonians and Africans desiring to go to China usually like to have a taste of some Chinese foods here in Cameroon before travelling.

Many Cameroonians are employed in these Chinese restaurants and are doing their best in learning how to prepare some of the Chinese delicacies hoping that in the near future they can set up their own restaurants or even go and settled in China.

5.9 Mining Sector

There are so many Chinese expatriates living in Cameroon because of the mining activities. The search for raw materials is one of the greatest pivots of the Sino-Cameroon cooperation as further confirmed by Sunday Aninpah and Francis Menjo (2008: 35), that; *“China’s intensification of relations with developing countries like Cameroon has been attributed to the need to secure raw materials for its hungry booming economy and markets for its manufactures”*. Cameroon is very much endowed with many natural resources (gold, diamond, bauxite, cobalt and iron ore) and very fertile soils that enhance the production of food and cash crops such as banana, plantains, yams, beans, sweet and Irish potatoes, rubber, wood, cotton, coffee and cocoa just to cite these ones. These cash and food crops attract so many countries in the world to come and invest in Cameroon.

The Chinese are very much interested in the cash crops and the mineral resources to feed their hungry and booming industries. Some Chinese mining companies met in Yaounde in August 2014 to create an association to defend their interests in Cameroon. According to *businessincameroon.com* of fourteenth September 2014, the first heads of the Chinese mining association were formally introduced on August 30, 2014 in Yaounde in the margins of the introductory ceremony for the new members of the China-Cameroon Chamber of Commerce.

The association of Chinese mining companies not only aims to defend Chinese interests in Cameroon but also to inform its members about mining regulations in effect in the country. The Cameroonian government has accused foreign mining companies of disregarding applicable laws, particularly by destroying the environment and operating illegal mining fields. In March 2014, the Divisional Delegate of Mining for the Lom and Djerem, in the Eastern region of Cameroon, found five Chinese mining companies in breach of the law. These were; Gipo Mining, Ging Ma SA, D'or de lion, Danshang Mining and Fuhaǻ Mining, which were immediately compelled to conform to mining laws in place.

There are cases where some Chinese companies continued to operate illegally until the Cameroon government had to force them to close and quite the territory while some fuel conflicts leading to the death of some Cameroonian citizens in some of the mining sites. In a report from journalducameroun.com of April 21st 2018, Cameroon's Ministry of Industry, Mines and Technological Development has announced it has halted the mining operations of three Chinese companies for non-compliance with contractual terms. The companies namely, Hong Kong, Peace Mining and Lu and Lang will no longer perform gold panning activities in the Eastern region of Cameroon and that their officials have been asked to pack their bags and leave.

It appeared from the statement that Hong Kong Company did have documents authorizing it to carry out mining activities. As for the Peace Mining and Lu and Lang companies, their departure is linked to a series of conflicts recorded between the employees and local populations which resulted in deaths, in addition to the non-respect of the environment, according the statement. These companies contributed significantly to the degradation of the environment through the diversion of rivers, and obstruction of rivers by mud, which has had a negative impact on agriculture and livestock.

Cameroonnewsagency.com of 24th January 2019, titles her report: "*How Illegal Chinese Mining Destroys Livelihoods, Fuels Conflict in Cameroon*" From the report or story, January 24th 2019, Nagbayanga Valentin, a widow in her late thirties, sits on the earth floor of her thatched two-roomed house she shares with her four young children in Haya Haya, a mining encampment with about 2000 inhabitants in Longa Mali village of Betare Oya sub division some 200 kilometres from Bertoua, headquarter of Cameroon's Eastern region. Dirty pots, pans and other old household paraphernalia are strewn all over the tiny house. Outside, the laughter and the chatter of her children and those of other neighbours is audible enough as they play a local

game, virtually ignorant of weighty problems their mother and the community are going through.

Poverty is discernible in the community whose inhabitants live in thatch houses, but just metres away, Chinese machines are rumbling as they mine away millions of francs CFA in gold. Conflicts had over the years, been brewing between the local population and Chinese miners until it boiled over on November 15, 2017 when there was a confrontation and a Chinese pulled out a gun, shot and killed a local. The population rose up in anger and beat the Chinese to death. Since then, relations between the local community and the Chinese miners have been frosty as tension continues to simmer.

My husband was shot and killed by a Chinese and now I am left with four children to fend for. Things are not easy as life is becoming very difficult in this community. The little money my husband made from artisanal mining is no longer there and so I wonder how I am going to feed these children or even to send them to school. FODER (2017: 22).

The worries of the widow whose husband was shot by a Chinese whom the locals simply knew as Bouboul. The younger brother of the deceased was present on the scene when it all happened and these are his words;

We were seven of us digging in our hole. The Chinese also had their hole not far from ours. But later, the Chinese, maybe realising that our hole was producing more gold, insisted that they must dig where we were already working. As they continued to insist, we said they should wait since we had our stones in the hole and when we take them out, they can go ahead. They wanted to pay us money to take over where we had been digging. But we said since we were seven of us, they should wait until we agree among ourselves before we can strike any deal with them. That is how we continued digging to take out our stones. But the Chinese, whom many villagers simply called Bouboul, we don't even know his real name, was insisting on closing the hole. When we did not allow him close the hole, he called the Chinese camp, which is nearby, on telephone. Three Chinese then arrived at the scene. At this moment, Bouboul went to one of their vehicles, took a gun and shot three times into the air. When he came close, I am the person he wanted to shoot. As my pregnant wife was also at the scene, I went behind her.

Bouboul then fired another shot in the air and then shot my elder brother. As my brother died, we overpowered the Chinese and took the gun. All I remember is the population coming out in anger and beating the Chinese who later died, (ibid: 30)⁵.

The case has been dragging at the judiciary and the chances for them to find justice over the death of their loved one are very slim. He says at the court, the Chinese maintain that if they have to pay for the death of their brother, the locals also have to pay for the death of the Chinese. *“But we are not the ones who started the conflict. He was the one who first shot and killed our brother”.*

Picture 11: Issa Paul a local native shot dead by a Chinese Miner



Source : Cameroon News Agency and (FODER 2017)

The Shady and dangerous business of Chinese mining in Cameroon was captured from the headlines of a report from *GlobalPost* of 31st July 2018. A widow pulled her hands out of the muddy water and sat down on a piece of fabric next to the bags of gravel that she and three of her 12 children filled that day. *“This gravel will be crushed”, then shifted*” said the 45-year-old widow as she prepared to nurse her 8-month-old baby who had been strapped to her back. *“If we are lucky, we can find gold, but it’s difficult”*. FODER (ibid: 40).

In a month, she earns around \$2.80 for her efforts. The widow works in the Kaye quarry, abandoned by Chinese miners in early 2017 after two years in operation. Around her, a hundred people noisily searched for the yellow metal in the pits of Ngoengoe, a village in East Cameroon with about 2.600 inhabitants.

Women hauled the earth, crushed the gravel and tended to the mechanized pumps that keep the holes from filling with water. Women and children collected the gravel from the muddy waters. The widow in question nearly lost her life when a hole collapsed at another open-air mine near Kaye where she was planning to collect gold. She takes these risks to feed her children. *“If I do not do that, how are we going to live?”* She asked. *“Since the death of my husband, I am the father and mother of the house”*.

Picture 12: Bodies of nine people killed in a Cave-in in a Chinese mining site in the East Region of Cameroon



Source : (FODER 2017)

In that accident, nine prospectors were buried under almost 33 feet of earth in the mine excavated by Lu and Lang, a Chinese mining company banned from operating in Cameroon in April 2018 because it lacked a license.

The Ngoengoe village leader remembered the tragedy;

The Chinese arrived with Cameroonian law enforcement officers to drive the villagers out of the mine sites to better exploit our resources, so the villagers were forced to come in the night, in the absence of the Chinese, to extract gold and find food for their families. It was during one of these nocturnal outings that the earth fell on them, ibid: 40)

Cameroonian law only permits local artisanal miners to search for gold using pans and other rudimentary equipment. But in recent years, Chinese operators who practice semi-mechanized artisanal exploration- including mechanical shovels and loaders, machines and chemicals that wash the gravel and other approaches have altered the landscape significantly.

Picture 13: Deep hole Mining site where cave-in occurred on December 30th 2017



Source: (FODER 2017)

Local elites in Cameroon have partnered with the Chinese miners, according to the Centre for Education, Training and Support for Development Initiatives in Cameroon (CETSDIC), an NGO based in Yokadouma. *“They [the elites] are collecting photocopies of national identity cards from villagers on the pretext of wanting to bring in companies that will provide water, electricity and jobs to the village”*. Says the Coordinator of the CETSDIC centre. *“With 10 photocopies, these elite can obtain 40 artisanal mining authorizations equivalent to 40 hectares of land”*. FODER (2017: 30). Once the local Cameroonian obtains permission to mine, the Coordinator explains, he or she signs a contract with a Chinese operator to run the mine. The Chinese, in turn, bribe mining authorities and other officials so they can begin work.

The law also states that mining operators must close their holes after completing their digs. Chinese companies usually abandon their giant pits; leaving behind dangerous areas where people and domestic animals might fall and drown. The Chinese companies also pollute rivers with their chemicals and mining runoff continued the Coordinator of the centre. In 2017, more than 50 people died in abandoned open mining holes in the Ngoura, Bétaré Oya and Ngoengoe localities in Eastern Cameroon, according to the calculations of the Forests and Rural Development, a Cameroon-based environmental non-profit organization. About 250 mining sites opened between 2012 and 2014 have not been filled, the group added.

“It’s been a while since the Chinese entered my field and started mining gold without my consent”, said another widow and mother of five who said the Chinese had destroyed her farmland. *“The Chinese told me that it is the authority that sent them to exploit gold and that they will give me \$130. I said that this money is insignificant for a field of one hectare that they have spoiled. I have nothing left”,* (ibid: 22).

Locals rarely gain much from the Chinese investment in their region others added. *“When the Chinese saw that a local indigene discovered gold in a particular site, they chased everyone from the quarry”* said one local miner who holds a card entitling him to artisan mining. He continued saying; *“the government must intervene because these Chinese are threatening us”*. Cameroonian government mining officials said they are trying to address the situation by using drones to investigate claims of other illegal mines, according to two officials who asked to remain anonymous, Lu and Lang did not have permission to work in the country. Lu and Lang did not respond to request for comment.

Still, the precedent was set more than a decade ago: semi-mechanized artisanal mining was first conducted in Cameroon in 2007 when the government requested that a South Korean company, C & K Mining, rescued 13 tons of gold that was likely to be washed away as officials’ pumped water into the impoundment behind the Lom and Pangar Dam in Eastern Cameroon. The authorities conceded the move would violate mining laws but said the situation was an emergency. The move served as a precedent for Chinese companies to engage in semi-mechanized artisanal mining.

Some of the locals told the two officials from the Ministry of Mines, Energy and Technological Development that the banned Lu and Lang Mining company is now operating in one locality known as “Colomine” still in the Eastern region of Cameroon. *“The mining sector is a mafia”,* concluded the two officials and that *“this crime does not benefit Cameroon or Cameroonians, perhaps an elite who would have received 5 to 10 million CFA francs [\$9,376 to \$18,755]. It’s shocking”*. Still on the mining activities of the Chinese in the eastern region of Cameroon, *Observersfrance24.com* titles her report coverage: *“Fury at Chinese company after deadly cave-in at Cameroon mine”*. This was as result of the nine people who died in a cave-in in the East region of Cameroon on the night of 29th December breaking 30th 2017. A Chinese company had just pulled out of the mine and failed to fill in the holes and secure the site despite risks of collapse. For the locals, this safety failure is the final straw after problems already caused by mining in the area.

Picture 14: Deadly pools left behind by Chinese Miners



Source: (FODER 2017)

The Mayor of Ngoura the closest town to Ngoengoe which equally covers the mining sites administratively went to the mining site a few hours after the incidence or accident said;

When we arrived, the bodies were already buried. We didn't know how many people had died. We decided to start digging, using two diggers belonging to the Chinese company that operates there. The people who died weren't employees of Lu and Lang. They were just locals who came in hopes of finding a bit of gold, to make little money for the end of year celebrations. One of them was my nephew. In fact the Chinese company had stopped exploiting the mine on December 29th. People showed up in the site a few hours later. Apparently, they gained access by paying 1100 francs CFA to a soldier who was on the site. After the landslide, the local gendarmerie was quick to open an investigation. However, I am considering filing a complaint against Lu and Lang and the State because the company abandoned the site without securing it. The State is extremely lax in enforcing the mining code, (ibid: 25).

The Chinese mining company Lu and Lang had ben exploiting the gold-rich mining site near the village of Ngoengoe, in the Lom and Ndjere division of the Eastern region of Cameroon. Around 2 AM the night after the company pulled out, a cave-in occurred. Both men and women lost their lives. People went to the site in hopes of finding a bit of gold, to make money.

Picture 15: Cattle and other livestock have also been falling into these holes, Chinese Miners have dug locals say



Source: (FODER 2017)

With all these incidents or accidents, the major question is; what does the law say? According to the Cameroonian mining code, mining operators are responsible for “closing” mining sites. In concrete terms, that mean that after having exploited certain sites, mining operators must leave them in an “acceptable” condition so that they do not become a hazard for local populations. The companies must close up holes, for example. The authorities are supposed to enforce this. But sites are rarely secured, deplores the Yaounde-based coordinator of the Forêts et Développement Rural (FODER). *“Generally mining companies don’t close up holes after exploiting them”*, he says. *“The ground is not firm, so there are often cave-ins. In just the Eastern region, about 40 people died in abandoned mining holes in 2017”*.

It was reported that the Chinese company Lu and Land did not officially respond to the incidence as confirmed by the Mayor of the locality;

On December 30th, I spoke to one of the company interpreters on the phone. He just told me that his Bosses were to China. On that very day, we organized a meeting to tell people to no longer go to abandoned mining sites. An employee of the mining company was present but he didn’t say anything because he doesn’t speak French”, (ibid: 30).

The mining company’s Translator said that he would not comment on the deaths of numerous people on the mining site. He did say that Lu and Lang had been present on the site since January or February 2016. Ngoura’s Mayor, however, says that the company has been operating there since three years. According to FODER, the company has been operating in the Lom and Djerem division since 2010.

This argument between the Translator, the Mayor and the FODER coordinator on the number of years the Chinese mining company has been operating in the division, goes on to confirm the statement made by Sunday Aninpah and Francis Menjo (2008) that; “Despite this desire to have the Chinese invest in the private sector in Cameroon, there is no government department that can say for sure the amount of Chinese investment in the country at the moment. There are apparently no official records tracking the activities of Chinese in the private sector of the economy”.

In line with the doubtful activities or the presence of the Chinese in Cameroon, this what a Cameroonian scholar said as found in YouTube; “*China, a Colonial Power in Disguise for Cameroon?*” consulted on the 25th August 2019. Africa has resources, China wants them. Cameroon is one of the bread baskets of Africa. China is only interested in the resources from Cameroon (oil, wood, cotton, diamond, gold, bauxite, rubber and many others) and strategic ports. China does not care about human rights and freedom. That is the burning of homes and killing of people in Cameroon is not a call for concern for them but their personal interest or gain.

China is also a colonial power in disguise, they give a lot of loans but there is too much corruption in the contracts. Nobody is accounted for and Cameroon is much indebted to the Chinese. Many Chinese are migrating into Cameroon and doing the little businesses the locals are supposed to be doing for example retailing and fishing, so there is a lot of tension between the locals and the Chinese.

The Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation is not a win-win cooperation. It could be a win to the Cameroonian administrative officials but not the local citizens. It is a win-win yes for the Chinese and the Cameroonian government officials and a win-lose for the Chinese and local Cameroonian people. China is very much interested in Cameroon’s geographic location, which is; boarded by Nigeria, Chad, Central African Republic, Congo, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea. So strategically Cameroon is very important because it has the outlets (airports and seaports). Cameroon is also agriculturally rich especially the soil.

In the next few years, Cameroon will be a playground for Chinese politics and interest. Now Cameroon government is struggling to survive by piling much of Chinese debts even though trying as much as possible to avoid the Western powers. The Chinese bring all the workers (that is the Technicians and the Labourers not leaving out the apprentices), how does that benefit the local Cameroonians?

All the instructions and signboards are in the Chinese language and the people do not know anything that is written there upon. When the Chinese come, buy huge hectares of land where they grow food and the food is exported back to China, leaving the local citizens without food, one day the local Cameroonians shall rise against the Chinese.

Despite the out spoken attitude of the Chinese government that they do not interfere in Cameroon's political system or affairs, but we see that the Chinese government prefers to support and maintain the present regime because they know that if things were to change with Cameroon having a democratically elected President, many of their contracts would be cancelled while others would have to pass through the parliament and well spelled out to the detriment of the Chinese and everything will have to be transparent. In Cameroon, lots of money is spent on printing the ruling party's gadgets in China, indicating the relations that exist between the ruling party and China.

China is coming in as an economic colonial power meanwhile what we need in Cameroon and Africa as a whole is a fair share deal which is good for all the people. China is only there to conquer the markets while the African leaders with their greedy nature to remain in power are ready to sign any deal with China especially that which will help to maintain them in power; this in turn will make our economy to suffer.

Everything being equal, the administrative authorities are supposed to know when the Chinese mining company entered the locality through a written document, well kept in their record files which can later be used as archives. From the archives, the future or younger generation will after some years or decades might be able to trace and find out that a mining company called this or that had operated in their locality from this to that date. Even if there is no ministry that can give us the amount of the Chinese private investments or activities in Cameroon, at the level of the councils or divisions, the Mayors should at least have some records of the various foreign companies operating in their areas of administration

The FODER official continued saying that;

A year ago, we discovered a mass grave on the same site. The bodies of four people were buried there. We still don't know how they died. The company has polluted the nearest river, whose waters are no longer potable. This river has also been clogged by mud produced from the washing of gold. FODER and the population tried to organize a few different meetings with the company since, on several occasions, but that the Bosses of the company never showed up. What is worse is that the local community does not benefit at all from the mining activities. Only the public treasury gets a bit of money. (ibid: 22).

According to the international legal principles and standards, indigenous peoples have a right to reparation for the human rights violations they have experienced. Remedies for human rights violations include restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction and guarantees of non-repetition. Reparation is intended to relieve the suffering of and afford justice to the victims by removing or redressing to the extent possible the consequences of the wrongful acts and by preventing and deterring violations. One basic aspect of the right to reparation is the availability of effective remedies.

(Boven 1993: 10), UN special Rapporteur on the right to restitution, compensation and rehabilitation for victims of gross violations of human rights, states in his landmark UN study on reparations that:

Restitution shall be provided to re-establish, to the extent possible, the situation that existed for the victim prior to the violations of human rights. Restitution requires, inter alia, restoration of liberty, citizenship or residence, employment or property.

The Inter-American Court on Human Rights has consistently held that “Reparation of harm brought about by the violation of an international obligation consists in full restitution (restitution integrum), which includes the restoration of the prior situation... and compensation or other forms of indemnification for material and immaterial damages. The same principle has been applied by United Nations bodies responsible for oversight of state compliance with universal human rights and instruments, the International Court of Justice, and the European Court on Human Rights, pursuant to Article 50 of the European Convention of Human Rights.

The general principle of restitution in human rights law also applies to indigenous peoples. There is a difference in its application to indigenous peoples, however, because indigenous people individually and indigenous peoples as groups collectively hold rights. As (ibid: 10) stated, a

Coincidence of individual and collective aspects is particularly manifest with regard to the rights of indigenous peoples. Against this background it is therefore necessary that, in addition to individual means of reparation, adequate provision be made to entitle groups of victims or victimize communities to present collective claims for damages and to receive collective reparation accordingly.

He adds that:

Vital to the life and well-being of indigenous peoples are land rights and rights relating to natural resources and the protection of the environment. Existing and emerging international law concerning the rights of the indigenous peoples lays special emphasis on the protection of these collective rights and stipulates the entitlement of indigenous

peoples to compensation in case of damages resulting from exploration and exploitation programmes pertaining to their lands, and in case of relocation of indigenous peoples. The draft declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples [Article 27] recognizes the right to the restitution or, where this is not possible, to just and fair compensation for lands and territories which have been confiscated, occupied, used or damaged without their free and informed consent. Compensation shall preferably take the form of lands and territories of quality, quantity and legal status at least equal to those territories which were lost.

Article 28 of the UN draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples states that:

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to redress, by means that can include restitution or, when this is not possible, just, fair and equitable compensation for the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used, and which have been confiscated, taken, occupied, used or damaged without their free, prior and informed consent.
2. Unless otherwise freely agreed upon by the peoples concerned, compensation shall take the form of lands, territories and resources equal in quality, size and legal status or of monetary compensation or other appropriate redress.

In 1997, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination also addressed this issue in its general Recommendation XXIII called upon state parties:

to recognize and protect the rights of indigenous peoples to own, develop, control and use their communal lands, territories and resources and where they have been deprived of their lands and territories traditionally owned or otherwise inhabited or used without their free and informed consent, to take steps to return those lands and territories. Only when this is for factual reasons not possible, the right to restitution should be substituted by the right to just, fair and prompt compensation. Such compensation should as far as possible take the form of lands and territories. Van Boven (1993: 11).

Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization requires that indigenous peoples' collective rights of ownership and possession over the lands which they traditionally occupy shall be recognised. The term "traditionally occupy" does not require a continued and present occupation, but rather, according to the International Labour Organization, there should be some connection to the present. Consequently under ILO 169 – and ILO 107, which use the same language – indigenous peoples have the right to restitution and recognition of their rights to lands "traditionally occupied" that they have been expelled from or that they have lost title to or possession of in the recent past, including those incorporated into protected areas without their consent. In the case of relocation, both consensual and non-consensual, ILO 169 also contains specified remedies: the right to return to traditional lands once the reason for relocation

no longer pertains; allocation of lands of equal quality and legal status, unless the people(s) concerned express a preference for compensation; full compensation for any loss or injury resulting from relocation (Couillard and al 2009).

Other sectors attracting Chinese private investment is the fishing, forestry and oil subsectors. There are a number of Chinese firms (groups of a few individuals and not large firms) involved in fishing, especially in the port towns of Douala, Kribi and Limbe. They use more sophisticated fishing equipment than the locals. The Chinese are getting involved in forest exploitation, with only two or three small firms at moment according to Sunday Aninpah and Francis Menjo (2008). But this number has far increased as wood exports to China doubled or tripled. Two Chinese firms including China National Petroleum Company are actively involved in oil exploration in the Gulf of Guinea.

5.10 Cameroon, Economic, Industrial and Commercial Days in China

Before the Chinese could come in their mass to invest in public, Para public and private sector businesses in Cameroon, something must have taken place in their home country China that caught their mind-sets and attention to come and invest in Cameroon. You usually have trade fares such as POMOTE held every after two years that show case the various domains where foreign partners can invest in. There is equally the Forum on China- Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). From the 9th to the 15th October 2017, was organized in Beijing the political capital of China, the Cameroon's economic, industrial and commercial days in China abbreviated as JEICAC.

During those seven days, Cameroon's agriculture-breeding-fishing-commerce-transport-tourism-water and energy-construction-industry- information and communication technology-arts and culture-sports were projected for the Chinese to discover the various domains of interest where they can invest in Cameroon. From the various actors through the commissioner's message, the objective of the project, the targets of JEICAC and the interests of such an event, we will clearly uncover how the Cameroonian government was able to seduce more Chinese enterprises to come and invest in Cameroon.

5.10.1 The Actors

The actors described the event as the "*winning-winning partnership*". Beginning with the Chinese President;

China supports the efforts of Cameroon for autonomous development and sustainable development. I thank Cameroon for its continuous support to the one-China policy, expressing the wish to see the two parties combine their development and expand cooperation in the areas such as industry, agriculture, energy, regional aviation, infrastructure and human resources. Our two countries should continue to strengthen exchanges with each other to deepen mutual understanding and to strengthen friendship between young people, women, experts, academics and the media. China and African countries constitute a community that is confronted with the same development mission. Xi Jinping, President of the people's republic of China.

China is a major partner of Cameroon and would eventually become a strategic partner towards our emergence. The frequency and cordial contacts are there to show for themselves. In Cameroon, numerous achievements such as the Conference Hall, the Gynaecological Obstetric and Paediatric hospital, Sports Complex and many more are there to attest. Paul Biya President of the republic of Cameroon.

China is eager to consolidate its relations with Cameroon and to expand cooperation in the areas of productive capacity, including agriculture, iron ore and the construction of hydroelectric power stations and infrastructure. Li Keqiang Chinese Prime Minister.

Cameroon's minister of Commerce said; *"diversifying our trading partners and improving our trade balance thereby intensifying our exports so as to maximise foreign direct investments."* Luc Magloire Mbarga Antangana, Minister of Commerce.

"The law on investing in the country has been improved to encourage foreign investors. The economic law henceforth protects all foreign investors who do not need to be afraid to come and invest for the development of their enterprises and our country." Laurent Serge Etoundi Ngoa Cameroon's Minister of Small and Medium Size Enterprises.

Cameroon is a very good old friend and important partner of China in Africa. Strengthening solidarity and the Sino-Cameroon cooperation corresponds to the fundamental interest of our two countries. China intends to work with Cameroon and take the friendship cooperation to a higher level to the wellbeing of the two people. Our trade and economic cooperation policy has brought new fruits to Cameroon. Cameroon has become the second largest Africa's beneficiary of Chinese financial aid. The Chinese Ambassador to Cameroon Wei Wenhua.

Cameroonians arriving China are surprised that they are preceded by a reputation some of our compatriots have built. This is the case footballers who have amazed the whole world, including millions of Chinese. They will always talk to you about Roger Milla whom they call in China Milla Chouchou. Whenever you present yourself as a Cameroonian, the image that comes back to the head of the Chinese is that of Cameroonian football. A Chinese is always curious to know who you are so that he or she can easily adopt you. The Chinese miracle is based on hard work. An example that Cameroonian reputed workers must explore, experiment and copy for our development hence one of objectives of the JEICAC. Mpana Martin Cameroon's Ambassador in China.

5.10.2 Priority Projects (Medium and Long-Term)

They relate to the sectors of security and defence, water purification and health. The roads and airports and social housing were high on the urban and energy sectors. A total of 32 projects were listed on the agenda to be negotiated with the Chinese party. In other words, Cameroon's priority development projects for 2035 are already scrupulously elaborated and anticipated for financial commitment by China for those that will be validated by mutual agreement between the two states. Cameroon will continue to benefit from this dynamic cooperation if and only if it will be resulting to a win-win partnership.

5.10.3 Why we must go to China

The information, or this affirmation of an African diplomat posted in Yaounde went unnoticed for many compatriots observing or not observing the political-economic scene of our country. Jalel Snoussi, Tunisia's Ambassador to Yaounde, since it is about him declared without blinking, the men of Cameroonian affairs do not travel much. How does the economic operators who are ambitious to accompany their government towards emergence and therefore the industrialization of their country can shut themselves up so much to the point of arousing this declaration from the Tunisian?

That's not all. For many years, countries such as Turkey, Ivory Coast and Tunisia organized activities of promoting their different economies in Cameroon with their respective embassies. But rarely Cameroon. However, diplomacy is now and essentially economic. Cameroon economic, trade and industry days in China would like to help reverse this trend. It is also the manifestation of the will expressed by the Cameroon government to see the country go to the conquest of knowledge, expertise and the Asian model which is increasingly seductive, powerful and conquering. This is a very appropriate moment for politicians and creators of wealth to go, the moment of a few days the major inputs of a dynamic actual process that must tie our country towards the emergence so much desired, hoped for and sustained by a whole people. China may be the catalyst we need; that is why we must massively take part in the JEICAC. With that, our country has as economic, commercial and industrial assets. China in all its economic strata is present on the Cameroonian territory: small trade, wholesale and retail, agriculture, apiculture, medicine, construction and public works, import-export, forestry and mining. China is omnipresent and imposes its model of economic deployment on the ground.

The conquest of commercial spaces and markets the process we must internalize in our development policies. The JEICAC are therefore the spring and trigger of the appropriateness of the Chinese know-how in particular, the discovery, the exchange and the action towards transfer of technology. We intend to mobilize all the milieu of Chinese affairs; employers' chambers, financial institutions, industrialists, decision-makers and enterprises of all kinds. Message from the Commissioner, Jean Marie Aboganena, CEO ABUDER Cameroon.

5.10.4 Objectives of JEICAC

Following the governments of the two countries, the objectives of the JEICAC are;

Bringing together the Chinese and Cameroonian private sectors

Enable Cameroonian companies to visit, learn and appreciate the Chinese know-how

Celebrating a rich and plural Sino-Cameroon friendship

Promote the emergence of a true symbiosis of peoples and cultures

Presenting Cameroonian products to Chinese consumers

Accelerating the industrialization of Cameroon through Chinese input

Negotiating and concluding joint ventures and technology transfer

Facilitate exchanges between Chinese and Cameroonian small and medium size enterprises.

5.10.5 Target of JEICAC 2017

The economic, industrial and commercial days of Cameroonians in China address to all Cameroonians eager to promote and reveal the image of a nation every day using its multilevel assets which are clearly undeniable facts. To truly mark this presence, the event calls us:

Public administrations in charge of economic, cultural and sport quests

Public and parastatal organizations in charge of specific economic development quests

Employer movements (GICAM, E.cam, MECAM, Syndustricam, API, BME, APME.)

The Consular Chambers (CCIMA, CAPEF etc.)

The players in the craft and social economy sectors

Organizations in charge of tourism (Travel agencies, Tour operators, transport, Tourists Receptionists etc.)

The artists/musicians. The diversity of the targets demonstrates that through this event, Cameroon should hold China not only to reveal its magnificence and potentials, but also to draw inspiration from the Chinese model of development, which today imposes respect and admiration.

5.10.6 Interest of the Event

Why take part in JEICAC? Cameroon Economic, Industrial and Commercial Days in China involve a major interest in many ways. China is the world's first or second largest economic power and nearly one billion six hundred million people in 15 provinces. China practically dominates the United States in the plan of trade and world trade. There is therefore a clear economic advantage in benefitting from Chinese know-how and assets in Infrastructure, Tourism, Culture and Sports. Cameroonian companies will benefit in terms of direct investment, technological know-how and business partnerships.

On the socio-cultural level, China is a culturally advanced country that has made the qualitative junction between tradition and modernity to boost its development. It is this creative genius that Cameroon has to materialize and apply it in Cameroon based on its own realities. In sum, it is a matter of boosting the cultural policy of Cameroon by taking inspirations from the Chinese experience.

All these viewpoints were gotten from www.jeicac.com and www.legicam.cm respectively consulted on the 1st and 2nd of November 2018 respectively.

5.10.7. Conclusion

As much as this chapter is concerned, we have so far examined in details most of the activities being carried out in Cameroon by the Chinese ranging from diplomatic duties through infrastructure, some professional activities, not leaving out medicines, fishing, mining, restauration, trade and the provision of potable water. It was very necessary to start with the diplomatic duties as they are the main intermediaries between the host country (Cameroon) and the visiting Chinese expatriates.

The works of the diplomats insofar as bilateral and trade cooperation are concerned are very laudable. The diplomats play a very vital for investors from their home countries to come to Cameroon and see for themselves the sectors in which they can invest their finances that in

turn provide employment for many Cameroonian citizens. It means that the diplomats themselves first see the various sectors of interest before informing the economic operators in their home countries. We have socio-economic events such as the Chinese week in Cameroon or the Cameroon's Economic, Industrial and Commercial Days in China. All these events help to project the business opportunities that Cameroon can offer to the Chinese investors and vice versa. PROMOTE is one of such events which does not only offer business opportunities to Chinese or Asian investors but investors from all over the world to come to Cameroon and exchange on a one to one or face to face discussions with Cameroonian economic operators in search for partnership and expertise. We equally deemed it necessary to present some of the viewpoints of some Cameroonians concerning the activities of the Chinese here in Cameroon.

Reviewing the Cameroon's Economic, Industrial and Commercial Days in China in October 2017 was also of primordial importance because as the days, months and years pass by, more and more Chinese and their firms, enterprises or companies shall be installed and operating in Cameroon. Cameroonian citizens should be aware of it thereby preparing them to better equip themselves from any competition from the Chinese and their goods and services. Cameroon economic operators have been behaving as if they did not know that the Chinese were coming as well prepared opponents.

CHAPTER 6

FEELINGS OF CAMEROONIANS TOWARDS THE ASIANS

6.1 Introduction

Cameroonians have mixed feelings towards the Asians (Chinese). By mixed contradictory feelings, we are referring to the mixed thoughts, impressions, opinions and characteristics Cameroonians have regarding the presence of the Chinese in their country Cameroon. Mixed is consisting of various things; that is the combination of different parts or different kinds of things. One can also talk of both consistent and inconsistent or conflicting

parts. The ideas or thoughts of mixed messages should not be left out because mixed message is the confusion between somebody's actions and words. In other words, mixed message is a confusing difference between the way somebody behaves and what somebody says.

The Cameroonian society has developed ambivalent feelings towards the Chinese. On the positive side, Chinese stick to their clichéd image of being hard-working and quickly completing many badly needed infrastructure projects, in other words contributing actively to the country's development. On the negative side, there has been a growing impression of a Chinese invasion, in sectors usually protected from foreign competition. As a result, the number of anti-Chinese demonstrations or attacks has been on the increase, particularly in 2010–2012. Since then, some limits have been imposed on the number of visas issued and stricter regulations have been introduced for Chinese visitors applying for longer stays or migration. However, border controls, as elsewhere in Africa, are lax and residency is rather easy to buy (Jean Pierre Cabestan (2015)).

In the Sino-Cameroon bilateral cooperation, many names have been advocated such as win-win cooperation (*opération gagnant-gagnant* in French), mixed blessing (something both good and bad, something that has both advantages and disadvantages or good points and bad points), a marriage of uncertainty, imbalance trade cooperation and many others. There are also thinkers or scholars who look at the Sino-Cameroon bilateral cooperation as a form of exploitation or a new form of colonization.

In the course of this chapter, we shall be unveiling the various activities or programs that led the Sino-Cameroon cooperation to be seen or regarded as win-win, mixed blessing, marriage of uncertainty, win-loss and exploitation.

6.2 Win-win Cooperation (*Opération gagnant-gagnant*)

China's relationship with Africa is deepening. It has become Africa's biggest trading partner – over the past decades African trade with China has raised from (US) \$11 billion to \$166 billion. Investments by Chinese state-owned and private enterprises, mostly in natural resource sectors, are increasing year on year. An African commodities boom is in full swing, stimulated greatly by Chinese market demand and growing Chinese investment in Africa's forests and timber (Mayers 2013).

The Cameroonian government says China is a good partner for cooperation, because China, unlike the West, does not impose conditionality's. Secondly, the Chinese ask very little

for contracts, compared to Western companies. For instance, the China Road and Bridge Corporation won a bid to construct a 13 km road in Cameroon's economic capital Douala for 18 million dollars, beating out rival bidders who were asking for 30 million dollars. And the project was successfully completed one month ahead of schedule. Meanwhile, many ordinary Cameroonians see cheap Chinese goods as a valid alternative. "With just 2,000 CFA (about four dollars), I can afford a pair of shoes...the Chinese are helping people like us," says a security guard in Yaounde who draws a monthly salary of about 50,000 CFA (100 dollars). Official figures indicate that 40 percent of Cameroonians live below the poverty line (Chimtom 2012).

In the speech made by the first Chinese president to visit Cameroon in 2007, Hu Jintao said that "the China-Cameroon relationship is based on "sincere friendship", "equality", "reciprocal benefit", and "win-win cooperation" (Cameroon Tribune ,31 January, 2007) restated by Sunday Aninpah and Francis Menjo (2008).

This sincere friendship, equality, reciprocal benefit and win-win cooperation between Cameroon and China shall be well explained or clarified in the following domains; education, health, agriculture, economy, trade, culture and sports.

6.2.1 Education

There are over 500 Cameroonian students studying in China through scholarships granted them by the Chinese government. Since the 1970s, China has been symbolically active in Cameroon's education, offering every year a handful of scholarships or building on occasion a few primary schools Jean Pierre Cabestan (2015).

However, since the late 1990s and even more the mid-2000s, China has become much more active on these fronts, especially as an education donor. One of its most visible achievements has been the opening of Cameroon's Confucius Institute (CI) in 2007, two years after the inauguration of the first CI on the African continent in Nairobi. Housed by the Cameroon Institute of international Relations (Institut des Relations Internationales du Cameroun, IRIC), Cameroon's CI is part of the University of Yaounde II. In 2009, it also created a branch in Douala that organizes language classes in local schools and another one in Maroua's Ecole normale supérieure (Higher Teachers' Training School) that trained 10 new Chinese language teachers in 2012–2013 (Chimtom 2012).

Proposing language training to students (75%), civil servants (20%) and business people (5%), the Yaounde CI is based on a cooperation initiated in 1996 between the IRIC and Zhejiang Normal University, located in Jinhua, and hosting today China's largest Institute of African Studies. Run by a Cameroonian administrative coordinator, Etienne Songa, and a Chinese director, Ms Jiang Yulan, the CI teaches Chinese with the help of one local teacher, Pauline Zang Atangana, the first Cameroonian to have been specially trained in China with the support of a scholarship in 1998, and 25 Chinese volunteers hired and dispatched by Hanban, the Chinese Ministry of Education's National Office for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (Cabestan 2015).

6.2.2 Health Care

Health care provision is one of the greatest aspects where the Sino-Cameroon relation is greatly noticed. The Chinese have built and equipped the Mbalmayo hospital and the Gynaeco-Obstetric and Paediatric hospitals in the Ngoussou neighbourhood in Yaounde and Douala respectively. They are so many resident Chinese medical experts working in the above mentioned hospitals under the expense of the Chinese government.

Since the early 2000s, China has increased its assistance in the construction of hospitals. Apart from the already mentioned construction of hospitals in Yaounde and Douala, Beijing also restored and modernized the Buea hospital in the English-speaking southwest region (3 billion CFA or \$6 million). For a long time, Chinese doctors have been attached to hospitals built by China. The numbers vary depending on the source but are probably between 10 and 30 per hospital. As an indication of their real number, it was reported in 2006 that 44 new Chinese doctors had arrived to take over from the team that had been there for 2 years (Cabestan 2015).

China has put on the market an antimalarial medicine which is a combination of injection (Artesunate) and tablet (Arsuamoon), derivatives of DihydroArtemisinin. Manufactured by Guilin Southern Pharmaceuticals, a laboratory based in the Chinese city of Guilin (Guangxi), this medicine and this combination have been recommended by the World Health Organization since 2004. Efficient and cheap, this treatment has been welcomed by the Cameroonian public. In addition, at FOCAC 2006, China decided to donate to Cameroon a malaria research Centre (at a cost of \$0.4 million) housed by Yaounde's Gynecologic, Obstetrics and Pediatrics hospital, which was also built by China for 5 billion CFA or \$10 million. This Centre was inaugurated in 2009. From this Centre, policies are formulated on how to best fight the malaria parasite in

Cameroon. The awarding of scholarships to medical personnel for in-service training in China since 1985 also sets the stage for the copying of best medical practices in China.

Chinese medicine and clinics are becoming very popular in Cameroon. Many billboards are noticeable in towns indicating the location of clinics specialized in Chinese traditional medical practices like acupuncture, massage and many others. They do not only provide medical services, but equally supply all the Chinese-based drugs needed. Many Cameroonian hawkers can be seen moving from one household to another with Chinese medicines such as pain killers, essential balms, inhalers, bandages, rubs with so many funny names like the “makalati tutum”, “njenseng” and the others.

Forty years ago, Cameroon and China embarked on North-south cooperation. Since then, positive statistics have been recorded at Cameroon's Ministry of Public Health. For instance, between 1965-2015, over one million Cameroonians have been treated by the Chinese and acupuncture successfully practiced on close to 250,000 people in the four major Chinese hospitals in Cameroon.

Moreover, 17,800 women have had safe deliveries and hundreds of thousands more successfully operated by Chinese medics for illnesses such as growths, fibroid, ectopic pregnancies, urinary tract infections, amongst others. Talking to reporters about this form of cooperation with China, Cameroon's Minister for Public Health, Andre Mama Fouda remarked that; *"Since 1975, close to 582 medical personnel from China amounting to 17 medical missions have been to Cameroon and dispatched to Chinese constructed hospitals in Mbalmayo, Yaounde and Guider."*

Located 49 km from Yaounde, the Mbalmayo District Hospital is the first health institution constructed by the Chinese in Cameroon. In an interview granted Cameroon Tribune (8 June 2015), following the commemoration of 40 years of fruitful cooperation between Cameroon and China in the domain of public health the Director of the hospital, Dr. Michael Tsoungui Akoa, says; *"We currently have 12 specialists from China. They are very competent and always available."*

Dr. Wang Qing Yun, Gynaecologist of the 17th Chinese medical mission at the Mbalmayo District Hospital, reveals that; "Before coming to Cameroon, I read that many women died while giving birth in this part of the country. So, my mission here is to reduce this phenomenon."

For this reason, Mama Fouda is unequivocal on promoting this bilateral relation: "Health cooperation with China is fruitful and full of success stories. Most importantly, we are thrilled, because, this form of cooperation has led to the sharing of professional experiences between medical doctors from China and Cameroon. Some Cameroonian physicians are now able to skilfully practice acupuncture and other medical procedures which are deeply rooted in Chinese culture." Cameroon Tribune 8th June 2015.

6.2.3 Agricultural sector

One of the sectors in which the Chinese are interested is agriculture. A Chinese firm known as Shanxi State Farms, in January 2006, reached an agreement with Cameroon to invest US\$60.5 million in projects linked to rice growing, cassava processing and ostrich rearing. Shanxi State Farms is operating in Nanga-Eboko in the Centre region. The firm has already started activities with 150 hectares of rice cultivation. The project is financed by a loan from EXIM Bank China. Many young Cameroonians living in and around Nanga-Eboko have gain employment working in the rice cultivation firm (Aninpah and Menjo 2008).

On the agricultural participation of China in Cameroon, (Cabestan 2015) affirms that Sixty Chinese and 100 locals work in the rice farm in Nanga-Eboko and part of the labour is allocated for the construction of an agricultural school; because of local opposition and compensation problems, the rest of the concession has not yet been granted to Sino Cam Iko.

A less controversial but much larger investment was Chinese state-owned enterprise (SOE) Sinochem's purchase in 2008 of 51% of a Singapore Rubber company, GMG Global, which had long-term leases on rubber plantations in Cameroon and Côte d'Ivoire. Its largest concession includes 41,000 ha in Cameroon, of which less than half is under cultivation. In 2011, it established another company to develop a 45,000 ha concession for rubber. GMG International Cameroon owns most of the shares of two subsidiaries Hevecam S.A. (90%) and Sud Cameroun Hévéa S.A. (80%).

However, these investments do not appear in local statistics. Altogether, the Chinese government has approved only eight rather limited investments in the Cameroon agricultural sector, including three farming, three cash crop and two livestock companies. Consequently, most Chinese FDI in Cameroon is in small-scale private ventures, such as restaurants, shops and small farms.

6.2.4 Infrastructure Projects

This is clearly the area where Chinese companies have been most successful and competitive in Cameroon, as they have in the rest of Africa. Their spectacular capacity to bid for and win large contracts aimed at completing structural projects has been well reported. In addition to the projects financed by the Exim Bank without tender (in Cameroon as elsewhere), Chinese infrastructure companies, both public and private, have been able to get funding from the African Development Bank and the World Bank, especially for road projects.

It is impossible to present all the infrastructure projects which Chinese companies have been engaged in. As indicated above, Chinese companies have won the lion’s share of infrastructure projects because, as elsewhere in Africa and the developing world, they propose a low price (which is seen by their competitors as a dumping strategy) and they are able to complete the project at great speed. Further, the Chinese are able to help fund the projects. However, as the number of projects funded by China increases, so does Cameroon’s external debt, significantly increasing its burden in the mid-term future. The table below is a summary of some of the major infrastructural projects that have been carried out, ongoing and or are at their completion phases.

Table 5: Conditions of major Chinese loans to Cameroon (2007–2013) adapted from Jean Pierre Cabestan (2015)

Project’s name	Loan amount (\$ million)	Signature Date	Maturity (In months)	Interest Rate	Grace Period	Grant element (%)
CDMA (Code Division Multiple Access) Project (10 year): mobile network project jointly developed by Huawei and CAMTEL	55.5	31/01/2007	21	2	5	36.85

Enhancement of water supply in Douala (phase 1)	27.1	13/11/2007	24	2	7.5	36.85
Construction of the CT Phone, the national fiber optic backbone, by Huawei for CAMTEL	52	08/07/2009	32	1	11.5	37.67
Enhancement of water supply in Douala (Phase 2)	97.1	05/11/2009	21	2	5	29.13
Stadium constructions in Bafoussam and Limbe	44.2	05/11/2009	20	2	5.5	27.15
Construction of an hydroelectric power plant in Mekin	53.4	07/01/2010	19.5	2	4	25.36
Construction of 1500 low-income housing units in Yaounde	75	12/01/2011	19.5	2	7	23.7
Kribi deep-water seaport	423	12/01/2011	20.5	2	7	30.41
Memve'ele dam and hydroelectric station	541.6	03/05/2011	16	Euribor 6 months + 310 bps	6	2.43
Cameroon e-post project	68.6	21/07/2011	34	2	8	26.36
Yaounde-Douala highway (phase 1)	482.8	08/03/2012	21	2	7	28.36
National broadband network project	168.3	19/07/2012	21	2	5.5	31.57
Military equipment supply to the Defense Ministry	330	24/05/2012	11	Euribor 6 months + 300 bps	2	18.88
Water supply projects in Bafoussam, Bamedia, Kribi and Sangmélina	173.6	14/11/2013	20.5	2	5	30.6
Construction of an national telecommunication emergency network	155	14/11/2013	21	2	5	30.6
Purchase of two airplanes type MA60	71	14/11/2013	21	2	5	30.6
Total	2818.2					23.22

Source: Cameroon Finance Ministry, via diplomatic channels (2015)

The table above, includes only those projects financed by China involving a loan above \$20 million. Euribor: Euro Interbank Offered Rate; bps, basis point. A basis point, in the financial industry is one-hundredth of a percentage point. Thus, an increase of 190 basis points equals an increase of 0.19%.

However note should be taken of some gigantic projects in Cameroon which are not realized with funds borrowed from China but are being realized or have been realized by Chinese companies. A very perfect example in this light is the Lom Pangar Hydropower Project in the East region of Cameroon. The project was realized by funds borrowed from the African Development Bank to the tune of US\$71.1million in November 2011 and the World Bank with the sum of US\$132million in March 2012. The project was realized by the China International Water and Electric Corporation. The management of the project upon completion was officially handed to the Cameroonian authorities on the 30th June 2017.

6.2.5 Trade

Cameroon and China have signed several agreements in the domain of economic and technical cooperation. Most of these agreements define the modalities of Chinese concessional lending to Cameroon, but others concern cultural, technical and also diplomatic relations. Among these agreements we have: Agreement for the reciprocal protection and promotion of investments signed in 1997, Agreement for Economic and Commercial Cooperation signed in 2002, and several Agreements on Economic and Technical Cooperation.

Trade is one of the domains where the Sino-Cameroon bilateral cooperation is witnessed, seen and or lived on a daily basis. Cameroon has been trading with China even before the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1971. The volume of trade leaped to more than US\$170 million in 2000, up from only about US\$85 million in 1999. According to the Chinese ambassador to Cameroon, trade between the two countries stood at US\$340 million from January to November 2006, representing an increase of 101% compared to the same period in 2005 (Aninpah and Menjo 2008).

Since the late 2000s, China has become one of Cameroon's top trade partners. In 2012, Sino-Cameroonian trade represented 12.3% of Cameroon's foreign trade, against 4% in 2005, elevating trade with China to about the same level as that with France and three times that with the US (3.8%), although China has remained behind the European Union (41.4%). When the EU is excluded, Beijing is identified in 2012 as Cameroon's top bilateral customer (15.3% of its exports), surpassing Portugal (11.8%), the Netherlands (11.3%, buying 70% of Cameroon's cocoa), Spain (11.2%) and France (8.6%). This is significant, as in 2012 China was only its third supplier with a 10.4% share, behind Nigeria at 17.8% (which does not include refined oil and consumer goods which are reportedly smuggled from this neighbour), and France (11.8%).

Owing to the weakness of Cameroon's customs and statistical instruments, one is often confronted with conflicting figures. If we use Chinese data, Sino-Cameroonian bilateral trade has been more robust and EU sources confirm this bigger share: according to these numbers, in 2012, China represented 18.9% of Cameroon's imports (\$1186 million) and 15.2% of its exports (\$819 million) or 17.2% of its trade, ahead of Nigeria (7.4%) and nearly half of the EU's exchanges (39.9%). In any event, Sino-Cameroonian trade has expanded ten-fold in a decade (Cabestan 2015).

This trade is very much modelled on the North-South structure, as China buys raw materials and sells manufactured and consumption products. Its imports have been mainly driven by a rapid increase in oil purchases, especially since 2008 (62% of Chinese imports in 2012). Cameroon's oil exports increase caused a trade deficit for China in 2006 and 2008, but this has since been reversed. Chinese exports to Cameroon are mainly electrical appliance, textiles, footwear, vehicles such as motorbikes and tractors, mechanical and electrical products, and construction materials as a whole.

One of the traders interviewed in the Yaounde Central market said;

I believe the Chinese have a very good business strategy, they have something they call **“a win-win policy”**, where they will sell you goods at a very cheaper rate and you will go and sell very fast and come back to buy more goods by so doing, you are selling and they are also selling. So it is a two sided coin or a win-win relationship as I can say. (Interview realised with Informant 75 on 10 March 2017 at Marché Central - Yaounde).

There was also a period of rapid increase of imports of food products from China, but since 2003 Cameroonian purchases of Chinese grains have gone down while the share of manufactured goods and machineries has gone up. In other words, China has replaced Cameroon's traditional suppliers in these areas

6.2.6 Sports and Culture

There is much to be said about the Sin-Cameroon relation insofar as sports and culture are concerned. A good number of Cameroonian students are now learning the Chinese language. Some Cameroonians have been recruited as translators in the various construction sites by the Chinese. There is a Chinese artist who composed and sang in the Douala (Sawa) language of Cameroon.

As you move across the various quarters in some of the towns and cities of Cameroon, you can see Chinese Restaurants spotted left and right offering the Cameroonian public a taste

of the Chinese foods. Cameroon-China cooperation in the domains of sports and culture has been increasing over the years.

China, just like with many other major infrastructure projects in Cameroon, has constructed a number of sports and culture-related facilities of international standing. These include the Yaounde multipurpose Sports Complex at Warda Junction worth about 17 billion FCFA, which was inaugurated on June 19, 2009. Others are the Limbe Omnisports Stadium with a capacity of 20,000 seats which was built by the China National Machinery and Equipment Import and Export Corporation, CMEC. It was handed over to government in January 2016. The facility hosted the 2016 African Women's Cup of Nations, AFCON. Meanwhile the government has awarded a 4.4 billion CFA contract to Chinese company Tianyuan Construction Group, to rehabilitate the Limbe training stadia. The Bafoussam Omnisports Stadium being constructed by CMEC is almost ready. The 190 million Yuan (9.1billion FCFA) 20,000-seat facility will also host international matches (Ndukong 2018).

On December 27th, 2017, papers were signed and the foundation stone laid for the construction of a table tennis centre inside the Yaounde Multipurpose Sports Complex. The documents were signed by the Minister of Sports and Physical Education, Bidoung Mkappt and the Chargé d'Affaires in the Chinese Embassy, Sun Wei. The contract was awarded to Shanxi Construction and Engineering. The table tennis court covers 110 square metres and comprises a hall of 300 to 400 seats, two dressing rooms and two offices. Construction of the table tennis centre began on December 27, 2017 ended in May 2018.

On the other hand, artistic and cultural exchanges between Cameroon and China have been expanding. In March 2016, a song and dance group from Liaong Province performed in Cameroon to mark the 45th anniversary of the Sino-Cameroon diplomatic relations. The Chinese Vice Minister of Culture, Ding Wei and Cameroon Minister for Arts and Culture, Prof. Narcisse Mouelle Kombi, signed a Memorandum of Understanding, MOU on cultural cooperation from 2017 to 2020. The Chinese government on the occasion donated 400,000 Yuan (about 33.6million FCFA) to the Ministry of Arts and Culture. The MOU covers amongst others training in artistic, cultural, radio and television, press, communication, cinema, painting, museum management and musical aspects.

During the 2017 National Day celebration in the Chinese capital, Beijing, a Cameroonian dance group thrilled guests, including Chinese officials. The reception hall was decorated with the conspicuous works of Chinese oil painter and businessman, Huang Jianbing, who has lived

in Akwa, Douala since 2003. Also present at the National day celebration in Beijing was former Indomitable Lions Captain Stéphane Mbia, who now plays professional football in China just like several other Cameroonian male and female football players. In 2016, Huang Jianbing published “*Unusual Impression*”, an 80-paged glossy book with hard cover in Chinese and English. The work which is the first of a two-part series contains 47 of his paintings -39 of them on Cameroon. Jianbing held his first painting exhibition in Cameroon.

The Confucius Centre of Yaounde now counts more than ten thousand Chinese language learners as more and more Cameroonian Youths are engaged in learning the Chinese language in particular and the Chinese educational system as a hold.

Picture 16: Members of the Kung Fu Association of the Confucius Institute, Yaounde



Source: International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences (2017).

The Confucius Centre in Cameroon offers language courses like Chinese major undergraduate course, Chinese as an optional course for university, secondary, and primary students, Chinese course for government officials, and Chinese training program for managers. Meanwhile, various Chinese cultural training courses, including Taijiquan, calligraphy, paper-cutting, Chinese painting, traditional Chinese opera and skills of traditional Chinese massaging are available.

6.2.6.1 Cameroonian Art occupies Prominent Place in the National Museum of China

Cameroon is referred to as “Africa in Miniature” largely because of its representative geographical landscape and their natural endowment. Also, the country’s rich *mélange* of

cultures, arts and craft justifies this appellation. In order to sell the nation's touristic potentials, Cameroonian leaders have over the years offered gifts to foreigners that depict the country's unique cultural heritage, below is one of such woodern statues found in the Chines National Meseum.

Picture 17: The High Queen Wood Statue from Bangwaland in the National Museum of China



Source: Cameroun24.net 2017

The National Museum of China, NMC, for example boasts amongst its masterpieces, collections from Cameroon. Chinese leaders have a tradition of keeping artefact-gifts in the NMC. Amongst these present are Bamoun bronze masks and several wood carvings from other parts of the country offered by various Cameroonian leaders (Cameroun24.net) consulted on the 10th May 2019.

On the third floor of the five-storey building of the NMC is Gallery 8 where about 600 sculptures from Africa are exhibited. They include the seated chieftain and wife wood sculpture from Bangwa people in Libialem Division of the South West Region and the helmet-style mask with leather surface from Ekoe people in the same region. There is also the 123-centimetre-high carved wooden throne with flower decorations from Oku in Bui Division of the North West Region. The largest artefact in the gallery is unarguably the High Queen wood statue from Bangwaland, holding two children, the colossal 210-centimetre-high sculpture is accompanied by two smaller high king and queen statues from Bangwaland. Gallery 8 also contains a rich collection of other unnamed sculptures from Cameroon.

6.2.7 Other Win-Win Benefits of the Sino-Cameroon Cooperation

There are a good number of win-win benefits to the Cameroonian and Chinese partners in this bilateral trade cooperation between Cameroon and China. These benefits are clearly visible in the domains of employment or job creation, motorcycle taxi business and raw materials for booming industries and or manufactured products for markets.

6.2.7.1 Employment or Job Creation

Local labour is benefiting from some of the employment opportunities created by Chinese firms, especially as Translators and Interpreters, assistants in Chinese shops and clinics, but also in Chinese construction sites and restaurants. These are however jobs requiring no specific skills, poorly remunerated, of short duration (some are laid off as soon as the Chinese can communicate in the local language - French or English) and the workers do not have any employment contracts with their Chinese employers.

Many of the Chinese expatriates have obtained specific skills and employment in Cameroon, as one of our potential informant working a Chinese construction firm told us saying;

I know a good number of some of these Chinese who came here when they could not drive or manipulate a caterpillar but today they are driving and manipulating caterpillars and other heavy duty cars. I have personally worked with about four of such Chinese, who were learning indiscreetly from me but were working with me as if they were my supervisors. (Interview realised with Informant 80 on 28 April 2017 at Olembé - Yaounde).

The local population is benefiting as Chinese investors provide goods and services at lower cost, promote efficiency and increase the variety of goods and services. Chinese firms have the reputation as low cost producers.

6.2.7.2 Motorcycle Taxi Businesses

One of the major areas where the Sino-Cameroon bilateral trade cooperation is seen and lived on a daily basis is the motorcycle taxi business. An estimated number of some two to five (2-5) million Cameroonians between the ages of eighteen to fifty (18-50) years earn their livings through the motorcycle taxi business better known as “Okada or Benskin”. Almost all the Cameroonians are benefitting directly or indirectly from the motorcycle taxi business.

The use of motorcycles for taxi started timidly in 1991 in Cameroon. Its emergence was favoured by a number of conditions: the political upheavals of the 1990s (marked ghost town operations with limited or no vehicle circulation); the poor state of secondary roads in cities

unfit for vehicle circulation; the collapse of the public urban transport company (SOTUC) and the high unemployment rate among others (Aninpah and Menjo 2008).

Today in Yaounde and other towns and villages in Cameroon, the motorcycle business is flourishing, at least in terms of their numbers. Motorcycle taxis generally operate on secondary roads within the city of Yaounde and in the outskirts leading to surrounding villages. They ply difficult paths, transporting people from one neighbourhood to the other and from inaccessible areas to paved roads. Cameroon imports motorcycles from China, Europe and Japan, but all the bikes used for taxi are from China. Bikes from elsewhere are too expensive to be used for the motorcycle taxi business. In all the Cameroonian cities and towns, it is the best form of transport during traffic jams especially during the “rush hours” of the day (the time pupils, students and workers are going to schools and their job sites and the closing hours). During such periods, the bike riders are able to mingle through the cars and are able to transport their customers to their destinations on time. The first to benefit from this activity are the motorcycle drivers who have found a job. Their daily revenue averages about US\$9.4 and after giving the contractual US\$5.2 to the bike owner, they are left with US\$4.2. Part of this is spent for minor repairs and the remainder is their remuneration.

Among those also benefiting from this activity are the bike owners/proprietors. Of the bike drivers surveyed by (Sama 2007) restated by (Aninpah and Menjo 2008), only 20 percent were owners and the rest working as employees. The bike drivers bring in a contracted average daily (except on Sundays) income of about US\$5.2. The daily income varies depending on the state of the bike, the area of operation, etc. If the average cost of a Chinese bike is US\$850 and the daily income of US\$5, then a bike is expected to repay its cost within 6 months. The working life of a bike taxi varies between one and two years. This simple analysis shows that the bike taxi business is lucrative to the proprietors.

Bike Repairers are among those who benefit from the motorcycle taxi business in Cameroon. Their daily incomes vary between US\$4.2 and US\$10.4. Assuming a working month of 26 days (excluding Sundays) and a daily income of only US\$4.2/day, bike repairers earn almost double the monthly minimum wage. Their numbers have been increasing rapidly to catch with the density of bikes in the country, including those that are not used as taxis.

The government and municipal authorities are also benefiting from the use of Chinese imported motorcycles as taxi in the country. Apart from the insurance payments, all the other payments are made either to the national or local government administrations. Motorcycle

drivers are also expected to obtain a driving permit from the government. With the estimated more than one thousand motorcycle taxis in Yaounde and more than one million in the whole country, the government is benefiting from this activity, which functions largely thanks to cheap motorcycles imported from China.

6.2.7.3 Raw Materials for Booming Industries and or Manufacture Goods for Markets

China's intensification of relations with developing countries like Cameroon has been attributed to the need to secure raw materials for its hungry booming economy and markets for its manufactures (ibid).

The government of China has always maintained a cordial relationship with Africa; this union is built on mutual trust and interest. China needs Africa natural resources and a market to sell manufactured products to sustain its fast growing economy. According to Li Xing et al, (2013), cited here by Eyong Eta (2015) during the cold war, this relationship was centred on ideological motives in which Chinese government supported African independent struggles and in return African governments supported Chinese agenda in the international arena, like the vote to claim the seat of Taiwan in 1971 in the United Nations. African States supported Chinese application for entry into World Trade Organization and Chinese desire to host 2008 Olympic in order to attract Chinese aid and investments in Africa. Both Africa and China share a historical familiarity of being colonized by the West. The government of China uses both cards in the international arena, when dealing with African States Chinese government portrays itself as a developing nation and when dealing with the West and NATO as a developed nation, Zafar (2007) as restated by (Eyong Eta 2015).

Presently, the Sino-African relationship has moved from an ideological standpoint against imperialism to a more pragmatic and co-operative relationship. The government of China desires African friendship to support its agenda in the international arena and respects African countries as equal partners. Chinese government has built mutual trust with African countries in comparison to European countries which do not respect African countries as equal partners. The government of China wants African support for its global dominance and African governments are in need of Chinese aid to meet developmental targets and Chinese model of aid is longed-for by African governments. Chinese huge demand for natural resources has escalated commodity prices; Nigeria was able to pay its outstanding debt by trading with China. Sudan over a few years went from an oil importing country to an oil exporting country due to huge Chinese financial investments in the oil sector in Sudan. (Marks 2007) states this

relationship can be analysed from the perspective of South to South cooperation as one developing nation helping another developing nation. China as a nation has undergone and is still undergoing most developmental challenges and is better placed to direct the African states. Chinese aid model which focuses on infrastructural development is appreciated by African governments as a more effective model of aid as compared to the western model of aid which place a lot of conditions before aid is granted. Such assessment of Chinese aid was further echoed in the Tokyo International Conference on African development in 1993. In that conference, African governments expressed their support for aid which focuses on development and production and argued it was more effective than traditional western aid which places conditions before aid is approved. Chinese aid model, unlike the Western aid model, is helping African countries to obtain self-reliant skills vital to sustain economic growth. The Chinese model of aid is established on the following principles: low interest loans, mutual benefits and respect of both partners, aid without attachments or conditions, equality in aid relationship, faster projects with results, respecting State sovereignty, technology transfer by training locals, empowering recipient countries to be self-reliant, providing material and equipment's to do these projects.

To sum up the first part of this chapter, the international trade between Cameroon and China has the following benefits or advantages;

- Monetary gains to both Cameroon and China.
- More variety of goods available for consumers.
- Better quality of goods.
- Competition both at the international level as well as local level.
- Closer ties between the two nations.
- More exchange of technical know-how.
- Local producers will try to improve the quality of their products.
- Increase in employment locally.

6.3 Marriages of Uncertainty and or Exploitation

Despite the blessings or the win-win cooperation in the Sino-Cameroon relation in particular and Africa as a whole, there are so many loopholes that make critics and scholars to

think and believe that the Sino-Cameroon and African cooperation is a marriage of uncertainty or an exploitative one.

In the second part of this chapter, we are presenting some of those aspects and or characteristics of the Chinese that go a long way to confirm the critics' viewpoints of marriages of uncertainties and or the Chinese exploiting the Cameroonian and African people. These viewpoints shall be unveiled in domains such as illicit or black market practices, suffocation local production, local firms or industries have been overshadowed by the Chinese international competitors, occupation of cultivable lands, luring the government to acquire much loans, low quality products, no transfer of technology/marginal positions for Cameroonian citizens and above all conflict with the local citizens in some of the construction and mining sites.

6.3.1 Illicit or Black Market Practices

Information from informants confirmed that the Chinese have that attitude of mixing low quality products with good quality products in their shops and will price them the same. If the customers are not vigilant or cannot differentiate between the two products, they will find themselves buying low quality products at the price of good quality products as confirmed by this trader below;

Yes, there is a great difference between the products the Chinese sell and us. The Asians particularly the Chinese are fond of diluting or mixing good products with bad ones so as to have much gain due to cheap prices and the competition they are facing in the various markets with us the Cameroonian traders. We the Cameroonian traders have good quality products and we sell them at affordable prices to our customers. It is only people who know good quality products (les connaisseurs as we usually say) who can differentiate between our products and those of the Asians. (Interview realised with Informant 13 on 13 March 2016 at Food Market - Bamenda).

Another informant still a trader told us that; what is making things worse now is the fact that the Asians (Chinese) are fond of diluting their products so as to have many more such that when they sell at very cheap prices, they will not lose. When things are like this, it is the consumers who are losing not the traders. The traders usually use other means or techniques to sell low quality goods and services at expensive prices like the good quality products. The informant went on to clarify us on some of the techniques they usually use to confuse consumers.

Je vais vous montrer quelque chose, regardez les deux paires des chaussures rouges qui sont posées là. Les deux paires sont du première et deuxième choix respectivement, mais je les tasse aux même prix de 20000frs CFA. Pourtant celle du deuxième choix coute 5000frs CFA. Quand le client demande combien ça coute ? Je demande qu'il me donne

15000frs CFA et si le client propose entre 5000 et 10000frs CFA, je vais toujours prendre l'argent sachant que je suis le gagnant. On a développé cette technique avec l'arrivée des Chinois avec des produits dilués. Ça dépend maintenant aux clients ou consommateurs d'être vigilant de ce que vous voulez acheter. (Interview realised with Informant 68 on 19 April 2017 at Marché Ekounou - Yaounde).

As a matter of fact, neither the Cameroonian Security personnel's nor the Chinese embassy in Yaounde Cameroon can give valid answer to the number of Chinese expatriates living in Cameroon. The Chinese community in Cameroon is hard to evaluate but has been growing rapidly in the last decades. Estimations go from 20,000 to 200,000, a more realistic figure being 50,000. It has become active in many sectors of the economy, including where it is perceived as unfairly competing with locals who already have financial difficulties. Chinese migration to Cameroon started in the late 1980s but until the 2000s was very limited and concentrated in restaurants, traditional Chinese medicine and retail shops (around 1000).

In the last 10 years, new migrants have arrived and developed business in many areas, such as wholesale and retail trade, transportation, farming and fishing. The appearance in the late 2000s of Chinese doughnut or popcorn sellers on Yaounde's street corners and of Chinese prostitutes, who are accused of charging much cheaper rates, in Douala has been reported in the Cameroonian media, causing increasing resentment in the local population. The development of Chinese farms has also been the source of tension with the neighbouring peasants, sometimes mobilised by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) opposed to land being leased to foreigners or to the rapid encroachment of agribusiness on traditional farming. Chinese fishermen have also been accused on occasion of fishing without permit or of using improper fishing nets (Cabestan 2015).

Currencies of the Franc CFA have become so scarce nowadays in Cameroon in particular and the CEMAC zone as a whole. Accusation fingers are all pointed to the Chinese who have been illicitly buying and exporting these currencies to their country where they are transforming them into jewellerys. The pictures below captured from some social media sources confirm the accusations.

Picture 18: Cameroon's CFA currencies being packaged for exportation to China



Source: *enactafrica.org*: 29 April 2019 (disappearing coins a new form of financial crime)?

Many Cameroonians both the traders and the customers have changed their behaviours as a result of the scarcity in physical coins. Traders have in some moments forced customers to buy more than they had initially intended due to the scarcity of the coins. For example, a customer who intended to buy an item for three hundred francs ends up taking something additional for one hundred francs just because the trader said he or she has only a hundred francs as balance. A trader complained that she cannot count the amount of money she has lost on a daily basis just because she is always allowing her customers with hundred francs due to the scarcity of coins.

Picture 19: Collection point of CFA currencies by the Chinese



Source : *enactafrica.org*: 29 April 2019 (disappearing coins a new form of financial crime)?

Picture 20 : Start of the Processing of the CFA coins



Source: enactafrica.org: 29 April 2019 (disappearing coins a new form of financial crime)?

Cameroonian memories are still fresh about some Chinese Contractors who bided and won for the supply of electric cables and water pipes in Equatorial Guinea but they were caught loading trucks of stolen electric cables and water pipes in Cameroon's economic capital Douala.

Picture 21: Selection and Proper processing of the CFA currencies



Source: enactafrica.org: 29 April 2019 (disappearing coins a new form of financial crime)?

One informant said that some of the Chinese play a lot of mafia with their identification papers since they have similar resemblances, more than two people can use the same passport, visa and Identity card. Some of them have gone as far as to establish Cameroonian identity cards in order to avoid paying resident permits in Cameroon just like the case in the image below.

Picture 22: Chinese Technician in Possession of a Cameroonian Identity card



Source: Social Media 29 April 2019

6.3.2 Negative impact on Cameroon’s economy

Following the signing of the bilateral and trade cooperation between Cameroon and the People’s Republic of China, local production has since then been suffering and taking downward trend as most Cameroonians consume goods and services imported from China on a daily basis.

Local contractors are facing severe problems in the presence of Chinese contractors. They cannot bid for Chinese funded projects (reserved for Chinese firms), and to make things worse, Chinese firms have started bidding and winning local contracts. Some of them expressed their frustration when a Chinese firm won the bid to construct roads in Douala that could have been realized by the local Contractors (Aninpah and Menjo 2008). All these preferences for Chinese contractors are happening at a time when Cameroon is facing serious unemployment,

underemployment and socio-political unrest resulting from the unemployment and underemployment saga.

What is more disturbing is the fact that Cameroon is well dotted with professional schools offering civil engineering training in the design and construction; especially of public works (roads or harbours). But when all these civil engineers graduate from school, they are either unemployed or underemployed because of the presence of Chinese engineers who are considered to be superior to the local engineers. What then is the purpose of creating such professional schools when the graduates cannot be confided with important works in the country? If you cannot valorise your own products, who will valorise them?

6.3.3 Competitions with Local Firms or Products

There is also a risk that cheap Chinese exports might be depriving Cameroon of market share in the Central African Sub-region. It should be noted that Cameroon has the most developed manufacturing sector within the Central African sub-region, and exports a reasonable quantity of manufactured goods to neighboring countries like Gabon, Chad and Congo but also to other African countries like Côte d'Ivoire and Togo. The share of industrial products in total exports stood at 26.5% in 2002, down from 30.7% in 2001 (INS, 2004). It is in this sector that China is likely to pose a serious indirect competitive challenge to Cameroon; especially as concerns those commodities equally produced and exported or consumed locally by Cameroon. China will not represent a threat to Cameroon in the market of raw material exports, as she is not an exporter.

To better appreciate the competitive impact of Chinese exports, we examine the evolution of Cameroon's exports to the Central African sub-region (a traditional market for Cameroon's manufactured exports), and then specifically look at some commodities exported by both China and Cameroon.

Table 6: Evolution of Cameroon's Exports to the Central African Sub-Region (Million US\$)

Central African Sub-region	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Congo Republic	18.58	21.22	20.34	22.49	21.01
Gabon	15.44	18.66	42.81	37.70	28.54
Equatorial Guinea	9.86	9.88	30.38	29.74	18.15
Central African Republic	5.32	14.22	13.05	11.35	11.39
Chad	11.44	38.77	45.65	27.63	26.36
DR Congo	26.71	11.43	28.50	20.91	0.00
Sub-regional Total	87.16	114.17	180.72	149.82	105.44
Some Selected Manufactured Export Products					
Total Perfumes and Toiletries	4.71	4.76	3.09	2.32	0.60
Total battery exports	0.06	2.71	3.92	1.48	1.34
○ Batteries to Gabon			2.28	1.17	0.90

Source: NIS (2004) and NIS (2006)

As shown on the Table, Cameroon's exports to the Central African sub-region have declined sharply from US\$181 million to only US\$105 million between 2003 and 2005; a reduction of more than 42% within two years. This decline followed a steady increase up to 2003. Exports to the different countries in the sub-region mimicked the sub-regional trend. For all the countries under consideration, Cameroon's exports for 2005 were lower than for 2003. It is very likely that competition from cheap Chinese exports may be responsible for this dwindling performance of Cameroon's exports within the sub-region Sunday Aninpah and Francis Menjo (2008).

An examination of some specific products can better reveal the competitive impact of imports from China. We select two sets of products that are exported by both Cameroon and China. These are perfumes/toiletries and batteries. The Table above clearly indicates that Cameroon's export of these products declined sharply in the period under consideration.

For example, total exports of perfumes/toiletries declined by 87% between 2001 and 2005. The trend for battery exports is not much different – falling from US\$4 million to US\$1.3 million between 2003 and 2005. This is reflection of battery exports to Gabon, the hitherto main export market for made-in-Cameroon batteries. Exports fell from 908 tons in 2003 to only 278 tons in 2005 – a drop in quantity exported of more than 69%.

The price difference between Cameroon-made and China-made discussed above should explain why Cameroon battery exports are declining, especially since insurance, transport and other costs will further raise the price of Cameroonian batteries.

Cameroon firms are not only losing market at home, but also in their backyard. However, it might be too quick to conclude that all manufacturing firms in Cameroon with declining output or losing export market shares are due to competition from cheap Chinese imports. The culprit might be supply constraints within the country, the sector or the firm itself. A definite answer to such a query can only be obtained following a visit to some of the firms concerned that is need for further research to evaluate the extent to which the declining exports can be attributable solely to competition from China and the strategies Cameroonian firms are designing to cope with the Chinese onslaught.

There are three major aspects or methods that most manufacturing firms apply faced with market competition. They include; slash the salaries of their workers, reduce the number of workers and or close down the firm. Some Cameroonian firms have gone through all these steps especially the BATA shoe company that was based in Douala that has completely shot down as a result of competition with Chinese firms and products.

The Anthropological interpretations of the drop in figures of Cameroon's export to the CEMAC zone and some West African countries have some negative social, cultural, economic, political and psychological impacts on the Cameroonian cultures. All these and more are due to the cheap Chinese products that rivals Cameroonian export products in the CEMAC zone and some West African countries.

China has brought cheap consumer goods, roads and schools to many parts of Africa over the past decade, but the continent's leaders are increasingly pushing for it to provide more of what many Africans want most: jobs.

From Pretoria to Abuja, governments have begun voicing frustration that China's use of Africa as a source of natural resources and a market for its goods may be hindering the continent in hauling its billion people out of poverty.

A recent report by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (Uneca) highlighted the risk that the continent's relationship with the world's second-largest economy could strangle its attempts to industrialize.

China's trade with Africa ballooned from \$10bn in 2000 to an estimated \$200bn this year - four years after it overtook the US as the continent's largest partner.

But about 85% of China's exports from Africa are raw materials, such as oil and minerals. According to the (African Development Bank 2015), most minerals mined in Africa are exported raw; meaning the jobs and wealth from processing them is created elsewhere. In this same light, (Kwame Nkrumah 1965) said; Africa is a paradox, which illustrates and highlights neo-colonialism. Her earth is rich, yet the products that come from above and below her soil continue to enrich not Africans... but groups and individuals who operate to African impoverishment.... If Africa's multiple resources were used for her development, they could place her among the modernized continents of the world.

A flood of Chinese produce, meanwhile, has accelerated the decline in industrialization since the 1980s. Africa's textile industry alone lost 750,000 jobs over the past decade, says the Johannesburg-based Brent Hurst Foundation. Even in the continent's manufacturing powerhouse, South Africa, about 40% of footwear and fabrics come from China.

Expressing the concerns of many African governments, President Jacob Zuma bluntly warned last year 2012 that such unbalanced trade was "unsustainable".

The romanticized relationship surrounding China's investment in Africa has passed," says Alex Vines, head of the Africa program at the Chatham House research institute. "With the world's youngest and fastest-growing population, the main pressure on governments in Africa is to provide jobs. Having the Chinese take those jobs doesn't help.

It is true that China's boom has brought many benefits to Africa. Beijing has won fulsome praise from many governments for its willingness to finance large infrastructure projects without conditions relating to democracy, governance and human rights — the "strings" Africa has often criticized as attached to aid from the West, (Flynn 2013).

6.3.4 Low Quality Products

Cameroonians have been made to be acquainted to low quality products and many people have come up with terms which they say in dealing with imported goods and services from China, you must learn to “buy and throw” instead of “buy use and throw”. That is when you buy a good quality product; you will certainly use it for a very long period of time before you can dispose of it, but when you buy a low quality product, you will have to throw it as soon as possible.

One informant said; *“I bought a new pair of Chinese shoe for my child and the child wore the shoe in the morning and went to church but on coming back from church, the shoe had already torn and it was beyond repairs”*. Below is a conversation a Cameroonian intellectual had with a Chinese reporter in Penn State in the United States of America and is being reported here by the Chinese reporter Jinghao Lu who reported on all the pessimistic thoughts the Cameroonian Professor and many other high class intellectuals have about China in Cameroon.

(Lu 2011), recently I chatted with a Cameroonian visiting scholar at Penn State. His research field does not do with China in Africa. But his perspective on Chinese involvement in Cameroon represents the view of the intellectual class. He mentions that both he and his colleagues in a university at Cameroon held a very negative position on the Chinese people in their country. According to him, Chinese reputation in Cameroon is considered as bad. In 1995 several Chinese scholars came to the University of Yaounde with low quality research equipment that expired in short period of time. Some Cameroonian merchants also imported Chinese laptops. These laptops were in low quality and quickly lost their market in Cameroon. Also, Chinese people are unwilling to participate in activities in the local community, which was seen as impolite and mysterious by the locals. The accumulative effects of these incidents have increased mistrust of Chinese in the Cameroonian society.

The professor thinks Chinese are no different from Europeans because they bring their own labour to the construction camps. The professor believed Chinese didn't hire any Cameroonian to work for the new Olympic stadium and thus no knowledge was transferred to Africans. At the same time, Chinese used these projects in exchange of resources. He also mentioned China purchased a lot of land from the Cameroonian government to grow rice and export back to China. People criticized that the Africans living around these farms benefit nothing from the rice Chinese grow, and have to import rice from Thailand. Many of them are starving.

When I asked how Cameroon has benefited from China's help with infrastructure building, he disagreed China really helped Africa with development. Rather, China won many bids because of low price, and they were merely business deals. Besides responding to the cheap price Chinese firms have offered, the government was in favour of China to show their discontent towards the Europeans. "*The current way China deals with Cameroon will make China lose support by the government in 50 years,*" he pointed out, and also mentioned the Indians will bring more hope to the continent because they welcome diversity in their projects and workforce. Though it seems the civil society in Cameroon does not prefer China's appearance in Africa, the Chinese government and the Cameroonian counterpart apparently enjoy their collaborations. Another informant said that Cameroon has become a dumping ground of either cheap Chinese products or second handed goods and services from Europe and America.

Now Cameroonian citizens have the impression that anything Chinese is of low quality, tasteless and will not last long. For example; when you go to the market and you hear of Chinese loins (le tissue Chinois), Chinese mackerel (maquereau Chinois), Chinese whisky (le whisky chinois), Chinese puff-puff (les beignets Chinois) just to name these few refer to low quality products.

This very moment that we are writing this thesis, all social media platforms are full of pictures and videos showing many Cameroonians complaining of fake Chinese (plastic) rice parading Cameroonian shops and households. Faced with all these accusations, neither the Cameroonian administrative authorities nor the Chinese authorities have said or done something to clarify the situation. While the silences persist on both government officials, household consumers and traders are accusing and counter accusing each other in the various markets, supermarkets and shops in Cameroon. All these scandals and the doubtful sources of some Chinese foods go a long way to confirm the pessimistic views of some scholars, critics and public opinions concerning the Sino-Cameroon relationship.

6.3.5 Luring the Cameroon Government to obtain many loans from China

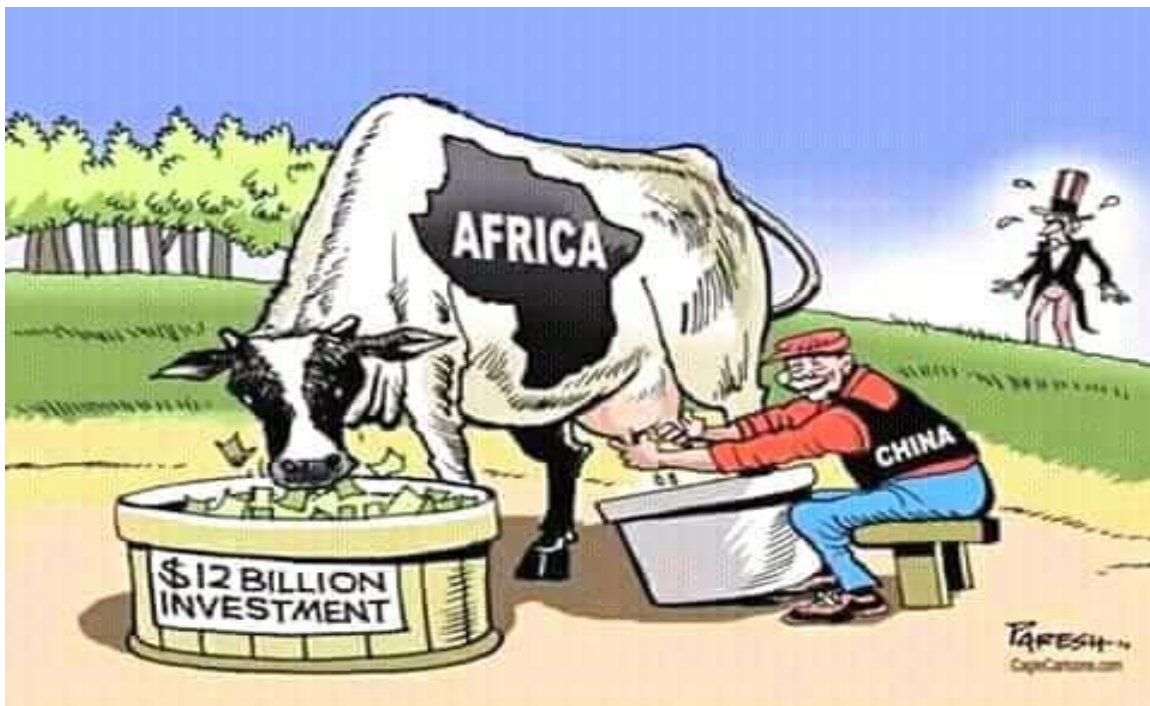
The Chinese have studied the African countries and have come to the point where they can use their economic strength (money, technology and industries) as bait to obtain much wealth from Africa. They have come with the Build Roads Investments (BRI system), that is give enough loans to construct roads, bridges, airports, seaports, dams, schools and hospitals which is good and very much appreciated by the Africans. But the main reason the Chinese are

doing all of these is not for the interest and wellbeing of the Africans but for their own interest as they are in serious need of Africa's rich and enormous natural resources.

China has long provided aid to Cameroon. Such assistance is on the rise and unlike other donors, is unconditional and very much appreciated by Cameroonian authorities. Chinese aid to Cameroon is either in the form of grants, interest-free or concessional loans. Chinese aid is therefore comparatively less costly than some bilateral aid from Western donors which includes non-concessional lending and also less costly than some multilateral assistance which seldom includes grants. It is also worth noting that Chinese aid is exclusively project-based. China does not give Cameroon assistance in the form of program or budget support as prescribed in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (Paris High-Level Forum, 2005), (Aninpah and Menjo 2008: 10).

The Chinese give their loans without clear cut conditions as compared to the Western countries or powers who clearly give the African leaders some strict conditions that have to be met before they can be given financial loans.

Picture 23: illustration of how Chinese are using loans to Africa as baits for their natural resources



Source: The Social Media (29 April 2019)

Cameroonian authorities appreciate the loans from China which are unconditional because they are using the loans to enrich themselves while the local populations are wallowing in abject poverty, bad roads, poor supply of potable water and energy supply. Most African authorities with Cameroon being highly inclusive need loans with strict conditions before they can do something good for their respective countries (citizens). When you give some of these African leaders' loans without conditions, you are only helping them to impoverish their

citizens as some of them have signed long life loans with some donors and the innocent offspring will suffer to repay those loans whereas they are not benefitting anything from the loans that were taken by their forefathers.

The People's Republic of China on Tuesday June 11, 2013 reached six agreements with the government of Cameroon to put at the disposal of the latter over FCFA 22 billion to accelerate socio-economic development projects in different sectors of the economy. These include two economic and technical accords, interest-free loans, one to the tune of 100 million Yuans (about FCFA 8 billion) and the other 70 million Yuans (about 5.7 billion) to boost development **in yet-to-be identified sectors**. The other accord concerns a gift without counterpart funding amounting to 100 million Yuans (about FCFA 8 billion) to complete the financing of the construction of Yabassi Technical High School. The first phase of financing was signed in September 25, 2012. There was also a 4.5 million Yuan (about FCFA 361.6 million) material gift to encourage reforms engaged in view of conserving biodiversity and the sustainable management of natural resources in the country. The last two accords concerned feasibility studies in view of refurbishing the Yaounde Conference Centre (Bainkong 2013). Can you imagine that Cameroon is a country that has suffered and is still suffering from bad governance, corruption and above all, massive embezzlement or syphoning of state finances by government officials yet you loan billions of money to such a country without the necessary identified sectors where that money shall be used?

The Chinese come with the money and give the African leaders as much as they want and when they default, the Chinese will take over some national assets. One of such examples is Zambia, the first African country to become a Chinese colony, defaulted on a number of loans and China has taken over the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) and the Zambia National Electricity Company (ZNEC). The question most African thinkers and scholars are asking is Can an African country, be allowed to run China's National Electricity Company?

These Chinese have studied Africa and have known the African countries that are corrupt with greedy leaders and have signed secret agreements or contracts with them without the knowledge of their citizens. In signing such secret agreements, the greedy leaders usually put some national assets such as lands, mineral resources, petroleum and others as collaterals such that when the loans are not paid at the stipulated time, the Chinese would take over the national assets (the Dr Mumbi show, a video program on Youtube).

Chinese loans to Cameroon started to increase dramatically in 2009 (2009, \$193 million; 2010, \$53 million; 2011, \$1.1 billion; 2012, \$981 million; 2013, \$390 million). Most of them have been made in yuan, less often in US dollars. They are non-concessional loans, since the grant element was lower than 35%, a ratio that would have made them ‘concessional’. Funded by the Exim bank, they usually cover 85% of the cost of the project, the Cameroonian government financing the remaining 15%. If we include earlier financial commitments, at the end of 2013, these loans were above \$2.9 billion, representing more than five times the current debt vis-à-vis China at the end of 2012.

Consequently, Cameroon’s debt service is due to increase from \$185 million in 2013 to \$209 million in 2014 and \$290 million in 2022, the highest projection point, based on the engagements approved before the end of 2013 (Cabestan 2015).

The Chinese government pretends that it does not give conditions for the payment of the loans or that if you do not pay in time, you will give this or that asset. The Chinese also say they do not interfere in the internal affairs of the African countries and that they do not support an individual party or President. All these views have been questioned and verified to be false as the Chinese Communist party, the ruling party in China donated some computer equipment to the Cameroon People’s Democratic Movement, the ruling party in Cameroon, is that not interfering in the internal affairs of a country?

6.3.6 Conflict with the local citizens in some of the construction and mining sites

Following the Chinese ways or attitudes without the proper or genuine implications of the Cameroonian citizens in the various construction and mining sites, there has been a growing impression of a Chinese invasion, in sectors usually protected from foreign competition. As a result, the number of anti-Chinese demonstrations or attacks has been on the increase, (Cabestan 2015).

Tensions on the Sino-Cameroon cooperation come from both sides as the Chinese main sources of frustration can be found in most African countries: lengthy negotiations, delay in the implementation of agreements, slowness of customs, which take up to 6 months to clear imports, and difficulties in finding a well-trained and productive workforce. Safety issues have also become more of a concern in Cameroon, particularly in the northern region (now the North West and South West regions), forcing some projects to be put on hold. This was the case for road repair work conducted by Sinohydro in Waza close to the Nigerian border after 10 Chinese employees were kidnapped by Boko Haram in May 2014 (they were released in October 2014).

Two months later, oil exploration by the Yan Chang Logone Development Holding Company was also suspended.

The newspaper *Le quotidien de l'Economie* (2018) reported on some Chinese projects that have either stopped or are being realized at the speed of a tortoise.

Les projets Chinois qui coïncident au Cameroun; les voitures « Made in Cameroon » au point mort et l'autoroute Yaoundé – Douala à petite vitesse. Voilà six ans qu'on attend les voitures Made in Cameroon. En vain. Ces véhicules devaient être produits par l'entreprise Cameroon automobile holding company (CAHC) filiale locale du fabricant Chinois Futian automobile Co Ltd. Le 23 Octobre 2012, Lu Fuqing le Directeur de l'entreprise Futian automobile Co Ltd s'était donné mois de sept (7) mois pour construire l'usine de fabrication desdites véhicules dans la localité de Kribi » Quotidien de l'Economie (2018 :2).

The start of activities for the assembly of cars « Made in Cameroon » was in 2015, later pushed to 2016. To save their pride and honour, the Chinese enterprise organized a trade fair baptized “China Cameroon auto show”. This event took place in April 2017, where the Futian automobile Co Ltd presented some twenty (20) cars with the label “Cameroon automobile” at the Yaounde Multipurpose Sports Complex. The cars exhibited in effect were fabricated in China and this enraged so many Cameroonians who had very much welcomed the assembly of Cars in Cameroon that will provide jobs to some young Cameroonians. This was a sign of total failure and the billions already allocated for that project can never be recovered. In reaction to the disappointments in the minds of the Cameroonians, *Le Quotidien de l'Economie* (2018: 2) comes back to say;

En réaction, Lu Fuqing évoqua alors l'une des raisons qui selon lui bloquerait l'installation effective de l'usine de montage de véhicule à Kribi. « Les formalités liées à l'acquisition du site ne sont toujours pas achevées. C'est dire que nous ne savons pas encore exactement quand nous allons commencer les assemblages », avait déclaré Lu Fuqing comme un aveu d'échec.

Concerning the Yaounde – Douala motor way *Le Quotidien de l'Economie* (2018: 2) writes;

La construction de l'autoroute Yaoundé – Douala est perturbée par les lenteurs administratives dans le paiement des indemnités, représentant la contrepartie de l'Etat. Depuis 2014, le Cameroun se presse lentement dans la conduite du projet aux externalités économique et humaines énormes. En Février 2018, une autre source gouvernementale parle d'un taux d'exécution de 70%. Mais quel que soit l'annonce gouvernementale considérée, une chose est certaine : China First High way Engineering Company (CFHEC) a construit seulement un peu plus de 20 kilomètres depuis 2015.

On the Cameroonian side, one needs to draw a distinction between the government and the civil society. As far as the authorities are concerned, they are publicly very satisfied with the cooperation with China. The only reservation comes from the perceived lack of technology transfer. Although some companies such as Huawei have trained many local technicians, these cases have remained exceptional and, even in the government, there are some growing concerns about China's presence and intentions in Cameroon.

The large-scale use of Chinese workforce on Chinese projects in a country where unemployment and underemployment are very high is not understood. The 60% local workforce quota is rarely respected by Chinese companies. Additionally, criticism focuses on the way Chinese projects are managed, construction sites often becoming 'areas of extraterritoriality' in the eyes of many Cameroonians, including the authorities, which have difficulties accessing them. Chinese project contracts as well as instructions to use the delivered projects are too often in Chinese or only partially translated. Work quality is uneven and some roads or bridges have rapidly deteriorated. When local workers are hired, working conditions and salaries are often lower than in other companies, and contracts are frequently non-existent, particularly for subcontractors (*tacherons*), who are generally paid much less than the Chinese workers (\$63 against \$183 per month in 2011). Some cases of racism and physical violence on Chinese working sites have also been reported. Illegal fishing activities have created tensions with the local authorities and fishermen.

Several Chinese companies, particularly in the oil and timber industries, have been singled out for the damage they cause to the environment. Although not only Chinese but also other Asians and some Africans are implicated, illegal logging, animal poaching and ivory smuggling are the most common issues raised both by Cameroon officials, discreetly, and NGOs and social activists, more vocally.

When problems occur, the Chinese embassy intervenes to impose muteness (silence) and settle disputes behind closed door, feeding a sense of opaqueness in the relationship with China and Chinese companies. While language is an obstacle to communication, problems more often stem from a difference of mind-set and attitude towards work and authority.

In a precise case, some World Bank officials paid a working visit to Cameroon in April 2016, to solve some problems that Cameroonian workers were facing with the China Water and Electricity Corporation (CWE) in the Lom Pangar dam project. This is found in the newspaper *Le Quotidien de l'Economie* (2016 : 4);

Suite à une réunion tenue le 30 Mars dernier au siège de la représentation Camerounaise de la Banque Mondiale entre les responsables de la China Water and Electricity Corporation (CWE) et un collectif qui regroupe en son sein des ouvriers et anciens ouvriers de la CWE, l'entreprise qui construit ce barrage à l'Est – Cameroun. Un rapport de ce collectif sur « les nombreuses violations par la CWE des dispositions du code de travail et de la législation subséquent, notamment le décret N° 93/575/PM du 15 Juillet 1993 portant sur les conditions pour la formulation et l'approbation de certains contrats de travail ». Les employés de la CWE axent leurs accusations sur « le non-respect des droits de l'ouvrier à un logement décent, à une prise en charge sanitaire adéquate, au paiement intégral des heures supplémentaires ». Par ailleurs, ils dénoncent « la discrimination dont sont victimes les employés Camerounaise » en violation de l'article 113 du code du travail et du décret N° 93/571/PM du 15 Juillet 1993 qui détermine les conditions pour l'emploi des étrangers au Cameroun. Le rapport ressort qu'au 03 Aout 2015, « dans le projet Lom Pangar, la CWE emploie 596 Chinois, dont 95% d'entre eux sont non qualifiés en violation de la circulaire du 5 Mai 2012 du Premier Ministre définissant les conditions générales applicables aux investisseurs étrangers au Cameroun ». Bien plus, les étrangers employés n'ont jamais soumis leurs contrats de travail pour l'approbation ou authentification.

Tensions and violence are rising in eastern Cameroon as Chinese firms take advantage of a regulatory twilight zone to mine gold, amid killings, land grabs and corruption. “*There are constant conflicts between Cameroonians and the Chinese*” over gold mining, said Narma Ndoiyama, a farmer in Longa Mali, a small village in the middle of the mining area.

At the beginning of April, four companies were banned from mining in East Cameroon, according to FODER, a group that campaigns for protecting the environment and rural development. One of them was the Chinese firm Lu and Lang, which is notorious in the region after one of its employees allegedly, killed a Cameroonian who was looking for gold on land claimed by the company, according to FODER. “*Villagers rioted and killed the Chinese man*” by stoning him, said Ndoiyama.

The mining company resumed its activities at Longa Mali after a brief halt. The Chinese “*killed my son, but they did nothing*” for me, said Philippe Balla, the victim’s father. “They are working and no one bothers them.” Anger still simmers among locals over companies buying agricultural land “for crumbs”, said Michel Pilo, who is the village elder for Mali, the area which encompasses Longa Mali. “They devastate our fields,” he said, saying a patch of land worth 500,000 CFA francs (US\$925) was purchased for 80,000 CFA francs. Farmers feel they have no choice but to sell, said a local official. “You can’t refuse because if you do your land will be dug up without the payment of any compensation,” said the official on condition of anonymity. Ndoiyama is one of the few farmers to still have cultivable land.

He sees the encroachment of Chinese miners as a threat to his cassava farm. “They are already alongside my field” where they are digging up the earth looking for gold. “They haven’t trampled on my land, but I am afraid they will,” said Ndoiyama. Locals have repeatedly called, in vain, for authorities to properly set property boundaries. “I am waiting for my land to be surveyed to launch a case to save my farm,” said Ndoiyama. Several Chinese miners in the region declined to discuss the complaints of locals against them. “It is easy to vent anger against the Chinese, but who brought them in” asked a representative of the eastern region in the mining ministry. “The army protects the Chinese at all their mining sites to the detriment of nearby communities and it participates in intimidating them and racketeering,” said one activist, who asked not to be named.

Picture 242: Some villagers in the Eastern region of Cameroon searching for remnants of gold for their survival as their farmlands have been destroyed by a Chinese mining company



Source: Extracted from an online article: Cameroun24.net of 20th October 2018

There is no official data on the amount of land being mined in eastern Cameroon, which is believed to be rich in mineral resources, but remains underdeveloped and mired in poverty

6.3.7 No Transfer of Technology

One of the major recommendations in the Sino – Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation was the transfer of technology from the Chinese to their Cameroonian partners but as of now, there have been little or no transfer of technology so far since the Chinese are the ones executing almost 95% of projects in Cameroon.

Les PME locales, des grandes perdantes des projets structurants. Des barrages hydroélectriques aux ponts passant par les chantiers de construction des routes, autoroutes, stades, ports, les PME Camerounaises restent invisibles. Pourtant le DSCE, boussole du gouvernement en matière économique recommande leur implication dans les grands projets à hauteur d'au moins 30%. Les multiples chantiers en cours d'exécution depuis quelques années auraient pu être bénéfiques pour l'économie, si on impliquait véritablement les PME. Malheureusement, ce n'est pas le cas. Car les multinationales qui gagnent ces marchés viennent généralement avec leurs cadres, leurs techniciens, leurs équipements et même parfois leurs nourritures. Des 30% des travaux qui doivent en principe être exécutés par les PME locales dans le cadre des projets structurants et du plan d'urgence triennal (Planut), c'est en tout la somme de 2100 milliards FCFA qui aurait dû revenir aux PME à travers la sous-traitance, sur les projets dont le financement dépasse, selon des cadre au Ministère de l'économie, la somme de 7 000 milliards FCFA. L'implication des PME n'atteint pas 10%. Le Quotidien de l'Economie (2018: 5).

Le Quotidien de l'Economie newspaper of 12th April 2018 says Small and Medium Size Enterprises are the losers in structuring projects in Cameroon. Local enterprises have to be fully involved in all the structuring projects in the country.

6.3.8 Cameroonians Reduced to Motor Bike raiders and Consumers

One of the domains where the Sino – Cameroon trade cooperation is lived on a daily basis is the motorbike taxi business. Even though the motorbike taxi business has created a lot of jobs to many young Cameroonians, it has equally brought so many pains and too much suffering to many Cameroonian families. It has made many young Cameroonians to abandon or drop out from school and get into the motorbike riding since it produces quick cash (money) than any other business.

The motorbike taxi business has come to accelerate the rural exodus phenomenon in Cameroon as most of the motorbike raiders are found mostly in towns and cities. We all know that most of the local foods consumed in Cameroon and elsewhere in Africa are produced in the rural areas or villages, but when the work force or task force (backbone of agricultural production) the youths are now migrating from the farmlands to the cities to become motorbike raiders, how can one not rightly say Cameroonians have been reduced to motorbike raiders and consumers?

There are deteriorating moral conducts of a good number of Cameroonian citizens which started from the habits of the motorbike raiders through taxi drivers even right up to private or personal drivers, all ages combined (both young and old drivers). It is but normal for motorbike raiders and drivers put together to insult each other and even passengers when they disagree on

certain things or the transportation fare. Let us briefly view some few examples for the clarification of the phenomenon.

Mouf marchez à pied. J'ai la monnaie mais je ne donne pas hoha. Si ma journée est garantie avec tes 150 hein, mieux tu prends un autre taxi mouf. Une belle fille comme ça tu pars faire quoi dans élobi ? Les Chinois continuent à t'utiliser pour récupérer nos pièces de monnaie ? Va leur dire que j'ai dit, je vais bloquer leurs containers et fermer leur pays bamdoup. Montes sur ton argent ça t'amène là-bas malabar. Tu ne marches pas chouagne. Maaf sorcier. Tsuuiip pourquoi tu n'achètes pas ta part de voiture une fois? Fingong comme ça. Pisses dans le réservoir ça t'amène avec sa bouche comme 150 ntoubap. Achète toi un pain tu charges avec le haricot tu manges en marchant. Malchance ta maman. C'est ta mère qui sent ses champs. (Interview realised with Informant 81 on 20 April 2017 at Nlongkak - Yaounde).

These habits continue in their various homes and the society at large is contaminated making the young not to respect their elders.

One informant said;

although the Cameroon government is projecting an emergent nation by 2035, it will be difficult to attain that objective. I say so because as most youths are refusing to learn a trade now as a result of their massive involvement in the motorbike taxi business. Hence by 2035, there shall be an acute shortage of technicians in the country if strict measures are not taken now and a country cannot emerge if there are no experienced technicians in so many domains. (Interview realised with Informant 81 on 20 April 2017 at Nlongkak - Yaounde).

Following the latter's viewpoint, we can also say that the spirit of entrepreneurship, manufacturing and or creativity is fast escaping from the minds of so many young Cameroonians since they have been reduced to mere motorbike raiders and consumers.

The motorbike taxi business has brought in a lot crime and insecurity as some motorbike raiders snatch people's bags, money and mobile telephones on a daily basis on the various streets and quarters. The motorbikes even help in transporting stolen goods or properties to unknown destinations faster than any other means of transportation. In most Cameroonian towns and cities, heavily armed robbers mount on the motorbike taxis to go and rob in the banks and residential areas as the motorbikes facilitate their quick escape into thin air without leaving any track that can be traced to locate them.

In an interview accorded to a Highway Traffic Police Commissioner, Cameroon Tribune (2017: 2) says;

Les causes les plus récurrentes sont notamment l'ignorance du code de la route, l'excès de vitesse, la surcharge, les dépassements fantaisistes, la circulation en sens interdit, le

non-respect des signaux des feux de signalisation, le refus de priorité au d'autres usagers et la conduite en état d'ébriété. A cela s'ajoutent d'autres facteurs comme la non-maitrise de l'engin. Parmi ces conducteurs, certaines viennent des villages et ne disposent d'aucune notion en conduite de la moto. C'est ainsi qu'on les voit dans les embouteillages se faufiler entre les véhicules au mépris des vies qu'ils transportent derrière leurs engins. Ils vont même jusqu'à changer de direction sans signaler. Ceci sans précaution ni attention. Il y a aussi le fait que certains chauffeurs consomment des stupéfiants, comme le Tramol pour avoir plus d'énergie et travailler sans se fatiguer durant une longue période. Le non-respect du port du casque de protection est aussi pour beaucoup dans les accidents de la circulation. Toutes choses ayant pour conséquences des accidents graves et mortels dont une quinzaine par semaine.

Many young Cameroonians have become handicapped while a great number has been sent to their early graves due to ghastly motorbike accidents. Statistics on motorbike accidents in the country are alarming and the situation is worsening in the Centre region. A Highway Traffic Police Commissioner revealed that in a week, over 20 cases of fatal motorbike accidents are registered with at least 15 people dead Cameroon Tribune (2017).

Conclusion

In this chapter, we presented both the positive and the negative sides of the same coin (the Sino-Cameroon) of the bilateral and trade cooperation. It is then left to the policy and lawmakers to maximize the positive aspects while reducing the negative ones. Many of the Cameroonian traders and other informants interviewed, expressed the wish for the Cameroonian authorities to apply some sort of protectionism of local firms and local traders as it is the case with some West African countries. In those West African countries, the Chinese are not allowed to retail goods and services in those countries but allowed to do wholesale trading.

In Cameroon, the government officials have allowed or given the Chinese expatriates the full right (free market exchange) to retail anything they want and how they want, to the extent that the Chinese were roosting corn and fish along the streets in some major Cameroonian towns. The debate on the quality of the Chinese goods and services has been ongoing with no concrete solution arrived at, as some of the traders argued that the Chinese factories usually produce three types of goods at the same time (first choice, second choice and third choice goods). They further went on to say that it is the Cameroonian traders who usually choose the third or last quality goods because of their cheap prices. The household consumers (customers) argued that Chinese goods and services are of relatively low quality and that is why their prices are cheaper than the rest of the goods and services produced in the other Asian countries.

There is a saying that if one has ten (10) grains of groundnut in one's mouth and one of the grains is bad, the rest of the grains are considered to be bad. This is exactly what is happening with the Chinese goods and services. We equally presented some of the attitudes of the Chinese workers especially road construction and mining where the Cameroonians are feeling being exploited or cheated by their Chinese counterparts. Here, we are making mention of the Cameroonian workers/labourers who are not well paid while others are not even covered up by insurance benefits in case of accidents at the various job sites. All these and other aspects presented in this chapter, makes the Cameroonians to have or express mixed feelings towards the Chinese.

It's of great importance for the reader to proceed to the next chapter: cultural difference, economic distance and openness to trade in sino-cameroonian relations for a better comprehension of this work.

CHAPTER 7
CULTURAL DIFFERENCE, ECONOMIC DISTANCE
AND OPENNESS TO TRADE IN SINO-
CAMEROONIAN RELATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This part of the work deals with the cultural difference, economic distance and the openness to international trade by both the Cameroonians and their Chinese counterparts likewise the advantages and disadvantages of international trade. The cultural and economic distances between the Cameroonian and their Chinese counterparts play a lot in their openness to trade. By the terms “economic and cultural distances”, we are referring to the various levels of socio-economic growth or development and the geographic distances between the two countries.

The weight of exporters' supply has increased relative to importers' demand in explaining the long run strong performance of global exports. The deterrent effects of economic and cultural distance on international trade increased unto the early- to mid-1970s, at which point it began to decline. The openness variable devised by Sachs and Warner (1985) and shown by them to be associated with faster economic growth is indeed associated with greater imports as well, with increasing intensity over time. Lower tariffs and lower taxes are also associated with greater imports while the effects of free trade groupings are more complex. The use of absolute price comparisons in the gravity equation is not particularly fruitful and yields counterintuitive results” (Boisso and Ferrantino 1997: 10).

The CAGE (cultural, administrative, geographic and economic) framework identifies the Cultural, Administrative, Geographic and Economic differences between the various countries that companies should address and take care of whilst working on crafting international strategies. The framework can also be used to understand the patterns of capital, trade, the flow of people and information that work as crucial factors for the organization (Bhasin 2019).

When looking to expand our business into the foreign markets, any differences that arise are termed as the cultural differences between the two countries. Cultural differences are hard to change whereas differences due to the legal and economic structures can be changed easily. CAGE framework helps the companies to identify the middle ground between the one size that fits all and the mass customization of the extremes that are typically applied to most global strategies and efforts towards the product development. It carefully analyses the cultural, administrative, geographic and economic forces and determines how similar market functions in a distinguished manner in different countries.

As a result, aftermath the identification of the countries with the common market environment, the companies are able to develop the unique bundle of products and service offerings best suited to the local market conditions and structures of the identified countries. It

helps the countries to develop the new type of products and services that help in venturing into the global markets in an efficient and effective manner.

It helps the companies to have an easy access to risks involved, potential possibilities of growth and barriers of the different international markets. Owing to the rational and analytical approach, it eliminates the guesswork of selecting which country to enter for the business expansion. It also helps to identify the current range of products that are best suited and easily transplantable to the foreign markets at a minimum cost. The distance framework helps the management of the company to assess and identify the impact of the distance on various industries and their business operations. If two or more countries differ across these dimensions of the framework, the foreign target market is riskier in nature. And the similarities' suggest the great potential for growth of the company (Boisso and Ferrantino 1997: 10).

The analysis of the CAGE framework helps the company to identify the odds and gaps and thereby invest in the profitable foreign markets. The application and working of the CAGE framework help the company to identify the attractive and lucrative international markets based on the raw material costs, easy access to target markets and consumers, access to potential human resources and other such crucial business criteria's. A strong international expansion strategy is required as a backup with the help of specific resources and capabilities of the firm, irrespective of how rosy the picture of CAGE framework and analysis is.

(Ghemawat 2004) gave some practical advices on using the CAGE framework which are;

It makes the distance and differences of the various international markets clearly visible to the management and key members of the company.

The clear analysis of the distances across the countries help to iron out the flaws and bottlenecks that might make the company handicap as compared to the local competitors in the international market.

It helps the company to find out the competitive advantages that the local companies have and enjoy in the international market and this result in formulating the international expansion strategy accordingly.

It helps the company to compare markets from the perspective of profits and how lucrative the particular international market will be.

The CAGE framework emphasizes the fact that the different types of distances and differences matter to the different extents depending on the industry domains. For example, the cultural differences affect the product the product preferences of the customer whereas geographic differences affect the aspects of cost of transportation if the company manufactures heavy or bulky products.

7.2 Cultural Difference

Cultural distance is the first and foremost facet of the CAGE Framework and it is also one of the most perplexing ones for the management of the company. It is invisible in nature but it has a huge impact on the values and behaviours of the people of the country that affects the international strategy and sales of the firm. Quite many researches from all over the world have been carried out on the significant cultural differences amongst the various countries and here are its dimensions; power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism, predominant values and then short-term and long-term (Ghemawat 2004).

7.2.1 Power Distance and Uncertainty Avoidance

Within the hierarchy and organizational structure of the firm, it signifies the distance to which the individuals accept the inequalities of various forms between the subordinates and superiors. The willingness of the individuals working together to coexist amidst the uncertainty about the future.

7.2.2 Individualism and Predominant Values

It harps on the fact that how the individuals living in the social value the individualistic behaviours as opposed and compared to the collective ones.

People of the country give more importance to the materialistic pleasures of life or strong emphasis is on the interpersonal relationships. It signifies that people give importance to which aspect of life, quality and quantity.

7.2.3 Short-term and Long-term Orientations

The focus of people of the country is on the future rewards or they are more concerned about the aspect of stability relates to the past and present. (Ghemawat 2004: 60) says; *“greater cultural differences leads to lower amount of cultural trade, long lasting economic interactions lead to weakening effect of cultural differences and mire malleable over the long run than differences in language, ethnicity or religion”*.

Professionals err when thinking that, in today's shrinking world, cultural differences are no longer significant. It's a common mistake to assume that people think alike just because they dress alike; it's also a mistake to assume that people think alike just because they are similar in their word choices in a business setting. Even in today's global world, there are wide cultural differences, and these differences influence how people do business (Mason and Sangjyot 1997). Culture impacts many things in business, including

The pace of business;

Business protocol—how to physically and verbally meet and interact;

Decision making and negotiating;

Managing employees and projects;

Propensity for risk taking; and

Marketing, sales, and distribution.

(Sahlins 1972: 170) looks at the distance between individuals, groups of persons and societies and attributes the type of reciprocity according to the distance that exists between them. In his own words;

Reciprocity is a whole class of exchanges, a continuum of forms. This is especially true in the narrow context of material transactions as opposed to a broadly conceived social principle or moral norm of give-and-take. At one end of the spectrum stands the assistance freely given, the small currency of everyday kinship, friendship, and neighbourly relations, the "pure gift" Malinowski called it, regarding which an open stipulation of return would be unthinkable and unsociable. At the other pole, self-interested seizure, appropriation by chicanery or force required only by an equal and opposite effort on the principle of "negative reciprocity". The extremes are notably positive and negative in a moral sense. The intervals between them are not merely so many gradations of material balance in exchange, they are intervals of sociability. The distance between poles of reciprocity is, among other things, social distance.

Following this view, all the three forms of reciprocity are expressed in the business relations between individuals, groups of persons, between cultures and or societies and that the distance (cultural or social distance) between the individuals, groups of persons and societies (countries), changes the form of reciprocity from generalized or gift through balanced to negative reciprocity. In other words, the closer the relation or kinship group, the closer or regular the frequency of exchanges of gifts and the further the distance or type of relationship, the form of reciprocity changes from gift to balanced right to negative and even seizure of

property. Reciprocity is inclined toward the generalized pole by close kinship, toward the negative extreme in proportion to kinship distance.

Native [Siuai] moralists assert that neighbours should be friendly and mutually trustful, whereas people from far-off are dangerous and unworthy of morally just consideration. For example, natives lay great stress on honesty involving neighbours while holding that trade with strangers may be guided by caveat emptor. Gain at the cost of other communities, particularly communities at a distance, and more especially such as are felt to be aliens, is not obnoxious to the standards of homebred use and wont. A trader always cheats people. For this reason intra-regional trade is rather frowned upon while inter-tribal trade gives to the businessman prestige as well as profit (Sahlins 1972).

It is thus faster and easier for Cameroonian traders to deal with their immediate neighbours before going far off to other continents. In other words, it is often said that it is better to deal with the person you know than the person you don't know. Now on the issue on the transfer of technology, it is easier and faster for Cameroonians to copy from their immediate neighbours than far off Chinese just like this respond from one of the informants;

I have personally witnessed that myself and think that one of the reasons is that there are so many Asians who are labourers so much such that they prefer to train them first before the Cameroonians. Secondly the Chinese in particular have that tendency that whenever they win a contract in Cameroon, they want to finish and hand over the contract to the owner within the stipulated time hence they do not care to teach the young Cameroonians. It is now up to these young Cameroonians to be wise enough and very sharp in learning if not the Cameroonians shall only remain labourers to these Asians". The views of an informant. (Interview realised with Informant 80 on 20 April 2017 at Olembé - Yaounde).

I agree with you but this issue of transfer of technology was well mentioned in their bilateral cooperation so why are they not respecting their terms of agreement?

To me, I think that it was just a policy for the Asians (Chinese) to sign the agreement with the fake assurance that there was going to be a transfer of technology. You know that if you see something where you are going to gain and a certain condition is presented before you, you might decide to accept the condition not because you will respect it but because of your personal interest in that contract and you know how you are going to work making some resemblance or camouflage of respecting that particular condition whereas you are not exactly respecting the condition. This is because if you say no that you are not going to respect that particular condition, you may lose everything and I think that is what these Asians are doing here in Cameroon; that is what I have seen in this situation. The viewpoints of a former Chinese worker in Yaounde. (Interview realised with Informant 80 on 20 April 2017 at Olembé - Yaounde).

7.3 Administrative Distance

This facet of the CAGE Framework harps on the aspect of historical and present legal and political association between the two countries. It helps to determine whether the relationship or association between the native country of the company and the particular international country will favour the business operations and the international expansion strategy or will act as an obstacle. The laws and regulations of the country can have a serious effect on the trade practices between the countries. In summary according to Anusha Kalagiri (2014) administrative distance refers to the laws, policies, government run institutions, international organization, treaties the country either support or created and factor impacting foreign direct investment, country's political stability, tariffs, non-tariff barriers and quotas.

7.4 Economic Distance

Economic distance talks about the differences between the countries relating to income, the purchasing power of the target market, distribution of wealth and disposable income levels. It can work as one of the biggest obstacles for the company to expand its business operations on the international level in particular countries.

7.5 Geographic Distance

The geographic distance determines the physical aspects of distance between the two countries such as the size of the country, the nature of transportation and information, climatic conditions and more. It also harps of the geographic distance between the two countries in terms of miles or kilometres that separates the company from the target market or suppliers. However, the factors of the internet, social media and technology have shrunk the distance of transportation time and now with the facility of digital products and services, the constraint of geographic distance has been reduced or almost eliminated. This mainly affects related to products that are fragile or perishable, products that require communication and connectivity, products having low value or bulk ratio and local supervision and operational requirements.

The geographic distance between Africa and Asia (China) is so far apart yet people are moving from one geographic zone to another with relative ease. Africans are moving to China in their numbers as well as Chinese moving in the counter direction and the question scholars are asking is why are they migrating from one place to another?

China is one of the world's largest emigration sources, with 33 million ethnic Chinese living outside China, including in Taiwan and Hong Kong according to the World Bank, 2010. Yet, as a growing economy, China is today also attracting foreigners. While numbers are still comparatively small, China is becoming an emerging destination for economic migration from developed and developing countries. China's economic rise and modernization the past three decades since the 1980s have driven foreigners' to major Chinese cities for various reasons: skilled works, studies, businesses, trade and many others. According to the 2010 census in China, there are 593 832 foreigners.

China-Africa relations are mainly driven by economic co-operation, underpinned by trade, investment and aid. The growing economic interests and business ties between China and Africa come along with movement of people; hence Africans in China and Chinese in Africa seeking trade opportunities not only at the macro- but also at the micro-level. This paper explores the various types of traders from Africa operating in China and thereby gives some insights on their role in China-Africa trade and provides some recommendations to Chinese authorities in engaging with this new quality of globalisation. Since the establishment of the Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in 2000, China-Africa trade volume has rapidly increased, reaching more than US\$ 200 billion in 2012. Market openness, shifts in trade patterns leading to trade liberalisation in China and Africa and China's accession to the World Trade Organisation (WTO), in December 2001, have contributed to boosting Sino-African trade volumes. Besides the big picture of ever increasing trade volumes, the relationship is driven by individuals on both sides, including African traders in China.

With the tight migration policies in Europe and North America put in place in the 2000s and the financial crisis since 2008/2009, migration destinations have shifted from South-North to South-South, thus following the growing economic cooperation between South-South countries. Massive production capacity and price competitiveness to acquire cheap "made in China" consumer goods have attracted many African traders who are temporarily traveling or residing in China for trade and business opportunities. Even though an African skilled worker, diplomats and students in various Chinese cities, is not a new phenomenon, the number of African traders in China's "city markets" has increased since 2000. The African population in China is estimated to be 100 000, but the data is incomplete. The actual number might be higher and some speculations put the number at 500 000 (Cissé 2013).

The first destinations for African trade and businesses in Asia were Dubai, Hong Kong and Bangkok. Due to the 1997 economic crisis in many East-Asian countries and the increasing living costs and product prices in these markets, African traders moved to China's southern province of Guangdong, close to Hong Kong. It hosts the 'world's factories' that today supply the global markets with Chinese manufacturing goods. With this move, they started bypassing a large number of "middlemen" in Bangkok, Dubai and Hong Kong who source their orders and supply with Chinese products from Guangzhou. A major destination for African traders today is Yiwu in Zhejiang province, in eastern China. The town is known as the "world trade centre", with its market districts developing fast thanks to comprehensive economic reforms (trade liberalisation, private entrepreneurship development and establishment of trade networks).

While many African traders regularly travel to Guangzhou or Yiwu to buy "made in China" products that they resell in their respective countries, some have decided to immigrate and open businesses in China. With an interest in setting up businesses in China, the growing presence of African traders has triggered new types of entrepreneurship among the Chinese population in and around Yiwu and Guangzhou. African traders' innovative business ideas to diversify their activities in different trade sectors keep motivating Chinese entrepreneurs to start new specialised businesses to meet these demands. African traders are part of the globalization experienced in China. Chinese have also moved to Guangzhou and Yiwu in search of jobs in trade, logistics, shipping, hostelry activities, interpretation and other related areas. Almost all African traders in China hire Chinese for administrative purpose, such as tax payment, customs clearance or shipping, and interpretation services.

African traders in China contribute to the formation of social capital in their home countries. The profits and revenues they make through their trade activities are reinvested in their countries to open up other businesses or develop previous investments through the remittances. While doing business in China, African traders support their family in Africa by transferring money not only via established companies such as Western Union and Money Gram but also through their own informal networks. Due to the high costs of South-South remittances (usually higher than North-South remittances) informal money transfer systems, based on trust, avoid high transfer fees and exchange commission's (Cissé 2013).

Studies on globalization and South-South connections tend to, focus on dominant forms of transnational interactions from a macro perspective. Beyond the macro-narratives, a much

less investigated universe of interactions, transactions and movements of people, objects, stories and ideas successfully proliferates. We argue that individuals rarely leave home with the objective of integrating into a foreign host society.

Many move along with trade goods, powerful ideas and accumulated knowledge that they carry with them from Africa towards Asia and Latin America, and vice versa, to establish network-like connections. Similarly, individuals from Latin America and Asia have moved to Africa in the hope of finding suitable opportunities to establish a venture. Such movements in both directions have increased considerably since the 1990s (Rosenthaler and Alessandro 2017).

7.6 Openness to International Trade

Trade and economic relations between China and Africa have a protracted history and have developed incrementally over the course of time. Consequently, increasing numbers of Chinese businesses and entrepreneurs have sought partnerships with African companies with the aim of establishing strategic partnerships, collaborations, and joint ventures. In recent years, these Sino-African trading relations have been the subject of consistent debate and scrutiny, attracting positive and negative analyses from scholars and practitioners across disciplines. Some studies questioned China's motives in Africa's markets, and others viewed with suspicion the structure of Sino-Africa's bilateral trading engagements (Okoro and Oyewole 2011).

The Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation is a South-South type of relationship but has gradually taken the form of North-South relationship. In such relationships, it is always or usually the Northern countries that dominate the Southern countries. This is because the Northern countries are economically, politically and psychologically more advanced or developed than the Southern countries. When we talk of international trade or bilateral cooperation, the issues of globalization and multiculturalism come into play. In globalization and multiculturalism discourse, the issue of domination also comes in with full force where the least or less socio-economic developed countries are being dominated and even exploited by the industrialized countries.

No country has developed successfully in modern times without harnessing economic openness – to international trade, investment and the movement of people and goods – for its development. Trade and investment integration increases the size of the market available to domestic firms as well as driving potential value chains with which they could link up their

own production. And it drives productivity and innovation by exposing firms to international competition, expertise and technology. (McNamee 2012: 30) says;

For all the various push and pull factors underlying the dramatic rise of the Chinese trader throughout the continent, the fact that it is easier for them to make money in Africa than China is the catalytic essence of virtually all their individual stories.

And that following China's admission into the World Trade Organisation in 2001, Beijing accelerated the restructuring of its economy, which involved a new emphasis on competitiveness and the employment of skilled workers by the private sector. From the pool of low-skilled labourers who were retrenched in the subsequent downsizing by major companies, a significant number made their way to Africa in search of better economic prospects. This was especially true of the coastal provinces, such as Zhejiang and Fujian, which experienced major adjustments in the manufacturing sector. In addition, the state's support of large infrastructure and construction developments in China often displaced Chinese citizens. Some of these internally displaced people (IDPs) made their way to Africa as they were already 'migrants in their own country (McNamee 2012).

Through these two channels, external openness makes a significant contribution to poverty reduction, helping to unleash the potential of the private sector to create jobs – as the East Asian “miracle economies” have demonstrated. And, in advanced economies, employment and wage levels have become a key test of the effectiveness of economic growth in delivering widespread benefits.

Openness has non-economic benefits, too. Wider and deeper cross-border economic integration has contributed greatly to overall peace and stability since the Second World War. And it has increased individuals' freedom to produce and consume in daily life, thereby widening life choices and chances of large numbers of ordinary people. But openness on its own does not lead to success. It is the competitiveness of economies, whether continents, nations, subnational regions and even cities, that determines their levels of productivity. And productivity determines how well economies translate openness into opportunities for their firms, farms and people. (Sally 2015)

Openness to trade is either enhanced by free trade or affected by protectionism. Economists see each of them from their vantage points. It is then necessary to know or define free trade and protectionism before seeing how both are being practiced in the Sino- Cameroon trade cooperation.

Free trade is a system in which the goods and services between or within countries flow unhindered by government-imposed restrictions and interventions. Interventions include taxes and tariffs, non-tariff barriers, such as regulatory legislation and quotas, and even inter-government managed trade agreements. Free trade opposes all such interventions. One of the strongest arguments for free trade was made by classical economist David Ricardo in his analysis of comparative advantage explains how trade will benefit both parties (countries, regions or individuals) if they have different opportunity costs of production.

Protectionism, in the other hand is an economic policy of restricting trade between nations. Trade may be restricted by high tariffs on imported or exported goods, restrictive quotas, a variety of restrictive government regulations designed to discourage imports, and anti-dumping laws designed to protect domestic industries from foreign take-over or competition (Ngono 2012).

What does trade-related competitiveness entail? First, policies and regulations that affect the domestic business climate, such as stable macroeconomic conditions, and competitive product and factor markets. Second, institutions – the governance or decision-making framework for competitiveness – including efficient public administration, timely decision-making and impartial enforcement of property rights and contracts. When the public or para-public authorities delay in taking decisions vital for economic competitiveness, that country will only be running behind its competitors because the citizens will not quickly catch up with their competing partners.

Third, core physical infrastructure – transport (roads, railways, ports and airports), communications, energy and logistical systems. If transport (making reference to good roads, expanded railways, many good, well managed and functioning ports and airports), communication mechanisms, stable energy supply and good logistical systems are very vital for trade and or economic competitiveness, then it is going to take Cameroon in particular and many African nations as a whole many more decades to compete and have a say or any view point of importance in the world global economic system or world trade organization.

Fourth, “soft connectivity” – the social capital and knowledge capital that make investments in hard infrastructure and new technology more productive. Finally, competitiveness is not just about what happens at national and international levels. With cities contributing 80% of world GDP, there is growing attention to competitiveness at sub-national and city levels as well.

Trade and competitiveness come together in global value chains (GVCs). These are the key drivers of employment, productivity and growth in international trade. Production stages that previously took place in a single factory, or in a single country, are now dispersed internationally across many factories and many countries. Trade no longer means just goods crossing borders; rather it is the international, interconnected flow of goods, services, investment, people and ideas along a value chain. This results in ever-tighter links between advanced and emerging economies.

GVCs enable developing countries to industrialize faster and better by performing certain tasks and occupying niches in a value chain. And they enable developed countries to specialize in higher-value production in goods and services, which means more productive, better-paid jobs and greater consumer choice.

Current globalization literature cites that pressure of capital mobility, technological progress and intense market competition describes an irreversible force beyond the influence of domestic policy makers. In this policy context globalization is often used as a synonym for greater openness and closely linked to the liberalization of domestic and foreign transactions (Bairoch and Wright 1996: 3-4). Trade between the countries considering comparative advantage promotes growth, which is attributed to a strong correlation between the openness to trade flows and the effect on economic growth and economic performance. Likewise capital flows and their impact on economic growth adhere to each other with a significant relationship (Pologeorgis 2010).

International trade is regarded as the engine of growth for long, even going back at least to Adam Smith. However, during the 20th century, it has not been a very popular one and instead protectionist theories became dominant and the majority of the developing countries implemented industrialization policies based on a very limited degree of international openness for a long time (Edwards 1993). Conversely after the end of the Second World War international trade get into a new era in which world merchandise exports grew more than 8% a year. By 1973 this expansion slowed down a little bit due to the oil price shocks, the burst of inflation caused by monetary expansion and inadequate macroeconomic adjustment policies, By 1990s the developments in information technology sector led world trade to a second expansion period. The average expansion of world merchandise exports averaged 6% in 2000 -2007 period (WTO 2008: 15).

In the last period three trends in world economy can be mentioned to shape globalization flows. The value of international trade has grown by a factor of 16 times since the late 1970s. In this regards ongoing growth of international trade, both in absolute terms and in relation to global national income can be taken as the first trend. The growing role of multinational corporations is the next since they are taking the lead in international trade particularly in terms of the share of trade taking place within corporations. And the last is higher relative growth of trade in Pacific Asia as many economies developed an export-oriented development strategy that has been associated with imbalances in commercial relations (Rodrigue et.al. 2013: 19). Empirical evidence suggests that globalization has significantly boosted economic growth in East Asian economies such as China, the Republic of Korea, and Singapore. However not all developing countries are equally engaged in globalization and it can't be said that all of them are benefitting from it equally. In fact, except for most countries in East Asia and some in Latin America, developing countries have been rather slow to integrate with the world economy (Soubbotina 2000: 66). Regarding that the inequalities between the developed, developing and less developed countries the influence of globalization can be questioned.

(Acemoglu and Robinson 2012) support their argument by comparing country case studies. They identify countries that are similar in many of the above-mentioned factors, but because of different political and institutional choices become more or less prosperous. The most incisive example is Korea, which was divided into North Korea and South Korea in 1953. Both countries' economies have diverged completely, with South Korea becoming one of the richest countries in Asia while North Korea remains among the poorest. Further examples include the border cities Nogales (Sonora, Mexico) and Nogales (Arizona, USA). By reference to border cities, the authors analyse the impact of the institutional environment on the prosperity of people from the same geographical area and same culture.

Acemoglu and Robinson's major thesis is that economic prosperity depends above all on the inclusiveness of economic and political institutions. Institutions are "inclusive" when many people have a say in political decision-making, as opposed to cases where a small group of people, or elites, control politics and are unwilling to change. At one extreme, for example, a functioning democratic and pluralistic state guarantees the rule of law. The authors argue that inclusive institutions promote economic prosperity because they provide an incentive structure that allows talents and creative ideas to be rewarded.

In contrast, the authors describe "extractive" institutions as ones that permit the elite to rule over and exploit others. Nations with a history of extractive institutions have not prospered, they argue, because entrepreneurs and citizens have less incentive to invest and innovate. One reason is because ruling elites are afraid of creative destruction, a term coined by Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter the ongoing process of annihilating old and bad institutions while generating new and good ones. Creative destruction would fabricate new groups which competing for power against ruling elites, who would lose their exclusive access to a country's economic and financial resources.

The authors use the example of the emergence of democratic pluralism in Great Britain after the Glorious Revolution in 1688 as being critical for the Industrial Revolution. The book also tries to explain the recent economic bloom in China using its framework. China's recent past does not contradict the book's argument: despite China's authoritarian regime, the economic growth in China is due to the increasingly inclusive economic policy by Deng Xiaoping, the architect of China's Opening up policy after the Cultural Revolution.

According to (Acemoglu and Robinson's 2012) framework, economic growth will change the economic resource distribution and thus affect political institutions. Therefore, despite the current rapid growth, if China doesn't improve its political inclusiveness, China is expected to collapse like the Soviet Union did in the early 1990s.

Despite the numerous advantages of the free trade system, it has some socio-cultural weaknesses to a country like Cameroon. When economists talk of free trade, it does not literally mean that the government should allow importers and exporters to be flowing in and out with goods and services of all sorts (drugs, indecent dresses, cheap/low quality goods and expired or out dated goods).

In line with this idea of the Cameroonian government implementing a certain level of protectionism, this is what an informant had to say about it;

I think it is good to have many traders with a variety of goods and services. Secondly when different people with different ideas and mentalities come into your community, you are obliged to change or innovate the way you do things. These new ideas and others make you develop as well. I will like the Cameroonian government to consider its citizens first before foreigners because we have seen that most Cameroonian citizens or their firms are not protected by the government. Let me give you the examples of the countries I have visited such as Equatorial Guinea and Gabon where the governments of those countries usually say "their citizens first before any other person". It means that they will always protect their citizens and their businesses before foreigners. On

the contrary here in Cameroon, foreigners have more powers and are even more protected than the indigenes. The Cameroonian government should set a fixed salary or pay package for its labourers and technicians so much such that any person or company that wants to recruit Cameroonian workers (labourers and technicians) will know or have an idea on the minimum amount of money or salary a labourer or a technician is supposed to have every month. Most foreign companies that are operating in Cameroon decide what they think they should pay the Cameroonians and when it is like that, anything they give you as salary, you are obliged to take it like that. I think that if the government sets up something as a minimum pay package, its citizens will not be exploited by these foreign companies in terms of pay package. (Interview realised with Informant 2 on 5 October 2015 at Mankon - Bamenda).

Nowadays the government is seriously fighting the use and consumption of drugs among the youths especially the secondary and University students. But the fight remains futile since the government cannot stop the illegal importation of these drugs due to the free trade system.

7.7 Advantages and Disadvantages of International Trade

The traditional Organisation for economic cooperation and development (OECD) aid donors have observed China's new role and new engagement in Africa and other developing countries with a mixture of fascination and fear Elling Tjonneland and al (2006). What are the implications for Africa's development? What are the implications for the role of the traditional donor countries and their leverage and influence? Will China be an alternative source of economic development funds?

Will China be the spoiler that puts in jeopardy recent achievements in advancing good governance and increasing aid effectiveness? Or will it simply be a free-rider, seeking trade and investment opportunities, leaving it to others to be concerned with stability and governance?

7.7.1 Advantages of International Trade

The fundamental reason for international trade is to sell something that we don't need and to buy something we do need. Trade creates jobs, attracts investments, attracts new technology and materials, and offers people a wider choice in products and services.

People spend, save, or pay taxes with the money they earn in their jobs. The government uses taxes to provide services, which creates more jobs. When people save, the capital markets lend money to others, who will spend it on consumer goods, or open or expand a business, therefore creating new jobs. When people spend money, it creates demand, which creates new jobs. If something occurs to slow this expansion, the cycle reverses. Ex. higher taxes, higher interest rates.

Meeting needs

Trade is always balanced if it is fair. If 2 people trade baseball cards and one gives another 6 cards, they should get 6 back. Many businesses can create a surplus inventory of goods and services. Chinese farms produce more food than Chinese can eat, Chinese manufacturers make more products than Chinese use, and Chinese service providers can provide service to Cameroon and other countries.

Chines cannot produce fruits like bananas and oranges, cotton, wood and some products they cannot make. These products are imported from Cameroon and other African countries. Both trading partners get something they need by trading something they don't need. Anthropologically speaking, meeting our needs is some sort of a balanced reciprocity or the olden days trade by barter where trading partners exchange what they have or can produce with what they do not have or cannot produce (Sahlins 1972).

Job Creation

Unlike the battering that used to go on between trading partners, now businesses receive money from selling their products or services to foreign businesses. When foreign businesses buy Cameroonian products it creates jobs for Cameroonians. Exports are very important to Cameroonians they create one out of three Cameroonian jobs. 40 percent of what Cameroonians produce is exported. 1 billion exports mean 6000 jobs for Cameroonians. When trade is balanced businesses remain profitable and may grow.

Attracting Investment

Investment follows trade. Many foreign companies will invest in an office, factory, or distribution warehouse to simplify their trade and reduce cost. This investment also creates more jobs. It also attracts international investors. Most international companies now invest and or like to locate their companies in countries where the cost of producing goods and services are lower or cheaper hence Cameroon in particular and the African countries as a whole are more likely to attract many international companies to come and invest herein.

In the wake of globalization, international production and consumption by multinational corporations have continued to grow and domestic businesses have sought different strategic modes of entry into foreign markets. Studies (Rotberg 2008), (Broadman, 2007) and restated here by (Okoro and Oyewole (011) indicate that national economies have been integrated and

corporations are competing in a global scale for sustainable growth and profitability. The international market has expanded and has grown increasingly competitive to the extent that developed and developing countries are identifying new strategies to advance their business opportunities. African countries and their trading partners are taking advantage of globalization by encouraging business cooperation, investments, joint ventures, and economic interdependencies. They further explained that the economic environment in Africa has shown a high growth rate for the past decades, and has attracted foreign trade and investment opportunities.

New Technology and Materials

New technology promotes competitiveness and profitability. If a business could create a machine that works better, faster, or cheaper (or all three), then the business will have produced a more competitive product for national and international markets. There are so many technologies and materials in Cameroon for diverse activities thanks to the bilateral and trade cooperation with the Chinese. From printing, writing and construction materials through sawing machines to farm tools, we keep seeing and discovering new technologies and materials as soon as they are invented or manufactured.

US hegemony and how to manage it has remained an over-riding concern for the Chinese. China is resigned to the fact that US domination is a cold reality that it has to live and contend with. China has come to see globalisation as a way of transforming great power politics and to establish more co-operative forms of interstate competition that can increase the prospects for China's peaceful rise. This has led to a situation where China, while recognising the dominance of the US, seeks to limit US dominance through the UN and other international organisations, and by using its resources to forge stable relations with other countries and regions (Tjonneland and al 2006). China seeks to portray itself as an attractive partner for the developing countries and emphasizes strongly the need for South-South co-operation. China builds on its traditional third world ideology and long-standing political relationships but now seeks to become attractive as a trade partner, an investor, a technology supplier, a provider of credit and development assistance, and as a political friend based on the Chinese principle of "non-interference" in internal affairs.

Diverse Products and Services

A century ago, many foods and products that were not made or produced in Cameroon were too difficult to procure. Now, we can buy all these by the crate at local grocery stores thanks to better preservation and trading technologies. Foreign trade turns the world into a giant market, delivering food, fashions, etc.

New services such as banking, travel, and consultation are also available now. Business competition is no longer on a city scale; instead, businesses compete against worldwide businesses. The result is better quality goods, lower prices, and functional design.

Migration, Labour and Tourism

A very visible manifestation of the new Chinese engagement is the presence of a large number of Chinese migrants and businessmen, Chinese workers, and – to some extent – Chinese tourists. There has been a major and accelerating expansion of Chinese migration to Africa over the past decade. It began following the liberalisation of Chinese emigration law in 1985, but gained momentum in Africa in the 1990s. In the mid-1990s, the estimated total number of Chinese citizens in Africa (based on Chinese sources) was about 135 000 with the biggest communities being located in South Africa and the Indian Ocean islands. The number today is not known. But (Bodomo 2015) says there are now more than two million Chinese in Africa and half a million Africans in China; and many academic studies including journal articles, books and theses have already been produced on Africans in China.

We can, however, safely conclude that the wave of Chinese migration covers virtually the whole continent – from an estimated 100 000 in South Africa, to 4000 in Zambia and 400 in the small islands of Cape Verde in the Atlantic Ocean. Notably, there is also a strong presence of Chinese migrants in countries emerging from violence and civil war – from Sudan to DR Congo and Angola. The bulk of the Chinese migrants are, however, still to be found in South Africa, together with the Indian Ocean Islands of Mauritius and Madagascar. Chinese migration is highly entrepreneurial. Retail trade has been a dominant sector for most of these migrants. In many towns and cities throughout the continent, they have quickly become the dominant traders, based on their supply of cheaper Chinese products (Tjonneland and al 2006).

7.7.2 Disadvantages of International Trade

The Global market has made it easy to buy and sell international goods. While this has benefits, it also presents a problem. Such trade can cause countries to be prosperous for a short time, but leads to economic exploitation, loss of cultural identity, and even physical harm.

Support of Non-Democratic Systems

Great hardship can be caused when people make poor decisions about land use or surplus production for export and do not take the general population's welfare into consideration. For example: Landowners in Nicaragua and El Salvador want farmers to grow coffee beans because it is a very profitable cash crop, however, the farmers would like to use the land to grow more food for their families (Sahlins 1972) . The farmer's wishes are ignored because they do not actually own the land. In Cameroon, people or locals who live in or around deposited areas usually find their farmland and properties being destroyed with very little or no compensation as the government authorities think of their personal interest and that of the Chinese their international partners. They do not think about the wellbeing of the natives or the local villagers whose sources of income have been or are being destroyed.

The support of non-democratic systems is one of the major domains or aspects that is making Cameroon not to emerge and become a developed country. Most if not all the country's foreign partners do not think about the wellbeing of the country's citizens. From the European (French) partners through the Western (American) partners to the Asians (Chinese) partners, none of these partners is thinking about the democratic and wellbeing of the Cameroonians. This is where (Sahlins 1972) concept of "Market or Negative" reciprocity comes into play or full application. Market or negative reciprocity takes place when one of the trading partners does everything possible to have more profits even to the detriment of the other. In other words we can say market or negative reciprocity takes place when one of the trading partner is doing all it can to exploit the other partner.

It is rather unbelievable that the Chinese have lured the Cameroon government to sell them some hundreds of thousands of hectares of land where they produced rice that are being exported back to China. In a democratic country or system, the government would have looked for the means and technology where those hectares of lands could have been used to improve and produce good quality rice and make Cameroon the number one producer and exporter of rice in Africa and the world at large. This would have created so many jobs and reduce or curb the high unemployment rate in the country.

Cultural Identity Issues

Culture is a major export in the world. It displays and promotes values and lifestyles worldwide. The "culture consumer" in other countries is sometimes overwhelmed by American

ideas. Products also carry cultural ideas and messages. There are values of the culture that make the product. For example: Coca-Cola, McDonalds, Nike, and Microsoft all sell products that symbolize American values and symbolize and reflect American corporate culture.

In this light, Cameroonian cultures are fast losing out as the country is bent on exporting raw or natural products that do not even show prove that they are made or manufactured in Cameroon. The prestigious label or mark “MADE IN CAMEROON”, is absent in almost 90 percent of the goods and services exported by Cameroon.

Logs of wood, cotton, bauxite, gold, diamond, banana, coffee and many others are being exported to China raw or in their natural forms hence nothing to show off concerning the Cameroonian cultures. The few cultural artefacts found in the various Chinese museums are those masks that were offered to the various Chinese governmental officials that visited Cameroon by the Cameroonian administrative authorities.

Contrarily, when you visit Cameroonian public, private places and household residents, some 90 to 99 percent of the goods and services found there, are “MADE IN CHINA”. So we can say without err that Cameroonians are consuming and promoting Chinese cultures while in Cameroon.

Social Welfare Issues

Maintaining safety standards, minimum wages, worker’s compensation and Health benefits are all social welfare issues that cost business money. If a running shoe is made in a country where these issues are not met than the shoe can be sold for less in Cameroon. The down side to this is that substandard safety conditions cause death and injury in the workplace. Many Cameroonian citizens who work with the Chinese in on Chinese firms and companies usually complain of too little or no insurance (Health benefits or Health coverage). Some of the workers complain that their contracts with the Chinese are written in the Chinese language which makes it too difficult for them to know or understand what they are signing. When they get engaged with the Chinese and request to sign a contract, the Chinese will present them with an already prepared document to be signed. Since there is high unemployment rate in Cameroon, they are forced to sign whatever document that is presented to them provided it will permit to start working or doing something for a living.

Picture 25: Signboard in a Chinese Construction Site in Yaounde



Source: Kume Alfred Gimandze (February 2019)

As can be seen with the indicative signboard above, any Cameroonian who has not studied the Chinese language will never know or understand what the signboard is all about and it is the same thing with the contracts of the Cameroonians working with the Chinese. Those are the social welfare issues with the Cameroonian locals working in Chinese firms or companies, even if their Chinese employers cannot take care of their health coverages, they cannot just sack or dispose of them as scraps of papers.

There is another group of Cameroonian citizens who work with the Chinese but they do not have any formal written contract. Here we are talking of workers such as house helps, security guards, cooks, house boys, commercial agents, translators and intermediary agents to cut the long list short. This group of workers with no formal contract are usually sacked without any notification and at times their salaries are not even paid to the fullest. There are cases where some of these workers with no formal contracts were not only sacked but were arrested, molested and even detained in Police cells and had to pay some charges or ransoms before they were released. The narration below from one of our informants, a former worker with a Chinese firm in Yaounde is a perfect example.

I was working with a wood exploiting firm in Kyosi in the Southern region of Cameroon and in the course of time, things were not moving well with us as we were not paid regularly and other things that made me to be hanging around the town. There was this

Chinese company that was constructing wells and boreholes for the provision of portable water around that same quarter where we were living. Every day I used to come, watch and admire the Chinese as they were working then I got interested with the output of one particular machine. One of the Chinese whom I considered to be the Head of the Firm noticed that I was observing how they were working with some interest and he asked me if I am interested with the work they were doing? I said yes I am very much interested with the work. He asked if I am willing to join them. I said yes and when they were done with the work and were leaving the site, I and some other people came and helped them to pack their things and the Head of the Chinese people gave me his contact card and told me that they are based in Yaounde and that I should think well and call him. So I came to Yaounde and called him and he came and took me to their headquarters. I was immediately asked to join the group with no formal contract signed because I was naïve and excited to work with the Chinese thinking that they may take better good care of me as a worker than Cameroonians in terms of salary and social insurance. (Interview realised with Informant 80 on 20 April 2017 at Olembé - Yaounde).

Now let's talk about your working experiences with the Chinese and what happened that you stopped working with the Chinese?

It is true that the Chinese are not open to dialogue and even to teach somebody their technologies, but what I discovered or what I found interesting with the Chinese is that they generally like hard working people. So when you are hardworking they will accept you and no amount of gossiping can stop them from working with a hardworking person. Secondly when a Chinese tells you (the employee) to do something, don't tell him or her that you cannot do it or that you don't know. It is better for you to try and when it is above you, he will then be teaching or directing you on how you should do it.

I was accused of stealing a spare part of a particular machine and detained in cell for four days and my family came and paid the sum of two hundred thousand francs (200,000 FRS) before I was released if not the Chinese were not happy when the forces of law and order released me. They wanted that I should be sentenced to jail for about ten years. So that is how my ten years working experience with the Chinese ended. (Interview realised with Informant 80 on 20 April 2017 at Olembé - Yaounde).

In other CEMAC countries such as Gabon and Equatorial Guinea, local citizens are more protected and valued than expatriates but in Cameroon, Chinese expatriates are more valued and protected than Cameroonian citizens. This gives you the reason why the Chinese have the right and audacity to maltreat Cameroonian citizens in their own country as they want, at any time and will go scout free without being called to order or questioned by the Cameroonian judicial, administrative and forces of law and order. We are not saying that local citizens should be maltreating or being disrespectful to foreigners in Cameroon but that both the Cameroonian citizens and foreigners should respect each other's rights and should not take the laws or justice into their own hands. The administrative authorities, forces of law and order and the legal practitioners should be transparent in handling disputes between local citizens and foreigners in Cameroon.

I watched a video on social media where some two Chinese traders in Douala took the laws into their hands and started beating and maltreating a Cameroonian citizen that was working for them claiming or charging the Cameroonian of having stolen from them of which the said Cameroonian citizen refuted the charges. The neighbouring Cameroonian nationals upon seeing what the Chinese were doing to their fellow citizen could not stay in different but engaged the Chinese into a general fight which took only the forces of law and order to separate. As is always the case with the impartial attitude of the Cameroonian forces of law and order, some few locals were detained for some hours before they were released but the Chinese expatriates were not even questioned at all by the forces of law and order. It is this impartial attitude of the Cameroonian forces of law and order that has made the citizens to go for mob justice than to seek the services of the legal practitioners. Even if the accused Cameroonian had stolen from the Chinese, they were supposed to hand him over to the forces of law and order for questioning and onward transmission to the judicial authorities for him to be judged and if guilty, he would be sentenced to prison.

Environmental Issues

Businesses are urged by the world governments and environmental groups through laws and regulations to keep our air, land and water clean. This is a costly process so businesses decide to move their operations to countries; where it is less regulated. This is just what is happening or taking place in Cameroon. Many of the developed countries including China have seen that environmental issues are not taken serious or not well regulated in Cameroon in particular and Africa as a whole. That is why they come pollute and contaminate the environment as they want. The semi-mechanised mining activities of the Chinese have left behind deep holes which have been filled with water. The localities of Longa Mali, Colomine, Ngoe Ngoe, Ngoura, Ngoyla, Batouri, Yokadouma are littered with such holes, some as deep as 50 metres, many of which have been filled with water.

People are said to have lost their lives in these deadly tombs. According to statistics from FODER, at least 47 persons died in 2017 on the former mining sites. About 250 mining sites opened between 2012 and 2014 have not been filled, the NGO added.

Cattle and other livestock have also been falling into these holes, locals say. *“We cannot even rear livestock because they will all fall into the holes Chinese miners have dug everywhere. The situation is very pathetic”*, Hamadgoulde Bouba says.

According to Cameroonian law, the mining companies are supposed to pay compensation to local people who owned or were making a living on the land. But Pilo Michel, traditional ruler of Longa Mali, says there is nothing to write home about the activities of Chinese miners in the area. *“They have not done anything good for my village that they are exploiting. The state of the road to the village is bad. I don’t know of what use the Chinese are here,”* he says.

Since the days of my parents before I took over as chief, the Chinese have done nothing here in terms of corporate social responsibility; not a school, not a health centre, not water supply, not even to repair the road they use to evacuate what they mine here. They have instead continued to destroy sources of livelihood in our village. They continue to exploit us. Longa Mali village is rich in minerals but has nothing to show for it,” Pilo regrets. Pilo Michel, traditional ruler of Longa Mali says Chinese miners have devastated his community. *“Even the holes they dug, they have not refilled. Water has filled these holes and they are posing real danger to the community. People have been dying in those holes”*.

Pilo says the government of Cameroon must force the Chinese miners to construct schools, health centres, repair the road and provide potable water to the community and even build a market. As for the open tombs they have left, Pilo says: *“they should fill them. We insist on the Chinese closing these holes they have dug, if not, humans and livestock will continue falling into them”*.

‘We may be rendered homeless’ says Rajahu Alahji Oumarou, a 21-year-old mother of two children stands at the doorway of her three-room thatched house in the Zirgene neighbourhood of Colomine, lost in thought. Just 10 metres away, bulldozers belonging to Chinese miners are working in a huge hole. While the excavators continue to dig the over 70 metres deep hole, trucks stand by ready to be loaded with the soil which is carted away to the Chinese miners’ camp to be washed for gold.

Like others who make up the 71 households in Zirgene, Rajahu’s forefathers lived in the area for decades. But now she says they, mostly of the Mbororo minority ethnic group, are about to be rendered homeless. Their thatched houses, which now perch on the edge of the large hole, may end up falling in. To add to this, children and even adults run the risk of falling into the hole which may end up being filled with water.

Political Issues

To begin with, despite the globalization of business, firms must abide by the local rules and regulations of the countries in which they operate that is;

Know the different political systems.

Identify the different legal systems.

Understand government-business trade relations and how political and legal factors impact international business.

Understanding the balance between China's government structure and its ideology is essential to doing business in this complex country. China is both an emerging market and a rising superpower. Its leaders see the economy as a tool to preserving the state's power, which in turn is essential to maintaining stability and growth and ensuring the long-term viability of the Communist Party (Dean and *al.* 2010).

Central to China's approach are policies that champion state-owned firms and other so-called national champions, seek aggressively to obtain advanced technology, and manage its exchange rate to benefit exporters. It leverages state control of the financial system to channel low-cost capital to domestic industries—and to resource-rich foreign nations. As a result, the Chinese government placed a priority on energy related technologies, including solar energy. China's expanding solar-energy industry is dependent on polycrystalline silicon, the main raw material for solar panels. Facing a shortage in 2007, growing domestic demand, and high prices from foreign companies that dominated production, China declared the development of domestic polysilicon supplies a priority. Domestic Chinese manufacturers received quick loans with favorable terms as well as speedy approvals. One entrepreneur, Zhu Gongshan, received \$1 billion in funding, including a sizeable investment from China's sovereign wealth fund, in record time, enabling his firm GCL-Poly Energy Holding to become one of the world's biggest in less than three years. Contrary to the approach of much of the world, which is moving more control to the private sector, China has steadfastly maintained its state control. For example, the Chinese government owns almost all the major banks, the three largest oil companies, the three telecommunications carriers, and almost all of the media (Jason and *al.* 2010).

But in Africa as a whole and Cameroon in particular, precious commodities such as gold, diamond, oil or farmland are so important for countries to have control that wars have been started and as a result people are killed. Trade of these items has caused political alliances that

do not help the people in the trading nation but only the powerful corporations that control the commodity.

In the Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation, the Chinese government says it does not interfere in the political issues or affairs of the partner country. But the observations made on the field and the information or complains from the indigenes' in regards to the exploitation of natural resources such as wood, gold, diamond and even the forceful acquisition of farmlands from the indigenes' is a clear indication that they are interfering in the political issues of the country. What is more disturbing is the fact that they are exploiting all these natural resources without compensating the local indigenes'. The Chinese have the tendency of negotiating with the administrative authorities in Yaounde, where they are given all the rights and permission to exploit these natural resources wherever they are found, when they want and how they want without thinking about the wellbeing of the native population. But the unanswered question is; what does the right to reparation is all about?

According to the international legal principles and standards, indigenous peoples have a right to reparation for the human rights violations they have experienced. Remedies for human rights violations include restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction and guarantees of non-repetition. Reparation is intended to relieve the suffering of and afford justice to the victims by removing or redressing to the extent possible the consequences of the wrongful acts and by preventing and deterring violations. One basic aspect of the right to reparation is the availability of effective remedies.

(Boven 1993: 6), UN special Rapporteur on the right to restitution, compensation and rehabilitation for victims of gross violations of human rights, states in his landmark UN study on reparations that: *“Restitution shall be provided to re-establish, to the extent possible, the situation that existed for the victim prior to the violations of human rights. Restitution requires, inter alia, restoration of liberty, citizenship or residence, employment or property”*.

The Inter-American Court on Human Rights has consistently held that “Reparation of harm brought about by the violation of an international obligation consists in full restitution (restitution integrum), which includes the restoration of the prior situation... and compensation or other forms of indemnification for material and immaterial damages. The same principle has been applied by United Nations bodies responsible for oversight of state compliance with universal human rights and instruments, the International Court of Justice, and the European Court on Human Rights, pursuant to Article 50 of the European Convention of Human Rights.

The general principle of restitution in human rights law also applies to indigenous peoples. There is a difference in its application to indigenous peoples, however, because indigenous people individually and indigenous peoples as groups collectively hold rights. As (ibid) stated, a

Coincidence of individual and collective aspects is particularly manifest with regard to the rights of indigenous peoples. Against this background it is therefore necessary that, in addition to individual means of reparation, adequate provision be made to entitle groups of victims or victimize communities to present collective claims for damages and to receive collective reparation accordingly.

He adds that:

Vital to the life and well-being of indigenous peoples are land rights and rights relating to natural resources and the protection of the environment. Existing and emerging international law concerning the rights of the indigenous peoples lays special emphasis on the protection of these collective rights and stipulates the entitlement of indigenous peoples to compensation in case of damages resulting from exploration and exploitation programmes pertaining to their lands, and in case of relocation of indigenous peoples. The draft declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples [Article 27] recognizes the right to the restitution or, where this is not possible, to just and fair compensation for lands and territories which have been confiscated, occupied, used or damaged without their free and informed consent. Compensation shall preferably take the form of lands and territories of quality, quantity and legal status at least equal to those territories which were lost. Van Boven (1993: 6)

Article 28 of the UN draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples states that:

3. Indigenous peoples have the right to redress, by means that can include restitution or, when this is not possible, just, fair and equitable compensation for the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used, and which have been confiscated, taken, occupied, used or damaged without their free, prior and informed consent.
4. Unless otherwise freely agreed upon by the peoples concerned, compensation shall take the form of lands, territories and resources equal in quality, size and legal status or of monetary compensation or other appropriate redress.

In 1997, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination also addressed this issue in its general Recommendation XXIII called upon state parties:

To recognize and protect the rights of indigenous peoples to own, develop, control and use their communal lands, territories and resources and where they have been deprived of their lands and territories traditionally owned or otherwise inhabited or used without

their free and informed consent, to take steps to return those lands and territories. Only when this is for factual reasons not possible, the right to restitution should be substituted by the right to just, fair and prompt compensation. Such compensation should as far as possible take the form of lands and territories.

Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization requires that indigenous peoples' collective rights of ownership and possession over the lands which they traditionally occupy shall be recognised. The term "traditionally occupy" does not require a continued and present occupation, but rather, according to the International Labour Organization, there should be some connection to the present. Consequently under ILO 169 – and ILO 107, which use the same language – indigenous peoples have the right to restitution and recognition of their rights to lands "traditionally occupied" that they have been expelled from or that they have lost title to or possession of in the recent past, including those incorporated into protected areas without their consent. In the case of relocation, both consensual and non-consensual, ILO 169 also contains specified remedies: the right to return to traditional lands once the reason for relocation no longer pertains; allocation of lands of equal quality and legal status, unless the people(s) concerned express a preference for compensation; full compensation for any loss or injury resulting from relocation (Couillard et al 2009).

Conclusion

After cross checking and examining the cultural and economic distances between Africa and Asia and their openness to trade, it was discovered that despite the cultural, economic and geographic distances or differences between Africa and Asia, wherever there is any business opportunity, any human being would desire to exploit that business venture hence the movement or migration of individuals in either direction in the Africa-Asia network. The world has become a global village where physical distances no longer count as or considered obstacles trade as much as it used to be some centuries back. Now when companies see that they can found good quality raw materials in any part of the world, they will make all the necessary arrangements that will permit them to obtain the raw materials.

It is only in the case with developing countries that the geographic distances between trading nations are regarded as obstacles. This is because they do not have the much needed means of transportation and the thorough exploitation of the raw materials. When the westerners or the industrialized countries buy a log of wood, they will exploit it to the fullest with no particle thrown away hence the cost of transportation and the rest are covered up.

Cultural differences or distances can be hindrances or obstacles to trade but countries that have been trading for a long period of time; their continuous trading cooperation weakens the cultural barriers thereby making them good trading partners. Economic distance is no longer any problem to international trade all the countries in the world; both the developed and the less developed intend to have as more trading partners as possible so as to maximise their chances of exporting what they produce and import what they cannot produce.

Insofar as openness to international trade is concerned, all the countries in the world are opened to international but some are more opened than others while some are closed or more resistant to international trade as they put some barriers to trade such as high taxes and other strict measures to reduce the number of foreign traders entering their territory.

China's development will affect the history of the twenty-first century, and perhaps nowhere more importantly than in Africa. The emergence of China introduces new opportunities for Africa, new challenges and new imponderables as well. Observers are watching China's Africa policy with a mixture of fascination and fright.

CHAPTER 8

ACCULTURATION, ADAPTATION AND CULTURAL CHANGE

8.1 Introduction

This chapter of the work unveils some of the cultural drifts leading to cultural change, acculturation and adaptation as a result of the contact between the Chinese and Cameroonian cultures. Anthropologists usually talk or portrait culture as being dynamic and not static, meaning that even if a culture comes in contact with one another or not, there are bound to be some cultural changes resulting from cultural drifts, acculturation, adaptation, change of activities, innovations, inventions, diffusion and the passage of time as a whole. All these and much more shall be presented in this chapter in three sub topics; acculturation, adaptation and culture change.

8.2 Acculturation

An outstanding development in Anthropology during the years has been the growing interest in the study of people whose modes of life are undergoing or have undergone, extensive change as a result of ascertainable historic contacts with alien cultures. (Herskovits 1937) sees acculturation as; comprehending those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups.

Acculturation is defined as the change in the cultural behaviour and thinking of person or group of people through contact with another culture. Another definition of acculturation is the cultural modification of an individual, group, or people by adapting to or borrowing traits from another culture. One can also talk of the merging of cultures as a result of prolonged contact. The Merriam Webster dictionary defines acculturation as the process by which a human being acquires the culture of a particular society from infancy. Acculturation is the processes of change in artefacts, customs, and beliefs that result from the contact of two or more cultures. The transfer of values and customs from one group to another is also known as acculturation. A perfect example of acculturation is Cameroonians being dressed like Chinese. It is equally the process by which a culture is transformed due to the massive adoption of cultural traits from another society--it is what happens to a culture when alien traits diffuse in on a large scale and substantially replace traditional cultural patterns. (Grunland and Mayers 1988), distinguishes acculturation from assimilation in that; within the context of acculturation, a person adapts to the degree of his effectiveness within the context of the new. He assumes he will leave or the new culture will leave while he returns to his culture of birth or origin. He is a fully accepted and respected member of the new yet in essence has a dual identity. Assimilation is the more extreme process. It comes from the realization that one will never return to the society or culture of origin. So one takes on the entire lifeway of the new culture. The process is more thorough, all-encompassing, and likely lengthier. One visiting from outside would not really know if one had been born within or not. First generation immigrants may achieve a high degree of adaptation. Second generation people most likely reach a high degree of assimilation (some Anthropologists do not distinguish between acculturation and assimilation. They speak of this difference in intensity of response in other ways).

According to the Britannic.com of 30th April 2019, acculturation is the process of change in artefacts, customs, and beliefs that result from the contact of two or more cultures and that the term is also used to refer to the results of such changes. Anthropologists' contribution to the

study of cultural change is urgent in light of the increasing number of people of different backgrounds who are migrating around the globe and settling in new communities and the opportunities and challenges that come along with that process (Redfield and al. 1936). Two types of acculturation, incorporation and directed change, may be distinguished on the basis of the conditions under which cultural contact and change take place.

Incorporation refers to the free borrowing and modification of cultural elements and occurs when people of different cultures maintain contact as well as political and social self-determination. Because incorporation is a product of free choice, the changes it engenders are often retained over a very long term or period.

In contrast, directed change occurs when one group establishes dominance over another through military conquest or political control. Like incorporation, directed change involves the selection and modification of cultural characteristics. However, these processes are more varied and the results more complex because they are derived from the interference in one cultural system by members of another. The processes that operate under conditions of directed change include forced assimilation- the complete replacement of one culture by another – and resistance against aspects of the dominant culture. Because directed change is imposed upon the members of the recipient culture, often quite harshly, the changes it engenders are less likely to be maintained over the long term. Both incorporation and direct change are taking place in Cameroon as a result of the Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation. The Cameroonians and the Chinese alike are borrowing cultural values from one another such as language, dance, arts (artefacts), therapeutic methods or practices, cuisines and architecture just to name these few. But on the other way round, the Chinese are dominating or imposing their material cultures to their Cameroonian counterparts. This is somehow favoured by their industrial and technological development that makes them to think that they are superior over the Cameroonians.

The use of the “*Franaglais*” by many Cameroonians today is one of the many examples of some cultures coming into contact (acculturation) with one another for a very long period of time enabling or permitting the borrowing and or the diffusion of cultural norms and values from one group to another. English and French languages have come in contact in Cameroon for over 70 years now and the end result has been the effective process of acculturation taking place.

Acculturation studies should embrace comparative methods, especially in situations where multiple groups are entering the same social context and responding in diverse ways. This approach is particularly needed as globalization often results in the convergence of several cultures.

8.3 Adaptation

Adaptation is defined as the process or state of changing to fit a new environment or different conditions, or the resulting change. In other words, adaptation is the adjustment to physical, social, mental or psychological environments such as the adjustment of sense organs to the intensity or quality of stimulation. The modification of an organism or its parts that makes it more fit for existence under the conditions of its environment. A heritable physical or behavioural trait that serves a specific function and improves an organism's fitness or survival. It is equally the modification of characters or behaviours to suit different conditions or purposes. People all over the world rely on modes of production, distribution, and consumption in order to provide food and other commodities necessary in life. These modes differ based on culture in the ways that humans relate to and make use of the natural environment, how humans relate to each other, how the institutions of society and federal states cause change, and how ideas impact the ways in which these relationships are conveyed, are all adaptive strategies.

Biologists consider adaptation as the development of physical and behavioural characteristics that allow organisms to survive and reproduce in their habitats. According to Anthropologists, adaptive mechanisms are behaviours, strategies and or technics for obtaining food, shelter, prevent or treat illnesses, reproduce and surviving in a particular environment. Successful adaptive mechanisms provide a selective advantage in the competition for survival with other life forms. For humans, the most important adaptive mechanism is culture. Culture is a powerful human tool for survival, but it is a fragile phenomenon. It is constantly changing and easily lost because it exists only in our minds.

Trends in recent research studies have focused on the mitigation of greenhouse gas emissions from forests, and adaptations to climate change in agriculture (Locatelli et al. 2017). However, studies on adaptation to climate change have underrated, or even perhaps ignored, the context in which people perceive and evaluate the risks of changing their livelihood strategies and make risks decisions. The cultural aspects and perceived realism of risks have remained discounted in the technical models of risk analysis and assessment. Risk perception assumes that the perceiver, within a social setting, selects certain risks for addressing, while

suppresses some others from attention. An individual's own estimates for risk may be very different from that of the others as well as from apparently "objective" estimates of risk calculated in terms of statistics and probability distributions. Actor's response to climate risks depends on how they experience the risk environment, which takes them to compare the present situation with that of the past – anything they have experienced or culturally known and classified in the past. The actor first take resort to their previous experiences of similar situation and depending on the similarity, they choose a particular course of actions to be taken. In case of new experience, people employ a more complex assessment to see whether the new experience can be fitted to the existing cultural categories and behaviour or require more contextual assessment (Shafie 2017).

Adaptation policies need to account the decision factors influencing the protective response motivation of people living under risk and uncertainties induced by extreme climatic events. To understand human dimensions of climate change, we need to begin by examining the adaptive mechanisms of human populations to environmental change, the differential responses to the magnitude and the frequency of perceived and actual changes, and the differences between adaptive responses at the individual level and those visible at the population level (Brondizio and Moran 2008) restated by (Shafie 2017). Actor's adaptive responses to global environmental change are mediated by multiple factors including perception of change in terms of cultural and linguistic dimensions- such as whether people have experienced that type of change and whether it is easily understood and interpreted by existing cues and an appropriate lexicon and so on.

Adaptation is the core concept of any ecological studies in anthropology. It is not even a new idea and its scope is not limited to climate change studies. Human adaptation studies began long ago when the earlier scholars wanted to understand the differences between various human populations and explain human variability. Herodotus (484- 425 B. C) and restated by Shafie (2017), explains human variability as a result of adaptation to different environments and considers culture as a modifier. In this light, culture is thus the tool that helps human beings to adapt to any new environment (physical, social and mental or psychological environments).

One informant said;

In most Cameroonian shops and supermarkets nowadays, more than 80 percent of the goods and services found there are of Chinese origin and we know that most of the goods and services from China do not last. Most of us the Cameroonian household consumers had to look for the means or strategies to adapt to this new way of living.

Instead of buying some few clothes and pairs of shoes that will last longer, we now buy as many dresses as possible since most of them are imported from China and we know that most of the things from China do not last longer, it is thus necessary to adapt to that system by buying more with the intention that when one gets bad you throw it and go to the next one.

Even if you like or do not like Chinese goods and services, you are now obliged to use them since you cannot find most of the goods and services of different origins in our Cameroonian shops and supermarkets. (Interview realised with Informant 80 on 20 April 2017 at Olembé - Yaounde).

Most of the Chinese expatriates in Cameroon, know that bribery and corruption are normal things or ways of life in Cameroon. Hence they have to adapt to this new way of life by bribing and corrupting the forces of law and order and the administrative authorities so as to gain access to all the places, have and do what they want, how they want and whenever they want.

The bribery and corrupt practices of the Cameroonians (civil servants) started as a form of adaptation which we can be named or termed “*negative adaptation*” as explained by this informant below;

La corruption existe au Cameroun comme dans tous les pays du monde. On retrouve sa pratique dans les plus haute niveaux de l'Etat jusqu'au fonctionnaire au bas de l'échelle. Celle-ci s'est développé en conséquence des plans d'ajustements structurels imposés par le Fonds Monétaire International à la fin des années 1980. Le FMI a ainsi exigé et obtenu une baisse drastique (jusqu'à -70%) des salaires de la fonction publique suivi d'une dévaluation de 50% du Franc CFA. Ainsi les fonctionnaires notamment se sont mis à vendre leurs services. La corruption quotidienne est qualifiée de nombreux noms ; Gombo, bière, taxi, carburant, motivation, le tchoko et d'autres. (Interview realised with Informant 80 on 20 April 2017 at Olembé - Yaounde).

Following the structural readjustment plans imposed by the International Monetary Fund (the IMF), where the salaries of civil servants were reduced and the acute devaluation of the franc CFA currency, many civil servants were unable to cope with what they were receiving as salaries, hence they started selling their services in order to adapt or survive.

This bribery and corruption otherwise negative adaptation has come to stay since it has several names or appellations in Cameroon as found with the informant above. Apart from the popular names of Gombo, beer, taxi, petrol, motivation and tchoko, people have different names according to the various age groups, professions and socio-political organizations.

One household consumer lamented that Cameroonian technicians such as Brick layers, Carpenters, Shoe menders, Tailors, Seamstresses, Electricians, hair dressers, painters and a host

of others have all as a means of adapting to the new way of producing and or manufacturing goods and services, copied more than enough from the Chinese. They fabricate goods and offer services that do not last so much such that their potential customers would keep coming to them for other services.

Following the definition of adaptation as the modification of characters or behaviours to suit different conditions or purposes, Cameroonians and the Chinese alike have all resorted to the learning of each other's culture so as to better integrate their new environments. Many Cameroonian students are learning the Chinese language and culture. In the same light, most of the Chinese expatriates are learning Cameroonian cultures and languages to enable them better fit into the Cameroonian societies. For example, the Chinese expatriates in Cameroon have adapted a system of speaking the French language that permits them to communicate with their Cameroonian co-workers in the various jobs and construction sites. One of such forms of expression include; « *moi travail ici, toi travail là-bas. Demain moi partir à Douala, toi travail avec mon collègue.* »

Those Chinese, who cannot afford to speak like this, are obliged to hire the services of an Interpreter or a Translator. Even with the presence of Interpreters or Translators, they are still obliged to learn the languages spoken in Cameroon because the Interpreters and Translators will not be with the Chinese all the time hence they need to learn these languages that will help them to interact with the rest of the people.

One trader said the Chinese traders at times use gestures (use of fingers) to sell their goods and services. Customers do not bargain the prices of goods and services with the Chinese but when they decide to reduce any amount from the first amount, they will still make use of their fingers. For example five fingers accompanied by words to means five hundred or five thousands and four fingers if they decide to remove or reduce the amount from five hundreds or thousands to four hundreds or thousands.

Il y a beaucoup des Chinois qu'ils comprennent mais ils ne parlent pas. Donc ils ont recruté les servantes ou intermédiaires Camerounaises surtout les filles qu'elles comprennent, écrivent et parlent bien le français. Quand tu viens, tu choisir ce que tu veux et tu pars à la caisse. Ils te disent Madame ; c'est quatre mille ils te disent ça en montrant les doigts. Chez eux la tu ne discutes pas le prix eh, quand ils disent leurs prix c'est leurs prix. Oui, les Chinois connaissent les prix et les soums ou les montants d'argent et ils t'expliquent menant avec la bouche. Il y a d'autres qu'ils ne connaissent même pas et ils t'expliquent seulement avec les doigts. (Interview realised with Informant 60 on 19 May 2017 at Ngoa Ekelle - Yaounde).

One important point to be considered when it comes to adaptation is the fact that people do not only have to adapt when they change their environments. People at times have to learn to adapt while still in their same or constant environment due to the changes that have come and met them there. One can still be found in the same geographic environment where one was born and something happens or new neighbours come in with something new that the present occupants of that territory will have to adjust their former behaviours and characters to be able to survive. The various strategies put up by the Cameroonian and Chinese traders in the markets so as to be able to cope with competition can all be seen or regarded as forms of adaptation.

Another trader in Bamenda said;

I believe they have a very good strategy, they have something they call “a win-win policy”, where they will sell you goods at a very cheaper rate and you will go and sell very fast and come back to buy more goods by so doing, you are selling and they are also selling. So it is a two sided coin or a win-win relationship. (Interview realised with Informant 2 on 20 November 2017 at Commercial Avenue - Bamenda).

In some of the mining sites in the Eastern region of Cameroon, many locals have changed their economic activities of peasant farming to become artisanal miners as means of adaptation as most of their farmlands have been destroyed by the mining activities of the Chinese. Secondly, gold is a very precious metal that is sold like a hot cake or potato compared to the local farm products. If the locals have any amount or quantity of gold in their possession, there are people or buyers with quick cash (money) at hand to buy everything in less than no time. This new economic activity is far and fast money searching as compared to the farm product where even if a farmer has five bags of cassava or five regimes of plantains, he or she is not sure to sell all on the same day. With the farm products, some of the customers would like to take the things on credit whereas with gold, it is here and now, “*c’est la la la*” in French.

Many locals have various life stories of how their farmlands and other valuable properties have been destroyed with very little or no compensation by the mining activities of the Chinese who are well protected by the security officers. Many of the locals have changed their economic activities as a means of adaptation while others have migrated to new or neighbouring localities.

The increasing preference for imported cheap Chinese goods and services by the Cameroonian household consumers and the widening trade imbalances between Cameroon and China has made or forced local firms to either reduce the number of personnel or slash their salaries as means of adaptation to face or cope with the competition from Chinese firms Sunday Aninpah and Francis Menjo (2008). The local firms or companies that could not adapt or cope

with this competition have completely shut their doors. The consequences of these slash of salaries, reduction of personnel and closure of some firms are so devastating. Many of the workers have lost their jobs as a result of the closure and the reduction of some personnel in the local firms that are facing stiff competition with the Chinese firms, goods and services. Some had to reconvert into commercial motor biker riders with all the risks that goes with it. Imagine a worker who had many children to feed and cater for their needs and education, what becomes of those children when their father, the breadwinner has lost his job?

The socio-cultural implications of these reduction of personnel, slash of salaries and the closure of some local firms are not only devastating to the parents, children and their immediate families but the entire society, Cameroon and the African continent as a whole. Many male youths whose fathers lost their jobs must have joined armed groups and are terrorizing the neighbourhoods, towns and cities, while some of the females must have engaged in prostitution and others clandestine immigration. The government is not left out following the reduction of personnel and the closure of some local firms as it loses in tax payers income, increase in the unemployment rate, juvenile delinquency, high criminal activities and a stagnant or slow growing economy.

8.4 Culture Change

All cultures change through time. No culture is static. However, most cultures are basically conservative in that they tend to resist change. Some resist more than others by enacting laws for the preservation and protection of traditional cultural patterns while putting up barriers to alien ideas and things.

Culture change is a change that occurs over time to shared way of life of a group. As earlier mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, that there are many aspects through which culture change can occur; we shall present some of those aspects in respect to the Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation and some of the general patterns through which change can occur in a community or society and the world at large.

8.4.1 Invention

Technological change has a broad impact on culture. For example, the internet allows people to connect to social groups and media that represent a worldwide view. The Chinese have fast developed through this medium and have invented so many things together with the availability of internet; some Cameroonians can easily and quickly see something in China and request for it or buy it online. This is true of the sex dolls which some Cameroonians have seen

through the social media, made commands or requests for those objects and we can find them in many Cameroonian homes. The Cameroonian or African culture or tradition of young boys and girls growing up and getting married and forming their own families is gradually taking a different turn as some of the young boys find or derive sexual satisfaction from the “sex dolls”. Some of these guys who have happily embraced the arrival of the “sex dolls” said; *“If you date a girl and she refuses because she feels or thinks that she is so beautiful, just take her picture or image and send to China and the Chinese will make a sex doll for you in her image”*. The ladies on their part have also requested for artificial penises from the Chinese and are able to satisfy themselves sexually without a man and the list continues. The invention of the mobile telephones and all the advantages that go with it has made it such that people no longer keep secrets and this is a challenge to most of our cultures. Anything that happens now people will snap and put on social media even during accidents, not all the people who come there are coming to help and rescue the victims. Some do come to take images and put on social media while others come to search and collect all the valuable items found in the bodies of the victims.

On the other side of the coin, these inventions are very helpful as traders can now sit in Cameroon and order goods and services from China. This is confirmed by one of our potential informants when asked if he has created contact with the Chinese or Asian traders. This is what he said;

Yes, I have created contacts with all my potential suppliers in Thailand, Malaysia, Japan, South Korea, United Arab Emirate, India and China. As for the management of these contacts, the world has been simplified by high technological improvement such that I am able to write or communicate with all these suppliers in less than no time through internet, WhatsApp or simple calls. They also call or write me from time to time to greet and brief me on subsequent changes and innovations. (Interview realised with Informant 80 on 20 April 2017 at Olembé - Yaounde).

People sit in the villages and order things from the towns and cities. It is very easy now to send money to the villages as compared to the past where one could not send money to the village except when somebody was traveling to the village or nearby village. Even with somebody traveling to the village, you were not sure if the person would really go and hand the money. Untrustworthy individuals could go and squander the money then fabricate fake stories that they were attacked by thieves or armed robbers.

The elites of a particular community can now sit where they are and watch a socio-cultural event or manifestation taking place in their home community thanks to the technological inventions that have taken place in the recent times.

8.4.2 Economy (Economic systems and conditions)

A nation that has a growing middle class may experience an enrichment of culture as people have the economic security to pursue happiness. For example, a nation with a large middle class typically has a significant pool of talent who are pursuing creative careers in areas such as architecture, design, music, art, literature and entertainment.

In a domain like architecture, many young Cameroonian architects have studied in China and many other Western countries and have changed the housing systems in Cameroon so much such that it is very rare to find those long bungalows with six, seven or eight rooms nowadays. Even the paintings and decoration of houses have all witnessed major changes as result of the creativity of the young architects together with the contacts they have had with other cultures. There are a lot of variations in the painting of houses today so much such that a particular building can have more than four colours as compared to the past where a building would have one colour throughout.

The same thing applies to design where talented designers now blend Cameroonian fabrics with foreign fabrics and come out with something completely new and adorable by all (both Cameroonians and foreigners). As for music, the changes cannot be over emphasized as we see it on a daily basis. A Chinese artist once composed and sang in the Sawa (Douala) language of Cameroon. After watching Cameroonians singing and dancing Makossa, this Chinese artist discovered taste, value and flavour in makossa. He decided to give it a try which is not exactly the same as the Sawa people dance but the Chinese had to twist and wind their small waist and buttocks to the tune of the music, so it's a new culture that has seen the light of day. Young Cameroonian artists now blend a host of cultures, designs and languages to come out with interesting and lovable songs by all as compared to the days of old when Makossa was being sung by the Sawa people only and Bikutsi by the Beti people only.

8.4.3 Globalization

The process of exchange and integration that occurs between nations. This is a long term process that has been underway for centuries but has accelerated due to advancements in communication, transportation, peace and cooperation. Globalization results in the pizza effect whereby cultures copy each other. These copies are always imperfect resulting in new culture.

Globalization including political, social and economic processes is frequently associated with multinational companies and investment, international trade and regionalism, global finance and money. While globalization process reduced activity and control of national

governments on their economy and trade their place is substituted by international companies. The national economies on the other hand try to keep pace with the change in economic system by deregulating their international trade barriers via regional trade agreements and economic integrations (Ahmet 2015).

One of the widespread definitions of globalization takes it as an irreversible force, which is being imposed upon the world by some countries and institutions through which an increasingly free flow of ideas, people, goods, services, and capital leads to the integration of economies and societies (IMF 2002). Economic aspect of the phenomenon refers to the increasing interdependence of world economies as a result of the growing scale of cross-border trade of commodities and services, flow of international capital and wide and rapid spread of technologies. It reflects the continuing expansion and mutual integration of market frontiers, and is an irreversible trend for the economic development in the whole world at the turn of the millennium (Shangquan 2000).

A radical transformation of economic life is presented with the process of globalization which resulted in the generalization of market economy, increase in production, circulation of information, products, people and capital, implementation of technical systems becomes more efficient (Dăianu 2009). Nations are no longer self-sufficient in the global economy and they are included in trade at different levels to sell what they produce to obtain what they are in need. The countries usually produce more efficiently in some economic sectors than its trade partners. As supported by conventional economic theory, eventually trade promotes economic efficiency and it can be concluded that the globalization of production is contributing to the globalization of trade (Rodrigue et.al. 2006).

Global trade allows for an enormous variety of resources – from Persian Gulf oil, Brazilian coffee to Chinese labour – to be made more widely accessible. It also facilitates the distribution of a wide range of manufactured goods that are produced in different parts of the world to global markets. Wealth becomes increasingly derived through the regional specialization of economic activities. This way, production costs are lowered, productivity rises and surpluses are generated, which can be transferred or traded for commodities that would be too expensive to produce domestically or would simply not be available. As a result, international trade decreases the overall costs of production worldwide. Consumers can buy more goods from the wages they earn, and standards of living should, in theory, increase. International trade demonstrates the extent of globalization with increased spatial

interdependencies between elements of the global economy and their level of integration. These interdependencies imply numerous relationships where flows of capital, goods, raw materials and services are established between regions of the world. International trade is also subject to much contention since it can at time be a disruptive economic and social force as it changes the conditions in which wealth is distributed within a national economy, particularly due to changes in prices and wages. One particular challenge concerns the substitution of labour and capital. While in a simple economy labour and capital (infrastructures) can be reconverted to other uses, in complex economies labour and capital cannot be easily reallocated. Therefore, trade can at the same time lead to more goods being available at a lower price, but with enduring unemployment and decaying infrastructures (unused factories) (Rodrigue 1998).

International trade has an important share in GDP in different countries. Various companies from different countries are looking for new growth opportunities beyond their home country borders. Due to international trade, important sectors of the economies can be stimulated, such as transport and ICT sectors. Thus, international trade can be important for business, due to profits growth prospects, reduced dependence on known markets, business expansion and many others. The increase of international trade over the years has been a result of the globalization process. Thus, both consumers and companies can now choose from a wider range of products and services. Also, globalization refers to the interdependence between countries arising from the integration of different aspects of the economy, such as trade. International trade can stimulate economic growth of countries that are now so interconnected. Currently, globalization cannot be ignored by businesses, due to the opportunities offered by foreign markets.

Globalization is the process where the economies of different countries are interconnected, and consumers in one country can easily buy products from other countries. Globalization was supported by aspects such as the increase in trade across national borders, reduction of trade barriers, simplification of procedures and many more. Both advantages and disadvantages come with globalization, among which is a better offer of products and services for consumers, cost reduction for companies, the access to new markets on one hand, but there are influences on the economies of developing countries, lack of small companies' ability to compete with larger ones, on the other hand. Globalization influences the development of companies, offering the opportunity to address the global market by exploiting advantages, and the way of developing activities at international level varies depending on company size. But

for any company, of any size, the international environment has opportunities, challenges, and also risks and the latter can be reduced through effective planning.

According to (Razvan 2015), globalization is a process of international integration, and its development is due to increased exchange of products and services at global level, also with the influences of other aspects related to cultural and social environment. This process has been influenced over the years by the development and progress in various fields, from ICT to transport which support the growing interdependence between marketing activities and other business operations like management, logistics and accountancy. Growth and diversification of the production process for various products such as textile, machinery, development of channels of communication and many others were decisive factors in the development of changes that occurred in the 19th century, the 20th century being influenced also by developments in the area of ICT and transportation. Globalization is a complex process having social, environmental, cultural implications, being strongly connected with economic mechanisms, and various aspects related to markets, production and many more which need to be discussed and considered when developing specific marketing activities beyond the borders of a country. Globalization shows influences related to expansion of investments in different countries, international trade development and communication development, extra. Globalization in the economic area refers to interdependence of economies of countries due to increased cross-border flows of products, services and capital. Economic globalization involves various aspects of economic life such as production processes, finances, markets, institutions, labour force and the list continues. World countries are becoming not only increasingly economically interdependent, but in the process of global economic integration, they should consider avoiding possible negative outcomes in the social and environmental areas.

Globalization is the process of economic, political and social integration of people across the globe into a complex system of exchange and corporation. According to Wikipedia encyclopaedia: "globalization describes an ongoing process by which regional economic societies and cultures have become integrated through a globe-spanning network of communication". Globalization is multidimensional, affecting all aspects of life-economic, cultural, environmental and social as well as relations between governments and nations on all the continents. It is characterized by an intensification of cross border trade and increased financial and foreign direct investment flows, promoted by rapid liberalization and advances in information technologies. Its implications range from the trade and investment flows as well as flows of capital. The global process of globalization has made the pursuit of development and

maintenance of internal and external stability very difficult and delicate task. On one hand globalization holds out to those countries that are engaged in the process, the promise of a sustainable growth in trade and international investment. On the other hand, it heightens the risks of instability and marginalization. Globalization is multifaceted with many important dimensions composed by the flow of information, data, knowledge and technologies. For instance, internet facilitates the exchange of information and makes various peoples around the world always connected. In this process a doctor located in Cameroon can obtain help from a colleague located in Hungary at any time on an extremely urgent case without need to travel, but just by using his computer and the internet connection. What we can do with the telephone of course in some cases. Two students from distant countries can work together when necessary using new technologies of information.

Globalization has helped increase growth and wealth in recent years, but it has not done so for all continents and all countries. In the least developed countries and on the African continent in particular, a worsening of existing imbalances has impeded development and aggravated poverty. The marginalization of these countries is reflected in their small share of world trade, output, and foreign investment.

For countries like Cameroon, the situation is exacerbated by unsustainable external debt and by unfulfilled promises of official assistance at a time when the country cannot continue its reforms and development efforts without financial support. We should examine the different facets of globalization and assess its benefits and risks in light of the recent Economic, Political and Social evolution that have shaken Cameroon.

Economic Impact

Cameroon is still far from reaching its goal of an annual sustained growth rate above 7 percent a year, which is essential if it is to achieve the quality of life of other developing countries. It is not impossible for Cameroon to accomplish this goal, but it can do so only by integrating with the world economy and by accelerating reforms, with two fundamental objectives in mind:

(i) Creating the best possible conditions for private investment by promoting greater openness in domestic and foreign trade; and

(ii) Making the economy more efficient by redefining the role of the state, reforming the civil service so as to improve the business climate, and introducing a transparent legal and

regulatory framework that will encourage private investment. Governments should focus on social development, particularly health and education, to make up the large deficit that the country has in this area. The financial sector, an essential channel for implementing and ensuring the success of these reforms, must be included in any reform program. The consolidation, restructuring, and modernization of the banking sector and the development of capital markets and financial institutions are both important. However, past experience suggests that, to be successful, reforms must be adapted to each country's specific economic and social characteristics as well as to its priorities and level of development.

While Cameroon may bear primary responsibility for achieving the reform and development objectives, international organizations and the international community must support Cameroon's efforts. If the clear desire of Cameroon to pull itself up and become part of the world economy is combined with greater determination on the part of the industrial countries to honour their commitments and open their markets, with the support of regional and international organizations, we will be able to meet the challenges of increasing growth and reducing poverty and thus lay the foundation for political, economic, and social stability.

As a first step, the industrial countries could support Cameroon's efforts by allowing the country's exports free access to their markets, which would enable the heavily indebted countries in particular to better integrate with the global trading system. The abolition of trade barriers, according to some studies, could yield income flows that are three times the amount of the external aid provided to the developing countries. This conclusion leads us to a crucial point about the availability of resources, which have thus far been insufficient for Cameroon relief from the burden of their external debt, through cancellation or rescheduling, would enable the country to save resources that could be allocated to productive investment, which would generate growth and improve social justice.

Political Impact

A combination of new technologies and the globalization of the economy present challenges to the government of Cameroon, the custodian of the wellbeing of its people. Until recently, the state's scope of activities had no defined limits. In addition to its sovereign functions (for example, security, justice, education, and health care), it was involved in economic life through direct control over the production and distribution of many goods and services. In Cameroon, the state has been responsible for managing even financial institutions,

as well as controlling trade and capital flows between the national economy and the rest of the world.

This interventionist system, which was justified in various ways, eventually ran out of steam in early 1990s. But it did not give way to a burgeoning private initiative. A restrictive regulatory framework limited private initiatives to marginal activities, stifling the emergence of a true entrepreneurial class. It is precisely from this restrictive regulatory framework that Cameroon must extricate itself if she is to realize her true potential in the global economy. For this to happen, government action must focus on four areas.

a) Stabilizing the macroeconomic situation

This is essential if Cameroon is to be competitive in the globalized economy. Unproductive spending, fiscal imbalances, and large balance of payments deficit needs to be contained. Only then will the state be able to devote more resources to the construction of adequate infrastructure (such as better roads, deep seaports and proper airports, adequate supply of electricity, and availability of portable water), consolidation of the long-term bases of development (such as education, health care, and the environment), and the struggle against poverty and unemployment.

b) Reducing the size of the public sector.

The state needs to withdraw from the commercial sector and devote more time and resources to the delivery of essential public services. The tool for this is the privatization of inefficient public enterprises Neoclassical reasoning intimates that the private sector is far better equipped than the government to manage commercial activities effectively, because its decision-making apparatus is less unwieldy and its ability to adapt to changes in the environment is greater. Reforms in the public sector must be guided by the desire to liberalize economic activities and promote free enterprise. Therefore, the state must encourage healthy competition among businesses while eliminating economic rents and mechanisms that legally confer a dominant position on a firm or economic agent/ethnic groups.

c) Good governance. Cameroon needs to focus on the following issues:

Transparency of the government: Citizens must be kept informed of the decisions of the state and their justification. There must be simplicity of procedures. Whether in fiscal matters, investment, or other areas, administrative procedures need to be as simple as possible, with the number of participants reduced to a minimum. It is often said that many hands do lighter work but in the Cameroon administrative setting, many hands instead delay the work as many civil

servants in one administrative office is of no help to the Cameroonian citizens. Most of the time you enter an administrative office in Cameroon to certify a document, you will find many workers but they will tell you that this or that person is not around, you should go and come in the afternoon or tomorrow. Others will not even tell you anything; they just become rude and aggressive. This attitude of some Cameroonian civil servants is killing the business climate in Cameroon affecting growth and economic development. Cameroonian traders have been complaining and are still complaining about the delay and corrupt practices they go through in order to clear their goods and services at the various seaports in Cameroon.

We interviewed some Nigerian traders in Bamenda who are dealing on the Cameroon-Asia (China) line and they said that they prefer to pass through Nigeria while coming back from Asia with their goods and services rather than Cameroon because it saves time and money. They further said that it is cheaper and faster for them to clear their goods and services at the Nigerian ports than Cameroonian ports.

Cameroonian administrative authorities thus must meet the following two things amongst others for things to move in the right direction; Responsibility. Public officials must be held accountable and, if necessary, penalized for offenses. The fight against corruption must be intensified. Eradication of this scourge is imperative for promoting healthy competition, eliminating surcharges, and strengthening the efficiency of economic management.

Individual freedom and collective expression: A free and responsible press, in particular, is an important pillar of democracy. The State must uphold the independence of the legal system. The legal system must be free from pressure and intervention from political forces or any other organization, to ensure that its decisions are independent and impartial. While Cameroonian business laws on paper are clear, few foreign investors have come forward because implementation of those laws is problematic. Under the current judicial system, local and foreign investors have found it complicated and costly to enforce contract rights, protect property rights, and obtain a fair and expeditious hearing before the courts.

Social Impact

In Cameroon, civil society plays a dual role. First, as a mouthpiece for democracy, it is the chief challenger of the power of the state, limiting deviations from good governance and acting as a regulator in the political arena. This civil society (voluntary organizations, community groups, trade unions, church groups, co-operatives, business, professional and

philanthropic organizations and a range of other NGOs) is growing remarkably fast. It is becoming more organized and collaborates effectively with civil society in other countries. Cooperation with institutions such as the International Federation of Human Rights is a good example of how this phenomenon works. In the areas of development, the environment or human rights, NGOs have added a new dimension to traditional politics and have helped to find new forms of addressing national problems. As evidenced in the privatization and deregulation schemes, Cameroon is forging ahead with the establishment of a proper functioning market economy. However, despite its overall efficiency, the market economy can generate negative social and environmental externalities. Civil society, as represented by consumer associations and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), serves as a watchdog to contain market excesses and to guard against environmental abuse by increasing public awareness of ecological problems for example, disposal of toxic waste.

Civil society also has a major role to play in smoothing the entry of Cameroon into the global economy. Being close to the people and their concerns, it is the appropriate forum for raising awareness of the challenges globalization poses and for the necessary changes in thinking. It is therefore important that civil society be fully involved in defining growth strategies, whose success is largely dependent on popular support. In sum, civil society can also play a significant role in promoting the mobilization of savings through decentralized financial institutions and, in general, helping to combat poverty especially via the microfinance schemes.

Stakes of Globalization and Cameroon Educational System

On the basis of a certain number of reports, it is advisable to identify and analyse the stakes to which the challenges of the educational policies graft. It is estimated that Cameroon, in 2015, by its population, will have to accommodate nearly five to six million pupils at a time when the objectives of universal education therefore will not have been achieved (Aninpah and Menjo 2008). To face this challenge, primary school enrolment is expected to play a decisive role in realizing the recommendations contained in the Millennium. Education for all remains an issue that nourishes a belief that the growth of schooling can contribute to the promotion of the economy. Approximately 15 to 20% children from 3 to 4 years old follow a pre-school education. The authorities, to better meet the challenges of education for all, should focus on the maternal education which seems not to experience a significant development. This option should be accompanied by a number of measurements facilitating the effectiveness of free and compulsory education. The problems of universal education raise the question of the participation of the girls in education. On this point, in Cameroon, the enrolment of girls

remains a recurring and urgent problem. At the heart of globalization, the knowledge is the question of communication and information technologies. It is an issue of importance. The project underlines the numerical fracture between north and South. The history of the school in Cameroun, the diagnosis of its forces and its weaknesses still remain to be made. In a world which evolves/moves and changes permanently, the school has to change while adapting to changes and with the new contexts. The school is not only ideology. It is also a shared culture and openness. It provides knowledge and values that are approximately universal. It is in the sense that globalization education, which cannot be uniform or submission to a single and total order, is beneficial. It constitutes a new element to take into account in the definition of the educational policies. Globalization will not make it possible to reduce the problems and inequalities noted. In a step forward, it is good governance and the efficient leadership that will make a difference. Obviously, Cameroun is always looking forward to unify its educational system. The school in Cameroon is not yet the Cameroonian school. It needs a heart, an identity to meet the needs of the society. Hence the effort that lies ahead. In this beginning of the third millennium, African education system, for fear of sinking, are faced with the urgency of reform.

For the foreseeable future, Cameroon's government will continue to play a significant role in the daily lives and wellbeing of its people, the changing paradigm of increasing reliance on market forces notwithstanding. The economically strong forces in society who assert a need to dismantle impediments to international trade often also assert a need for "strong" domestic policies to ease the functioning of markets. Handicapped by the weakness of its infrastructure and low level of industrial development, Cameroon is clearly not sufficiently integrated into the global economy. However, it is also clear that the country cannot afford to remain on the sidelines of globalization. To facilitate its inclusion in the world economy, Cameroon must begin to make significant institutional reforms-in particular, by refocusing the functions of the state toward its essential mission of delivering needed public services; promoting the development of a dynamic private sector within a liberalized and transparent framework; and strengthening the role of civil society, which is critical for any social and economic change. Regional economic integration is also a necessary element for securing Cameroon's active participation in globalization.

All these reforms have extremely high financial and social costs that far exceed the country's current resources. It should be noted that a country without trained men and women can be seen as a community of primitives. For the development of the country, the nation has to be able to rely on individual as well as collective intellect. This knowledge can only be

acquired through education; therefore the government of Cameroon has to be able to provide the necessary means to reach the objective of providing education for all the young peoples. It is hoped, therefore, that Cameroon may be able to count on international cooperation to support its economic development efforts. Particular attention must be paid to managing the external debt that weighs heavily on public finances and considerably reduces the manoeuvring room the government needs to generate finances for infrastructure and poverty reduction. The various debt-reduction initiatives undertaken by the international financial community are very encouraging and should be explored more intensively.

8.4.4 War and Disaster

Conflict and disaster that destabilize a society can lead to the abandonment of cultural pursuits as people focus on survival and security. In the Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation, we cannot talk of direct war or conflict as such, but there is a type of conflict that is not pronounced called “competition”. In this type of competition or conflict, people do not face each other as in a real conflict or war. It is more of an individual or internal conflict or competition where each person (trader) tries to bring in some modifications or innovations otherwise known as strategies that will permit him or her to take an edge over the others and conquer the market. This brings about culture change and each and everyone tries to bring in something new and the others copy in other ways or forms that will lead to change.

Now in the areas where the Chinese miners have dug and destroyed traditional farmlands, the villagers consider themselves as being faced with a direct war or disaster hence they are either forced to adapt to the new economic activity (artisanal mining) or migrate to a new site if they want to continue with their traditional farming methods and ways of life. Adapting to the new economic activity is a change in culture because they are learning something new that has its own rules and regulations. They no longer perform their cultural rites as with the farming they are used to, and life is then perceived from a different perspective. This new economic activity has its ups and downs as the people are not sure of obtaining any reasonable quantity of gold or minerals on a daily basis that can sustain them and their offspring for a very long time or period. Some of the villagers have retrograded to the hunter-gatherer system of lifestyle where people squander all what they were able to obtain on a faithful day with the impression that the next or following day, they will still search and obtain more gold. This leads them to live the type of life that we find with most fishermen and hunters. Most hunters and fishermen or women after selling their catch for the day or week, they will buy their basic necessities (torch, ammunitions, batteries, food and others for the hunters and fishing nets, hooks, ropes

and food for the fishermen), the rest of the money must finish that day before they can leave the following day for another expedition.

8.4.5 Ideas make or mar change

The emergence of and diffusion of new ideas may be a process of survival of the fittest whereby good ideas survive over time and bad ideas are eventually overcome. This holds true of our potential businessmen and women who work their brains on a daily basis to see into it that they come up with new ideas that will permit them to have more customers and become “kings of the jungle”. It is the same scenario with producers and manufacturers, who have to work out something new from very good ideas that will make them to produce something new and conquer traders and consumers. When new and good ideas are developed, the producing or manufacturing companies are sure to dominate the market setting for a good period of time before their competing opponents meet up with them by proposing something better.

Whenever new or good ideas come up, it leads to innovation or invention which in turn bring about culture change or change in general. Culture change is a very dynamic process as it comes up with the passage of time. Some of the changes start off without the initiators actually realizing that they are bringing in some changes. Even the most conservative societies in the world end up observing, realizing and or discovering that change has taken place in their own proper cultural settings. Although the changes might not be too significant, one thing stands out clear that change has occurred in that community as a result of the new ideas and the passage of time.

Africa will never be independent, because they believe in the Westerners (the Americans, Europeans and Chinese) more than themselves. They don't trust their selves at all. African technocrats and engineers are not given the platform to practice what they have studied. They hire Chinese to construct roads for themselves. A “Whiteman” will commit a crime in Africa but no action will be taken because the African authorities view the white people as small or demi gods, far from the truth. A “Blackman” can be harassed, abducted or even get killed but no African authority can even question. Africans present themselves as weak people with no hope especially when dealing with Americans or Europeans. They are their own enemies who hate each other giving their colonial Masters the opportunity to continue exploiting their resources. Africa is more of God's chosen continent and it's time for Africans to realize they are in a place where the Americans, the Europeans and the Chinese are jealous and wish to find their selves there. You cannot compare African weather with any other weather. African soil

can feed a wide of Europe, America and Asia. But the problem is just one the “LEADERS”. When the Africans will stop seeing the Whiteman as gods, then Africa will be free.

The problem with Cameroonians in particular and Africans as a whole is the issue of mentality. As earlier stated above, we do not trust ourselves and we make our cultures including our minds to be inferior to that of the Chinese and the Westerners in general. It’s true that the most developed or most industrialized countries have the tendency of exploiting the less developed or least industrialized countries but the case of the Sino-Cameroon situation is worse. Let’s take for example the United States of America, they usually exploit the less developed countries but they usually give them opportunities to develop certain technics and or human labour force. The American embassy in Yaounde –Cameroon was constructed by Cameroonian technicians with the technical supervision of the American engineers. In contrast, all the Chinese financed or sponsored projects in Cameroon and Africa as a whole have been, are being and shall be realized or executed only by the Chinese firms or companies.

With this attitude, how are the Chinese helping the less developed countries such as Cameroon to develop when the much expected transfer of technology from the industrialized to the less industrialized has not taken place?

Look at the T-shirts people wear on every first May each year to celebrate the International Labour Day. They are all imported from China. These T-shirts can be well manufactured in Cameroon since we have the raw materials (cotton) and this can help and create lucrative jobs or employment for many young Cameroonians and curb the clandestine migration of many youths who have no hope and the only option they have in mind is to migrate to Europe for greener pastures.

Cameroon in particular and Africa as a whole is suffering from a mental or intellectual poverty. We cut and export wood to the Westerners in logs, thereby reducing by even 60 to 70 percent the jobs that could have been created if the logs of wood were being transformed or processed before exportation. When we export the woods in logs to the Westerners, they will go and processed or transform the wood and resell them to us at very exorbitant rates or prices. In the course of transforming or processing the logs of wood, many job opportunities are being created and the rate of unemployment is reduced to a very minimal level. This applies to almost all the natural resources we have in Africa that are being exported raw or at the natural state whereas many lucrative jobs would been created if those natural resources were transformed

here in Africa. Many African migrants go and work as cleaners in some of the sites where the natural resources from Africa are being processed.

8.4.6 Aesthetics and change

Aesthetic taste changes with time as new styles emerge and people emulate it. For example, ever changing fashion trends. Following the aesthetic taste changes, one informant made us to understand that many Cameroonian females are now bleaching their bodies due to the fact that the few Chinese sex workers that came and installed in some hot spots in the major towns and cities in Cameroon were having more customers than the “black” Cameroonian women. The male customers on their part said they wanted to have a taste of the “white or fair” skin complex of the Chinese women. This can be verified in the various hot spots in some Cameroonian towns and cities as three quarters of the Cameroonian sex workers have bleached their bodies so as to fair skin colours and attract more customers.

This attitude or mode of skin bleaching is not limited to the sex workers as more and more females (both young and old) are seriously engaged in skin bleaching which seems to be gaining grounds in Cameroon in particular and Africa in general. Fair body complex women seem to attract more men (suitors) than dark body complex women. In some cultures, the pride price of a faire body complex lady (girl) is higher than that of a dark in complex girl. This is one of the major areas in which culture change can take place in a society whereby the change in taste of aesthetic views can usher in new practices and believes, especially when the new practices are believes are solving immediate and practical problems in the society. If a lady can easily attract a suitor by bleaching her body, there is no way one can stop or discourage the other single ladies from bleaching her body. In the same way, if the parents of a fair in complexion lady can higher her pride price and the groom’s parents are happy to pay the pride as it is, many single ladies and even their parents will encourage their daughters to bleach their bodies so that they can make much money from her pride price.

8.4.7 Rights and Freedoms

A nation that grants rights and freedoms to people may allow culture to flourish whereas oppression may subvert culture. For example freedom of speech whereby people are not penalized for voicing out unpopular ideas allows for brave literature and art. In Cameroon, the people’s rights and freedoms are too limited or restricted by the administrative authorities. There are certain happenings and or decisions taken by the government or administrative authorities which are not favourable to the local population but the local population cannot

revolt because the administrative authorities will use the forces of law and order to repress or oppress the local population. The Cameroon government increases the prices of basic commodities without the prior knowledge of the civil societies and the local population and nobody dares to speak out.

From the recent happenings in Cameroon, at times one might be tempted to conclude that it is only the rights and freedoms of foreigners especially the “Whiteman” that are being respected and protected by the forces of law and order. It is but common and normal for a Chinese to commit a crime in Cameroon and go scout free compared to a Cameroonian citizen. Let us review the situation of the killing of a Cameroonian citizen in the Eastern region by a Chinese expatriate who was later killed by mob justice. This is because the indigenes have been suffering from such attacks from the Chinese miners that have been destroying the farmlands of the local indigenes without equal or fair compensation and the government authorities seem to be backing the Chinese miners. When the incident went to the court of law, the Chinese maintained that they cannot pay for the damage caused to the local indigenes and that if they have to pay anything to the local indigenes, the indigenes too have to pay for the death of the Chinese expatriate who opened fire and shot a native. The one and unanswered question pundits are asking is; can a Cameroonian expatriate attempt to do such act way back in China and receive the same treatment from the Chinese government?

The local indigenes had to resort to mob justice because they would have had any justice if they were to wait for justice from the Cameroonian court.

8.4.8 Laws can make or mar change

Laws and regulations have broad cultural impacts. For example laws requiring businesses to close at a particular hour that restrict the night economy of a city. The case of the curfew in the North West region of Cameroon by the regional governor due to insecurity situation in connection to the socio-political crises hitting the two English speaking regions of Cameroon. In this curfew, persons and properties were prohibited from movements between 8 PM till 6 AM and it changed the culture of some nocturnal activities in the region.

Night journeys into and out of the North West region was affected and many other things including businesses were all affected. Usually traders and civil servants make great use of these night journeys as it makes them to gain time at work and in their businesses. A civil servant can work in say the Centre or Littoral region on Friday and travel later in the night to the North West region and solve some few issues there and travel back to his or her site on

Sunday night and be at work on Monday morning. Same thing for a trader or businessman / woman, who can take a night bus from the North West region to either the Littoral or Centre region, buys his or her goods and services during the day and travels back to the North West region later in the night. But with the curfew that lasted for one year four months, this mode or way of doing things was not possible and people spent much money as they were obliged to travel mostly during the day. Some people had to spend two or more days in Douala or Yaounde before travelling back to the North West region and it increased tremendously their accommodation and feeding expenses.

Traders and Hawkers who sell in car parks were all affected especially very early and late bread sellers in car parks. There are so many prepared and unprepared food vendors in all the car parks in the North West region who have as customers the passengers. These food vendors go about harvesting or buying from the villages to come and sell in the various car parks in the evening as their potential customers buy and travel the same night. We also have bread sellers who tarry around the various car parks with loaves of bread on their heads wooing the various passengers with all sorts of sweet talks for them to buy their products. With the curfew, many of such vendors were obliged to halt or stop their activities completely making some to change their business activities while others had to migrate.

Another group of business owners who were adversely affected by this curfew are the beer parlour and night club owners. Drinking, merry making and dancing are usually evening and late night activities because people have to work hard during the day to earn the money they shall spend or consume in the evening or late in the night. The curfew drastically reduced the number of these beer parlour business owners as the various bars had to close at 8 PM which on normal days is the time where business stops booming for such business owners. Some had to adjust their operational time instead of opening their doors in the afternoon, some opened their doors as early as 7 AM to maximise their chances of doing business as well as maximise their chances of making much profits.

Last but not the least of the people adversely affected by the curfew was the commercial sex workers who were now obliged to work during the day, thereby making life difficult for them as their customers were shy or stigmatized by passer-by. Many of the commercial sex workers have particular hot spots that function mostly late in the night because they are opened or public places. Such hot spots include; abandoned houses, corridors, round about, road junctions and some popular beer parlours with rooms. With the curfew in place, only bars with

rooms were able to accommodate sex workers and function during the day. No customer was able to on open day light in search of a sex worker. In the various quarters where you have bars with rooms, many adolescents have been initiated as they were able to peep through the windows and see what is going or what is taking place on a daily basis. All sorts of things take place in the so called hot spots; drug users, smokers of all kind and men having sex with men and some of these activities were now taking place during the day hence many young boys and girls have been initiated into these wayward activities.

Good rules are a key to social inclusion. Enabling growth—and ensuring that all people, regardless of income level, can participate in its benefits—requires an environment where new entrants with drive and good ideas can get started in business and where good firms can invest and expand. The role of government policy in the daily operations of domestic small and medium-size firms is a central focus of the *Doing Business* data. The objective is to encourage regulation that is designed to be efficient, accessible to all and simple to implement <http://www.doingbusiness.org> consulted on the 10th of January 2018.

8.4.9 Design

Design impacts culture. For example, the urban design of cities influences how communities interact such as a city full of parks, public space and café terraces that develops a lively feel. It is the case now with almost all the councils in Cameroon that are creating parks and public spaces where people go and spent some of their leisure time there. Many small businesses are operating in those public places such as Restaurants, bars and some cultural displays to entertain and keep the visitors funky. This too has some cultural ramifications as people will copy what they have seen in one cultural setting and apply it in their own community thereby leading to cultural change.

8.4.10 Infrastructure and change

Hard infrastructure such as public sidewalks and soft infrastructure such as hospitals. For example, the construction of roads for automobiles beginning in the early 20th century that transformed cities into concrete jungles with vast suburbs. Some of the towns and cities are well constructed and equipped with fascinating resort sites for family, group or association picnics and holidays or weekend camps. Some family homes are designed and constructed in such a way that a man, his wife, children and grandchildren all live in that same household like the case in India.

8.4.11 Health and culture change

Health can have a significant impact on culture. Illnesses or diseases have some cultural constructions. In other words, some illnesses or diseases can only be diagnosed following cultural or ethnic belonging of the patient in question. In such cases, being in good health means strictly abiding to the rules and regulations governing that community. When one violates the rules and regulations governing that society, then the individual is said to be in a state of ill health or sick.

Health is one of the major areas or aspect in human live where many cultural practices blend and interact with one another. Today in Cameroon, the following therapeutic methods are being used; Traditional therapies, Allopathy, Integrative Medicine, Acupuncture, Mediation, Massage, Yoga, Movement therapy, Guided imagery and Food. All these methods can be applied to a particular patient one after the other or mixed at the same time.

When illness starts with a Cameroonian, the first thing that is done is the traditional first aid therapy where people mix some traditional concoctions and drink while praying at the same time. If it persists, the next step is to buy some drugs or tablets from the road side vendors while prayers and food therapies accompany the tablets. If it does not subside, hospital consultation comes in the third position. In some cases after the hospital, traditional healers come into play and men of God for mediation. So it is a blend of cultures that come in contact and interact with one another. Traditional therapy is the type that is practiced by the Africans, Allopathy is standard or conventional medicine that originated from the Western world, Acupuncture originated from China, Yoga from India, Mediation (prayers) from the Westerners while food is from the various cultures the world over. All these methods are very instrumental cultural change to take place in a given community or society. When a particular therapeutic method is used and found to be effective and less cost full in terms of finances, many people would adopt that method though safe guarding the other methods for future use when the right moment comes.

8.4.12 Education as a pillar of change

Education is a foundation of culture beginning with basic language and social skills that provide the tools to discover and use knowledge. An education system that fails students can result in a cultural decline whereby communities have little sense of history, tradition, civility, art, literature and celebration.

It is rather surprising to see that in the Cameroonian education system, pupils and students have not been taught details of the Cameroon history and those responsible for the teaching schemes have dwelt lengthily on European, Asian or Western histories. Much of Cameroon history is kept secret and it is one of the main reasons behind the armed conflict affecting the English speaking regions of Cameroon today.

When citizens of a country got to learn or know about their history through the other way round, instead of helping their administrative authorities to promote the growth and development of their country, they turn to oppose and fight the administrative authorities in all possible means they can. This is because they have discovered something from their history which they thought the government authorities have been hiding or never wanted them to know about.

There are many professional schools and training institutes of public works that train civil engineers in Cameroon yet all the public work contracts in Cameroon are being awarded to the Chinese or foreigners as a whole. The one million questions we are asking are;

Are these schools not well equipped with the appropriate materials for learning?

Is it the Teachers or the Instructors themselves who are not versed with the proper knowledge that is being disseminated to the learners?

Or is it the students or the learners who are not able to put into practice what they have been taught and show their worth?

It then becomes true that; an education system that fails students can result in a cultural decline whereby communities have little sense of history, tradition, civility, art, literature and celebration. Many scholars now look at the Cameroonian education system as a system that has failed its students as in all the domains where education is supposed to contribute the socio-economic growth and development of the country all seem to have failed or have not left any impact.

8.4.13 Environment and culture change

Environnemental change impacts culture. For example, a city with low air quality such that people avoid the outdoors or an island where people have stopped going to the beach due to ocean plastic that causes beaches to resemble a garbage dump.

The change in environment has made many Cameroonian cultures to change their modes or methods of food crop production.

8.4.14 Art, Music, Literature and Media

Art, music, literature and media are elements of culture that also serve as potent forms of social criticism and construction. For example, it is possible for fictional ideas in books to become reality.

A society's culture or life styles are also expressed in music and art. The music and artefacts found in a given locality, represents the culture of that society. As things change over time and space, the music and the artefacts follow the same rhythm.

8.4.15 Leaders as vectors of change

Leaders that unify a people or a group towards a common purpose. A leader can also become a symbol of a culture such as Martin Luther King Jr. as an inspirational figure of Black American culture.

Leaders who unify people, welcome constructive criticisms and give them the opportunities to innovate and invent, will bring about growth and socio-economic development. Contrary leaders will mar the good will intentions of their citizens and frustrate their inclusive and active participation in decision making and contribution to socio-political development.

One of the major upheavals of the industrialization and the socio-political process in Africa has been its or her leadership. Cameroonian leaders (administrative authorities) in particular and African leaders in general do not welcome change and innovations that come from within themselves (endogenic ideas, creations and innovations). But they welcome whole heartedly exogamic ideas, creations and innovations which in the long run are under pinning the industrial growth and technological development of the continent.

The Chinese and the Westerners did not get to where they are now from foreign aid or their countries being constructed or developed entirely from exogamic ideas, actions and or participation.

Most if not all the African leaders want to remain in power hence they will do all they can to oppose any change that will jeopardize their stay in power to the detriment and impoverishment of their citizens especially the youths and women.

Cameroon for the past 60 years has been governed or piloted by some few individuals, scaring the others. In other words we can talk of the social exclusion of the most productive force the youths and women in decision making and contribution to the socio-political growth and development of the country. Acemoglu and Robinson (2012: 10) wrote that;

Economic prosperity depends above all on the inclusiveness of economic and political institutions. Institutions are "inclusive" when many people have a say in political decision-making, as opposed to cases where a small group of people, or elites, control politics and are unwilling to change. At one extreme, for example, a functioning democratic and pluralistic state guarantees the rule of law.

You cannot compare African weather with any other weather. African soil can feed a wide of Europe, America and Asia. But the problem is just one the “LEADERS”. When the Africans will stop seeing the Whiteman as gods, then Africa will be free.

In support to this statement, African soil and weather in general and Cameroon soil and weather in particular is very fertile and good for agriculture but Cameroon is instead importing huge quantities of food stuff on a daily basis due to the failure from the government to assist the rural farmers with the basic necessities. Rural farmers in Cameroon need farm to market roads, transformation units for their goods and services and above all the technical follow up from the state and parastatal organizations.

Today, we hear of clandestine immigration to Europe and other Western countries. It all starts from rural migration to the towns and cities and the list is far from being exhausted. When the rural youths who are the productive force in the country concentrate to till the soil and plant both food and cash crops and at the end of the year, they find themselves unable to evacuate their farm products easily to the various markets (towns and cities), they turn to look at farming to be some sort of waste of time and activity. We live in a country where all the rich people are either businessmen and women or the civil servants (administrative bottle-necks), there is practically no way you can advise any youth that he or she can become rich or well to do in Cameroon today by practicing agriculture.

The day that a farmer shall be appointed to any ministerial or leadership position in Cameroon; that will be the beginning of the brighter future for farming in Cameroon. The farming that is being practiced in the rural areas of Cameroon today is mostly for household consumption and or survival. The few cash crop plantations spotted here and there in some parts of the country are owned by these same bottle-neck administrators earlier mentioned above.

With this state of affair, the fight against clandestine migration seems too difficult to overcome even though youths are dying every day in the desert or in the sea and ocean trying to cross over to Europe. The number of people dying on a daily basis cannot discourage the others because those who succeed to cross to Europe find their lives being better off than those who stay or remain in the home country. Some of the migrants don't see it necessary to come home because what made them to leave (unemployment) has not been reduced or solved, hence they see themselves come back to suffer more than they were suffering before leaving.

Other scholars may argue that migration is a natural phenomenon and is as old as humanity because no matter what may happen or take place in the human world or earth planet, people must migrate. But the point here is that legal migration (moving or migrating to a new area or country through the right way and not going to be a nuisance to the new community with the intention of having to go back to your former community of origin) is far better than clandestine migration (no legal documents, constitute source of nuisance to the host communities and not even having intentions to go back to their home countries of origin).

When you take a keen look at the Europeans or the Westerners in general, no African country has ever refuse entry visas to these expatriates because they are well to do and they are coming to the African countries for one business or professional adventure and after some time they will return to their countries. But with the Africans, as you are refused an entry visa in one country, you go to the next and finally decide to take a short cut (the desert and the sea) clandestinely to go to that same country that the consulate had earlier refused an entry visa for you.

8.5 Conclusion

This part of the work made us to uncover the various definitions of acculturation, adaptation and cultural change, their manifestations and outcomes. Acculturation, adaptation and cultural change are somehow interconnected and intertwined so much such that when you get entangled with one, you will end up touching or implicating the other two.

In the case of the Sino- Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation, we see that all the three aspects of acculturation, adaptation and culture change have all taken place whereas it started with one before implicating or involving the others. By getting used to the Chinese and the Chinese interacting with us led to acculturation. Now the Chinese started doing things in Cameroon according to their own cultural norms or exercising their cultural values in Cameroon

which made the Cameroonians to start adapting to those new values and the end product is culture change.

Cameroon and the People's Republic of China have signed cooperation as far back as 1971 hence enough time for acculturation to take place between them. During these many years of bilateral and trade cooperation, many material and non-material cultural exchanges have taken place between the Cameroon and Chinese cultures. One of the most difficult situations to handle is socio-economic development or industrialisation of a developing country while maintaining one's cultural patterns. The Chinese in particular and the Asians in general are perfect examples to reckon with as they have come in contact with many Western countries that were at various stages of industrialisation or economic development, yet the Chinese were able to mingle their way through while maintaining or conserving a majority of their cultural heritage.

We equally saw some fifteen areas or domains through which culture change can easily take place and one of them was globalization. In the present world, people can observe a cultural event taking place in one part of the world and then quickly integrate it into their own culture bringing about cultural change.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Our research theme is based on trade and migration thus the topic: *Trade Networks between Africa and Asia, the case of the Sino-Cameroon Trade cooperation, a contribution to economic Anthropology*. This topic gave us the opportunity to study the good bilateral and trade cooperation that exist between Cameroon and some Asian countries particularly China, India, Japan and South Korea which in turn favours the moving of people, goods and services across the borders. The main research question is; what are the main cooperation agreements reached by Asian and African governments that provide the development of a new trade network between Asian and African countries? The main research hypothesis is: Good bilateral cooperation and cheap prices of Asian goods and services attract Cameroonian traders to Asia while rich natural resources, available markets and infrastructural development projects attract the Asians to Cameroon. The main research objective was to: Show how good bilateral cooperation between Cameroon and China can promote the movement of goods and people across the borders, increase trade which in turn enhances the socio-economic development of all the countries involved. Make Cameroonians to know what they are gaining and losing from the relationship with China, so as to devise a strategy to increase the benefits and reduce the losses.

Our arguments and inspirations were based or drawn from some anthropological and economic theories. The Anthropology of Marketing by Brian Moeran came in to clarify certain facts or correlations. One being that; the “market” is a social construction and that the “market” is not only a place where people go to buy and sell or exchange goods and services. But that the “market” is equally a place where people meet to socialize, contract marriages, hold political rallies, settle some disputes and make new friends amongst others. Marshall Sahlins’ Stone Age Economics was used to showcase the three forms of reciprocity (generalized reciprocity or gifts, balanced reciprocity and market or negative reciprocity) as they are all applied or employed in the Africa-Asia Trade Network as a whole and the Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation. The particular argument from Marshall Sahlins from his own words is that; *“friends make gifts and gifts make friends”*. This is quite true of the Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation because China sees Cameroon as a friend and Cameroon also sees China as a friend. This accounts for the so many gifts the Chinese government has been offering to Cameroon and on the other hand explains why Cameroon is awarding more than 90 percent of her infrastructural projects to Chinese firms or companies. The third being the theory of international trade, where we have two antagonists; the free market exchanges (Adam Smith and David Richardo) versus the protectionists (Jean Bodin, Antoine de Montchrestien and

Friedrich List). The free exchanges think that the market should be free from barriers put in place by the various administrative authorities, giving room for competition such that firms or companies should produce what is less costly to produce and survive competition from international firms. The protectionists on their part are arguing that governments should protect local companies from drawing with international firms by putting in place some restrictions such as barriers, taxes and others that will prevent international firms from competing with local firms.

After a careful exploitation or analysis of the data collected on the field, we came up with a reasonable number of findings that will better clarify the nature of the Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation. The findings include;

The key findings were; firstly, that China and most Asian countries have developed an emerging trade culture with African states, which involves supplying some of their finished products thought to respond to the needs of African countries and in turn extract raw materials from these African countries and exported to their respective countries for transformation. Secondly, in the Sino – Africa trade relationships, there is parallel extraction and exportation of agricultural, mineral and human resources from Africa to China (Asia) which does not identify the source country of such material. In return, finished products from these extracted resources are supplied to Cameroon through Sino-Cameroonian traders.

Thirdly, Cameroonian traders in the midst of trade competition with China have developed outreach strategies to purchase their goods and services in many different Asian countries. Their retailing options in Cameroon are diversified to their social networks (families, njangi, tontines, warehouses and provision stores) to capture a wider market whereas the Chinese are restricted to their shops established in market plazas.

Forthly, the new trade network developed between African and Asian countries maybe an alternative trade option by which South – South cooperation and deals can be attained as opposed to the North – South trade network.

The study is limited to the Sino – Cameroon trade cooperation, though Cameroon and China have been used as the baseline of the Sino – African trade, the outreach strategies provide a reason for the extension of these analyses to Africa and Asia.

The Asian- African trade network which is grounded on trade negotiations maybe a better economic or trade option for African governments to explore. This will enable them to setup

new trade and economic systems. A new trade system grounded on negotiation deals with Asian trade partners as opposed to the imperialists trade deals with the Northern trade pool may help African countries to develop some business autonomy.

We discovered in the course of this work that the world has become a global village where no country is self-sufficient but needs the help or services of other countries which leads into partnerships. In the year 2015, leaders from some 193 countries of the world came together to face the future. And what they saw was daunting. Famines, Drought, Wars, Plagues and Poverty just to cite these few ones. Not just in some faraway place, but in their own cities and towns and villages. They knew things didn't have to be this way. They knew we had enough food to feed the world, but that it wasn't getting shared. They knew there were medicines for HIV and other diseases, but they cost a lot. They knew that earthquakes and floods were inevitable, but that the high death tolls were not.

They also knew that billions of people worldwide shared their hope for a better future. So leaders from these countries created a plan called the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This set of 17 goals imagines a future just 15 years off that would be rid of poverty and hunger, and safe from the worst effects of climate change. It's an ambitious plan.

Our topic is situated on the 17th and last position of the SDGs which is partnership. All the countries in the entire planet earth know that they are not self-sufficient. They can produce some particular products and not all, so they need to partner with one another so as to be able to buy or purchase what they cannot produce thereby being able to overcome some of their immediate challenges or daily life problems.

In the African continent, many countries have seen the need or necessity to partner with the other continents particularly Asia that has similar goals and challenges as they do. So many countries have recently created some partnerships or cooperation mechanisms with a reasonable number of African countries. That is why you usually hear of slogans such as; African Growth Opportunity Act (AGOA) initiated by the United States of America, Africa-Russia summit, Tokyo International Cooperation for African Development (TICAD) created by the Japanese government and the Forum for China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) initiated by the Chinese government. All these and much more are forms of cooperation or partnerships between those countries and the African continent.

As far as Cameroon is concerned, following the signing and ratification of the bilateral and trade cooperation between Cameroon and China, the movement of people, goods and services between the two countries have tripled even quadrupled with some of the citizens of both countries taking up residents or settling definitely in each other's country.

Just like the Indians, Japanese and South Koreans, the Chinese are involved in so many activities in Cameroon. From Administrative duties (services at the level of the Chinese embassy and consulates) through large and well established firms or industries (construction companies, production of goods and services) to private individual activities are spotted one or two Chinese expatriates in all the four corners of the Cameroonian map or territory. As has already been mentioned in the work, the Chinese are involved in domains such as politics (diplomatic cooperation), economy, health, agriculture, education, culture and sports amongst others.

Every blessed day we hear of one, two or three Chinese diplomats visiting Cameroon for one purpose or another and vice versa. It all starts with the visit of these diplomats that so many conventions or agreements are being signed between Cameroon and China. It is also through these diplomats that governments of both countries are sure that their citizens are being well taken care of in each other's country. Politically, China would like to continue having support of African countries, which are comprised of one forth in international organizations like the United Nations, the World Bank and the World Trade Organizations, to strengthen its influence. Of course, as long as the economic and political successes continue, the power of the Communist Party of China will be unquestionable. Thereby, economic, political and ideological motivations are interrelated for Chinese activism in Africa.

The economy of Cameroon has witnessed and is still experiencing some growth rates thanks to the activities of the Chinese in Cameroon. Some major infrastructural projects that have helped to booster Cameroon's economy have been realized as a result of the Chinese presence in the country. The Chinese have opened shops and Restaurants in so many towns and cities in Cameroon which have in turn employed so many young Cameroonians hence reducing unemployment and making the economy to grow.

In the domain of health, we discovered that the Chinese have built and equipped a reasonable number of health facilities or hospitals in Cameroon with so many resident Chinese Doctors working in those hospitals. Chinese doctors have been attached to hospitals built by China. The numbers vary depending on the source but are probably between 10 and 30 per

hospital. As an indication of their real number, it was reported in 2006 that 44 new Chinese doctors had arrived to take over from the team that had been there for 2 years. Acupuncture that is a form of the Chinese traditional medicine has been introduced and adopted by so many Cameroonians and is now being used in so many parts of the country.

Agriculture is one of the domains in which the Chinese presence in Cameroon is being felt as they have bought thousands of hectares of land in some part of the country where they cultivate rice and other crops.

In education, culture and sport, a Chinese Language Teaching Centre was created in Yaounde in 1997 and is jointly managed by the International Relations Institute of Cameroon (IRIC) and the Chinese University of Zhejiang. The centre provides training for professionals from the diplomatic and foreign trade cycles and has attracted students from several countries in the Central African sub-region. Starting in 2004, the centre organises a Chinese language competition each year and the winners benefit a trip to China. This indicates that there are a good number of Chinese who live in Cameroon with the sole purpose of teaching the Chinese language and culture to interested Cameroonians in particular and Africans as a whole. In September 2005, cooperation between the education ministries in Cameroon and China gave birth to the Cameroon National Ballet with the assistance of two dance instructors from China.

Socio-cultural activities are organized in Cameroon yearly to mark or celebrate the Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation. These activities usually give room for non-resident Chinese to come to Cameroon for short visits and then return to China. During such events, the cultures of both countries are being demonstrated and at times, Cameroonians who have studied the Chinese language and culture have to express themselves in Chinese. Here we are making references to the Cameroon National Ballet team and the Members of the Kung Fu Association of the Confucius Institute, Yaounde.

Traders and their business strategies: when you talk of business you talk competition and when there is competition, there must be strategies put in place by the actors (traders) to cope with the competition and survive.

The market in particular and the art of doing business in general (buy and resell) is a world of competition and conflict that is not pronounced. Each and every producer and or trader is always looking for the means, methods or strategies that will make him or her to produce, sell and make more or the greatest profits. Due to the presence of competitions and conflicts in

the market, producers and traders are obliged to devise or develop strategies that will permit them to cope or survive from these competitions and conflicts. China's "going global" strategy, involves the use of aid donations to encourage Chinese companies to internationalize and acquire overseas assets, especially oil assets, in Africa through influencing African governments to do fealty in the award of Chinese government-funded contracts or assisting Chinese companies with generous loans and credits to outbid competitors, including sometimes overpaying for equity positions or underbidding contracts. Major Chinese companies have hit roadblocks in well established markets, but Africa's markets are untapped and strategically open. Africa has therefore become a strategic training ground for Chinese companies. Through public diplomacy, benign trade terms and large aid and investments deals with no political strings attached. China has gained considerable access to Africa's resources and consumer markets. China now receives 32 per cent of its oil imports from Africa, with Angola overtaking Saudi Arabia as the largest exporter of crude oil to China. Across the continent the Chinese are also ramping up investments in infrastructure, telecommunications and agro-businesses. While there is great optimism about the potential benefits of the new China-Africa co-operation, scepticism also abounds among local groups and the international community.

To go by Marshall Sahlin's words that "Friends make Gifts and Gifts make Friends", the use of gifts is a form of strategy as the Chinese having been employing this method to lure the Cameroonian government in particular and African countries as a whole to award most if not all their infrastructural contracts to Chinese firms or companies. All the strategies used by the producers and traders are summarized or grouped under what Pinson and Jennet (1996) called the five Pies (5P). The five Pies stand for Product, Place, Price, Promotion and Packaging. Each and every other method put in place by either the producers or the traders so as to increase their productions and sales fall under one of these Pies. The five Pies equally make people or traders to migrate from one place to another.

A product is anything capable of satisfying needs including tangible items, services and ideas. Many producers and traders as a result of the competition in the market have decided to specialize in the production and selling of particular goods and services while others have decided to diversify their goods and services. Some of the producers have decided to make their products look attractive or appealing to the eyes of the consumers so much such that the customers prefer to buy and consume those attractive goods than the others. A very good example here is the Cameroonian produced Ndop rice and the Chinese rice. Many Cameroonians do not buy and consume Ndop rice not because it is not good but because they

say it is not attractive in their eyes and even too difficult to prepare. We are told the Ndop rice is more tasteful and nutritive than the Chinese rice.

In the second position of the five pies is the “place”. Place refers to the decisions a company or an individual makes to insure that a product or service gets to the customer at the right location and in the right manner. In other words, place refers to a spot or location where a company or an individual has decided to set up his or her business firm. The place a company or an individual decides to set up a business can either foster or dwindle the business.

Price is the exchange value of a product or service from the perspective of both the buyer and the seller. To be successful, a business owner must establish prices for goods and services that will allow for a profit margin and will be competitive with other businesses and will be acceptable to the customers. Pricing can “make or break” a business. If the price is wrong (too high or too low) it won’t matter that everything else is right.

Packaging is the act or process of packing a commodity or a unit of a product uniformly wrapped or sealed. The manner in which a product or a service is packaged can have a direct bearing on its success in the market place. Here, we are referring to the colours and symbols used to package a product or service. Packaging helps to beautify a product just like the external beauty of a human being through dressing. A girl who is always beautifully dressed is likely to attract suitors more than a shabby girl. The same thing is true with goods and services in terms of packaging. Packaging makes the products to be more attractive and pleasing to the customers (consumers). Attractiveness permits the increase in sales and business figures.

Promotion is the act of furthering the growth or development of something, especially the furtherance of the acceptance and sale of merchandise through publicity, advertising or discounting. In other words, promotion is the act or process of making a product or organization more widely known or more successful. In so far as promotion is concerned, all the other “Pies” (Product, Place, Price and Packaging) are incorporated here. The product itself can attract or scare away customers and make or mar a business setting likewise the place where a business is set up. If a very good business is placed at a wrong or inconvenient place, customers may not find it comfortable coming there and it will ruin the business. The same holds true for the price and packaging of goods and services. If the prices of products are so exorbitant, it will scare customers but if prices are too low far beyond the cost or purchasing price, the business owner loses. The packaging of products can attract or send customers away from a particular product. The packaging of a particular product using particular colours and symbols conveys a lot of

value and meanings in the various societies of the world. All these ideas put together will enhance the growth or fall of a business setting depending on how they are employed.

Despite all the good things we presented or talked so far concerning the Sino- Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation, informants (both Cameroonians and their Chinese counterparts) did presented or pointed to some of the areas where they have been so sceptical about each other and we decided to name them as the 'Mixed feelings' of the Cameroonians towards the Chinese.

The Cameroonian society has developed ambivalent feelings towards the Chinese. On the positive side, Chinese stick to their clichéd image of being hard-working and quickly completing many badly needed infrastructure projects, in other words contributing actively to the country's development. On the negative side, there has been a growing impression of a Chinese invasion, in sectors usually protected from foreign competition. As a result, the number of anti-Chinese demonstrations or attacks has been on the increase, particularly in 2010–2012. Since then, some limits have been imposed on the number of visas issued and stricter regulations have been introduced for Chinese visitors applying for longer stays or migration. However, border controls, as elsewhere in Africa, are lax and residency is rather easy to buy.

In the Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation, many names have been advocated such as win-win cooperation (*opération gagnant-gagnant* in French), mixed blessing (something both good and bad, something that has both advantages and disadvantages or good points and bad points), a marriage of uncertainty, imbalance trade cooperation and many others. There are also thinkers or scholars who look at the Sino-Cameroon bilateral cooperation as a form of exploitation or a new form of colonization.

The Cameroonian government says China is a good partner for cooperation, because China, unlike the West, does not impose conditionality's. Secondly, the Chinese ask very little for contracts, compared to Western companies. For instance, the China Road and Bridge Corporation won a bid to construct a 13 km road in Cameroon's economic capital Douala for 18 million dollars, beating out rival bidders who were asking for 30 million dollars. And the project was successfully completed one month ahead of schedule. Meanwhile, many ordinary Cameroonians see cheap Chinese goods as a valid alternative. "With just 2,000 CFA (about four dollars), an ordinary Cameroonian can afford a pair of shoes...the Chinese are helping people like us," says a security guard in Yaounde who draws a monthly salary of about 50,000

CFA (100 dollars). Official figures indicate that 40 percent of Cameroonians live below the poverty line.

Following the signing of the bilateral and trade cooperation between Cameroon and the People's Republic of China, local production has since then been suffering and taking downward trend as most Cameroonians consume goods and services imported from China on a daily basis. Local contractors are facing severe problems in the presence of Chinese contractors. They cannot bid for Chinese funded projects (reserved for Chinese firms), and to make things worse, Chinese firms have started bidding and winning local contracts. Some of them expressed their frustration when a Chinese firm won the bid to construct roads in Douala that could have been realized by the local Contractors.

Information from informants confirmed that the Chinese have that attitude of mixing low quality products with good quality products in their shops and will price them the same. If the customers are not vigilant or cannot differentiate between the two products, they will find themselves buying low quality products at the price of good quality products.

Currencies of the Franc CFA have become so scarce nowadays in Cameroon in particular and the CEMAC zone as a whole. Accusation fingers are all pointed to the Chinese who have been illicitly buying and exporting these currencies to their country where they are transforming them into jewellery. The pictures below captured from some social media sources confirm the accusations. Many Cameroonians both the traders and the customers have changed their behaviours as a result of the scarcity in physical coins. Traders have in some moments forced customers to buy more than they had initially intended due to the scarcity of the coins. For example, a customer who intended to buy an item for three hundred francs ends up taking something additional for one hundred francs just because the trader said he or she has only a hundred francs as balance. A trader complained that she cannot count the amount of money she has lost on a daily basis just because she is always allowing her customers with hundred francs due to the scarcity of coins.

The price difference between Cameroon-made and China-made explains why Cameroon battery exports are declining, especially since insurance, transport and other costs will further raise the price of Cameroonian batteries. Cameroon firms are not only losing market at home, but also in their backyard. However, it might be too quick to conclude that all manufacturing firms in Cameroon with declining output or losing export market shares are due to competition from cheap Chinese imports. The culprit might be supply constraints within the country, the

sector or the firm itself. A definite answer to such a query can only be obtained following a visit to some of the firms concerned that is need for further research to evaluate the extent to which the declining exports can be attributable solely to competition from China and the strategies Cameroonian firms are designing to cope with the Chinese onslaught.

The Anthropological interpretations of the drop in figures of Cameroon's export to the CEMAC zone and some West African countries have some negative social, cultural, economic, political and psychological impacts on the Cameroonian cultures. All these and more are due to the cheap Chinese products that rivals Cameroonian export products in the CEMAC zone and some West African countries.

China has brought cheap consumer goods, roads and schools to many parts of Africa over the past decade, but the continent's leaders are increasingly pushing for it to provide more of what many Africans want most: jobs. From Pretoria to Abuja, governments have begun voicing frustration that China's use of Africa as a source of natural resources and a market for its goods may be hindering the continent in hauling its billion people out of poverty.

China's trade with Africa ballooned from \$10bn in 2000 to an estimated \$200bn, four years after it overtook the US as the continent's largest partner. But about 85% of China's exports from Africa are raw materials, such as oil and minerals. According to the African Development Bank, most minerals mined in Africa are exported raw; meaning the jobs and wealth from processing them is created elsewhere.

A flood of Chinese produce, meanwhile, has accelerated the decline in industrialization since the 1980s. Africa's textile industry alone lost 750,000 jobs over the past decade, says the Johannesburg-based Brent Hurst Foundation. Even in the continent's manufacturing powerhouse, South Africa, about 40% of footwear and fabrics come from China.

Cameroonians have been made to be acquainted to low quality products and many people have come up with terms which they say in dealing with imported goods and services from China, you must learn to "buy and throw" instead of "buy use and throw". That is when you buy a good quality product; you will certainly use it for a very long period of time before you can dispose of it, but when you buy a low quality product, you will have to throw it as soon as possible. Now Cameroonian citizens have the impression that anything Chinese is of low quality, tasteless and will not last long. For example; when you go to the market and you hear of Chinese loins (le tissue Chinois), Chinese mackerel (maquereau Chinois), Chinese whisky

(le whisky chinois), Chinese puff-puff (les beignets Chinois) just to name these few refer to low quality products. Some pro Chinese goods users argue that the Chinese produce their goods and services in three forms (cheap and low quality products, medium quality products with moderate prices and first choice products with higher prices) and that it is the Cameroonian traders who go to China that prefer to buy and retail low and cheap quality Chinese goods and services.

Following the Chinese ways or attitudes without the proper or genuine implications of the Cameroonian citizens in the various construction and mining sites, there has been a growing impression of a Chinese invasion, in sectors usually protected from foreign competition. As a result, the number of anti-Chinese demonstrations or attacks has been on the increase. Tensions on the Sino-Cameroon cooperation come from both sides as the Chinese main sources of frustration can be found in most African countries: lengthy negotiations, delay in the implementation of agreements, slowness of customs, which take up to 6 months to clear imports, and difficulties in finding a well-trained and productive workforce. Safety issues have also become more of a concern in Cameroon, particularly in the northern region (now the North West and South West regions), forcing some projects to be put on hold. This was the case for road repair work conducted by Sinohydro in Waza close to the Nigerian border after 10 Chinese employees were kidnapped by Boko Haram in May 2014 (they were released in October 2014). Two months later, oil exploration by the Yan Chang Logone Development Holding Company was also suspended.

On the Cameroonian side, one needs to draw a distinction between the government and the civil society. As far as the authorities are concerned, they are publicly very satisfied with the cooperation with China. The only reservation comes from the perceived lack of technology transfer. Although some companies such as Huawei have trained many local technicians, these cases have remained exceptional and, even in the government, there are some growing concerns about China's presence and intentions in Cameroon.

The large-scale use of Chinese workforce on Chinese projects in a country where unemployment and underemployment are very high is not understood. The 60% local workforce quota is rarely respected by Chinese companies. Additionally, criticism focuses on the way Chinese projects are managed, constructions sites often becoming 'areas of extraterritoriality' in the eyes of many Cameroonians, including the authorities, which have difficulties accessing them. Chinese project contracts as well as instructions to use the delivered

projects are too often in Chinese or only partially translated. Work quality is uneven and some roads or bridges have rapidly deteriorated. When local workers are hired, working conditions and salaries are often lower than in other companies, and contracts are frequently non-existent, particularly for subcontractors (tacherons), who are generally paid much less than the Chinese workers (\$63 against \$183 per month in 2011).

Tensions and violence are rising in eastern Cameroon as Chinese firms take advantage of a regulatory twilight zone to mine gold, amid killings, land grabs and corruption. There are constant conflicts between Cameroonians and the Chinese over gold mining. There is no official data on the amount of land being mined in eastern Cameroon, which is believed to be rich in mineral resources, but remains underdeveloped and mired in poverty.

Critics of the Sino-Cameroon relation are saying that the Chinese government is using her loans to the Cameroon government as baits for the country's rich natural resources. The Chinese have exaggerated with these loans to the extent that they give loans to 'yet unidentified projects', meaning that the administrative authorities can take these loans and use them for their personal interest while the poor citizens and their future generations will live to pay back those loan which they know nothing about.

Many or most young male Cameroonians have embraced the motor taxi business (bike riding) as their first and only option. This is due to the fact that even graduates from technical schools and public work institution cannot be awarded public contracts in their own country, think the only way out to survive is to engage in the motor taxi business. The motor taxi business has come with its own consequences as some of the riders have succeeded, some have become high way arm robbers using the motor bikes as tools, some have their arms and legs amputated while some of them have been sent to their early graves. Other youths seeing no future for them in Cameroon, have embarked on a 'suicide mission' journey to Europe and other Western countries in search of greener pastures through the desert and the sea. This, with the slogan; *'if I succeed, I succeed and if I die, I die'*.

In the cultural distance, economic distance and openness to trade, we looked into how cultural differences or distances can foster or mar trade or business activities between two countries. In the same light, no matter the level or state of economic or industrial development, all the countries of the world are now obliged to partner with each other for the businesses to grow. The highly industrialized or technologically developed countries need the support or services of the less industrialized countries and vice versa.

Despite the global nature of the business world today, culture has its place in whatsoever people do, think and behave. Professionals err when thinking that, in today's shrinking world, cultural differences are no longer significant. It's a common mistake to assume that people think alike just because they dress alike; it's also a mistake to assume that people think alike just because they are similar in their word choices in a business setting. Even in today's global world, there are wide cultural differences, and these differences influence how people do business.

All the three forms of reciprocity are expressed in the business relations between individuals, groups of persons, between cultures and or societies and that the distance (cultural or social distance) between the individuals, groups of persons and societies (countries), changes the form of reciprocity from generalized or gift through balanced to negative reciprocity. In other words, the closer the relation or kinship group, the closer or regular the frequency of exchanges of gifts and the further the distance or type of relationship, the form of reciprocity changes from gift to balanced right to negative and even seizure of property.

Economic distance talks about the differences between the countries relating to income, the purchasing power of the target market, distribution of wealth and disposable income levels. China is one of the world's largest emigration sources, with 33 million ethnic Chinese living outside China. Yet, as a growing economy, China is today also attracting foreigners. While numbers are still comparatively small, China is becoming an emerging destination for economic migration from developed and developing countries. China's economic rise and modernization the past three decades since the 1980s have driven foreigners' to major Chinese cities for various reasons: skilled works, studies, businesses, trade and many others.

China-Africa relations are mainly driven by economic co-operation, underpinned by trade, investment and aid. The growing economic interests and business ties between China and Africa come along with movement of people; hence Africans in China and Chinese in Africa seeking trade opportunities not only at the macro- but also at the micro-level.

Trade and economic relations between China and Africa have a protracted history and have developed incrementally over the course of time. Consequently, increasing numbers of Chinese businesses and entrepreneurs have sought partnerships with African companies with the aim of establishing strategic partnerships, collaborations, and joint ventures. In recent years, these Sino-African trading relations have been the subject of consistent debate and scrutiny, attracting positive and negative analyses from scholars and practitioners across disciplines.

Some studies questioned China's motives in Africa's markets, and others viewed with suspicion the structure of Sino-Africa's bilateral trading engagements.

No country has developed successfully in modern times without harnessing economic openness – to international trade, investment and the movement of people and goods – for its development. Trade and investment integration increases the size of the market available to domestic firms as well as driving potential value chains with which they could link up their own production. And it drives productivity and innovation by exposing firms to international competition, expertise and technology. Openness has non-economic benefits, too. Wider and deeper cross-border economic integration has contributed greatly to overall peace and stability since the Second World War. And it has increased individuals' freedom to produce and consume in daily life, thereby widening life choices and chances of large numbers of ordinary people.

Despite the numerous advantages of the free trade system, it has some socio-cultural weaknesses to a country like Cameroon. When economists talk of free trade, it does not literally mean that the government should allow importers and exporters to be flowing in and out with goods and services of all sorts (drugs, indecent dresses, cheap/low quality goods and expired or out dated goods). Nowadays the government is seriously fighting the use and consumption of drugs among the youths especially the secondary and University students. But the fight remains futile since the government cannot stop the illegal importation of these drugs due to the free trade system.

In acculturation, adaptation and cultural change, we looked at some of those aspects which as a result of the contact between the Cameroonian cultures and that of the Chinese, which must have made or forced the Cameroonians and the Chinese to adapt and or even change their ways of doing things to be able to cope with the new trend.

Both incorporation and direct change are taking place in Cameroon as a result of the Sino-Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation. The Cameroonians and the Chinese alike are borrowing cultural values from one another such as language, dance, arts (artefacts), therapeutic methods or practices, cuisines and architecture just to name these few. But on the other way round, the Chinese are dominating or imposing their material cultures to their Cameroonian counterparts. This is somehow favoured by their industrial and technological development that makes them to think that they are superior over the Cameroonians.

Cameroonians and the Chinese alike have all resorted to the learning of each other's culture so as to better integrate their new environments. Many Cameroonian students are learning the Chinese language and culture. In the same light, most of the Chinese expatriates are learning Cameroonian cultures and languages to enable them better fit into the Cameroonian societies. For example, the Chinese expatriates in Cameroon have adapted a system of speaking the French language that permits them to communicate with their Cameroonian co-workers in the various jobs and construction sites.

One important point to be considered when it comes to adaptation is the fact that people do not only have to adapt when they change their environments. People at times have to learn to adapt while still in their same or constant environment due to the changes that have come and met them there. One can still be found in the same geographic environment where one was born and something happens or new neighbours come in with something new that the present occupants of that territory with have to adjust their former behaviours and characters to be able to survive. The various strategies put up by the Cameroonian and Chinese traders in the markets so as to be able to cope with competition can all be seen or regarded as forms of adaptation.

In the case of the Sino- Cameroon bilateral and trade cooperation, we see that all the three aspects of acculturation, adaptation and culture change have all taken place whereas it started with one before implicating or involving the others. By getting used to the Chinese and the Chinese interacting with us led to acculturation. Now the Chinese started doing things in Cameroon according to their own cultural norms or exercising their cultural values in Cameroon which made the Cameroonians to start adapting to those new values and the end product is culture change.

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N°	Name	Sex	Age	Profession	Place of Interview	Date of Interview
1.	Aaron Fumuh	M	30	Bike rider	Centre	2 nd August 2017
2.	Abessolo	M	35	Bike rider	Odza	3 rd August 2017
3.	Abongwa Julie	F	42	Housewife	Ghana Street	December 2016
4.	Achiri Peter	M	56	Trader	Mankon,	October 2015
5.	Akuro	M	60	Trader	Commercial Avenue	April 2016
6.	Alexandre	M	40	Trader	Mokolo	20 th March 2018
7.	Aliou	M	41	Trader	Etoudi	21 st March 2018
8.	Amabo Divine	M	40	Bike rider	City Chemist Roundabout	March 2016
9.	Amina	F	48	Trader	Mokolo	20 th March 2018
10.	Amungwa Paul	M	30	Hawker	Alabukam	6 th December 2016
11.	Augustin	F	40	Trader	Mokolo	20 th March 2018
12.	Awah and Sons	M	48	Trader	Nkwen	November 2015
13.	Buifor	F	30	Housewife	Foncha Street	December 2016
14.	Che	M	25	Bike rider	Up Station	March 2016
15.	Dieudonné	M	42	Trader	Etoudi	21 st March 2018
16.	Djontu Samuel	M	35	Hawker	Food Market	5 th December 2016
17.	Douda Arouna	M	47	Trader	Briquetèrie	6 th January 2017
18.	Emmanuel	M	44	Trader	Nkwen	October 2015
19.	Evaristus N.	M	35	Trader	Nkwen	October 2015
20.	Evodia	F	40	Teacher	Foncha Street	October 2015
21.	Falmata	F	42	Trader	Etoudi	21 st March 2018
22.	Feng	F	35	Trader	Melen	10 th February 2018
23.	Fomo Telecom	M	35	Trader	Ngoa Ekelle	10 th January 2017

24.	Fopa Alliance	F	40	Hawker	Elig Edzoa	10 th February 2018
25.	Henri	M	40	Trader	Commercial Avenue	April 2016
26.	Honorine	F	40	Trader/ Seamstress	Etoudi	21 st March 2018
27.	Hortensia	F	50	Trader	Commercial Avenue	April 2016
28.	Jeanine	F	30	Trader	Mokolo	20 th March 2018
29.	Jean-Jacques	M	30	Trader	Mokolo	20 th March 2018
30.	John	M	65	Trader	Commercial Avenue	April 2016
31.	John Fashion	M	40	Trader	Mokolo	9th January 2017
32.	Joseph	M	50	Trader	Nkwen	October 2015
33.	Josepha	F	40	Hair Dresser	Old Town,	October 2015
34.	Jude Ndi	M	28	Bike rider	Food Market	March 2016
35.	Kamga Theodore	F	60	Trader	Melen	4 th January 2017
36.	Kari Vitalis	M	44	Builder/ working With the Chinese	Nlongkak	20 th April 2017
37.	Kembin Aime	F	45	Trader	Marché Ekounou	19 th April 2017
38.	Kingsley Rifor	M	30	Bike rider	CRADAT	2 nd August 2017
39.	Kongnyu	M	30	Bike rider	Mile 2 Junction	March 2016
40.	Konla Quinta	F	32	Housewife	Cow Street	December 2016
41.	Madeleine	F	38	Trader	Nkwen	October 2015
42.	Maduka	M	50	Trader	Mankon Main Market	November 2015
43.	Maguerita	F	40	Trader	Nkwen	October 2015
44.	Mahamat Sidiki	M	30	Hawker	Marché Mfoundi	10 th February 2018
45.	Mami Kate	F	38	Housewife	Siasia Quarter	November 2016

46.	Martin Mbah	M	45	Trader	Commercial Avenue	April 2016
47.	Martin Nshare	M	58	Trader	Mokolo	8 th January 2017
48.	Mirabel Fanwi	F	38	Teacher	Biyem assi acacia	10 th April 2017
49.	Mohamadou	M	35	Trader	Mokolo	20 th March 2018
50.	Moreen	F	45	Trader	Nkwen	October 2015
51.	Mouschichou	M	45	Engineer	Rendez-Vous Junction	6 th December 2016
52.	Mouschicorp	M	40	Technician	Nlongkak	6 th January 2017
53.	Mouschina	M	45	Caterpillar Driver	Nlongkak	6 th January 2017
54.	Moustapha	M	47	Trader	Etoudi	21 st March 2018
55.	Mvetumbo Moïs	M	36	Student	Ngoussou	20 th February 2014
56.	Nackmu Mark	M	30	Student/Bike rider	Odza	3 rd August 2017
57.	Ndjengue Aline	F	42	Housewife	Ngoa Ekelle	8 th March 2017
58.	Ndjengue Naffi	F	44	Seamstress	Ngoa Ekelle	8 th March 2017
59.	Nfor Francis	M	25	Hawker	Mulang	5 th December 2016
60.	Ngah Margrate-velt	F	28	Teacher	Chapel Obili	8 th March 2017
61.	Njangeu telecom	M	40	Trader	Marché Central	10 th March 2017
62.	Nkah Evans	M	40	Student	Jouvance	20 th February 2014
63.	Numfor Pius	M	50	Painter	Second Pump Ndamukong Street	October 2015
64.	Nwufor Thomas Ngu	M	40	Trader	Main Market	5 th December 2016
65.	Personnel	M	50	Civil Servant	Up Station	October 2015
66.	Personnel MINCOMMERCE	M	45	Civil Servant	Ministry	8 th February 2018
67.	Personnel ANOR	F	45	Civil Servant	Bastos	10 th April 2019

68.	Personnel ANOR	M	48	Civil Servant	Bastos	10 th April 2019
69.	Personnel MINCOMMERCE	F	45	Civil Servant	Ministry	8 th February 2018
70.	Personnel MINCOMMERCE	F	40	Civil Servant	Ministry	8 th February 2018
71.	Poigny	M	60	Trader	Etoudi	21 st March 2018
72.	Rejoice	M	28	Bike rider	Centre	2 nd August 2017
73.	Shey Donatus Bantaer	M	35	Trader	Old Town	5 th December 2016
74.	Shuri Nicolas Ngwa	M	50	Trader	Commercial Avenue	5 th December 2016
75.	Sophie	F	45	Trader	Commercial Avenue	April 2016
76.	Sylvie Kuate	F	45	Trader	Mokolo	8 th January 2017
77.	Taken	M	48	Manager of a Credit Union	Commercial Avenue	October 2015
78.	Takoudjou Justin	M	43	Trader	Round Point Express	9 th January 2017
79.	Taku	F	35	Housewife	Ntamulung	November 2016
80.	Taku Oliver	M	40	Technician/ working With the Chinese	Olembe	20 th April 2017
81.	Tankam Roger	M	35	Bike rider	Ntarinkon	March 2016
82.	Tanyi	M	52	Trader	Mokolo	8 th January 2017
83.	Yong Daniel	M	29	Hawker	SONAC Street	6 th December 2016
84.	Yunwen Victor	M	42	Hawker/former Chinese worker	Mile Four,	6 th December 2016
85.	Zhang Lu	F	55	Trader	Commercial Avenue	6 th December 2016

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ANNEXES

AUTORISATION DE RECHERCHE

**ACCORD DE COOPERATION COMMERCIALE, ECONOMIQUE ET
TECHNIQUE ENTRE LE GOUVERNEMENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE DU
CAMEROUN ET LE GOUVERNEMENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE
POPULAIRE DE CHINE**

Le Gouvernement de la République du Cameroun et le Gouvernement de la République Populaire de Chine (ci-après dénommés Parties contractantes), désireux de développer les liens d'amitié entre les Gouvernements et les peuples des deux pays, et de renforcer les relations de coopération économique et commerciale entre eux sur la base de l'égalité et des avantages réciproques, sont convenus de ce qui suit :

Article Premier

Les deux Parties contractantes mettront tout en oeuvre pour développer le volume des échanges commerciaux entre leurs pays respectifs dans le cadre des lois et règlements en vigueur et en accord avec les obligations de chaque partie dans le cadre des règles de l'Organisation Mondiale du Commerce(OMC).

Article 2

La coopération convenue dans le présent Accord concerne :

1. le commerce des biens et des services entre les deux pays; le commerce des services porte sur les opérations telles que le transport, le transit, l'assurance et le paiement directement afférentes au commerce des biens ;
2. les projets de développement que les deux Parties contractantes sont convenues d'appliquer dans les domaines de l'industrie, de l'agriculture, du commerce, des travaux publics ainsi que d'autres domaines économiques et techniques ;
3. la création d'entreprises à capitaux propres ou mixtes par des personnes physiques ou morales de l'une des deux Parties contractantes sur le territoire de l'autre ;
4. l'échange d'experts et de techniciens spécialisés dans les domaines économiques, commerciaux et techniques ;
5. l'octroi de facilités de formation et de services de consultation; les échanges d'informations économiques et commerciales;
6. les projets de coopération économique et commerciale sous toutes autres formes qui sont et seront convenus entre les deux Parties contractantes.

Article 3

En vue de développer le commerce bilatéral entre les deux pays, les deux Parties contractantes s'accordent mutuellement le traitement de la nation la plus favorisée dans les domaines suivants :

1. les tarifs douaniers, les taxes et les frais divers afférents à l'importation, l'exportation, le transit et l'admission temporaire des marchandises ;
2. les règlements et la procédure de perception des taxes et frais susmentionnés,



les formalités de douane ;

3. les formalités administratives afférentes à l'attribution des licences d'import-export des marchandises.

Article 4

Les dispositions de l'Article 3 ne s'appliquent pas aux :

1. avantages accordés ou qui seront accordés aux pays limitrophes afin de faciliter le commerce frontalier ;
2. avantages découlant du fait de l'appartenance actuelle ou future de l'une des deux Parties contractantes à une union douanière, à un marché commun, à une zone de libre échange ou à une zone monétaire.

Article 5

Le commerce de marchandises dans le cadre du présent Accord s'effectuera, conformément aux lois et règlements respectifs des deux pays, et sur la base de contrats commerciaux conclus entre les personnes morales, les personnes physiques des deux pays, exerçant les activités économiques et commerciales. Les personnes morales et physiques susmentionnées doivent accomplir tous leurs devoirs dans les activités commerciales, et aucune des deux Parties contractantes ne supporte les responsabilités dues à ces activités.

Article 6

Les paiements des marchandises et des services, dans le cadre du présent Accord, s'effectueront en monnaies librement convertibles ou en celles fixées à l'issue des consultations entre les deux Parties.

Article 7

Les deux Parties contractantes s'engagent à encourager la visite mutuelle des entrepreneurs et groupes d'hommes d'affaires entre les deux pays; chacune des deux Parties contractantes favorisera l'organisation d'expositions et la participation aux foires de l'autre Partie sur son territoire; chaque Partie contractante accordera, conformément à sa législation nationale, toutes les facilités nécessaires pour l'organisation des expositions et la participation aux foires par des entreprises de l'autre sur son propre territoire.

Article 8

Les deux Parties contractantes s'engagent à suspendre les droits de douane et autres taxes d'effet équivalent sur :

1. les échantillons et produits de publicité suivants:
 - a) ceux qui n'ont pas de valeur commerciale, ni d'autre destination ;
 - b) ceux qui sont utilisés pour l'analyse de qualité et usés au cours de l'analyse ;
 - c) ceux qui sont reçus ou envoyés comme modèle de reproduction.
2. les objets exposés destinés à être réexportés après les foires et expositions, y compris les marchandises et objets utilisés à des fins de présentation et de



démonstration, objets nécessaires à la présentation des machines et outils exposés, matériels de construction et de décoration exigés pour l'installation des stands temporaires;

3. les autres marchandises et objets d'admission temporaire.

Les articles ci-dessus mentionnés, une fois vendus dans le pays importateur, supporteront les droits de douane et autres taxes d'effet équivalent conformément aux lois et règlements en vigueur du pays concerné.

Article 9

A l'expiration du présent Accord, ses dispositions continueront à s'appliquer à tous les contrats économiques et commerciaux conclus au cours de la période de sa validité jusqu'à leur exécution totale.

Article 10

Les différends qui pourraient naître de l'interprétation du présent Accord seront examinés soit dans le cadre de la Commission Mixte soit par voie diplomatique ou à défaut par tout autre moyen accepté par les deux Parties contractantes.

Article 11

Le présent Accord entrera en vigueur le jour de sa signature dès la date de la dernière notification confirmant l'accomplissement des procédures constitutionnelles nécessaires par les deux pays.

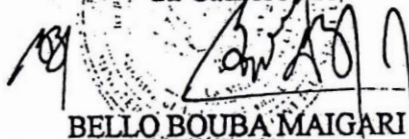
Il restera valable pour une période de trois ans renouvelable, à moins que l'une des deux Parties contractantes ne le dénonce par écrit avec préavis de 6 mois avant son expiration.

Article 12

L'entrée en vigueur du présent Accord abroge l'Accord commercial signé à Beijing le 17 août 1972 entre le Gouvernement de la République Populaire de Chine et le Gouvernement de la République du Cameroun.

Fait à Yaoundé, le 30 août 2002, en double exemplaires, en langues française et chinoise, les deux textes faisant également foi.

Pour le Gouvernement de la République
du Cameroun



BELLO BOUBA MAIGARI

Ministre d'Etat chargé du Développement
Industriel et Commercial

Pour le Gouvernement de la
République Populaire de Chine



LU Fuyuan

Vice-Ministre du Commerce Extérieur
et de la Coopération Economique

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Informant's identification

Name, age, sex, profession, place and date of interview

FOR TRADERS AND HAWKERS (BUSINESS MEN AND WOMEN)

I. LIFE HISTORY/PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Can you tell me your history or experiences as a business man?

II. INFORMATION ON THE TYPE OF ACTIVITY OR BUSINESS

What is the name given to your business?

How can one become a great business man as you are (reinforcement of capacities)?

Which are the different ethnic groups represented in this business sector?

Are there Cameroon business associations who are trading in the Asian continent? What are their roles?

III. REASONS FOR THE CHOICE OF THE TYPE OF ACTIVITY

What pushed you to choose this activity?

Are there people who influenced your choice?

Do you at times regret your choice?

Do you know the first Cameroonians who started this business line (Cameroon–Asia)? (Give examples of those you think where the first).

IV. STAY IN ASIA

When did you start going to Asia? (Where exactly and why that particular country among the many Asian countries?)

Where do you lodge in Asia?

Is there somebody who helped you with money (to pay your flight? To buy goods?)

How do you buy your goods while in Asia?

Have you created or made contacts with the Asians? How do you manage them?

Have you created or made contacts with some Cameroonians who live in Asia? How do you manage them?

V. STRATEGIES FOR THE DISTRIBUTION AND SELL OF GOODS

What accounts for the choice of the major products that you buy?

In which of the towns in Cameroon do you sell your products? Why this particular town?

What are your strategies for the sale of your products (wholesale/ large quantity or retail)?

VI. RELATIONS WITH ASIAN TRADERS

What do you think about the arrival or presence of Asian traders in the local market, precisely in your own sector of activity?

Are you in collaborations or in conflict with them? Explain

How do you manage or cope with your Asian competitors?

Is there any difference between the products the Asians sell and what Cameroonians (quality, mark, etc) sell?

Is there anything the Asian traders do in a different way from what Cameroonian traders do?

VII. ACCOUNTING PROFIT

Without wanting to be so curious, what can be your amount of business activity today?

After calculating all your expenditures and all the risks alongside, do you think that this business meets up your desires?

When you compare your incomes when the Asians were not yet in our markets with the same products as yours and today what conclusion can you draw?

Have you these far trained young traders who will take up the challenge?

How do you invest the profits of your labour?

When you observe keenly the commercial relationships (affairs) between Asia and Cameroon today, what are your impressions?

What are your recommendations?

Questions Addressed to the Personnel of the Ministry of Trade Cameroon

What are the roles or functions performed by the Ministry of Trade insofar as external trade is concerned?

What about the individual Asian and Cameroonian traders who go to Asia to go and buy then come and retail in Cameroon?

Who are those responsible for the quality and price control of goods and services in Cameroon?

FOR HOUSEHOLD CONSUMERS

FOOD STUFFS

Who does all the shopping in your household?

Now name all the types of food stuffs you consume on a daily basis

Out of all these food stuffs that you have named like this, which ones are produced locally and which are imported?

DRESSES

Now let's go to dresses, what dressing code or type do you use? Is it African, Western, Asian or a mixture of all?

Why do you wear mostly the imported ones?

Yeah, in which of the occasions do you put on the African wear?

Ok, what about the shoes?

Yeah, from which part of the world?

What about the quality of the goods?

ELECTRONICS

Yes let's go to the electronics since you have started talking about the telephones, where do the electronics you use in your household come from?

So you do not even inquire to know from which countries they are made?

Is it that you buy what you find in the market or if you happen to see these phones that are coming from other countries including Cameroon will you buy or emphasize on the Chinese?

SCHOOL NEEDS

Are you still the one who buy all the school needs in your household?

Here we are referring to the text books, school bags, exercise books, mathematical sets, calculators and all of that, where are they made?

Are you like happy or satisfied with the look of things?

KITCHEN UTENSILS

Tell me since you know them better than I do

So which one do you prefer and why?

What about the duration?

HEALTH AND ILLNESS

Can you name some of the illnesses that members of your household usually suffer from?

Where do you go for treatment?

Building Materials

Can you name some of the building materials you know?

Can you think or imagine where they are made?

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

What general impressions do you have based on the fact that most of the areas we have discussed above from food stuff, dresses, school needs, health wise to building and construction materials we see that we Cameroonians live almost 80 to 90 percent on imported goods and services. What can you say about the Cameroonians are we constituted of mostly consumers than producers?

Yeah you have raised a good point there that the Chinese products are attractive to the eyes and quality wise too or what?

Is it most of the Cameroonians that like shiny things or mostly the women?

Questions for Cameroonians who have worked or are still working in Chinese firms

Can you tell us your history as a former or present worker in a Chinese company?

How did you join the Chinese company?

As you accepted to work with the Chinese, how did you find them because many Cameroonians have negative impressions about them in regards to exchanging ideas, techniques and even to teach you something?

What motivated you to work with the Chinese?

Now let's talk about your working experiences with the Chinese, what happened that you stopped working with the Chinese?

What do you think about the presence of the Asians in Cameroon? Others think that their presence is good while others think it is not welcome what about you and why?

On the transfer of technology and others what can you say about that as most Cameroonians think that the Asians in general and the Chinese in particular are not willing or do not want to teach the Cameroonians and most of the Cameroonians working with them are mostly labourers (manoeuvres not technicians)?

I agree with you but this issue of transfer of technology was well mentioned in their bilateral cooperation so why are they not respecting their terms of agreement?

According to your own personal experiences, what is actually attracting the Asians to Cameroon and vice versa?

Thank you very much for your time and do have a nice day.

GLOSSARY

Bamdoup	Rat mole
Benskin	Motorbike rider
Buy one take two	You buy product but you are offered another one for free
Camfranglais	A mixture French, English and Pidgin English spoken in Cameroon mostly by the youths.
Chougne	Pig
Demain moi partir à Douala, toi travail avec mon collègue	/Tomorrow, I shall go to Douala and you shall work with my colleague.
Elobi	Swampy or marshy area
Fingong	An imbecile
Gagnant – gagnant	A cooperation where both partners benefit from the profits
Give my taxi	Figurative language meaning bribe
Gombo	Money gained through bribery and corruption
Hoha	Arrogantly
Maaf	Insults
Malaba	Insane
Me work here, you work there	I am working on this spot while you work over there
Money for beer	Figurative language meaning bribe
Mouf	Insults
Ntoubap	An animal
Okada	Motorbike raider
Petrol	Figurative language meaning bribe
Tchoko	Bribe
Win – win	A type of cooperation where both partners benefit from one another

