



ACP OBSERVATORY ON MIGRATION
OBSERVATOIRE ACP SUR LES MIGRATIONS
OBSERVATÓRIO ACP DAS MIGRAÇÕES

SHEDDING LIGHT ON THE SOUTH

Migrant profiles and the impact of migration on human development in Cameroon

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*Developing Capacities in
Migration Management*



ACP Observatory on Migration

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Foreword

Most people around the world migrate to improve their livelihood. Migrants from Cameroon do not seem to be an exception. In host countries, their jobs allow them to meet the needs of their families in Cameroon through important remittances. Data on these transfers is not always available and reliable, which hinders serious analysis of the impact of migration on development in the country. It seems undeniable that these remittances are the most tangible element of the relation between these two issues.

This study on the impact of South–South migration on human development in Cameroon, which aims to address data shortcomings through policymaking and planning recommendations, has been prepared by the Institute for Demographic Training and Research (IFORD), in collaboration with the Institute for Public Policy Research (ippr), the ACP Observatory on Migration, and with the financial support of the European Union, Switzerland and the UNFPA.

The study was conducted through an assessment of existing information and policies, by means of a literature review followed by an exploration of the role of South–South migration, both from a quantitative approach using individual questionnaires in households and a qualitative component using the interview technique. Being nationally representative, the sampling frame was derived, on the one hand, from data of the Third General Population and Housing Census (GPHC-3) carried out in 2005 and, on the other hand, from the Cameroon Household Survey (ECAM 3) carried out in 2007. In addition, this study is of great value during a crucial period for Cameroon, in which a policy on migration and development is being elaborated.

I would like to thank the ACP Observatory on Migration for the emphasis placed on this issue, which is also a national priority for the Government, due to the potential impact of human mobility on development strategies in Cameroon. Taking into account the lack of analytical models to capture the links between migration and development in a clear and operational way, this document promises to be a fundamental contribution to the understanding of South–South migration and its impact on development. I expect that this will strengthen the role of migration in Cameroonian development policies.

Mr. Felix Mbayu
Secretary-General
National Focal Point for Migration and
Development issues
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Abstract

The objective of this study is to contribute to a better understanding of South–South migration and its impact on human development in Cameroon. It was carried out through a literature review analysing existing information and policies, followed by an exploration of the role of South–South migration through interviews and a household survey. The quantitative household survey (1,235 households) covered all the 10 regions of the country, with special attention given to the two largest cities of Yaoundé and Douala. The qualitative survey completed and enriched the quantitative data collected through semi-structured interviews conducted in the city of Yaoundé with key stakeholders and resource persons, able to provide a clear understanding of the research question. The analysis shows that migrants are in their majority young adults and men. Most of the return migrants are from African countries. Similarly, Africa remains the first destination of Cameroonian emigrants. Over half of emigrants send remittances to their household in Cameroon and authorized money transfer agencies are the most commonly used means for sending funds. Households in Cameroon also send transfers and assistance to migrants abroad. The presence of a migrant abroad has a significant impact on food, health and education expenditure and savings as well as the participation of household members in the labour market. The results of the qualitative study show that the perception of the impacts of migration are diverse and may vary depending on the type of migration.

Keywords: *International migration, impacts, human development, Cameroon*

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Table of contents

List of abbreviations	xi
List of tables and figures	xiii
Executive summary	xvii
Résumé exécutif	xxi
Resumo ejecutivo	xxv
1. Introduction	1
2. Context of the study	7
2.1 General context of international migration in Cameroon	7
2.2 Sources of data on migration and development in Cameroon	12
3. Methodology	15
3.1 The quantitative survey	15
3.2 The qualitative survey	18
3.3 Definition of terms and concepts	18
4. International migration and development in Cameroon	21
4.1 International migration as an issue of political debate and development	21
4.2 Contribution of migrants to development	25
4.3 Migration and sociofamilial dynamics	30
5. International emigrants and their impacts on human development in Cameroon	35
5.1 Profile of absent migrants and reasons for migration	35
5.2 Consequences of emigration	42
5.3 Profile of absent migrants and amount of transfers	45
5.4 Impacts of emigration of household members and remittance transfers	50
6. International return migrants and their impact on human development in Cameroon	55
6.1 Profile of return migrants and reason for migration	55
6.2 Consequences of return migration	67
6.3 Impact of migration	72

7. International immigrants and their impact on human development in Cameroon.....	75
7.1 Profile of immigrants and reason for migration	75
7.2 Consequences of emigration.....	80
7.3 Impact of migration.....	81
8. Opinions on migration	87
8.1 Overview of the impact of migration on development.....	87
8.2 Perception of the impact of immigration on the quality of life.....	90
8.3 Perception of immigration impact on quality of life	91
8.4 Perception of the impact of refugees on the quality of life	93
8.5 Opinions on migration.....	94
8.6 Current policies and priority actions on migration and their impact on national life	97
9. Bibliography	99
10. Annexes.....	109

List of abbreviations

ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States
CEMAC	Communauté Économique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale (Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa)
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
ECAM	Enquête camerounaise auprès des Ménages (Cameroonian Household Survey)
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HH	Head of Household
IFORD	Institut de Formation et de Recherche démographiques (Institute for Training and Demographic Research)
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPPR	Institute for Public Policy Research
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
XAF	Central African CFA franc

List of tables and figures

Tables

- Table 5.1: Distribution (in %) of absent migrants by field of study in higher education and zone of residence
- Table 5.2: Distribution (in %) of absent migrants by relation to the head of the household and zone of residence
- Table 5.3: Distribution (in %) of absent migrants by year of departure and country of residence
- Table 5.4: Distribution (in %) of absent migrants by reason for departure and zone of residence
- Table 5.5: Average amount received from absent migrants by educational level (in XAF)
- Table 5.6: Average amount received from absent migrants by age group (in XAF)
- Table 5.7: Average amount received from absent migrants by sex (in XAF)
- Table 5.8: Amount received from absent migrants by year of departure (in XAF)
- Table 5.9: Distribution of absent migrants by frequency of sending money to the household surveyed and zone of residence
- Table 6.1: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by relationship to the head of the household
- Table 6.2: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by educational attainment
- Table 6.3: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by marital status
- Table 6.4: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by main activity before leaving Cameroon
- Table 6.5: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by sector of activity before leaving Cameroon
- Table 6.6: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by main activity abroad
- Table 6.7: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by occupation abroad
- Table 6.8: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by income abroad

- Table 6.9: Distribution (in %) of return migrants according to migrants' perception of their standard of living abroad, compared to that in Cameroon prior to migration
- Table 6.10: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by reason for departure
- Table 6.11: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by reason for return
- Table 6.12: Number of households that received funds from return migrants during their stay abroad
- Table 6.13: Distribution of return migrants by highest level of education/ qualifications received abroad
- Table 7.1: Distribution (in %) of immigrants by sex, age group, marital status and educational level
- Table 7.2: Distribution (in %) of respondents by main activity seven days prior to the survey and household standard of living
- Table 7.3: Distribution of respondents by reason for immigrating to Cameroon, the manner by which the first job was obtained and probable reason for leaving Cameroon
- Table 7.4: Distribution (in %) of respondents according to their children's residence
- Table 7.5: Distribution (in %) of the respondents by membership in associations/organizations, and the types of these associations/ organizations

Annex tables

- Table A1.1: Villages/quarters drawn by region, department, subdivision and canton
- Table A1.2: Distribution of the number of locality, the number of households by locality, number of research team by locality and number of days of study per study area
- Table A2.1: Number of households, immigrants, missing migrants, return migrants and response rate of households
- Table A3.1: Average exchange value of absent migrants with their households by area of current residence (in FCFA)

- Table A3.2: Value of exchange by absent migrant with his/her household during the last 12 months according to the area of current residence (in %)
- Table A3.3: Values of exchanges of absent migrants per household during the last 12 months depending on the area of current residence (in %)
- Table A3.4: Impact of migration of absent migrants on their household
- Table A4.1: Impacts of migration (return and absent) on monetary poverty
- Table A4.2: Impacts of migration (return and absent) on participation in the labor market
- Table A5.1: Distribution of immigrants according to their migration history (in %)
- Table A5.2: Impact of migration in Cameroon according to comparison between households with no migrant, households with all types of migrants, households with all types of migrant in the South and households with all types of migrants in the North
- Table A5.3: Impact of immigration in Cameroon according to comparison between households with no migrants and household with only immigrants
- Table A6.1: Distribution of respondents according to the reasons given for their perception of the impact of emigration on life in Cameroon
- Table A6.2: Distribution of respondents according to their perception of the influence of the refugee life in Cameroon
- Table A6.3: Distribution of respondents according to the reasons for their perception of the impact on the lives of refugees in Cameroon
- Table A6.4: Views of heads of household on life in Cameroon
- Table A6.5: Distribution of heads of household according to their views on the impact of migration on development
- Table A6.6: View of return migrants living in Cameroon
- Table A6.7: Distribution of heads of household surveyed according to their opinions about the actions that the government could take to ensure that migration has a greater impact on life in Cameroon

Figures

- Figure 4.1: Shipments of funds to and from Cameroon (2001–2010) (in USD)
- Figure 5.1: Distribution (in %) of missing migrants by age and country of residence
- Figure 5.2: Distribution of missing migrants by sex and residence (in %)
- Figure 5.3: Distribution (in %) of absent migrants by educational level and country of residence
- Figure 5.4: Distribution (in %) of absent migrants by current country of residence
- Figure 5.5: Distribution of absent migrants by remittance-sending behavior, by zone of residence (in %)
- Figure 5.6: Distribution of absent migrants by assistance-sending behaviour, by zone of residence
- Figure 5.7: Distribution (in %) of absent migrants by main method used to send money to the surveyed household
- Figure 6.1: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by age group
- Figure 6.2: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by sex
- Figure 6.3: Countries of destination of Cameroonian return migrants (in %)
- Figure 6.4: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by paid employment during the last stay abroad
- Figure 6.5: Percentage of return migrants who sent money from abroad to their households
- Figure 6.6: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by amount of repatriated funds
- Figure 6.7: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by approximate value of repatriated property
- Figure 8.1: Distribution (in %) of respondents by their perception of the impact of migration on quality of life in Cameroon
- Figure 8.2: Distribution (in %) of respondents according to their perception of the impact of immigration on quality of life in Cameroon
- Figure 8.3: Distribution (in %) of respondents according to their justification for their perception of the impact of immigration on life in Cameroon

Executive summary

Over the past decade, international interest and debate on the links between migration and development has increased considerably. Nevertheless, little is known about the concrete impacts of one on the other. This study contributes to understanding the impact of South–South migration on development in Cameroon. The findings of this nationally representative household survey and supplementary qualitative interviews will allow for increased consideration of migration in development planning.

Methodology

The research was carried out through a literature review, interviews and a household survey. The survey was conducted with members of households with and without migrants, covering all 10 regions of Cameroon with particular focus on its two largest cities, Yaoundé and Douala. A total of 82 localities (villages or quarters) and 1,235 randomly selected households were surveyed, which permitted the collection of sufficient and representative data at the national level to quantitatively assess the impact of migration on development. The survey obtained data on 1. immigrants: household members born in another country, who came to live in Cameroon; 2. absent migrants/emigrants: persons who usually lived in the household but left between August 2002 and the date of the survey, to live outside of Cameroon; 3. return migrants: household members who were born or stayed in Cameroon, but have lived in another country for three months or more. The quality of data was checked by data specialists.

A qualitative survey was used to enrich the quantitative data. Thus, 31 semi-structured interviews were conducted with key stakeholders and resource persons; and community organizations such as religious groups). In addition, interviews were conducted with 15 members of households. The data from all interviews were transcribed and analysed using the thematic-content analysis method.

Key findings

Emigration

The impact of emigration on the human development of both the migrants and their family members can be positive. This study highlights, for example, that households with a member living abroad spend more on education and food as well as having higher savings than those households with no members abroad.

For savings and food expenditure, the impact was more significant in the case of households with migrants in the North as opposed to those with migrants in the South. However, mobility to other countries in Africa has not affected self-employment of household members.

The study found that most emigrants (53%) included in the household survey are residing in African countries, and the four major destination countries are Nigeria, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea and Chad. After Africa, Europe is the second major region of destination of Cameroonians abroad (36.8%), followed distantly by America (6.5%) and Asia (3.2%).

Most emigrants are young adults. Close to nine out of ten Cameroonians abroad are less than 45 years of age. Migrants living in the South are relatively younger than those in the North. Indeed, the average age of absent migrants living in the South is 30.2 years as opposed to 33.8 years for those living in the North.

More Cameroonian men are migrating abroad than women. Indeed, in a total of 592 cases of absent migrants reported by the surveyed households, 60.9 per cent are men as opposed to only 39.1 per cent women.

The majority of emigrants have a secondary level education (53%) and 19.3 per cent have a higher level. The secondary and higher levels are much more represented among migrants to the North (59.6% and 29.5% against 47.6% and 11.1%).

The search for a stable job is the main reason for emigration (44% in the South and 47% in the North). Yet, 30% of emigrants to countries in the South leave for study purposes.

Fifty-three per cent of emigrants sent monetary remittances back to Cameroon in the last 12 months preceding the survey. The method of sending remittances varies by place of residence. Thus, migrants residing in the North are more likely to use authorized money transfer operators than migrants in the South (92.7% as opposed to 71.3%). Conversely, emigrants residing in the South are more likely to use informal channels (friends and relatives) for money transfers than those in the North (26% as opposed to 4.2%). Only 2.1 per cent of emigrants use banks to send money to their families.

Return migration

Eighty per cent of all return migrants in Cameroon are returning from the South. They are mostly men (78%), over 25 years of age (80%) and heads of households (59%). Regarding the impact of return migration on food expenditures in households, on the average, households with one or more returnees spend 3,443 CFA francs more than households without migrants. Also, the proportion of employees or self-employed individuals in households with South–South return migrants is 5 per cent and 5.8 per cent higher than in households without migrants.

Immigration

Immigrants to Cameroon are mostly male (61%), self-employed (43%) and live in households with low standard of living (36.2%). A significant proportion of immigrants stated security as a reason for migrating (36.2%) while 18.8 per cent and 17.1 per cent respectively said that it is the search for a stable job and to earn more money that motivated their migration to Cameroon.

Immigration does not seem to have any impact on the proportion of employees amongst the members of the household aged 12 years and above; on spending on education, on household savings in the last month, nor on spending on food for the household during the last week before the study. However, the presence of an immigrant in a household increases by 10.4 per cent the proportion of self-employed individuals and decreases monthly household expenditure on health.

Perceptions of migrants

The results of the qualitative study show that the perceptions of the impacts of migration are diverse and may vary depending on the type of migration. They reflect both the idea that migration can be an asset to the development of a country or society, but also the idea that migration can have negative effects on development.

Recommendations

A migration policy is currently under development in Cameroon. The findings of this study should be taken into consideration in this regard, including the South–South perspective, aspects related to the diasporas, gender disparities, facilitating the involvement of migrants in local development initiatives and the management of return migration.

The findings of the study highlight the need for migration policy and programmes that aim to:

1. Promote the role of the diaspora in local development through a framework of permanent consultations with the Cameroonian diaspora;
2. Reduce inequalities in food expenditures created by the northward and return migration;
3. Fight against dependency links created by remittances from migrants in the North;
4. Encourage households (with North and return migrants), who are managing to save, to invest in productive areas;
5. Encourage the free flow of people and goods in strict compliance with the laws of the Republic;
6. Establish a programme for the reintegration of returnees;
7. Establish thematic groups (working group by sector) in relation to the different areas of competence of migrants.

Résumé exécutif

L'intérêt et le débat quant aux liens entre migration et développement ont pris une ampleur considérable ces dernières années au niveau international. Néanmoins, les effets concrets de l'un sur l'autre restent méconnus. Cette étude a pour objectif de contribuer à une meilleure compréhension des migrations Sud-Sud et de leur impact sur le développement humain au Cameroun. Les résultats de cette enquête nationale représentative auprès des ménages et les résultats d'entretiens qualitatifs complémentaires permettront une prise en compte accrue des migrations dans la planification du développement.

Méthodologie

Cette recherche a été réalisée à travers d'une revue de littérature, d'entretiens et d'une enquête auprès des ménages. L'enquête a été menée auprès de membres de ménages avec et sans migrants, couvrant l'ensemble des 10 régions du Cameroun avec une singularité accordée aux deux plus grandes villes, Yaoundé et Douala. Un total de 1 235 ménages choisis au hasard dans 82 localités (villages ou quartiers) ont été interrogés, ce qui a permis la collecte de données suffisantes et représentatives au niveau national afin d'évaluer quantitativement l'impact des migrations sur le développement. L'enquête a obtenu des données sur 1. les immigrés : membres du ménage nés dans un autre pays, venus vivre au Cameroun ; 2. Les migrants/émigrants absents : personnes qui en général vivaient dans le ménage mais sont partis entre août 2002 et le moment de l'enquête, pour vivre en dehors du Cameroun ; 3. les migrants de retour : membres du ménage qui sont nés ou sont restés au Cameroun, mais qui ont vécu dans un autre pays pendant trois mois ou plus. La qualité des données a été vérifiée par des spécialistes en données.

Une enquête qualitative a permis de compléter et d'enrichir les données quantitatives. Ainsi, 31 entretiens semi-directifs ont été menés auprès des acteurs clés ou des personnes ressources. En outre, des entretiens ont été réalisés auprès de 15 membres de ménages. Les données de tous les entretiens ont été analysées à l'aide de la méthode d'analyse de contenu thématique.

Résultats principaux

Emigration

L'impact de l'émigration sur le développement humain des migrants et des membres de leurs familles peut être positif. Cette étude souligne, par exemple, que les ménages ayant un membre vivant à l'étranger dépensent plus pour l'éducation et la nourriture et ont une épargne plus élevée que les ménages sans migrants. Pour l'épargne et les dépenses d'alimentation, l'impact a été plus significatif dans le cas des ménages ayant des migrants au Nord par rapport à ceux ayant des migrants au Sud. Cependant, la mobilité vers d'autres pays d'Afrique n'a pas affecté l'auto-emploi des membres du ménage.

L'étude a montré que la plupart des émigrants (53 %) inclus dans l'enquête auprès des ménages résident dans des pays africains, les quatre principaux pays de destination étant le Nigeria, le Gabon, la Guinée Equatoriale et le Tchad. Après l'Afrique, c'est l'Europe qui est la deuxième région de destination des Camerounais à l'étranger (36,8 %), suivie de loin par l'Amérique (6,5 %) et l'Asie (3,2 %). La plupart des émigrants est composée de jeunes adultes. Près de neuf Camerounais à l'étranger sur dix ont moins de 45 ans. Les migrants vivant dans le Sud sont relativement plus jeunes que ceux vivant dans le Nord. En effet, l'âge moyen des migrants absents vivant au Sud est de 30,2 ans contre 33,8 ans pour ceux vivant au Nord.

Les hommes camerounais émigrent plus à l'étranger que les femmes. En effet, sur un total de 592 cas de migrants absents rapportés par l'enquête auprès des ménages, 60,9 % sont des hommes contre 39,1 % de femmes.

La majorité des émigrants ont une scolarité de niveau secondaire (53 %) et 19,3 % ont un niveau supérieur. Les niveaux secondaire et supérieur sont beaucoup plus représentés parmi les migrants vers le Nord (59,6 % et 29,5 % contre 47,6 % et 11,1 %). La recherche d'un emploi stable est la principale raison de l'émigration (44 % dans le Sud et 47 % dans le Nord). Néanmoins, 30 % des émigrés vers les pays du Sud partent pour étudier.

De plus, 53 % des émigrants ont transféré des fonds au Cameroun au cours des 12 mois précédant l'enquête. La méthode d'envoi de fonds varie selon le lieu de résidence. Ainsi, les migrants résidant dans le Nord sont plus susceptibles d'utiliser des opérateurs autorisés de transfert d'argent que les migrants du Sud (92,7 % contre 71,3 %). Inversement, les émigrés résidant dans le Sud sont plus susceptibles d'utiliser les canaux informels (amis et parents) pour les transferts d'argent que ceux dans le Nord (26 % contre 4,2 %). Seulement 2,1 % des émigrants ont recours aux banques pour envoyer de l'argent à leurs familles.

La migration de retour

L'enquête signale que 80 % de l'ensemble des migrants de retour au Cameroun reviennent du Sud. Ce sont surtout des hommes (78 %) de plus de 25 ans (80 %) et chefs de ménages (59 %). En ce qui concerne l'impact de la migration de retour sur les dépenses alimentaires des ménages, ceux ayant un ou plusieurs migrants de retour dépensent en moyenne 3 443 francs CFA de plus que les ménages sans migrant. En outre, la proportion de salariés ou de travailleurs indépendants dans les ménages avec migrants de retour du Sud est 5 % et 5,8 % plus élevée que celle des ménages sans migrant.

Immigration

Les immigrants au Cameroun sont majoritairement des hommes (61 %), auto-employés (43 %) et vivent dans des ménages à faible niveau de vie (36,2 %). Une proportion significative d'immigrants a cité la sécurité comme raison pour la migration (36,2 %), tandis que 18,8 % et 17,1 % ont déclaré respectivement que c'est la recherche d'un emploi stable et la volonté de gagner plus d'argent qui a motivé leur migration vers le Cameroun. L'immigration ne semble pas avoir d'impact sur la proportion d'employés parmi les membres du ménage âgés de 12 ans et plus, sur les dépenses d'éducation, sur l'épargne des ménages au cours du dernier mois, ni sur les dépenses de nourriture pour le ménage au cours de la dernière semaine avant l'étude. Néanmoins, la présence d'un immigrant dans un ménage augmente de 10,4 % la proportion de travailleurs indépendants et diminue les dépenses de santé mensuelles des ménages.

Perceptions des migrants

Les résultats de l'étude qualitative montrent que les perceptions de l'impact de la migration sont multiples et peuvent varier en fonction du type de migration. Ils reflètent l'idée que les migrations peuvent être un atout pour le développement d'un pays ou d'une société, mais également l'idée que la migration peut avoir des effets négatifs sur le développement.

Recommandations

Une politique migratoire est actuellement en cours de développement au Cameroun. Les résultats de cette étude devraient être pris en considération à cet égard, y compris la perspective Sud-Sud, les aspects liés aux diasporas et les disparités de genres, facilitant ainsi la participation des migrants dans les initiatives de développement local et la gestion de la migration de retour.

Les résultats de l'étude soulignent la nécessité de développer des politiques et des programmes migratoires qui visent à :

1. Promouvoir le rôle de la diaspora dans le développement local à travers un cadre de concertation permanente avec la diaspora camerounaise ;
2. Réduire les inégalités de dépenses alimentaires créées par la migration vers le Nord et la migration de retour ;
3. Lutter contre les liens de dépendance créés par les envois de fonds des migrants dans le Nord ;
4. Encourager les ménages (avec les migrants du Nord et de retour) qui arrivent à épargner à investir dans les secteurs productifs ;
5. Encourager la libre circulation des personnes et des biens dans le strict respect des lois de la République ;
6. Mettre en place un programme pour la réintégration des migrants de retour ;
7. Mettre en place des groupes thématiques (groupe de travail par secteur) en relation avec les différents domaines de compétence de migrants.

Resumo executivo

Ao longo da década passada, observou-se o aumento considerável do interesse e debate internacional em torno das ligações entre migração e desenvolvimento. Não obstante, pouco se conhece sobre o impacto concreto de uma sobre o outro. Este estudo contribui para compreender o impacto da migração Sul–Sul sobre o desenvolvimento nos Camarões. As conclusões deste inquérito aos agregados familiares representativo em termos nacionais e das entrevistas qualitativas suplementares permitirão aumentar a consideração da migração no planeamento do desenvolvimento.

Metodologia

A investigação foi levada a cabo através de uma revisão da literatura, entrevistas e um inquérito aos agregados familiares. O inquérito foi levado a cabo com os membros dos agregados familiares com e sem migrantes, abrangendo as 10 regiões dos Camarões com especial foco sobre as duas maiores cidades, Yaoundé e Douala. No total, submeteram-se a inquérito 82 localidades (vilas ou povoações) e 1.235 agregados familiares seleccionados aleatoriamente, o que permitiu a recolha de dados suficientes e representativos ao nível nacional para avaliar quantitativamente o impacto da migração sobre o desenvolvimento. O inquérito obteve dados sobre 1. imigrantes: membros do agregado familiar nascidos noutra país, que foram viver para os Camarões; 2. migrantes/emigrantes ausentes: pessoas que costumavam viver no agregado familiar, mas que partiram entre Agosto de 2002 e a data em que foi realizado o inquérito, para viver fora dos Camarões; 3. migrantes retornados: membros do agregado familiar que nasceram ou permaneceram nos Camarões, mas que viveram noutra país durante três meses ou mais. A qualidade dos dados foi verificada por especialistas em dados.

Foi utilizado um inquérito qualitativo para enriquecer os dados quantitativos. Assim, foram realizadas 31 entrevistas semi-estruturadas com os principais intervenientes e pessoas-recurso, bem como organizações comunitárias, tais como grupos religiosos). Para além disso, foram realizadas entrevistas com 15 membros de agregados familiares. Os dados de todas as entrevistas foram transcritos e analisados utilizando o método de análise de conteúdos temáticos.

Principais conclusões

Emigração

O impacto da emigração sobre o desenvolvimento humano dos migrantes e dos respectivos familiares pode ser positivo. Este estudo destaca, por exemplo, que os agregados familiares com um membro a viver no estrangeiro gastam mais no ensino e na alimentação e registam poupanças superiores às dos agregados familiares sem membros a viver no estrangeiro. Relativamente às poupanças e despesas de alimentação, o impacto foi mais significativo no caso dos agregados familiares com migrantes no Norte em oposição aos agregados familiares com migrantes no Sul. No entanto, a mobilidade para outros países em África não afectou o auto-emprego dos membros dos agregados familiares.

O estudo determinou que a maior parte dos emigrantes (53%) incluídos no inquérito aos agregados familiares reside em países Africanos e os quatro principais países de destino são a Nigéria, o Gabão, a Guiné Equatorial e o Chade. A seguir a África, a Europa é a segunda maior região de destino dos Camaroneses no estrangeiro (36,8%), seguida à distância da América (6,5%) e Ásia (3,2%). A maior parte dos emigrantes são jovens adultos. Cerca de nove em cada dez Camaroneses no estrangeiro têm menos de 45 anos de idade. Os migrantes que vivem no Sul são relativamente mais jovens do que os que vivem no Norte. De facto, a idade média dos migrantes ausentes que vivem no Sul corresponde a 30,2 anos em oposição a 33,8 anos para os que vivem no Norte.

Os homens Camaroneses migram mais para o estrangeiro do que as mulheres. Na verdade, num total de 592 casos de migrantes ausentes registados pelos agregados familiares sujeitos a inquérito, 60,9% são homens em oposição a apenas 39,1% que são mulheres.

A maior parte dos emigrantes têm um nível de ensino secundário (53%) e 19,3% têm um nível superior. Os níveis secundário e superior têm uma representação muito maior nos migrantes para o Norte (59,6% e 29,5% em oposição a 47,6% e 11,1%). A procura de um emprego estável é o principal motivo para emigrar (44% no Sul e 47% no Norte). No entanto, 30% dos emigrantes para países no Sul abandonam o país para estudar.

Cinquenta e três por cento dos emigrantes enviaram remessas monetárias para os Camarões nos 12 meses anteriores ao inquérito. O método de envio das remessas varia consoante o local de residência. Assim, os migrantes que residem no Norte têm maior probabilidade de utilizar operadores autorizados

de transferências monetárias do que os migrantes no Sul (92,7% em oposição a 71,3%). Do mesmo modo, os emigrantes residentes no Sul têm maior probabilidade de utilizar canais informais (amigos e familiares) para efectuar transferências monetárias do que os residentes no Norte (26% em oposição a 4,2%). Apenas 2,1% dos emigrantes utilizam os bancos para enviar dinheiro para as suas famílias.

Migração de regresso

Oitenta por cento de todos os migrantes retornados nos Camarões estão a regressar do Sul. São sobretudo homens (78%), com mais de 25 anos de idade (80%) e chefes de família (59%). Relativamente ao impacto da migração de regresso nas despesas com a alimentação dos agregados familiares, em média, os agregados familiares com um ou mais retornados gastam mais 3.443 francos CFA do que os agregados familiares sem migrantes.

Do mesmo modo, a proporção de funcionários ou trabalhadores independentes em agregados familiares com migrantes retornados Sul-Sul é 5% e 5,8% superior à dos agregados familiares sem migrantes.

Imigração

Os imigrantes para os Camarões são sobretudo homens (61%), trabalhadores independentes (43%) que vivem em agregados familiares com um baixo padrão de vida (36,2%). Uma proporção significativa de imigrantes referiram a segurança como motivo para migrar (36,2%) ao passo que 18,8% e 17,1% respectivamente referiram que foi a procura de um emprego estável e o desejo de ganhar mais dinheiro que motivaram a migração para os Camarões.

A imigração parece não ter impacto na proporção de funcionários entre os membros do agregado familiar com idade igual ou superior a 12 anos; nas despesas com o ensino, nas poupanças do agregado familiar no último mês nem nas despesas com alimentação do agregado familiar durante a última semana antes do estudo. No entanto, a presença de um imigrante num agregado familiar aumenta em 10,4% a proporção de trabalhadores independentes e reduz as despesas mensais de saúde do agregado familiar.

Percepções dos migrantes

Os resultados do estudo qualitativo demonstram que as percepções dos impactos da migração são diversas e podem variar dependendo do tipo de migração. Estes resultados reflectem a ideia de que a migração pode ser uma mais-valia para o desenvolvimento de um país ou de uma sociedade, mas também a ideia de que a migração pode ter efeitos negativos no desenvolvimento.

Recomendações

Está em curso o desenvolvimento de uma política de migração nos Camarões. As conclusões deste estudo devem ser consideradas, incluindo a perspectiva Sul-Sul, aspectos relacionados com as diásporas, disparidades de género, facilitando o envolvimento dos migrantes em iniciativas de desenvolvimento locais e a gestão da migração de regresso.

As conclusões do estudo destacam a necessidade de políticas e programas sobre a migração destinados a:

1. Promover o papel da diáspora no desenvolvimento local através de uma estrutura de consulta permanente da diáspora Camaronesa;
2. Reduzir as desigualdades nas despesas com a alimentação criadas pela migração para Norte e de regresso;
3. Combater as ligações de dependência criadas pelas remessas dos migrantes no Norte;
4. Incentivar os agregados familiares (com migrantes do Norte e de regresso), que conseguem poupar, a investir em áreas produtivas;
5. Incentivar a livre circulação de pessoas e bens em total conformidade com as leis da República;
6. Estabelecer um programa para a reintegração dos retornados;
7. Estabelecer grupos temáticos (grupo de trabalho por sector) relativamente às diferentes áreas de competência dos migrantes.

I. Introduction

The issue of migration and development has become an emerging theme in the international scene in recent years as a result of the importance given to it in political debates and due to the socioeconomic issues it covers. Analysis of the relationship between these two areas must be done within a framework of reciprocity, considering both the influence of migration flows on development on the one hand, and the consequences of migration resulting from the development of a country or region on the other. Migration can impact positively and/or negatively on development in both places of origin and destination. By inserting themselves into the labour market in places of destination, for example, migrants contribute to the creation and expansion of markets for goods and services; however, the pressure on the labour market and sociocultural impacts can be considered as major drawbacks. On the other hand, places of origin benefit from the transfer of funds and/or financial assets; the influx of knowledge and skills by migrants gained during their migration; and the changes made by migrants in improving good governance and the role of the law in the process of creating welfare and benefit-sharing. While there are gains, the loss of the most skilled and enterprising workers is generally observed in places of origin.

The contribution of migrants to the development of their countries of origin or destination is not systematic and depends on several parameters. Among others, it depends on the individual characteristics of migrants. Migrants are far from being a homogeneous group, both in terms of their geographic origin and their human potential for contribution to development. Indeed, migrants do not have the same intellectual capacity, job or cultural background; they do not travel under the same conditions or for the same reasons; and do not integrate in the same way and at the same rate in their respective host countries. At their departure, they do not enjoy the same social and institutional facilities. Upon arrival in the host society, they likewise do not enjoy the same social capital. Moreover, migrants often do not have the same status nor work in the same sector in their host countries as they did in their countries of origin. Involvement in the development of their origin or host country, therefore, widely varies among migrants.

Emigration also appears to be a form of demographic adjustment to living standards (by reducing the number of members) among low-income households. In these households, parents generally encourage their children to leave, because this reduces the size of the household (and thus the volume

of needs) and because they can expect to receive monetary assistance from their migrant children. If a leaver receives support from family and/or the community, a kind of moral debt also arises for which payment may come in any of various forms, among which are the transfer of funds, visits, participation in associations, the hosting of other migrants (to which the leaver has an obligation to facilitate the integration of), and providing parental care for those left back home.

In the case of money transfers, the link with development can only be correctly established if a distinction is made between the shares of transfers used as follows: spending on staples (food, education, clothing, basic health care, travel and rent, among others); more ostentatious spending; creating income-generating activities for family members at home; investing in the creation of non-family small and medium enterprises; or buffering against crisis and distress situations, for example, insurance in case of a poor harvest, as well as the prevention of other risks. In the case of an investment, several aspects should be considered, for instance, whether it takes place in a productive sector; if it occurs in a collective (e.g. community water tanks, health and maternity centres, schools and school canteens, pharmacies and cooperative stores, cereal banks and cooperative millet mills, and post offices) or individual setting; and the place where the investment is realized (e.g. a native village, an urban centre or elsewhere).

Cash transfers, the volume and mode of repatriation of which are necessary to know, are not the only transfers made by migrants. Material goods, such as vehicles, equipment, clothing and medicine, are also sent to origin countries. It is not only important to know how these items are used, but also why this type of transfer is increasingly favoured over cash transfers. One might ask whether fund and property transfers increase inflation and imports (therefore creating disequilibrium in the balance of payments); act as substitutes for other potential sources of revenue; increase economic dependence and decrease the work ethic of the recipients; or cause envy, jealousy and consumption desire among non-migrants. In some cases, local development initiatives are limited by such factors, which are not often taken into consideration in the literature.

When migrants leave their homeland, it is with the hope to return one day. Whatever the reason(s) for return, one may ask to what extent return migration constitutes a solution to local development problems. The return and reintegration of migrants, especially highly skilled ones, have often been seen as a way to promote development in their places of origin. While abroad,

migrants are generally able to accumulate savings, which would eventually serve as financial capital, and acquire new knowledge and skills (human capital), as well as useful contacts (social capital), all of which can be used productively in the country of origin. In this context, we note that two major factors determine the impact of the return on the success of the migrants themselves and on development in the origin country: (a) the skills of the migrants and the way they prepare for the return and (b) the existing socioeconomic and political situation in the country. This is why it is also argued that returning migrants, who generally hold low-skilled jobs overseas, learn practically nothing and bring back very little human capital or, when they do acquire new knowledge overseas, such is rarely useful back home.

One of the characteristics of migration in Cameroon is rural exodus. When migration from villages to cities is driven by a lower standard of living and a lack of support services in the former, it may result in a surplus of labour in the latter. In addition, when local authorities in urban areas are ill-prepared to handle migration-driven population growth and are faced with institutional and financial constraints, there may result a rapid rise in income disparities and social comfort, with an urban segmentation between affluent and relatively secure areas with quality services and poor areas where living conditions are deteriorating and insecurity is increasing. On the other hand, it is also possible for net profits to grow when rural populations are attracted by employment opportunities in the cities, since the concentration of ideas, talent and capital has a positive impact.

As in the former case, the situation in urban areas could be exacerbated by refugees or asylum-seekers who prefer to settle there. Indeed, because of its geographic location (bordering almost all the countries in the subregion) and political stability, Cameroon is a preferred destination for many people fleeing wars in their countries of origin or residence. Thus, it is important to find out the specific impacts of refugees on the development of their host communities.

Although interest in the linkage between migration and development has greatly increased in recent years, and the debate on this subject is more current than ever, the research work carried out so far has faced difficulties in producing an analytical model that captures these links in a clear and operational manner for the development of effective and relevant policies.

In Cameroon, the lack of reliable data makes it impossible to assess the impact of migration on development. Adequate and representative data is lacking at the national level to assess the impact of migration on development and

properly guide policy. For example, the lack of information on the number and profiles of migrants and the amount of transfers they make, as well as the inadequacy of migration policies (explicit and implicit) on all migration issues in the country, is noticeable. In addition, research on migration, despite the widespread interest for this topic in the last decade, remains limited in terms of the variety of the topics explored. Also, little attention has been given to the contributions of migrants in the area of human and social capital. Lastly, there is a need to promote a multidisciplinary approach, plug the gap in research coordination between existing research groups and strengthen the link between research and political decision-making.¹

The lack of specific and reliable evidence on the role of migration in development prevents understanding of the opportunities offered by mobility to meet the challenges that the country faces. The role of migration as a potential enabler for development should be examined carefully to address unmet needs and develop opportunities. There is therefore a need for a detailed study to identify the concrete effects of migration on development in Cameroon. Taking into account these shortcomings, the Institut de Formation et de Recherche démographiques (Institute for Training and Demographic Research, IFORD), in collaboration with the Institute for Public Policy Research and the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP) Observatory on Migration and with financial support from the UN Population Fund (UNFPA), has conducted original research on the impact of South–South migration on development in Cameroon. The objective of this study is to contribute to understanding South–South migration and its impact on development, political decision-making based on scientific arguments and a general awareness of the impact of human mobility on development strategies in Cameroon. More specifically, the study seeks to:

- Identify the motivations and migration strategies of Cameroonians;
- Understand the activities of migrants in their host countries and the types of relationship they keep with the communities of origin (e.g. transfer of funds, knowledge, among others).
- Analyse the means of remittance transfer used by migrants;
- Evaluate existing information and policies on migration issues;

¹ In accordance with the terms of reference for tenders: <http://www.acpmigration-obs.org/sites/default/files/ACP%20Obs%20TORs%20for%20impact%20study%20Cameroun%20Dec%202011.pdf>.

- Understand the perception and representation of migration in Cameroon;
- Identify the different destination countries for Cameroonian migrants.

The study proceeded by re-evaluating existing information and policy through a literature review, followed by an exploration of the role of South–South migration in interviews, and a household survey.

The quantitative household survey has permitted the gathering of information on migrant profiles; the opinions of heads of household on migration; cash and goods transfers made by absent migrants, including the channels used to make such transfers and the use of such transfers; and on the impact of migration and remittances on migrants themselves and on their origin households.

The household survey covered all 10 regions of Cameroon, with particular focus on its two largest cities, Yaoundé and Douala. A total of 82 localities (villages or quarters) and 1,235 randomly selected households were surveyed. For two weeks (during the period from late August to early September 2012), 11 teams of two investigators and a supervisor each collected information from selected households, after a total or partial enumeration of each of the 82 localities of the sample, and on the basis of a 10-section structured questionnaire. This study permitted the collection of sufficient and representative data at the national level to quantitatively check the impact of migration on development and properly guide policy. Ten codification and data entry agents were mobilized for a period of two weeks to process the questionnaires under the guidance of a supervisor. Data entry was done with version 4.0 of the Census and Survey Processing System software, and data processing was performed with the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences and Stata® software for the generation of analytical tables and indicators.

A qualitative survey completes and enriches quantitative data. Thus, 31 semi-structured interviews were conducted with key stakeholders and resource persons (policymakers and scholars in relevant fields; non-governmental organizations (NGOs) working on migrants or on policy areas affected by migration; heads of enterprises; administrative officials in the health profession; traditional, community and opinion leaders; and community organizations such as religious groups) able to provide clear knowledge about the research problem: notably, a general overview of the impact of migration on development, current policies on migration and its impacts, and the priority axes on how to manage migration and its impacts. In addition, interviews were conducted with 15 members of households. These interviews took place in Yaoundé over

two weeks, during the same period as the quantitative component, with the support of four investigators, a supervisor and a coordinator. The data were transcribed and analysed using the thematic-content analysis method.

This report is structured around six chapters. The first provides an overview of the literature review and the second presents the methodological approach. Chapters 3 to 5 present the profiles of migrants and the consequences and impacts of the three types of migrants (absent, return, immigrants) on development. The final chapter focuses on opinions on international migration and political reactions to these impacts.

2. Context of the study

This chapter presents the general context of international migration in Cameroon and a rundown of the available sources of data on migration.

2.1 General context of international migration in Cameroon

The socioeconomic situation and the dynamics of international migration

During the first two decades after African independence, most countries in the continent experienced remarkable economic growth. The annual rate of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth was close to 4 per cent on average (Aerts et al., 2000). This economic environment, coupled with internal political stability, promoted a significant improvement in the living conditions of populations, and stimulated intra-African migration to centres of economic growth, such as Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire and Nigeria.

In the mid-1980s, however, sub-Saharan Africa entered an unexpected long period of economic turbulence. This impoverished vulnerable populations and reduced their ability to properly care for younger generations. In this situation of economic slowdown, African authorities started looking for new development strategies. This justified the application of the first structural adjustment programmes, followed by new industrial and agricultural policies, and the devaluation of the CFA franc in 1994. The first adjustment focused on jobs² and then on salaries, both of which are elements that increase the desire to leave a country. The crisis became a particularly fertile context for the emergence of many survival strategies, including international migration.

Today, migration is seen by many young people as a strategy to fight unemployment and as a perpetual search for better living conditions. As Akono Tabi (2009) pointed out: "Before the outbreak of the economic crisis in the 1980s, a tendency [towards] sedentarization of Cameroonian workers was observed; a complete policy framework for the Cameroonization of senior staff was also implemented. Migration during this period was principally related to study purposes, hence [its] elitist character." The emigration of Cameroonian skilled workers was partly limited by the requirement for those who studied abroad on government scholarships to return and work in the country for at

2 For example, 71 per cent of Cameroonian enterprises retrenched labour. Thereafter, non-salary expenses (premiums, social and other benefits) and direct wages suffered a considerable puncture. In the Republic of the Congo, the folding of wages led to a decline of 20 per cent on average among civil servants.

least 10 years before leaving public administration. Since then, emigration has taken on increasing magnitude. In 2000 the emigration rate of graduates stood at 14.6 per cent. In 2005 according to estimates by the World Bank (2011a) the stock of emigrants was 1.4 per cent. At the same time, the return of young senior staff that had studied in Europe became difficult. Since the early 2000s, a period characterized by the implementation of restrictive immigration policies to Europe, Cameroonian migrant workers have tended to orient towards African countries, Asia and the Americas. Some of these countries, however, are merely transit points for migrants to reach the European “El Dorado.” We are therefore witnessing a shift in migration to new destinations. Based on data collected from the Ministry of External Relations (Ayissi, 2010), the movement is directed to the following countries: Côte d’Ivoire, Kenya, the Republic of the Congo, Senegal, South Africa and, especially, Gabon and, more recently, Equatorial Guinea. According to Akono Tabi (2009), on estimate nearly 66,000 Cameroonian migrant workers are in Gabon and Equatorial Guinea, with 50,000 in Gabon. In addition, “there are about 40,000 Cameroonians in France, 7,000 in Germany and 5,000 in the Netherlands. In the United States [of America,] there are about 700,000, with 250,000 naturalizations. There are at least 5,000 Cameroonian doctors abroad. 123 teachers from Cameroon are teaching in German universities.” (Ayissi, 2010). According to Schmelz: “Cameroonians are now the largest group of students and graduates from sub-Saharan Africa in Germany. Their numbers increase each year, with 1,000 new registrations in training institutions. Given the need for skilled labour and an ageing population in Germany and throughout the European Union (EU), Cameroonian migrants are, because of their youth and their high educational profile, a group with significant economic potential, both for Cameroonian and German societ[ies].” (Schmelz, 2007:6).

Moreover, migration can cause major security issues for Cameroon, particularly with the influx of people from several neighbouring countries. Since its independence, several neighbouring countries have experienced an upsurge in armed conflict, war and violence (Mimche, 2009). This situation was exacerbated by the huge wave of democratization in the 1990s. This context, characterized by increasing insecurity of the population, has increased the demand for asylum in “peaceful countries” within either the African continent or outside, especially Europe and North America. This is what justifies the choice of Cameroon as “an asylum land” (Zognong, 2001) by many immigrants and refugees from countries of Central Africa (Angola, Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Republic of the Congo), East Africa (Ethiopia, Somalia and

the Sudan), Southern Africa (Burundi and Rwanda) and West Africa (Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Niger, Nigeria and Togo). Between 1990 and 2004, the number of asylum-seekers in specialist institutions based in Yaoundé increased exponentially (UNHCR, 2002 and 2006). In 2002 refugee assistance services registered about 41,288 persons coming mainly from the Central African Republic, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Republic of the Congo and Rwanda. A year later, 5,308 new asylum-seekers were registered. Despite the difficulties of complete enumeration, Cameroon harbours about 60,000 refugees (UNHCR, 2002). As noted in a report by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2005): "When immigration policies are tightening everywhere, and where borders are [becoming] increasingly tight to refugee influxes, Cameroon continues to practice its policy of hospitality and receives a continuous flow of asylum-seekers (1,500 to 2,000 per year) coming from neighbouring countries." In no time, the ratio between asylum-seekers and refugees has become important, posing a challenge of inclusion (social, economic, residential, educational and vocational). It is on this background that Cameroon is currently a migration reservoir constituted by a geography of violence and wars (Mimche, 2009). In a study recently published by the Cameroonian historian Issa Saibou, it appears that the security threats related to cross-border mobility between Cameroon and its neighbouring countries are obvious. A form of insecurity known by the generic name of "the phenomenon of *coupeurs de route*" was widespread in the savannah and northern regions but has turned to spread throughout the whole country because of its hospitality (Saibou, 2010). According to Saibou, these occasional bandits appear to be social rebels, traders or politicians. It is in this context of insecurity that Cameroon recently drafted a law on refugees.

Regulatory framework for migration in Cameroon

The Cameroonian authorities' rekindled interest in the international migration of its population has been noticeable in recent years. However, the institutional and regulatory framework for managing migration is marked by a range of institutions and a deficiency in the quantity and quality of regulations and activities that remain uncoordinated (Tjomb, 2010).

Considered in terms of hierarchy, laws governing migration in Cameroon should first be constitutional. At this level, despite the long period of demands from the diaspora, the debate has only just started in the media, social commentators³

3 Conference held by Professor Joseph Owona on 13 May 2010 at the University of Douala, where he proposed a constitutional institution of diaspora voting, with representation in the National Assembly and the Senate.

and the Government, with the advent of diaspora voting in the 9 October 2011 presidential election.

Secondly, government policy on this subject, as expressed in the Strategy Paper for Growth and Employment (SPGE), remains embryonic and symbolic. The document, which presents the vision of Cameroon as an emerging country by 2035, in pages 19, 81 and 126, calls for the mobilization of diaspora resources and encourages Cameroonians abroad to invest in the country, taking into account gender, environment and biodiversity. The SPGE, however, hardly includes the needs and rights of Cameroonian migrants, as it does not mention issues related to immigrants. Besides that, no official document on general migration policy in Cameroon yet exists, even though a committee on this issue was established by the Government in 2008 (IOM, 2009).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in its statutory documents,⁴ advocates two main intervention situations regarding the diaspora: (a) the organization of the repatriation of the remains of deceased Cameroonians from abroad and (b) the latitude given to other ministerial departments on issues within their areas of competence. We can, therefore, conclude that there is no single text organizing Cameroon's management of migration in a constitutive, centralized and coordinated manner. Instead, we can observe a significant number of texts from the specific provisions of specific inter-State organizations or various national, regional, bilateral and multilateral agreements regulating migration in Cameroon.

To adapt to the often-fluctuating migration situation, the legal and regulatory framework continues to evolve. The need for better management of the flow of immigrants into Cameroon led to the provisions of Law No. 97/012 of 10 January 1997, which laid down the conditions for entry, stay and exit of foreigners in the country; this law itself was preceded by Decree No. 90/1246 on the same issue. The 2000 and 2007 Decrees, which laid down detailed modalities for implementing the abovementioned law, were later signed. Law No. 97/012 defines the types of stays for foreigners on Cameroonian soil. Cooperation between Cameroon and other development partners also gave birth to a multitude of bilateral and multilateral agreements and conventions, the objective of which was to regulate or facilitate exchanges between these different entities. These texts either cover a general or specific area of the life of the State and individuals, or specifically target the issue of migration. At any

4 Decree No. 2005/286 of 30 July 2005, bearing the organization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

rate, these are areas that have an impact on migration or at least are related to it. These texts include, for example, the following:

- The Charter of the Commission of the Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (CEMAC), of which Cameroon is a member (Section 4 A1.2 of its instituting treaty provides for “the progressive removal of obstacles to the free movement of persons, goods, services, capital and the right of establishment between Member States”);
- Ordinance No. 90/007 of 8 November 1990, bearing the Investment Code of Cameroon, which aims at facilitating the establishment of economic operators from the CEMAC.
- Law No. 90/031 of 10 August 1990, facilitating the exercise of trade in Cameroon by nationals of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS);
- Presidential Decree (PD) No. 93/033 of 19 January 1993, modifying certain dispositions of PD No. 79/186, which stipulates that privilege of tuition equality in state universities is to be granted by the Ministry of Higher Education to immigrants originating from CEMAC States;
- Bilateral treaties linking Cameroon and France, Gabon, Mali and Nigeria;
- The Social Security Agreement of 5 November 1990 between Cameroon and France, revised in 2003, which facilitates various social benefits during and after migration;
- The Franco–Cameroonian bilateral agreement of 26 June 1976 relating to the movement of people between Cameroon and France;
- The Franco–Cameroonian bilateral agreement of 24 January 1994 concerning the movement and residence of persons between Cameroon and France;
- The agreement ratified on 21 October 1976 by France and Cameroon in order to prevent double taxation and establish rules for reciprocal administrative and legal assistance in tax matters (this agreement was published in the Official Gazette on 11 September 1979);
- The cooperation agreement signed between Cameroon and Gabon in 1977 relating to migrant workers, which stated, among others, that migrant workers recruited in Cameroon by a Gabonese entity would have to first get visas on their employment contracts from the Cameroonian Minister of Labour;

- The memorandum of understanding of 6 February 1963 governing the control of movement of people and goods between Cameroon and the Federal Republic of Nigeria;
- The agreement on residence and free movement of people between the Republic of Cameroon and the Republic of Mali, signed in Bamako on 6 May 1964;
- The 14 April 1978 agreement on nationality between Cameroon and the Republic of Gabon.

Political cooperation with neighbouring countries is created mainly to promote subregional integration within ECCAS and allow migration between Cameroon and neighbouring countries, notably through (Sindjoun, 2004):

- The hospitality of the Cameroonian Government and people through activities promoting African integration, such as Africa Week, organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the generous hospitality reserve for refugees since the 1970s;
- The inclusion of immigrant issues in the budget of the Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralization or that of the General Delegation for National Security.

Some readmission agreements are being negotiated between Cameroon and other countries, such as Switzerland and France. These agreements aim, on the one hand, for the reintegration of returned Cameroonians, and, on the other, the use of DNA testing in cases of family reunion.

The agreements for the concerted management of migration flows and joint development between Cameroon and France were signed on 21 May 2009, and defined open or pressure trades for Cameroonian migrants in France.

2.2 Sources of data on migration and development in Cameroon

Long before colonization, people were already moving for various reasons: migration is a phenomenon as old as man. Written and oral sources of the history of Cameroon show that migration is an old practice among its people. Presently, the increased flow of Cameroonian migration is due to a general movement from the countryside to the cities and a tendency towards international migration, particularly to African and European countries. Despite the steady increase in these flows, no specific survey on migration exists, and sources of usable data are few and fragmentary.

Unlike many African countries, particularly those of West Africa, Cameroon is facing a shortage or virtual absence of data sources on international migration and its contribution to development. Despite the high frequency of the national census (every decade), existing data sources provide information only on migrant stock while others simply make no reference. Nevertheless, macro-data, including the amount of remittances sent by migrants to and from Cameroon, is produced on an annual basis by national institutions concerned with international migration. These sources, however, consider only transfers made through official or formal channels, which in the opinion of many experts leads to an underestimation of the total transfer value. In fact, large sums are channelled through informal channels mainly because of clandestine migration and the weak banking capacity of the general population. As another limitation, sources do not recognize transfers in kind (e.g. jewellery, clothing and other consumer goods). In addition, some forms of assistance are considered additional, but not obligatory, in generating statistics on remittances.

At the micro-level, we note that the third Cameroonian Household Survey (ECAM-3) conducted in 2007 by the National Statistics Institute (INS) is, at present, one, if not the only, source of data that cover the entire country. In addition to collecting data on migration, ECAM-3 focuses on the issue of remittances sent by migrants to their places of origin. Indeed, unlike its predecessors, the ECAM-3 is the first survey to quantify such transfers. This quantification concerns the 12 months preceding the survey and covers households that have experienced the departure abroad of at least one member during the period between late 2001 and the date of investigation. Compared to similar surveys conducted in the past in other countries, such as Burkina Faso (1994 and 1998), Madagascar (1993 and 1997) and Mali (1994), that of Cameroon (2007) collected more data on sex, age, education level, length of absence from the household and the reason for the departure of the migrant – data essential for the study of migration.

ECAM-3, however, has three shortcomings which are important to emphasize here. While it permitted the measurement of the importance of remittances to household income, the fact remains that the quantification method used ignored transfers that financed development projects at the community level, or those transfers of savings made by migrants intending to return. Also, although this survey collected data on the characteristics of migrants, these data were not collected at the time of the study, in 2007, but only at the time of the migrant's departure, thus limiting their use.

While ECAM-3 obtained data on the characteristics of emigrants (internal and international) at the time of their departure, notably their destination, reason(s) for leaving, age, sex and level of education, information on economic activity engagement and marital status were not collected. In an attempt to give depth to existing data, IFORD has put in place a research programme with the aim of exploiting existing data sources.

The Survey on Employment and the Informal Sector (SEIS-1) of 2005 collected data to permit the study of the integration of immigrants (internal and international) into the labour market, particularly in the informal sector.

Other sources of data exist, including the statistical records of certain government departments, such as the Ministry of External Relations and the Ministry of Employment and Vocational Training. Information from the Ministry of External Relations put together by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in 2010 provides an estimate of the number of Cameroonians in the diaspora.

IOM produced the 2009 national profile on migration in Cameroon. This document structurally assembled information from different sources to provide a comprehensive overview of key trends in international migration and socioeconomic development.

In conclusion, no targeted survey on migration has been conducted in Cameroon: the data used in analysing the phenomenon are of a secondary nature, and the tools were not designed for analysing the phenomenon. A survey attentive to these limitations in order to avoid them has to be carried out. The limitations range from the short period of observation to the non-inclusion of certain variables (e.g. marital status, socioeconomic situation before and after international migration, the migration process, among others) and the administration mode of the questionnaire (the respondent is the head of household and not the migrant).

3. Methodology

This chapter discusses the methodology used in this study, addressing both elements related to the organization of data collection and its implementation in the field, and the methods used for data exploitation and analysis. The study on the impact of South–South migration on development in Cameroon was conducted using two approaches: (a) a quantitative approach employing questionnaires administered in individual households and (b) a qualitative component using the interview technique.

3.1 The quantitative survey

This section presents the methodology of the quantitative part of the study, from sampling to data collection and processing.

Sampling

- Target population

In the framework of the quantitative survey, the target population was composed of members of sampled households with or without a migrant.

- Sampling frame

The sampling frame (population and households by village/quarter) was derived from data from the third General Population and Housing Census conducted in 2005 on the one hand and the third Cameroonian Household Survey carried out in 2007 on the other.

The villages/quarters representing the enumeration sections or areas constituted the primary sampling units. An enumeration of all households in the covered sections was realized by collecting information which helped to decide on the eligibility of a particular household (that is to say, which households were with or without a migrant), and by noting geographic information to re-contact these households. All villages/quarters and households that met this eligibility criterion constituted the sample frame from which households were systematically drawn for inclusion in the sample.

- Sampling plan

From the list of households obtained from the enumeration, 15 households per village/quarter were selected through a systematic draw. For each village/quarter, the following ideal distribution was employed:

- Ten households with at least one migrant (thus, seven with at least one South–South migrant and three with at least one North–South migrant);
- Five households without migrants.

However, it is important to note that if the information from the enumeration did not allow the above-mentioned ideal distribution, the draw was made by closely respecting the number of households (10) with at least one migrant, irrespective of the nature, or by selecting all households with at least one migrant if the number of such households was less than 10.

- Method of replacement of data collection units

Based on the enumeration sheet, which listed households meeting the eligibility criteria, the n th household was replaced by the next household, $n+1$, if no respondent was available. If the $(n+1)$ th household was also unavailable, it was replaced by household $n-1$, and so on.

- Sample distribution

The sample for the study on the impact of South–South migration on development in Cameroon was based on a second-degree random stratification draw.

In the first stage, primary sample units were selected from the stock of international emigrants and immigrants in each department in the region and according to the area of residence. The departments drawn then served as the sampling frame for the 82 villages/quarters drawn (71 urban and 11 rural), which were selected using probability proportional to size.

In the second stage, a sample ($N=15$) of households in each village/quarter, preferably 10 with at least 1e migrant (thus, seven with at least one South–South migrant and three with at least one South–North migrant) and 5 without, were drawn. All the members of the households drawn were identified by using a household questionnaire.

- Weighting

Weight coefficients were calculated and added to each data file. Those for household data were calculated as being the reverse of the probability of selection of the household, calculated according to the sampling area (region).

Household weights were adjusted to account for unanswered questions in each module and were standardized by a constant factor so that the extrapolated total number of households was equal to the total number of unweighted households.

The weight coefficient for data on individuals (household members) used non-standardized household weights, adjusted to account for unanswered questions in the concerned module. These were then standardized so that the total number of individuals extrapolated was equal to the unweighted total.

For data on absent migrants, return migrants and immigrants, weight coefficients were calculated using the same approach as that for individuals: non-standard household weights were adjusted to account for unanswered questions in the corresponding modules and standardized so that the extrapolated total number corresponded with the unweighted total.

Data collection

Quantitative data collection took place from 4 August to 9 September 2012. In total, data collection took place in 82 villages spread across the 10 regions of Cameroon, plus the cities of Douala and Yaoundé. All the villages/quarters drawn by region, division, subdivision and canton are listed in table A1.1 in the annex. For efficiency of data collection, 11 teams in total were constituted, each with a field supervisor and two data collectors. The distribution of the number of localities by region, number of households by locality, number of teams by locality and number of days of coverage by each team is presented in table A1.2. It should be noted that the research team field supervisors used a one-off control system to minimize field errors. Each data collector was required to visit 15 households per day. Throughout the data collection period, weekly meetings were held between the data collection controllers and the supervisory team to track the progress of the data collection and discuss the problems faced by each team, in order to harmonize the solutions adopted and, thus, to ensure the effectiveness and quality of the data collected.

Analysis of the impact of migration

The impact of migration is studied to give an account of the perceived differences in collective household development and in the individual development of household members who remain in Cameroon. The impact of migration on the economic activities of households, as well as on their expenditure in education, food stuffs, health and savings, are thus examined.

To this effect, the propensity score matching method was used to process the variable “households with migrants (absent, return, immigrant or migrant, whether the destination country is in the North or the South)” which takes the value “1” if the household has a migrant and “0” if the household has no

migrant. The variable of interest varies according to the type of impacts to be evaluated. The place of residence, the proportions calculated in households comprising men, older age groups, level of education and ecological zones were used as control variables in the different models.

3.2 The qualitative survey

This section presents the methodology of the qualitative component of this study, from sampling to data collection and processing.

Organization of the qualitative survey and the target population

The qualitative survey completed and enriched the quantitative data. After a three-day training course, four data collection agents were selected to conduct the qualitative survey in the city of Yaoundé from 1 to 15 September 2012. Thus, 31 semi-structured interviews were conducted with key stakeholders and resource people (policymakers and university scholars in relevant fields; NGOs working with migrants or in policy areas related to migration; heads of enterprise; administrative officials, such as heads of health professions; traditional and community/opinion leaders; and community organizations, such as religious groups) who were able to provide unique perspectives on the research issue – notably, a general overview of the impact of migration, current policies on migration and its impacts, and priority axes on how to manage migration and its impact. These interviews were complemented with household interviews totalling 15.

Processing of qualitative data

Qualitative data from the interviews were transcribed simultaneously with data collection. The data collected were transcribed and entered in Word. Thereafter, a thematic analysis was conducted using the content analysis method, paving the way for a transversal analysis (which comprises both content and thematic analysis) of all respondent categories.

3.3 Definition of terms and concepts

Household. A group comprising one or a group of persons, biologically related or not, who are under the authority of a single person (head of household), living in the same dwelling, and often eating and working together for their daily needs.

Head of household. A person recognized as such, and who has proven authority over the other members of the household. He/she caters to the needs and expenditures of the household. Generally this status is bestowed on the person who is supposed to exercise moral authority and holds the decision-making power in the household.

“Living” in the country. Residing in a country for a continuous period of three months or more.

Immigrant. A household member born in another country, but who came to live in Cameroon.

Absent migrant. A person who usually lives in the household but left between August 2002 and the date of the survey to live outside Cameroon.

Return migrant. A household member who was born or has lived in Cameroon before living in another country for three months or more.

Emigration. The process of leaving Cameroon to live in another country.

Immigration. The process of leaving another country to live in Cameroon.

South–South migration. The movement of international migrants between countries that do not have a high human development index (HDI) according to rankings by the UN Development Programme (UNDP). In the UNDP’s 2010 Human Development Report (HDR), the 42 countries ranked at the top levels of the HDI are classified as having reached very high HDIs and are therefore considered “developed countries.” Other countries in the UNDP list are considered as belonging to the South, and the movement of people between these countries is referred to as “South–South migration.”

4. International migration and development in Cameroon

This chapter presents an analysis of the state of the relationship between international migration and development.

4.1. International migration as an issue of political debate and development

The question of emigration–immigration is at the heart of the political priorities of countries in Europe and sub-Saharan Africa. In Cameroon, as in many other African societies, there has been the emergence of new actors in migration, as well as in the nexus between international migration and development, and new forms of mobility. Beyond changes in the demographic characteristics of migrants (e.g. sex, age, marital status and employment status), the complexity of the new migration dynamics is expressed in part by the diversification of the spatial patterns of migration movements (for instance, the diversification of destinations; multiplication of places of emigration; enrichment of the migration process due to the complexity of the migration process, which may imply multiple stages; and the occupational mobility of migrants), as well as the national and international contexts of mobility, the intensification of the exchanges between the origin and the destination, among others. Regarding the last aspect, the mobility of people has become an extensive process involving the transfer of goods, capital, ideas and practices.

Territories and societies have continuously been affected by migration practices. Whether approached from the point of view of migration flow management, the integration of migrants in the host society population, or the links between migration, social change and human development, the diversification of migration patterns (in terms of the profile of the migrant population, the temporality and the reversibility of flows, and the geographical reorganization of migratory spaces), the immigration issue remains topical. This raises questions about the contribution of migration to development. Given the importance of migration flows from Cameroon and the current development context of international migration, notably the importance of South–South migration, we may ask, “How can international migration participate in a dynamic manner in human development and towards what development trajectory does it lead? What possibilities does the local environment offer for the repatriation of savings and their domestic investment?” This demonstrates the scope of contemporary migration patterns and the types of relationship maintained with origin communities (notably by return migrants) as regards the process of local development (Mimche and Tourere, 2009; Mimche 2010).

The movement of persons is associated with the transfer of competencies and resources on at least two counts. On the one hand, migration movement is a vector of monetary circulation. On the other, transfers are often seen as the anchor of the relationship between places of origin and countries of immigration, that is, a metaphor for the return to the home country. Therefore, one can understand why migrants give a prominent place to investments in the origin countries. Therefore, migration and development maintain a close relationship specific to sociopolitical contexts.

The phenomenon of international migration has become an important issue gaining global attention. It has multiple foundations that affect the human, cultural, social and economic spheres. The interpenetration of these factors makes the understanding, analysis and, further, the implementation of facilitation measures and profit maximization particularly difficult for migrants and origin and host countries. It is common to say that the dynamics of international migration are carriers of important social issues for the societies sending the flows, as well as those receiving them. Although it is nothing new (as evidenced by the extensive literature which surrounds the subject), this assumption continued to grow in importance in the context of the development of the multifaceted relationships between the societies and territories underpinned by the globalization process. In the North, as in the South, many contemporary socio-territorial changes resulted from the multifaceted logics of mobility, of which international migration is undoubtedly one.

More than the simple mobility of persons, migration (especially in Africa) is a vast process of exchange involving the transfer of goods, capital, technology and development practices. Migratory movements notoriously influence the organization of regions or entire societies, the nature of the production system and the development processes in countries of departure and in host countries.

The relationship between international migration and development is seen to be dynamic in both directions; each of its components may favourably or unfavourably influence the others. The contribution potentials of this issue are relative, and the development strategies cannot be confined to the migration dimension. We must remember that development is a complex process rooted in a profound transformation and is endogenous to societies. Development assistance, as long as it is useful, does not equate to development; it can simply act as a catalyst for it.

Considered in terms of economic and human development,⁵ the links between migration and development relate, in particular, to financial transfers and the possibility of increasing their impact in origin countries; the experiences and know-how acquired during temporary migration and their mobilization in the origin country, both in payroll employment and in self-employment; and to the role of the diaspora.

While migrants have often been viewed in some countries as a threat to sociopolitical stability – some migrants leave their countries of origin because of the democratic ideas they defend – the perception of migrants seems to have somewhat changed in several African countries. Indeed, thanks to the “wind of democratization,” whose corollary is the promotion of freedom of association and expression, political authorities appear to have realized that these actors may bring potential for the development of their origin countries. This can be the reason for the institutional changes observed in areas of Africa, where institutions have been put in place to take migrants into account. As an illustration, there has been an observed increase in the number of Malians and Senegalese abroad. In the past, they were considered deviants or “hyperconformists”; however, international migrants are now perceived as local development actors, and this status is increasingly recognized by civil society organizations (CSOs) which they put in place to support local development. In Senegal, the Government has recently created the Ministry of Emigrants and the Superior Council of Senegalese Abroad. In Mali, there is the High Council of Malians Abroad.

In Cameroon, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ service to Cameroonians abroad seems to have regained vitality following the campaign speeches of President Paul Biya in 2011, who urged his compatriots abroad to come back and contribute to development initiatives. In order to further strengthen ties with

5 The globalizing nature of the concept of development led the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 1990 to offer a new dynamic concept that attempts to account for all aspects of human well-being and quality of life. This is the concept of human development, which is defined as “a process that leads to a widening of the range of opportunities for everyone. In principle, these opportunities are unlimited and may evolve over time. Regardless of the level of development, they imply the realization of three essential conditions:

- a. Live long and healthy
- b. Acquire knowledge,
- c. Access to the resources necessary to enjoy a decent standard of living.”

(UNDP, 1990)

The Human Development Index (HDI) integrates three key dimensions that are longevity (quality of life and well-being), education (social dimension) and resources (income, economic dimension).

its diaspora, the country adopted ideas that allowed: (a) the creation of state structures or associations, such as a high council representing the diaspora and a national agency for migration; (b) the introduction of investment incentives (e.g. tax exemptions and negotiations on fiscal incentives for investment with development partners); (c) the facilitation of access to credit, to attract diaspora investments; (d) the creation of a guarantee fund for projects and operations for Cameroonians abroad; and (e) the reduction of the cost of remittances to Cameroon. In order to better manage migration flows, including labour migration, a number of partnership agreements have been signed between Cameroon and development partners. This includes, for example, the agreement between the Cameroonian and French Governments on the joint management of migration flows and inclusive development. In terms of labour migration, the agreement states that: “Both parties agree to develop between them the exchange of young Cameroonian [and] French professionals, ages 18 to 35 [and] already engaged [in] or entering active life, [to allow them to] visit the other country to improve their career prospects through paid work experience in compan[ies] engaged in health, social affairs, agricultur[e] and crafts, [and those in the] industrial [and] commercial or liberal sector[s], and deepen their knowledge in the host society.” (Accord France Cameroun relatif à la gestion concertée des flux migratoires et au développement solidaire, 2009).

In recent years, bilateral and multinational cooperation has caused other institutional actors and local communities to emerge. The political sphere must now work with NGOs, including, in more recent times, the Organizations for International Solidarity on Migration (Forum des Organisations de Solidarité Internationale issues des Migrations, FORIM). In the present context of decentralized cooperation, these new forms of international cooperation show the challenging future of development in Africa. Thus, the practice of development actions by international solidarity associations is diversifying and affecting various sectors of social life: education, health, water and sanitation, among others. As a constitutive component of local development, these CSOs are supported by international organizations to combat poverty and to accompany their policy of empowerment. For some, CSOs have become a factor in the “check and balances” and for others, a major stake of partnership with the State while depending on the democratic realities in both the South and the North. As an expression of the “direct cooperation” among civil societies, FORIM has positioned them as major actors in local development, such that their actions can thwart public policy. African countries would require an institutional management framework if the ideal of social cohesion – something that is too risky to compromise – were to be preserved.

The international solidarity associations are now at a crossroads, and the increasing complexity of migration issues, the evolution of societies and the outbreak of threats – whether to human safety or the environment – require an adaptation of their practices. Composed of volunteers, these organizations do not necessarily have the time or the capacity to integrate these many dimensions, renew their practices, exchange and train, motivate new volunteers and imagine new ways to raise awareness in the busy public arena. They cannot be considered social action agencies, because their activities are mainly located in the origin country, nor can they be considered instruments of cooperation, because they are initiated by emigrants. However, they provide interconnection among migration poles, that is, immigration places and emigration zones, through joint development and/or co-development activities. The present context of decentralization is an opportunity to establish a political dialogue with migrants in an environment of dynamic associations. With a transfer by the State of specific competencies and the appropriate resources to decentralized entities, decentralization offers “a political framework to legitimize the initiative of emigrants, to give them a new dimension, to promote their insertion as citizens [. . .] Under certain conditions, the notions of collective interest and [the] public good introduced [to] the villages [through] development projects driven by emigrant associations – [e.g.] schools, drinking water, dams [and] roads – led to the reorganization of alliance[s], giving form and content to councils’ policy.” (Quiminal, 2006: 239).

4.2 Contribution of migrants to development

Migration brings both potential and challenges to migrants’ societies of origin and host societies. In either, challenges brought about by migration can be addressed at several levels: individual, household and community/societal. Today the problems posed by international migration flows are explained by a broad range of analyses that utilize a diversity of disciplinary approaches. The consideration of development issues brought about by mobility and international migration is not new in the field of population science, even though the sociocultural dynamics and the non-economic effects of migration in places of emigration have been little explored (Faret, 2004). With the evolution of migration flows and their impact on the development of migrants’ communities of origin or host communities, many studies have focused on the contributions of migration to the development of their origin countries, drawing a parallel between migrant remittances to home countries and direct

foreign investment and official development assistance (ODA), whose gaps are constantly on the increase (Baby-Colin, Cortes, Faret and Guétat-Bernard, 2009; Adepoju, 2011), in addition to other forms of intangible contributions. Thus, several approaches have been developed to highlight the impact of migration on development in home countries, including developing countries. A study by the Institute for Public Policy Research proposes a methodological approach to analysing the impact of migration from a set of indicators. According to this approach, migration can influence human development through several dimensions: economy, education, health, gender relations, governance and the environment, among others (Chappell and Sriskandarajah, 2007). Furthermore, it is assumed that when migrants return they bring skills and knowledge acquired overseas back into their countries (Haas, 2012). This has forced many countries and development agencies to be conscious of the place of migration in the development process in developing countries (Haas, 2012), notably the effects of return migrants in their communities of origin. It is in this sense that Mimche and Tourere (2009) found that migration participates in the dynamics of social and territorial decomposition in the zones affected by these flows.

In a recent publication on migration in the South, Baby-Colin, Cortes, Faret and Guétat-Bernard (2009) found that the emergence of new migration corridors reflects the diversity of migration patterns from the South to the North and/or other countries of the South from the logic of collective organizations and networks that are put in place to support international migration and its contributions to development, and likewise the sociocultural dynamics associated with the phenomenon of migration. Thus, the stakes of migration are not only economic, but also social, cultural and political. This approach is based on the concept of human development (Melde, 2012).

In a world that is in economic and social crises, migration is now, more than ever, a highly debated topic in both the scientific and political milieus, to the extent of becoming a matter of electoral stakes in many Western societies. Faced with the problem of unemployment, the main immigration countries currently are developed countries which no longer hesitate to limit the entry of immigrants into their territory through the use of selective policies. This is not without consequences, however, considering the important role played by the diaspora in many developing countries. According to the Population Division of the United Nations Department of Social Affairs, more than 214 million people (3.1% of the world population), live outside their country of birth. In 2010 total remittances from migrants around the world were estimated at USD 440

billion, with 325 billion (or 74%) sent to developing countries. Far greater than the amount of public assistance to development and almost as important as foreign direct investment (FDI), remittances represent more than 10 per cent of the world's gross domestic product (World Bank, 2011a). However, a very limited portion is sent to the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries, including Cameroon.

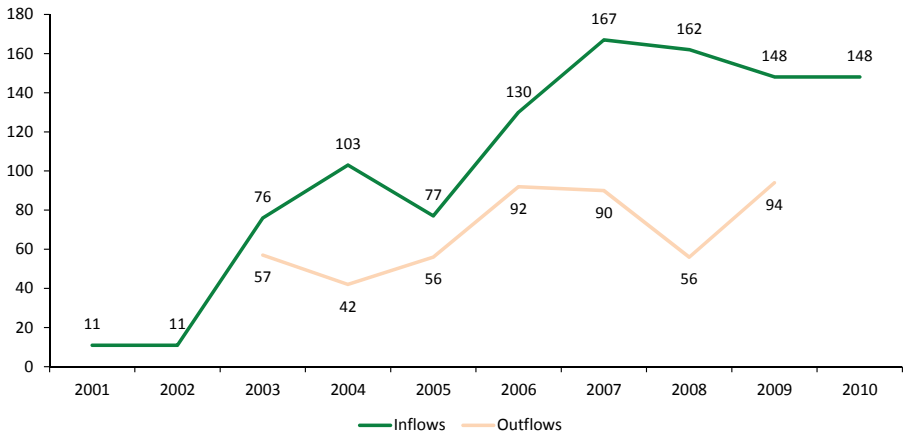
As mentioned above, international migration contributes to the development of most African countries, particularly in terms of realizing their economic, political, human and/or social plans. This is particularly true in the case of Morocco, which received USD 6 billion in remittances in 2006 (10% of GDP), Comoros (21%, exceeding the state budget), Lesotho (27%) and Mali (12.5%). Remittances are generally higher than development assistance and FDI in recipient countries, where banks have been created to facilitate the transfer of resources from countries of immigration. The 2005 CFA franc zone report of the Bank of France shows that in Central Africa, remittances from migrants have gained prominence in the prior decade. In Cameroon, remittance inflows went from USD 11 million in 2000 to USD 77 million in 2005, and to about USD 167 million in 2007. World Bank data show that remittances from abroad to Cameroon stood at 0.6 per cent of the country's GDP in 2006, 0.5 per cent in 2005 and 0.1 per cent in 2000.⁶ If we take into account unreported transfers, whether through formal or informal channels, the actual volume of remittances is likely to be higher. Regarding Cameroon in particular, remittances by emigrants were estimated at USD 167 million in 2007, representing only 0.8 per cent of GDP. In 2010 the estimate stood at USD 148 million⁷ (World Bank, 2011a).

Nevertheless, the exact amount of transfers is often assumed to be much higher due to the unregistered flow of funds sent through formal and informal channels and transfers in kind, especially those from neighbouring countries. Indeed, studies on specific migration corridors in Africa, for example, Tanzania–Uganda (IOM, 2009), reveal that more than 60 per cent of migrants prefer to transfer through informal channels. This means that the amount of remittances entering Cameroon from other African countries is probably higher than what is recorded. This indicates the need for more research on the topic. Another reason that may explain the low level of transfers is the lack of government strategies to attract remittances through suitable measures. The preparation of an institutional framework and an encouraging environment for remittances may permit members of the diaspora to make adequately informed decisions.

6 Figure from www.worldbank.org/prospects/migrationandremittances.

7 The drop observed here is consecutive with the financial crises of 2008.

Figure 4.1: Shipments of funds to and from Cameroon (2001–2010) (in USD)



Source: World Bank, 2011a.

Furthermore, it is important to note that Cameroon is not only a recipient of remittances, but also a country of shipment, although the entries exceed outflow. In addition, it is observed that shipments from abroad have risen slightly, from USD 57 million in 2003 to USD 94 million in 2009 (World Bank, 2011a).

There are many other consequences of migration on development in addition to the brain drain problem, and one of the most often-expressed sentiments is that it is “difficult to clearly disentangle the contributions of the unfavourable aspects of migration on the economic and social development of a country, because the effects vary according to contexts and migratory patterns.” (Efionayi-Mäder et al., 2008). Despite the negative aspects of the exodus of competence from the South to the North, the debate has progressively reoriented from the 1970s towards the role of migrants as actors in the development of their origin country through the regular sending of funds. Therefore, with regard to the contribution of remittances to development in origin countries, there are two main opposing views: a “positive vision,” which looks at the positive contribution to the development of the origin country, and a “negative view” that looks at the opposite.

The health sector is one of the most affected by migration in Cameroon. Some 572 Cameroonian doctors and 1,338 nurses were working in member countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development in 2000

(Buchan, 2008). In 2000 the emigration rate of graduates stood at 14.6 per cent, with significant differences between socio-professional groups. Now that Europe has decided to make a social selection of candidates for international migration, developing countries with high human potential, such as Cameroon, are likely to be significantly affected, either because of the living and working conditions at the local level or because of the ease of capital accumulation proposed by the international labour market. This particularly affects, in addition to health, the higher education, scientific research and technology sectors. This situation is not without consequences on development, however. Several studies have shown that in a context of selective immigration, there is preference for key economic and professional sectors. This is why the international migration of health professionals challenges African health systems. In addition, we may note the impact of returning migrants who have received training or gained experience that may benefit of the country of origin. This dimension, however, is poorly documented.

Return migration remains insufficiently understood in Africa (MAMGA, 1994), mainly due to insufficient data. It is therefore difficult to summarize this phenomenon. Because of ambiguous causality, the link between return migration and development is not as obvious as it seems (Charbit, 2007). If the development of an origin country results in decreased migration, and therefore transfers, according to the theory of the inverted U-shaped curve (or “migration hump”), a crisis overseas will lead to the same effect: a reduction of transfers and, therefore, less contribution to development or even an outright lack of development. Indeed, during the oil crisis of 1974, when layoffs resulted in an immediate decrease in transfers, such was not the case in Turkey. Instead, there was observed an increase in transfers due to higher oil prices.

In general, the return of migrants, particularly the most skilled, and their reintegration in their origin countries promote development through the financial and human capital they have acquired abroad. Data from a survey on return migrants in the region of Tangier-Tetouan, Morocco, Khachani (2011) showed that the 2008 crisis prompted many Moroccan migrants to leave Spain, the second most popular migrant destination for Moroccans after France, and to return to Morocco. Although a returnee’s earnings (savings transferred to Morocco in the prospect of a possible return) was intended primarily for his/her family’ basic needs, part of it was often invested in real estate, trade and catering. Moreover, the return of migrants to their origin country is equally beneficial socially, especially to the health sector. Because of their experiences abroad, migrants who visit their families of origin or return to their countries

bring back certain practices, such as the habit of drinking pipe-borne water, living in a separate space from animals or undergoing an annual medical check-up (UNDP, 2009). When infectious diseases are likely to be incurred in the host country, the return of migrants can pose significant risks to the health of the families left behind. The risk of contracting the human Immune-deficiency virus (HIV) or other sexually transmitted diseases can be particularly high.

It was revealed that in 2006, nearly half (47%) of investments made by return migrants in Yaoundé were in real estate, with 26 per cent in the acquisition of shops (e.g. cafeterias, hair salons and restaurants) for commercial use (Seke and Ouedraogo, 2012).

In a recent study, Mimche (2010) shows that return migration encourages local development in terms of infrastructure, which contributes to the structuring of the local environment and allows a real dynamic transformation of the area and societies by international migrants. In the Grassfields region, where these migrations flows are relevant, social–spatial transformations are influenced by social relations that migrants undertake within their new environment and by emerging residential practices. Two divergent models of residential behaviour can be identified among these economic elites:

- The tendency to build identity by investing in property in large family compounds;
- The emergence of class consciousness arising from the prestige of settling in new residential neighbourhoods in the outskirts of cities.

In the first case, these residential practices are strategies for social mobility in the traditional sense, that is, through the acquisition of inherited noble titles. In the second case, mobility is provided by self-identification with a new reference group: the middle class, which is composed mainly of intellectuals, businessmen and senior administration officials. The development of these neighbourhoods is a class ethos.

4.3 Migration and sociofamilial dynamics

Migration issues are not only economic and (geo)political, but also sociofamilial and demographic in nature. The family is a reflection of society and constitutes a place where social transformations related to migration processes may be understood (Mimche, 2007). Faced with the quantitative and qualitative development of international migration, traditional families in the South are

witnessing profound modification caused by its “imitation” of the West. Family structures are rooted in the dynamics of social change, which itself is linked to changes (political, economic, demographic, cultural, social and historical) in global society underpinned by the logic of generalizing migration flows. This is why the family, as a theme, now occupies an important place in the discourse on migration. Also, studies have identified interactions between (im)migration, social and family changes as they relate to migrant integration.

In all societies, special types of families are emerging as a result of mobility (e.g. single-parent families, recomposed families, polynuclear families, families without a co-residence and marital families). This state of affairs has led scholars on family matters to come up with new family models and to forecast the future of the family in the current context of the globalization of migration flows. Regarding the contemporary context, recent studies have highlighted the complexity of family structures. Family-migration interactions are widely demonized: the family is seen as an instrument to circumvent regulations (e.g. through family reunification); an object of transgression of the law (marriage of convenience and forced marriages); or an obstacle to the proper integration of children (supposedly negligent families, especially when they are single-parent or polygamous). The evolution of migration flows is a factor for the reconfiguration of families, since migration disrupts family integrity. New forms of residence between family members or between spouses, changes in family status and other indicators of family changes are increasingly seen as a trajectory for the institutionalization of new family formats. This corroborates the fact that family structures are subject to economic, social, political and demographic dynamics which soon impose changes and new rules.

Studies have shown how migration, in general, can be a dynamic of family change in origin societies, and demonstrate the resulting transformations in the modalities of family life. In this sense, the consequences of emigration on origin societies are particularly visible at the level of family structures. On this, Gregory wrote that: “The departure of someone (or a few persons) is a challenge to the production system and authority, in the sense that most often emigrants are young (between 15 and 30 years) and mostly male. It is the most productive men who leave. [Such departures] can also be a threat to the paternal or patriarchal authority: the young can more easily escape the domination of elders, increase their autonomy, [and] even more easily make a new family . . . At the same time, migration can be a factor of stabilization in rural communities . . . African migration, since the late nineteenth century, has enhanced and changed the perception and reality of male and female roles”

(Gregory, 1988). As for host societies, two main theses confront and tend to show that the mixing of cultures induced by migration has implications at the social, demographic, economic, political and family levels. The first, which is of an optimistic nature, focuses on the integration process of immigrants and their families, that is, the acculturation of generations of immigrants. The second approach highlights the concepts of “family disorganization” and “family nuclearization” and is developed around the concept of “assimilation” produced by immigration status. Several authors have noted the effects of assimilation on the sociocultural reproduction of the original social group. For example, studies on African immigrants in Europe highlight the risk of family “dislocation” through a number of indicators: family and marital cohabitation, the decline of paternal authority over his wife and children, the erosion of family relationships due to declining solidarity and family socialization, forfeiture of native languages in favour of French and English, among others. Given the above, family structures change gradually as families adapt to the political, economic, social and cultural transformations imposed by the context of immigration in the host society.

Migration generates social contexts that favour the persistence, progressive disappearance, reconfiguration or development of certain forms of the family. New values are developed that are less and less considered pathologic forms of action and social life. Thus, practices such as premarital sex have led to the emergence of premarital births, single-parent families, the phenomenon of the female-headed household and abortions, among others. New forms of partnerships and homes take shape and are formalized in society. Non-marital and family cohabitation bring new challenges to contemporary families (e.g. single parenthood, reproductive health of adolescents and children’s education). The pace and brutality of family dynamics suggest a crisis of this basic social institution – a crisis which proponents of the cultural–functionalist school consider as the end of the traditional family and one which consecrates the rise of the conjugal family. As such, family dynamics must be considered when analysing social dynamics, and especially the changes in the daily lives of immigrants in the framework of this fundamental element of African society: the family. With new values conveyed from the host society and, especially, constraints in the social integration dynamic, the family is faced with new challenges. It is therefore forced to adapt.

Migration provides social, as well as economic, security to the migrant and the family back home, thanks to the resulting transfers. At the individual level, emigration constitutes a means for the migrant’s social achievement and is

an indication of personal success, which, in turn, facilitates a certain social mobility. Indeed, "In rural areas, the migrant becomes a [notable local] whose opinion is requested by the family and the tribe on various issues and he/she is frequently solicited to prepare the departure of other family members" (Khachani, 2007:213). Obviously, these transfers serve as income to migrants once they return to their origin countries. However, migration may be the result of a familial, rather than individual, strategy to diversify income and security in the context of market imperfection and uncertainty: transfers are, in this case, an endogenous aspect of the migration process (Vadean and Straubhaar, 2005). Therefore, migration, through remittances, ensures a dispersion of income sources and eventually leads to the adoption of production techniques which are riskier than traditional ones. It is a "mutually" beneficial mechanism of "coinsurance," that is, because the family's funding of the migration project offers protection against a possible external crisis.

Partial conclusion

International migration is a challenge for the contemporary world. It has now become a topical issue in all societies, as evidenced by the political debates in countries of the North and policy development initiatives in countries of the South. The reasons behind this are multiple and affect the human, cultural, social and economic domains. Moreover, the issues underlying migration are numerous and go beyond the simple economic framework, to raise concerns about human and political development. The interpenetration of the factors involved makes the analysis, and especially putting facilitation or profit maximization measures in place, particularly difficult for migrants and host and origin countries. International migration has become an important global issue insofar as mobility, in all its forms, has always been a way of life and, more often, a survival strategy.

Since the 1990s, changes in the economic, social and geopolitical environments have put into question the development policies and theories on which they were based. At the same time, migrants started to become involved in socio-spatial transformations, thanks to their investments and the remittances sent to their families of origin. The role of migrants in promoting development is manifested by the human, economic and cultural resources drained, created and redistributed, as well as by the challenges created in the different territories of origin and destination (if not host). The current debate on the extent and scope of migration's impact does not sufficiently account for the differences in dynamic spaces, inequality factors determining mobility, the emergence of

migrant networks, the respective roles of remittances, local financing and public investment networks, and, especially, non-material remittances generated by migration and the return of migrants to their societies of origin. Historically, several theories of migration have shown the relationship between this form of human mobility and the development process through the logic behind it and the transfer processes associated with these forms of sharing territories that underlie the globalization process. The transformations and complexity of the logic behind and the process of international migration at different levels (regional and intercontinental) require a reconsideration of the interaction between international migration and the development of migrants' zones of origin in Africa. Indeed, international mobility is correlated to the problems raised by the various forms of remittances generated by migration flows. The variety of the existing types of remittances (financial transfers, transfers of goods and equipment) shows the need to take into consideration the role played by both tangible and intangible transfers generated by these flows. In this context, the social sciences must contribute to the analysis of the role of migrants as agents of development, especially at the regional and local levels and as caused by the present process of administrative decentralization. This calls for the re-conceptualization of development from an economic viewpoint towards focusing on the role of international migrants in the transformation of social dynamics, politics and the culture of their places of origin (Mimche, 2010). This approach to the linkage between migration and development is based on the idea that the flows are transmission vectors for information, practices and ways of acting, thinking and feeling between different migratory poles – that is, the places of emigration and those of immigration (Faret, 2004).

5. International emigrants and their impacts on human development in Cameroon

This chapter describes the profile of emigrants, their reasons for migration, the consequences and impacts on the migrants themselves and on their households. In this study, the emigrant in a household, also referred to as the “absent migrant,” refers to any person who has left the household surveyed, within the last 10 years, to live in a foreign country and has been living abroad since then.

5.1 Profile of absent migrants and reasons for migration

Age and sex of absent migrants

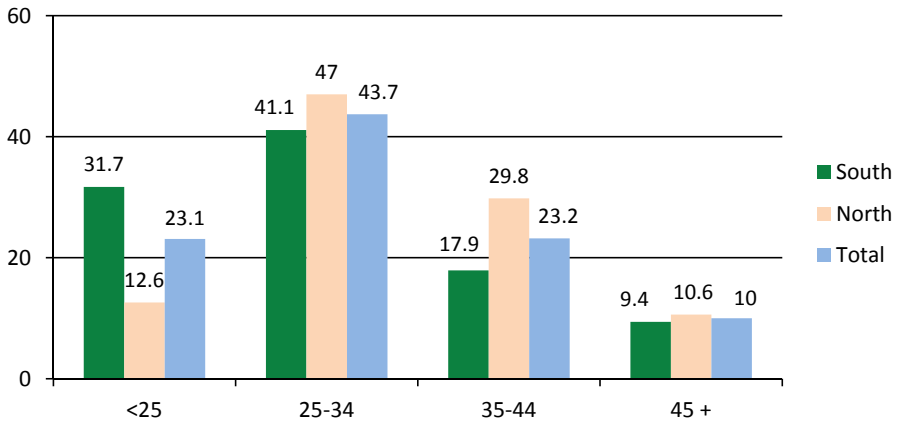
Absent migrants are usually young adults. Close to 9 out of 10 absent migrants are less than 45 years of age. This trend is observed regardless of whether the destination is in the North or South. In addition, there is a significant association between absent migrants’ age and area of residence. It is also noted that absent migrants living in the South are relatively younger than those in the North. Indeed, the average age of absent migrants living in the South is 30.2 years, against 33.8 years for those living in the North (figure 5.1).

The distribution of absent migrants according to sex shows a predominance of male migration. Indeed, among a total of 592 cases of absent migrants reported by the surveyed households, 60.9 per cent are men, against the only 39.1 per cent who are women (figure 5.2). There is no significant difference in the distribution of migrants by sex in the two main areas of destination (South and North).

Educational attainment and field of training of absent migrants at their departure

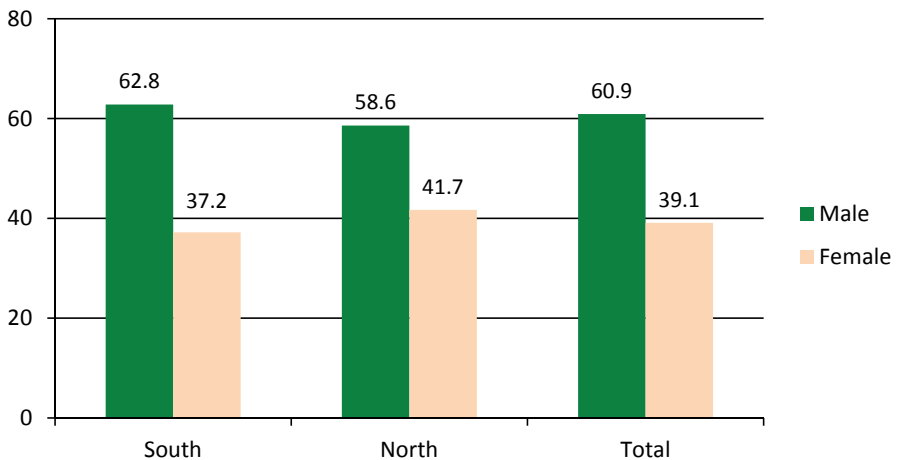
Emigration drains the relatively educated population. Indeed, the majority of absent migrants have attained a secondary-level education (53.0%), against 19.3 per cent who have attained a higher educational level at the time of their departure. Very few absent migrants left Cameroon without formal education/schooling (4.7%), and 2.1 per cent only attended Koranic school (figure 5.3).

Figure 5.1: Distribution (in %) of missing migrants by age and country of residence



Source: Data collected by the authors – Unless mentioned otherwise, the sources of tables and figures come from the survey data.

Figure 5.2: Distribution (in %) of missing migrants by sex and residence



An important relationship is noted between educational level and area of residence, and the observed pattern changes with the migration destination. Migrants heading South tend to have lower levels of education than those migrating North. Thus, while migrants with either Koranic or primary education are present in lower proportions in the North (0.2% and 6.2%, respectively), they are proportionately larger in the South (3.6% and 31.1%). Conversely, secondary and higher levels are much more highly represented among migrants heading North (59.6% and 29.5%, respectively, compared to 47.6% and 11.1% in the South). That said, it may be concluded that the intellectual elite of the country most often go to countries of the North than those of the South.

For absent migrants with higher levels of education, it was reported that their fields of training were more concentrated in the sciences (19.6%), the arts and humanities (14.1%), engineering (13.7%), social sciences and medicine (each approximately 13.6%) (table 5.1). The field of higher education study, generally, does not seem to be associated with the zone of residence of absent migrants. However, it seems that medicine is more highly represented in the North (17.5%), while the humanities and social sciences are more common in the South (18.3%).

Figure 5.3: Distribution (in %) of absent migrants by educational level and country of residence

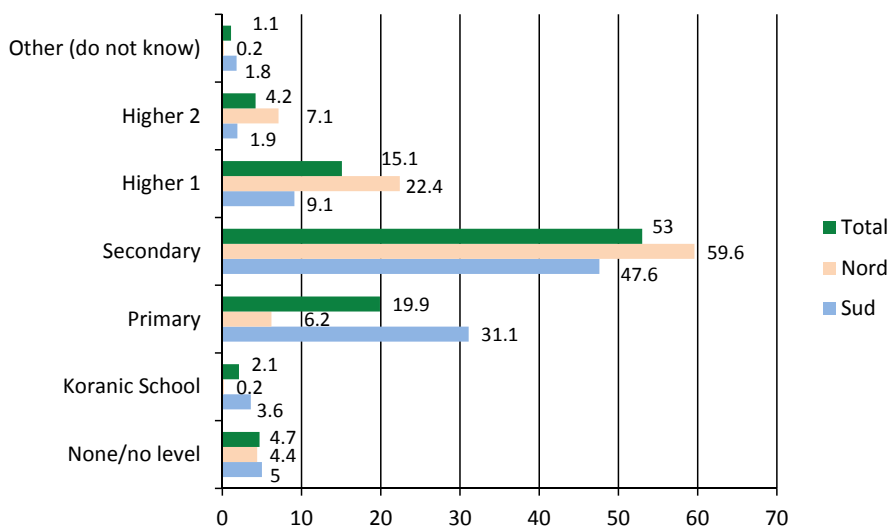


Table 5.1: Distribution (in %) of absent migrants by field of study in higher education and zone of residence

Field of study in higher education	Zone of residence		
	South	North	Total
Medicine	5.1	17.5	13.6
Education	0.0	0.7	0.5
Law	17.0	6.5	9.8
Social sciences	10.1	15.2	13.6
Humanities and social sciences	18.3	12.1	14.1
Science	21.5	18.8	19.6
Engineering	13.7	13.7	13.7
Commerce	3.3	4.8	4.4
Other	11.0	10.7	10.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	37	108	145
$p=0.894$			

Relationship between absent migrants and heads of household

It is apparent from table 5.2 that among household members, the children of household heads are more likely to leave or to be sent abroad. Indeed, 38 per cent of absent migrants are children of heads of household who had also left. In addition, there exists a pattern between the parental relationship of the migrant to the head of the household and the migrant's zone of residence. Thus, children of heads of household are more highly represented in the North than in the South (41.4% against 35.2%). The second most highly represented relation to the head of the household is that of brother/sister, constituting 29.7 per cent of absent migrants. This relation to the head of the household back in Cameroon is more common among absent migrants living in the South than those living in the North (33.0% against 25.6%). Apart from these two types of relationships, it is also noted that some migrants are either the nephew/niece (8%) or brother-/sister-in-law (6.9%) of the head of their household. Also, some migrants are absent spouses of the heads of the households, although their proportion is lower (2.9%).

Table 5.2: Distribution (in %) of absent migrants by relation to the head of the household and zone of residence

Parental relationship with heads of household (HH)	Zone of residence		
	South	North	Total
Spouse	3.1	2.6	2.9
Children	35.2	41,4	38.0
Grandchildren	1.9	1,9	1.9
Niece/nephew	7.6	8,4	8.0
Father/mother	0.7	1,5	1.1
Brother/sister	33.0	25,6	29.7
Son-in-law/daughter-in-law	2.1	2,1	2.1
Brother-in-law/sister-in-law	8.4	5,1	6.9
Parent-in-law	0.7	1,4	1.1
Other relative	4.9	9,3	6.9
Others	2.2	0,7	1.6
Total	100.0	100,0	100.0
Total number	592		
$p=0.096$			

Year of departure of absent migrants

In recent times, emigration has intensified due to the effects of the global financial crisis, the desire of the youth for foreign education and the perception of migration as a factor of social success (Mimche and Tourere, 2009). Indeed, as reported by respondents, 26.2 per cent of absent migrants left Cameroon between 2010 and 2012 (table 5.3). However, we find little variation in the proportion over time. From 17.2 per cent in the 2006–2007 period, the proportion of departures increased slightly to 19.2 per cent during 2004–2005, and to 19.3 per cent in 2008–2009. The increase in South–South migration from 18 per cent during 2008–2009 to 31 per cent during 2010–2012, thus exceeding Northward movement, may be an indication of the impact of the crisis in Europe on migratory movements.

Table 5.3: Distribution (in %) of absent migrants by year of departure and country of residence

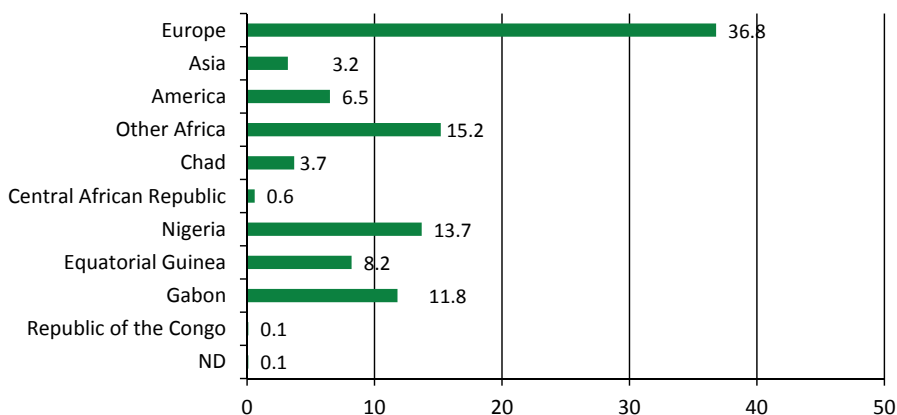
Year of departure	Zone of residence		
	South	North	Total
2001	2.4	4.1	3.2
2002–2003	16.2	13.6	15.0
2004–2005	15.5	23.6	19.2
2006–2007	16.8	17.7	17.2
2008–2009	18.2	20.7	19.3
2010–2012	31.1	20.3	26.2
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	289	302	591
$p=0.114$			

Current country of residence of absent migrants

Africa is the main region of current residence of Cameroonian migrants (about 53%). However, destinations vary, with neighbouring countries observed to be the most common. Among the African countries reported by survey respondents, Nigeria hosts the most Cameroonian migrants in the study, with 13.7 per cent, followed by Gabon, with 11.8 per cent, and Equatorial Guinea, with 8.2 per cent. Chad is the fourth country currently hosting Cameroonian migrants (3.7%). Other African countries host 15.2 per cent of absent migrants. The findings show the importance of intraregional migration on the one hand and the fact that Cameroon shares borders with several other countries on the other.

Apart from Africa, European countries constitute the second most important region of residence of Cameroonian absent migrants (36.8%), distantly followed by America (6.5%) and Asia (3.2%) (figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4: Distribution (in %) of absent migrants by current country of residence



Reasons for the migration of absent migrants

The reason(s) for the departure of absent migrants, as expressed by respondents, are varied, but some are more dominant (table 5.4). Globally, the search for a stable job is the reason most often given by respondents (45.2%). This reason is uppermost shared by absent migrants regardless of their zone of residence, with a significant preponderance among absent migrants residing in the North (46.6%, against 44.0% in the South). Overall, the second most common reason is the continuation of studies (38.4%). This reason is lower among migrants who left for the South than those who left for the North (31.3% against 46.9%, respectively). Migrants residing in the South cite “hope for a better income” as the second most important reason for the departure (34.1%, against 16.7% for those in the North).

Family reasons are also important among the reasons for departure. About one absent migrant in ten (9.9%) left for marital reasons, which is becoming, in the Cameroonian context, a strategy used by women to emigrate, especially to developed countries. Other family reasons relate to following other family members already abroad, which accounts for 6.6 per cent of absent migrants. Moreover, the effect of imitating is clearly mentioned for 2.4 per cent of absent migrants, while the search for freedom and security is given for 1.7 and 0.5 per cent of migrants, respectively.

Table 5.4: Distribution (in %) of absent migrants by reason for departure and zone of residence

Reasons for departure	Zone of residence		
	Sud	Nord	Total
Search for a steady job	44.0*	46.6	45.2
Studies	31.3***	46.9	38.4
Learning another language	1.6	2.7	2.1
Acquiring skills	6.6	11.4	8.8
Hope for a better income	34.1**	16.7	26.2
Hope to send money back to one's household	5.1	12.4	8.4
Security reasons	0.7	0.3	0.5
Victim of discrimination in the country	0.5	0.0	0.3
Seeking liberty	0.4	3.2	1.7
Followed the decision of other family members to live abroad	1.0**	0.1	0.5
Left for marital reasons	8.8	11.2	9.9
Joining other family members abroad	7.7	5.2	6.6
Left to succeed as others have	3.2	1.4	2.4
Other reasons	3.8	7.4	5.4
Statistical significance : * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$			

5.2. Consequences of emigration

Remittances sent by and assistance from absent migrants

Emigration does not systematically result in the transfer of funds or the shipment of in-kind assistance to the household left behind. Indeed, only 52.5 per cent of absent migrants sent money back to their homes of origin in the 12 months immediately preceding the survey. Majority of migrants living in the North, but bit the South send remittances to their households back home. In fact, nearly six out of ten absent migrants living in the North have made remittances to their households (59.9%), as opposed to 45.8 per cent of migrants currently residing in developing countries (figure 5.5). A similar pattern is observed with assistance, which is sent by almost one in five absent migrants (19%) (figure 5.6). Again, migrants living in the North proportionately send more assistance (25.6% against 13.6%).

Figure 5.5: Distribution of absent migrants by remittance-sending behavior, by zone of residence (in %)

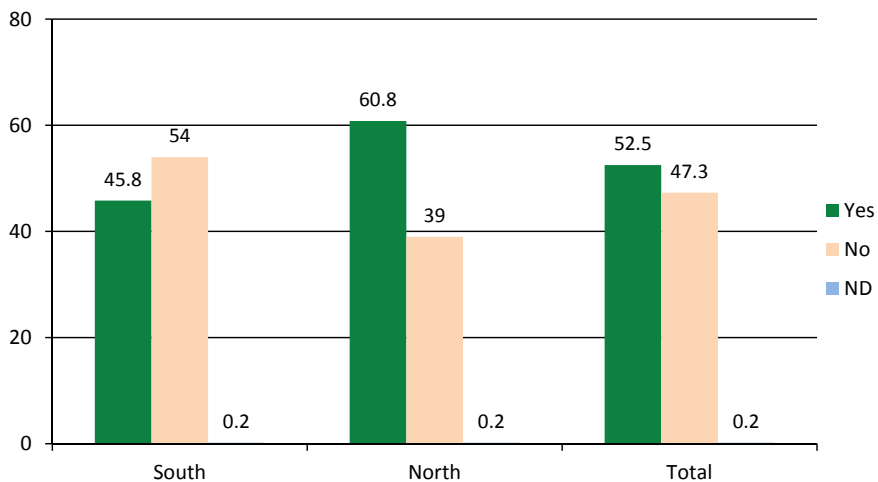
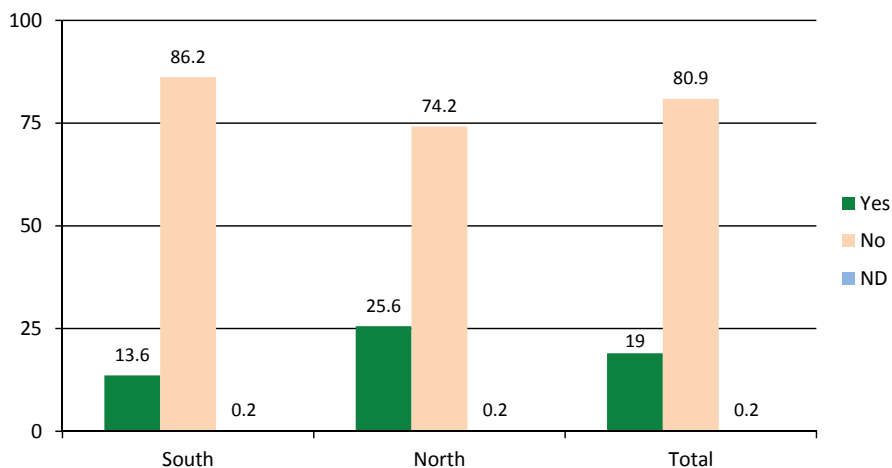


Figure 5.6: Distribution of absent migrants by assistance-sending behaviour, by zone of residence



Amount of transfers and assistance sent by absent migrants to households

If we consider all the absent migrants who have made transfers to their households in Cameroon, it would appear that the amount of money transferred during the period of this study averaged XAF 609,824 per migrant (table A3.1). Analysing the data by zone of residence, the average amount sent by migrants in the South over the last 12 months was significantly lower than that by migrants residing in the North (XAF 435,903 and XAF 766,940, respectively). We can also observe that migrants in the South usually send amounts less than XAF 100,000 (28.2%), while migrants in the North send more regular amounts of at least XAF 500,000 (43.9%). These results may reflect the fact that there is a difference in wages between absent migrants living in the North and those living in the South (table A3.2). Assistance received by households per absent migrant follows a similar pattern. It averaged XAF 613,726 (considering both North and South) over the last 12 months and was higher for households whose migrants were in the North (XAF 784,377) than those whose migrants were living in the South (XAF 370,600).

Remittances received by the households surveyed over the last 12 months average XAF 723,278, and emigration to the North, rather than the South, seems more profitable for the household. The average amount of remittances received during the reference period is significantly higher among households with absent migrants residing in the North (XAF 909,328) than households whose migrants are in the South (XAF 502,719). The average amount of assistance received by households from absent migrants is not significantly different from one zone of residence to the other. Their average is estimated at XAF 656,034 over the prior 12 months.

Amount of transfers and assistance received by absent migrants from households

Households are not only beneficiaries of remittances sent by absent migrants, as they, in turn, send remittances and assistance to these migrants. Transfers to their migrants abroad averaged XAF 452,613 per household over the last 12 months. The approximate value of assistance sent to each household is estimated at XAF 98,082 during the same period. Migrants residing in the North individually cost their households more than those living in the South. While the overall average transfer of funds (i.e. for both North and South migrants) from household per migrant is equal to XAF 365,587, it is significantly different from one zone to another, standing at XAF 261,359 per migrant living in the

South and XAF 672,767 per migrant residing in the North (table A3.1). The same North–South contrast is true for the average amount of assistance sent by households per migrant.

5.3 Profile of absent migrants and amount of transfers

Education of absent migrants and remittance-sending

The amount of remittances sent by a migrant increases with his or her educational level at the time of departure. Indeed, while migrants without any education sent an average of XAF 78,914 over the last 12 months, those with primary education sent a higher average of XAF 553,394. The amount increased to XAF 1,642,121 for absent migrants with a “higher 2” level of education (table 5.5). Among absent migrants residing in the North, there is the same relationship between the level of education at departure and the amount of the remittances sent, that is, the average amount sent in the last 12 months seems to increase with the level of education at departure. To be specific, migrants without any education sent an average of XAF 145,004 over the last 12 months, and those with Koranic education sent an average of XAF 200,000. Meanwhile, those with primary-level education sent XAF 203,448 on average, and those with secondary-level education sent XAF 653,416. Conversely, there appears to be no link between the average amount sent by migrants in the South and their educational level at departure.

Table 5.5: Average amount received from absent migrants by educational level (in XAF)

Highest level of education attained	Zone of residence					
	Total		South		North	
	N	Average	n	Average	n	Average
None/No education	8	78,914	4	49,403	4	145,004
Koranic school	5	54,938	4	35,921	1	200,000
Primary	32	553,394	24	598,830	8	203,448
Secondary	162	554,884	75	429,030	87	653,416
Higher 1 (first cycle)	63	775,107	12	359,751	51	897,450
Higher 2 (second cycle)	11	1,642,121	3	1,082,679	8	1,684,099
Other (specify)	2	168,662	1	50,000	1	300,000
Data not available/ reported	1	1,000,000	0	-	1	1,000,000
Total (N)	284	609,824	123	435,903	161	766,940
	$p=0.0016$		$p=0.4520$		$p=0.0625$	

Age group of absent migrants and remittance-sending

Overall, the amount sent by absent migrants is not related to their age. This is the case particularly among absent migrants residing in the North. However, there is a relationship between age and fund sending among absent migrants residing in the South. The amount sent decreases with age until 45 years of age, when the amount sent rises again. To be specific, absent migrants under 25 years of age sent an average of XAF 616,891 during the 12-month reference period. Those ages 25 to 34 sent XAF 329,441, and those ages 35 to 44 years sent XAF 191,762. Absent migrants age 45 and above sent XAF 803,965 (table 5.6).

Sex of absent migrants and remittance-sending

Remittances from male migrants seem a little larger than those from females, suggesting that women earn less than men. Absent male migrants sent XAF 614,511 during the period of reference, while women sent XAF 603,060 (table 5.7). However, this slight difference is not statistically significant within each migrants' zone of residence.

Table 5.6: Average amount received from absent migrants by age group (in XAF)

Age group	Zone of residence					
	Total		South		North	
	N	Average	n	Average	n	Average
<25	29	573,628	19	616,891	10	386,337
25–34	148	611,999	67	329,441	81	840,231
35–44	67	634,004	22	191,762	45	875,493
45+	40	602,980	15	803,965	25	466,199
Total (N)	284	609,824	123	435,903	161	766,940
	$p=0.9938$		$p=0.0364$		$p=0.4081$	

Table 5.7: Average amount received from absent migrants by sex (in XAF)

Sex	Zone of residence					
	Total		South		North	
	N	Average	n	Average	n	Average
Male	175	614,511	78	356,714	97	869,969
Female	109	603,060	45	564,822	64	633,259
Total	284	609,824	123	435,903	161	766,940
	$p=0.9281$		$p=0.1394$		$p=0.2302$	

Departure date of absent migrants and remittance-sending

A variation in transfer amounts was observed across the years of departure, but without a clear pattern. Overall,, there is no relationship between the year of departure from Cameroon and the average amount of funds sent to each household. This finding was also observed in the South. In other words, there is no significant difference in the amount of remittances sent by migrants with different departure years. However the difference is significant for the North, and remittances seem to grow with the length of stay abroad. This may suggest that absent migrants living in the North become better integrated in the labour market over time. Indeed, the average amount of remittances sent over the last 12 months by migrants who left between 2002 and 2003 is estimated at XAF 1,623,530; those who left between 2004 and 2005 have an average of XAF 732,882; while those who left between 2006 and 2007 have an estimated average of XAF 438,071. In addition, migrants who left between 2010 and 2012 sent an average of XAF 443,527 (table 5.8).

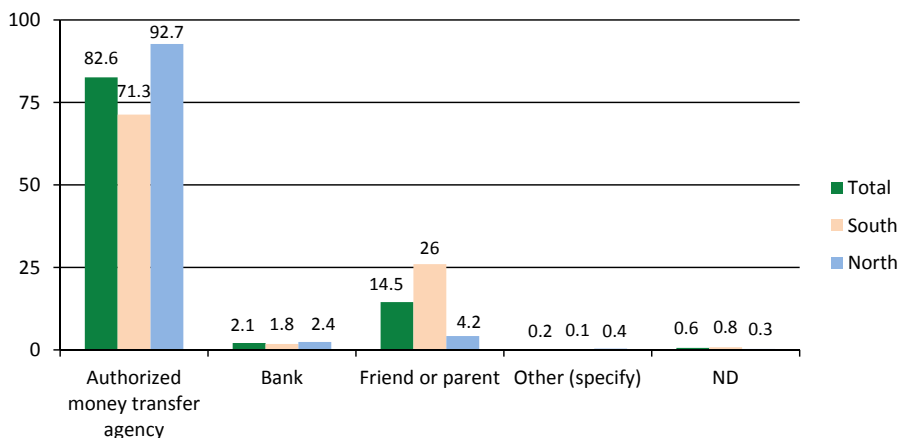
Table 5.8: Amount received from absent migrants by year of departure (in XAF)

Year of departure	Zone of residence					
	Total		South		North	
	N	Average	N	Average	N	Average
2001	13	587,913	5	296,477	8	764,993
2002–2003	34	1,175,588	8	265,171	26	1,623,530
2004–2005	56	600,646	23	405,693	33	732,882
2006–2007	56	356,372	29	291,751	27	438,071
2008–2009	62	720,504	24	597,568	38	819,982
2010–2012	63	491,789	34	525,589	29	443,527
Total	284	609,824	123	435,903	161	766,940
	$p=0.252$		$p=0.6881$		$p=0.0165$	

Methods used by migrants to send funds

Authorized transfer agencies are the most important means used by migrants to send remittances. Among the absent migrants who sent remittances to their households of origin, 82.6 per cent have used this means. A considerable proportion (14.5%) used relatives or friends to send money (figure 5.7). The remittance method used by an absent migrant appears to depend on the zone of current residence. To be specific, migrants residing in the North are more likely than migrants in the South to use authorized money transfer agencies (92.7% against 71.3%, respectively). Similarly, absent migrants residing in the South are more likely than migrants in the North to use their friends and relatives for transfers (26% against 4.2%, respectively). The use of banks is relatively rare for this service, with only 2.1 per cent of absent migrants using this means of sending money to their families.

Figure 5.7: Distribution (in %) of absent migrants by main method used to send money to the surveyed household



Frequency of money sent by migrants

Sending money is an occasional occurrence. Overall, the predominant frequency of sending money is during emergencies or on special occasions (table 5.9), represented by 47.7 per cent of absent migrants. The data highlight the fact that transferring money to the original household in Cameroon constitutes a strategy for mitigating important risks. Households resort to absent migrants, mainly when a critical situation occurs, as a reliable support in times of emergency. These transfers are therefore a relay to regular household funds. There is a relationship between the frequency of sending and migrants' zone of current residence. Thus, migrants in the South proportionately made more occasional transfers than migrants in the North (53.8% against 42.3%, respectively). It should be noted that monthly is the second most common frequency overall. Indeed, 14.2 per cent of all migrants in the study send monthly remittances to their households, although funds are usually sent in an emergency or on an occasional basis to meet demands related to family solidarity (for example, death and marriage). Monthly is likewise the second most common sending frequency observed among migrants residing in the South. For their part, migrants residing in the North have bimonthly as the second most common (16.5%) sending frequency.

Table 5.9: Distribution of absent migrants by frequency of sending money to the household surveyed and zone of residence

Frequency of sending money	Zone of residence		
	Total	South	North
Weekly	2.5	3.9	1.2
Bimonthly	2.5	3.1	1.8
Monthly	14.2	12.8	15.3
Every two months	12.8	8.5	16.5
Every six months	8.1	5.2	10.7
Every year	11.6	11.8	11.5
Emergencies or special occasions	47.7	53.8	42.3
Data not available/reported	0.7	0.8	0.6
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	310	135	175
$p=0.086$			

5.4 Impacts of emigration of household members and remittance transfers

This section measures and evaluates the economic and social impacts of migration on households with absent migrants.

Impact on economic activity

Overall, the departure of a household member has a negative impact on the proportion of self-employed persons in the household ages 12⁸ years and above. This proportion is significantly reduced to 3.6 per cent in households with absent migrants, compared to households without migrants (table A3.4). This may confirm the widespread perception of economic inertia (the tendency not to be economically productive) among members of households with absent migrants, who receive regular funds for their survival. The proportion of employees among household members of at least 12 years of age, however, does not change significantly due to the existence of an absent migrant. In other words, having an absent migrant in a household does not affect the chances of access to employment for members of that household.

8 For the purpose of analysis, the age of onset of activity was set at 12 years to account for child labour, which is a reality in Cameroon.

Considering migrants' zone of residence, we find that the emigration of household members to the South does not affect the proportion of individuals in self-employment (i.e. independent) within the household, much less that of individuals in paid employment (i.e. employees). Conversely, the proportion of self-employed individuals in the household appears to be affected by the emigration of a household member to the North. To be specific, the proportion is reduced by 4.9 per cent in households with an absent migrant in the North, compared to households with no migrants. Hence, it can be argued there is no household dependence on remittances from absent migrants in the South because they do not often engage in activities that give them a substantial income.

Impact on education spending

Overall (i.e. considering both North and South), the emigration of a household member is associated with an increase in annual household expenditure on education. Indeed, households with members abroad spend an average of XAF 116,000 higher than households without migrants (table A3.4). Education spending is greater among households with absent migrants in countries of the North. In fact, these households annually spent an average XAF 132,000 higher than households with no migrants.

Impact on food expenditure

The emigration of a household member is associated with increased household spending on food. Overall, households with absent migrants spent an average of XAF 5,250 more than households without migrants during the week prior to the survey (table A4.1). Similar to the findings related to the impact on economic activity, the relationship is valid for households with absent migrants in the North, but not for households with migrants in the South. The former spent an average of XAF 4,387 higher than households with no migrants during the last week; however, households with migrants in the South did not spend any differently on food than households without migrants during the last week.

Impact on health-care spending

The emigration of a household member does not significantly affect spending on health in the household (table A3.4), regardless of whether the migrant currently resides in the South or the North.

Impact on savings

Households with absent migrants have greater monthly savings. Indeed, they would save roughly XAF 15,045 more than households without migrants. Households with migrants in countries of the North are significantly different in behaviour from households without migrants, differently from households with absent migrants in countries of the South. Households with absent migrants residing in the North saved XAF 28,739 more than households without migrants during the last month.

Partial conclusion

The analysis of survey data shows that absent migrants are mostly young adults and men. They are generally well educated, but the more educated go to countries of the North rather than the South. Africa is the main region of current residence for migrants, hosting more than half of absent migrants in the survey. Among African countries, Nigeria has the highest number of migrants, followed by Gabon and Equatorial Guinea.

Among the reasons for departure, the search for stable employment ranks first for migrants in both the North and the South. This is followed by studies, for migrants in the North, and by the hope of saving money, for migrants residing in the South. A little more than half of all migrants send money to their households, and the average amount of transfers sent by each migrant during the last 12 months was XAF 604,824. There is a difference in the average amount sent depending on the migrant's zone of residence. In general, remittances from absent migrants in the North are higher than those from absent migrants in the South.

The amount of remittances sent by an absent migrant is associated with his or her educational level at the time of departure, as well as his or her age, especially for migrants living in the South. The amount is also associated with the year of departure, especially for those living in the North. The survey did not show a difference in the amount of transfers by sex.

Authorized transfer agencies are the most commonly used means to send funds, especially by migrant residents in countries of the North. Absent migrants residing in the South are more likely to use friends and relatives for remittances. The impact of emigration on the economic activity of household members is negative in the sense that emigration tends to reduce the proportion of self-employed household members, especially among households with

migrants living in the North. Conversely, the existence of an absent migrant in the household has a positive effect on spending on education, food and savings, that is, spending increases in households with at least one absent migrant. This effect seems to be valid only when the migrant resides in the North, however. On the other hand, South–South migration may signify a strategy for risk diversification.

6. International return migrants and their impact on human development in Cameroon

To understand the impact of return migration on human development in Cameroon, this chapter first presents the sociodemographic characteristics of returnees, as well as their migration history and reasons for migrating, and goes further to discuss the economic consequences of this type of migration and the determinants of its impact on development.

6.1 Profile of return migrants and reason for migration

Characteristics such as age, sex, level of education, employment status, destination, reason for migration and migration trajectory influence the decision and frequency of migrant transfers, including remittances and goods. These migration-related characteristics provide an understanding of the socioeconomic impact of return migration. For the purposes of this study, a return migrant is considered to be a person who was born and currently living in Cameroon, but who, at one time, lived in another country for three months or more.

Sociodemographic characteristics of return migrants

Sociodemographic characteristics, such as age, sex, relationship to the head of the household, educational level, marital status, and employment status before departure from Cameroon permit the profiling of migrants and can reveal their reasons/motivations for migrating.

- Age

In general, return migrants in Cameroon mostly belong to the active 35–59 age group (40.8%). They are followed by youth ages 25–34 (31.5%), youth under 25 years (20.1%) and then by those over 60 years (7.5%) (figure 6.1). Analysis by type of migration shows that return migrants from the South are younger (21.7% were under 25 years, compared to 11.9% for Cameroonian migrants returning from the North). Further, 4.8 per cent of South–South migrants were under 35 years, compared to 35.2 per cent of North–South return migrants in the same age group.

Figure 6.1: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by age group

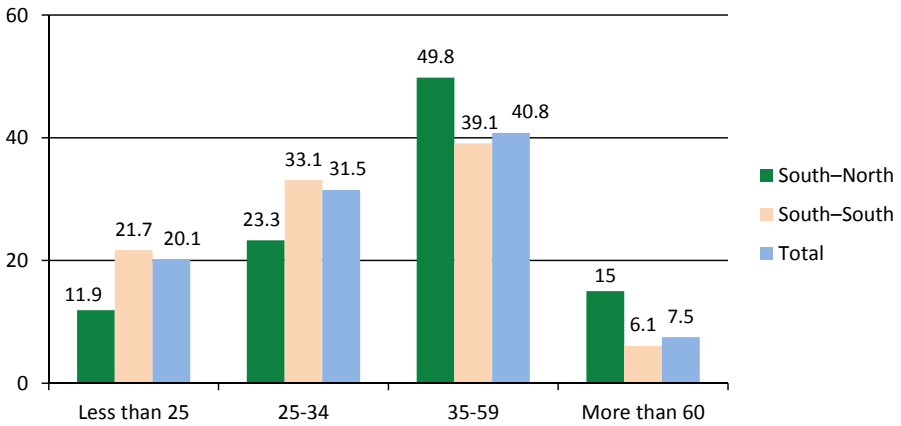
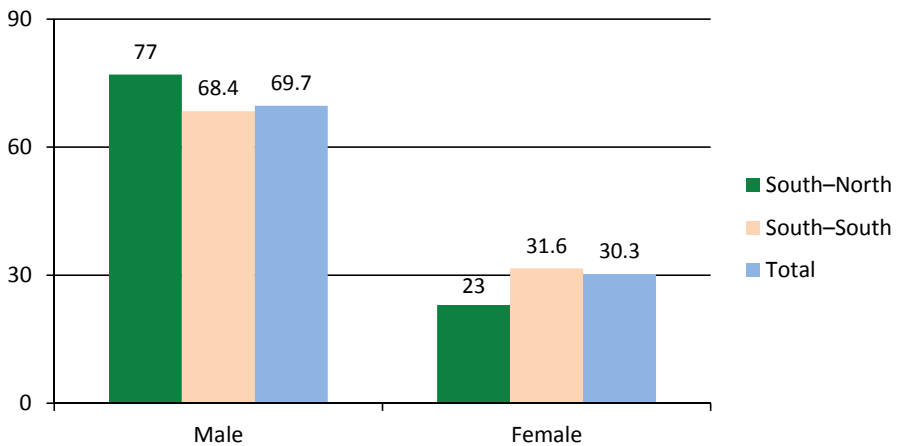


Figure 6.2: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by sex



- Sex

More men than women compose return migration. Figure 6.2 shows that 69.7 per cent of return migrants are men, compared to 30.3 per cent for women. The difference may be explained by the position that marriage occupies among the factors of female emigration in general. This tendency (as observed in total return migration) is seen in both South-South and South-North migration. In addition, it appears that women engage in South-South (32% against 23% for South-North return migration).

- Relationship with the head of the household

Regardless of the type of migration considered, the observed relationship with the household) is almost identical. Heads of household (58.5% overall, 59.1% for South–South and 55.6% for South–North migration), children of heads of household (20.7%, against 21.1% for South–South and 18.2% for North–South) and siblings of heads of household (6.5% overall, 4.5% for South–South and 17.3% for North–South) are most common. Spouses of household heads comprise 11.5 per cent of all return migrants, 12.3 per cent of South–South and 7.4 per cent of North–South return migrants.

Table 6.1: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by relationship to the head of the household

Relationship to the head of the household (HH)	Total migration	South–South migration	South–North migration
Head of household	58.5	59.1	55.6
Spouse	11.5	12.3	7.4
Child	20.7	21.1	18.2
Niece/nephew	1.1	1.3	0.0
Brother/sister	6.5	4.5	17.3
Son-in-law/daughter-in law	0.1	0.1	0.0
Another relative	1.6	1.6	1.5
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0

- Educational attainment by the time of return

Overall and among South–South return migrants, the secondary level is the most common educational level attained (45.3 % and 47.5 %, respectively). Most North–South return migrants (40.1%), on the other hand, have attained a “higher 1” level of education.

- Marital status

Regardless of the type of migration considered, the trend observed is almost the same. Return migrants are mostly married (49% of all, 48.7% of South–South and 50.7% of North–South return migrants). The next largest group consists of single individuals (36.5% of all return migrants, 37.1% of South–South and 33.2% of North–South return migrants), followed by those who are cohabiting (9.3% of all return migrants, 9.2% of South–South and 9.7% of North–South return migrants).

Table 6.2: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by educational attainment

Educational level	Total migration	South–South migration	South–North migration
None	5.7	6.4	2.1
Koranic	4.3	4.4	4.1
Primary	20.9	22.8	10.7
Secondary	45.3	47.5	33.7
Higher 1 (first cycle)	17.8	13.6	40.1
Higher 2 (second cycle)	4.1	3.4	7.9
No response	0.2	-	1.5
Data not available/ reported	1.6	1.9	-
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 6.3: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by marital status

Marital status	Total migration	South–South migration	South–North migration
Married	49.0	48.7	50.7
Cohabiting	9.3	9.2	9.7
Separated	1.4	1.7	-
Divorced	1.5	1.5	1.2
Widowed	2.4	1.8	5.2
Single	36.5	37.1	33.2
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0

- Main activity before leaving Cameroon

Regardless of the type of migration considered, just before leaving Cameroon more than a quarter of the return migrants surveyed were either students or were undergoing training. Table 13 shows that 36.8 per cent of all return migrants (and 38.3% and 29.2% of South–South and North–South return migrants, respectively) were self-employed before leaving Cameroon. Of all return migrants, 22.6 per cent (20.3% and 17.1% of South–South and North–South return migrants, respectively) were engaged in paid employment abroad.

The number of unemployed Cameroonians who migrated to the North was higher than that of unemployed Cameroonians who moved to the South. Indeed, it was noted that for South–South return migration, 6 per cent of return migrants were unemployed just before leaving Cameroon, compared to double this percentage for South–North migrants. The proportions of elderly and retired persons were low.

- Sector of activity before departure from Cameroon

Before their departure abroad, 21.8 per cent of return migrants were either engaged in paid employment or were self-employed in the wholesale and retail sectors. Some 15 per cent of these returnees were engaged in agriculture, forestry and fishing; 14.2 per cent in the catering and trade sectors; and 8.9 per cent in transportation and warehousing.

Analysis by type of migration shows that South–South return migrants were mostly engaged in the wholesale and retail (23.1%); agriculture, forestry and fishing (15.2%); and catering and trade sectors (13.9%). Meanwhile, North–South return migrants were mainly engaged in catering and trade (15.9%); wholesale and retail (13.3%); and agriculture, forestry and fishing (13.3%). Finally, it is important to note that 10.9 per cent of North–South and 1.6 per cent of South–South return migrants were students prior to their departure (see table 6.5).

Table 6.4: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by main activity before leaving Cameroon

Main activity before leaving Cameroon	Total migration	South–South migration	South–North migration
School/training	29.1	28.5	32.0
Paid employment	19.8	20.3	17.1
Self-employed	36.8	38.3	29.2
Unemployed and in search for employment	7.0	6.0	12.0
Unemployed and not in search for employment	1.7	1.6	1.8
Unpaid work	1.1	1.3	-
Retired	1.2	-	7.4
Others	2.7	3.1	0.4
Data not available/reported	0.6	0.8	-
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 6.5: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by sector of activity before leaving Cameroon

Sector of activity before leaving Cameroon	Total migration	South–South migration	South–North migration
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	15.0	15.2	13.3
Manufacturing	7.4	6.7	11.9
Electricity/gas/water/waste management	1.6	1.8	-
Public works	4.3	5.0	-
Wholesale and retail	21.8	23.1	13.3
Transportation and warehousing	8.9	9.8	2.5
Catering and trade	14.2	13.9	15.9
Information and communication	1.4	1.1	3.5
Finance and insurance	2.2	1.6	6.3
Real estate	2.4	1.8	6.5
Professional, scientific and technical services	6.0	6.2	5.1
Administrative and support services	4.3	5.0	-
Security services	0.4	0.5	-
Education	2.8	1.6	10.9
Health and social care	1.6	1.9	-
Art, entertainment and leisure	0.4	-	3.3
Other	4.0	3.5	7.4
Data not available/reported	1.1	1.3	-
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0

Migration history

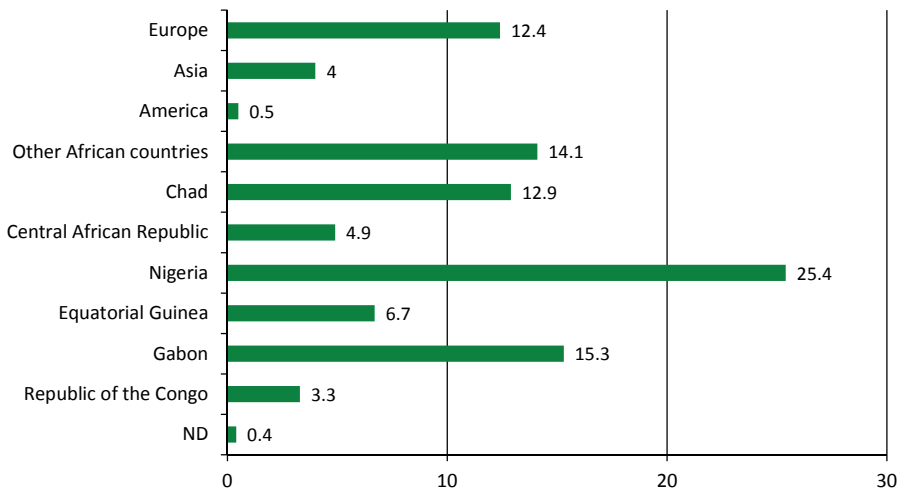
Migration history concerns the migration trajectories and the occupations of return migrants during their stay abroad.

- Migration trajectories

It is apparent from figure 11 that most return migrants lived in countries within the subregion. The interest in these countries is explained by their proximity to Cameroon and the fact that they are easier to enter (often possible without a passport) compared to countries in the North. The African destination

countries most preferred by these migrants, and where they spent more time during their last stay abroad, are Nigeria (25.4%), Gabon (15.3%), Chad (12.9%), Equatorial Guinea (6.7%), Central African Republic (4.9%), the Republic of the Congo (3.3%) and other African countries (14.1%). These results show the structure of Cameroonian emigration and the importance of intraregional migration. Outside the African continent, European countries (12.4%) are the most common destinations, followed by Asian countries (4%). The trends observed are almost identical for the longest stays abroad in the lives of these migrants.

Figure 6.3: Countries of destination of Cameroonian return migrants (in %)



- Occupations during the stay abroad

Regardless of the type of migration considered (i.e. South–South or South–North), little more than two in five of the return migrants surveyed had paid employment during their stay abroad (figure 6.4).

Figure 6.4: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by paid employment during the last stay abroad

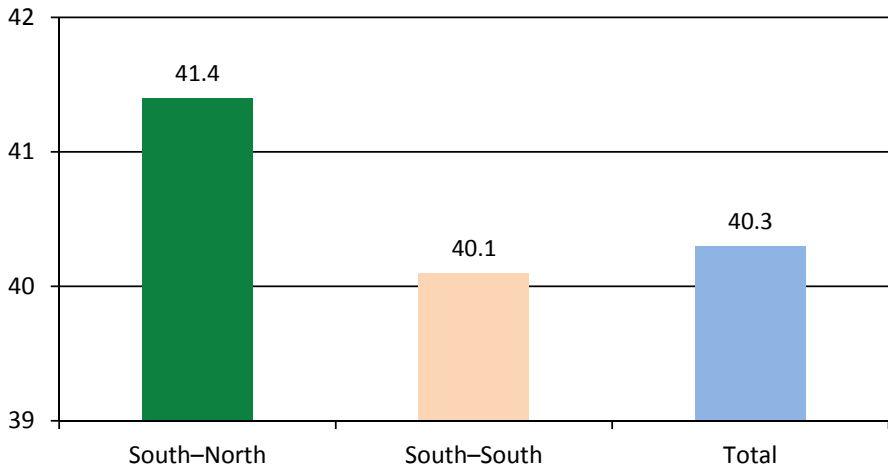


Table 6.6: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by main activity abroad

Main activity abroad	Total migration	South-South migration	South-North migration
School/training	23.5	23.3	24.8
Paid employment	28.8	28.4	31.0
Self-employment	23.0	24.3	16.2
Without employment and seeking	4.3	4.0	6.1
Without employment and not seeking	9.1	9.7	6.0
Unpaid employment	2.7	3.2	-
Retired	1.2	-	7.5
Other	7.4	7.2	8.4
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0

In general, among those who were not engaged in paid employment abroad, 23.5 per cent were in training schools; 9.1 per cent were unemployed and not looking for work; 4.3 per cent were jobseekers; and 1.2 per cent were retired (table 6.6).

Among the 40.3 per cent of return migrants who had paid employment abroad, 31.9 per cent were in the service industry; 24 per cent had jobs in

the primary sector; 17 per cent were in skilled and specialist trades; 12 per cent were senior staff; and 10.5 per cent were specifically engaged in the production, manufacture and use of machines (table 6.7). Only 4.3 per cent of return migrants were engaged in administrative or secretarial duties. There was almost no head or manager of an enterprise (0.4%).

Among the 40.1 per cent of South–South return migrants who had paid employment abroad, 34.2 per cent were in the service industry, 24.3 per cent in primary employment, 17.4 per cent in qualified and specialist trades, and 10.2 per cent were senior staff. As for North–South return migrants, 22.3 per cent were senior staff; 22 per cent were engaged in primary employment; 18.6 per cent were in services; and 16.3 per cent were in the manufacture and use of machines. It was also found that return migrants from countries of the South were mainly engaged in services, while in the North, they were mostly senior staff.

Table 6.8 shows that 80.4 per cent of the return migrants had higher incomes abroad than in Cameroon before their departure; 10.6 per cent earned roughly the same incomes as before they left the country; and only 9 per cent had incomes less than they did before departure.

Table 6.7: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by occupation abroad

Occupation abroad	Total migration	South–South migration	South–North migration
Manager/head of enterprise	0.4	0.4	-
Senior staff	12.0	10.2	22.3
Administrative and secretarial	4.3	3.9	6.6
Skilled and specialist trades	17.0	17.4	14.3
Service provision	31.9	34.2	18.6
Production, manufacturing and use of machines	10.5	9.5	16.3
Primary employment	24.0	24.3	22.0
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 6.8 also shows that 87.3 per cent of North–South return migrants had higher incomes abroad than in Cameroon before their departure, against 79.2 per cent of their peers who were returning from other countries of the South. In addition, 11.7 per cent of South–South return migrants (compared to only 4.4 per cent of North–South return migrants) earned roughly the same income as did had before leaving Cameroon. These results are explained by the fact that minimum wages in countries of the North are generally higher than in the South.

Concerning their standards of living abroad, 56.6 per cent of all return migrants, 57.4 per cent of South–South return migrants and 73.7 per cent of North–South return migrants reported that they were satisfied (table 6.9). According to 13.9 per cent of all return migrants (18.8% for South–South and 10.5% for North–South return migration), migration did not improve their standard of living, while 28.7 per cent (22.6% for South–South and 15.9% for North–South) found that life abroad was less satisfactory than life before leaving Cameroon.

Table 6.8: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by income abroad

Income abroad	Total migration	South–South migration	South–North migration
More	80.4	79.2	87.3
Less	9.0	9.1	8.4
About the same	10.6	11.7	4.4
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 6.9: Distribution (in %) of return migrants according to migrants' perception of their standard of living abroad, compared to that in Cameroon prior to migration

Standard of living abroad	Total migration	South–South migration	South –North migration
Greatly improved	38.6	36.6	48.7
Somewhat improved	21.4	20.8	25.0
Similar	17.4	18.8	10.5
Somewhat diminished	15.8	16.3	13.1
Greatly diminished	5.7	6.3	2.8
Data not available/reported	1.0	1.2	-
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0

Reasons for departure and return

The reasons for departure provide an understanding of the motivations that pushed return migrants to leave Cameroon.

- Reasons for departure

If, for South–South migrants, the hope to earn more money (24.4%) and the search for a stable job (24.1%) were the main motivations for departure, it was academic reasons (33%) that mostly motivated the departure of migrants to the North (table 6.10). Other important motivations for migration to the North were the search for a stable job (26.2%) and the hope to make more money (23.8%).

Table 6.10: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by reason for departure

Reason for the departure of return migrants	Total migration	South–South migration	South–North migration
Search for a steady job	24.4	24.1	26.2
Studies	20.6	18.2	33.0
Learn another language	1.7	1.9	0.6
Acquire skills	10.5	10.5	10.8
Hoping to make more money	24.3	24.4	23.8
Hoping to save money	10.4	10.8	8.2
Be able to send money back home	6.6	6.0	9.5
Did not feel secure in Cameroon	1.0	1.2	-
Find freedom	0.3	0.4	-
Live with other family members	7.7	9.2	-
Marriage	1.4	1.3	1.6
Reunite with family members abroad	13.2	14.4	7.0
Other reasons	24.3	24.4	23.7

- Reasons for return

Table 6.11 shows that, in general, the main reasons for the return of South–South migrants are: (a) family-related (19.4% of all migrants, compared to 21% of South–South migrants); (b) the end of a particular job term (14.7% of all migrants; 14.2% of South–South migrants); (c) dissatisfaction with life abroad (13.4% of all migrants; 14.1% of South–South migrants); (d) success in saving (11.3% of all migrants; 10.1% of South–South migrants); and (e) the end of studies abroad (7.6% against 7.5% for South–South).

Table 6.11: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by reason for return

Reasons for the return of return migrants	Total migration	South–South migration	South–North migration
“I decided to come back because I succeeded in saving money.”	11.3	10.1	17.8
“I decided to come back because I intended to return at the end of my contract.”	14.7	14.2	17.3
“I decided to come back because I had finished my studies.”	7.6	7.5	8.2
“I decided to come back because I was bonded to come back.”	7.4	7.9	4.6
“I decided to come back because the person with whom I went to live in the other country also came back.”	7.7	8.8	2.2
“I decided to come back because my (romantic) relationship in the host country ended.”	5.1	4.4	9.1
“I decided to come back because I was not legally allowed to stay in the country.”	7.0	7.4	5.3
“I came back because I was deported.”	6.2	4.8	13.3
“I decided to come back because my life was not as I had expected.”	13.4	14.1	9.9
“I decided to come back to retire.”	0.0	0.0	0.0
“I decided to come back for family reasons.”	19.4	21.0	11.3
“I decided to come back because this is my country and I feel that I belong here.”	7.2	7.8	4.2

Reasons for the return of return migrants	Total migration	South–South migration	South–North migration
“I decided to come back because I missed the way of life in my country.”	3.7	3.9	2.4
“I decided to come back to start a new job/set up a new business.”	5.7	5.5	6.4
“I decided to come back because of attractive government schemes.”	0.5	0.2	2.2
“I decided to come back for other reasons.”	22.8	23.5	19.3
“I came back because of xenophobia and discrimination in the host country.”	6.1	5.0	11.8

It is seems that successful savings (17.8%), the end of a job contract (17.3%), deportation (13.3%) and family reasons (11.3%) justify the homecoming of North–South return migrants.

6.2 Consequences of return migration

Remittances from migrants can contribute to the growth and expansion of the national economy. In fact, many households are able to survive, or improve their standards of living, using the funds regularly sent by migrants (World Bank, 2006; Adam and Page, 2005). Based on the experience of return migrants, this section examines the issue of remittances, with particular attention on the beneficiaries of remittances, the means used to transfer funds and the number of beneficiaries.

Benefactors of remittances from return migrants

As indicated in other research cited in Chapter 3, it is clear from figure 6.5 that regardless of the zone of destination considered, a little over a third of return migrants sent money to members of their current household when they were still living abroad. A significant proportion of South–North migrants were noted: 42 per cent, compared to 32.9 per cent of South–South migrants. However, the

results also show that not all of the return migrants made transfers while they were abroad. As indicated by the results of the qualitative study, the ability of migrants to send money back to their families may depend on several factors: (a) type of activity exercised by the migrant in the host country; (b) his/her financial autonomy; (c) length of stay in the host country; and (d) the size of his/her family responsibilities back home, among others. These factors may explain the disparity observed between North-based and South-based migrants in terms of remittance-sending to their origin country and contribute to the understanding of the linkage between migration and development.

It is important to note that apart from the monetary remittances considered in this study, migrants also transferred assets in kind (details of which are not included here) and non-material goods (for example, knowledge and lifestyle), presented in the next section.

The data also show that while living abroad, return migrants not only sent money to their own households, but also to others. We noted, specifically, that 21 per cent of all return migrants, 19 per cent of South–South return migrants and 31 per cent of North–South return migrants transferred funds to people living in other households during their stay abroad.

Table 6.12 shows that the majority of return migrants sent money when they lived abroad, mainly to two other households (29.3% of all, 27.4% of South–South and 35.9% of North–South return migrants), one other household (25.7% of all return migrants, 30.1% of South–South return migrants and 10.5% of North–South return migrants), and three other households (18% of all, 17.9% of South–South and 18.4% of North–South return migrants) (table 6.12).

Figure 6.5: Percentage of return migrants who sent money from abroad to their households

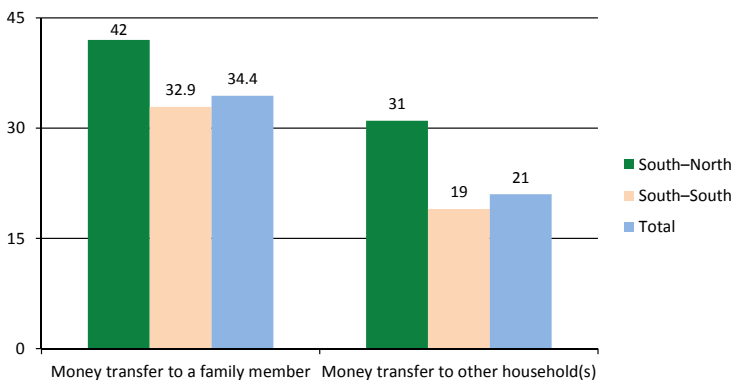


Table 6.12: Number of households that received funds from return migrants during their stay abroad

Number of other households that received funds from return migrants	Total migration	South–South migration	South–North migration
1	25.7	30.1	10.5
2	29.3	27.4	35.9
3	18.0	17.9	18.4
4	5.9	5.4	7.4
5	3.1	-	13.7
6	3.0	3.8	0.0
9	4.4	1.6	14.1
10	1.3	1.7	0.0
12	1.2	1.6	0.0
Data not available/reported	8.1	10.4	0.0
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0

Brain drain and gain

Brain drain has often been identified as the main cost of migration to countries like Cameroon (Crush and Frayne, 2007; Lowell and Findley, 2002; Lowell, 2000). Brain drain refers to the loss of professional, technical and management abilities through the process of migration, when they are not replaced by immigration (Logan, 1999; Crush, 2002; Cornelius et al., 2001).

Previous analyses have revealed that for 20.4 per cent of the return migrants surveyed, the motivation of study or training justified the departure from Cameroon. Normally, these student migrants would return home at the end of their studies. Other migrants prefer to stay abroad and seek a better life there. Thus, the consequences of return migration are not only limited to remittances, but also include brain drain and gain.

Only a little more than a quarter of return migrants earned degrees or new qualifications while they were abroad. This indicates that for the majority, the acquisition of overseas training was not a priority before or after migration. Among the 46 per cent of return migrants who have attained the secondary level of education, 19.8 per cent (consisting of all South–South migrants) obtained it abroad (table 6.13). 15.7 per cent of return migrants holding

first and second cycle diplomas of higher education obtained their diplomas abroad, with a higher proportion among South–North migrants (40.4%) than South–South migrants (11.9%). It is also important to note that regardless of destination (South or North), nearly 60 per cent of the return migrants in the survey acquired a professional qualification abroad.

Two main reasons have been indicated by return migrants for studying or receiving training while living abroad. The first was to acquire new skills and the second was because the qualifications they had at the time of departure were not recognized by the system of employment in the host country. The second reason is as important as the first, because without recognized educational qualifications in the host country, the migrant may suffer in the labour market, in the competition for decent jobs that guarantee good income.

Assets of return migrants

Funds and property that return migrants repatriate can be important assets to their reintegration in Cameroon. They can even play an important role in national economic growth. This section focuses on this aspect and the approximate values of repatriated assets.

- Repatriation of funds

About half of the return migrants (43.7%) repatriated funds. A total of 30.6 per cent of all these migrants repatriated at least XAF 1.6 million; the figure is 27.3 per cent for South–South return migrants and 46.8 per cent for North–South return migrants (figure 6.6).

Table 6.13: Distribution of return migrants by highest level of education/qualifications received abroad

Highest level of education/ qualification received abroad	Total migration	South–South migration	South–North migration
Primary	6.1	7.1	0.0
Secondary	19.8	22.8	0.0
Higher	15.7	11.9	40.4
Professional	57.7	57.4	59.6
Other	0.7	0.8	0.0
Percentage total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Figure 6.6: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by amount of repatriated funds

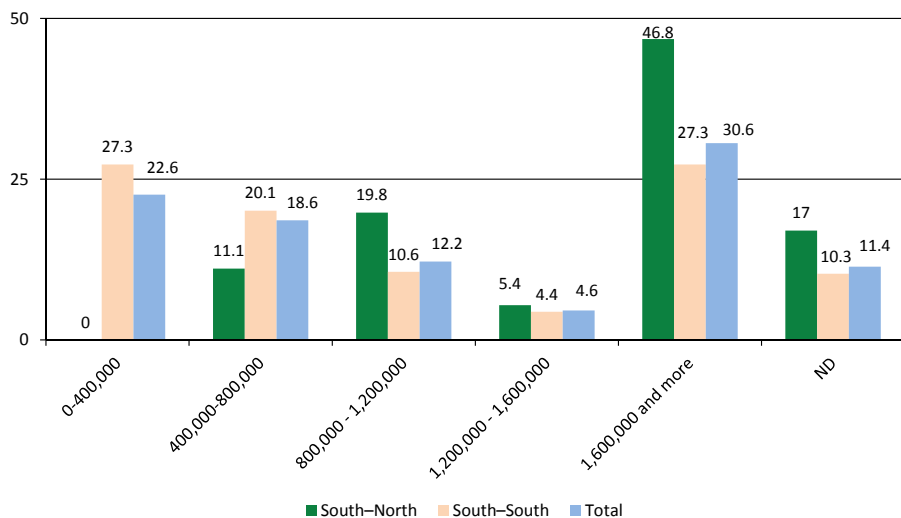
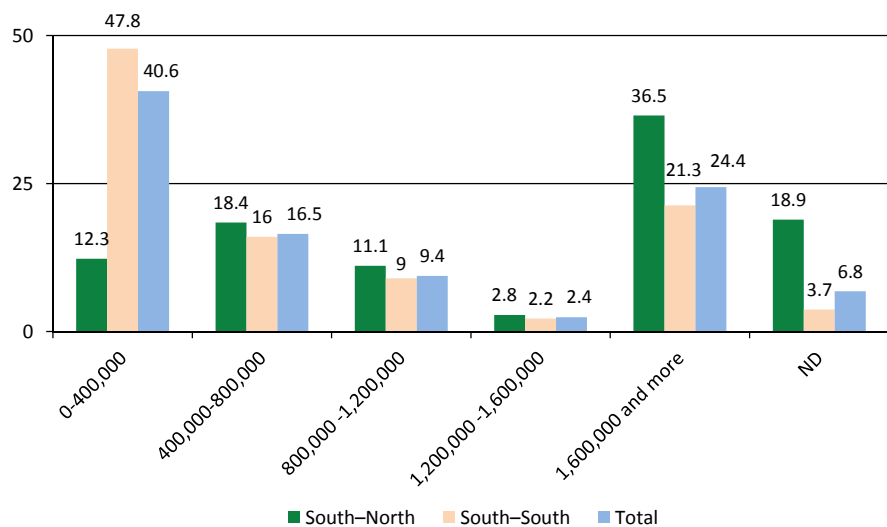


Figure 6.7: Distribution (in %) of return migrants by approximate value of repatriated property



- Repatriation of material goods (assets) in return

About a third of return migrants repatriated assets in kind. The majority of all return migrants (40.6%) and South–South return migrants (47.8%) repatriated assets worth less than XAF 400,000. Meanwhile, 36.5 per cent of North–South return migrants repatriated assets valued at XAF 1.6 million.

6.3 Impact of migration

This section measures and evaluates the economic impact of migration on the households of return migrants and absent migrants, as well as its impact on their participation in the labour market.

Economic impact

To measure the economic impact of return and absent migrants' experience on their respective households, particular emphasis will be placed on material poverty and the dependency of migrants. Material poverty is measured in terms of expenditure on food, housing status, savings, education and health.

Table A4.1 shows that migration as a whole and, in particular, South–South as well as —South–North migration have a significant impact on food expenditure in households of both return migrants and absent migrants. In fact, on average, households with return migrants and those with either return or absent migrants spend roughly XAF 4,312 and XAF 4,867 more, respectively, than households without migrants. In the case of South–South migration, households with return migrants (respectively with return or absent migrants) spend XAF 3,443 and XAF 3,519 more than households without migrants. In terms of South–South migration, households with return migrants (respectively with return or absent migrants) spend XAF 8,813 and XAF 7,414 more than households without migrants. The impact of North–South migration on food expenditure seems slightly higher than that of South–South migration and that of migration as a whole.

Migration has a significant impact on the housing status of households with either return or absent migrants. The significance is higher in South–North migration, but negligible in South–South migration. The impact of South–South migration on savings has proven to be insignificant, regardless of the type of household. North–South migration has a significant impact only on return households. Indeed, households of North–South return or absent migrants save XAF 40,393 more than households without migrants.

In all, households with return migrants saved XAF 19,177 more than households without migrants during the reference period, compared to XAF 20,856 for all households, that is, households of return migrants plus households with absent migrants. Households of North–South return migrants spend XAF 250,000 more on school expenses than households without migrants, while those of North–South return and absent migrants, averaged together, spend XAF 130,000 more.

South–South migration has no significant impact on educational expense, whether among those with return or absent migrants. These households' educational spending is XAF 73,612 more than households without migrants, against XAF 93,779 more for migration as a whole.

Table A4.1 shows that the impact of migration on health spending is significant. A significant impact among households of South–South migrants, however, is observed only in households with a return migrant. They spend XAF 5,680 more on health care, compared with XAF 6,603 more for households with migrants overall, than households without migrants. The presence of North–South return migrants does not seem to have any impact on health spending in a household.

Impact on the participation of migrants' household members in the labour market

Participation in the labour market is expressed as the percentage of employees or self-employed members in a household. Migration has a significant impact on the proportion of both employees and the self-employed in households with return migrants (table A4.2). The impact of South–South migration is almost identical to that of migration in general. Indeed, the proportion of employed individuals in households with South–South return migrants is only 5.0 per cent higher (5.5% higher for migration in general) than in households without any migrants. In fact, the proportion of employed individuals in households with either a return or absent migrant is 4.0 per cent higher for South–South migration, and 2.8 per cent higher for migration in general.

In households with only return migrants, the probability of having individuals who are self-employed is higher when the migrant resided in a country of the South than in a country of the North. Among households with only South–South return migrants, the proportion of self-employed members is 5.8 per cent higher than in households without migrants, compared to only 4.3 per cent higher for households with only return migrants from either the South

or the North. Among households with either a return or absent migrant, the impact of migration on the labour participation of household members becomes insignificant regardless of migration direction. Lastly, table A4.2 shows that having a North–South return migrant has no impact on the participation of migrants in the labour market in Cameroon.

Partial conclusion

In summary, return migrants in Cameroon are mostly young men under 35 years, who are heads of their households, married and with a secondary education. They were either self-employed or were undergoing training before leaving Cameroon. Destinations within the same subregion in Africa (namely, Central African Republic, Chad, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Nigeria and the Republic of the Congo) and European countries were the most common responses solicited from these migrants.

Many of the Cameroonian returnees surveyed had paid employment during their stay abroad. In addition, almost all of the migrants said they had higher incomes abroad than they did in Cameroon before their departure. They returned home mainly for family reasons. The results of this research also show that having a return and/or absent migrant has a significant impact on a household's food expenses, housing status, savings and education expenses for Northward migration; and on food, education, health expenses and on the participation of household members in the labour market for Southward migration.

7. International immigrants and their impact on human development in Cameroon

This chapter discusses the impact of immigration on development in Cameroon. It presents the profile of immigrants and their reasons for migration, as well as the consequences and impacts of immigration on Cameroon.

7.1. Profile of immigrants and reason for migration

Sociodemographic characteristics of immigrants

As shown on table 7.1, the immigrants surveyed were mostly male (60.6%). Given the importance of subregional immigration in Cameroon, it is likely that migration in the subregion is predominantly male. The table shows the distribution of respondents into five-year age groups, with the group size of the age group generally decreasing as the age advances. The proportions vary from 14 per cent for migrants 20 to 24 years old to 0.7 per cent for those who are 75 years and above. The mean age of the immigrants is 30.4 years. The mean age⁹ for men is 33 years, compared to 26.6 years for women. The median age¹⁰ of the immigrants is 29 years, and 30 and 24 years, respectively, for men and women.

It is observed that about half (49%) of the immigrants were married at the time of the survey; more than a third (37%) were single; 5.7 per cent were in a consensual union; and 8 per cent were single (divorced, separated or widowed). The proportions of immigrants who had attained secondary and higher educational levels (18.4% and 6.4%, respectively) were significantly lower than those who had not received any formal education (23.7%) and those who had only reached the primary level (35.7%).

In the seven days preceding the survey, about half (43.4%) of the immigrants surveyed were self-employed (formal and informal sectors). A relatively high proportion (18.2%) was unemployed and not seeking work, while 15 per cent were either in school or undergoing training of some kind. 13.5 per cent were in paid employment. At the time of the survey, 36.2 per cent of immigrants lived in households with low standards of living, while, on the other hand, 45.3 per cent of their counterparts were living in wealthier households.

9 Mean age is the average of the ages of all immigrants.

10 Median age is an age x that divides the immigrant population into two equal-size groups, one consisting only of individuals with ages greater than x and the other of individuals with ages less. In other words, it is the age in which 50% of immigrants are reached in ascending order of age.

Table 7.1: Distribution (in %) of immigrants by sex, age group, marital status and educational level

Characteristics	Percentage of total	Number (n)
Sex		
Male	60.6	174
Female	39.4	113
Total	100.0	287
Age group		
Less than 5 years	1.7	5
5–9 years	9.1	26
10–14 years	7.0	20
15–19 years	9.1	26
20–24 years	14.3	41
25–29 years	10.8	31
30–34 years	11.5	33
35–39 years	7.3	21
40–44 years	7.7	22
45–49 years	5.6	16
50–54 years	5.9	17
55–59 years	4.2	12
60–64 years	4.2	12
65–69 years	1.0	3
75 years and above	0.7	2
Total	100.0	287
Average age (years)		
Male	33.0	174
Female	26.6	113
Total	30.4	287
Media age (years)		
Male	30.0	174
Female	24.0	113
Total	29.0	287

Marital status		
Married	49.0	121
Free union	5.7	14
Separated	2.4	6
Divorced	2.0	5
Widow (er)	3.6	9
Single	37.2	92
Total	100.0	247
Level of education		
None/No level	23.7	67
Koranic school	15.9	45
Primary	35.7	101
Secondary	18.4	52
Higher	6.4	18
Total	100.0	283

Table 7.2: Distribution (in %) of respondents by main activity seven days prior to the survey and household standard of living

Main activity in the last 7 days	Percentage	Number
Studying	15,0	41
Paid employment	13,5	37
Self-employed	43,4	119
Unemployed and seeking a job	1,5	4
Unemployed but not seeking a job	18,2	50
Unpaid employment	4,0	11
Retired	0,4	1
Others	4,0	11
Total	100,0	274
Standard of living of household	Percentage	Number
Poor	36,2	104
Average	18,5	53
Rich	45,3	130
Total	100,0	287

Migration history

The respondents' migration histories reveal that five years ago, about 7 out of 10 immigrants (70.1%) were already residing in Cameroon. In addition, less than one in five immigrants (18.1%) had lived in countries other than Cameroon or their origin countries for three months or more. Of these, 17.3 per cent lived in Nigeria, 10 per cent in Chad, 7.7 per cent in Gabon, 3.8 per cent in Equatorial Guinea and 1.9 per cent each in the Republic of the Congo and the Central African Republic. In addition, around half (51.9%) of immigrants had lived for three months or more in other African countries (table A5.1). Since their arrival in Cameroon, 23.6 per cent of immigrants (68) had changed their places of residence and have resided in the new location for at least three months. In addition, 55.9 per cent of immigrants have previously resided in urban areas, while 44.1 per cent had lived in rural areas before settling in their place of residence at the time of the survey.

Reasons for arrival, manner by which the first job was obtained in Cameroon and probable reasons for leaving Cameroon

A family decision to move was the most common reason cited (43.2%) by immigrants to justify their presence in Cameroon. However, a good proportion of immigrants gave (36.2%) security as a reason, while 18.8 and 17.1 per cent, respectively, said that it was the search for a stable job and to prospect of earning more money that motivated their migration to Cameroon. Language learning (1.7%), marriage (4.2%) and education (5.2%) were reported in low proportions as reasons for moving to Cameroon.

A total of 35 per cent of the immigrants surveyed reported that they got their first job in Cameroon through friends or family members once arrived in the country, while 21.3 per cent obtained theirs through a friend or family while they were still in another country. In a small proportion (6.2%), the employer of the country where the immigrant was living before moving to Cameroon facilitated the obtainment of their first job in Cameroon (table 7.3).

Regarding the probability of immigrants leaving Cameroon, nearly 7 out of 10 (66.2%) reported that it was not likely that they would leave the country, while 3 out of 10 (29.3%) said they wanted to leave. However, 4.5 per cent of immigrants could not express their opinion regarding the possibility of a departure. Among those who said they wanted to leave, 20.9 per cent were hesitant and 8.3 per cent were actively preparing to leave.

Table 7.3: Distribution of respondents by reason for immigrating to Cameroon, the manner by which the first job was obtained and probable reason for leaving Cameroon

Reasons for arrival	Percentage	Number
Search for a steady job	18.8	54
Study and obtain qualifications	5.2	15
Learn another language	1.7	5
Acquire other useful skills	5.9	17
Earn more money	17.1	49
Send money to people left behind	6.3	18
Better security in Cameroon	36.2	104
Victim of discrimination in the former place of residence	11.5	33
More freedom to do what one wants	7.0	20
Family decision to move	43.2	124
Marriage	4.2	12
Join other family members	17.4	50
Others	6.3	18
Total	-	287
Manner by which the first job in Cameroon was obtained	Percentage	Number
Through an employer in the former country of residence	6.2	5
Through a friend or family member in Cameroon, while still in another country	21.3	17
Through a friend or family member after arrival in Cameroon	35.0	28
Through an employment agency	3.8	3
Responding to an advertisement	3.8	3
Inability to find a job	18.8	15
Other	11.2	9
Total	100.0	80

Probable reasons for leaving	Percentage	Number
“Not likely at all. I feel at home.”	38.3	110
“Not very likely. I do not see myself leaving.”	27.9	80
“Possibly, depending on how things go.”	20.9	60
“Quite likely. I am considering it at the moment.”	0.7	2
“Very likely. I am planning to leave.”	6.6	19
“Yes. I am actively planning to leave.”	1.0	3
Does not have a reason to leave	4.5	13
Total	100.0	287

7.2 Consequences of emigration

The consequences of emigration affect immigrants through living with their children, as well as their membership and participation in the activities of associations or organizations based in Cameroon.

Living with children

About one in five immigrants (19.2%) said they did not live with their children in the same household. To be specific, 40 per cent of these children live in another household in Cameroon, with the remaining 56.6 and 3.6 per cent, respectively, living in the birth countries of their immigrant parents and in other countries like Cameroon or the origin country (table 7.4).

Table 7.4: Distribution (in %) of respondents according to their children’s residence

Place of children’s residence	Percentage	Number
With children	19.2	55
No	80.8	232
Total	100.0	287
Place of children’s residence living apart from parents	Percentage	Number
In another household in Cameroon	40.0	22
In the country of birth	56.4	31
Elsewhere	3.6	2
Total	100.0	55

Membership in associations or organizations

About one in five immigrants (19.5%) belong to an association or organization based in Cameroon. However, only 10.7 per cent of them receive payments for their work with these associations and organizations. This reveals that the majority (89.3%) of immigrants who take part in such activities perform them selflessly, that is, without seeking financial compensation (table 7.5).

Moreover, we noted that volunteer work (60%) is the main area of intervention for these associations and organizations, as they also intervene in the field of disaster relief (32.8%) and that of policy/governance (5.5%).

There are two main geographic activity targets for the associations/organizations: Cameroon (67.9%) and the origin country of immigrants (30.4%), and these targets account for about 9 out of 10 activities of the associations/organizations.

7.3 Impact of migration

The impacts of migration (emigration, immigration and return migration) and immigration in Cameroon are presented in tables A5.2 and A5.3.

Table A5.3 provides a comparison between households with no migrants (418) and households with immigrants, but not other types of migrants (128). The impact of migration presented in table A5.2 is seen through a comparison between households with no migrants (418) and households with all type of migrant (absent migrants return migrants and immigrants), irrespective of their origin or destination (817), those with either type of migrant in the South (588) and those with either type of migrant in the North (274).

Impact of immigration

- Economic impact

The proportion of independent household members ages 12 years or more is significant in households with only immigrants. Having an immigrant increases the proportion of independent individuals in a household by 10.4 per cent. However, we noted that the presence of immigrants has no effect on the proportion of employees among household members 12 years and older nor influenced household savings in the last month.

Table 7.5: Distribution (in %) of the respondents by membership in associations/organizations, and the types of these associations/organizations

Membership in associations/organizations	Percentage	Number
Yes	19,5	56
No	80,5	231
Total	100,0	287
Receive payment for work with the association or organization	Percentage	Number
Yes	10,7	6
No	89,3	50
Total	100,0	56
Area of intervention of the association or organization	Percentage	Number
Volunteer work	60,0	33
Disaster relief	32,8	18
Political/governance activity	5,5	3
Other areas	16,4	9
Total	-	55
Geographic focus of activities of the association or organization	Percentage	Number
Cameroon	67,9	38
Country of origin	30,4	17
Other countries	1,8	1
Total	100,0	56

- Impact on Education

An increase in the annual educational spending of households with immigrants is insignificant, even though, when compared to households with no migrants, they spend XAF 49,200 more on average.

- Health impact

There is a decrease in the monthly health expenditure of households with only immigrants (and not other migrant types). Indeed, compared to households with no migrants, households with only immigrants spend XAF 9,000 less on health.

- Impact on food expenditure

Households without migrants spend XAF 1 on food, whereas households with only immigrants spend XAF 46. However, the relationship between increased household expenditure on food and the presence of immigrants is insignificant.

Impact of immigration

- Economic impact

Three types of variables were studied to assess economic impact. The presence of any type of migrant in a household was found to have no influence on the proportion of self-employed or employed workers among household members ages 12 years and above. Similarly, the presence of any type of migrant in a households and the proportion of self-employed or employed workers among household members ages 12 and above has little effect, irrespective of whether the migrant is in the South or the North.

Savings in the last month increased to an average of XAF 21,760 among households with migrants in general (whether absent or return migrants, or immigrants), XAF 16,457 in households containing all types of migrants from the South and XAF 43,133 in households containing all types of migrants from the North.

- Impact on education

We noted an increase in annual education spending among households with any type of migrants, mainly those in the North. Indeed, over the prior 12 months, compared to households with no migrants, households with any type of migrants spent XAF 148,000 more on education than households without migrants. The difference, while not significant in the context of South–South migration, is XAF 67,982 more for households with any type of migrant within the context of overall migration.

- Impact on health

During the month preceding the survey, we found that households with migrants in general and those with only migrants in the South spent less than XAF 957 and XAF 3,685, respectively, than households with no migrants, although the differences are not significant. Conversely, at a threshold of 10 per cent, the results indicate that households with any type of migrant in the North spent XAF 7,525 less compared to households with no migrants.

- Impact on food expenditure

Compared to households with no migrants, households with migrants in general (any type) spent over XAF 4,286 on food; those with migrants from the North or the South spent XAF 3,801 and XAF 6144, respectively. Hence, the presence of a migrant from either the South or North, regardless of type (i.e. whether absent or return migrant, or immigrant), induces an increase in household spending on food.

Partial conclusion

In summary, migrants are mostly male (61%), self-employed (43%) and live in households with low standards of living (36.2%). A significant proportion of immigrants stated security as a reason for migrating (36.2%), while 18.8 per cent and 17.1 per cent, respectively, said that it was the search for a stable job and the desire to earn more money that motivated their migration to Cameroon. Approximately 7 out of 10 (66.2%) said that it was not likely that they would leave.

About one in five immigrants (19.2%) said they do not live with their children and that they belong to an association or an organization based in Cameroon (19.5%). Immigration does not seem to have any impact on the proportion of employees among household members ages 12 years and above, on education spending, on household savings in the last month and on household spending on food during the last week before the survey. On the other hand, lower monthly household health expenditure (average of XAF 9,000 less) and an increase of 10.4 per cent in the proportion of self-employed individuals were observed among households with immigrants (but not other migrant types). Having a migrant (any type) in the household generally does not seem to have any impact on the proportion of employees or self-employed household members ages 12 years and above, compared with households without any migrant. Only households with absent migrants in with immigrants or return migrants from the North had an average annual increase of XAF 148,000 on educational spending. There was increased spending on food in among households during the last week before prior to the study survey, regardless of the type of migration: an average of XAF 4,286 higher for households with migrants in general, XAF 3,801 higher for households with migrants in the South and XAF 6,114 higher for households with migrants in the North). Results indicate that during the month preceding the survey, and at the 10 per cent threshold,

households with migrants of any type living in the North spend XAF 7,525 less on health than households with no migrants (health spending of households with migrants in general and households with migrants in the South were not significantly different). Household savings in the month preceding the survey were generally higher for households with migrants than for those without: specifically, XAF 21,760 higher for households with any type of migrant (absent and return migrants, and immigrants), XAF 16,457 for households with any type of migrant in the South and XAF 43,133 in households with any type of migrant in the North.

8. Opinions on migration

The impact of migration varies depending on the type of migration and the migrant's host society or the society of origin. Thus, the impact can be economic, social or cultural; and material or non-material. This chapter discusses opinions on and perceptions of the impact of migration on development in Cameroon and the current related political priorities.

8.1 Overview of the impact of migration on development

In general, perceptions of the impact of migration are diverse. These perceptions reflect either the idea that migration can be an asset to the development of a country or society, or that migration can have negative effects on development. These impacts are thus the expression of the main contributions of migration resulting from projects initiated by Cameroonian migrants, return migrants, immigrants and refugees to some extent. They are also, therefore, the non-material and social impacts of migration, as well as the physical, economic and financial impacts of migration in Cameroon. In addition, perceptions that are discussed in this section highlight the idea that migration is a complex phenomenon and causes problems in various aspects of social life, both in migrants' host societies and societies of origin.

Main contributions of migration to Cameroon

- Projects initiated by migrants

Based on the data collected, migration can have an impact on an economic, cultural, social and family dimension, among others. These impacts materialize through tangible and intangible transfers. Through these transfers, migrants are able to promote the development of their communities and contribute to the improvement of the conditions of their families in their home countries. In some cases, migrants may come together and contribute to the development of their localities of origin by building social infrastructure, such as schools, hospitals and orphanages.

Money transfers made by migrants to their origin countries contribute to poverty reduction. For example, migration itself often offers better wages to migrant professionals. In this regard, the respondents mentioned examples of major projects developed in African countries that have attracted flows of experts, leading to improvements in their income. Cameroon thus benefits from

local investment brought in by migrants in the form of social and community micro-projects, such as clean water supply, agriculture and rural roads. As an illustration, an NGO manager had this to say: “I have observed in the regions a large [economic] investment by migrants in micro-projects, including potable water supplies, agriculture, rural roads, stuff like that.”

- Social and intangible impacts of migration

Migration enables capacity-building and education. In addition, it allows the transfer of knowledge, technology and economic innovation, trade and complementary professional skills. Other types of migration effects also have a large-scale impact, involving the facilitation of subregional and African integration, because migration allows populations to mix and strengthens cultural exchanges and experiences. It is therefore a factor of interbreeding and sociocultural reconstruction. It may also act a factor of acculturation and cultural assimilation. As a factor of acculturation, migration may stimulate changes in values among migrants and thus be a factor in attitude change in migrants’ countries of origin. As such, a returnee encountered may say: “I, for example, I’ve changed. I’ve become more adept at cleanliness. Before leaving I was among those who would throw banana peelings anywhere on the street. In Morocco, I learned that it is taboo – forbidden – and the police do not even need to put up signs; they are like that, they have it in their nature. Just in this respect, I can say that I changed a lot in many other ways, too.” As an assimilation factor, migration is at the heart of the reconstitution of families since it facilitates the development of transnational identities.

The effects of migration are also symbolic in nature. In areas affected by emigration flows, the investments generated by these flows constitute both a symbolic capital for migrants’ families, as well as the entire community. In fact, for a family or a community to have migrants appears as a factor for social stratification and differentiation. From this point of view, it is likely that in the context of the current administrative decentralization, uneven development between local authorities and the village can appear as consequences of inequalities in their migratory potential. Because of their role in local development initiatives, migrants bear multiple challenges for origin countries and host countries. As a factor of collective achievement, migration has often led to community mobilization for its funding. Thus, when migrants speak of the benefits of migration, they recognize in it not only financial but also psychological or symbolic benefits, especially for families back home. That is the idea that emerges from this interview with an immigrant from the Democratic Republic of the Congo:

“When I was still at home I saw that people returning to the country were buying houses which they sometimes used as rentals or business houses. Some were returning with mini-buses to be used as taxis. At home we don’t have a lot of taxis; there are long buses going from one neighbourhood to another. [...] Hmm you know, even if you are lying sick in the hospital and are told that the money comes from abroad, you’re going to get a sudden healing at first (laughs) before the disease gets worse again. You can have an amount of 10,000 francs today and then be sent 50,000 francs. This will help you better manage your day-to-day life before going back to the same suffering of managing 10,000 francs a day. So when you received money that you did not expect, you suddenly feel relieved and life changes a little.”

Main problems posed by migration in Cameroon

Given the weaknesses of the institutions that manage and policies for managing migration flows, migration can be a barrier to development, given the various problems that they might pose. In some regions, these flows have often led to land conflicts between those who claim to be natives and those arriving. This phenomenon has often been observed in certain areas in northern Cameroon, where refugees settle. Moreover, the stakeholders interviewed identified that the divergent economic models between migrants and native people were also at the heart of these conflicts. In terms of security, migration, especially the arrival of foreigners in Cameroon, can be a source of instability and insecurity. From this point of view, many respondents believe that migration increases the risk of crime and terrorist threats. Migration is also at the heart of the development of some calamities, such as human organ trafficking, drug trafficking and the drug trade, among others.

Migration, as a source of disruption to family life, contributes to change basic social structures such as the family and the community. Through the changes in family structures, migration can influence gender relations and the role of family actors participating in changes in traditional values linked to intergenerational relations. Migration also has negative effects that materialize in risks and such as brain drain, which particularly affects the sectors of education and health.

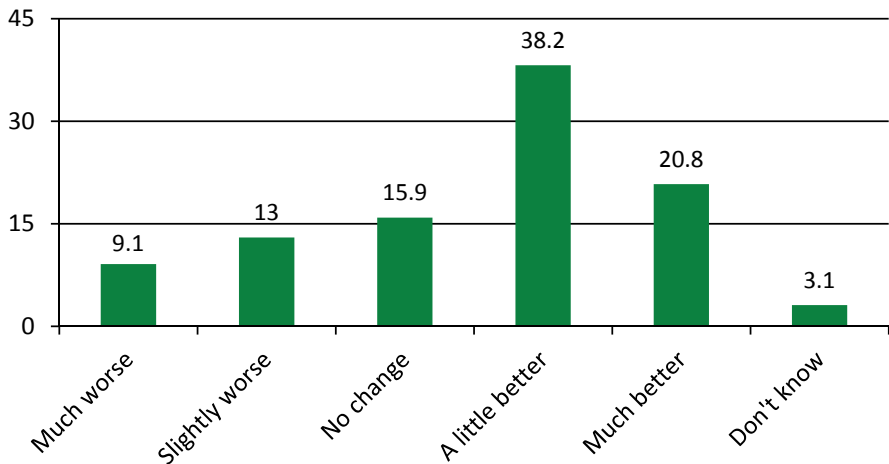
South–South migration is facing some problems related either to the lack of rules and regulations or conventions; ignorance of these rules; refusal to apply such regulations by the very people, in their different positions, who are in charge of them; and even “migrants without papers,” who tend to escape the norm. To these we can add the porosity of borders, which often result in “the proliferation of smuggling networks.” The label generally given to the migrant

is underpinned by a number of stereotypes, for example, that of a usurper or invader, and even prejudices. These stereotypes are the cause of xenophobia and can lead to social conflict. The resulting problems include cultural and economic conflicts, marginalization and integration problems.

8.2 Perception of the impact of immigration on the quality of life

Emigration is motivated by various reasons, including economic ones, which also happen to be often prominent. Thus, the perception of the impact of emigration on Cameroon shows that it is a factor of development insofar as 38.2 per cent and 20.8 per cent of the heads of household surveyed believe that it influences national life a little better and much better respectively. In contrast, about 22 per cent of them reported that emigration has a negative influence on national life, and 15.9 per cent reported that emigration causes no change on the quality of national life.

Figure 8.1: Distribution (in %) of respondents by their perception of the impact of migration on quality of life in Cameroon



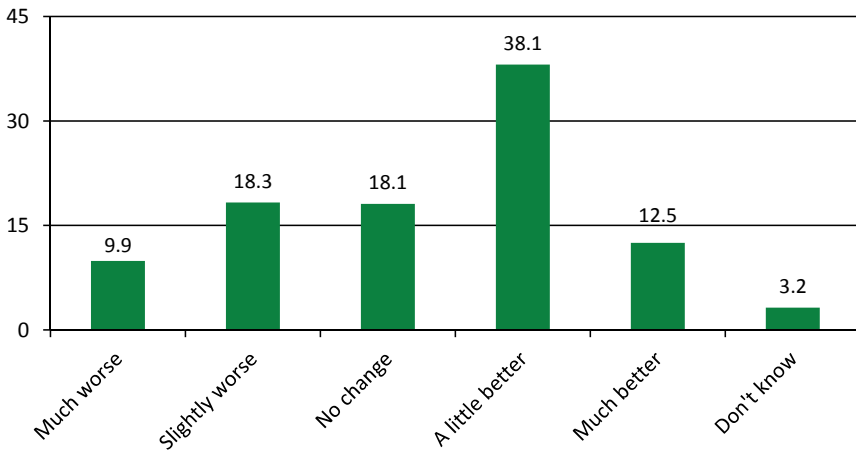
The reasons for these perceptions are diverse. According to 45.5 per cent of the heads of household surveyed, the positive impact of emigration is justified by the fact that those who leave send money to their families and friends. In addition, 25 per cent of the heads of household believed that those who leave acquire skills and resources, and 28.4 per cent reported that money transfers reduce poverty in the country, while 13.9 per cent and 11.5 per cent declared that the money sent by emigrants can enable investment and savings, respectively. According to 6.4 per cent of the heads of household surveyed, the negative effects of emigration may impact on families and cause brain drain. Thus, 14.1 per cent of the heads of household believe that emigration creates a skills gap, while 8.9 per cent believe that emigration causes breakdown of the family. It was also observed by 6.2 per cent of respondents that emigration is a factor of brain drain in Cameroon. Latter perceptions reflect the negative effects of migration on the society of origin (table A6.1).

8.3 Perception of immigration impact on quality of life

The development of immigration flows across the entire world created diverse perceptions of immigrants in the host society. According to the survey results, 50.6 per cent of heads of household surveyed believe that immigration has a positive effect on life in Cameroon. In fact, 38.1 per cent and 12.5 per cent said that immigration influences life in Cameroon a little better and much better, respectively. Indeed, according to some, immigration can be a source of technology and knowledge transfer. While it offers opportunities, it has its disadvantages as well. On the other hand, 28.2 per cent of survey respondents reported that immigration negatively affects life in Cameroon. This perception may be explained by the fact that immigration can affect social cohesion, as well as the labour market. For 9.9 per cent of the heads of household surveyed, the negative impact is much worse and for 18.3 per cent, it is slightly worse (figure 8.2).

Several reasons have been proposed to account for the perceptions of the influence of immigration on life in Cameroon. Thus, 41.4 per cent of the heads of household surveyed affirmed that immigrants do new and different things; 36.6 per cent reported that immigrants invest in the country by creating jobs; and 27.2 per cent reported that immigrants bring foreign currency into the country. Conversely, we noted that 20.2 per cent of respondents reported that immigrants deprive Cameroonians of employment. In addition, 15.8 per cent said that immigration increases crime, and 9.5 per cent said that immigrants reduce Cameroonians' access to resources (figure 8.3).

Figure 8.2: Distribution (in %) of respondents according to their perception of the impact of immigration on quality of life in Cameroon



Indeed, according to the qualitative data, the influx of immigrants brings to national life a factor of African integration insofar as migrants move bring with them traditions and cultural values, which they can transmit to their host societies. Some respondents reported religious transfers as among the major cultural transfers observed in recent years. It is the opinion of several respondents that the rise of religious fundamentalism in some parts of the country is related to mobility and international migration. Several respondents raised the fact that immigration into Cameroon has led to reshaping the religious landscape, resulting in the development of new forms of religious expression. The rise of fundamentalism and the construction of new churches has been repeatedly identified as an expression of the impact of immigration on national life. These trends, in turn, can produce changes in social relations, gender relations and intergenerational relationships within families and communities. The recent news of the *boko haram* phenomenon in northern Cameroon may be regarded as a revelation of the sociocultural stakes of immigration for Cameroon.

The nature of the influx and the reasons behind it, however, cause some to think that immigration is a “danger” because of the transfers it brings. Indeed, several surveys showed that most of sub-Saharan immigrants in Cameroon work in trade. From this point of view, the resources they generate as expatriates from their origin countries serve as a leverage for development in the origin country. However, the businesses of foreigners, for example, Nigerians, who are recognized in the area of motorcycles and automobile spare parts, only

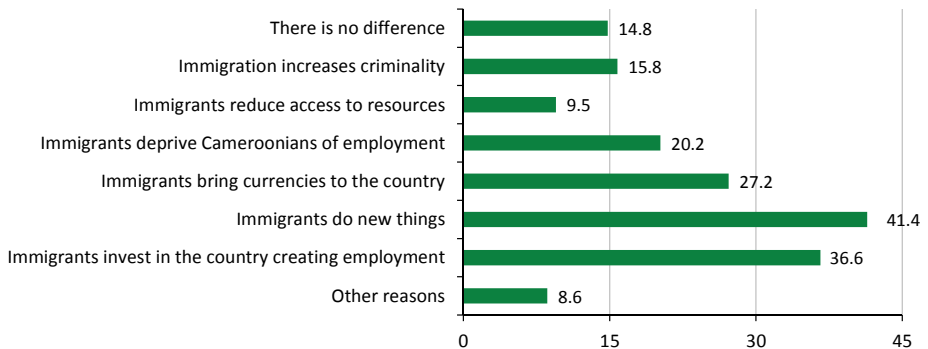
benefit Cameroon in terms of the payment of various taxes and warehouse and shop rentals at the Mbopi market in Douala for the storage and sales of products. These business activities enrich immigrants through the profits they generate and especially increase their business potential as they reinvest in the creation of SMEs for the fabrication of manufactured products, such as sandals, in their origin countries – as is the case in Nigeria, for example – which they sell back to Cameroon. The declaration of a senior personality at the Ministry of Culture in this regard is very revealing:

“But Nigerians, when you go to Calabar, Lagos, Kano, you see that those who live in Cameroon reinvest in their country – but these are economic investments and not family investments, to help younger brothers buy food, schooling, buy dresses. It is to create small businesses and it is this type that produce[s] certain product[s] which they re-sell to Cameroonians. [...] I take the case of Nigerians who are in Cameroon – they are investing, they make transactions in the host country. Just look at the city of Douala – although they evolve much more in the informal sector, they produce some benefits to national savings. But, generally, there is also what we call ‘return investment.’ After investing in Cameroon in the areas of activities generating dividends, they create benefit, which is reinvested in the origin country – for example, they build houses in Calabar, in Lagos. They create SMEs, which are the bases for the manufacture of several products – daily objects that we use in Douala – for example, slippers and sandals manufactured in Nigeria.”

8.4 Perception of the impact of refugees on the quality of life

With its relative sociopolitical stability, Cameroon has played a fundamental role in the organization of asylum for several communities in Africa, especially with the support of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and many other humanitarian organizations. Fleeing from conflict and persecution, or driven by despair, a great number of Africans are found in Cameroon today. Thus, Cameroon has become a favoured destination and a “haven” for many refugees escaping persecution. They are found in large numbers in the largest cities, especially in the east and the northern regions. This influx can lead to social conflicts and security problems in areas where refugees decide to settle. This is why during the survey, heads of household were asked to state their views on the impact of refugees on the quality of life in Cameroon. Nearly half (48.9%) of the heads of household surveyed believe that the influx of refugees brings no change to national life. In contrast, 16.3 per cent said that the influx of refugees is slightly worse and 13 per cent, much worse. According to 16.7 per cent of the heads of household, the influx of refugees has a positive impact on national life.

Figure 8.3: Distribution (in %) of respondents according to their justification for their perception of the impact of immigration on life in Cameroon



The commonly held notion that refugees come from conflict situations also accounts for the fear among many respondents. Indeed, according to some respondents in the qualitative survey, refugees could reproduce those conflict dynamics in the host society and create an atmosphere of insecurity. In this regard, the image of refugees remained pejorative in some cases, and they are even considered as generally “evil” by some respondents. Thus, people generally think that refugees who settle in Cameroon pose a risk to the stability of the country (table A6.2).

Regarding the the perceptions of the impact of refugees in Cameroon, it was observed that 44.5 per cent of heads of household said there has been no difference or change with the influx of refugees. In contrast, 22.1 per cent of heads of household interviewed reported that refugees increase crime, while 12 per cent alleged that refugees deprive Cameroonians of employment, and 11.5 per cent said that refugees reduce Cameroonians’ access to resources. It is also observed that 16.5 per cent and 9.9 per cent of heads of household viewed refugees as innovative and as bringing currency into Cameroon, respectively (table A6.3).

8.5 Opinions on migration

This section discusses views on migration. These consist of the opinions of the heads of household on life in Cameroon in general, which can be indirect factors of emigration, and the opinions of returnees on various aspects of national life.

Opinions of heads of household on migration

Various questions were asked of the heads of household to determine their views on the national sociopolitical life. With regard to the quality of life in Cameroon, the majority of respondents (84.2%) reported that Cameroon is a good place to live in. In contrast, only 10.8 per cent of heads of household think that Cameroon is not a good place to live in. This may be a factor of emigration. In addition, 56.5 per cent of heads of household said they would rather live in a different country if they had the choice, while 35.4 per cent are willing to continue living in the country (table A6.4).

Regarding the perception of how the country is managed, opinions are highly mixed. Thus, 14.7 per cent of heads of household neither agree nor disagree with this opinion. However, the proportion of heads of household reporting that they are not proud of the way the country is managed is 46.6 per cent, while the percentage of those who are happy is 36.8 per cent (table A6 .4).

With regard to the preservation of the country's cultural heritage and identity, nearly 91.1 per cent of heads of household after living abroad now have a stronger sense that there is a need to protect the traditional way of life, which constitutes the local cultural identity. In contrast, 68.8 per cent of them think that people agree with each other in their community (table A6.4). In the domain of gender promotion, 81.9 per cent of heads of household interviewed believed that Cameroon should put in more effort to ensure that men and women are treated equally. Only 10.8 per cent of the respondents disagreed. With regard to how the different ethnic groups are treated, 93.7 per cent of heads of household surveyed think it is also necessary to exert more effort to ensure equal treatment of all the sociocultural components of the nation (table A6.4).

Questions were also asked about the perception of people's participation in decision-making processes, both within the national sociopolitical life and at the level of family institutions. From the results, it was noted that the majority of the respondents would like social actors to be more involved in the decision-making processes in these different spheres of social life. Thus, 88.1 per cent of heads of household think that people need to be involved in the political decision-making processes of the Cameroonian Government, while 88.8 per cent think that people need to be involved in decision-making at the family level.

Opinions of heads of household on the impact of migration

Survey questions were asked to assess the perception of the impact of migration. Table A6.5 provides information on the data obtained. It shows that more than half of heads of household interviewed (52.7%) believe that brain drain has a negative impact on public services. Concerning the perception of the impact of money transfers, almost 49 per cent of heads of household think that money sent by migrants makes people lazy because they would not want to work any longer. In contrast, the majority of respondents reported that receiving money from migrants allows people to be more enterprising. It is also observed that 64.4 per cent think that Cameroonians living abroad provide important support to their communities back home. In the same vein, 71.1 per cent of heads of household believe that Cameroonians living abroad are more likely to invest in Cameroon, while 61.3 per cent of them said that those who have lived abroad are helpful to the country's political life and social issues (table A6.5).

It was also observed that migrants have a role to play in the desire of those who remained in the country to leave. Indeed, the majority of heads of household interviewed (83.1%) think that many people want to go abroad because of what migrants have told them. From this perspective, migrants influence people left behind by presenting the benefits of migration. In addition, 79.2 per cent of heads of household think that because people see skilful people migrate, they become more disposed to study because they believe education will help them migrate as well (table A6.5).

In addition, 61.3 per cent of heads of household believe that when people who have lived abroad return to Cameroon, they contribute to development by helping the country through their involvement in politics and social issues. In the same vein, 71.1 per cent of heads of household believe that Cameroonians living abroad are more likely to invest in Cameroon. In the qualitative survey, one of the most commonly mentioned financial impacts of South–South concerns the transfer of funds with multiple uses in the origin country: namely, support for the family's social needs in the form of payments for school fees, medical bills, house building, cars and clothing, among others. This shows that migrants contribute to the transfer of resources to their home localities. Several respondents pointed out that today there are multiple forms of transfers which induce various forms of migrant contributions to the development of their home communities. When Cameroonian workers migrate abroad, they increase their income, allowing them to invest in Cameroon and support their families (food, health, education, housing, among others).

Opinions of returnees on Cameroon

Return migrants can be a boost to the development of a country. Through the cultural capital that they bring back from migration and the experiences they have gained, they can be major forces of change because of their renewed perception of how things are managed in their country. Indeed, after living abroad, the migrant's perception of the management of the country may change, given the comparison made between the origin and host countries. In the survey, returnees were asked if, after living abroad, their views on certain aspects of social development in the country had changed. Such questions were asked about migrants' perceptions of governance, corruption management and gender issues, among others.

Returnees were asked if they thought that after living abroad, the way the country is now managed seems satisfactory to them. The results show that the 41.3 per cent of returnees were not satisfied with the way the country is managed. Only 42.5 per cent of returnees said they were satisfied with the way the country is managed, and 13 per cent were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. From the opinions collected, the traditional way of life significantly needs to be safeguarded, to the extent that 88.9 per cent of respondents say they had strong feelings about this when they returned. The issue of women's empowerment and gender equality also seems to be at the heart of the issue of return migration. Indeed, according to the majority of returnees (79.8%), it is important that efforts should be made to promote equality between women and men. It is found that, in the same vein, 94.3 per cent of respondents are concerned about the fight against corruption, for which it would be important to undertake initiatives to address the issue. In addition, a vast majority of returnees (93.8%) said they believe it is important to promote human rights in Cameroon. Finally, 82 per cent of returnees think that they should exert more effort to ensure that immigrants are treated fairly (table A6.6).

8.6 Current policies and priority actions on migration and their impact on national life

With the development of migration, Cameroon has set up a commission to develop a national policy on the issue. However, the different ministries working on migration have their own specific actions and programmes aimed at migration management and their own considerations in development initiatives. These include the "Draw a Vision of Cameroon" (DAVOC) forum, for example. In addition Cameroon drafted a law on refugees in 2008. From a community perspective, The Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa recently took a number of initiatives and legal dispositions to regulate

the movement of citizens of member countries. However, many of these dispositions are often not sufficiently disseminated. Therefore, they are little known to actors working in the field of migration in general.

In terms of priority actions, the survey revealed that according to the respondents, a number of actions could be envisaged if the Cameroonian Government wants migration to have greater impact on national life. Table A6.7 shows the main points suggested by the respondents. It shows that only 14.6 per cent of heads of household believe that the Government could reduce crime and improve security in the country. In contrast, 51.7 per cent revealed that it is necessary to create more jobs, while 42.8 per cent said it is necessary to create more well-paid jobs. It should be noted that the proportion of heads of household who would like the Government to facilitate the creation of enterprises is seemingly relatively low (27.9%), while in the last few years, private initiative is increasingly encouraged through public development policies and the national development strategy. While in other countries affected by crises, especially in Europe, governments are encouraging people to settle abroad, the survey results show that only 4.2 per cent of heads of household believe that the Government should facilitate contracts for employment abroad for their citizens. In other countries, such as Mali, Senegal and Morocco, migrants play an important role in local development strategies, and mechanisms have been put in place to encourage their participation in national development. The results of the survey show that only 12.6 per cent of heads of household believe that the Government should encourage Cameroonians in the diaspora to invest in the country. In the same vein, only 4.1 per cent of respondents think it is important that the Government support the diaspora. Today it is thought that migrants cannot really support national development initiatives if the migrants are not supported at the highest strategic level, that is to say, at the government level. As with other areas that have just been mentioned, very few respondents believed that it is necessary to implement more restrictive immigration policies or to make entry and departure more liberal nationwide.

Hence, it is likely that some of these results may be related to the level of education of those surveyed, or to some extent the lack of knowledge of international experience in this field. However, looking at it carefully, we see that 93.4 per cent and 93.6 per cent of respondents believe, respectively, that the Government cannot do anything for migration to have an impact on national life, and that the government is not willing to do something towards this end. This view suggests that at the government level, there is an inertia regularly stressed by political discourse which tends to show that things do not improve because of weakness of government's action (table A6.7).

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10. Annexes

Appendix I: Sampling

Table A1.1: Villages/quarters drawn by region, department, subdivision and canton

Region	Department	Subdivision	Canton	Village / Neighbourhood
1. Douala		Douala 1	Douala 1 town	Bali
		Douala 1	Douala 1 town	Bonaténé
		Douala 2	Douala 2 town	New-bell makea
		Douala 3	Douala 3 town	Bibamba bonanloka
		Douala 3	Douala 3 town	Brazzaville
		Douala 3	Douala 3 town	Ndoghem 2 (pk 12)
		Douala 3	Douala 3 town	Oyack 2
		Douala 4	Douala 4 town	Bonambappe
		Douala 4	Douala 4 town	Ngwele
		Douala 5	Douala 5 town	Bepanda petit wouri
		Douala 5	Douala 5 town	Dikahe (pk 10)
		Douala 5	Douala 5 town	Ndogbati i
2. Yaoundé		Yaounde 1	Yaounde 1 town	Bastos
		Yaounde 1	Yaounde 1 town	Mballa iii - e
		Yaounde 2	Yaounde 2 town	Briqueterie centre ii
		Yaounde 2	Yaounde 2 town	Nkomkana ii
		Yaounde 3	Yaounde 3 town	Melen 8a
		Yaounde 3	Yaounde 3 town	Obobogo
		Yaounde 4	Yaounde 4 town	Ekounou iv
		Yaounde 4	Yaounde 4 town	Mimboman iii
		Yaounde 4	Yaounde 4 town	Nkomo ii Nord
		Yaounde 5	Yaounde 5 town	Essos Sud i
		Yaounde 5	Yaounde 5 town	Nkolmesseng ii
		Yaounde 6	Yaounde 6 town	Etoug-ebe i
Yaounde 7	Yaounde 7 town	Etetak		

Region	Department	Subdivision	Canton	Village / Neighbourhood
3. Adamaoua	Mbere	Dir	Dir ville	Yerima konchta
	Vina	Ngaoundere	Ngaoundere i town	Haut-plateau
4. Centre (urban)	Haute sanaga	Minta	Minta town	Akoum
	Lekie	Batschenga	Batschenga town	Ballong 1
	Mbam et inoubou	Ndikinimeki	Ndikinimeki town	Bamoun
	Nyong et kelle	Biyouha	Biyouha town	Biyouha
(rural)	Lekie	Obala	Endinding	Nkol tsogo 2
5. East (urban)	Boumba et ngoko	Yokadouma	Yokadouma town	Bordeau
	Lom et djerem	Bertoua 1er	Bertoua 1er town	Bamvele
		Bertoua 2e	Bertoua 2e town	Bertoua ii
(rural)		Garoua-boulaï	Doka	Nandongué
6. Far-North (urban)	Diamare	Bogo	Bogo town	Founaguedje
		Maroua i	Maroua i town	Djarengol piddere
		Maroua i	Maroua i town	Wouro djama'a
		Maroua iii	Maroua iii town	Dougoï ii
	Logone et chari	Fotokol	Fotokol town	Fotokol
		Kousseri	Kousseri town	Krouang ii
		Waza	Waza town	Waza garrou
	Mayo danay	Tchatibali	Tchatibali town	Kaolaré
(rural)	Diamare	Maroua i	Meskine	Boudougou souley/ boudougou mango
	Mayo danay	Tchatibali	Tchatibali rural	Goua

Region	Department	Subdivision	Canton	Village / Neighbourhood
7. Littoral (urban)	Moungo	Loum	Loum town	Kombi i
		Melong	Melong town	Nkongsoug village
		Nkongsamba 1	Nkongsamba 1 town	Mouanboh
(rural)	Sanaga maritime	Edea 1	Edea 1 town	Haoussa
		Edea 2	Ndogbianga	Dissat
8. North (urban)	Benoue	Lagdo	Lagdo town	Djipporde
		Garoua i	Garoua i town	Ouro souley
		Garoua ii	Garoua ii town	Foulbéré v
(rural)	Benoue	Mayo louti	Guider	Guider town
		Garoua iii	Lamidat de tcheboa/secteur djalingo	Djalingo
9. North–West (urban)	Mezam	Bafut	Bafut town	Manji
		Tubah	Tubah town	Mushong-muobuh
		Bamenda 2	Bamenda 2 town	Lower ngomgham
		Bamenda 2	Bamenda 2 town	Nitob iv
		Bamenda 2	Bamenda 2 town	Mulang
		Bamenda 3	Bamenda 3 town	Ntaghem
(rural)	Donga mantung	Nkambe	Tabenken	Tabenken
	Menchum	Menchum valley	Esimbi	Ikake
10. West (urban)	Menoua	Dschang	Dschang town	Mingou
	Mifi	Bafoussam 1	Bafoussam 1 town	Djeleng v
		Bafoussam 2	Bafoussam 2 town	Tyo-village iii a
	Noun	Foumban	Foumban town	Manga ii
		Foumbot	Foumbot town	Nkoudoubain

Region	Department	Subdivision	Canton	Village / Neighbourhood
(rural)	Bamboutos	Mbouda	Bamendjinda	Poneki 1
	Noun	Massangam	Malanden	Malanden
11. South (urban)	Dja et lobo	Sangmelima	Sangmelima town	Akon ii
	Mvila	Ebolowa ii	Ebolowa ii town	Nko'ovos 2
(rural)	Vallee du ntem	Kye ossi	Ntoumou Sud	Akombang
12. South–West (urban)	Fako	Buea	Buea town	Great soppo
		Limbe 1	Limbe 1 town	Cassava farms
		Limbe 1	Limbe 1 town	Unity quarter
		Tiko	Mutengene town	Mutengene q 5
		Limbe 3	Limbe 3 town	Mbonjo
	Meme	Mbonge	Mbonge town	Long street
		Kumba 2	Kumba 2 town	Utoko
(rural)	Fako	Buea	Muea	Lower muea
	Meme	Mbonge	Bomboko	Kuké kumbo

Table A1.2: Distribution of the number of locality, the number of households by locality, number of research team by locality and number of days of study per study area

Region	Number of localities	Number of households per locality	Number of research teams per region	Number of days of study per locality
Yaoundé	13	195	1	14
Douala	12	180	1	14
Far-North	10	150	2	13
North	5	75	1	11
North–West	8	120	1	14
South–West	9	135	1	15
West	6	90	1	11
Littoral	5	75	1	14
South	3	45		
Centre	5	75	1	10
East	4	60	1	13
Adamaoua	2	30		
Total	82	1,230		

Appendix 2: Data processing and cleaning

Organization of data input team

Data input of the study on *the impact of South–South migration on Development in Cameroon* took place in Yaoundé in the Computer room of IFORD. Led by a team of 10 Data capture agents under the control of a Data controller, the operation was placed under the coordination of a Data capture Coordinator.

Before the start of the operation, several preparatory tasks were done, the main ones being:

- Design data capture masks;
- Design comparison and data cleaning program;
- Elaboration of the data capture manual;
- Training and evaluation of data capture agents;
- Configuration of the computer network and installation of data capture masks.

Realization of data capture operation

The data capture operation of the above-mentioned study began on 25 September 2012, two weeks after the collection of field data. It ended on 8 October 2012. This operation was constituted of six (06) main activities:

- Verification and coding of the questionnaires received from the field;
- First data capture from questionnaires verified and coded;
- Second data capture (verification) of questionnaires from the first activity;
- Comparison of data and correction of listings;
- Cleaning the data from the previous step;
- Data imputation.

i. Data coding

Questionnaires completed in the field, 1,234 in total were put at the disposal of the data capture team. The questionnaires were mostly closed, thus the agents initially controlled and/or verified for each village/quarter (VQ):

- The coherence in the coding of questionnaires;
- The number of completed questionnaires that must correspond to that brought back from the field and registered on the archive box;

- Completeness of the questions;
- Compliance with the skips and filters;
- The coherence of certain information collected.

All completed questionnaires from the field were systematically controlled before the first data capture.

ii. First data capture

This activity consisted of the capturing of VQ coded and verified in the previous step. This is for the agent to enter the information as it is written on the physical questionnaires.

iii. Second capture (verification)

It consists of capturing the VQ on which the first capture was done. It aims to verify the data captured in the previous step.

iv. Comparison of data and correction of listings

This is to compare, for each questionnaire, its data from the first capture and that of the second capture. In cases where differences were detected, the related listings were printed and given to the concerned agent for correction. The data were “clean” at this level if those of the first capture correspond exactly to those of the second;

v. Data cleaning

The implementation of the written program on the basis of specifications previously developed permitted the detection and correction of errors and coherence. This phase permitted to obtain a “clean” data file usable in the production of tables. Incoherencies detected were corrected by referring to the physical questionnaires.

vi. Data imputation

Data imputation consisted of attribution coherent answers to incoherent values detected that escaped the previous control.

Tables (especially simple flat sorting) were previously made to facilitate and well realize the imputation.

Exporting data

At the end of all these activities, the different databases were exported to a statistical software (Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), Stata, etc.). The different weight coefficient and different matching variables were then created.

The key variables were notably:

- IDVQ: identification of village or quarter;
- IDMEN: identification of household
- IDIND: individual identification in a household;
- IDMA: identification of absent migrant.

Response rate

All 1,235 households selected in the survey were successfully interviewed, yielding a response rate of 100 per cent. Within these households surveyed, we noted (table A2.1) that:

- 287 immigrants were identified and all were successfully interviewed, representing a response rate of 100 per cent;
- 592 absent migrants were identified and all were also successfully interviewed for a response rate of 100 per cent;
- 334 return migrants were identified which 332 were successfully interviewed. Is a response rate of 99.4 per cent;

Overall, we noted that the response rate obtained from the survey was satisfactory, given the reluctance observed in similar operations.

Table A2.1: Number of households, immigrants, missing migrants, return migrants and response rate of households

	Residence milieu		Region											Total	
	Urban	Rural	Adama-	Centre	East	Far-North	Littoral	North	North-	West	South	South-	Yaoundé		Douala
			oua					West	West	West	West	West	West		West
Number of Households drawn	978	257	31	75	60	150	75	75	120	90	48	135	180	196	1,235
Number of Households occupied/ found	978	257	31	75	60	150	75	75	120	90	48	135	180	196	1,235
Number of Households interview	978	257	31	75	60	150	75	75	120	90	48	135	180	196	1,235
Response rate of household (in %)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of eligible immigrants	206	81	58	16	49	61	7	26	15	2	9	16	12	16	287
Number immigrants interviewed	206	81	58	16	49	61	7	26	15	2	9	16	12	16	287

	Residence milieu		Region											Total		
	Urban	Rural	Adama-oua	Centre	East	Far-North	Littoral	North	North-West	West	South	South-West	Yaoundé		Douala	
Response rate of immigrants (in %)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total response rate (in %)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of eligible migrants absents	480	112	5	29	17	44	52	21	68	45	19	114	80	98		592
Number of absent migrants interviewed	480	112	5	29	17	44	52	21	68	45	19	114	80	98		592
Response rate of absent migrants (in %)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total response rate of absent migrants	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

	Residence milieu		Region											Total	
	Urban	Rural	Adama-oua	Centre	East	Far-North	Littoral	North	North-West	West	South	South-West	Yaoundé		Douala
Number eligible return migrants	278	56	2	24	10	56	6	15	25	20	26	42	54	54	334
Number return migrants interviewed	278	54	2	24	10	56	6	15	25	20	24	42	54	54	332
Response rate of return migrants (in %)	100	96.4	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	92,3	100	100	100	99.4
Total response rate of return migrants (in %)	100	96.4	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	92,3	100	100	100	99.4

Appendix 3: Results of the impact of emigration on human development

Table A3.1: Average exchange value of absent migrants with their households by area of current residence (in FCFA)

Individual level	Total		South		North	
	N	Average	n	Average	n	Average
Amount of money received by household per absent migrant	284	609,824	123	435,903***	161	766,940
Value of assistance received by household per absent migrant	106	613,726	37	370,600*	69	784,377
Amount sent by household per absent migrant	53	365,587	34	261,359**	19	672,767
Value of assistance sent by household per absent migrants	103	81,167	44	51,553**	59	122,318
Household level	N	Average	n	Average	n	Average
Amount received by household of absent migrants	242	723,278	104	502,719***	138	909,328
Value of assistance received by household of absent migrants	96	656,034	34	393,632	62	841,190
Amount sent by household to absent migrants	43	452,613	25	355,053	18	655,348
Value of assistance sent by household to absent migrants	79	98,082	34	57,999	45	148,488
Statistical significance: * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$						

Table A3.2: Value of exchange by absent migrant with his/her household during the last 12 months according to the area of current residence (in %)

		< 100,000	100,000 - 200,000	200,000 - 300,000	300,000 - 400,000	400,000 - 500,000	500,000 and more	Total	Effective
Amount of remittances received by household per absent migrant	South***	28.2	23.8	10.3	8.1	2.6	27.1	100	123
	North	12.5	18.8	13.5	8.9	2.5	43.9	100	161
	Total	19.9	21.2	12.0	8.5	2.6	35.9	100	284
Value of assistance received by household per absent migrant	South	45.2	25.2	13.6	2.5	2.5	11.1	100	37
	North	28.8	16.1	10.3	12.2	0.7	31.8	100	69
	Total	35.6	19.9	11.7	8.2	1.4	23.3	100	106
Amount of money sent by household per absent migrant	South**	57.9	20.5	0.5	0.3	0.0	20.9	100	34
	North	9.7	16.8	18.4	0.7	0.0	54.4	100	19
	Total	45.7	19.6	5.0	0.4	0.0	29.3	100	53
Value of assistance sent by household per absent migrant	South	84.4	6.3	6.1	0.0	0.6	2.7	100	44
	North	63.7	17.4	8.7	0.0	0.0	10.2	100	59
	Total	75.7	11.0	7.2	0.0	0.3	5.8	100	103

Seuil de significativité : * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Table A3.3: Values of exchanges of absent migrants per household during the last 12 months depending on the area of current residence (in %)

	< 100,000	100,000 - 200,000	200,000 - 300,000	300,000 - 400,000	400,000 - 500,000	500,000 and more	Total	Effective
Amounts received by household of absent migrants	South***	23.1	28.4	11.0	5.4	4.4	27.8	104
	North	9.6	21.1	12.1	8.0	1.8	47.4	138
	Total	15.8	24.4	11.6	6.8	3.0	38.4	242
Value of assistance received per household of absent migrants	South	41.1	23.4	19.2	2.6	2.6	11.1	34
	North	30.8	9.9	13.8	13.1	0.8	31.6	62
	Total	35.1	15.5	16.0	8.8	1.5	23.1	96
Amounts sent by household to absent migrants	South*	32.1	38.6	0.0	0.4	0.4	28.6	25
	North	9.3	19.9	17.4	0.7	0.0	52.7	18
	Total	24.7	32.5	5.6	0.5	0.3	36.4	43
Value of assistance sent by household to absent migrant	South	82.6	8.5	3.6	1.2	0.7	3.4	34
	North	56.4	16.5	11.3	4.2	0.0	11.6	45
	Total	71.0	12.1	7.0	2.5	0.4	7.0	79

Seuil de significativité : * p < 0,10, ** p < 0,05, *** p < 0,01

Table A3.4: Impact of migration of absent migrants on their household

	Household with absent migrants	Household with absent migrants in the South	Household with absent migrants in the North
Proportion of self-employed among 12 years and above in household	-0.036*	-0.010	-0.049**
	(0.018)	(0.024)	(0.021)
Proportion of employees among 12 years and above in household	0.006	0.024	-0.016
	(0.017)	(0.024)	(0.020)
Spending on education in the last 12 months	1.16e+05**	92,834.9	1.32e+05**
	(41,248.162)	(66,863.6)	45,939.9
Spending on food in the last week	5,249.854**	5,869.4	4,386.6***
	(1,866.229)	(3,696.1)	(1,439.1)
Spending on health in the last month	2,726.097	-1,899.0	6,674.5
	(3,275.318)	(3,727.1)	(4,185.5)
Savings in the last month	15,044.672*	1,499.6	28,738.5**
	(7,606.300)	(7,130.5)	(13,043.7)
Treatment group	386	175	192
Control group	418	418	418
Statistical significance : * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01			

Appendix 4: Results of the impact of return migration (return and absent)

Table A4.1: Impacts of migration (return and absent) on monetary poverty

Variables	Migration total		South–South migration		North–South migration	
	Return	Return and absent	Return	Return and absent	Return	Return and absent
Food expenses	4,312*** (1,199.799)	4,867*** (1,256.991)	3,443*** (1,102.428)	3,519*** (948.253)	8,813** (4,266.527)	7,414** (2,945.869)
Housing status	0.011 (0.041)	0.075* (0.031)	-0.017 (0.044)	0.052 (0.034)	0.154* (0.079)	0.119*** (0.039)
Savings	19,177* (9,735.764)	20,856* (7,676.178)	8,067 (5,694.510)	10,285.015 (6,139.665)	78,693 (51,687.692)	40,393** (17,913.789)
School expenses	4,595 (29,736.973)	93,779* (32,939.347)	-3 (27,320.909)	73,612* (39,295.729)	250,000** (88,066.390)	130,000*** (41,774.267)
Health expenses	-5,680* (2,799.539)	32 (2,883.671)	-6,603*** (2,819.328)	-3,734 (2,847.305)	-819 (4,447.418)	7,214 (4,033.358)

Statistical significance : * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Table A4.2: Impacts of migration (return and absent) on participation in the labor market

Variables	Migration total		South–South migration		North–South migration	
	Return	Return and absent	Return	Return and absent	Return	Return and absent
% employees	0.055**	0.028*	0.050***	0.040***	0.082	0.004
	(0.020)	(0.013)	(0.021)	(0.015)	(0.050)	(0.015)
% self-employed	0.043*	0.003	0.058***	0.021	-0.038	-0.031
	(0.023)	(0.016)	(0.026)	(0.018)	(0.036)	(0.020)
Statistical significance : * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01						

Appendix 5: Results of immigration and migration (emigration, return and immigration)

Table A5.1: Distribution of immigrants according to their migration history
(in %)

Country of residence five years ago	Percentage	Number
Cameroun	70,1	192
Other country	29,9	82
Total	100,0	274
Have lived in other countries for three months or more with the exception of the country of birth and Cameroon	Percentage	Number
Yes	18.1	52
No	81.9	235
Total	100.0	287
Country in which the migrant has lived for three months or more	Percentage	Number
Republic of the Congo	1.9	1
Gabon	7.7	4
Equatorial Guinea	3.8	2
Nigeria	17.3	9
Central African Republic	1.9	1
Chad	9.6	5
Elsewhere in Africa	51.9	27
America	1.9	1
Europe	7.7	2
Total	100.0	52
Type of locality of residence in Cameroon for at least three months for those who have change residence since their arrival in this country	Percentage	Number
Rural	44.1	30
Urban	55.9	38
Total	100.0	68

Table A5.2: Impact of migration in Cameroon according to comparison between households with no migrant, households with all types of migrants, households with all types of migrant in the South and households with all types of migrants in the North

Variables	Households with all types of migrants	Households with all types of migrant in the South	Households with all types of migrants in the North
Proportion of self-employed among the 12 years and above in household	0.011 ns	0.034*	-0.057***
	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.018)
Proportion of employees among the 12 years and above in household	0.013 ns	0.019 ns	0.003 ns
	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.018)
Savings in the last month	21,759***	16,457*	43,133**
	(7,110)	(7,923)	(16,032)
Spending on education in the last 12 months	67,982**	37,120 ns	148,000***
	(30,266)	(33,451)	(38,231)
Spending on health in the last month	-957 ns	-3,685 ns	-7,525*
	(2,785)	(2,786)	(3,705)
Spending on food in the last week	4,286***	3,801***	6,144***
	(1,102)	(1,321)	(1,364)
Treatment group	817	588	274
Control group	418	418	418

Statistical significance: * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$ ns : non significant

Table A5.3: Impact of immigration in Cameroon according to comparison between households with no migrants and household with only immigrants

Variables	Household with only immigrants
Proportion of self-employed members at least 12 years old	0.104***
	(0.033)
Proportion of employees ages 12 years and above	0.012 ns
	(0.030)
Savings over the last month	27,697 ns
	(19,369)
Spending on education over the last 12 months	49,200 ns
	(44,958)
Spending on health in the last month	-8,994***
	(2,759)
Spending on food in the last week	46 ns
	(1,159)
Treatment group	128
Control group	418

Statistical significance: * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$ ns : non significant

Appendix 6: Opinions on migration

Table A6.1: Distribution of respondents according to the reasons given for their perception of the impact of emigration on life in Cameroon

	Number	Percentage
Those who leave reduce unemployment	251	20.4
Those who leave acquire skills and resources	307	25.0
The migrants send money to their friends and families	558	45.5
The remittances reduce the level of poverty	349	28.4
The money sent enable investment	171	13.9
The money sent enable savings	141	11.5
Foreign currency sent strengthen the economy	79	6.4
Emigrants leads to family breakdown	109	8.9
Emigrants lead to a deficit in skills	173	14.1
The country suffers because there is brain drain	76	6.2
It depends on the person's life abroad	119	9.7
It makes no difference	114	9.3
For other reasons	71	5.8
Total	1,227	-

Table A6.2: Distribution of respondents according to their perception of the influence of the refugee life in Cameroon

	Number	Percentage
Worse	161	13.0
Slightly worse	201	16.3
No change	604	48.9
A little better	172	13.9
Much better	34	2.8
DNK	63	5.1
Total	1,235	100.0

Table A6.3: Distribution of respondents according to the reasons for their perception of the impact on the lives of refugees in Cameroon

	Number	Percentage
Refugees do new and different things	202	16.5
Refugees bring foreign currency into the country	121	9.9
Refugees deprive Cameroonian employment	147	12.0
Refugees reduce access by Cameroonians to resources	141	11.5
Refugees increase crime	270	22.1
There is no difference	544	44.5
Other reasons	142	11.6
Total	1,222	-

Table A6.4: Views of heads of household on life in Cameroon

	Number	Percentage
Cameroon is a good place to live		
Strongly agree	636	51.5
Agree	404	32.7
Neither agree nor disagree	53	4.3
Disagree	74	6.0
Strongly disagree	59	4.8
DNK	9	0.7
I would live in another country if I had the choice		
Strongly agree	423	34.3
Agree	274	22.2
Neither agree nor disagree	92	7.4
Disagree	266	21.5
Strongly disagree	172	13.9
DNK	8	0.6

	Number	Percentage
I am happy in the way Cameroon is managed		
Strongly agree	234	18.9
Agree	221	17.9
Neither agree nor disagree	181	14.7
Disagree	333	27.0
Strongly disagree	242	19.6
DNK	24	1.9
I think we need to protect traditional ways of life in this country		
Strongly agree	660	53.4
Agree	465	37.7
Neither agree nor disagree	54	4.4
Disagree	34	2.8
Strongly disagree	15	1.2
DNK	7	0.6
People agree with each other in our community		
Strongly agree	460	37.2
Agree	390	31.6
Neither agree nor disagree	125	10.1
Disagree	155	12.6
Strongly disagree	94	7.6
DNK	11	0.9
We must strive for men and women to be treated equally in this country		
Strongly agree	610	49.4
Agree	401	32.5
Neither agree nor disagree	76	6.2
Disagree	99	8.0
Strongly disagree	35	2.8
DNK	14	1.1

	Number	Percentage
We need to make more effort to ensure that all ethnic groups are treated equally in this country		
Strongly agree	707	57.2
Agree	451	36.5
Neither agree nor disagree	41	3.3
Disagree	21	1.7
Strongly disagree	4	0.3
DNK	11	0.9
I think the government needs to involve people in the process of political decision-making		
Strongly agree	628	50.9
Agree	459	37.2
Neither agree nor disagree	69	5.6
Disagree	49	4.0
Strongly disagree	10	0.8
DNK	20	1.6
I think people need to be involved in decision-making at the family level		
Strongly agree	595	48.2
Agree	502	40.6
Neither agree nor disagree	63	5.1
Disagree	42	3.4
Strongly disagree	23	1.9
DNK	10	0.8
Total	1,235	100.0

Table A6.5: Distribution of heads of household according to their views on the impact of migration on development

	Number	Percentage
Public services deteriorated due to the brain drain		
Strongly agree	359	29.1
Agree	291	23.6
Neither agree nor disagree	216	17.5
Disagree	217	17.6
Strongly disagree	113	9.1
DNK	39	3.2
Money received from migrants makes people lazy		
Strongly agree	182	14.7
Agree	225	18.2
Neither agree nor disagree	201	16.3
Disagree	392	31.7
Strongly disagree	213	17.2
DNK	22	1.8
Money received from migrants allows people to be more enterprising		
Strongly agree	400	32.4
Agree	395	32.0
Neither agree nor disagree	224	18.1
Disagree	141	11.4
Strongly disagree	51	4.1
DNK	24	1.9
Cameroonians living abroad support the community		
Strongly agree	357	28.9
Agree	438	35.5
Neither agree nor disagree	249	20.2
Disagree	98	7.9
Strongly disagree	53	4.3
DNK	40	3.2

	Effectifs	Percentage
Foreign perform jobs feared in Cameroon		
Strongly agree	210	17.0
Agree	232	18.8
Neither agree nor disagree	245	19.8
Disagree	353	28.6
Strongly disagree	158	12.8
DNK	37	3.0
Public services are affected because the government has to spend for the supervision of immigrants		
Strongly agree	202	16.4
Agree	249	20.2
Neither agree nor disagree	226	18.3
Disagree	350	28.3
Strongly disagree	128	10.4
DNK	80	6.5
Many want to leave because of that migrants tell them		
Strongly agree	551	44.6
Agree	475	38.5
Neither agree nor disagree	96	7.8
Disagree	60	4.9
Strongly disagree	32	2.6
DNK	21	1.7
People think that education will facilitate them to migration		
Strongly agree	467	37.8
Agree	511	41.4
Neither agree nor disagree	126	10.2
Disagree	78	6.3
Strongly disagree	25	2.0
DNK	28	2.3

	Number	Percentage
Those who have live abroad help the country in political and social issues		
Strongly agree	298	24.1
Agree	460	37.2
Neither agree nor disagree	207	16.8
Disagree	137	11.1
Strongly disagree	85	6.9
DNK	48	3.9
Cameroonians living abroad are more likely to invest in Cameroon		
Strongly agree	411	33.3
Agree	467	37.8
Neither agree nor disagree	167	13.5
Disagree	116	9.4
Strongly disagree	40	3.2
DNK	34	2.8
Total	1,235	100.0

Table A6.6: View of return migrants living in Cameroon

	Effectifs	Percentage
I am pleased with the way the country is run		
Strongly agree	75	22.6
Agree	66	19.9
Neither agree nor disagree	43	13.0
Disagree	78	23.5
Strongly disagree	59	17.8
DNK	11	3.3
I have a stronger feeling now that we need to protect the traditional way of life in this country		
Strongly agree	161	48.5
Agree	134	40.4
Neither agree nor disagree	16	4.8
Disagree	7	2.1
Strongly disagree	4	1.2
DNK	10	3.0
I now feel that we must do more to ensure that men and women are treated equally		
Strongly agree	150	45.2
Agree	124	37.3
Neither agree nor disagree	23	6.9
Disagree	18	5.4
Strongly disagree	7	2.1
DNK	10	3.0
I now feel that we must do more to prevent corruption in Cameroon		
Strongly agree	235	70.8
Agree	78	23.5
Neither agree nor disagree	6	1.8
Disagree	2	0.6
DNK	11	3.3

	Number	Percentage
I now feel that we must do more to protect human rights in Cameroon		
Strongly agree	202	60.8
Agree	103	31.0
Neither agree nor disagree	8	2.4
Disagree	7	2.1
DNK	12	3.6
I think we should make more efforts to ensure that immigrants are treated fairly		
Strongly agree	147	44.3
Agree	125	37.7
Neither agree nor disagree	27	8.1
Disagree	16	4.8
Strongly disagree	7	2.1
DNK	10	3.0
Total	332	100.0

Table A6.7: Distribution of heads of household surveyed according to their opinions about the actions that the government could take to ensure that migration has a greater impact on life in Cameroon

Types of actions to be undertaken	Opinions	Number	Percentages
Reducing crime and improving security in the country	Yes	180	14.6
	No	1,047	84.8
	DNK	8	0.6
Creating more jobs	Yes	639	51.7
	No	588	47.6
	DNK	8	0.6
Creating more paid jobs	Yes	529	42.8
	No	698	56.5
	DNK	8	0.6
Facilitating the establishment of companies	Yes	344	27.9
	No	883	71.5
	DNK	8	0.6

Types of actions to be undertaken	Opinions	Number	Percentages
Facilitation of labour contracts abroad for citizens	Yes	52	4.2
	No	1,175	95.1
	DNK	8	0.6
Facilitation work exchange programmes with other countries	Yes	95	7.7
	No	1,132	91.7
	DNK	8	0.6
Encouragement of Cameroonians living abroad to invest in Cameroon	Yes	155	12.6
	No	1,072	86.8
	DNK	8	0.6
Creating a stronger immigration policy to limit immigration	Yes	145	11.7
	No	1,082	87.6
	DNK	8	0.6
Creating a more liberal migration policy to facilitate entry and exit in the country	Yes	203	16.4
	No	1,024	82.9
	DNK	8	0.6
Supporting diaspora abroad	Yes	51	4.1
	No	1,176	95.2
	DNK	8	0.6
The Government is not able to do something	Yes	73	5.9
	No	1,154	93.4
	DNK	8	0.6
The Government does not want to do something	Yes	71	5.7
	No	1,156	93.6
	DNK	8	0.6
Total		1,235	100.0

What is the impact of South-South migration on human development in Cameroon? What are the profiles of Cameroonian migrants?

This study highlights that Cameroonian migrants are mainly young adults and men. Most return migrants come from African countries, and Africa remains the first destination for Cameroonians emigrants. Slightly more than half of them send remittances to their household in Cameroon, and the formal remittances agencies remain the most often used means for the transfer of money. Thus, the study reveals that the presence of a migrant abroad has a significant impact on household food, education, health expenditure and on savings, as well as on the participation of household members in the labour market.

This study recommends taking into account the South–South perspectives and the study findings in the ongoing development of a national migratory policy in Cameroon, which would facilitate migrants’ participation in local development initiatives and the management of return migration.

