Perspectives of highly skilled migrants on return migration: A qualitative case study of Zimbabwean lecturers in the Western Cape of South Africa.

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Student Name: Karryn B Robinson

Student Number: 3418239

Supervisor: Dr. Coretta Jonah
Declaration

I……………………………Karryn B Robinson………………………………. undersigned, declare that: Perspectives of highly skilled migrants on return migration: A qualitative case study of Zimbabwean lecturers in the Western Cape of South Africa. has not been submitted before for any degree, or examination in any University, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and duly acknowledged by means of referencing.

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ABSTRACT

Brain drain has been labelled as one of the greatest development challenges facing African countries as it challenges capacity building, retention of skilled workers and sustained growth. Over the past two decades, a large number of Zimbabwean academics have left the country in search of economic opportunity and further academic training. This out-movement of academics has been exacerbated by political crisis and economic crisis in the country over the same period. Although some studies have sought to explain the causes, consequences and recommended policy responses to this human capital flight, they have not been able to critically assess, from the perspective of the emigrated academics, the conditions that would make them repatriate, their willingness to return to their home country and contribute to training, research and development; or their disposition towards engaging with Zimbabwean universities. The study fills a knowledge gap by specifically answering the following question: What are the perspectives of the Zimbabwean academic diaspora on returning to, or engaging with their home country? The participants of this research were Zimbabwean lecturers in universities in the Western Cape of South Africa. A qualitative case study design was utilised, which involved the use of in-depth interviews. Findings indicated migrants form a homogenous group in terms of willingness to return to Zimbabwe and lecture in its universities while heterogeneous in terms of when they would want to return based on personal and socio-economic circumstances. The homogeneity is reflected in that the willingness to return is high while the heterogeneity is reflected in the time frame of when they would want to return based on accomplishments of some goals. However due to the nature of this research findings cannot be generalised to all skilled migrants as this was location and career specific and sample size was not large enough to draw global generalisations.

Keywords: Brain Drain, Labour Migration, Return Migration, Skilled Workers, Human Flight Capital
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Brain drain also known as human capital flight, has been labelled as one of the greatest development challenges facing African countries as it challenges capacity building, retention of skilled workers and sustained growth (Sako, 2002: 25). In the source country, it reduces the stock of human capital, a factor which is already scarce in developing countries (UNCTAD, 2013: 94). Brain drain prevents a country from achieving its development goals as investments on higher education made by those countries is lost.

A growing number of Zimbabwean academics have left their country of birth and academic training and emigrated to more developed countries and regions as result of largely economic and political instability (Crush, 2002; SIRDC, 2002; Shumba and Mawere, 2012). SIRDC (2002) reports that about 479,300 professionals had left the country at the time of the study although the authors highlight that this was a very understated number. Several economic factors are responsible for this out-movement of skilled workers from Zimbabwe. These include lack of availability of goods, and low salaries and high taxation in a high cost of living environment (Tevera and Crush, 2002; SIRDC, 2002). To some, the poor political environment characterized by highly contested presidential elections and a controversial land reform program, the use of violence by the ruling party (ZANU-PF) to stifle opposition, arrests of political activists and abduction and torturing of opposition supporters (including teachers), contributed to skilled labor migration (UNDP, 2010; Ranga, 2014). Yet other highly skilled people migrated because of social issues such as poor medical services, better education and a viable future for children (Tevera and Crush, 2003).

Brain drain creates challenges to a source country’s welfare and development. Losing economically active and highly skilled people has severe consequences to a country’s economy. Docquier (2014) mentions four ways in which this occurs. First, the social returns to human capital are likely to exceed its private returns given the many externalities, both technological and sociological. Brain drain therefore entails significant losses for those left behind and increases inequality. Second, high-skilled emigrants do not pay taxes in their home country once they have left. As education is partly or totally subsidized by the government, emigrants leave before they can repay their debt to society. This fiscal cost may
be reinforced by governments distorting the provision of public education away from general (portable) skills when graduates leave, with the country perhaps ending up educating too many lawyers and too few nurses, doctors, or engineers. A third negative effect is inducing shortages of manpower in key activities, as when engineers or health professionals emigrate in disproportionately large numbers, undermining a country’s ability to adopt new technologies or deal with health crises. For Zimbabwe, which is already in short supply of critical skills such as medical doctors and engineers, more losses in critical skills will negatively impact its development agenda of becoming a Middle-Income country by 2030. Chikanda (2007) mentions that in 2002, in the United Kingdom (UK) alone, 2346 work permits were issued to nurses from Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe was the UK’s fourth largest supplier of overseas nurses, after the Philippines, India and South Africa. A recent National Critical Skills Audit (NCSA) report showed that the Medical and Health Sciences cluster had a deficit of 95 percent while the Engineering and Technology skills cluster showed a skills deficit of 93.57 percent. The Natural and Applied Sciences skills showed a skills output deficit of 96.91 percent. Agriculture Skills cluster showed a deficit of 88 percent (Government of Zimbabwe, 2018). This finding is alarming and shows at face value the impact of brain drain on critical sectors of the economy. Fourth, the brain drain increases the technological gap between leading and developing nations because the concentration of human capital in the most advanced economies contributes to their technological progress (Docquier (2014). Indeed, brain drain is a phenomenon that slows and reverses development of a country such as Zimbabwe and efforts to understand it, reduce it and reverse it are beyond a doubt, critical.

1.2 Problem Statement

Data on brain drain in Zimbabwe is scant and out-dated because of lack of a Diaspora database. Studies therefore face the risk of understating or overstating this phenomenon. In line with the overall deterioration of the quality of national statistics, Zimbabwe’s data on volumes and patterns of emigration, remittances, return migration and the skills profile of those involved in such flows, is deficient (UNDP, 2010). SIRDC (2002) found that 24.6 percent of Zimbabwean emigrants were trained doctors, nurses or pharmacists; 23.1 percent were engineers or scientists; 20 percent were teachers and 16.9 percent were accountants who
were undocumented. In total, it was estimated that about 490,000 skilled Zimbabweans were resident outside the country by 2002. Clemens and Pettersson (2006) estimated that there are 1600 and 3,723 Zimbabwean doctors and nurses abroad, respectively. Regardless of unavailability or scarcity of figures on the magnitude of the Zimbabwean brain drain, one issue is clear: Zimbabwe has lost a significant number of academics and professionals to other countries in the last decades, and this is ongoing.

Several policy responses are offered as a way to reverse the Zimbabwean brain drain. Some of the policy responses include (1) making the political and economic environment more conducive again for retaining educated and skilled citizens (Ranga, 2015), (2) formulating a skills export and import policy that promotes and provides the framework for the training of human resources in Zimbabwe for the labor markets of both target countries and Zimbabwe, (3) governments and private sectors should show a commitment to solving the brain drain problem in Zimbabwe and jointly play a pivotal role in formulating national policies to utilize the skills and other resources of Zimbabweans in the Diaspora for the development in Zimbabwe (SIRDC, 2002). Among the policy options are those that seek to repatriate the academic diaspora or transfer skills to their home country for example, setting up recruiting offices through embassies and finding jobs before return, facilitation of material costs of repatriation and re-integration and providing financial incentives for a fixed period of time in the form of a resettlement allowance (UNDP, 2010).

IOM (2003) has observed that one of the enduring features of any diaspora is the wish to return to the home country, though its incidence varies greatly. Survey studies indicate that should there be political and economic stability, at least two-thirds of Zimbabwean migrants aspire to return home and participate in development (SIRDC, 2003; Bloch, 2005; Makina, 2007). However, besides most of these studies being relatively old, the economic and political context in Zimbabwe has changed. In addition, most studies focus on migrants in their broad sense, and not specifically the high-skilled sample. Moreover, repatriation and reengagement policies have been a top-bottom approach and studies have not been able to critically assess, from the perspective of the academic diaspora, the conditions that would make them more likely to return or their willingness to return to their home country and contribute to training, research and development.
Chances of attracting back skills are high if political and economic stability is achieved, however, it should be noted that returning home is an aspiration whose realization might be also dependent upon other variables such as legal status, reason for migrating, gender, age, marital status, number of dependents in Zimbabwe, level of education, economic activity in host country, income and length of stay in host country (UNDP, 2010). An approach that seeks to consider the perspectives of the academic diaspora and what they want for them to repatriate or transfer their skills home is therefore important for effective policy-making.

1.3 Justification
The proposed study looks to fill this literature gap by specifically answering the following question: What are the perspectives of the academic diaspora on returning to their home country? Answers from this research will assist all stakeholders to the Zimbabwean brain drain, which include industry leaders, policy makers and universities; by helping them to make informed decisions on the initiatives that will most likely be effective in attracting academics and professionals back into the country. If the academic diaspora is not willing to come back to Zimbabwe or current policies are not engaging them sufficiently, then efforts by the government to engage them and resources spent thereof, will be wasted. Answers from this research will also be of value to policy makers in other developing countries which have been affected by brain drain.

1.4 Research Aims and Objectives
In line with the concern that most policies are made from top-to-bottom approaches without sound empirical data and knowledge on the perspectives of the academia in the diaspora, the proposed followed a bottom-up approach to inform policy making on reversing brain drain. It sought to answer the question: What are the views on reverse migration of Zimbabwean academics in South Africa? The specific objectives of the research are as follows:

i) To examine the main cause of emigration of Zimbabwean academics to South Africa
ii) To investigate willingness of Zimbabwean academics in South Africa to return home or engage with Zimbabwean universities
iii) To examine current efforts by Zimbabwean government to mobilize the academic diaspora
iv) To assess preferred policies and initiatives that would make Zimbabwean academics return to teach at Zimbabwean universities

1.5 Research Questions

The proposed study seeks to answer the question “what are the perspectives of Zimbabwean academic diaspora on return migration?”

1) What led you to leave Zimbabwe and migrate to South Africa?
2) How willing are you to move back to Zimbabwe in the near future and work with Zimbabwean universities?
3) Are you aware of efforts made by the Zimbabwean government to bring back the academic diaspora?
4) What incentives would encourage you back to migrate to Zimbabwe?

1.6 Study assumptions and hypothesis

Most academics left the country because of bad political and economic environment that emerged from the late 90s. The assumption of this study is that few academics are willing to return home because although the political situation has improved, the current economic outlook for Zimbabwe is bad, unemployment rates are still high, even for highly educated people. However, several will still be willing to transfer their skills for example through research collaboration or academic supervision.

1.7 Research Methods

The study undertakes a qualitative case study design as a means to gain insight to the emic perspectives of skilled migrants. It adopts a purposive sampling strategy and uses a sample size of six participants. Braun and Clarke (2007) steps to analysing qualitative data was employed for the analysis of the qualitative data.

1.8 Chapter Outline

CHAPTER 1- Background and Introduction: The chapter introduces the socio-economic history of Zimbabwe. It outlines the problem statement and how it can be addressed. It gives narrative to the study assumptions and hypothesis and indicates the research question.

CHAPTER 2- Literature Review and Theoretical Framework: An assessment on brain drain and return migration, a literature review. The chapter is split into two sections; the first
section being a detailed and informed literature review. It covers aspects of brain drain and skilled migrants defining key concepts that relate to the chapter. The literature furthermore gives information on previous studies and gaps in the literature. It proceeds to address the various theories that relate to migration and how they interlink to return migration. The theoretical framework engages theories that can be adopted for the purposes of this research.

**CHAPTER 3-** Methodology: This chapter concentrates on the manner by which the research was conducted. It begins by giving a brief background of the area of study. It further goes into detail about how the respondents were sampled and the tools that were used. It further highlights ethical issues and the limitations of the study. Data analysis is also discussed in this chapter.

**CHAPTER 4-** Findings and Discussion: The findings of the data gathered will be examined in this chapter and how they relate to the aims and objectives of the research using thematic analysis. Direct quotes from the interviews will be used to exemplify the perspectives of academic diaspora on their perspectives on return migration.

**CHAPTER 5-** Conclusions and Recommendations: The intended purpose of this chapter is to consciously consolidate the aspects of the research presented. It examines the problem statement and its linkages to entire paper as a whole. It focuses on how the literature and theoretical framework reflect the data gathered. The information gathered from the analysis of the data will be utilised to draw conclusions and present recommendations for policy and government.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR STUDY

2.1 Introduction

Various theories exist, and empirical inquiries such as neoclassical theories, new economic labour migration, social network theory that have been conducted (albeit sparse), to better illustrate different factors explaining labour migration; and return migration. These theories make it clear that labour and return migration are heterogeneous and multifaceted phenomena. Even though labor migration and return migration thereof have been subjects exposed to various interpretations for long, understanding perspectives on return of highly skilled migrants, remains hazy and an area which has not received the deserved empirical attention. Theories of labor migration viewed in this section are Internationalist, Nationalist and Globalization; whilst approaches to return migration dealt with will be Neoclassical Economics, New Economics of Labor migration, Structuralism, Transnationalism and Social Network theory. The chapter is structured as follows: a definition of key concepts for this study will be done, theories of labor migration and reverse migration visited, a conceptual framework developed, then the chapter concludes.

2.2 Defining key concepts

Labour migration refers to cross-border movement for employment in another country (Jennissen 2004). It involves high-skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled migrants. According to Jennissen (2004) if international migrants return to their country of citizenship after living as international migrants in a foreign country and stay in their own country for at least a year, they are called return migrants. Given high frequency in the use of the term return migration, in this study, it is defined as the movement of migrants back to their homelands to resettle, specifically that of highly skilled workers. People returning for a vacation or an extended visit with no intention of remaining at home are generally not defined as return migrants, even though in some cases it is difficult to distinguish analytically between migrants coming home for a short visit or seasonally from those who have returned permanently.
Brain drain is typically used to refer to the migration of a nation’s most highly skilled individuals usually with post-secondary training (Gibson and McKenzie 2011:108). It is not an issue affecting developing countries only but is a global phenomenon. In fact, the term “brain drain” was first coined by the British Royal Society to refer to the exodus of scientists and technologists from the United Kingdom to the United States and Canada in the 1950s and 1960s (Cervantes and Guellec 2002). Salt (1997) proposed a balance sheet view of brain drain, arguing that instead of concentrating on outflows of skilled migrants from a country, brain drain is synonymous of the movement of human capital, where the net flow of expertise is heavily biased in one direction.

According to Sabharwal (2013) reverse brain drain is the emigration of professionals in reverse that is from a more developed country to a less developed country. For instance, programmers, Scientists, and other experts migrate to a more developed country and learn in those international universities, do research, or gain working experience in their specific areas where education and employment opportunities are limited in home country. Later after some years, these professionals return back to their home country to teach in a university, start a related business, or work in their home country. Their return is also known as reverse brain drain.

2.3 Theories on labour migration and brain drain

The causes of brain drain have been explained along the same determinants as those of labour migration and this is appealing given that brain drain is nothing else than emigration of professionals. To this end, the theoretical literature review will be mainly aligned to theories of labour migration, since brain drain narrows the flow of people down to the movement of only educated people.

2.3.1 Internationalist approach

The first theoretical perspective, the internationalist model, is also referred to as the world or cosmopolitan model; and perceives the brain drain as a mutually beneficial exchange of human and fiscal capital in a contemporary global market (Ansah, 2002: 21). The theory is based on the human capital theory neoliberal rationalistic logic. The main argument is that people voluntarily seek the highest reward that bears a resemblance of their education and training; thus, migration trends lean towards voluntary choices made by migrants.
2002: 21). However, issues such as political repression on academicians, institutional and structural factors are ignored or left out even in the centre of adequate remuneration for example a professional fight against excessively bureaucratic and political patronage systems of an administration or management (Ansah, 2002: 22). The theory assumes that migration responds to demand and supply forces in the labor market and how workers make use of their acquired skills (ACBF, 2018: 47). Internationalists contend that sending countries where skilled labour emigrates from are not affected since these countries do not incur real losses in those left in these countries (ACBF, 2018: 47). The reason is that migration of highly qualified people creates a “brain bank” in more economically developed countries and less economically developed countries can draw fiscal and human capital building of the nation (Johnson 1968:70). In this case, internationalists recognize the brain drain as a mutually beneficial exchange of human and fiscal capital in a contemporary global labor market (ACBF, 2018: 47).

However, internationalists oversee the fact that exodus of skilled personnel may cause economic losses in the short run until their replacements can be trained and the possibility that training replacement can stimulate the trained to exit the country thereby perpetuating the problem rather than solving it. One of the harms that proponents such as Johnson (1968:75) acknowledged is the loss in tax revenue to the government from these professionals, who would have been earning relatively high salaries. Internationalists do not acknowledge the serious problems produced by the migration of skilled professionals, particularly in developing countries. For example, there are overwhelming numbers of physicians and academics leaving developing countries, and it would not be plausible to assume that this trend does not adversely affect the healthcare delivery and education systems in the home country (Carrington and Detragiache 1999:46).

The internationalist theory implies that educated professionals migrate to other countries in search for highest reward. It means low rewards in the sending countries act as push factors for educated professionals and high rewards in other countries will act as pull factors (Levin Institute, 2017). Since according to this theory migration is mutually beneficial exchange of human and fiscal capital then it is proposed that it becomes inevitable as long as different countries have different rewards. Therefore, the perspectives of highly skilled people on return migration may be based on changes for the better in rewards that could have pushed them out of the country.

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2.3.2 Nationalist approach

Against the view that migration of workers does not hurt the sending countries, a more patriotic supposition, the nationalist approach is put forward. The nationalists’ views vary on the emphasis placed on protective and restrictive labor and migration policies, from preserving domestic jobs for citizens to preventing drainages of home-trained professional migrants (Ansah 2002). This approach is based on the view that producing skilled labor is expensive, usually financed by public funds (ACBF, 2018: 47). In this case, exodus of these professionals through migration represents a “gift” from a poor country that cannot afford it to a rich country that does not need it (Adams 1986). The nation state is identified as an entity to maximize its welfare through different ways. The emphasis is that each nation must generate and use its own human capital, thus brain drain is harmful to emerging economies and disproportionately benefits recipient countries (ACBF, 2018: 47). The flight of any resources, especially human capital, hinders the ability of the nation state to garner and safeguard economic and political sovereignty and well-being.

Proponents of the nationalist approach regard migration of skilled workers to developed countries as deliberate exploitation of intellectual resources by rich western countries to continue neo-colonial dependency on former colonial masters, which aggravates underdevelopment because the highly skilled personnel needed in poorer countries leave (Pantinkin 1968). They particularly criticize the selectiveness of recipient countries as a mechanism that perpetuates the problem by sifting out the skilled labour from the source, leaving the nation impoverished and burdened with unskilled labour (ACBF, 2018: 47).

Large quantity of skilled people in developing countries is characterized as a reflection of overproduction (Patinkin, 1968), which leads to an outflow, although it can be reflection of the inability of some labor markets to absorb certain professionals even though demand for them may be high. Mass production of more highly qualified professionals to supplement the shortage is therefore not a feasible solution if it is not done in conjunction with other supporting technical improvements. However, obstacles in the career path and growth of professionals such as limited internal mobility within the labour structure, lack of adequate equipment, limited political freedom and autonomy must not be overlooked and/or neglected (Patinkin 1968).
Neo-Marxist nationalists adopt an aggregated level approach (Ansah, 2002: 22) which scrutinizes structural factors involved and the perspective tends to be sympathetic to countries that are perceived to be the losers in the migration of labor. This model suggests that rich countries are hegemonic and nationalistic in the view that they do not distribute research and professional development dollars to the developing countries but instead, actively attract brain power of developing countries (Ansah, 2002: 22). Kabra (1976:16) stresses that the notion of aid being given to developing countries is a myth since donor countries tend to take away by another hand (and in larger quantities) what it gives with one hand.

The nationalists’ theory focuses on the pull factors and oftentimes neglects the role of domestic political and economic conditions that are unfavourable to the cultivation and retention of professionals (Ansah, 2002: 22). Thus, it is overcritical on receiving countries, which are anticipated to make an effort to curb the trend, rather than the actual countries that are adversely affected by migration. In addition, nationalists’ mainly put focus on losing countries and suggest that patriotic conditioning, or explicit appeals to migrants, may hold the key to their retention in home countries and their return from host countries.

In this view, perspectives on return of highly skilled migrants will be based on a good policy framework in the sending country that attracts the professionals back to the country.

2.3.3 Globalization Approach

In light of contemporary phenomena such as globalization, an emergent alternative approach is increasingly being offered. The globalization model proposes that the international mobility of highly-qualified people is a result of, and a necessary contributor to, the process of globalization (Ansah, 2002: 23) Unlike the nationalist and internationalist approaches the globalization approach asserts that migration is not necessarily a zero-sum game as all countries involved in brain drain can gain from the mobility of skilled labour (Ansah, 2002: 23). Based on the understanding that globalization can be employed in circulating intellectual resources for the benefit of all countries involved, the globalization approach speaks of brain circulation instead of brain drain while assuming that circulating intellectual resources require globalization (ACBF, 2018: 47). The issue of brain drain is often perceived as an economic phenomenon, whose solutions range from better remuneration and technological equipment for those highly qualified. Nevertheless, crucial aspects such as gender, intellectual, social,
intra-continental, and professional dimensions to the brain drain remain unaddressed (ACBF, 2018).

2.4 Theories and evidence on return migration

This section reviews theories and empirical evidence on forms of migration that are nonpermanent, that is for a specified and limited period of time, and usually undertaken for a specific purpose (Foulkes, 2015). The empirical literature gives more insight to the applications and observations which have been made by different scholars in investigating perspectives on return migration. The main focus is on temporary migrations which are likely to be frequent and subject to the decision to return which is taken by the immigrant.

2.4.1 Neoclassical Economics

In as much as the neoclassical approach to international migration is based on wage differentials and employment creation between countries, individuals migrate to other countries with an expectation of maximizing their income (Lewis, 1954), but return migration seems to be viewed as the outcome of a failed migration experience which did not yield the expected benefits. In simple terms, in a neoclassical view, return migration is associated with labour migrants who underestimated the costs of migration and who did not reap the expected benefits of higher earnings (Cassarino, 2004: 255). Thus, return occurs as a consequence of miscalculation and failed experiences abroad or because human capital was not rewarded as migrants expected (Cassarino 2004: 255).

The central argument of the neoclassical approach thus concentrates on wages. Under the assumption of full employment, it predicts a linear relationship between wage differentials and migration flows. In the analysis of an extended neoclassical model, migration is determined by expected earnings rather than actual earnings (Bauer and Zimmermann 1999; Massey et al. 1993). Penninx (1982) reported that Turkish guest workers (a term used in those days to refer to labour immigrants) who had better positions in the hierarchy of labour had less inclination to return. In their review of migration research within Europe by different theoretical approaches Massey et al. (1998) found that a positive relationship between wage differentials and migration flows – while generally sustained – was by no means the strongest predictor of migration levels.
However, the neoclassical theoretical framework has its shortcoming. While rigorous, it has been viewed as mechanically reducing migration determinants, ignoring market imperfections, homogenizing migrants and migrant societies and being ahistorical and static. It generally ignores the effects of home and host states and leaves out the importance of politics and policies, which are only considered as distortion factors or additional migration costs (Kurekova, 2011: 5). It also assumes that motivations for return of migrants are determined by financial and/or economic factors while providing little explanation of how remittances and skills are used in home countries.

2.4.2 New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM)

The new economics of migration (NEM) theory has come to challenge some of the assumptions of the neoclassical approach, offering a new level of analysis and different nature of migration determinants and it shifted the focus of migration research from individual independence to mutual interdependence (Stark 1991). The key argument is that migration decisions are not made by isolated individual actors but typically by families or households (Kurekova, 2011: 7). The basic idea behind the NELM theory is that migration is a decision made by households to minimize risk and overcome capital constraints of the family production activities and is not made by one individual (Cassarino, 2004: 256). Stark (1991:26), suggests that migration decisions are often made jointly by both the migrants and non-migrants. International migration provides a way of reducing risk to family wages and guarantee continuous flow of income(Cassarino, 2004: 256), in the form of remittances to support family, if only employment conditions in the local and foreign countries are weakly correlated. The non-migrants gain from the returns of the migrants in terms of remittances, which cover for their basic needs.

New Economics of Labour Migration views return migration as the logical outcome of a calculated strategy, defined at the level of the migrant’s household, and resulting from the successful achievement of goals or target. In addition, return migration is viewed as a natural outcome of a successful experience abroad during which migrants met their goals, which might be higher incomes and accumulation of savings while naturally remitting part of their income to the household (Cassarino, 2004: 256). Remittances are part and parcel of a strategy aimed at diversifying the resources of the household with a view to better compensating for the risks, linked to the absence of an efficient insurance market in home countries (Cassarino,
In light of remittances and the likelihood of return, Constant and Massey (2002), did a study analysing data relating to the return migration of guest workers in Germany covering a period of 1984 to 1997. The results of the study indicated that remitters have higher rates of employment in receiving countries and that having a spouse in the home country increases their likelihood of return.

Borjas and Bratsberg (1996) argued that averagely skilled workers have a tendency of returning to the sending country. In this view, migrants go abroad for a limited period of time, until they succeed in providing their households with the liquidity and income they expect to earn. Once such needs are fulfilled, return migration occurs. Böhning (1987: 147) estimated that more than two thirds of foreign workers chose return time to their home countries and notified the Federal Republic of Germany while more than four-fifths in the case of Switzerland returned to their home countries between 1955 and 1973. In addition, Glytsos (1988) informed that of the 1 million Greeks migrating to West Germany between 1960 and 1984, 85 per cent gradually returned home after accumulating certain levels of savings.

The theory is useful and realistic although it also overlooks the role played by crises (caused by situations like political upheaval or environmental disaster) or setbacks (unhappiness at working conditions, family reasons, experience of abuse, or trafficking).

2.4.3 Structural Approach to Return Migration

The structural approach argues that return is not only analysed with reference to the individual experience of the migrant but also with reference to social and institutional factors in countries of origin (Cassarino 2004). Just like the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) theory, the structural approach to return migration shows how crucial the financial and economic resources brought back to origin countries to the return decision and the reintegration of the migrant (Cassarino, 2004: 257). Returnees’ failure or success is analysed by correlating the reality of the home economy and society with the expectations of the returnee. Cerase (1974) study on Italian returnees from the United States identifies four different types of returnee, emphasizing their aspirations, expectations and needs which are: (i) return of failure; (ii) return of conservatism; (iii) return of retirement and (iv) return of innovation.
“Return of failure” pertains to those returnees who could not integrate in their host countries owing to the prejudices and stereotypes they encountered abroad. Their difficulties in taking an active part in the receiving societies or in adapting themselves to host societies were strong enough to motivate their return. “Return of conservatism” includes migrants who before emigrating had planned to return home with enough money to buy land with a view the liberating themselves from loathsome subjection to the landowners (Cerase, 1974).

“Return of retirement” refers to retired migrants who decide to return to their home countries and to acquire a piece of land and a home where they will spend their old age. “Return of innovation” refers to actors who are prepared to make use of all the means and new skills they have acquired during their migratory experiences (Cerase 1974) with a view to achieving their goals in their origin countries, which, according to them, offer greater opportunities to satisfy their expectations.

Cerase (1974) shows that situational or contextual factors in origin countries need to be factored in as a prerequisite to determining whether a return experience is a success or a failure Gmelch (1980) elaborated on Cerase’s typology while stressing the need to correlate the migrants’ intentions to return with their motivations for return. Intentions to return, whether real or intended, shape the returnees’ expectations in origin countries (Rogers 1984; Callea 1986; Richmond 1984). Return appears to be guided not only by the opportunities that migrants expect to find in their origin countries but also by the opportunities already offered in their respective host countries. As situational and structural factors have a certain bearing on the return decision, the return decision cannot be planned properly as these situational factors need to be gauged posteriori by the migrants (Gmelch 1980). To the extent that situational factors are gauged by deductive reasoning, migrants are viewed as being ill prepared for their return (Gmelch 1980: 143), as a result of the fact that it is difficult for them to gather the information needed to secure their return and to gain better awareness of the social, economic and political changes that have, in the meantime, occurred in their countries of origin.

The structural approach to return migration argues that whatever the level of returnees’ expectations, these are more often than not readjusted to local realities and that returnees have a limited innovative influence in their origin societies owing to the strength of traditional vested interests in origin countries. It further posits that if readjustment does not take place, the returnee may contemplate re-emigration (Cassarino, 2004: 259).
Unlike the neoclassical economics and the new economics of labor migration theoretical frameworks, the structural approach focuses on the extent to which returnees may or may not have an impact on their origin societies once return takes place. Colton (1993) carried out a study on Yemeni returnees from Saudi Arabia. The survey carried out in rural Yemen showed that, despite the fact that returnees had improved their living standards as well as those of their families, they did not significantly change old values (Colton, 1993: 879). On the contrary, they tended to reinforce them. Colton accounts for this phenomenon with reference to the fact that the expectations of returnees are significantly shaped by the high expectations of the return environment, that is family and friends who remained at home.

With due credit to the structural approach, return is no longer viewed as being exclusively affected by the migration experience of the individual in host countries. As Lewis and Williams highlighted in their article on Portuguese returnees, the locality, which is the local context has a great influence on the impact of return migrants (Lewis and Williams 1986: 125). A business-friendly institutional context, as well as economic progress in origin countries, is important in allowing productive investments to be made. Existing institutional characteristics in origin countries also negatively or positively affect the impact of return migration on development and social progress.

One of the limitations of the structural approach is that structuralists have focused more on how returnees’ initiatives could favour economic development when faced with local power structures than on the return migration phenomenon as such (Cassarino, 2004: 260). They tend to limit the experiences of migration of the returnees to the mere acquisition of skills which more often than not are wasted owing to the structural constraints inherent in origin economies—and to the use of foreign-earned incomes. There appears to be no continuum between the returnees’ migration experiences in their former receiving countries and their situation in their origin countries. Furthermore, the impact of resources, whether financial or human, tangible or intangible, remains greatly limited because they are embedded in a traditional family context which defines the symbolic and behavioural patterns with which the returnees will need to comply if they want to be reaccepted back home (Cassarino, 2004: 260).
2.4.4 Transnationalism

In a bid to highlight the dynamic and maintenance of regular migration linkages between sending and receiving countries- a fact overlooked by the structuralists- and to interpret the back-and-forth movement of people crossing borders, migration scholars from different disciplines started to adopt the transnational terminology initially used by international relations scholars. Transnationalism refers to an attempt to formulate a theoretical and conceptual framework aimed at a better understanding of the strong social and economic links between migrants’ host and origin countries. Transnational activities are implemented by “regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders”. (Portes et al. 1999: 219).

In contrast to the structuralists and the advocates of NELM, the transnationalist approach argues that a return does not mark the end of a migration cycle (Cassarino, 2004: 262). In essence, the migration story continues. Return migration is a component of a circular system of social and economic relationships and exchanges facilitating the reintegration of migrants while conveying knowledge, information and membership. One of the major contrasts between transnationalism and structuralism is the fact that the former posits that returnees prepare their reintegration at home through periodical and regular visits to their home countries (Cassarino, 2004: 262) while the latter posits that returnees retain strong links with their home countries and regularly send remittances to their households (Cassarino, 2004: 262).

Transnationalism also aims to illustrate how the development of new identities among migrants, who are anchored neither in their place of origin nor in their place of destination (Al-Ali and Koser 2002: 4) has been conducive to the gradual deterritorialization of citizenship.

Transnationalism also comprises goal-oriented initiatives that are collectively coordinated and that have been gradually institutionalized as a result of their interaction with sending countries’ governments. There exist many cases in the world showing how governments have been responsive to the political and economic empowerment of their migrant communities abroad. These institutionalized relationships, more often than not, have reconstructed the ties between the emigrant and the homeland (Brand 2002:6; Leichtman 2002) through the
creation of state institutions and parasternal bodies aimed at responding to the economic, security and political concerns of home countries, more than at promoting return to the homeland. While Vertovec (1999) contends that this process is not new in the history of international migrations, Al-Ali et al., (2001) view that it is reasonable to believe that the institutionalization of transnational activities has made them more manageable, from an economic point of view.

In a large study, Tsuda (2009) examined what has caused millions of diaspora migrants to return to Japan, their ethnic homeland after living away from their country for decades. The author stated that even if economic motives are the primary return motive, ethnic ties and emotional reasons play an important role in the decision as well. The relative importance of economic and other motives can vary by ethnic group. In some later studies conducted on second generation Greek emigrants from Germany, it was found that they return mostly because of non-economic reasons such as life style, family, and life stage (King et al., 2011), or their ethnic ties such as their prior existing social network or their kinship ties (King and Christou, 2014).

According to Cassarino (2004: 264), one of the major weaknesses of the transnational approach is that it is complex to comprehend how the maintenance of strong linkages with their migrant communities abroad allows the returnees to better cope with the traditional vested interests and social pressures that define their origin societies. Also, in as much as transnationalists focus on the hybrid identities of migrants and on their cross-border mobility, the transnational approach seems to condense their initiatives and projects at home in a set of mutual obligations, opportunities and expectations stemming from common ethnicity and kinship (Cassarino, 2004: 264).

2.4.5 Social Network Theory

Similar to the transnational approach to return migration, social network theory views returnees as being the sources of both tangible and intangible resources (Cassarino, 2004: 265). Also, both theories view returnees as migrants who maintain strong linkages with their former places of settlement in other countries. However, unlike the transnational approach, the social network approach contends that such linkages are not the direct outcome of commonality of attributes. According to the social network theory, these linkages are not
necessarily contingent on diasporas, as defined by transnationalists. On the contrary, in a network theoretical stance, linkages reflect an experience of migration that may provide a significant complement to the returnees’ initiatives at home (Cassarino, 2004: 265). Resources needed to secure return back home are derived from patterns of interpersonal relationships that may stem from the returnees’ past experiences of migration (Cassarino, 2004: 265).

Social structures increase the availability of resources and information while securing the effective initiatives of return migrants. Therefore, the composition of networks, which consists of a number of social structures (Eccles and Nohria, 1992), as well as the configuration of linkages, is of great importance in the examination of the fundamentals that define and maintain the cross-border linkages in which return migrants are involved. In the analysis of cross-border linkages in terms of networks, no pre-established attribute permits the fundamentals of network dynamics to be illustrated.

Furthermore, social network theorists do not underestimate network membership because networks are selectively organized (Church et al. 2002: 23) and membership requires a voluntary act from the actors themselves as well as the consent of other members with a common view to guaranteeing the flows of resources as well as the maintenance and effectiveness and of cross-border linkages. In essence, networks correspond to a social entity that exists as a collectively shared awareness (Laumann et al. 1983: 21). Moreover, the formation and maintenance of networks require long-established interpersonal relationships in addition to regular exchange of mutually valuable items between actors (Cassarino, 2004: 266). This pattern of exchange is maintained as a result of circularity inherent in these networks.

Existing financial and social resources, which are provided by the family, may mold the performance of returnees. However, it should be noted that the availability of these resources would also seem to lie in the social capital from which return migrants benefited before migrating (Cassarino, 2004: 266) Social capital refers to the resources from which the returning migrants may benefit. It is plausible to view that social capital and the potential involvement of return migrants in cross-border social networks may be viewed as resources that shape and complement one another. Social networks in which returnees are involved constitute systems of social relations that may have an associative basis. While the former
refers to long-term relationships between network members whose exchange relations are influenced by their relational contents, the latter refers to a selective group of actors whose relationships are defined in terms of associative membership (Cassarino, 2004: 266).

Network relationships can be premised on the principle of complementarity which may occur in a situation where actors, who differ in terms of access to resources, personal characteristics and ascribed attributes, decide to enter into a partnership which will be beneficial to both parties (Laumann et al. 1978: 462). Moreover, the returnees' awareness of their network involvement must also be taken into cognizance. This can be defined with reference to the fact that their own vision of the world generates a form of distinctiveness that the returnees like cultivating. Phillips and Potter (2003) and Thomas-Hope (1999) concur with views of the social network theorists, after they interviewed returnees to Barbados and Jamaica.

2.5 Conceptual framework for study

Based on the above theoretical explanations, the current study adopted a broad conceptual framework, following Casarino (2004) which takes into account a combination of voluntary and involuntary variables or reasons or motivations for return migration for highly skilled Zimbabweans, which in this study are proxies for perspectives. This study also takes into account-based on the return migration theories discussed above- that both situations at sending and receiving (or host) countries affect the return migration decision of highly skilled migrants. These relate to both micro and macro-level situations and contexts which include, but not limited to: wage differentials at countries-level, decision-making dynamics at the family-level, strength of social ties, economic and political situation at countries-level. It is also important to note that, in terms of migration experiences, length of stay abroad, patterns of resource mobilization, legal status, motivations and projects (for example starting a business or buying land to retire on), returnees constitute today an extremely heterogeneous group of actors. Similarly, their impact on sending countries and potential for development vary accordingly.

Figure 1 clarifies the ways in which the theories discussed above interact with each other, while being at the same time reflective of circumstances in host and home countries.
This broad framework offers the following benefits: (i) it argues that return is not only a voluntary act but also pertains to a process of resource mobilization that requires time; moreover, migrants may manifest their wish to return without necessarily being ready to return (ii) it shows that returnee’s preparedness is not only dependent on the migrant’s experience abroad, but also on the perception that significant institutional, economic, political changes have occurred at home- these circumstances have a bearing on how resources are mobilized and used after return (iii) it highlights the fact that the returnee’s preparedness is shaped by circumstances in host or home countries, that is pre and post-return conditions and (iv) it takes into account migrants’ preparedness to return while arguing that the returnees’ impact on development at home is dependent on their levels of preparedness (Cassarino, 2004: 272).

For this study, we would anticipate that perspectives on return from South Africa, of highly skilled Zimbabwean migrants will be positive due to the following reasons based on the broad conceptual framework adopted: (i) negative social environment in South Africa based on xenophobia which targets Zimbabweans (ii) end of employment contract and failure to be reabsorbed in the South African labour market (iii) failure to renew work permit in South Africa (iv) return of retirement (v) return due to being offered better wages or employment
conditions in a Zimbabwean university or institution (vi) professionals have accumulated enough savings to return home (vii) return due to good policy framework in Zimbabwe which attracts highly skilled individuals back into the country.

On the other hand, perspectives on return migration to Zimbabwe may be negative based on the following influences: (i) wages and working conditions still better in South Africa relative to Zimbabwe (ii) migrants have not accumulated enough savings to return to Zimbabwe and fend for family (iii) immigration conditions in South Africa allow for family in Zimbabwe to join the worker in South Africa (iv) lack of information on what the situation on the ground in Zimbabwe is, due to poor social networks (v) migrants using South African employment as stepping stone towards movement to Europe or America (vi) fear of the unknown for example, not sure if they will be absorbed in the Zimbabwean labour market.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has defined labour migration brain drain and reverse migration, concepts which are interlinking. Theories on labour migration and return migration have been discussed, showing how these are multifaceted and heterogeneous phenomena. Following this, the study has adopted a broad conceptual framework that, given the growing diversity of returnees, takes into account more variables explaining how, and under which circumstances – personal, economic, legal and social, in host and in sending countries, migrants return. Past literature appears to be motivated by one or more of the return migration theories analysed above. A qualitative study that takes into consideration all theories and more variables seems to be of empirical appeal, and this research attempts to take a stride towards a more comprehensive view of return migration.
CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The presenting chapter examines how the research was conducted. An outline of the research area; Cape Town in South Africa is briefly discussed. Thereafter, the researcher dissects and examines the research design that was utilised to attain the research objectives, by explaining the qualitative method which was applied. The chapter proceeds to explore the sampling methods that were best suited for the study. Furthermore ethical considerations are discussed by which the researcher had to adhere to in the research study. In conclusion, the chapter also highlights the challenges the researcher encountered in the collection of the data attained.

3.2 Research Area

As highlighted in preceding chapters, the research was undertaken in the city of Cape Town. It is the oldest city in South Africa and colloquially named the Mother City. Furthermore Cape Town is legislative capital of South Africa and primate city of the Western Province (Western Cape Government, 2013). The city is highly metropolitan with a population of 3,433,441 (World Population Review, 2019) and ranks second to Johannesburg in relation to population of 5,635,127 (World Population Review, 2019).

The researcher chose this specific location for numerous reasons which include the fact that the Western Cape Province has statistically the lowest rate of unemployment thus the prospects of employment are higher and advancement in career is widespread. Furthermore, Cape Town offers some of South Africa’s most prestigious universities that are highly ranked in Africa, thus making it more attractive to lecturing migrants to resettle in this particular city. The proximity of the city was also a contributing factor as the researcher resided in Cape Town; therefore travel costs were cut down as funds were limited, thus restricting the extensiveness of which the research could have been conducted at a national level giving a true indication skilled migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa.

3.3 Study Design

The study adopted a qualitative research design so as to attain the emic perspectives of the research participants. The decision on this design rests largely on the nature of the specific research questions answering the objectives of this study.
Qualitative research can be viewed as any sort of research that yields findings that are not attained by a means of statistical procedures or quantitative methods. On the contrary the research it produces, are findings from real world settings whereby phenomena’s of interest unfold naturally (Patton, 2002). Therefore in light of the study under investigation, the themes of a qualitative research design coincide with unearthing the thoughts and views from individual participants, which fall under the objectives of this research. According to McMillan (2001) majority of qualitative researchers adapt a more interpretive approach. Therefore in theme of this paper, the various methods of inquiry shall be viewed from an interpretive perspective.

In light of the above Yin (2009) suggests that case studies are the ideal method when “how” or “why” questions are being asked; thus the researcher has little control or influence on events and the focus of the research is on a modern day phenomenon within a real-life context.

In consideration of the above, the study under investigation sought to identify why Zimbabwean skilled workers have left their homeland and their perspectives on return migration to their homeland, thus the researcher employed a qualitative case study so has to attain the emic perspectives of the research participants.

### 3.4 Sampling Method

A heterogeneous purposive sampling technique was adopted as the study seeks to provide as much insight possible regarding the perspectives of the academics. The justification for this sampling method lies on the premises that it captures a variety of perspectives that relate to the study under research. A heterogeneous purposive sample technique was used as it provides much insight to the phenomenon, and allows for a robust view of the issue from the participants perspective.

The aim in qualitative research is to grasp an understanding of perspectives, the subjective reality of the study participants. This however, cannot be achieved via artificial information about a large, representative sample of individuals (Elmusharaf, 2012). On the contrary the aim is to attain views of participants in the study area, who can share their piece, so that all pieces together exemplify the variety within the study area.
3.5 Sample Size

Sample size in qualitative research has proved to be an on-going topic of deliberation (Morse, 2000). Quantitative research generally has established relatively clear statistic-based rules to attain sample sizes precisely (Morse, 2000) however the intricacies of qualitative sample size selection and assessment come from research philosophies that characterise qualitative inquiry. This then mitigates against direct guidelines applied to the sample size.

Additionally, Sandeloski (1995) suggests that qualitative sizes should be large enough to generate the unfolding of a new “richly textured understanding” of the phenomenon under investigation, but small enough so that the “deep case-orientated analysis” (p.183) of qualitative data is not excluded. Morse (2000) suggests that the more useable data that is collected from each participant, the fewer participants are required.

Within the research conducted, resources were very limited and therefore results cannot be deemed representative. The researcher interviewed six skilled migrants, of which two-thirds were males and one-third were females, allowing for a good gender disaggregation. Efforts were made to have the most diverse group of participants in terms of variables such as age and race. Of the 6 participants, 4 originate from the Mashonaland Province and 2 from the Matabeleland Province. The participants migrated from Zimbabwe between 2008 and 2016 and have lecturing experience between 5-10 years.

3.6 Data Collection

The one-on-one interview method was utilized. The one-to-one interview is a frequently used data collection technique in health and social research (Ryan, Coughlan & Cronin, 2013). The individual interview is a valuable method of gaining insight into people's perceptions, understandings and experiences of a given phenomenon and can contribute to in-depth data collection (Ryan et al, 2013). Thus a good fit for this study.

The study used using a semi-structured interviews guide combing in-depth, open ended questions and shorter more precise questions, interviews did not exceed one hour (interview guide in appendix). The interviews were done, utilising a voice recorder and later transferred to a laptop for transcribing purposes. In-depth interviews are open, allowing new ideas to be brought up during the interview as a result of what the
interviewee says, therefore participants will not be limited, and the researcher is able to gain a broad knowledge on the perspectives of the Zimbabwean academic diaspora on return migration. As opposed to unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews assisted in drawing patterns from the different interview responses and also not deviating from the core theme.

3.7 Data Analysis

To analyse the data from the interviews, the study utilized a thematic analysis method. This involved a six-step process extracted from Braun and Clarke (2006) which is indicted in the table below. This data analysis informs the methodology as it assists in demonstrating the perspectives of the various research participants. It further highlights the similarities and differences and also generates unanticipated insights.

Table 3.1 Phases of Thematic analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Description of the process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Familiarizing yourself with the data</td>
<td>Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generating initial codes</td>
<td>Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Searching for themes</td>
<td>Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reviewing themes</td>
<td>Checking if the theme works in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating clear definitions and names for each theme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defining and naming themes</td>
<td>Ongoing analysis to refine specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Producing the report</td>
<td>The final opportunity to analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, finally analysis of selected extracts, relating back to analysis to the research question and literature, producing scholarly and report of the analysis.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Braun and Clarke (2006)

### 3.8 Ethical Statement

In accordance to research practices, the researcher adheres to maintain ethical practices so as to protect the rights and well-being of the researcher and their participants. Babbie and Mouton (2001) indicate core ethical principles that will be adhered to in the duration of the research being undertaken which include, justice, trustworthiness, responsibility, confidentiality, informed consent, integrity, anonymity, respect for human rights and uphold dignity. Prior the research, ethical clearance was granted by the University of Western Cape’s Research and Ethics Committee and ethical clearance was granted for the study under investigation.

As migrants are often classified as vulnerable groups regardless of their legal status, it is imperative to safeguard their information. Thus in light of this ethical protocol were adopted and followed throughout the duration of the research. Participation in this study was entirely voluntary and willing participants were informed of the dynamics of the research including the aims and objectives, and were required to give verbal and written consent.

Prior the interview, participants were also informed of their rights to decline to answer any questions they did not feel comfortable in answering and also stop the entire interview if they did not wish to continue for any particular reason, without consequence. Confidentiality was
further explained to the participants by assuring anonymity by assigning codes to each participant and not using real names or any details of the participant that may expose their identity. Furthermore participants were informed that only the researcher and supervisor would have access to the raw data for transcribing purposes.

Lastly the participants were informed that should they require any further information, details of the researcher’s supervisor were given along with the ethical research board of the university.

3.09 Scope and limitations of study

The study only focused on the academic diaspora from Zimbabwe, that is, those who individuals who were trained in Zimbabwe (with at least a bachelor’s degree) but left the country to lecture or teach in South Africa. Therefore, other diaspora in South Africa which were trained in Zimbabwe but are not lecturing at universities are not participating in this study, although they are an important group regarding their perspectives. The study will also be limited to tertiary institutions in the Western Cape because of time and budget constraints. However, the author positively assumes that the views from the sample will reflect the broader views by the Zimbabwean lecturers in other geographic locations.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/
CHAPTER FOUR
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Introduction

As a means of gaining insight into the perspectives on return migration of skilled Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa, this chapter highlights the findings of the data obtained via the semi-structured interviews. It initially highlights the interview participants’ characteristics including, gender, qualifications, province of origin and years of lecturing. The chapter then presents and discusses the findings and the associated limitations of the study. The overall inquiry “What are the perspectives of highly-skilled migrants on return migration?” is responded to with the following four objectives:

(i) To examine the main cause of emigration of Zimbabwean academics to South Africa;
(ii) To investigate willingness of Zimbabwean academics in South Africa to return home or engage with Zimbabwean universities;
(iii) To examine current efforts by Zimbabwean government to mobilize the academic diaspora; and
(iv) To assess preferred policies and initiatives that would make Zimbabwean academics return to teach at Zimbabwean universities

4.2. Profile of respondents

Six (6) Zimbabwean academics were identified and selected based on the sampling method highlighted in chapter 3. As shown in Table 4.1, of the six identified, four were male and two were female respondents. This has given the study an advantage of looking at perspectives on return migration from both males and females as the gender of a skilled worker has implications on the decision to leave, to return, as well as on repatriation policy options. The same table further shows that all respondents had a PhD degree which shows the highly
skilled nature of Zimbabwean academics who are now in South African universities who could have been, at best, teaching, researching and supervising in Zimbabwe.

Table 4.1: Summary of respondents’ profiles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent’s Number</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Qualification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SM1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>PhD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM2</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>PhD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM3</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>PhD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM4</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>PhD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM5</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>PhD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM6</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>PhD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: SM= skilled migrant
Source: Author’s findings from interviews

Table 4.2: Province of origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents Number</th>
<th>Province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SM1</td>
<td>Mashonaland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM2</td>
<td>Mashonaland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM3</td>
<td>Matabeleland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM4</td>
<td>Mashonaland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM5</td>
<td>Matabeleland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM6</td>
<td>Mashonaland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: SM= skilled migrant
Source: Author’s own findings from interviews

Table 4.2 above demonstrates the provinces from which the migrants originate. The table highlights that all respondents come from two of Zimbabwe’s largest provinces, namely Mashonaland and Matabeleland with Mashonaland having the majority of skilled migrant respondents. This merely reflects findings from a study by Chetsanga and Muchenge (2005: 41) which observed that the highest proportion of respondents to a survey questionnaire
handed to 479 348 Zimbabwean in the Diaspora, were from Mashonaland (26.7%), followed by Matabeleland (24.4%) with the least respondents hailing from 15.1%.

Table 4.3 Years of lecturing experience and year of migration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents Number</th>
<th>Years of Lecturing Experience to date</th>
<th>Year of Migration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SM1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own findings from interviews

Table 4.3 above indicates the diversity in lecturing experience from the respondents. While the average number of years of lecturing is nine (9), half of the respondents have ten (10) years or above of lecturing, whilst the other half have less than ten (10) years which shows a relatively good distribution of experience amongst the respondents. The same table also shows the year of migration from Zimbabwe. The years of migration give illusion to the fact that the brain drain is a continual phenomenon dating back to 1991 and stretching to 2016 which is quite recent. This indicates that the challenge has not been effectively addressed and there is still reason for skilled workers to migrate.

4.3.1 Reasons for migrating to South Africa

As shown in the tables 4.4 and 4.5 below, when the interviewer asked the respondents the main cause of the relocation to South Africa decision, economic factors were the main factors while political factors played a smaller role, that is, only one respondent moved from Zimbabwe mainly due to political reasons vis-à-vis five respondents who moved due to negative economic circumstances. Thus, the driving force seems to be as powerful as the force pulling professionals and others away from Zimbabwe. These two forces appear to be operating with mutual reinforcement. Two respondents also mentioned personal circumstances as a motivating factor towards the migration decision.
In Table 4.4, the factors underpinning the migration decision are shown according to three meaningful thematic groups and ordered according to the frequency of occurrence in respondents’ narratives in Table 4.5.

Table 4.4: Reasons for migrating to South Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Political</th>
<th>Personal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High inflation</td>
<td>Lack of freedom of speech</td>
<td>No growth in career</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarcity of cash</td>
<td>Lack of freedom of expression</td>
<td>Desire to change environment and learn from what other Universities are doing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low wages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarcity of fuel and electricity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own findings from interviews

The consequence of low wages was the inability to pay for school fees for children, food and shelter. If these two beasts (economics and politics) are not tamed by the government, the prospects of retaining or returning highly skilled workers in Zimbabwe will be truncated.

Table 4.5: Main reason for leaving Zimbabwe for South Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main reason for leaving</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political and Economic</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own findings from interviews
4.3.2 Willingness to return to Zimbabwe and lecture in its universities

The respondents were asked whether they would consider moving back to Zimbabwe to lecture in its universities. The information obtained helps the country to understand how strongly the brain drain people feel against or for their country. The stories of the respondents revealed quite similar trajectories. The respondents’ willingness to return to the sending country (Zimbabwe) and lecture in its universities can be rated as high. All respondents are willing to return to the country of origin, with the main variable being time (when they would be willing to return). As one interviewee puts it:

“Look, I’ve always considered moving back to Zimbabwe, but uhhh…….. in an emotional aspect, the mere fact that you were born there you grew up there that’s basically always your home. But practically and knowing the situation there…….”

This data shows evidence that some migrants remain attached to their home country, even after the migration decision and would still be willing to return. It also appears from the responses given to the willingness to return question, that the decision to return to Zimbabwe is largely dependent on and closely tied to the economic circumstances in which the country finds itself in characterised by high inflation rates, poor healthcare and indefinite supply of electricity and water, worrying levels of unemployment and underemployment. As a respondent puts it in relation to unemployment:

“There aren’t even jobs for the locals, what more people coming from the “outside.”

This information indicates that most of the respondents are in the Diaspora to fulfil some economic objectives which could otherwise not be fulfilled in Zimbabwe and that return is highly unlikely unless a conducive environment to fulfil the same objectives is created in the country. If the Zimbabwean government does not do something to make staying at home more attractive, the brain drain will continue unabated.

4.3.3 Current efforts by Zimbabwean government to mobilize the academic diaspora

A literature search on past and current initiatives by the Zimbabwean government to engage the diaspora - in general and not necessarily targeting academia- shows that the government has indeed made some strides. Box 1 below details some of these.
**Box 1: Initiatives by Zimbabwean government to engage diaspora**

- In 2005, The Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe introduced the HomeLink program which is aimed at tapping into Diaspora remittances through a mortgage housing scheme for those in the Diaspora. HomeLink also facilitates transfer of remittances by Zimbabweans abroad to friends and relatives at home.

- 2007/2008, the Government of Zimbabwe in collaboration with International Organization for Immigration also implemented a programme that facilitated the temporary return of qualified professionals who returned on short term basis to offer their expertise at the University Teaching Hospital and other tertiary training and learning institutions.

- Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe facilitates technology-based licensing for the Diaspora and “straight through processes” to pay for utility bills.

- Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe is also facilitating the enhancement of investment from the Diaspora as policy now allows 100% investments as well as 100% disinvestments.

- CBZ Bank successfully issued a Diaspora Bond in 2012.

- FBC Bank also came up with Diaspora targeted products such as the savings account. The bank has also partnered with other financial institutions in countries such as Italy.

- In 2009, Government launched the Zimbabwe Human Capital Website that provides information to the Diaspora on employment and investment opportunities in Zimbabwe.

- In 2010, Government engaged Zimbabweans living in the USA and this led to the formation of the Zimbabwe Diaspora Network of North America.

- In 2010, Government conducted study tours to India and Philippines to exchange views and knowledge and learn best practices on migration management and Diaspora engagement.

- The Government of Zimbabwe held a Diaspora Investment Conference in 2012 in Johannesburg, South Africa.

- In 2013 the Government further engaged Zimbabweans living in the USA where several recommendations were made to enhance dialogue.
In 2016, the Government of Zimbabwe conducted initial Zimbabwean Diaspora Engagement meetings in the United Kingdom, Canada and South Africa to move towards building mutual trust between the Government and members of the Zimbabwean diaspora.

In 2017, the Government of Zimbabwe convenes a high-level discussion to develop the country’s 2017–2022 National Diaspora Policy Implementation Action Plan. The Plan sought to serve as a framework for engaging with the Zimbabwean diaspora worldwide.

In 2019, Zimbabwe Diaspora Policy launch and the launch of the Diaspora Directorate in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

In 2019, the Diaspora Directorate of the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) engages Zimbabwe diaspora in Botswana. The engagements which took place from 7-8 June in Gaborone provided an opportunity for the government to acknowledge the contribution of the diaspora members and further dialogue with them, promoting their involvement in national development.

Sources: Government of Zimbabwe, 2016; IOM, 2019

The interviewer further asked if respondents were aware of the efforts by the Zimbabwean government to reengage them and facilitate their return. Answers to this question would assist the Zimbabwean government in knowing if it should mount up and expand its awareness-raising efforts.

4.3.4 Awareness of efforts by the Zimbabwean government to reengage and facilitate return

Of the six interview participants who responded to the question on knowledge of efforts by the Zimbabwean government to facilitate or encourage return, there is a general lack of awareness from respondents on initiatives to engage the academic Diaspora. As one respondent puts it:

“So far, I have not really heard of anything uhmm the education sector has not really been focused on because of all the ‘bigger issues’ that have been going on in the country, so I do
not know personally of any policies that have been put in place to cater for anyone coming back in my position or incentives”

One respondent mentioned of their knowledge of a government initiative to create a database of workers with skillsets via a Diaspora register where they will be eligible to be selected for government contract work and consultancies. However, the respondent expressed disappointment on this initiative as the return migration decision is more than just about getting a job, but requires more relocation assistance as some migrants left Zimbabwe single, and return married and or with children. Another issue not addressed by this initiative is the challenge in relation to where these workers will reside if they return.

Another respondent expressed their disappointment on the shallow efforts/knowledge on government initiatives to reverse the brain drain saying:

“Well, in my dreams, they say it but they do not do it. They say Zimbabwe is open for business, that is all I have heard, but ever since they have said that they have stolen more money”

A summary of the main answers when respondents were asked the question is given in Table 4.6 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Awareness of initiatives to encourage/facilitate return</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own findings from interviews

While policies and programs have been developed, the main concern lies in the lack of knowledge of these, among respondents. More ways in which the government of Zimbabwe can improve program and policy information dissemination to key stakeholders are listed below
Box 2: Ways to improve program and policy information dissemination to highly-skilled Zimbabwean migrants

- Expand co-authorship base and include key stakeholders (lecturers) early in policy making process
- Effective use of social media: Twitter, Facebook, LinkedIn, blogs
- Create and share podcasts
- Engage with universities where these lecturers are
- Conducting more seminars and workshops

Source: Author

4.3.5 Preferred policies and initiatives that would make Zimbabwean academics return to teach at Zimbabwean universities

Moving on to perhaps the most important of the study, the interviewer asked respondents the question, “What initiatives can you suggest to the government of Zimbabwe to bring back highly skilled people like you?” The importance of this question lies in its bottom-up approach and targeting the main stakeholder to reverse brain drain in Zimbabwe – the highly skilled migrant.

The author clusters the preferred government initiatives that would largely underpin the respondents’ decision to return in the table below as from the interviews. While some respondents mentioned one main incentive, some described how a combination of two, three or even four initiatives would impact on their decision to return.

Box 3: Incentives to encourage return of highly-skilled migrants

Incentives to encourage return of highly skilled migrants

- Economic stability (e.g. stable currency, fixing cash shortages)
- Internationally competitive salary and which is guaranteed
- Return facilitation
- Housing benefits
- Political reforms
- Other benefits (fuel, health insurance)
- Continuous upskilling of professionals

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Most answers were skilled towards improving the economy and politics of the country. This was expected since these factors were the major push factors to the migration decision. As one respondent put it:

“You can come with whatever incentives but without a functional economy, we are not interested, it will not work. Why must we come back from the comfort of stability to an economy that can flip at any given moment? ...., we love Zimbabwe but we have to be realistic.”

This reflects the general lack of faith in the Zimbabwean government that is seen amongst migrants. Their desire for living in a functional economy outrides the desire to return.

The respondent went on to mention the importance of government in facilitating the moving process, assisting with housing, schooling for children, continuous upskilling and guaranteeing salary payment.

As another respondent says on housing facilitation:

“.... I mean, we have a lot of housing programmes and government already has partnerships that provide entities that provide stands as an example of benefits... so if there was a way to provide a way to slide into the schemes, or provide pay as you go or rent to own”

Another interviewee converged along these lines and mentioned the importance of the government of Zimbabwe following best practises on employment, sending workers for workshops to enhance their skills. A further respondent alluded to the need for a working economy: Health benefits and improved equipment at schools so as to facilitate teaching were other issues raised that would attract workers back. One respondent emphasised the important role of politics in the country, the importance of freedom of speech and freedom of expression:

“I mean look, we have a president you cannot speak about, we’ve got leaders that are dictators, leaders that are inflexible when it comes to open mindedness. In South Africa you get students protesting against political parties, the unfairness, government funding, school
fees they are liberal out of the box thinkers in South Africa, now in Zimbabwe you just have to learn and that is it...... We need to work without fear of being arrested.”

From the above responses, it can be concluded that if brain drain is a valid national concern, the main thrust of public policy in Zimbabwe should be driven by efforts to stem it off and targeting policy thrust towards major political reform, having a stable currency, domestic equity, efficiency, and growth. The respondents would want to come back if only the situation changes in Zimbabwe and the benefit of return is greater than the benefit of staying in South Africa.

4.4. Discussion

This study provides insights into the perspectives of highly-skilled migrants on returning to the country of origin, for this study, Zimbabwe. Migrants form a homogenous group in terms of willingness to return to Zimbabwe and lecture in its universities while heterogeneous in terms of when they would want to return based on personal and socio-economic circumstances. The homogeneity is reflected in that the willingness to return is high while the heterogeneity is reflected in the time frame of when they would want to return based on accomplishments of some goals. The former concurs with findings by SIRDC (2002), Bloch (2005) and Makina (2007) which document that a large proportion of Zimbabwean migrants (over 60 percent) interviewed across Botswana, South Africa and the United Kingdom intended to return to Zimbabwe should there be economic and political stability. The latter accords with our broad theoretical framework which takes into account that situations in both the sending and receiving country impact on the decision to return. Further, the findings reveal the highly personal nature of the decision to return process (Black et al., 2004), with a range of factors influencing the decision to return and those factors only receiving their value when considered in light of the perspectives and experiences of the migrants themselves. Some of these personal factors include the desire for good health and housing facilities children to get a good education.

Second, the general lack of awareness of initiatives to attract the brain drain people back home, as identified from section 4.3.4 signals that more efforts need to be done by the Zimbabwean government to engage the academic diaspora in policy and program making, information dissemination and engagement.

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Based on the finding that it is not the lack of policy, but of its knowledge, following the mentioned strategies to disseminate information on current schemes to engage the diaspora and also reverse brain drain, will prove more effective as a step towards national development.

Third, the findings have added the knowledge base on what determines a successful return migration policy and how it can be implemented. Creating a conducive economic and political climate in Zimbabwe cannot be further emphasised but in the short run, this cannot be realistically achieved. While creating a conducive political and economic environment in Zimbabwe may prove a Herculean task and a task of which fruits are borne in the long-run, facilitating the return migration process is an effort which can be implemented within a shorter time frame. This has the benefit, that, if brain drain is reversed, the returnees can be active participants in the economic and political transformation of the nation. To what extent they are interested in doing so, is a need for more research.

While section 10.14 of the Diaspora Policy alludes to the Diaspora policy ‘s strategy to create a platform for assisting the returning Diasporas (Government of Zimbabwe, 2016), the document lacks concrete ways in which it plans to achieve this. There is need for a mechanism to assist returning residents with respect to relocation, reintegration, support to start businesses and easy access to terminal and pension benefits. Another option is to foster strong networks with the academic diaspora. As physical return is not likely in the short-run, initiatives to assist the Diaspora in contributing to national development remotely can be put in place for example, allowing them to vote from where they are and collaborative research with local researchers.

The policies in the countries of origin play a crucial role in providing enabling factors that could better leverage and amplify these contributions by diasporas and returnee migrants. Despite a variety of host country initiatives, including assisted voluntary return programs, the literature generally agrees that voluntary return, particularly of skilled migrants, is dependent on the stability and attractiveness of the political, economic, and social conditions in the home country (Dumont and Spielvogel, 2008; El-Khawas, 2004; Kapur, 2001).

Nonetheless, several developing countries, similar to Zimbabwe, have made significant efforts to encourage their highly skilled migrants to return. These efforts include offering a range of financial and social incentives to help with the overall reintegration process. Some of
these governments have also established dedicated agencies or ministries, research hubs and centres, and virtual databases and networks to connect potential returnees with opportunities in the countries of origin. The table 4.7 below provides an overview of some of the existing practices, roles, and initiatives that home country institutions have undertaken to foster return. Zimbabwe could learn from these countries, and adapt according to national circumstances.

Table 4.7: Examples of countries which have made commendable efforts in encouraging/facilitating return migration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Policy/ Initiative</th>
<th>Main objective</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>Returnee entrepreneurship programs</td>
<td>Returnee entrepreneurs are exempted from taxes on imports of capital equipment for their business initiatives and can repatriate all of their belongings.</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>Red de Argentinos Investigadores y Cientificos en el Exterior (RAICES)</td>
<td>Database of Argentinian researchers living abroad and is dedicated to providing them with information about domestic market conditions and helping support their reintegration through a repatriation fund.</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China Service centre for returnees</td>
<td>Provide returnees with housing allocations and assist them airfare assistants with purchasing dutyfree computers’ and vehicles</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social integration support to returnees and dependents e.g. setting up international schools and waiving potential fines on one-child policy</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010- National Talent Development Plan</td>
<td>Recruiting highly skilled Chinese migrants to contribute in the fields of education, science, culture and health. By 2012, a total of 35 industries and 31 Chinese provinces had initiated talent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Bases and Spring Bud Program</td>
<td>Encourage the temporary return of scientists by providing them with teaching and research opportunities in addition to access to research labs in China</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Policies engineered to reverse brain drain to brain gain will need to first focus on eliminating the factors that initially pushed their human capital to emigrate. In the same vein, Jonkers (2008) states that “if socio-economic and professional conditions in the home country would be sufficiently open and attractive relative to expatriates’ host countries, there is likely to be little need for measures to promote return: it would happen in and of itself.”

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Finally, as discussed in the literature review of this paper, migrants’ intentions to return to their countries of origin are strongly influenced by their expectations of the origin countries (Cassarino, 2004). If those expectations are not met, there will be a tendency for these returnees to opt for re-emigration. Thus, when designing return policies, it is important that country-specific factors be taken into consideration. A one-size-fits-all approach will most likely not work.

To conclude, our findings indicate the following: First, the major causes of the migration decision are of an economic and political nature. Second, the willingness to return of highly skilled Zimbabwean migrants is high but when to return is the most defining factor. Third, the general low knowledge of Zimbabwean highly-skilled migrants on government initiatives to engage them to return to the country and participate in national development. More dissemination of policies and initiatives is needed. Fourth, to reverse the Zimbabwean brain drain, the most important determinant is to fix the country’s politics and economics. That, in its way is returning to the root cause of the high brain drain figures, therefore a preventive measure to the phenomenon. More so, more than policy, the government should implement initiatives to facilitate not only return, but reintegration of returnees into Zimbabwe.

4.5 Limitations of study findings

When interpreting the findings, the following limitations of the study need to be acknowledged. First, the paper’s focus on lecturers limits the findings to this particular group, while other groups such as doctors, engineers and geologists are not included. These are also a special brain drain group. Second, the country-specific approach does not allow direct generalizations of the findings to other countries, though they may indicate similarities with other group of highly-skilled migrants in other countries such as Botswana and the United Kingdom. Nonetheless, in light of these curbs, the study can be used as a foundation and reference point for how highly skilled migrants feel about returning, their knowledge of return initiatives and policies and further, what they would want the government to do to bring them back in the spirit of national development.
5.1 Introduction

Migration of Zimbabwean lectures to South Africa is an enormous benefit to the South African tertiary education system, as they are able to contribute in addressing the skills gaps in certain universities. Furthermore lecturers aid in addressing teaching shortages and bring diversity to the various universities and add to the general gain in human capital within South Africa. In light of the data obtained from the research, it is suggested that the economic and political instability in Zimbabwe, a major push factor, played a crucial role in contrast to the pull factors such as the close proximity of South Africa. Zimbabwe being a neighbouring country to Zimbabwe together with is relative political and economic stability and democracy, made South Africa a first choice destination country to resettle. Cape Town
offers, some of South Africa’s top universities and homely atmosphere also played a vital role in the pull factors of the migrants. The intended purpose of this chapter is to provide possible recommendations based on the data obtained in the research and draw a conclusion of the entire research.

5.2 Summary

To sum up this segment of the paper, the following section highlights what each chapter sought to do and what it achieved.

This introductory chapter highlighted the history of Zimbabwe so that the reader is familiarised with the context of the Zimbabwean political and economic situation. It narrated the diverse challenges the country has undergone and demonstrates how brain drain has affected the country as a whole. Thereafter the proceeding chapter highlights the various theories that were used to obtain knowledge of labour migration and identify the gaps in the literature. It defines important key terms that are used frequently throughout the research. The chapter showcases key theories that have influenced the theoretical understanding of return migration such as new economics of labour migration, transnationalism, neoclassical economics and structuralism. The chapter provides a coherent framework on the determinants of return migration reviewing both empirical and theoretical literature.

Following this, the chapter focused on the research methodology used to collect and analyse the data required to address the research question. The chapter begins with a discussion of the research area discussing demographics, location and why that specific area was selected. It thereafter discusses the research design, followed by the population from which the data was collected and the appropriate approach used in sample selection. Next, the discussion centres on data collection methods and the choice methods of data analysis are discussed. Ethical issues are further discussed and what potential ethical considerations needed to be taken into account in order to conduct the study. The chapter then concludes by highlighting the limitations of the study so as to enable the reader to be aware of the boundaries of the research. Based on the empirical results and findings from the research project, this chapter is devoted to reporting the qualitative data that was withdrawn via the in-depth interviews. The findings are built logically from the research problem, research question and research design. Furthermore the findings are presented in a clear narrative form by use of verbatim quotes and thick descriptions.
The discussion aimed to interpret and describe the significance of the researchers’ findings in light of what was already known about the research problem under investigation. It further explained new understandings about the problem after taking into account the findings. The discussion further aimed to connect the introduction by way of the research questions posed and the literature reviewed. Additionally the discussion demonstrates new gaps in literature that have not been previously exposed or adequately described.

Lastly the conclusions drawn from the research are primarily based on an integration of the study findings, analysis and interpretation, the recommendations suggest implications for policy and practice based on the findings.

5.2 Recommendations
In an attempt and effort to reduce brain drain the Zimbabwean government desperately and urgently needs to put its political affairs in order, as a means to address the country’s economic challenges which appear to be the crux of the push factors for most skilled labourers. Government further needs to implement more bottom-up approaches which are inclusive of the diaspora when engaging in policy formation. Based on the current unfavourable economic climate and sub-standard working conditions that continue to prevail in Zimbabwe, resulting in high economic and professional risks involved, it becomes highly unrealistic to expect migrants to hastily relocate permanently to Zimbabwe within the near future.

Furthermore the Zimbabwean government, needs to formally recognize the diaspora, as such recognition would be epitomised the diasporas participation in the on-going legislative and economic discourse in Zimbabwe. Thus in light of this the Government should establish institutions for the engagement of the diaspora, whereby the formation of thematic groups can be established addressing the current constitution making process. Furthermore the government can create diaspora desks at the relevant consulates in cities with major diaspora populations, whereby they are to communicate their expectations should they return.

Moreover, as highlighted in the previous chapter, government and policy makers need to facilitate and implement concrete initiatives that allow for smooth reintegration of the returnees into Zimbabwe such as assisting with housing, attaining places for their children at school and the actual moving process.
5.3 Contribution to knowledge

The main contribution of this research study is that it fills the gap in the body of knowledge on the study of the perceptions of return migration of highly skilled labours mainly academic lecturers. This study has gained its significance as it has comprehensively identified and discussed the root causes of the discontent among skilled labours and their actual willingness to return to Zimbabwe. Thus by understanding the pull factors to Zimbabwe directly from the diaspora, this aids in the formation of better bottom-up approaches in government initiatives, incentives and policy-makers. The study also, highlights that there is greater need for the cooperation of government to engage with the diaspora.

5.4 Suggestion for future research

A variety of issues have emerged from this study that have introduced new dynamics and aspects in the study of return migration. In essence to this and based on the limitations of this study as highlighted above, future research needs to investigate on a larger scale more institutions that have Zimbabwean diaspora, as this was limited to only two institutions in Cape Town. In addition empirical research is suggested and needed before policy formation from government can be undertaken with more confidence.

In addition, while the qualitative nature of this study has provided a glimpse into the perspectives of Zimbabwean lecturers at an individual level it would be vital to research more holistically the diverse skilled labour groups within the diaspora and their needs according to their skilled profession, thus enabling the government to have a diverse and concrete understanding on the perspectives from various groups and cater to each accordingly. Furthermore the research design and the sample size make generalizations difficult, making policy decisions that are affected at a macro level need more data. Thus a study on return migration on a wider scale, focusing on highly skilled Zimbabwean migrants to a variety of developed countries is recommended for future studies. This would aid government, policy makers and relevant stakeholders with essential information in terms of prioritising their actions that are aimed towards retaining workers and attracting highly skilled personal to return to their home country.

5.5 Conclusion

The phenomenon of brain drain is not new to Zimbabwe; however is part and parcel of a global on-going process of human relocation and translocation. However the rapid increase
has thus induced extensive calls for policy responses. Urgent and sustainable government initiatives need to come into effect as brain drain of skilled personnel will continue unabated. This research addresses the gap, in attempt to engage the academic diaspora perspectives of return migration, and not merely focusing on the brain drain. The research confirms that migrants indicate a strong willingness to return to Zimbabwe, but are hindered or rather reluctant to return due to the political unrest and unstable economy. It further reflects that return migration is not solely on employability, but the ability to reintegrate into the society. Much ground work is needed to attract the diaspora back to Zimbabwe; however government can employ bottom-up approaches and engage with the Diaspora community, not only with the academia but other skilled migrant groups. Nonetheless, the findings obtained from this research cannot be generalized to all skilled migrants as the research was location specific and the sample was not big enough to draw global generalizations, as many academic workers have migrated abroad and may have differences of opinions.
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Project Title: Perspectives of highly skilled migrants on return migration: A qualitative case study of Zimbabwean lecturers in the Western Cape of South Africa.

What is this study about?

This is a research study conducted by Karryn Robinson, in South Africa’s Western Cape Province (Cape Town) and I am inviting you to participate in this research project. The purpose of this study is to understand the reasons why highly skilled individuals move from their home countries. I do this using the case of Zimbabwe as it has over the last decade contended with high volumes of immigration of highly skilled workers, many to neighbouring countries in particular South Africa.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to participate?

E-mail: 3418239@myuwc.ac.za (Karryn Robinson)

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/
You will be asked to participate in a one on one interview lasting approximately one and a half hours. The interview will be tape recorded/video recorded with your permission to assist with data analysis and the format of the interview will consist of open-ended questions.

**Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?**

The researchers undertake to protect your identity and the nature of your identity and the nature of your contribution. To ensure anonymity, the information you provide will be totally private; no names will be used so anonymity is ensured. Your name will not be reflected on the questionnaire or in the individual interview. We will keep your personal information confidential, by having it locked and having it stored in an appropriately safe facility. If we write a report or article about this project, your identity will be protected.

**What are the risks of this research?**

The study examines the perception of a category of migrants, lecturers on their reasons for migrating and propose repossess by policy. Migrants are a vulnerable groups and the nature of reasons for migrating under tough economic circumstances means that many migrants may not have positive feeling about this process and some questions asked my seek to bring back these memories. To minimize this risk: attention has been paid to the questions and they have been couched in a manner that will minimize this. Also, in a political climate that has in recent times been unstable discussing issues of this nature may bring with it some risk. This is handled by ensuring the anonymity of respondents. Face to face interviews are conducted with each respondent and no person not directly involved in the interview process is aware of respondent name or any other personal information that may reveal identity of the respondent. Post data collection, paused names and codes are used when referring to respondents. All information provided are treated confidentially and stored securely in laptop with security password.

**What are the benefits of this research?**

There are no direct tangible benefits of the research to the researcher. However, by participating in this research, your views may indirectly aid in the return of Highly skilled professionals, by introducing new policies that enhance the development of the country which at a larger scales may contribute to the continent.
Do I have to be in this research and may I stop participating at any time?

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify.

Is any assistance available if I am negatively affected by participating in this study?

We anticipate no negative effects from participating in the study. Also, as a student who is not funded I am unable to provide any support.

What if I have questions?

This research is being conducted by Karryn B Robinson, from the Institute of Social Development at the University of the Western Cape. If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact: Head of Department: Dr. Mulungeta

Dean of the Faculty of EMS:

Prof Michelle Esau

University of the Western Cape

Private Bag X17

Bellville 7535 mvesau@uwc.ac.za

This research project has received ethical approval from the Humanities & Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape, Tel.021959 2988, email: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za

(Appendix B)
CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project: Perspectives of highly skilled migrants on return migration: A qualitative case study of Zimbabwean Lecturers in the Western Cape of South Africa.

The study has been described to me in language that I understand. My questions about the study have been answered. I understand what my participation will involve and I agree to participate of my own choice and free will. I understand that my identity will not be disclosed to anyone. I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason and without fear of negative consequences or loss of benefits.

_______ I agree to be audiotaped/videotaped during my participation in this study.
_______ I do not agree to being audiotaped/videotaped during my participation in this study

Participant’s name…………………………

Participant’s signature………………………… Date…………………………

This research project has received ethical approval from the Humanities & Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape, Tel.021959 2988, email: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za
DEMOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION SHEET

SECTION ONE: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1) Are you a Zimbabwean by Nationality

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

2) Which Province do you originate from?

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

3) Which year did you migrate to Cape Town

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

4) What is your occupation?

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

5) Where you a previous lecturer in Zimbabwe?

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

6) How long have you been lecturing

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/
(Appendix D)

SECTION TWO: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. What do you understand by the term Brain Drain?

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

2. What governed your move from Zimbabwe to South Africa, in particular Cape Town?

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

3. What are some of the working conditions that led you to leave Zimbabwe?

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

4. What are some of the working conditions that cause you to remain in South Africa?

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

5. What do you believe to be some of the repatriations of the Zimbabwean government towards highly skilled professionals (academics).

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

6. Do you feel government is doing enough?

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

7. What would you contribute towards new policy that would aid you to come back to Zimbabwe

________________________________________________________________________
8. What are some of the initiatives and incentives you think the Zimbabwean government can introduce as a means of bringing back the Academic Diaspora?

9. Would you be willing to go back to Zimbabwe immediately under the new government? Or rather wait a few more years? (Please elaborate)

10. Is there anything else you would like to add?
04 February 2019

Ms KB Robinson
Institute for Social Development
Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences

Ethics Reference Number: HS18/10/28

Project Title: Perspectives of highly skilled migrants on return migration: A qualitative case study of Zimbabwean lecturers in the Western Cape of South Africa.

Approval Period: 30 January 2019 – 30 January 2020

I hereby certify that the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape approved the methodology and ethics of the above mentioned research project.

Any amendments, extension or other modifications to the protocol must be submitted to the Ethics Committee for approval.

Please remember to submit a progress report in good time for annual renewal.

The Committee must be informed of any serious adverse event and/or termination of the study.

Ms Patricia Josias
Research Ethics Committee Officer
University of the Western Cape