

Decision to undertake Abroad Emigration among Cameroonians

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Abstract

Literature clearly shows that one of the relevant phenomena of this XXI century is the great mobility of people all over the world. Indeed, this century is particularly characterized by increasing international migration. The phenomenon has gone global as to become one of the major challenging fact by the planet. Migration is even seen as one of the main challenges of this third millennium. Cameroon, a Central African developing country, is not an exception to this phenomenon. In fact, migration flows have become intensive in recent years. The country is even known as a "country of immigration", a "country of emigration", and a "country of transit". The report of the 3rd Cameroon Household Survey (ECAM 3, 2007) and the one of the Survey on Employment and Informal Sector (EESI, 2005) suggest that, since the end of 2001, more than one out of each four households has had at least a migrant among its members (INS, 2008). To help a better orientation of migration policies and programs in Cameroon, this study aims at investigating the determinant factors in the decision to migrate. Based on data from ECAM 3 (2007), the study focuses on emigration in order to identify explanatory factors deciding it. It made the analysis of the profiles of the migrants through a factorial investigation as well as an explanatory one, using the logistic regression method. The findings suggested that the age of the migrant, the region of residence of the migrant, the household living standards, the migrant's level of education and the gender of the household head are, by descending order, the main factors that decide to migrate. The most important of the recommendations made at the end of this study consists on encouraging the socio-professional absorption of unemployed people, by increasing the support to employment programs among unemployed people, like the PAJER-U (Support Program for Rural and Urban Youth).

Keywords: International Emigration, Cameroon, decision making

Introduction

One of the relevant phenomena of this XXI century is the great mobility of people all over the world. Even if human being have always move from places to places, in search of a well-being they could not find in their native land, or searching knowledge or a cultural need, a dynamic analysis of migrations facilitates underlining the important increase of migration flows. In fact, this century is manly characterized by the intensification of migration flows at the international level. The phenomenon has gone global as to become one of the greatest issues of the world. Migration is even seen as one of the utmost challenges of this Third Millennium. In 2010, according to the National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS), the world included 241 million abroad migrants and 740 million domestic ones. 40 years ago, the world included less than the third of those figures. Given their economic, social, political and cultural dimensions, migrations are part of what can be qualified as «social texture of international relations» (Wihtol De Wenden, 2005).

Cameroon, a Central African developing country is not an exception to the general trend. Migration flows have latter becoming very intensive. Cameroon is even kwon as a «country of immigration», a «country of emigration» and, a «country of transit ». The findings of the 3rd Cameroon Household Survey (ECAM 3, 2007) stress on the importance of emigration in the whole country. More and more Cameroon households' members are leaving their places, due to economic, educational, familial, and other reasons. It can be seen that more than one out of four households have witness the emigration of at least one of their members since 2001.

Migration in Cameroon is not a recent phenomenon; it is rather an outcome of history, with both domestic and abroad destinations. Statistics on Migration, Globalization and Poverty¹ (2007) by the University of Sussex suggests that, during the 2000-2002 period, 48% of Cameroonian migrants were recorded in Africa, 38.8% in Europe, 8.9% in North America, 3.2% in Asia, and 0.2% in Latin American and the Caribbean countries.

In Cameroon, a migration policy to govern the entry and exit conditions of the national territory is being developed at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MINREX), and an observatory on the phenomenon was set up in 2010. In addition, there are some migration-related laws and conventions, including the Citizenship Act, the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women, the Conventions 143 and 147 of the ILO (International Labour Organisation) on the Rights of Migrant Workers.

Cameroonian society, as most African ones, is patriarchal² and patrilineal³, therefore, fathers and elder male relatives have more power and responsibility. Emigration, as many other phenomena, may be understood as part of a complex system of beliefs, norms, and socio-cultural representations arising from those systems. This society's burden may influence the process to take the decision to migrate. In fact, in African societies, generally when a decision is not subject to social control and group's approval, it is influenced by the gender status. This applies to spatial mobility, especially when relating to important distances since that, "given its relevance, migration is a key factor in Sub-Sahara African's Daly lives" (Dianka, 2007).

With all the above said, in order to contribute to a better orientation of migration policies and programs in Cameroon, this study aims at investigating the factors that determine the decision to migrate among Cameroonians involved in home and/or international emigration. It specifically aims at examining the role of the family solidarity and that of social connexions in the decision to migrate. More specifically, it aims at:

- Determining the characteristics of emigrants and therefore deduce their socio-economic and demographic profile according to individuals or groups that takes and/or further the decision to migrate;
- Identifying and prioritising the factors that further the decision to migrate.

This article includes three sections: a brief overview of the theories that further the decision to migrate (Section I), the methodology and data used (Section II), and the results (Section III).

I. Brief Overview of the Theories that Further the Decision to Migrate

Several theories have focused on the factors likely to explain migration as well as on how the decision to migrate is taken. They mainly stress on geographical, economic, sociological, political, gender and population approaches.

1.1. Geographical Approach

According to Bijak (2006), geographical theories of migration are based on the influence of distance on the decision to leave a place for another. "*Distance is viewed as a factor moderating the spatial interactions between regions, which include population flows*", he stated. Hamidou Koné (1997) shares this opinion when recalling researchers such as Stewart, Stouffer, and Warntz, who believe that migration follows Newtonian gravity model. According to them, the intensity or potential of the demographic attraction of a centre is proportional to its population, and inversely proportional to the square of the distance to be covered to reach the chosen place. This implies that the decision to migrate depends on the distance between the place they leave and the place they go to. A long distance requiring more resources (cost of transport, exchanges with family members, trip hazards...) tends to reduce the propensity to migrate.

1.2. Economic Approach

Neoclassical theory

This theory focuses on «*individuals acting as rational actors who decide to migrate on the base of calculations cost / benefit*» (Caselli et al, 2003). Therefore, migration is a personal act of somebody seeking to maximize his/her own income in a frame of a positive cost / benefits balance-ship related to transfer. According to this theory, human being is a kind of rational homo economicus.

¹ Development Research Centre on Migration

² patriarchal means the almost absolute regime or power of the father, and globally, of men in a community

³ a Patrilinearity refers to a family organization in which paternal authority is very important

In the microeconomic scheme, one of the conditions that lead some people to take the decision to migrate is human capital (education, experience, training, language skills, etc.) they constitute. This asset in human capital may be taken as an essential cultural aspect to an individual's decision to emigrate.

The New Economy of Migrations

This theory, recalled by Starko (1991) among other researchers, also focuses on the micro level. Nevertheless it doesn't suggest that the decision to migrate is taken by a person who act primarily by him/herself, it admits that people act collectively (especially within the household or family), to maximize the expected incomes, minimize risks and mitigate possible constraints linked to market failures.

Family Migration and Selectivity of Migration

To this theory may be added some extensions of the neoclassical schemes, to take into account the fact that most migrations involve not only the workers, but also the whole households. Caselli et al. (2003), recalling Jacob Mincer (1978), state that the differences between expected earnings by each member of the couple impact on family migration. This theory, for which family migration is based on the expected incomes, seems restricted, given that migration with children for instance presents much more economic constraints, at least in a very first step, when the migrant family is not yet economically and socially well settled.

Dual Labour Market Theory

The theory of dual labour market, which is a part of a global perspective, assumes that international migration mainly results from international forces that transcend individual choice and impose constraints. It results from a "*permanent demand for foreign workers, characteristic of the economic structure of developed countries*" (Caselli et al., 2003)).

Based on the economic approach, several studies (Agbo, 1993; Issa Kone, 1995; Fomekong, 2008) showed that the business situation and that of the household's head of Cameroonians migrants influence their decision to migrate.

1.3. Sociological Approach

Sociologists were the first involved in the study of migration, as demonstrated by Kone Issa (1995), on the base of Oberai's writings (1980). They therefore listed some factors likely to influence the decision to migrate. The said factors mainly include gender, ethnicity, and family size. In addition, they believe that psychological factors play a decisive role in the decision to migrate: "*Urban's brightnesses*" for example.

As economic theories of migration, sociological based theories recognize the important role played by the family, at three different levels: as a decisional unit, as an institution that supports the implementation of the migration project, and as an actor directly involved in migration. In this approach, migration often involves the family group and not only the worker, as stated by economic theory. At this level, the presence of cultural factors is much more explicit.

1.4. Political Approach

In the political view, international migration is considered an exchange of migrants between countries, which, through a transfer of jurisdiction, automatically change their citizenship. International migration is also linked to a fundamental tension between individual interests and the national interests of countries; the latter are organized to maximize their collective goals by controlling the entry and exit of individuals and their political status, through laws on citizenship and naturalization.

1.5. Gender Approach

Generated by feminist movements, the gender approach is the approach that tries to explain the differences between men and women through gender stereotypes and constraints. According to Hint Hourmat (2011), in the nineteen nineties, part of the very first studies on migration that integrated "women" was based on a double postulate:

Firstly, according to the theory of gender based roles, women are expected to be rooted in their traditional tasks linked to domestic sphere, situation that reduces their mobility. Hint recalls the thesis of Tahdani and Todaro (1984), Pedraza (1991) and Kanaiaupuni (2000), who believe that men and women do not migrate under the same conditions. Female migration is very often based on social and cultural constraints.

It is supported and valued only when implemented in a socially acceptable context, contrary to male's one. Therefore, women may only migrate within the process of family reunification; just following their husbands, with the role of dependent and passive migrants.

Secondly, the workforce demand in the labour market, as well as male contacts in the public sphere, is likely to facilitate male migration. In fact, male migration has long inhibited female's one, due to the patriarchal nature of almost all African societies.

Given the complementarity of the various approaches, this study prioritises the multidisciplinary and systemic approach. It then opts for the combination of the various approaches developed by economists and those set up by sociologists, so that to take into account the economic, social and cultural factors when explaining the decision to migrate.

1.6. Demographic Approach

The demographic approach assumes that the decision to migrate depends on both socio-demographic characteristics of the migrant and those of his/her household. Therefore, several studies (Ilboudo, 1989; Agbo, 1993; Hamidou Koné, 1997; Zourkaleini 2004; Comoé, 2007) include among the main demographic factors that explain the decision to migrate, age and gender of the migrant or household head as well as the household's size. In short, very few studies on migration have exclusively focused on the decision to migrate.

II. Conceptual and Methodological Aspects

2.1. Hypothesis

The main hypothesis of this study is: modelled by the context of residence, socio-cultural, demographic and economic characteristics of the household or the household head, as well as individual characteristics of the candidate for migration influence the decision to migrate on basis of several reasons:

- The context of residence here means region of residence;
- Demographic and economic characteristics of the household are respectively measured by the household's size and standard of living
- Socio-cultural, demographic and economic characteristics of the household head respectively mean religion and level of education, gender and occupational status;
- The migrant's individual characteristics are based on gender, age and educational level.
- Decision making means the ability for an individual to decide on a fact. In this study, we try to identify the implication of the migrants, of their parents or social connexions in the decision to leave their previous place of residence. Defined through a person or a group that takes the decision to migrate, it includes three modalities:

Modality 1: The decision to migrate is taken by the migrant him/herself

Modality 2: The decision to migrate is taken by their parents (the householder alone or with other members of the household, or relatives living outside the household)

Modality 3: The decision to migrate is taken by a person living abroad, the employer or any other person no member of any of the already mentioned categories. This modality makes possible the assessment of the involvement of social connexions in the decision to migrate.

- The motive of migration refers to the reasons justifying the decision of a person to migrate. This motivation can be economic (employment, job seeking), family (problem in the household, following or joining the family, seeking autonomy), educational (studies, training) or others (health problems, other reasons).

Five hypotheses are analyzed here:

Hypothesis 1

The region of residence influences the decision to leave a place. Given the opportunities they present and the contacts they may have abroad, people leaving Yaoundé / Douala regions are more likely than those of other regions to have the decision taken by a third rather than by a parent.

Hypothesis 2

Items related to the human capital of the individual or of the household, the standard of living of the household as well as the migrant's education and that of the household head influence the decision to migrate.

The lower is the household standard of living, the higher is the migrant likely to let a parent take the decision for him/her, compared with migrants in households with an average or high standard of living who are more likely to take the decision by themselves or benefit from social connexions. As solutions to the problems they face, poor households may think that migration could be a strategic solution for the needed welfare.

Moreover, given the unemployment youth are facing, educated migrants expecting better pasture elsewhere are more likely to benefit from social connexions (employers, relatives abroad) in their decision to migrate compared with uneducated ones (education facilitates perform a job, provides a degree of reflection, offers more opportunities, and may increase assets). Likewise, the more the household head is educated, the more their parents are involved in the decision to migrate (an educated household head may have some information or contacts that make him/her decide undertaking migration of a member of the household) .

Hypothesis 3

The decision to migrate depends on the gender of both household head and the migrant. Men are more likely to take their own decision to migrate by themselves, than women. Likewise, migrants whose household is headed by male are more likely to decide by themselves to migrate than to expect a parent decide for them. This is due to the fact that more often, men are more active than women, and their job may give them autonomy when taking the decision to migrate.

Hypothesis 4

The household' size influences the decision to migrate. Parents are more involved in the decision to migrate in persons from smaller size households than in those from larger size households; the latter rather benefit from social connexions in their decision to migrate. In fact, the possibilities of discussion among members of smaller size households increase the power of the family when taking decision.

Hypothesis 5

The age of the migrant influences the decision to migrate. The level of involvement of social connexions in the decision to migrate increases with the age of the migrants. In fact, the elder migrants are more mature, they have more experience; therefore, they are more likely to have contacts abroad, contrary to young ones.

2.2. Data used and Limitations

To verify the above assumptions, data of the 3rd Cameroon Household Survey (ECAM3), conducted in 2007, are used. The said survey was conducted in the framework of a series of data collection operations organized in recent years by the State, through the National Institute of Statistics (INS). It focused on the populations' living conditions, attempting to draw the poverty profile of the citizens.

ECAM3 was stressed on international migration in households over the past six years prior to the survey (2001 - 2007). A total of 424 emigrants were identified.

However, the data present some weaknesses for the analysis of migration. In fact, the ECAM3 "Migration and Mobility" Section is very restricted; allowing only very restricted information on migrants. Other important items could make possible further analysis. The needed data include ethnic origin, marital status, employment status of people who migrate. In fact, the studies on migration in Cameroon (Kone, 1997; Mimche, 2007) showed the influence of ethnic and religion on the migratory behaviours.

Furthermore, the fact that the questionnaires were answered by migrants' household members and not by the migrants themselves (already abroad) may slant the data and therefore questions the reliability of the answers.

It should be also noted that, given the extent of the reference period of the survey (the last 6 years prior to data collection), some features may have changed. It's the case of features concerning households and household's head, which may have changed between the moment they migrate and the moment data were collected. In fact, the migrants' features are taken when they leave the place, while those of the household are taken when collecting data.

Nevertheless, in the whole, the data used are of good quality and the few limitations mentioned do not damage the reliability of the outcomes.

2.3. Analytical Methods

Given the objectives of this study, a descriptive analysis by means of a factor analysis is used to determine the characteristics and draw the migrants' profile, based on autonomy, parental and social connexions incidence in the decision to migrate. Then, a rather explanatory analysis by means of a logistic regression model is used to identify the determinant factors of the decision to migrate.

III. Main Outcomes

3.1. Characteristics and Profile of Migrants According to the Person or Group that takes the Decision to Migrate

The first factorial plan from the MCA outcomes (figure 1) points up three categories of migrants: those who autonomously take the decision to leave, those whose decision to migrate is taken by their parents and those whose decision to migrate depends on social connexions.

Migrants who autonomously decide to leave come from low or medium standard of living households, headed by Christians, and with at least secondary school education. They had at least the secondary school education and lived in urban areas when they left, especially in Yaoundé / Douala areas. They are migrants aged 25 – 34 years, who left their places for economic reasons.

Migrants whose decision to migrate is taken by parents are from households headed by a believer, who is neither Muslim nor Christian, with a primary education level. They had the primary school level, and lived out of Yaoundé / Douala when they lived the country. These are less than 25 years old, who migrated for family or educational reasons.

The group of migrants whose decision to migrate is taken by social connexions include people with no education, no less than 35 years old, and who did not migrate for economic, educational, or family reasons, mainly for health related issues.

3.2. Factors Likely to Explain the Decision to Migrate

The results of the analysis of the multinomial logistic regression show six variables with a significant net impact, or likely to explain the decision to migrate. They include, in order of importance of the motivation to migrate, age of the migrant, his /her region of residence, the standard of living of the household, the level of education and gender of household head (Tables 1 and 3).

3.2.1. Role of Contextual Factors in the Decision to Migrate

With a contribution of 9.82% (Table 3), the region of residence is here the only contextual factor with a significant influence on the decision to migrate. According the outcomes, migrants from Yaoundé / Douala areas and those from other regions are respectively 77% and 83% less likely than those from the northern / eastern regions to take themselves the decision to migrate; the decision is not taken by their parents. Likewise, migrants from Yaoundé / Douala areas and those from other regions were 70% and 69% less likely than those from northern / eastern regions to have their decision to migrate taken by social connexions rather than by their parents. In other words, parents are more involved in decisions to migrate for migrants from the two major cities of the country.

In fact, the bivariate analysis between the area of residence and the reason to migrate (Table 2) shows that in Yaoundé / Douala areas are recorded the lowest proportion of individuals whose migration is not due to economic, education or family reasons (13% against 19% and 22% respectively in the northern / eastern and other regions). This may explain the fact that the decision to migrate is taken by a relative or a household member given that, whether migration for education or economic reasons and, to a lesser extent, for family ones, migrants are generally young and adolescents, under the authority of their parents or guardians who are most involved in the process.

3.2.2. Role of Factors Related to the Characteristics of the Household head or Household in the Decision to Migrate

The gender of the Household Head

The gender of the household head contributes in 2.35% to the decision to migrate. Migrants from households headed by women are 59% less likely than those from households headed by men to have the decision to migrate taken by social connexions rather than by the parents. In other words, parents are more involved in the decision to migrate when the household is headed by a woman than when it is headed by a man.

This outcome may be explained by the fact that, generally, women heading households live with people close to them (sons, daughters, nephews or other relatives) and are easily involved in decisions concerning them. Moreover, a study by Lloyd and Blanc (1996) suggests that women heading households invest more than men in their children, whether in terms of financial, time or affective support. The valid for these different areas of human capital, would be equally valid for investment in youth migration in households headed by women.

The Household's Standard of Living

The household's standard of living has a significant net effect on the decision to migrate, with a contribution of 4.26%. Migrants from low living standards households are 71 % less likely than those from the average standard of living households to have the decision to migrate taken by social connexions rather than by their parents. Whether the decision to migrate depends on relatives or on social connexions; there is no significant difference between migrants from average standard of living households and those from richest households. In other words, parents are much more involved in decisions to migrate when the household is poor than when it has an average or a high standard of living. This high involvement of parents in the decision to migrate among people from poor households may be due to the fact that, in these households, migration is often seen as a solution, a collective strategy. According to Caselli *et al.* (2003),

"For families living in rural areas of developing countries, migration might be a real economic and social strategy since that, to deal with the risks and uncertainties of the local economy, a family member is sent abroad".

Emigration standing as a survival strategy, families organizes themselves to bring a financial contribution to a relative to help him/her integrate a migratory chain. Every contributor thereby hopes benefit from remittances from emigrants (Barou, 2002).

3.2.2. Role of Factors Related to the Characteristics of the Migrant in the Decision to Migrate

Age of the Migrant

With a contribution of 17.55%, the age of the migrant has a significant influence in their decision to migrate. Migrants aged 25 - 34 years were 2.52 times more likely than those under 25 years old to take themselves the decision to migrate instead of letting their parents take it. This probability is even higher among migrants aged 35 years and above. In fact, they are 8.05 times more likely than migrants under 25 years old to decide by themselves to migrate, instead of letting their parents decide for them.

Likewise, migrants aged 25-34 years and those aged 35 years and above were respectively 1.08 and 8.81 times more likely than those under 25 years old to let the decision to migrate taken by connexions instead of by their parents.

In short, the higher is the age of the migrant, the more autonomous he/she is in the decision to migrate. Likewise, the level of involvement of social connexions in the decision to migrate increases with the age of the migrants. On the contrary, as the age of the migrant increases, the involvement of the parents in the decision to migrate decreases, due to the maturity of the migrant and his/her personal initiative. This outcome may be explained by the fact that, unlike older applicants for migration, who are more independent, have more professional experience, and more connexions that put them in a migratory chain, most of young people under 25 years are minors who are still living under the parental authority and, therefore, are less autonomous in regard to the decision to migrate.

The Level of Education of Migrants

The level of education has a significant net influence on the decision to migrate. Its contribution is 3.18%. The outcomes of the analysis show that migrants without any education were 74% less likely than those with secondary or higher education to have the decision to migrate taken by social connexions instead of by their parents.

No significant difference was observed between migrants with primary education and those with secondary or higher education. In other words, the higher is the level of education of migrant, the greater is the probability that non family members be involved in the decision to migrate instead of their parents.

This high involvement of the connexions in the decision to migrate among educated people may be explained by the fact that education, a relevant factor of acculturation, provides skills and cultural awareness (through the degree of modernity) that can facilitate not only access to information in many areas and grant possibilities of actions to educated people, but can also give them some autonomy when taking a decision. Education through this cultural openness may also extend the relations connexions for educated people. On the contrary, the lack of education reduces the degree of analysis and openness toward some horizons, and therefore limiting the illiterate connexions. The lack of knowledge and cultural openness is more favourable to dependence towards the relatives. As Agbo says (1993), «*Education is one of the relevant determinants of migration.*» Therefore, given that more educated people may maintain more effective and strategic contacts abroad, it is possible to understand why a non relative, mainly a person abroad is more likely than parents to decide the migration of educated people.

Moreover, given that education increases the chances of access to activities, especially in the formal sector, this may justify the high involvement of non-relatives in the decision to migrate among educated people; a non familiar person in this case may be the employers.

The Reason to Migrate

The reason to migrate influences the decision to do it. This is the very first factor with a contribution of 41.52%. The outcomes show that people who migrate for economic reasons and those who migrate for family reasons are respectively 3.91 and 1.19 times more likely than those who migrate for educational reason to take themselves the decision to migrate, instead of letting their relatives take it. The outcomes also show that people who migrate for reasons other than economic and family ones are 17.29 times more likely than those who migrate for educational reasons to have the decision to migrate taken by non family members than by family members.

Autonomy in the decision to migrate among people who migrate for economic reasons may be the case of those already working before emigrating, and who are expected to dedicate in the business elsewhere; and this can be explained by the fact that they are financially independent.

The fact that migrants for family reasons have more probability to freely take the decision to migrate may be especially the case of those who leave to seek autonomy. They therefore seek, not only both financial and social independence, but also to assert themselves, and to free themselves from family pressure and social control. In may also be the case of those who migrate as a result of troubles in their family, and the fact of leaving might be considered as a way to put an end at the situation, and seek happiness elsewhere.

The high involvement of non family members in the decision to migrate among people who migrate, no for economic, family or education reasons may include medical evacuation of some workers supported by their employer, the latter being more involved in the decision to leave.

Conclusion

The importance of migration in Africa has resulted in an increase and diversification of migratory flows. Bearing this in mind, this research has focused on international migration from Cameroon, and particularly on the process to take the decision to leave. This study had the objective to seek the factors likely to explain the decision to emigrate from Cameroon to a foreign country, and particular stressing on the analysis of the role of family solidarity and social connexions in the decision to migrate. To achieve this objective, we used data from the 3rd Cameroon Household Survey (ECAM3), conducted in 2007.

At the descriptive level, factorial analysis was used to determine the characteristics and to derive the socio-economic and demographic profile of Cameroonian migrating abroad according to the person or group who takes the decision to migrate, namely:

People who can autonomously decide to migrate: they are from households with low or average standards of living, headed by Christians, with at least a secondary education level. They had at least a secondary education level and before migrating, were living in urban areas, and particularly in Yaoundé / Douala. They are 25 - 34 years old, migrating for economic reasons.

People whose decision to migrate was taken by their parents: they are from households headed neither by a Muslim nor by Christian, with primary education level. Before migrating, they had a primary education level, and lived in areas other than Yaoundé / Douala. They are less than 25 years old, migrating for family or educational reasons.

People whose decision to migrate depends on social connexions: This group consists of migrants without any education, less than 35 years old, and leaving for reasons other than economic, educational, or family ones, mainly for health reasons.

Thank to the multinomial logistic regression method, the explanatory analysis has identified six key factors in the decision to leave Cameroon. They include, by order of importance, migrants' age, their region of residence, the standard of living of their household, the migrants' education level, as well as the of household's head gender.

At the end of this study, the following recommendations are made:

At Scientific Level

- Organize qualitative surveys (individual and collective interviews), to allow further analysis, and then help to «interpret some unexpected outcomes" (Ghillione et al, 1985).
- Conduct multilevel studies to identify for instance the specificity of the residence context in explaining migration behaviours, particularly the environment and region of residence, which directly influence the decision to emigrate.

At Political Level

For a better migration policy aiming on one hand at retaining or returning migrants to the place of origin, and on the other hand, a chosen emigration and potentially profitable for their country (which here is Cameroon), it is essential to act, both on individual factors that influence the decision to migrate, and collective factors, because each of them regulates a particular type of mode when taking the decision. The "target groups" mainly include persons who migrate for economic reasons as well as migrants less than 25 years old. To this end, we recommend:

- The development of actions likely to facilitate the professional integration of working population and / or reintegration of migrants, in particular through the multiplication of support for youth programs such as PAJER-U (Support Programme for Rural and Urban Youth) set up by the State for almost 5 years, as well as the adoption of incentives measures for employment in order to mitigate brain drain;
- The creation of training centres for school droppers or uneducated people as well as the development of strategies for the retention of students in school systems, and therefore improve the level of education, to strengthen the autonomy of people in their decision to migrate;
- Development of promotional and enhancement of a positive image of Africa (e.g. in textbooks or through educational talks) to reduce the perception of the West as an El Dorado.

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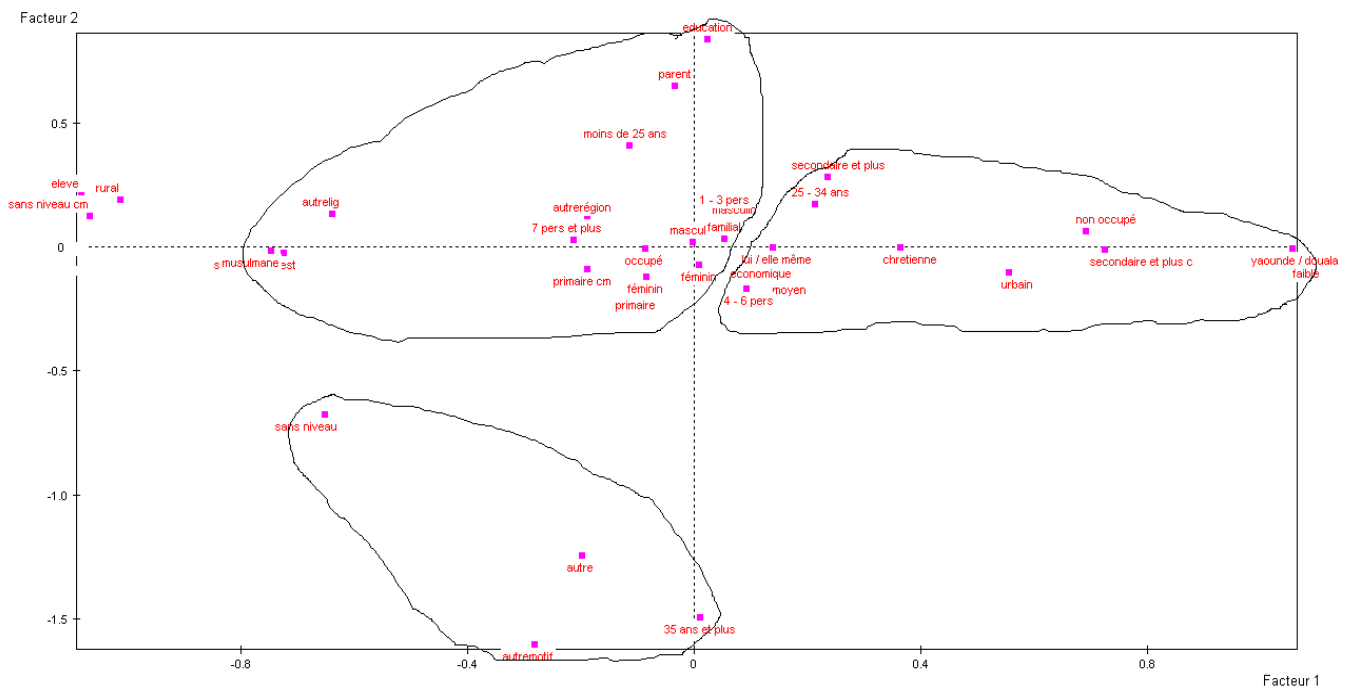
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Annexes

Graph 1: Projection of the Characteristics of International Migrants on the First Factorial Plan



Source: From ECAM 3 Data

Table 1: Multinomial Logistic Regression Outcomes: Relative Risks of the Decision to Migrate from Cameroon

Variables/Modalities	Odds-ratios	
	Decision taken by the migrants themselves compared to the decision taken by the parents	Decision taken by non family members (social connexions) compared to decision taken by parents
Region of residence ***		
Yaounde/Douala	0.23 ***	0.30 **
Northern /Eastern	Ref.	Ref.
Other regions	0,17 ***	0.31 **
HH Gender **		
Male	Ref.	Ref.
Female	0.98 NS	0.41 **
HH Religion *		
Christian	Ref.	Ref.
Muslim	0.51 *	0.60 NS
Other religions	0.40 NS	1.57 NS
HH Education Level ^{ns}		
No education at all	1.24 NS	2.61 *
Primary education	1.35 NS	1.30 NS
Secondary an above	Ref.	Ref.
HH Professional Situation ^{ns}		
Worker	Ref.	Ref.
Non-worker	1.60 NS	0.84 NS
Household standard of living **		
High	1.17 NS	0.66 NS
Middle	Ref.	Ref.
Low	0.49 *	0.29 ***
Household's size ^{ns}		
Small Size	Ref.	Ref.
Middle Size	1.15 NS	0.93 NS
High Size	0.57 *	0.52 NS
Migrant's Gender ^{ns}		
Male	Ref.	Ref.
Female	0.96 NS	0.71 NS
Migrant' Age ***		
Under 25 years old	Ref.	Ref.
25 – 34 Years old	3.52 ***	2.08 *
35 years old and above	9.05 ***	9.81 ***
Migrant's Education Level **		
No education	0.46 *	0.26 **
Primary	0.75 NS	0.76 NS
Secondary and above	Ref.	Ref.
Raison of migration***		
Economy	4.91 ***	1.72 NS
Education	Ref.	Ref.
Family	2.19 **	1.90 NS
Other reasons	1.19 NS	18.29 ***

Source: From ECAM3 Data ; Notes: *** = significant at 1 %, ** = significant at 5 %, * = significant at 10 %, ns = no significant.

Table 2: Repartition (%) of Migrants per Region of Residence when Migrating According to the Reason of Emigration

Region of residence of the person when migrating	Reason of migration				
	Economy	Education	Family	Other Reasons	Total
Yaounde/Douala	19.61	33.99	33.33	13.07	100
Northern /East	20.87	34.95	24.76	19.42	100
Other regions	31.25	23.44	23.44	21.87	100

Source: From ECAM3 Data.

Table 3: Contribution (in %) of Factors that Explain the Decision to Migrate

Position	Factor	Khi-2 of final model	Khi-2 without variable	Contribution (%)
1	Reason of migration	227.63	133.11	41.52
2	Age of the Migrant	227.63	187.68	17.55
3	Region of residence when migrating	227.63	205.27	9.82
4	Household's Standard of Living	227.63	217.94	4.26
5	Migrant's Level of Education	227.63	220.40	3.18
6	Household Head's gender	227.63	222.29	2.35

Source: From ECAM3 Data.