

LEGAL TRANSBORDER CRIME OF CHADIAN
IMMIGRANTS IN N'GAOUNDERE, GAROUA AND
MAROUA (CAMEROON) :

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LEGAL TRANSBORDER CRIME OF CHADIAN IMMIGRANTS IN N'GAOUNDERE, GAROUA AND MAROUA (CAMEROON):

Factors, Typology and Consequences

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Abstract

The relatively favorable North Cameroonian area in the Chadian basin is a factor conducive to migration in general and Chadian immigration in particular. This historical work presents individual and environmental characteristics of the legal crime of Chadian immigrants in three selected prisons, the types of anti-social acts carried out as well as the consequences of this phenomenon. In addition, analytical, systemic and diachronic methods were use. Thus, oral sources, penitentiary registers, electronic journal articles were used. The present study shows how illegal transborder immigrants considerably impede development. Because, they contribute to the increase of the violence and crime rates, these uncontrolled migrations constitute an important challenge not only for the countries of Central Africa but also many other poor countries in the world. This contribution shows that the evolution of the antisocial behavior of these immigrants is one of the consequences of the situation and context of postcolonial Cameroon.

Keywords: legal transborder crime, North Cameroon, prison, Chadian immigrants.

Introduction

The history of formation of state entities around the Lake Chad Basin is largely dependent on a preponderant geographical element: water. As we often say, water is life. However, even though this source of life is a natural product, some states are more privileged than others in terms of additional assets that they have. In that case, water becomes a major factor of immigration. It is for that reason that Fernand Braudel, together with the second generation of the School of the Annals, so rightly introduced geography as an element capable of transforming history and impacting the lives of individuals.

This geographical aspect has caused important migrations, which today are still visible through some of their salient features, namely the presence on both sides of the two state borders of various nationalities, cultural and linguistic similarities. The northern part of Cameroon, which shares the same borders with Chad has been an excellent bastion to welcome Chadian nationals before and after Western colonization. If migration of individuals aims to search for better living conditions, it is also true that sometimes, because of the very difficult living conditions in the host country, it degenerates and leads the people towards a search for survival means sometimes at the cost of their lives. It is certainly in this perspective that chief towns of North Cameroon register a significant number of foreigners among which are Chadians in their detention centers. This research paper therefore raises the issue of how disordered migration and transborder criminality by Chadian migrants in North Cameroon in general influence relationship and development in Cameroon and Chad. The work also focuses on some of the factors that influence criminal conducts of Chadian immigrants in North Cameroon in general and in Ngaoundere, Garoua and Maroua in particular as well as the typology and consequences of the criminal acts of this category of detainees.

The methodology used in this study follows two main sequences: the first is to explore written materials among which are primary sources such as penitentiary registers and then secondary sources. Apart from written literature, the study also made use of oral sources.

The second phase was the interpretation of written and oral data in a diachronic and systemic way. This study made recourse to multidisciplinary sources such as important geographical, sociological, criminological and legal materials. In order to keep the identities of detainees anonymous, numbers were assigned to them for each period considered.

This work will follow three major paths: first, it will discuss the factors behind Chadian immigrants' criminal conducts through a sociological study and an inventory of recorded crimes. Second, it will make use of diagrams to illustrate the typologies and patterns of these crimes and third, it will show the different levels of consequences of crimes in the society.

I. From Immigration to Criminal Opportunities in North Cameroon

In most cases, the decision by a foreigner to settle down in one country is fundamentally dependent on an environment that can satisfy the immigrant's expectations.

1. North Cameroon, a relatively privileged area for migration and immigration around the Chad Basin

Cameroon as a whole is praised in the world as a country proud of its political stability as compared to other states around the lake Chad Basin. It is because of that stability that, at a given moment, the socio-political crises and instabilities in Chad led to vast movements of the civilian population, first towards peripheral localities and later to city centers. This means that it is because of the political stability of Cameroon and instability in this bordering country that there is a massive presence of Chadians in Cameroon. Its northern part has hosted a large number of immigrants for decades.

Honore Mimche (2006) estimates that

“there are 40,000 Chadian refugees in Cameroon out of a total number of 60,000 of them living in North Cameroon in the year 2005¹”.

This massive presence is also justified by a highly significant sociological factor. In fact, North Cameroon shares ethnic groups² that are found in both countries.

Many studies conducted on Chadian migration in Cameroon show a total of three factors that fueled the massive migration from Chad to Cameroon: successive political crises that began in 1966, economic precariousness and the sociological element mentioned above. Gonne Bernard adds “The lack of cash, the imbalance between population and resources and then poverty”³.

When the above-mentioned factors and many more are combined to operate in a hostile north Cameroon environment, Elisabeth Murlock's theory of pre-disposing and motivating causes easily finds a favorable ground to prosper.

2. From Criminal opportunities to legal cross-border crime in Ngaoundere, Garoua and Maroua

From the data obtained from penitentiary registers, several factors explain the antisocial behavior of Chadian immigrants in North Cameroon. Among these, three are explained below: - poverty, and under-education and illiteracy.

¹ Honore Mimche, “When immigrants become indigene populations. Immigration and land ownership by Chadian refugees in north Cameroon”; international colloquium on asylum in sub saharian Africa and the Mediterranean; Ouagadougou, 05-07 June 2006.

² case of Kotoko, Toupouri, Moundang and Massa, that: Mokam David, (2005), calls "unifying people".

³ Bernard Gonne, Seasonal transborder movements of Chadian farm workers in the far-north of Cameroon; Second Research Days in social sciences, INRA SFER CIRAD, 2008. <http://sfer-12-2008.cirad.fr/content/download/2429/21222/file/A6%20-%20GONNE.pdf>.

2.1. Poverty

The *Growth and Employment Document Strategy* states that, “in 2007 in Cameroon, a household was considered poor if, on average, one adult from this household lived with less than 269 443 FCFA per year”⁴.

This “amount corresponds to a bare minimum necessary to satisfy the essential needs of an individual”⁵.

The fact that Chadian immigrants are considered as poor is acquired from the country of departure because, the sample from which this study was conducted⁶ reveals that, more than half of them come from rural areas of their country of origin; making up a total of 21 for a percentage of 61.76%. Because life in the countryside is sometimes characterized by lack of cash and the existence of precariousness, many take adventure hoping to find a better life. In this part of Cameroon where the poverty rate is very high as compared to that of the rest of the country, it is very difficult for these immigrants to secure decent job.

This poverty is also felt when one observes the motive for which the great majority is incarcerated: theft. Of the total number of 5862 (from 1960 to 2015) prisoners in the three prisons, 2950 are convicted of theft, with a percentage of about 50,32%. Unlike Souad Laroussi (1994, 178) for whom,

“Theft did not seem to be the main means towards satisfaction of essential, vital and basic needs, put aside to feed or to dress”⁷,

Theft in this case shows a material dissatisfaction for one’s survival. Moreover, compared to the other regions of Cameroon, the three northern regions studied in this paper are, according to the *Growth and Employment Strategy Document* (2009, 35), considered as,

“rural areas where the incidence of poverty is aggravated by almost 3 points”⁸.

2.2. Under-schooling and illiteracy

Education as a key to a professional opportunity and to open-mindedness in front of certain phenomena, is essential to have a certain standard of living. The table below shows the educational levels of Chadians incarcerated in the three prisons in relation to the Cameroonian education system.

Table 1: Number of Chadian prisoners per school level

Effectifs	6	/	7	5	/	9	5	2
Classes	Illiterates	Sil	CP	CE1	CE2	CM1	CM2	6 ^{ème}

⁴ (or 738 FCFA per day or 22 454FCFA per month).

⁵ D.S.C.E, reference document of the government action from 2010 to 2020, august 2009

⁶ 34 Chadian prisoners met in all three prisons during the investigation

⁷ Souad Laroussi,Zahar, Women criminality and social transformations in the Tunisian society. In: Cahiers de la Méditerranée, N°49, 1994.https://www.persee.fr/doc/camed_0395-9317_1994_num_49_1_1131.

⁸ Growth and employment strategy document

This table clearly shows the low level of education by Chadian inmates in these detention centers. Because most of them come from poor families in rural areas, access to education was not easy. With this very low level of education,

Marie-Andrée Proulx (2005) says that “the corresponding jobs are lowly paid⁹”.

Apart from employment, education opens the individual to a certain apprehension of social behavior. All in all, the factors listed below are a perfect illustration of Murlock's theory of predisposing and motivating causes. A thorough analyses of this theory, shows that under-education and illiteracy are predisposing causes and poverty a motivating factor to committing crimes.

3. Chronological inventory and sequential trend analysis

3.1. Inventory

Chart 1: Number of Chadians incarcerated in Ngaoundéré from 1960 to 2015

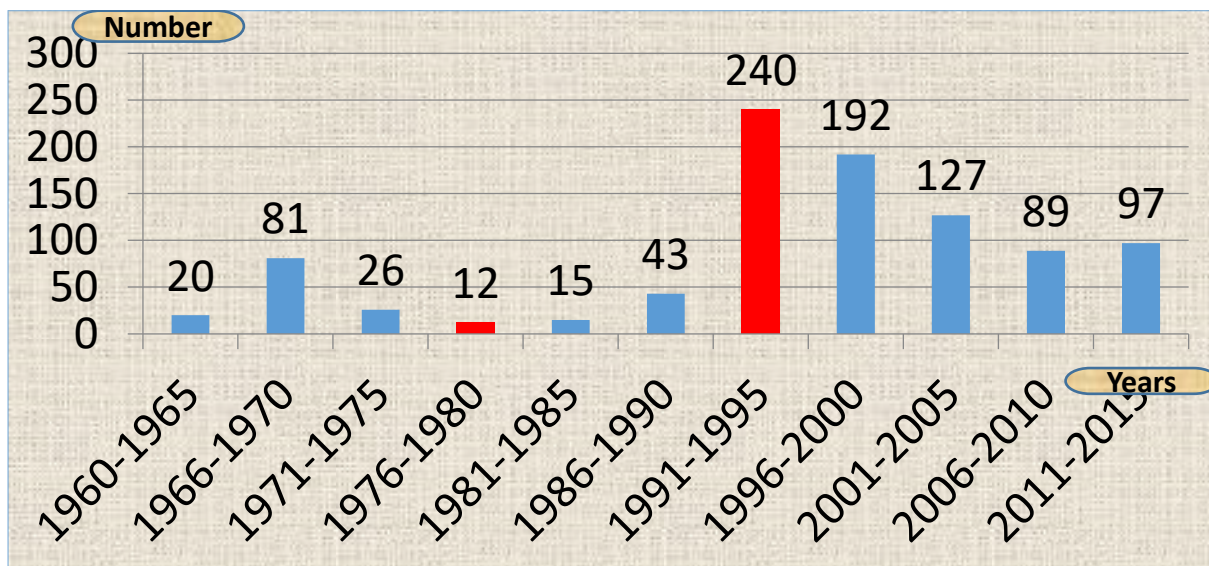


Chart 2: Number of Chadians incarcerated in Garoua from 1960 to 2015

⁹ Marie-Andrée Proulx, “Official increase in women criminality. Are they more delinquent now than before?”, http://www.asrsq.ca/fr/salle/portee-ouverte/0601/salle_por_060103.php.

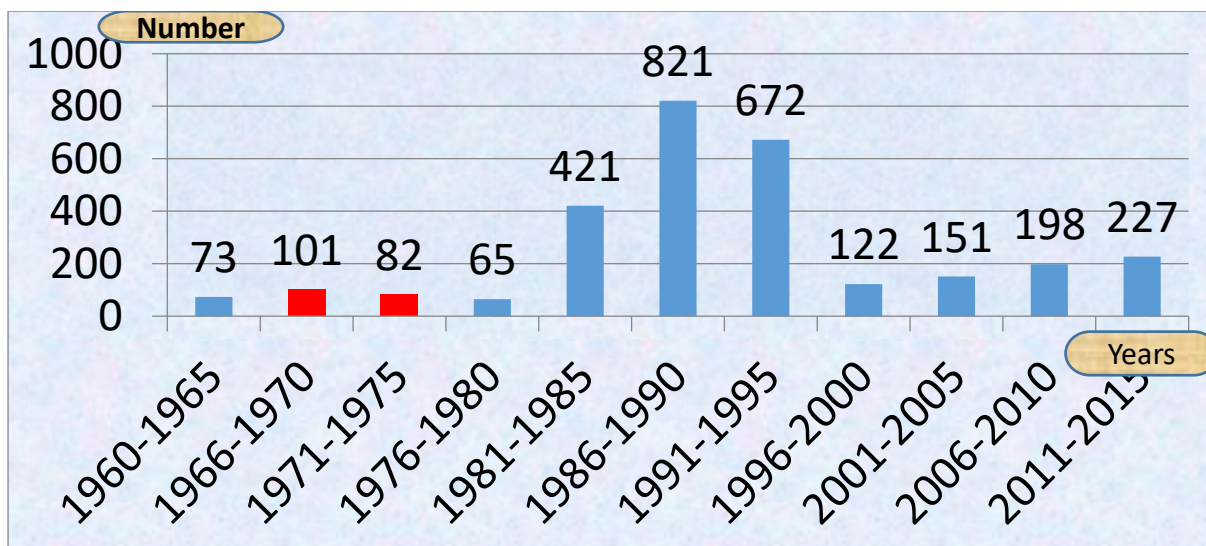
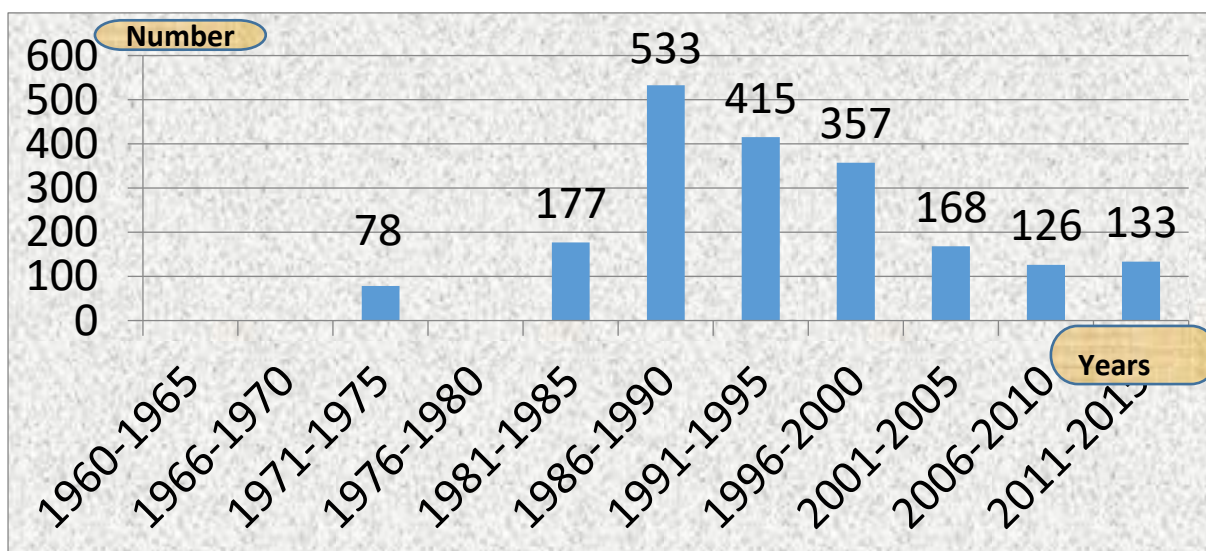


Chart 3: Number of Chadians incarcerated in Maroua from 1960 to 2015



3. 2. Sequential trend analysis

In most cases, the criminal conduct of foreigners in a host country is determined by local factors; even if other factors reflect the country of departure.

3.2.1. From 1960 to 1980

Because the three cities of our study share nearly identical characteristics with slight differences in the city of Ngaoundéré, we decided to consider the three as one entity throughout our analysis. However, some isolated cases will be individually and particularly studied.

It would have been more judicious to limit this first section of the study to the year 1983, but in view of what our graphs show, we will limit ourselves to the year 1980. In fact, from the independence to the present day, Cameroon has lived a political life marked by what Pierre Ela (2002,

27) called “constitutional dictatorship”¹⁰ under Ahmadou Ahidjo. During that period, Ngaoundere and Maroua were administrative units of the Grand North province with Garoua as its headquarters. These were later on balkanized in 1983 into three provinces. In view of the crises that the country was going through, Ahidjo decided, in a spirit of solidarity, to open the borders to the victims of war who were relocated in the cities of northern Cameroon, particularly the city of Garoua¹¹. Here, the district named Rounde Adjia reputed to be one with a large number of Chadian immigrants from the south of Chad. In Ahidjo's mind, the repatriation of these refugees had to be scheduled after the return to calm¹². Unfortunately, with the persistence of the crisis and accommodation to the new environment, many infiltrated the local population and gradually settled in other cities of Cameroon. For more security and guarantee, others developed a sense of citizenship in the host country.

In Chad, during the first years after independence, candidates for cross-border migration were limited because of the political stability that prevailed there. The limited number of incarcerated people on these charts during that period of time sufficiently supports the statements made. The start of a movement of discontentment against the regime of François NGARTHA TOMBALBAYE and the outbreak of civil war between Muslim northerners and Christian southerners from 1979 lays the foundation for a long and painful period marked by migrations of Chadian populations to northern Cameroon. For Roger Charles Evina (2009, 27),

”Under the Ahidjo regime, economic policy was highly interventionist so as to lay the foundation for the development of the country. There were favorable production potentials in the fields of livestock and agriculture, supported by oil exploitation which benefited Cameroon. That period was characterized by a long-term economic growth”¹³.

The years during this relatively calm political and economic climate did not record a large number of Chadians incarcerated in these prisons, as shown in the above graphs. After all, it should also be noted that in addition to the fact that Ahidjo was a son of this part of the country, the dictatorship that was prevalent could not provide a platform for an antisocial behavior by the Chadians. Nevertheless, if this first period did not experience, the incarceration of Chadians from the early 1980s to the end of the 20th century, the situation changed because new political actors arrived and a major turning point took place in the history of Cameroon.

¹⁰ Pierre Ela, *Negative files about Cameroon*, Paris, Pyramide Papyrus Presse, 2002

¹¹ Conversations with Dala-Ilou, Head prison warden and Chief of Bureau for administrative affairs and court registry in the Garoua central prison, in Garoua on 18 July 2016.

¹² Conversations with Dala-Ilou, Head prison warden and Chief of Bureau for administrative affairs and court registry in the Garoua central prison, in Garoua on 18 July 2016.

¹³ Roger Charles Evina, “Migrations in Cameroon: situation in 2009”; document prepared for the international organization of migrations. http://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/cameroun_profile_2009.pdf.

3.2.2. From 1980 to 2000

On the political level, Ahidjo, who resigned from the presidency on November 4, 1982, was replaced by his constitutional successor Paul Biya two days later. The number of provinces increased to 10 in 1983, with the Northern Province being divided into three, the north, Adamawa and the far north. The Center-south province was divided into two: the center and the south. The year 1990 was marked for Africa and Cameroon by the advent and establishment of democracy adopted by African states after the speech delivered by François Mitterrand at La Baule.

At the economic level, Cameroon experienced in the mid-eighties an economic crisis that led to an enormous debt, the fall in prices of commodity and the devaluation of the CFA Franc. At the social level, Evina held that, “There was a rapid population growth, increased poverty, poorly controlled urbanization”¹⁴, the privatization of public and parastatal enterprises, and so on.

Faced with this rather chaotic situation, a search for survival became essential for all. It was also in that same time range that there has been a rise in rural and urban crime in northern Cameroon with gangs of thugs causing unrests in villages. That was when high-way robbers whom, Claude Abe (2003, 3)¹⁵ and Saibou Issa (2001, 137) call respectively “Zargina” and “Songoobe”¹⁶ made their appearance.

Saibou Issa (2004) notes that “The resurgence of serious crimes very often coincides with difficult economic conditions and with the weakening of the authority of the State”¹⁷.

Considering these assertions, it seems plausible to hold that the number of Chadians shown in the graphs above is a perfect illustration of the phenomenon studied. It is worth noting that thefts which, during the first 20 years after independence, were carried out using knives have now been modernized, using modern weapons, thus becoming armed robberies. Of the three prisons, 16 cases of armed robbery were reported for that period, as against two for the first. Part of the reason for this modernization of armed robbery is the crises in Chad, which facilitated the circulation, use and trafficking of weapons of war.

The large number of Chadians in Garoua Central Prison and to some extent in Maroua is, in Dala-Ilou's opinion, due to the numerous raids organized by gendarme and police units in the city

¹⁴ Ibid, pp: 17-29.

¹⁵ Claude Abé, “Practice and how transborder crime is produced in central Africa: case study of the Zarguina”, APAD'S Bulletin, 2003. <https://journals.openedition.org/apad/201>

¹⁶ Saibou Issa, “Songoobe, unlawful bandits in northern Cameroon under the French administration”, Social Sciences Review Ngaoundere-Anthropos, vol 6, 2001.

¹⁷ Saibou Issa, “Ambush on the roads around the southern shores of Lac Chad”; African politics 2/2004 (N° 94), p. 82-104. URL. <https://www.cairn.info/revue-politique-africaine-2004-2-page-82.htm>.

and in surrounding localities. Their outings sometimes follow information from the population about an activity deemed dangerous, or the presence of a network of traffickers. During these outings, those nationals who did not have their national identity cards or foreigners without their residence permits, were kept under custody. Their release was then on the condition of payment of a bail fee. Failure to do so, they were remanded in custody or finally jailed.

3.2.3. From 2000 to 2015

The deployment of security forces against violent threats was realized on the field in 2002 with the creation of the Rapid Intervention Battalion (RIB), the increase of defense units, the supply of defense forces with transportation facilities. It was in this light that the primary mission of the RIB was the eradication of insecurity along the roads. Cameroon government's response has made it possible to significantly reduce criminality by Chadian immigrants both in cities and in the hinterland. The three graphs above provide information in this regard compared to the first two periods, the period from 2000 to 2015 recorded 82 cases of armed robbery; that is 5 times more than the previous period.

While the trend was clearly decreasing in the prisons of Ngaoundéré and Maroua up to the year 2000, that of Garoua on the other hand experienced a relatively significant increase. In addition, for all the three prisons, the last period is marked by an increase in Chadian criminality. As a matter of fact, since the beginning of 2010, Cameroon and precisely its northern part, is under a terrorist threat by the boko haram Islamic sect based in the states of Yobe, Adamawa and Bornu in Nigeria. The most dangerous threat in the far north was carried out on the Cameroonian territory by several Chadians. As a result, 10 Chadians were arrested by the Cameroon Defense Forces for financing terrorism and for actively taking part in the Islamic sect's acts.

II. A sociological study of Chadians incarcerated in the three prisons

4.1. Their profession

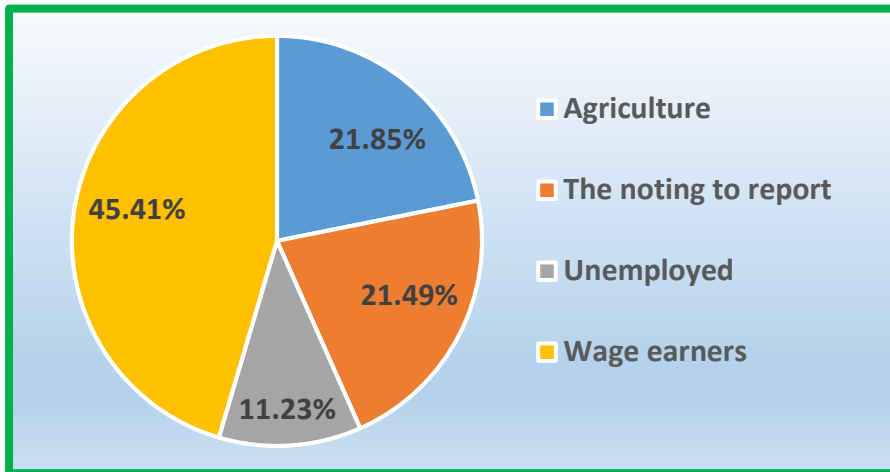
The fact that Chadians lived in a country where their arrival and settlement took place in an almost irregular situation did not allow them to engage in formal activities. This is the reason why most of them are engaged in informal jobs. Gigla in a study about Chadian women in the Far North of Cameroon concluded that,

“These women are involved in non-formal activities such as preparing and selling of a local drink known as “bil bil”.¹⁸

¹⁸ Gigla Garakchème, “Chadian owners of pubs and « dada bil bil’s shops » in the far north province of Cameroon: adaptation strategies and building up of a transborder recognized citizenship” ; international colloquium on asylum in sub saharian Africa and the Mediterranean; Ouagadougou, 06-08 june 2006. . https://www.codesria.org/IMG/pdf/GIGLA_GARAKCHEME.pdf.

The occupants are grouped into 4 categories: farmers, unemployed, the nothing to report (RAS), and wage earners. For each prison, we obtained the following statistics: N'Gaoundéré: (Agriculture = 7.59%); (RAS = 3.42%); (SP = 6.64%), and Wage Earners = 82.34%); Garoua (Agriculture = 29, 24%); (RAS = 47.72%); (SP = 17.46%) and Wage Earners = 5.57%) and Maroua (Agriculture = 28.73%, (SAR = 13.33%); (SP = 9.61%); Wage Earners = 48.32%). In total, the statistics are as shown in this graph.

Chart 4: Occupational status of Chadians incarcerated in the three prisons



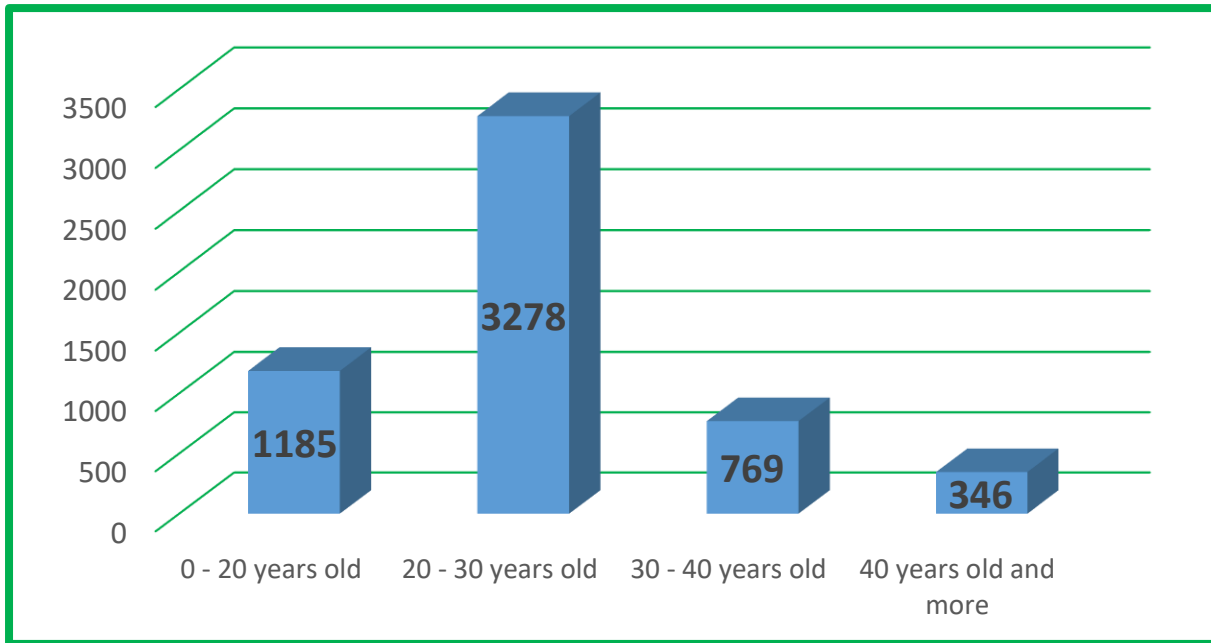
In the Wage Earners' category, we are concerned with those who do one job or the other with a monthly income, as well as those who manage with a temporary income activity. In that group are masons, carpenters, butchers, mechanics, tailors, welders, motor boys, drivers, motorcycle riders, painters, and so on.

The sociological composition of these Chadians gives the majority to men, with however a few women and minors. A total of 87 women are imprisoned, 36 in Garoua, 45 in Maroua and 6 in Ngaoundéré; against 500 minors in all three prisons.

4.2. The Age

The chart below shows the number of different age groups

Chart 5: Total number of Chadian immigrants per age group in the three prisons



The information on the chart above reveals the imbalance in the number for the age groups. Nevertheless, there is a common factor about the resemblance which exists for all the trends and in all the prisons considered. The age group from 20 to 30 is the most numerical group among the incarcerated, followed by 0 to 20 years. This is a clear indication about how young those Chadians are when they set out to migrate, and how many of them get involved in cross border criminality.

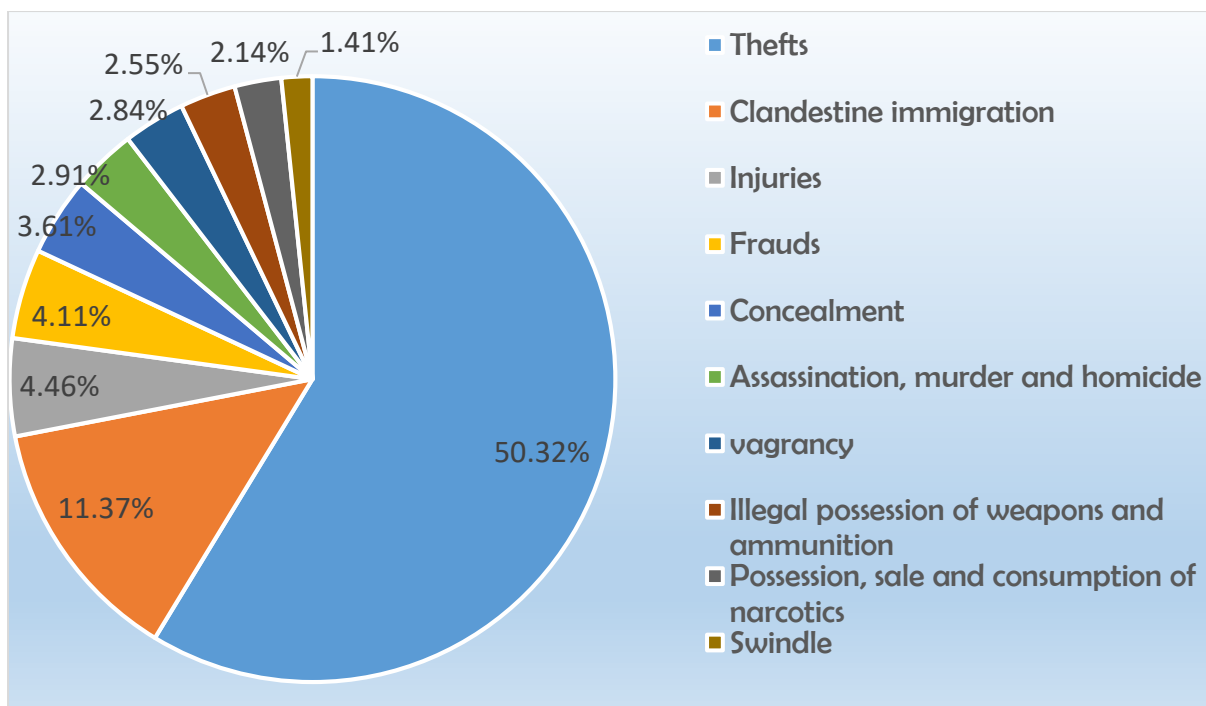
Beyond these aspects, the majority of Chadians incarcerated at the time of our survey were from the south of the Republic of Chad. The sociological composition of this country, reveals that the southern part of the country is mostly Christians and, despite the fact that the soil is fertile, poverty is commonplace. More of them come from Lere, Baybokoum, Moundou, Kelo, Pala, Bongor.

4.3. Number of Chadian immigrants incarcerated for illegal immigration

Cameroon is among the countries that do not have strict means of measuring and controlling migratory flows. According to the data obtained in all the prison registers, almost all Chadians who live in Cameroon are on an illegal basis. The reasons for this include the porosity of the borders, the hospitality of Cameroonians, and the corruption of the officials. As a result, there were 1036 illegal immigrants in Garoua, 657 in Maroua and 553 in Ngaoundéré. In all, 2,245 Chadian immigrants have committed various criminal acts.

I. Typology of antisocial activities by Chadian in N'gaoundéré, Garoua and Maroua

Chart 6: The various criminal acts carried out by the Chadian immigrants in the three cities.



The pie chart above reveals that theft is the most common offence in the prison considered in the chart. In the case of Maroua and Garoua, theft, illegal immigration, injuries and fraud, are common offences. However, for the three prisons, theft and clandestine immigration take first and second positions.

Altogether, the antisocial acts carried out by Chadian immigrants in North Cameroon and in Cameroon in general are of several types, while theft has highest record among them. Thus, the statistics of the offences is as follows: Theft 2950 (50.32%), Clandestine immigration 667 (11.37%), injuries 262 (4.46%), frauds 241 (4.11%), concealment 212 (3.61%), assassination, murder and homicide 171 (2.91%), illegal possession of weapons and ammunition 150 (2.55%), vagrancy 167 (2.84%), possession, sale and consumption of narcotics 126 (2.14%), swindle 83 (1.41%), fatal blows 45 (0.76%), insults 65 (1.10%), burglary 45 (0.76%), destruction 56 (0.95%), forgery and use of false documents 58 (0.98%), rebellion 21 (0.35%), threats 37 (0.62%), hunting in protected area 31 (0.52%), rape 25 (0.42%), lack of residence permit 33 (0.56%), false declarations 30 (0.51%), possession and / or re-use of counterfeit money 37 (0.63%), dangerous activities 26 (0.44%), armed robberies 13 (0.22%), arsons 19 (0.32%), violence 38 (0.64%), witchcraft 36 (0.61%), illegal detention of other people's properties 19 (0.32%), abduction 21 (0.35%), spying 2 (0.03%), escape 13 (0.22%), group looting 31 (0.52%), imposture 9 (0.15%), torture 1 (0.01%), pollution 2 (0.03%), smuggling 7 (0.11%), corruption 5 (0.08%), disorder 2 (0.03%), amercement 15 (0.25%), manufacture and sale of arki 6 (0.10%), smuggling and counterfeiting 10 (0.17%), charging high bride price 1 (0.01%), assault on vehicles and organized crime 8 (0.13%), hit and run driving 1 (0.01%), expiry of consular card 1 (0.01%), illegal practice of medicine 2 (0.03%), gambling 15 (0.25%),

failure to assist 1 (0.01%), obstruction to the use of public roads 2 (0.03%), misappropriation of public funds 14 (0.23%), lack of assistance to disabled persons 1 (0.01%), negligence during night watch 5 (0.08%), escape 6 (0.10%), arrest and sequestration 4 (0.06%), abandonment of marital home 1 (0.01%), lack of insurance 1 (0.01%), homosexuality 4 (0.06%), blackmail and slander 2 (0.03%), poaching 1 (0.01%), drunkenness and pu 3 (0.05%), act of terrorism 9 (0.15%), hostility towards fatherland 1 (0.01%), forced appropriation of hunting games 2 (0.03%), the nothing to report 19 (0.29%).

In all, 5862 offences were committed by the immigrants that we studied, and these offences have caused a great deal of damage to individuals and to the Cameroonian society.

II. Negative consequences of Cross-border Crimes and Incarceration

Cross-border crimes and incarceration are influence the society at various levels : the individual level, the country of departure level and the host country level.

1. Negative consequences at the individual level

The incarcerated in the prison is the first to suffer the sad experience of incarceration The incarcerated or imprisoned Chadian jeopardizes his chances of finding a certain type of employment in his environment. Moreover, the people in the areas where this study was conducted have a discriminatory attitude towards prisoners in general. That situation, to a certain extent, stigmatizes the immigrant and leads him either to recidivism or integration into a large network of criminals during the post-prison phase. The possible occurrence of these phenomena takes place at the end of an immigrant's prison terms.

2. Negative consequences at the level of the country of departure

In order to understand the effectiveness of the situation, we deemed it necessary to collect a sample of free Chadians living in the city of Ngaoundéré and who were involved in various activities, to demonstrate how the criminality and the incarceration of Chadian immigrants considerably influences development and contributes to Chad's GDP (Growth Development Product).

Table 2: Chadians living in Cameroon

Anonymous	Age	Profession	Sectors covered by transferred funds
Anonymous 1	27 years old	Tea sellers	Financing the construction of houses
Anonymous 2	30 years old	Tea sellers	Financing the construction of houses
Anonymous 3	43 years old	Wheel repairers	Food for parents and grandparents
Anonymous 4	27 years old	Self employed	/
Anonymous 5	32 years old	Self employed	/

Anonymous 6	29 years old	Hawkers	Paying younger brothers' school fees
Anonymous 7	41 years old	Drivers	Increase and diversification of business
Anonymous 8	32 years old	Drivers	Satisfying wedding expenditure
Anonymous 9	28 years old	Tea sellers	Tea Supply (âhдар)
Anonymous 10	29 years old	Tea sellers	Tea Supply (âhдар)
Anonymous 11	24 years old	Polishers	Minor family needs
Anonymous 12	20 years old	Caretakers	/
Anonymous 13	37 years old	Shopkeepers	Minor family needs
Anonymous 14	33 years old	Farmers	/

Illustrations from this sample are a clear proof of the contributions by Chadian immigrants living in Ngaoundéré to their country of origin. The interruption of these transfers of funds following incarceration certainly influences Chad's economy and society. The influence exerted by this situation on the country of departure is similar to the one felt at the level of the host country.

3. Negative consequences at the host country level

In the social field, incarceration reduces availability of manpower for certain activities such as agriculture, even if this activity is carried out illegally. But, this phenomenon has more obvious impacts on the economy. As already indicated, Chadians who are not incarcerated transfer funds to their country of origin. These transfers, which are effected by money transfer companies in Cameroon, bring much valuable foreign currency, through taxes levied. Moreover, their stay in North Cameroon, contributes to the economic development of the various cities through cash expenditures to meet every day needs such as food, health care, education and logistics.

Conclusion

The alarming findings of this study are that (1) inmate out of ten (10) is of Chadian nationality, especially after the 1980s. There are many reasons why there is a large number of Chadian inmates in northern Cameroon: its political stability, its hospitality towards foreigners, porosity of Cameroonians' borders' porosity, and the absence of effective and efficient management policy.

Faced with the challenges of sub-regional integration, which is strongly encouraged by the Central African States, is it necessary to remove all the countries' barriers and encourage living together, thus ignoring the notion of sovereignty and citizenship for an easy mobility of goods and

people, to the detriment of national identity? Faced with the evils of illegal immigration in France, Nicolas Sarkozy introduced during his five-year mandate a concept that he called “chosen immigration”. This measure has been criticized by many as being a means for closing its borders to foreigners, but on the other hand, it could be a measure to preserve national interests. In 1990, faced with a growing insecurity in the Chadian Basin, the Nigerian Senate asked President Olusegun Obasanjo to close the Nigerian borders with its neighbors, Cameroon and Chad. The main reason was to limit cross-border crime. Cameroon is surely called upon to play its major role as the main driving force for central African countries. But it is worth emphasizing that integration and threats to territorial integrity do not go together.

In this study, we have shown how many Chadian immigrants have contributed and are still contributing to insecurity in Cameroon in general.

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