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The Migration&Development Apparatus

Contradictions between international discourse, institutional practices, and migrants' perspectives

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- analyse migration as part of broader global change

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Abstract

In this paper I focus on the contradictions between the international discourse on migration and development, the institutional practices of states and NGOs, and the perspectives of migrants themselves. I argue that taking a closer look at contradictions enables us to question seemingly secure knowledge on migration and development. Drawing on Michel Foucault's concept of apparatus, I analyse the migration and development paradigm as a network of discourses, practices, and modes of subjectivation. Using the example of Cameroonian migration to Germany, I argue that the migration&development apparatus is characterised by four major contradictory binaries: inclusion and exclusion, competence and incompetence, politicisation and depoliticisation, as well as dependency and independency.

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1 Introduction

At the beginning of the new millennium the international development community began to rethink the relationship between migration and development. While in the 1980s and 90s migration had mostly been considered as detrimental to development because it was said to cause brain drain and social tensions, in the 2000s policy makers and development researchers started to highlight the positive effects of migration for the development of countries of origin and destination as well as for migrants themselves. Ground-breaking for the change in perspectives was the 2003 *Global Development Finance Report* published by the World Bank. The report stressed that the financial transfers of labour migrants had 'become an increasingly prominent source of external funding for many developing countries' and 'exceeded official development assistance' (Ratha 2003, pp.157–158). This migration and development paradigm that has evolved within the last 15 years frames migrants not only as a financial resource but also as agents of knowledge transfer who make use of the competences acquired in the country of destination for the development of their countries of origin through short term visits or definite return.

So far the migration and development paradigm has mostly been studied on three different levels. Quite a few scholars have looked at the debate on the so-called migration-development nexus at the level of international politics. They have discussed the reasons why the debate has come up in the international arena at the beginning of the 21st century (Nyberg Sørensen et al. 2003; Munck 2008; Skeldon 2008; Bakewell 2009; Raghuram 2009) and some have criticised it as a neoliberal trend in development policy (Bakker 2007; Ziai 2007; Kunz & Schwenken 2014). The second strand of research has focussed on how states encourage their citizens to migrate and send remittances and on how they 'court' their (former) citizens living abroad – the so called diaspora[1] – in order to attract investment or charity directed towards the country of origin (for the African context see Turner & Kleist 2013; Turner 2013; Kleist 2013; Ankomah et al. 2012; de Haas 2007; Koser 2003; Brand 2002). Some have also looked at the strategies and practices of civil society organisations to work with diasporas (Sinatti & Horst 2014). Finally, the great number of case studies on the development related activities of migrants and migrant organisations all over the world can be grouped into a third research strand (Horst 2013; Bernal 2013; Ngomba 2012; Kleist 2008; Herbert et al. 2008; Davies 2010; Rupp 2005; Nieswand 2012; Grillo & Riccio 2004).

In this paper I would like to focus on the contradictions between these three levels: the international discourse on migration and development, the institutional practices of states and NGOs, and the perspectives of migrants themselves. These contradictions have not yet received much attention (an exception are the studies of Åkesson 2011 and Kunz 2011). I argue that taking a closer look at contradictions will enable us to question seemingly secure knowledge on what migration and development is about. Drawing on Michel Foucault's concept of apparatus, I will analyse the migration and development paradigm as a network of discourses, practices, and modes of subjectivation. By modes of subjectivation, I mean the ways in which people speak about themselves and thereby relate to existing societal discourses, either by positively relating to identity categories

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1 Following Rogers Brubaker I understand 'diaspora' not as an actual entity possessing countable members but as a concept that is used more or less strategically 'to make claims, to articulate projects, to formulate expectations, to mobilize energies, to appeal to loyalties.' (Brubaker 2005, p.12) 'Diaspora' can be seen as a performative act that is 'performed by those who claim to be diasporic and by those who seek to engage with diasporas [...].' (Turner & Kleist 2013, p.195). Thus, 'diaspora' is actively produced. Inspired by West and Zimmerman I call the interactive process of the social construction of 'diaspora' *doing diaspora* (West & Zimmerman 1987).

produced in the discourse or by distancing themselves from these categories. Thus, the self-interpretation of subjects does not take place in a vacuum but is always linked with hegemonic or marginalised societal discourses. Using the example of Cameroonian migration to Germany I will argue that the migration&development apparatus[2] is characterised by four major contradictory binaries: inclusion and exclusion, competence and incompetence, politicisation and depoliticisation, as well as dependency and independency.

In a first step, I will show the advantages of looking at the field of migration and development from the apparatus perspective. Secondly, I will spell out my methods and data. Thirdly, I will present the four major contradictions within the migration&development apparatus and finally I will conclude by highlighting the importance of my findings for the international debate on migration and development.

2 Migration and Development as Apparatus: Discourses, Institutions, Subjectivations

In this paper, I frame migration and development as an apparatus. Following Michel Foucault, I understand an apparatus as a network ('réseau') consisting of different elements such as discourses, institutions, and modes of subjectivation.[3] An apparatus is established in response to a discourse of urgency and interferes in power relations which stabilise and destabilise certain types of knowledge (Foucault 1980, pp.194–197; Raffnsøe 2008; Agamben 2008). The migration&development apparatus is a twofold connection. It is a fusion of the seemingly independent fields of 'migration' and 'development' into a single object – the migration-development nexus – and it is the link between heterogeneous elements like discourses, institutions and modes of subjectivation.

The migration&development apparatus evolved in the beginning of the 2000s as a response to two discourses of urgency. On the one hand, the adoption of the *Millennium Development Goals* and the *Monterrey Consensus* established a discourse of urgency related to development funding. When the 2003 *Global Development Finance Report* announced that the financial transfers of labour migrants exceeded official development assistance, the link between migration and development became a promising funding alternative. On the other hand, in the aftermath of 9/11 a discourse of urgency related to the governance of international mobility developed. Discussions on the dangers of transnational terrorist networks gained ground and the Global Commission on International Migration initiated by the United Nations declared migration in its 2005 report as the central challenge of the 21st century.

In my view, the apparatus as a research perspective has three major advantages. First of all, the apparatus perspective allows us to study what is internationally discussed as migration-development nexus on several levels and to carve out the connections and contradictions between these levels. Due to the common distinction between levels of analysis in the social sciences – individual, state, international system or micro, meso and macro – these levels are usually studied separately. The apparatus perspective enables us to examine connections between these elements

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2 The migration&development apparatus is the result of a fusion of the field of migration and the field of development into a single object. In order to emphasise this fusion I write 'migration&development' without spaces between the two words.

3 In the original French version of the interview in which Foucault tries to clarify the term apparatus ('dispositif') he uses the word 'réseau' which can be translated as network, grid, net or web (Foucault 1977, p. 62). The official English translation uses the paraphrase "system of relations" (Foucault 1980, p. 194). Because it is closer to the original version I chose to use the term network.

which seem rather disparate at first glance. This results in a more complex and ambivalent picture of the research subject. Secondly, the apparatus perspective is in contrast to regime or multi-level analysis compatible with Foucauldian discourse analysis. Finally, apparatus analysis increases our sensitivity for power relations within and between different levels and elements.

It is impossible to study or even capture the migration&development apparatus as a whole. This is why I chose to concentrate on three elements and its connections and contradictions: the discourse on migration and development in the arena of international politics, the Cameroonian and German governmental and non-governmental organisations actively involved in the field of migration and development, and the modes of subjectivation of Cameroonian migrants living in Berlin, Germany. I chose the case of Cameroonian migration to Germany because the activities of German state institutions in the field of migration and development focus on Cameroonian migrants. Due to their young age and large enrolment rate in higher education Cameroonian migrants are seen as high potentials for economic development in Germany and Cameroonian (GTZ 2007; CIM no date; CIM 2013a; CIM 2013b). Around 24.000 Cameroonians or former Cameroonian nationals with German citizenship are officially registered living in Germany. Around 7.000 Cameroonian students attend a German university, the largest group of African students, followed by Moroccan students (Statistisches Bundesamt 2016, p. 57). The comparably low tuition fees for university students in Germany and the colonial ties between the two countries are important factors for Cameroonian migration to Germany.

While Foucault has extensively written on discourse analysis as a method, scholars are in agreement that his work does not contain much guidance on how to analyse an apparatus (Dreyfus & Rabinow 1983; Agamben 2008; Raffnsøe 2008; Bührmann & Schneider 2008; Bührmann & Schneider 2007; Jäger 2001a; Jäger 2001b). In his lectures *Society Must Be Defended* he invited his audience to do what they wanted to with his ideas (Foucault 2003, p.2). Thus, drawing on his *Archaeology of Knowledge* and his lectures on the *History of Governmentality* I have developed my own methodology to study the migration&development apparatus.

3 Methods and Data

That Foucault's writings on the apparatus fall short of a tangible method can be seen as both an advantage and a disadvantage. On the one hand, this lack creates space to choose methods which seem most suitable for the object of investigation and the specific research question. On the other hand, assuring the compatibility of methods and epistemological assumptions becomes even more important. I dealt with this challenge by employing a discourse analysis perspective for the study of all elements of the apparatus. This meant that I was not interested in analysing the strategies of single actors or in revealing the 'real' nature of power relations between different groups of actors. Rather, I asked which types of knowledge and truth were produced within the elements of the migration&development apparatus. This also meant that I treated all my data – policy documents, interview transcripts, and notes from participatory observation – as text.

First of all, in order to analyse the discourse at the level of international politics, I chose to combine discourse analysis spelled out in the *Archaeology of Knowledge* (Foucault 1982) with Foucault's analytical perspective on governance from his *History of Governmentality* (Foucault 2007; Foucault 2008). I analysed more than 60 key policy documents on migration and development

published by international organisations and international government meetings between 2005 and 2014.[4]

According to Foucault a discourse can be defined as 'the group of statements that belong to a single system of formation' (Foucault 1982, p.107). The structures of this formation system change over time and regulate what can be said and what cannot be said within a specific historical era. The *statement* – what Foucault called 'énoncé' – can therefore be called the smallest element of a discourse. This means that by identifying and analysing *statements* from the selected documents it is eventually possible to draw a picture of the discourse on migration and development.[5] In contrast to the utterances of single authors – what Foucault called the 'énonciations' – *statements* show up across all documents. In order to identify these *statements* and study their implications I employed a catalogue of questions derived from the *Archaeology of Knowledge*. These questions are the following:

1) What is the subject-matter of the statement and what are the conditions for allowing this subject-matter to be constituted?

2) What position has to be taken by a subject in order to utter the statement?

3) What are the overarching connections between the statements?

4) Is the statement repeatable and is it connected to non-discursive fields?

5) What lies beyond the limits of the utterable?

I conducted the discourse analysis from a specific perspective. I analysed the selected documents as fragments of a discourse of governance and I employed Foucault's concept of governmentality as a theoretical perspective for analysis. In his lectures at the Collège de France *Security, Territory and Population* (1977-1978) and *The Birth of Biopolitics* (1978-1979) Foucault shifts from a rather narrow definition of 'governmentality' to a very broad one.[6] Foucault defines governmentality in a broader sense as a 'governmental rationality' – which Colin Gordon described as 'a way or a system of thinking about the nature of the practice of government (who can govern; what governing is; what and who is governed), capable of making some form of that activity thinkable and practicable both to its practitioners and to those upon whom it was practised' (Gordon 1991, p.3). In his lectures Foucault distinguishes between three 'governmental rationalities': the raison d'Etat (reason of State),

4 Due to my focus on Cameroonian migration to Germany I did not take into account international policy documents specifically related to migration and development in Asia or Latin America. Instead, the corpus consists of texts either with a global focus (e.g. United Nations, Global Forum on Migration and Development, International Organisation for Migration, World Bank), an EU focus (EU-Commission, European Council, etc.), an African focus (African Development Bank) or a focus on both Africa and the EU (EU-Africa-Summits, Euro-African Ministerial Conferences on Migration and Development). I chose the time frame 2005 to 2014 because it covers major discursive events in the field of migration and development like the release of the report of the Global Commission on International Migration (2005), the two High-Level Dialogues on Migration and Development (2006 and 2013), all Global Forums on Migration and Development (2007-2014) and all Euro-African Ministerial Conferences on Migration and Development (2006-2014) until 2014. Additionally, it includes - except for two documents from 2002 and 2003 – all important EU policy documents on migration and development until 2014.
5 I discovered some discursive shifts within the 10 years' period of investigation. However, they are not very radical. This is why I chose not to discuss them in this paper.
6 In the narrow sense Foucault defines governmentality as "the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security". (Foucault 1991, p.102) When we read his lectures closely we discover that this narrow definition of governmentality is equivalent to the liberal rationality of governance.

liberalism, and neoliberalism and he shows how each rationality is characterized by a specific set of assumptions related to the target of governance, its principal form of knowledge, its essential technical means and its modes of subject formation. Based on this broad definition of governmentality, I approached the documents I studied with a set of four questions. While the previous five questions above helped to identify the single *statements* as smallest elements of the migration and development discourse, the following four questions helped to carve out the connections between them and to understand what makes them part of the same discourse.

1) What is seen as the target of governance?

2) What is the principal form of knowledge?

3) What is proposed as the essential technical means of governance?

4) What are the modes of subject formation?

Consequently, I examined how the *statements* of the discourse were created, what could be said and what could not be said within the discourse, and at what point the limits of the utterable were reinforced or challenged. Finally, I could identify ten statements as key elements of the international governmental discourse on migration and development.[7]

So far I have explained how to do a Foucauldian discourse analysis inspired by the governmentality perspective. Now I will show how to extend this methodological approach into an apparatus analysis. The basic idea is to contrast the three elements of the apparatus – international discourse, national institutions and migrants' perspectives – with each other.

In a first step, I contrasted the international discourse with documents, films, and images published by German and Cameroonian state and non-state institutions as well as with my experiences from three participatory observations.[8] I was interested in the ways the *statements* which constituted the international discourse resurfaced in the discursive institutional practices in Germany and Cameroon. I could identify both similarities and differences between the two dimensions of the apparatus. In a second step, I contrasted the modes of subjectivation of Cameroonian migrants living in Germany with the international discourse on migration and development and its specific manifestations in German and Cameroonian institutions. This step was preceded by a discourse analysis of transcripts of interviews with twelve Cameroonian migrants based in Berlin and five representatives of Cameroonian associations in Germany.

Although I found many discursive similarities between the international discourse on migration and development, the institutional practices in Germany and Cameroon, and the perspectives of Cameroonian migrants in Germany, I would like to focus on the contradictory aspects in this paper. Contradictions in the migration&development apparatus have not yet received much attention in the literature. I argue that focussing on contradictions will allow us to see migration and development from a new perspective.

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7 In this short paper the ten statements cannot be presented in detail. A comprehensive discourse analysis of the international governmental discourse on migration and development can be found in my dissertation which will be published in October 2017.

8 The three episodes of participatory observation were the following: a seminar for Cameroonian migrants living in Germany interested in returning to Cameroon and starting a business organised by the German development organisation CIM, a big festival of the Cameroonian diaspora in Germany ('Challenge Camerounais 2013' in Berlin), and a workshop day on 'Diaspora, Migration, and Development' organised by the Berlin based migrant organisation MoveGlobal.

4 Contradictions in the Migration&Development Apparatus

My analysis of the migration&development apparatus shows that the discourses within German and Cameroonian institutions largely correspond with the international discourse on migration and development. Some German institutions, however, are still bound to the brain drain paradigm when they aim at the one-time return of migrants to their home countries instead of focusing on triple win situations created by circular migration as discussed in the international discourse. The modes of subjectivation of Cameroonian migrants reveal strong ambivalences. On the one hand, many Cameroonian migrants criticise the goals and practices of international development cooperation and regard the incorporation of migrants and migrant organisations into development strategies with suspicion. On the other hand, their narratives indicate that they are involved in exactly those practices (money transfers, diaspora organisations and diaspora projects) which are key to the current migration and development paradigm. Below, I will focus on four major contradictions between the elements of the migration&development apparatus.

4.1 Inclusion and Exclusion

The first contradiction consists of different perspectives on discrimination. The international governmental discourse on migration and development frames discrimination against migrants as a problem of information. Discriminatory behaviour towards migrants is explained with the ignorance of non-migrant populations. The assumption is that if non-migrant populations knew about the positive effects of migrants' practices for the country of destination and the country of origin they would reward migrants with social inclusion. This implies that social inclusion is based on the performance principle. Therefore informing non-migrant populations about the beneficiary qualities of migrants is seen as an effective strategy to reduce discrimination. This way of thinking is for instance expressed in a concept paper for the fourth Global Forum on Migration and Development which took place in Mexico in 2010:

> Mexico intends to advance an evidence-based discussion of migrants' contributions to the development of both origin and host societies. Better understanding this can ultimately change the way migrants are perceived in society. It can help promote their human development, and their acceptance and inclusion in host countries, thus reducing the likelihood of xenophobia and criminalization of the migrants. (Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) 2010, p.2)

A paper summarising the discussions of the Global Forums 2007 to 2012 in preparation of the second High-level Dialogue on International Migration and Development at the UN General Assembly in 2013 reasons in the same direction:

> In order to avoid xenophobia and discrimination, efforts to promote inclusion and acceptance in host societies have been shared, including information campaigns towards the public about migrants' contributions to development as well as good integration practices with a view to counter negative perceptions of, and attitudes towards migrants.' (Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) 2013, p. 6)

The concept paper for the Global Forum 2012 in Mauritius raises the question of which forms of intervention by governments are legitimate in order to influence the public opinion on migrants. In this context, again stigmatisation and discrimination is framed as the result of misinformation.

> Key questions the session could explore might include: What/who shapes or influences perceptions? What might be areas where public perceptions of migration need to be changed? What actions need to be taken to change perceptions? While fostering an open

space for healthy, if critical debate, about the pros and cons of migration for society, what are legitimate areas for governments to shape public perceptions of migration or to intervene to protect migrants from *misinformed* stigmatization and discrimination?' (Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) 2012, p. 7, emphasis added)[9]

In German and Cameroonian institutions actively involved in the field of migration and development the topic of discrimination against migrants remains nearly unmentioned. The German non-governmental organisation MoveGlobal is an exception. The NGO was founded by activists with a personal migration history and claims to represent a migrants' perspective on the migration and development debate. MoveGlobal highlights that migrants who are involved in development related activities have to deal with structural barriers – especially racism – in the country of destination. The NGO criticises that this situation is systematically ignored by development organisations (Muriel 2014).

Interestingly, most associations of Cameroonian migrants in Germany do not mention the terms racism or discrimination in the self-descriptions on their websites or in their programmes. Instead, many of their activities aim at 'integration' in the sense of social and economic inclusion. Based on the interviews with representatives of Cameroonian associations I assume that 'integration' is used as a proxy term in order to indirectly name experiences of discrimination without employing the term racism which has been for a long time judged as too confrontational in the German integration debate.

In contrast to the international governmental discourse many Cameroonian migrants have a structural understanding of racism. They see a link between discrimination against African migrants in Germany and postcolonial relations of power which are embodied in individual encounters, social norms and institutions, and international relations.

They [Family members in Cameroon] suffer because of this white supremacy, which rules the world. That means the racism we experience here is the same racism our brothers and sister experience there. But maybe not directly from white people there but through an order, you know, that is simply delegated (Mr. D., original text in German, my translation).[10]

Some of my interview partners see experiences of racism in Germany as a reason for their involvement in the Cameroonian community, for diaspora activities, and for their desire to return to Cameroon one day. Their narratives suggest that the focus on the community results from a shared experience of exclusion in Germany. At the same time the community helps to gain strength and to exchange knowledge necessary to deal with these experiences of exclusion. The lack of social recognition in Germany and the desire to at least gain recognition in Cameroon is seen as an important motivator for diaspora projects.

Because why do people come together in those associations? To discuss things about home, to plan about their home. Not here Berlin but Cameroon. And it's a typical thing. Because once you don't feel, once you don't feel accepted in a place you always have the zeal, you always think you have to do something somewhere where you feel you are accepted. So it's a whole complex thing.' (Ms. F.)

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9 The concept paper of the Global Forum 2011 also refers to 'xenophobic sentiments based on poorly informed perceptions about migrants' (Global Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) 2011, 6).
10 The interviews with Cameroonian migrants in Berlin have been anonymised.

Thus, while the international governmental discourse and most Cameroonian and German institutions attribute the 'development oriented practices' of migrants to seemingly natural bonds between diaspora members or to patriotic feelings towards the home country many Cameroonian migrants experience social exclusion in Germany as a reason for community activities, diaspora projects, and their desire to return to Cameroon one day.

The relationship between experiences of exclusion and diaspora practices still lacks systematic research. Elke Winter has pointed out that critical perspectives on markers such as race and ethnicity have been surprisingly absent from debates on the migration-development nexus and that 'we should not forget that migrants from the South become racialized and ethnicized in Northern societies, and that these categorizations may impact heavily upon their choices and opportunities of social and professional engagement in the 'receiving countries' (Winter 2007, p.4). Nina Glick Schiller sees insecure living conditions of migrants caused by racism and other forms of discrimination as a reason for their continuous financial engagement in their country of origin (Glick Schiller 2009, p.25). This argument is in line with the narratives of my Cameroonian interview partners.

The migration&development apparatus provides us with different answers to the question of how experiences of discrimination and diaspora practices are linked. From the perspective of Cameroonian migrants, experiences of racism are a decisive factor for diaspora practices. In contrast, the international governmental discourse frames diaspora practices (and informing about them) as an antidote to discrimination.

4.2   Competence and Incompetence

A second contradiction can be found in the assessment of migrants' knowledge and competence. The international governmental discourse as well as the Cameroonian and German institutions in the field of migration and development frame migrants as important agents of knowledge transfer for their country of origin. The knowledge acquired by migrants in the receiving country is seen as extremely valuable for the development of the sending country but also for the economy of the receiving country.

In contrast, the Cameroonian migrants I interviewed recount numerous situations in which their knowledge and competences were questioned and depreciated by German employers and government agencies.

> Is he even competent? Is he able to do this? There are always doubts. You have to prove, prove, prove yourself. It's difficult as a Cameroonian. At first you feel/psychologically this is very very burdensome. Very burdensome, because you always have to prove yourself. (Mr. I., original text in German, my translation)

The allegation of incompetence can be identified as a key expression of institutional racism in Germany. The experiences described by my interview partners stand in stark contrast to the positive perspective on migrant knowledge within the migration and development paradigm.

Some of my interview partners also challenge the idea of knowledge transfers to countries of origin praised by the international governmental discourse and national institutions. In their view, Cameroonian employers and the Cameroonian population are highly sceptical towards the knowledge 'imported' by migrants and returnees.

> I can contribute, of course, I do believe that is the best because already I know how it works here and I know how it works there. I will kind of try to bring in the ideas or

change things that I think that will help the government or help this country to develop. But the problem is those people living back there they accept. You know, so if you have to change, you have to bring/ migrants, you have to be a lot of you to impose on one idea, you know. Because those who live there don't easily give up, give into new ideas. Yeah. So they/ must/ often they reject, they reject the new ideas. If you go from here they will be like: No. You have to listen. That is how it works here. And like saying you want to bring in something new, that is how it works in other places, maybe we try this, so it might work better for us. But they are so resistant, you know. (Ms. Y.)

For fear of negative experiences with Cameroonian employers and colleagues many of my interview partners consider self-employment as their only realistic career option in Cameroon.

I was thinking of, I kind of, doing something in the, like a pharmacist. So I can go and open up a pharmacy and manage it myself rather than working for the government. […] If you work at a hospital and you try to like kind of tell them something they will/ some people don't like to hear when you correct them, you know. They will easily get annoyed. Maybe you want to show them off. You know, it's like kind of show off. That you know better because you studied here and all that stuff. And I will not like to go into that. So I would like to manage my own little place, yeah. (Ms. Y.)

Thus, the return as a self-employed entrepreneur – an ideal promoted by the international discourse on migration and development – is identified by my interview partners as a less-than-ideal solution to discrimination in the Cameroonian labour market.

The positive assessment of migrants' knowledge within the migration and development paradigm constitutes at first sight an important shift in development discourse. Development cooperation holds a long history reaching back to the colonial era of degrading local forms of knowledge and of trying to spread 'modern' techniques and practices – often against resistance (Norris 1993; Stielike 2009). However, a closer look reveals that the international governmental discourse and the German institutions consider only the knowledge acquired in the country of destination as particularly beneficial. The competences migrants bring with them from their countries of origin are – unlike in the brain drain paradigm – rarely mentioned except in the case of so-called highly qualified migrants. Consequently, the focus on knowledge transfers from 'host' to 'home' countries corresponds with modernisation theory of the 1960s inasmuch as only forms of knowledge (seemingly[11]) produced in the 'West'[12] are declared as relevant.

The social network 'Alumniportal Deutschland' follows this logic. The idea of this German government funded internet platform is to keep up the contact with people who have studied or worked in Germany and have returned to their country of origin or have moved on to a third country. In view of the ongoing debate on skilled labour shortage in Germany those 'Germany Alumni' who have acquired knowledge 'Made in Germany' are considered to be a precious labour reserve to be courted (Alumniportal Deutschland 2013).

Such positive references to migrants with 'Western' competences in the debates on migration and development and on skilled labour shortage stand in stark contrast to the practices of German

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11 Certain types of knowledge which are today considered as 'Western' or 'modern' have been produced or applied for the the first time in the European colonies. According to Ann Laura Stoler und Frederick Cooper the colonies have been 'laboratories of modernity' in which colonial governments experimented with interventionist policies which would have faced strong resistance in Europe (Stoler & Cooper 1997, p.5). See also Conrad & Randeria 2002, p.26; Bonneuil 2000.

12 'West' is not meant in a geographical sense here but as a socio-historical construct as defined by Stuart Hall (Hall 1992).

employers and government agencies who often treat engineers or lawyers trained in Germany – according to the narratives of my interview partners – with disdain and condescension when they do not speak German fluently or do not match the visual stereotype of a German person. Thus, today especially so-called highly skilled migrants in Germany find themselves in a schizophrenic situation in which their knowledge is valued within the discourse on migration and development and on skilled labour shortage while it is devalued in the personal encounter with government officials or human resource managers. The real 'welcome culture' (Bertelsmann-Stiftung 2015; Carrel 2013) would be something else. Migrants who are not considered to be highly qualified because they do not have academic or technical degrees (or have degrees that are not recognized in Germany) are ignored within the discourse on skilled labour shortage. Even the migration and development paradigm does not consider them as their primary target group when it comes to sponsoring diaspora projects, return migration or entrepreneurial initiatives. In this respect their knowledge is even less recognised and valued.

4.3 Politicisation and Depoliticisation

The third contradiction consists in different framings of diaspora practices as either 'beneficial for development' or 'political'. The international governmental discourse on migration and development and the state institutions in Germany and Cameroon consider migrant remittances, diaspora projects, and the (temporary) return of skilled migrants and migrant entrepreneurs to their countries of origin as 'beneficial for development' and as beyond questions of national and international power relations. In contrast, several Cameroonian migrants understand their diaspora engagement explicitly as 'political activism' and see their eventual return as a contribution to a change of system in Cameroon. One interview partner introduces the analytical distinction between diaspora projects aiming at 'development' and those interfering with Cameroonian politics.

> What is the function of my diaspora group? Is it politically active or more development?
> You know, if it's political I will not really support it, you know. (Ms. F.)

These different framings of diaspora practices as either 'beneficial for development' or 'political' draw the attention to politicising and depoliticising tendencies in the migration&development apparatus.

The international governmental discourse treats human rights violations, armed conflicts, climate change and especially poverty as' root causes' of international migration (e.g. Euro-African Ministerial Conference on Migration and Development 2008, p.2; High-Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development 2013, p.2). However, it does not discuss the reasons for the unequal distribution of wealth between sending and receiving countries. German and Cameroonian state institutions do not even try to name the reasons for 'development needs' in Cameroon. Instead, they frame 'development needs' as a given problem which has to be solved with the help of the diaspora.

Cameroonian policy documents on the diaspora portray Cameroonians living abroad unanimously as a precious development resource for the country (Ministry of External Relations of the Republic of Cameroon 2008; Ministry of External Relations of the Republic of Cameroon 2013c; Ministry of External Relations of the Republic of Cameroon 2013b; Ministry of External Relations of the Republic of Cameroon 2013a; République du Cameroun 2013). They do not raise the question why so many Cameroonians emigrate. That emigration can also be interpreted as a critique of local political, social, and economic conditions as Yann Moulier-Boutang has argued is not mentioned (Moulier-Boutang 2010; Moulier Boutang 2002). In an interview with a journalist from the

Cameroonian diaspora, the Cameroonian ambassador in Germany strongly objects to the interpretation that Cameroonians leave their country out of frustration about a corrupt government and the lack of opportunities. Instead, he depoliticises the exodus of young Cameroonians by highlighting their strong preference to study abroad (Ambassador of the Republic of Cameroon in Germany 2010). Nevertheless, the Cameroonian government is aware of political claims made by Cameroonians living outside the country. The ministry of external relations deplores 'political militancy' as the main problem of the diaspora (Ministry of External Relations of the Republic of Cameroon 2008).

Quite a few of my Cameroonian interview partners consider their diaspora engagement as well as their envisioned return migration as a contribution to political change in Cameroon:

> If we, the diaspora, do not try to build a school now instead of the government then your little brother won't go to school. He will never reach tenth grade. He will not understand what justice is. He will not understand why he is poor. He will not understand that the government is doing something wrong. That means no possibility to protest. That means the people have to be educated so they will be able to complain later. It doesn't matter if it takes a hundred years, it will come one day and we have to prepare ourselves now.' (Mr. I, original text in German, my translation)

> But it's a pity that people want to stay here after their studies. Well, I think it's a pity. I think when you have graduated you get a few years of work experience and then you go back and you can really do something. You can help many people. Your country will benefit. We have to change the system at some point.' (Ms. O, original text in German, my translation)

My Cameroonian interview partners are also very aware of the underlying political conditions for their diaspora practices. They criticise (institutional) racism in Germany, uncooperative behaviour of the Cameroonian government, unequal international power relations as well as the structural adjustment programmes of the 1990s which caused the privatisation of public goods and services and made money transfers to Cameroon necessary in the first place.

I argue that the international governmental discourse and the discursive production of German and Cameroonian state institutions can be considered as depoliticising inasmuch as they actively ignore questions related to social and international power relations.[13] Following the anthropologist James Ferguson this phenomenon could be described as a double 'Anti-Politics Machine' (Ferguson 1994). First of all, in development discourse structural causes for the unequal distribution of poverty and wealth remain mostly unnamed. Secondly, by linking migration with the topic of 'development' the phenomenon is almost exclusively discussed from the vantage point of national or individual benefit. As a consequence, other highly political questions related to migration like the legitimacy of the filtering, control, and management of international mobility by nation states or the often precarious conditions in which migrants cross borders, live, and work are rarely discussed in the migration and development paradigm.

As 'development' remains undefined in the migration&development apparatus the term is used in various ways: the international governmental discourse and German state institutions

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13The international discourse and German development institutions touch political questions when they criticise corruption and bad governance in Africa. However, by suggesting that the solutions to these problems lie first and foremost in Africa they depoliticise the role of Western governments in this context – such as the long-term economic, political, and military cooperation with corrupt governments. That political action and change within Western societies is needed in order to improve the living conditions for societies in the Global South lies beyond the utterable.

construct 'development' as a project beyond political questions; the Cameroonian government understands 'development' as the opposite of diaspora interference into domestic politics; and some of my interview partners construe 'development' as a genuine political affair inasmuch as it involves the questioning of existing power relations.

In conclusion, the migration&development apparatus is composed of depoliticising and politicising elements, the former, given their material and discursive power crystallising in state institutions, clearly outweighing the latter.

4.4 Dependency and Independency

The fourth contradiction in the migration&development apparatus consists in conflicting views on processes of interdependency. German state institutions conceptualise migrants as 'bridge builders' who establish long-term trade relations, knowledge networks, and social contacts between country of origin and destination (Centrum für Internationale Migration und Entwicklung (CIM) 2011, p.2). This is seen as beneficiary not only for Cameroon but also for Germany since returning experts and entrepreneurs are said to introduce German products to the Cameroonian market. German institutions, hence, welcome relations of economic, scientific, and social exchange established by migrants.

Three of my Cameroonian interview partners employ an analogy with regard to their ideal type of development cooperation which follows the self-help principle: 'give a man a fish and you feed him for a day; teach a man to fish and you feed him for a lifetime'.[14] This analogy and the narratives of several other interview partners express their scepticism towards policies which reproduce dependency of African countries on the Global North.

Thus, while German state institutions aim at stable exchange relationships (trade, knowledge, and social contacts) seen as beneficial for both sending and receiving countries, my interview partners judge these relationships as unequal and therefore seek for a future independent of these relationships. This desire for independence presents itself not only in their sceptical perspective on conventional development cooperation but also in their reservations about the involvement of development organisations with diaspora projects. Many of the interviewed Cameroonian migrants in Germany demand that development organisations should not be involved in the planning process of diaspora projects. Instead, development organisations should offer financial resources to pay diaspora activists for their engagement. Some of them even call for a general shift from conventional development cooperation to diaspora projects as a main instrument of development.

Those demands contradict the international governmental discourse which frames migrants as both development agents and development resources. Within this discourse we can find the assumption that states have to regulate migrants' practices in order to make them 'beneficial for development' and in order to prevent negative effects. An example is the effort of states to formalise remittance transfers. Informal money transfers are judged as inefficient, insecure, and threatening because they could be used for mere private consumption, money laundering or the funding of terrorism. Formalisation would improve remittance statistics seen as a precondition for the development of policies fostering the transformation of private transfers into gains for national economies. Additionally, formalisation would include remittance senders and receivers into the

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14 The proverb can be found in diverse English, German and French proverb collections and is usually ascribed to the Chinese philosopher Confucius. Others attribute it to the British author Anne Isabelle Thackeray Ritchie who has used a similar saying in a novel published in 1885. See http://www.phrases.org.uk/meanings/give-a-man-a-fish.html (29.4.2015).

international banking system. The idea is to 'bank the unbanked' and transform them into reliable and predictable bank clients who use all sorts of financial products to foster national development (Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) 2007a, p.7; Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) 2007b, p.10; Global Commission on International Migration 2005, p.27; European Commission 2005, p.21). From this we can conclude that according to the international discourse the governance of migrants' practices by states is essential to make migration and development work.

Although many of my Cameroonian interview partners are highly sceptical towards German development organisations and their understanding of development they speak the 'language of development' in order to successfully apply for funding that is provided by these organisations. According to the interviewees the number of Cameroonian associations in Germany has significantly increased since German institutions provide financial resources for diaspora projects. Most of my interview partners also reflect on the power dynamics between diaspora organisations and local populations in Cameroon. While some deal strategically with local partners in order to ensure the implementation of their own ideas, others believe that the decision-making power should lie with the local community.

> We people in the diaspora, our concept is the following: We provide the financial means, the material. We participate in the conceptualisation process, but the main concept is determined by the people who are there [in Cameroon]. […] because the people who are on the ground know the reality on the ground. We bring a bit of expertise, if they want expertise. Because the experts, it's them, not us. Because this is important and this is why this cooperation works (Mr. D., original text in German, my translation).

With regard to the influence of states on migrants' practices, the topic of colonialism is brought up by my Cameroonian interview partners. Some of them perceive continuity between prevailing development policies and European colonialism. They argue that development cooperation in Africa aims at enforcing European interests and access to natural resources. Besides, they argue that the image of black people who need the aid of white people within the conventional development paradigm reproduces the inferiority complex of the colonized. This creates in their view a passive recipient's attitude which leads to permanent dependency. In contrast, the international governmental discourse does not address colonial history as a possible factor for today's challenges in the field of migration and development. Neither do German or Cameroonian government institutions refer to the role of European colonialism.

Indirectly, however, the programme 'Business Ideas for Cameroon' established by the German Centre for International Migration and Development (CIM) ties in with postcolonial memory discourses in Cameroon. The programme is designed for migrants who would like to contribute as entrepreneurs to the development of Cameroon. CIM offers seminars and coaching on how to create a business and helps establishing contacts with potential business partners, investors and banks. In accordance with the international governmental discourse the programme promises a triple win situation: Not only migrants and their country of origin are said to benefit from the newly established businesses but also the German economy. Returned business owners are said to buy equipment 'made in Germany' and consequently create new markets for German companies in Cameroon.

The CIM website portrays a successful Cameroonian returnee who owns a plantation in Cameroon where he produces palm oil and other products. A photograph shows him cutting a tree with a chain saw. The text below the photograph reads: 'Nature and German technology: Mr X. at

work on his plantation'.[15] On the one hand, we can argue that this caption employs a stereotype with a long colonial and postcolonial history by linking nature with Africa and technology with Europe (Stielike 2013; Bendix 2013). On the other hand, we again find the idea that Cameroonian returnees use technology 'made in Germany'.

This idea ties in with the image of Germany as the 'country of technology' that is promoted in Cameroon, not only by German development cooperation but also by the German Embassy and the local branch of the institution representing German culture abroad called Goethe Institute. Collective memories of German colonialism in Cameroon are characterised by the myth that unlike French or British colonialism German occupation was beneficial for Cameroon because under German rule a railway network, bridges and roads were constructed. That some of these structures are still operating today is interpreted as evidence for the high quality of German engineering, which again nourishes the dream of many young Cameroonians to study engineering in Germany. The German Embassy and the Goethe Institute promote this image of Germany, for example by supporting the renovation of German colonial buildings and declaring this as cultural cooperation. Memories of colonial violence and the fact that German colonial infrastructure was based on forced labour are nearly absent from public discourse (Authaler 2011; Bach 2011). The German brewery 'Isenbeck'[16] which produces and sells beer in Cameroon refers to the myth of German engineering in its advertising.[17] Under the heading 'Serious, durable, safe...Confidence in the Germans' we see a photograph of the bridge across the Sanaga river which was constructed under German colonial rule in 1911.[18]

What can we conclude from the fact that development organisations call Cameroonian migrants 'bridge builders' between Germany and Cameroon, while 'the Germans' are collectively remembered as bridge builders in Cameroon and this myth is again used by German companies and institutions for advertising purposes? First of all, the latter practice trivialises German colonialism and its repercussions in Cameroon. German institutions use the positive image of Germany in Cameroon to promote their own interests instead of thoroughly reflecting on the long-term effects of colonialism. Secondly, the mode of subject formation of migrants as 'bridge builders' reveals a one-sided focus on their role as intermediaries between sending and receiving country.[19] Thus, two questions remain unconsidered: What is the impact of the historically evolved power relations between Cameroon and Germany for the practices of Cameroonian migrants today? What are the benefits and disadvantages for migrants positioned in the in-between by the discursive subject formation as 'bridge builders'? That some migrants seem to prefer independence from the involvement of development organisations rather than further beneficiary exchange relationships between sending and receiving country contradicts the perspectives of the international governmental discourse and the German and Cameroonian state institutions.

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15 http://www.geschaeftsideen-fuer-entwicklung.de/die-laender/kamerun/gerald-tumnde/ (4.11.2014). I call the person Mr X. because his real name is not important for the argument.
16 Isenbeck belongs to the German beer brand Warsteiner.
17 http://www.isenbeck.de/html/06_international_kam.html (6.7.2015); Beunink 2006.
18 The French original says: 'Sérieux, durable, sûr...confiance aux allemands! Pont sur la Sanaga Construit par les Allemands. Depuis 1911. Take it easy. Isenbeck. Bière allemande, n'y a pas mieux!' The photograph of the advertisement was taken by Manuela Bauche in 2008 and can be found on http://www.freiburg-postkolonial.de/Seiten/fotos.htm (7.7.2015).
19 Intermediaries were also important figures in the colonial context. For more information on the role they played in Cameroon under German rule see (Schaper 2012).

5 Conclusion

In this paper I have focussed on the contradictions between the international governmental discourse on migration and development, the institutional practices of states and NGOs in the field, and the perspectives of migrants themselves. I have employed Michel Foucault's concept of apparatus to analyse migration and development as a network of discourses, practices, and modes of subjectivation. Using the example of Cameroonian migration to Germany I have argued that the migration&development apparatus is characterised by four major contradictory binaries: inclusion and exclusion, competence and incompetence, politicisation and depoliticisation, as well as dependency and independency.

The apparatus perspective allows us to study different elements of the migration-development nexus in their interconnectedness and to carve out the contradictions between and within these elements. The analysis of contradictions between international discourse, national institutions, and migrants' perspectives contributes in three ways to the research on migration and development. First of all, it prevents us from generalising the research findings on one element of the migration&development apparatus. Instead, it draws our attention to the various dimensions of migration and development and the often unequal power dynamics between them. Secondly, we become aware that migration and development is a network of elements which interact with each other. Changes in one of the elements, e.g. the international discourse, should not only be explained by changing dynamics in international politics or new insights from researchers and policy advisors but also by developments in national institutions or by individual and collective practices of migrants. Finally, confronting the various elements of the apparatus with each other opens our eyes to the possibility that the dominant discourse on migration and development could be completely different and that it could change considerably. It helps us to question seemingly secure knowledge on what migration and development is all about. The apparatus perspective can inspire us to think and research migration and development in different ways and new categories.

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