

Chapter Four

Discontent and Departure: Attitudes of Skilled Zimbabweans Towards Emigration

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Whether the brain drain is a “curse or boon,” and for whom, is the subject of considerable international debate.¹ Many African governments and scholars argue that the West is actively “poaching” scarce skills without regard to the dire development consequences for countries of origin. One commentator, for example, maintains that the main pressures for the brain drain come from countries of origin, not destination: “Europe, for economic and demographic imperatives, needs immigrants to make up for the demographic deficit occasioned by an ageing population. Rich countries need two categories of immigrants to cope with prevailing economic and demographic imperatives: one set to do poorly paid, dirty, and dangerous jobs which nationals scorn; and highly specialised professionals, especially software specialists, engineers, doctors and nurses, in short supply.”²

A contrary line of thinking tends to blame the developing world for its own misfortune. In other words, there would be no brain drain if conditions at home were more conducive for skilled people to stay: “If we think of the world as no more than a set of countries which own their population, then this does look like theft by the developed countries. But that would be a foolish way to see it. The loss of skilled and professional

workers on this scale is as much a vote of no confidence in the government concerned as a flight of capital. It becomes more like a flight of refugees, a flight from spectacular misgovernment, from appalling working conditions and pay levels so low that they are below subsistence. The remedy is not to end the right to work in developed countries but to make an environment at home in which people want to stay and work."³

Contemporary Zimbabwe would probably be viewed by most as falling squarely in the latter camp. The brain drain of professionals was negligible in the first decade of independence (except of course for those white professionals who headed south across the Limpopo into apartheid South Africa). Indeed, many black professionals who had left Zimbabwe in the Smith years returned after 1980.⁴ The strictures of the structural adjustment policies (SAP) of the 1990s marked something of a turning point, however.⁵ For over a decade now, Zimbabwe has been experiencing a debilitating flight of professional and skilled people. This "brain drain" has now escalated to such a level that it has serious implications for future economic growth and development.⁶ Tens of thousands of Zimbabwean doctors, nurses, pharmacists, teachers and other professionals have left the country to secure jobs in Britain and in neighbouring countries such as South Africa, Botswana, Swaziland and Namibia.⁷ Most seriously affected is the health sector where, according to one estimate, 60 percent of state-registered nurses and about half of the medical doctors have left the country since 1999.⁸

Against this backdrop, it is important to understand exactly what Zimbabwean professionals think about their country, their prospects and the future. Is the grass so green overseas that they would leave regardless of what was happening at home? Or have conditions at home become so difficult or unpalatable that departure for anywhere is the only realistic option? The Southern African Migration Programme (SAMP) has conducted two attitudinal surveys in Zimbabwe to better understand the reasons why so many professionals are leaving and what would be needed to stem the outflow. The first survey was conducted in 2001, just as the outflow of skilled migrants began to intensify. A sample of 738 working professionals from a variety of sectors was interviewed at length in the three cities of Harare, Bulawayo and Gweru. In 2005, SAMP interviewed a sample of 900 final-year students in colleges and universities in Harare, Bulawayo, Mutare, Kadoma, Marondera, Rusape and Masvingo. Both surveys showed extraordinary dissatisfaction with social and economic conditions in Zimbabwe and levels of emigration potential that were significantly higher than in any other country surveyed.

THE POTENTIAL EMIGRANT POOL

This chapter defines a "skilled" Zimbabwean as someone who: (a) is a Zimbabwean citizen; (b) is 16 years of age or older; (c) has completed high school and possesses a diploma or degree from a recognized college or university (or is in the final year of studying for a diploma or degree) and (d) is currently economically active (employed or looking for employment). In addition, some high school leavers occupying accounting, managerial and clerical positions are included because of their experience.

The respondents in the SAMP survey of professionals were drawn from a wide range of professions including engineering, finance, health, law, police/military and education (Table 4.1). The services industry and banking/finance together made up almost 50 percent of the sample. A large proportion of the respondents in the service industry were engaged in retail as well as transport and communication. Another 16 percent were employed in the education/research field and 14 percent in a professional practice such as medicine, law, engineering and information technology. Other employers included heavy industry, government, the military and agriculture.

The majority of the respondents (59 percent) were from Harare, which accounts for nearly half of the urban population of Zimbabwe (Table 4.2). Ninety-four percent of the respondents were black or of African origin, 2 percent were white, 3 percent coloured and 1 percent of Indian or Asian origin. This distribution closely approximates the national population breakdown. However, the actual numbers of whites and Indian/Asians interviewed were too small to make general statements about the attitudes and emigration intentions of these groups of Zimbabweans.

The surveyed population was highly qualified: 46 percent had certificates or diplomas, 25 percent bachelors' degrees, 5 percent masters' degrees and 0.4 percent doctorates. Twenty-four percent had only gone as far as high school but the majority of these had been employed for extended periods and received in-house training, becoming "skilled" through experience. The majority of the sample (74 percent) had full-time jobs. Only 4 percent were unemployed.

Table 4.1: Employment Sectors of Professionals

	No.	%
Service industry	221	24.5
Finance/Banking	203	22.6
Education/Research	142	15.8
Professional practice	127	14.1
Police/Military	97	10.8
Heavy industry	97	10.8
Retail	93	10.3
Government	88	9.8
Accounting	75	8.3
Other services	60	6.7
Tertiary education	57	6.3
Medical	55	6.1
Banking	51	5.7
Manufacturing	46	5.1
Engineering	46	5.1
Finance	41	4.6
Secondary education	39	4.3
Insurance	36	4.0
Research	25	2.8
Transport and communication	23	2.6
Primary education	21	2.3
Construction	20	2.2
Food	17	1.9
Automotive	17	1.9
Law firm	16	1.8
Real estate	15	1.7
Agriculture	13	1.4
Mining	10	1.1
Private security	10	1.1
Information technology	10	1.1
Textile	4	0.4
Energy	3	0.3

Note: Respondents could give more than one answer.

Table 4.2: Distribution of Professionals' Race and Residence

	Race				Total	
	Black	White	Coloured	Indian/ Asian	No.	%
Harare	502	9	14	4	529	58.8
Bulawayo	217	12	11	3	243	27.0
Mutare/ Rusape	61		-	-	61	6.8
Kadoma	25	1	-	-	26	2.9
Marondera	16	-	2	-	18	2.0
Masvingo	23		-	-	23	2.6
Total	844	22	27	7	900	100

Percentages may not add up to 100 in this and subsequent tables due to rounding.

Of the 900 respondents, 66 percent were male and 34 percent were female. The uneven gender distribution reflects the fact that males have generally had greater access to the educational system and the higher end of the labour market than females. This is slowly changing but is still very evident in the gender profile of the educated class. The survey also suggested that the skills base of Zimbabwe is quite youthful with 79 percent of the respondents aged below 35 years (Table 4.3) and only 3 percent over 50. This is a reflection of another legacy – the colonial system which provided limited opportunities for the black population.

Table 4.3: Age and Sex of Professionals

Age	Sex		Total	
	Male	Female	No.	%
15-24	136	126	262	29.1
25-34	313	132	445	49.4
35-49	122	45	167	18.6
50-59	18	5	23	2.6
Above 60	3	-	3	0.3
Total	592	308	900	100

Fifty percent of the respondents were married, 44 percent single, 2 percent divorced, 1 percent separated, and 2 percent cohabiting. The relatively high number of respondents who are not married can be attributed to the generally youthful nature of the Zimbabwean skills base. Forty-two percent of the respondents were household heads, 21 percent were children of household heads and 17 percent spouses of household heads. In addition, 46 percent of the respondents had no children, 21 percent had only one child and 17 percent had two children. Almost a quarter of the respondents (24 percent) had no economic dependants, while 56 percent of the respondents had between one and four dependants. In other words, at the time of the survey, Zimbabwe's remaining black professionals were generally quite young and not encumbered by long professional or career service or family commitments. With their best working years still before them, these young professionals, like those anywhere, were inherently likely to be more mobile than their older and more established counterparts.

While this group of skilled people generally earned higher salaries than the rest of the working population, they were still not particularly well-off. At the time of the survey, about 22 percent still earned less than Z\$11,000 a month. A further 18 percent earned between Z\$11,000 and Z\$17,000, while only 23 percent earned above Z\$41,000. At the time, the poverty datum line was pegged at Z\$17,000 (about US\$312) for a family of six.⁹

The student survey was part of a broader regional SAMP initiative known as the Potential Skills Base Survey (PSBS).¹⁰ In Zimbabwe, the PSBS focused on the attitudes of final-year students from universities and colleges. The university students were from the faculties of Law, Science, Engineering, Commerce, Medicine/Pharmacy and Arts & Humanities. The colleges included technical, commercial and teacher training institutions located in several urban centres. Almost all the students were registered full-time with very few studying on a part-time basis. Just over half were registered for undergraduate degrees, while 40 percent were studying for certificates/diplomas at the various polytechnics and training colleges. A few students were studying for postgraduate degrees (5 percent).

The gender breakdown of the sample was predominantly male (62 percent), reflecting ongoing gender inequality in access to higher education and the professions. Over half of the students were below the age of 24. Just over a third had their homes in the rural areas (33 percent in rural communal areas and 2 percent in commercial farming

areas). The other two-thirds were from urban areas, especially the large towns and cities (47 percent). The majority of the students (76 percent) were single, 18 percent were married, 3 percent previously married but now single, and only 3 percent cohabiting. In contrast to professionals, very few students had dependants; as many as 63 percent had none at all.

Table 4.4: Demographic Profile of Students

	No.	%
Sex		
Male	747	62.4
Female	451	37.6
Age		
23 years or less	699	58.8
24 years and more	490	41.2
Race		
Black	1,154	96.7
White	10	0.9
Coloured	28	2.3
Asian/Indian	2	0.2
Location of home		
Rural communal area	388	32.5
Commercial farming area	26	2.2
Small town	216	18.1
Large town/city	564	47.2
Marital status		
Married	216	18.0
Separated/divorced/abandoned/ widowed	35	2.9
Cohabiting	36	3.0
Single	910	76.1

In sum, the students of Zimbabwe proved to be even more footloose than their young professional counterparts. This kind of profile is not unusual for the student body in any country. However, being relatively unencumbered does not necessarily mean that the first thing students think about is leaving home. Indeed, in most countries students are anxious to get a foothold in the local labour market and begin their careers, not look to leave at the earliest opportunity. The PSBS showed quite clearly that students in most SADC countries do not think this way. They feel that their chances of a satisfying life and professional career are greater if they do leave. However, the intensity of the desire, and the likelihood of leaving, set Zimbabwean students apart from their colleagues in other SADC countries.

PREDICTING SKILLS EMIGRATION

Emigration potential is a measurement of the likelihood of the skilled population leaving a country. Various parameters can be used to predict the emigration potential of skilled Zimbabweans, such as the extent to which they have considered emigrating from the country, the factors affecting their decision to move, their most likely destinations and the perceived length of stay in their most likely destination.

Both surveys indicated that the vast majority of actual and future skilled Zimbabweans had thought about emigrating. Fifty-seven percent of the professional respondents had given the possibility a great deal of consideration while 29 percent had given it some consideration. Only 13 percent had never considered emigration. An even higher proportion of students (71 percent) indicated that they had given emigration a great deal of consideration. A mere 6 percent of the students had not considered leaving at all. Gender, age and socioeconomic status made little difference to the students' answers.

Amongst the professionals, these variables did make a difference. The survey showed that a greater proportion of female than male professionals (62 percent versus 54 percent) had seriously considered emigrating. The skilled population aged between 25 and 35 years had given the most consideration to leaving the country. There was a general increase with age in the proportion who had not considered leaving the country: only 8 percent of 16-24 year olds had not considered leaving the country, rising to 12 percent for the 25-34 age group, 21 percent for the 35-44 age group and 22 percent for the 45-54 age group. Interest in emigration therefore declines with age (Figure 4.1).

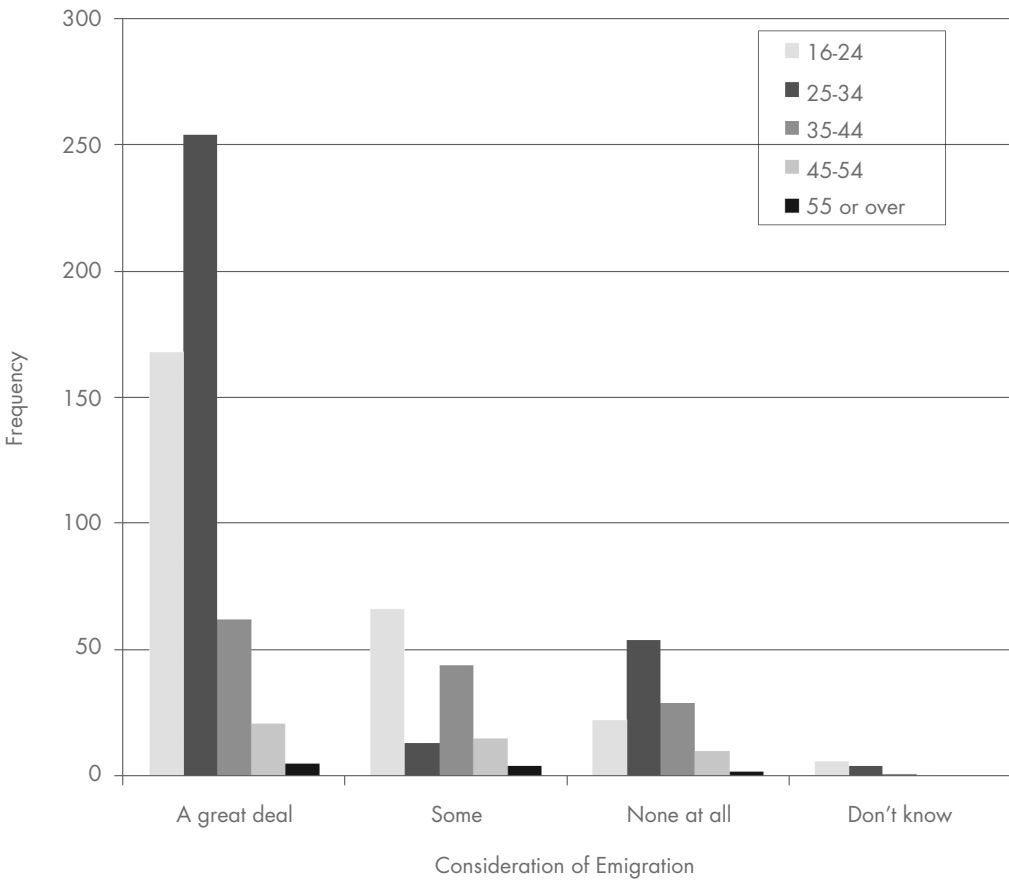


Figure 4.1: Emigration Potential by Age Group

Nevertheless, levels of dissatisfaction in Zimbabwe were so high that the vast majority in each age group had given serious thought to leaving.

Zimbabweans had also given much more thought to emigration than their counterparts elsewhere in SADC. In comparison with Zimbabwe's 57 percent, only 33 percent of skilled people in Lesotho had given emigration a great deal of consideration, 31 percent had done so in South Africa and only 13 percent in Botswana. Or again, while only 13 percent of skilled Zimbabweans had given no thought to leaving, the equivalent figure was 58 percent in Botswana, 32 percent in Lesotho and 31 percent in South Africa.

The potential pool of emigrants in the skilled Zimbabwean population was therefore massive and unparalleled by regional standards. However, this does not mean that all of these people will necessarily leave:

Thinking about leaving, and wanting to do it, are one thing. Actually doing so is quite another...Emigration is a formal and often lengthy process that involves obtaining official documentation, preparing applications and organizing employment opportunities, quite apart from the sheer logistics of the move. Thus people who have mentally set a specific date, or at least a time frame, for leaving are far more likely to act upon their desires than those who leave it as an open-ended question.¹¹

The survey of skilled and professional Zimbabweans therefore sought to establish the extent to which they had a mental commitment to emigrate within a specified time frame (Table 4.5). Specifying a time frame for departure cut the levels of potential emigration, but not nearly as dramatically as one might have expected. The respondents were first asked about the likelihood of emigrating within the next six months. Just over a quarter (27 percent) said it was likely or very likely that they would leave within 6 months (the equivalent South African figure was 7 percent). Slightly more than half (55 percent) considered it likely or very likely that they would emigrate within two years (South Africa: 25 percent). In all, 67 percent indicated that they were likely or very likely to leave the country within five years (South Africa: 42 percent). In other words, in South Africa there was marked difference between the desire to leave and the stated likelihood of doing so. In Zimbabwe, this gap proved to be extremely narrow.

Table 4.5: Commitment to Emigrate Amongst Skilled Zimbabweans

	Very Likely (%)	Likely (%)	Unlikely (%)	Very Unlikely (%)	Don't Know (%)
Within Six Months	14	13	32	33	8
Within Two Years	19	36	19	15	11
Within Five Years	37	30	10	10	14

The students expressed an even stronger likelihood of leaving – just over half (56 percent) said that they were likely or very likely to emigrate within six months of graduat-

ing. Some 70 percent said it was likely or very likely they would leave within two years of graduating.

The firmest indicator of a person's emigration potential is whether they have actually begun applying for emigration documentation. Despite the very high emigration potential captured by other indicators, fewer respondents had started the process of applying for emigration documents. Six percent of the skilled respondents had actually applied for a work permit in another country while 13 percent were in the process of applying. Thus, there was a potential loss of nearly 20 percent of the country's skilled workforce to other countries in the short term. The students had gone further in their commitment to emigrating: over a quarter had already applied for, or were in the process of applying for, a work permit in another country. Around 15 percent had applied for, or were in the process of applying for, permanent residence in another country and a similar proportion were seeking citizenship in another country.

In sum, amongst both professionals and students there was a decline in the predictors of emigration as the survey moved from consideration, to likelihood, to taking active steps to leave. In other words, "as greater mental and physical commitments are required from the respondent, emigration potential declines."¹² The propensity of students to emigrate was higher than for professionals, but for both groups, all of the indicators of emigration potential were higher than those for the other countries in which SAMP conducted similar research (Botswana, Lesotho and South Africa). Particularly notable was the fact that there was only a marginal decline in Zimbabwe between desire and likelihood. Zimbabweans, as their actual behaviour confirms, are doing much more than simply thinking about leaving.

Emigration can be either temporary or permanent. Most emigrants have an idea, when they leave, about which they intend (although things may work out differently in practice; those who leave temporarily often end up staying, those who leave for good sometimes return if things do not work out as they hoped). Nevertheless, it was important to determine whether Zimbabwe's potential emigration pool consists primarily of those who wish to leave for only a short period or those who want to go away for longer. As many as half of the skilled Zimbabweans expressed a strong desire to leave "permanently." Only 25 percent had a strong desire to leave for a short period (less than two years). In other words, this is a population more interested in getting out of the country for good. In general, the respondents wanting to

leave permanently were in the under 40 age group, had fewer dependants and were mostly single.

In contrast to many students in Southern Africa, Zimbabweans proved to be more interested in long-term emigration from the country. Some 62 percent wanted to leave for more than two years. As many as half said they would stay away for longer than five years. Many of the students said they would want to become permanent residents (60 percent) and citizens (57 percent) of their intended destination country. The figures for professionals were also high at 52 percent and 48 percent.

The preferred destination of potential skilled emigrants from Zimbabwe was North America (preferred by 34 percent), followed by Europe (29 percent) and Southern Africa (22 percent). The most popular country destinations were, in order of preference, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Botswana, South Africa, Australia/New Zealand and Canada. When it came to their most likely destination, however, Southern Africa rated more highly (at 31 percent), just below North America. This shows that, though most skilled Zimbabweans (77 percent) wished to leave the region entirely, fewer thought they would actually do so. Only Botswana and South Africa rated a mention as desirable or likely destinations. Botswana is preferred to South Africa, yet Zimbabweans felt that it was more likely that they would actually end up in South Africa, testimony to the different employment possibilities and immigration policies of the two neighbouring countries. Botswana is the preferred destination because of concerns over safety in South Africa. However, it is South Africa that remains the region's "economic powerhouse," and as a result is perceived to have better employment prospects. In addition, the immigration laws of South Africa are less stringent than those of Botswana, meaning that practically, it is less difficult for Zimbabwean migrants to physically enter South Africa.

The fact that more people wanted to go to Europe (mainly the UK) than thought it was likely they actually would, suggests a realistic assessment of the barriers to immigration and the harassment and discrimination that nationals from Zimbabwe have been subjected to in the UK in recent years.¹³ The horizons of students were a little more limited. While the majority still wanted to get out of Southern Africa (64 percent) and thought it likely that they would (61 percent), Southern Africa was also seen as both the single most desirable and the single most likely destination (36 percent and 38 percent respectively) of migration. Unlike the working professionals, students preferred Europe to North America and more thought it likely they would end up in Europe.

Table 4.6: Potential Destinations of Emigrants from Zimbabwe

	Preferred Destination		Most Likely Destination	
	Skilled (%)	Students (%)	Skilled (%)	Students (%)
North America	34.0	23.8	31.5	22.3
Europe	26.5	29.1	23.2	28.2
Southern Africa	22.9	36.1	30.9	38.8
Australia/New Zealand	9.0	9.4	7.1	8.0
Other Africa	5.6	1.4	5.7	0.6
Asia	2.0	0.3	1.6	2.1

QUALITY OF LIFE IN ZIMBABWE

Why are so many skilled Zimbabweans leaving? Beyond the obvious explanation of economic collapse and political turmoil, it is useful to see what people themselves feel about their quality of life in Zimbabwe. The country's recent economic travails led to rampant inflation and shortages of consumer goods. By 2001, skilled Zimbabweans still in the country were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the cost of living (89 percent), level of taxation (83 percent), availability of quality affordable products (75 percent), and level of income (72 percent) (Table 4.7). But the dissatisfaction went much deeper. The upkeep of public amenities was a source of dissatisfaction for 74 percent, as was the perceived future for children (71 percent), housing availability (69 percent), medical services (61 percent) and education (57 percent). Over half were dissatisfied with their own safety and that of their family, a response to the poverty-driven growth of crime in Zimbabwe.

The pessimism of many respondents was confirmed in questions asking whether they thought that conditions would improve in the following five years (Table 4.8). Most skilled Zimbabweans in 2001 thought that conditions in the country would get worse, a prediction that was to be only too accurate. Seventy-two percent felt the cost of living would increase and 71 percent thought that the level of taxation would increase, while 67 percent thought that the upkeep of public amenities would decline and 66 percent were worried about the future of their children. They predicted, again correctly, that the high inflation levels in the country would persist and that the level of taxation would remain high. Similarly, the majority of respondents felt that social conditions in the country would deteriorate including public amenities (67 percent said they would get worse),

their children's future (66 percent), suitable housing (62 percent), medical services (62 percent) and schooling (55 percent).

Table 4.7: Satisfaction with the Quality of Life in Zimbabwe

Dissatisfied/Very Dissatisfied with:	Skilled (%)
Economic Circumstances	
Cost of living	89
Level of taxation	83
Availability of quality affordable products	75
Level of income	72
Share of taxes compared to others	64
Job	46
Prospects for professional advancement	46
Job security	45
Social Circumstances	
Upkeep of public amenities	74
Children's future in country	71
Ability to find a suitable house	69
Ability to find adequate medical services	61
Ability to find a good school for children	57
Family's safety	56
Personal safety	56
Customer service	53

When the students were asked the same question, their answers smacked more of despair than pessimism. On virtually every measure, over three-quarters thought that conditions would get worse or much worse in the ensuing five years. They were particularly negative about the HIV and AIDS situation (89 percent thought it would get worse), taxation (88 percent), the upkeep of public amenities (87 percent) and the availability of suitable housing (86 percent). Around 80 percent were concerned about a deterioration in the safety situation, their ability to find a decent job and the cost of living.

Table 4.8: Perceptions of Future Conditions in Zimbabwe

Expected to get Worse/Much Worse in the next 5 years	Skilled (%)	Students (%)
Economic Circumstances		
Cost of living	72	80
Level of taxation	71	88
Availability of quality affordable products	67	84
Level of income	58	75
Share of taxes compared to others	57	88
Job security	47	79
Ability to find desired job	44	80
Prospects for professional advancement	41	72
Social Circumstances		
Upkeep of public amenities	67	87
Children's future in Zimbabwe	66	81
Ability to find a suitable house	62	86
Ability to find adequate medical services	62	82
Ability to find a good school for children	55	79
Family's safety	53	83
Personal safety	52	82
Customer service	51	83
HIV and AIDS situation	-	89

The respondents were then asked to compare conditions in Zimbabwe with those in their most likely destination (MLD). The conditions that proved to be comparatively most attractive to prospective emigrants include the lower cost of living, prospects for professional advancement, availability of quality affordable products and higher incomes in their MLDs (Table 4.9). Better public amenities, medical services and customer services were seen as the most important social differences between Zimbabwe and the MLD. Interestingly, only half thought that they and their families would be safer in their MLD. This is because so many Zimbabweans see South Africa as their MLD and are very aware of the threat of criminal and xenophobic violence. On every single measure, the students said that conditions would be better in their MLD than did the skilled respondents.

Table 4.9: Comparison Between Zimbabwe and Most Likely Destination

Better/Much Better in Most Likely Destination	Skilled (%)	Students (%)
Economic Conditions		
Cost of living	88	91
Level of income	87	93
Availability of quality affordable products	86	90
Ability to find desirable job	82	81
Prospects for professional advancement	79	82
Level of taxation	73	79
Share of taxes compared to others	65	-
Job security	59	71
Social Conditions		
Upkeep of public amenities	74	79
Ability to find adequate medical services	74	85
Customer service	71	81
Future of children	66	68
Ability to find a good school for children	60	72
Ability to find suitable housing	59	71
Personal safety	49	69
Family's safety	49	69

Levels of student dissatisfaction about economic conditions in Zimbabwe were higher than in any other SADC country surveyed (Table 4.10). Only 3 percent were satisfied with their personal economic condition and less than 35 percent were optimistic that conditions would improve in the next five years. Less than 1 percent were satisfied with economic conditions in the country and only 20 percent expected to see any improvement within five years.

The 2001 survey also revealed enormous dissatisfaction with government amongst skilled Zimbabweans. Only 11 percent of the respondents approved/strongly approved of the way the government had performed its job in the previous year. Only 12 percent said they could always trust the government to do what is right, while a mere 15 percent believed that the people in government was interested in hearing what they have to

say. Over 80 percent of skilled Zimbabweans believed that they are unfairly treated by the government. These are extraordinarily high levels of dissatisfaction by any standard.

Table 4.10: Student Satisfaction/Expectations about Economic Conditions

	No.	Students(%)
Satisfaction with current personal economic conditions		
Very satisfied	8	0.7
Satisfied	28	2.4
Expectations of personal economic conditions in 5 years		
Much better	174	14.6
Better	238	19.8
Satisfaction with current economic conditions in Zimbabwe		
Very satisfied	4	0.3
Satisfied	6	0.5
Expectations of economic conditions in Zimbabwe in 5 years		
Much better	57	4.8
Better	185	15.4

CONCLUSION

The dimensions and reasons for the brain drain from Zimbabwe have been well-documented in other SAMP work.¹⁴ In this chapter, we have focused on the attitudes of skilled people towards life in Zimbabwe. For if the skilled population is essentially contented and giving no thought to emigration, then we could safely say that the brain drain is a passing phenomenon which will soon draw to a close. In fact, the primary finding of the two studies reviewed here is exactly the opposite. Zimbabwe’s skilled population proved to be not only highly discontented with domestic economic, social and political conditions, but also extremely pessimistic about the possibility of positive change. The net result is a population with an extremely high emigration potential. The surge of out-migration from the country after these surveys were taken suggests that attitudes translated quickly into actions.

Various measures have been mooted by government with a view to keeping people in the country, including compulsory national service and bonding. The coercive approach to the brain drain has not worked particularly well elsewhere, so it is worth asking whether it is likely to have any impact in Zimbabwe. The research showed that such measures could have the opposite effect to that intended, further adding to the burden of discontent that is encouraging so many to leave or think of leaving. The majority of the skilled population in the country has an extremely high emigration potential, and should their plans be realised, the country stands to suffer, perhaps irreparably.

NOTES

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- 12 Ibid, p. 32.
- 13 Bloch (in this volume).
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