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THEME: HARNESSING THE PARTNERSHIP OF THE PUBLIC AND NON-STATE SECTORS FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND GOOD GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA: PROBLEMS AND THE WAY FORWARD

TOPIC: BRAIN DRAIN: CAUSES, AND ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCIES FOR AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

A growing number of African intellectuals and professionals are entering the stream of international migration away from the continent not just from the country of birth.

This paper will examine the growing numbers of African intellectuals and professionals to developed countries and the focus of the paper will be on the causes of the migration, its history and current trends, the consequences for African economic development; and the prospects for future emigration and policy options for both African and developed countries.

Four major factors account for the patterns in African migration currently observable:

- globalization and integration of the world economy
- economic and political development failures in Africa;
- immigration and refugee policies in Europe and the United States;
- colonial background

Economic globalization, lack of development and political instability, industrialized nation’s policies, and linguistics and historical ties are major factors that account for Third World immigration to developed countries in general. Most African immigrants are responding to push factors at home, namely economic development failures. In Europe, especially, many of these migrants are doing lower-skilled jobs despite the fact that they are among the more skilled and educated citizens in their own countries. SAP’s designed to combat Africa’s economic problems create, at least in the short term, conditions that actually increase the pressures on the educated skilled to emigrate.

Finally, two variables will determine the scale of future African immigration to developed countries:

- What happens in terms of economic and political development in African countries, and
- Developed countries’ immigration and refugee policies.
1. INTRODUCTION

Migrant flows are always from the poorest countries with a low probability of employment towards less poor and more dynamic countries where there is an opportunity to find some sort of job. Over the last few years international migration has intensified, with the media referring to the “regionalisation and globalisation” of migration. The major centers of attraction are the same: United States and the European Union, with countries in southern Europe gradually becoming immigrant receiving countries. The third major region that attracts migrants is the oil-rich Middle East. The fourth major region set to be the target for increasing numbers is Asia/Pacific, including Australia and New Zealand.

What are the effects of migration on the countries of origin? Funds sent by migrant to families back home often play a considerable part in the development of the local economy. However, when highly qualified people leave their home country, the investment made by the developing countries in their higher education is lost. To remedy this, programmes have to be set up to encourage immigrants to return, so that they can contribute to the economic development of their home country. The political environment in some African countries must be conflict free for African professionals overseas to return home.

Africa is certainly experiencing a debilitating flight of professionals and skilled people escaping their countries’ economic crisis. The level and trend of brain drain has reached unsustainable heights. In the last few years, the brain drain has escalated in magnitude to levels that have serious implications on economic growth in countries like Zimbabwe.
Why have African intellectuals and professionals left or thinking seriously of leaving their countries? Previous studies have discovered extremely high levels of dissatisfaction with the cost of living, taxation, availability of goods, and salaries. The number of poor living below the poverty datum line has surged progressively in the last few years because of economic crisis and spiraling inflation.

The situation has been exacerbated by declining real savings compounded by high levels of taxation and rising unemployment levels. The decline in real gross domestic product (GDP), is reflective of failure to attract foreign direct investment (FDI) and increased external debt due to chronic foreign currency shortages to procure raw materials, fuel, electricity and spare parts, against a background of rising production and labour costs due to high inflation have led to declining savings. The contraction in the formal sector, owing to companies’ downsizing, reducing working periods and closure, have led to significant fall in employment levels.

Growing lawlessness and politically-motivated violence are some of the push factors for many intellectuals and professionals. The dissatisfaction goes deeper than economic and political circumstances to include housing, medical services, education, education and a viable future for children. Against this background, many skilled persons and professionals have migrated to other countries and the potential for emigrating among African university students and other is most probably very high. There is therefore need to enact policies in Africa to curb these massive brain drain and offer incentives to make staying and working in African countries attractive for professionals and skilled people.

The broad objective of this paper is to highlight African brain drain, its causes and consequences. Brain drain is seen in this paper as a complex problem created by both endogenous and exogenous factors, which prey on the disparity between
technologically developed and industrialized world, and the poor developing 
countries.

The structure of the papers is as follows;
Section 1 gives a general Introduction to the problem of Brain drain.

Section 2 attempts briefly to conceptualize and categorize international migration 
and the possible causes of international migration.

Section 3 gives a detailed analysis of Causes for African Brain Drain.

Section 4 attempts to show the Impact and Consequences of African Brain Drain, 
giving Zimbabwe as an example.

Section 5 Conclusion and Future Prospects and Policy Options.
2. THE CAUSES OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Some theories of international migration: There is no single, well-developed theory of international migration. Among the various models attempting to explain why international migration begins, five major approaches can be discerned: These were offered by Sharon Stanton Russell ².

Neoclassical economics: macro theory (arguably the body of theory most familiar to World Bank staff) views geographic differences in the supply and demand for labor in origin and destination countries as the major factors driving individual migration decisions. Among the assumptions of this model are that international migration will not occur in the absence of these differentials, that their elimination will bring an end to international movements, and that labor markets (not other markets) are the primary mechanisms inducing movements. Government policy interventions affect migration by regulating or influencing labor markets in origin and destination countries.

Neoclassical economics: micro theory focuses on the level of individual rational actors who make decisions to migrate based upon a cost-benefit calculation that indicates a positive net return to movement. In this approach, human capital characteristics that raise the potential benefits of migration, and individual, social, or technological factors that lower costs, will lead to increased migration. Differences in earnings and employment rates are key variables, and governments influence migration through policies that affect these (e.g., through development policies that
raise incomes at the point of origin, decrease the probability of employment at destination, or increase the costs of migration).

The new economics of migration views migration as a family (i.e., group) strategy to diversify sources of income, minimize risks to the household, and overcome barriers to credit and capital. In this model, international migration is a means to compensate for the absence or failure of certain types of markets in developing countries, for example crop insurance markets, futures markets, unemployment insurance, or capital markets.

Dual labour market theory holds that demand for low-level workers in more developed economies is the critical factor shaping international migration. To avoid the structural inflation that would result from raising entry wages of native workers, and to maintain labor as a variable factor of production, employers seek low-wage migrant workers. In this model, international migration is demand – based and initiated by recruitment policies of employers or governments in destination areas.

World systems theory focuses not on labour markets in national economies, but on the structure of the world market-notably the “penetration of capitalist economic relations into peripheral, non-capitalist societies, “which takes place through the concerted actions of neocolonial governments, multinational firms, and national elites. International migration is generated as land, raw materials and labour in areas of origin are drawn into the world market economy and traditional systems are disrupted.
3. **CAUSES OF AFRICAN BRAIN DRAIN.**

In the 1960s most of the African countries became independent, with the former Portuguese territories in 1975. In 1995, the last colony in Africa – South Africa – achieved majority rule. With accession to independence there was a marked change in the pace of migration. The first development plans and those subsequently adopted, accentuated existing disparities between urban areas which enjoyed the benefit of investment and rural areas. In some countries the most elementary freedoms were denied, giving rise to mass exodus of people unprecedented in the history of Africa. The gap between the economic and social development of different regions within countries and of different countries inside and outside Africa, has continued to widen over the years.³

Brain drain is a migration of professional people (as scientists, professors, or physicians) from one country to another, usually for higher salaries or better living conditions. Despite the clarity of this definition, most efforts to halt the brain drain or reverse the process, especially in African countries, seem to pay little attention to economic and social imperative to brain drain, and instead, centre on appeals to the spirit of nationalism and patriotism. In extreme cases, some governments threaten to hire foreign professionals as replacement labour for those who left-a more complicated and costly option.⁴

**Political Turmoil:** Political turmoil is linked to the failure of economic development. As pressures of poverty, rapid population growth, disease and illiteracy and environmental degradation mount, they produce a volatile cocktail of insecurity. Resulting war, civil strife, state-sponsored terrorism, riots and other forms of political violence can lead to the displacement of large numbers of people as migrants, refugees, or asylees. In the late twentieth century, compared to previous
centuries, more wars are taking place, and they are lasting longer and causing more devastation. According to Papademetriou both internal and regional conflicts, often based on religion and ethnicity, are precipitating unprecedented high levels of international migration.⁵

**Economic and Political factors:** The economic and political factors associated with international migration that have so far been discussed so far forces on the lack of economic development and political stability in many Third World countries. They are the major **push factors** in migration. The **push factors** are circumstances in the home environment that make a person think about leaving his normal place of abode for another part of the same country, neighbouring countries, or for a more distant place like the United Kingdom of the United States.⁶

**Pull Factors** i.e. those that draw people to particular destinations, are equally important. The post – World War II expansion of the industrial economies of Western Europe and North America (especially the United States) has led to immigration policies in these countries designed to meet a burgeoning demand for cheap labour. Globalization has made possible a massive transfer of resources like technology and capital; labour has become another form of large-scale resource transfer; Although more than half of recent international migration flows are between developing countries, the flow from the Third World to industrial nations has grown to unprecedented levels. That developed countries are a magnet for the world’s migrant is evident from statistics. In 1990, half of the world’s migrants (excluding those naturalized, which would increase even more than the number in developed countries) were in industrial countries: 15-20 million were in Western Europe, 15-20 million were in North America, and 2-3 million were in the industrial nations of Asia (e.g. Japan, Taiwan).⁷ This globalization phenomenon has not escaped the attention
of Deepak Nayyar, who observes that: the process of globalization is bound to exercise a significant influence on the push-factors underlying international migration. It would decrease emigration pressures if it leads to a convergence of levels of income between the industrialized countries and the developing countries. But it would increase emigration pressures if it leads to a divergence in levels of income between the industrialized countries and the developing countries. Similarly, it would decrease emigration pressures if it leads to a reduction in poverty, an expansion of employment opportunities and an improvement in the quality of life for the people in developing countries. But it would increase emigration pressures if it leads to rising poverty, growing inequality, worsening employment prospects and deterioration in the quality of life of people in development countries.8

In summary it should be realized that the globalization of economies, lack of development and political stability in Third World countries, and immigration policies that reflect the need for labour in the receiving industrialized countries have thus far been proposed as the major factors explaining international migration from the Third World to the developed countries e.g. USA, UK., etc. But these alone do not adequately explain why certain countries or individuals, not others, dominate migration flows nor do they explain the particular destination choice of migrants.

As earlier discussed, economic globalization, lack of development and political instability, industrial nations’ immigration policies, and linguistic and historical ties are major factors that account for Third World immigration to developed countries in general. The same factors enable us to understand African immigration to Europe and the United States of America.
Sub-Saharan Africa, like most other developing regions, has been integrated into the global economy primarily as a source of cheap primary goods and cheap labour. Initially, African labour was exploited within colonial boundaries but after World War II African labour was often actively recruited by ex-colonial European powers as competition for more expensive European labour. For example, France gave its former African colonies favoured nation status and formed agreements with such African states as Senegal, Mauritania, and Mali to promote labour migration. By 1960, about 20 000 Sub-Saharan Africans were in France; 12 000 in the late 80s.

The British were less hospitable to immigrants from their former African colonies. Beginning in 1962, Africans in England were denied full social and political rights. They were subject to four immigrant control and three race relations outs that gradually withdrew their citizenship rights. Pass laws and voucher systems were introduced in order to "terminate black settler immigration and to introduce repatriation. In 1971, the British passed an immigration act to expressly limit immigration from its former colonies."

It can, therefore, be said that Sub-Saharan Africa has generated significant global flows of migrants in the post-war era, mainly to ex-colonial states: Nigerian, Tanzanian, Ugandan, Asians and of late Zimbabweans have migrated to the U.K., Central and West Africans to France; Zairians (Congoese) to Belgium. However, the OECD has argued that these movements are dwafted by regional migrations within Africa. Regional labour have flowed primarily to Nigeria, South Africa, Gabon and the Ivory Coast. The main countries of emigration have been Zaire (now Congo), Angola, Mozambique, Cameroon and Botswana as well as all of the North African Nations, though rarely have their emigrants crossed the Sahara. The scale of migrants of West Africans to oil-rich Nigeria is most sharply revealed by the level of
expulsions that occurred after the economic downturn of the early 1980s. South Africa has provided the other major pole of migration, where a long established tradition of labour importation to the goldfields for the Transvaal continues to operate. Migrants have come from Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe for over a century. Since the 1960s these migrants have declined as indigenous trade unions have strengthened their hold on the labour market. Foreign workers in the mining industry have declined from over 600,000 in 1960 to fewer than 400,000 in the late 1980s and numbers continue to fall. However, such is the economic disparity between South Africa and its Northern neighbours that unorganized and illegal migration continues, disappearing into the vast, unpoliced townships of urban South Africa.10

**Political Instability**

Political instability is linked with and exacerbates the economic crisis of the African continent. Two-thirds of all the victims of war during the 1980s were Africans. In 1991 alone, military conflict affected one third of Africa's fifty-four countries. As of 1994, Africa has surpasses Asia as the world region with the most refugees. Of the ten countries in 1995 with the most people living as refugees eight were in Sub-Saharan Africa.11

Figure 1 gives a breakdown of causes of conflicts surveyed in Africa. From the findings, the major causes of conflict are economic and political. Competition for resources and ethnicity are significant causes of conflict. Ideological factors and religion are also clearly discernible causes of conflict.
Economic causes pervade all the conflicts, as the Matrix 1 shows. Ethnicity is a cause of conflict in some places but not in others. It is not cause of the conflict in Ethiopia, Sierra Leone and Mozambique. On the other hand, political causes feature in all the conflicts. Ideology causes apply to the conflict in Ethiopia (until 1991), but not since. Politics and competition for resources are major factors that are experiencing internal conflicts. Further, economic issues cause conflict in all the countries studied. This finding suggests an important link between politics, economics and resources. It can be hypothesized on this basis that patterns of governance and economic policy, both of which have much to do with how resources are shared, lead to internal conflicts.\textsuperscript{12}

In summary, it can be pointed out that over the last 40 years nearly 20 African countries (or about 40\% of Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA)) have experienced at least one period of civil war. It is estimated that 20\% of SSA's population now live in
countries which are formally at war and low intensity conflict has become endemic to many other states. This state of affairs has created stereotypes of Africa as a doomed continent with inescapable ethnic cleavages and violent tribal conflict. The more incidents of political violence we observe in Africa, the more support for this simplistic and negative perception.

However, careful analysis of the determinants of civil wars in Africa and a systematic comparison to other regions points to a more complex picture. Deep political and economic development failures (not tribalism or ethnic hatred) are the root causes of Africa’s problems. The implication is that political and economic development can effectively reduce or eradicate political violence in Africa.13

As several researchers point out, most African immigrants are responding to push factors at home, namely economic and political development failures. In Europe especially, many of these migrants are doing lower skilled jobs despite the fact that they are among the more skilled and educated citizens of their own countries. From 1960 to 1989, an estimated 70 000 – 100 000 highly skilled African workers and professionals left their countries to go to Europe or secondarily, the United States.14

**Structural Adjustment Programmes and The Brain Drain**

SAPs designed to combat Africa’s economic problems have created, at least in the short run, conditions that actually increase the pressure on the educated and skilled to emigrate. By forcing governments to lay off public sector workers, open their economies to foreign competition, and lower wages, SAPs have compounded the plight of Africa’s middle classes, whose living standards have declined drastically.15
The brain drain from developing to developed countries is becoming an issue of major international concern. It is not new in itself, but in the past it received only passing attention or controversial treatment, and barely made an appearance on the political agenda. A number of factors have contributed to an increasing awareness of the problem and increasing attention to possible counter measures.

The United Kingdom and France, the two European countries receiving the greatest number of students and professionals from developing countries, have concluded official studies on highly qualified immigrants and the dynamics of their migration. Further afield, a number of OECD countries have been showing a marked interest in the migration of highly qualified individuals. At the same time, in the developing countries themselves, the topic has been the subject of numerous meetings – especially in Africa. These have attempted to assess the extent of the phenomenon, the range and seriousness of its effects and how to limit its damage.

Measuring the emigration of highly qualified people has always been a major difficulty in studies of the subject and things have hardly changed. Figures that are accurate, reliable, comparable and detailed are rare, and they illustrate part of the picture.

**Trends in Migration**

Nevertheless, the figures that are available even if they are less than wholly accurate, do illustrate some important trends. It appears that the emigration of highly qualified people towards economies relying heavily on knowledge has been on the increase for several decades and has accelerated over the last few years in
particular. This can be seen in the statistics of countries like India and South Africa (“Source countries”) and the United States and France (“target countries”).

The explanation for this is clear. It lies in sustained economic activity that increasingly requires highly qualified human resources. Those segments of the labour market that contain the skills needed are increasingly important in OECD countries. The highly qualified proportion of the working population is continuing to grow. Today it represents more than one third of the population, compared with one quarter just two decades ago. In this context, the increase in qualified immigration simply reflects a global increase in the number of qualified personnel available in the working population. For example, American figures show the number of engineers of foreign origin working in the United States has grown considerably during the last twenty years. But their proportion among engineers has not changed at all. People of foreign origin represent 12% of the whole “highly qualified” segment of the American labour market. This percentage is very similar in many other western countries.

4. IMPACT AND CONSEQUENCES OF AFRICAN BRAIN DRAIN

So in simple numbers the contribution of the developing world to the developed is relatively marginal. It is nevertheless strategically important, since it eases shortages of labour market in the target countries. But above all it is crucial for the source countries. For them the volume of skills involved is sizeable. What constitutes a small proportion of personnel in the North is a large one for the South.
A Global Phenomenon

The minor role of the Southern Hemisphere and its limited influence on markets could have concealed the problem confronting developing countries for a long time. But the skills exodus is not a localized phenomenon. It affects all countries in one way or another. It is no longer an exclusively North/South phenomenon, as it now affects North/North and South/South relations. In addition, there are substantial flows from countries in the former eastern bloc.

Here is just one example to illustrate this new, complex and global dynamic. South Africa receives numerous Zambian and above all, Cuban doctors. It is acknowledged fact that its own health professionals emigrate to the United Kingdom and to Oceania. Specialists in New Zealand’s biomedical sector choose to emigrate to the US and Canada. In turn Canada laments the large numbers of its talented citizens who choose to take themselves off to neighbour south of the 49th parallel.

The problem is even more in the information technology and science sectors. Here Indian or North African specialists, for instance, offset the defections of French, British or German citizens to the United States.16

Brain Drain: The Zimbabwe Case

Zimbabwe, once one of the most educated and skilled nations in Africa, runs the risk of being turned into a society of expatriates because of an unprecedented exodus of professionals fleeing a plethora of worsening ills. Zimbabwe, facing its worst economic and political crisis in more than two decades, has lost more than 100 000 of some of its best young brains in the past two years. It is estimated that 15% of all
professionals who left Zimbabwe since 2000 to seek economic refugee in the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa were skilled workers such as doctors, nurses, accountants and engineers. The brain drain has even assumed political connotations, with President Robert Mugabe accusing Zimbabwe’s former colonial ruler Britain of “stealing” medical doctors, nurses, and pharmacists from Zimbabwe.

But human resource experts and business analysts say the lure of better living standards has cost Zimbabwe its intellectual capital to almost every corner of the globe at a time Zimbabwe is unable to extricate itself from worsening shortages of foreign currency, food and fuel and of rampant unemployment, inflation and poverty.

The Zimbabwe chapter of the Association of Chartered Certified Accountants (ACCA) estimates that at least 200 of its members had left the country since the beginning of the year 2002 in search of greener pastures. Other professional bodies such as the Zimbabwe Medical Association (ZIMA) and the Zimbabwe Institution of Engineers (ZIE) has lost a sizeable chunk of their members in the past two years. Dave McElvaine, a human resources consultant with Deloitte and Touche, warned that Zimbabwe risked becoming an expatriate society unless the brain drain is stopped. He said the available labour pool had shrunk by more than 50 percent since 2000 because of the exodus of professionals. He said the migration of skilled workers was particularly telling on the sectors of information technology and finance.17

Findings of the study directed by Prof. C.J. Chetesnaga of the Scientific and Industrial Research and Development Centre, Harare(SIRDC)(2003) on “An Analysis of the Causes and Effects of Brain Drain in Zimbabwe”, revealed the following:
The study was able to establish that there were 479,384 Zimbabweans in the Diaspora although the study team was aware that there were a large number of Diasporans that it could not contact for various reasons. The Diaspora destination of the majority of Zimbabweans are the United Kingdom, Botswana and South Africa; The study showed that most of the respondents held bachelors degrees, followed by those who were polytechnic graduates. About 20% held masters degrees, while 5% held Ph.D degrees; The health and teaching professions are the most affected while accountants constitute a significant proportion (16.9%) of the total number of Zimbabweans in the Diaspora; The most common work-related reasons for emigrating given by 34% of the respondents, were the low salaries in Zimbabwe, followed by the exchange rate mentioned 32.55%, while 29% gave better career advancement opportunities as reason for emigrating; All those in the clergy expressed the desire to come back to Zimbabwe after 5 years. Half of the farmers wanted to return after 5 years, while 37.5% of engineers wanted to return within 2 years.

Environmental Problems
There is no consensus among researchers on whether immigration from Africa to developed countries such as the U.K and U.S.A. is more positive than negative. A major concern is that because the migrants tend to be young, skilled, and educated, a large-scale “brain-drain” is occurring that will hinder African development efforts. It is, further argued that labour migration from poor to rich economies does not help poor economies transform themselves nor does it address the underlying weakness in socio-economic structure of rich economies. It is mainly profitable for private capital and international economy by removing national boundaries for labour. Poor
economies’ loss of their meager supply of skilled and productive people is not compensated for by the often marginal gains acquired from the skills and remittances of the émigré.\textsuperscript{19}

Furthermore, developing countries express concern that emigration deprives these nations of their best human resources, represents a transfer of educational investment from poor to rich countries and leads to abuses or exploitation of tier workers. Out migration can also pose the risk of rather serious and sometimes dramatic economic problems and the need to make sudden adaptations when migrants return unexpectedly and in large numbers, as occurred in the aftermath of Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait in 1990.\textsuperscript{20}

Others argue that international migration encourages economic development and benefits both sending and receiving countries. Obviously, developed economies benefit by improving their global competitiveness through importing both the skilled and unskilled labour they need. Another view is that in Africa’s stagnating and deteriorating economies, emigration contributes to development by relieving unemployment and providing remittances from abroad that increase the supply of needed foreign exchange. It is pointed that the flows between African and developed countries do not go just one way. Africa is also the recipient of highly skilled labour migrants from developed countries from such sources as the Peace Corps, USAID, the World Bank, the UN, and staff of multinational corporations.\textsuperscript{21}

While there are unresolved debates about the positive and negative effects of remittances on countries of emigration, it is clear that remittances from international migration are sizeable and important sources of foreign exchange. Although the poorest seldom have the means to migrate, remittances have been shown to play an
important role in poverty alleviation from migrant households and in sub-national areas of out migration. The consequences of remittances for income inequality depend greatly on the income composition of a given migrant stream. Inequality may increase if migrants are concentrated in upper – income households, but may have a neutral effect, where migrants are fairly evenly distributed across income levels.22

5. CONCLUSION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS AND POLICY OPTIONS
The primary cause of brain drain is the difference among countries in economic and professional opportunities, hence the imperative to move from one area to another to improve their social and economic status. For most Africans who migrate, brain drain has a direct relationship to levels of education attained, and access to training and employment opportunities abroad. In the past African countries blamed the problem of brain drain on the lack of patriotic spirit of those who left. Increasingly, however, more African leaders and policy makers are beginning to acknowledge the real cause of brain drain, and their incapacity to benefit from the training of their professionals.23

Two variants will determine the scale of future African immigration to developed countries.
What happens in terms of economic and political development in African Countries? Developed countries immigration and refugee policies.

The two are interrelated. It can be maintained that the best antidote to migration from the Third World and from Africa in particular is helping poor countries achieve more peaceful societies, freer and more democratic political systems, and higher economic growth. This would necessitate in many cases higher levels of aid and
investment from the rich, industrial nations so alarmed by the influx of unwanted immigrants. As long as the global economy continues to mainly benefit the already rich, many people in stagnant, politically unstable Third World countries will continue to have no recourse but to emigrate, illegally if not legally.24

There is a large and growing pool of African scientists living and working in the industrialized world. While Asian (e.g. India) countries have developed and adopted strategies to mobilize and utilize their diaspora, African countries lack such measures. The region can no longer afford to ignore this capital. Indeed it should tap the enormous scientific and technological talents of Africans abroad and use them for its own scientific and technological development.

While it is obviously not possible to prevent people from migrating to developed countries for better prospects in the era of globalization, the adverse impact of such movements on economic development merit urgent attention. A coercive approach to the brain drain would only intensify the level of discontent and would make absolutely no difference to the emigration intentions. The best way to curb the high rates of skilled labour migration lies in addressing the economic fundamentals of the African countries which will ultimately improve living standards. In policy terms, there is need for African governments to address the economic ills that are driving people out of the continent.25
NOTES


9. Gordon, op. cit. pp. 84-85
11. Gordon, op. cit; pp. 86
14. Gordon, op.cit. p.86
15. Gordon, ibid.
18. See Report on Brain Drain carried out by the Scientific and Industrial Research and Development Centre(SIRDC)(2003) supervised by Prof. C.J. Chetsanga and funded by UNDP, Harare.
19. Gordon, op.cit. pp.87
20. Russell (2002), op. cit. pp.8
21. Gordon, op.cit. pp.95
22. Russell (2002), op.cit. pp.8
23. Obia, op.cit. p. 76.
24. Gordon, op.cit,pp.98