

Migration and Development: New Strategic Outlooks and Practical Ways Forward

The Cases of Angola and Zambia

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Migration and Development: New Strategic Outlooks and Practical Ways Forward

The Cases of Angola and Zambia

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IOM International Organization for Migration

Many Zambians are leaving the country to find “greener pastures” – I cannot blame them. I would do the same in their place, but for me it’s just too important to do something here. I don’t regret it, because there is no better place than home.

A young businessman in Lusaka

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AEC	African Economic Community
ANIP	National Agency for Private Investment
APAS	Annual Performance Appraisal System
AU	African Union
b/d	Barrels per day
BWI	Bretton Woods institutions
CBOH	Central Board of Health
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DHRD	Department of Human Resources Development
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECHO	Humanitarian Aid Department of the European Commission
EPC	Angola Poverty Reduction Strategy
GDP	Gross domestic product
GOA	Government of Angola
GRZ	Government of the Republic of Zambia
HIV/AIDS	Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus/Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome
IAECAE	Institute Providing Support to Angolan Communities Abroad
IDA	International Development Association
IDPs	Internally displaced persons
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INAPEM	National Institute for Support to Small and Medium Entreprises
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estatística
IOM	International Organization for Migration
ISCO	International Standard Classification of Occupations
K	Kwacha
LSMS	Living Standards Measurement Surveys
MAPESS	Ministry of Public Administration, Employment and Social Security
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MoFNP	Ministry of Finance and National Planning
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MIDSA	Migration Dialogue for Southern Africa
MININT	Ministério do Interior

MINPLAN	Ministry of Planning
MINARS	Ministry of Assistance and Social Reinsertion
MIREX	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MIS	Management information systems
MLSS	Ministry of Labour and Social Security
NELMP	National Employment and Labour Market Policy
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa Development
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OAU	Organization for African Unity
PSCAP	Public Services Capacity Building Project
PREA	Administrative Reform Programme
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSRP	Public Service Reform Programme
PSDA	Private Sector Development Association
PSMD	Public Service Management Division
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SADCC	Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference
SAMP	Southern African Migration Project
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SEDB	Small Enterprises Development Board
SEDO	Small Enterprise Development Organization
SIDA	Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency
SME	Serviço de Migração e Estrangeiros
SMMEs	Small, micro and medium enterprises
SWAp	Sector-Wide Approach
TNDP	Transitional National Development Plan
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WHO	World Health Organization
WHP	Wider Harmonization Program
ZACCI	Zambia Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry
ZIC	Zambia Investment Center
ZNA	Zambia Nurses Association

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The complex reciprocal relationships between migration and development are raising growing interest among policy makers. Though the analytical understanding of these links remains somewhat limited, there is today a greater awareness that development affects migration and that migration influences development. The major challenge for policy makers is to find innovative and effective ways to enhance the benefits of migration whilst mitigating its adverse development implications for emigration countries.

For this purpose it is important to distinguish between different groups of migrants based on their level of skills. Governments of emigration countries look upon the permanent departure of highly educated and trained nationals with considerable concern. This kind of emigration in fact tends to translate into negative phenomena such as brain drain and consequent human resources shortages. However, this kind of emigration does not only have adverse effects. It may also have positive consequences for the development of emigration countries. These benefits can be triggered through temporary returns and other diaspora options facilitating the transfer of human, financial and social capital back to the country of origin.

This study represents a follow-up activity to the MIDSAs Workshop on Migration and Development in Southern Africa that took place in Zanzibar (Tanzania) in 2004. It assesses and analyses the migration and development situation of Angola and Zambia, with a special focus on skills migration. Field research was conducted in both countries where information was collected through consultations and interviews with key officials and various stakeholders as well as from a range of secondary sources.

After an introduction focusing in general terms on skills migration in the Southern Africa region, the report analyses the situation of development and migration in Angola and in Zambia. It reviews government policies and capacity related to skills migration and initiatives of various stakeholders, including donors and civil society organizations. Based on this review some major policy gaps are identified, and a strategic outlook as well as recommendations for the future formulated. Practical measures and consecutive steps are suggested in order to attenuate the negative effects of skills migration and to amplify its positive development impacts in the two national contexts.

The findings of the study confirm the usefulness of adopting a country-specific assessment approach. It is pointed out that the historical backgrounds as well as the

future prospects concerning migration and development for Angola and Zambia differ in many respects. National peculiarities and priorities need therefore to be adequately factored into the design of policies and into the formulation of programmes directly or indirectly affecting migration.

In Angola the long and devastating war provoked the flight of several thousands of Angolans across national boundaries and constituted an important push factor for skills emigration. But the process of recovery and reconciliation, as well as the country's immense stock of natural resources, represent a fertile ground for the expansion of opportunities. The latter can pull some of the educated and highly qualified Angolans back home on a permanent or temporary basis.

It is therefore advisable to strengthen the links between Angola and its diaspora, and to adopt policies facilitating in the medium term the spontaneous return of skilled and highly skilled expatriate nationals. Human resource needs arising in the short term in relationship with the reconstruction and rebuilding of the country can instead be addressed through temporary return schemes and other measures harnessing the development potential of the diaspora. These measures require of course a preliminary assessment of capacities in-country, as well as among Angolan emigrants. In the longer term, opportunities should be created based upon public-private partnerships regarding the reconstruction of infrastructure and the provision of services in order to attract highly skilled expatriate nationals back home.

In Zambia the situation of migration and development is different because skills migration is more of a structural problem. In contrast with Angola, the country has been enjoying peace and stability. Despite this, it experienced steady trends of decline in socio-economic conditions. For this reason it is unlikely that significant spontaneous return migration will occur in the near future. Here the problem of the brain drain is more acute and deeply rooted, a reason why in Zambia effective policy measures need to be adopted in order to retain essential skills and capacity in-country.

In particular, the emigration of health workers and the resulting health sector crisis are issues that must be dealt with urgently if the MDGs are to be achieved in Zambia. Retaining capacity in the public sector through incentive schemes and bonding mechanisms are measures that require immediate support. Concurrently, innovative ways need to be found to expand domestic educational or training outputs in spite of the critical shortage of teaching personnel. This means that human resources gaps need to be filled through diaspora options and replacement policies.

Another initiative which has good potential in Zambia is the involvement of the Zambian business diaspora in private sector activities back home. The private sector

could draw great benefits from the transfers of financial, human and social capital operated and/or facilitated by the diaspora. Measures facilitating the transfer and productive use of migrant remittances should be given due consideration. A major constraint is given by the lack of data on the scale and nature of these monetary transfers.

In both countries a better coordinated and more coherent action is needed grounded in reliable statistical and solid empirical evidence. Without timely and reliable, comprehensive and possibly harmonized migration data it is difficult to develop effective policies and programmes to manage skills migration. Substantial efforts are needed to improve quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis and to disseminate lessons learned. The development of an integrated migration data management system is a priority in each national context which, taking into account regional initiatives, should be adequately supported.

In more general terms there are two objectives requiring special attention. There is a critical need to factor migration into just about all national and sectoral development policies. This can only be achieved if migration is perceived as a variable able to make a substantial difference with respect to development outcomes and if it is systematically integrated into development assessment models and policy frameworks. Migration should represent a cross-cutting issue in PRSPs, national development plans and sectoral policy documents, as is already the case concerning issues such as gender, governance and HIV/AIDS.

For migration to be systematically examined for its implications and adequately dealt with in all the different policy sectors, governments will have to work towards the establishment of a centralized structure or agency dealing with migration as a multi-sectoral issue. This body could assume different forms depending on the national context, but it must be sufficiently flexible and dynamic in order to allow heterogeneous perspectives to be taken into consideration. This is why it should be composed of representatives of different government departments and other stakeholder institutions, and be connected with the leading policy decision making, planning and coordination structures.

This study confirms that skilled and highly skilled migrants can play a role in the development of their home country, even when they decide not to return on a permanent basis. However, reversing the brain drain through permanent return migration remains an objective which should not be ignored. Past return programmes have often been criticized because of their alleged low cost effectiveness. One problem is that the outcomes of such programmes were evaluated too early and did not leave return migrants enough time to make an impact. Evidence from the field suggests

that some of the highly skilled migrants whose return was supported in the 1990s, are indeed making a difference today. A well designed follow-up evaluation in different countries which benefited from return programmes would be valuable in order to reassess their effectiveness and impact and draw more reliable conclusions that would allow to improve future policies and programmes.

1.0 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and objectives of the study

This study was planned as a follow-up activity to the MIDSA Workshop on Migration and Development in Southern Africa, which took place in Zanzibar, Tanzania, from 17 to 19 March 2004. Several general recommendations were formulated during the workshop encouraging governments and other stakeholders to take concrete steps to mitigate the negative effects in particular of skills migration for national development, and to find innovative ways to foster its positive development implications.

Emphasis was placed upon human capital and upon the enormous development potential the region forgoes when many of its best educated and ambitious men and women emigrate, alone or with their families, to find work and make a career abroad. Governments were called upon to devise measures which are basically oriented in three directions: to promote cooperation on migration issues at national, regional and international level, to develop strategies for the retention of human resources and promotion of return migration of highly skilled migrants, and to harness the knowledge, skills, technology and remittances of the diaspora.

However, aware of the often heterogeneous and sometimes even contradictory evidence, the workshop participants concluded that the challenges related to migration and development need to be further assessed and addressed in each specific national context. This is why IOM decided to undertake studies in selected countries in the Southern Africa region. Focusing on Angola and Zambia, the overall aim of this study was to gain a better understanding of the general migration and development situation of these two countries, and to formulate recommendations regarding the steps that needed to be taken in order to minimize its negative impacts on development while maximizing its positive implications for sending countries.

The specific objectives of the study were:

- To assess and analyse the migration and development situation in these two countries with a special focus on skills migration;
- To undertake an assessment of government capacity related to skills migration;
- To produce an overview of initiatives of various actors/stakeholders (e.g. government, donors, civil society) regarding skills migration; and

- To identify priority themes and sectors and formulate recommendations for initiatives and actions addressing skills migration.

The methodology used for this study involved consultations and discussions with key officials and various stakeholders, individual and group interviews, a review of policy documents and relevant literature, and the analysis of statistical information. Official documents, quantitative and qualitative data, records of interviews and meetings were collected during a permanence in the field in December 2004.

1.2 Regional context of the two countries

Angola and Zambia are neighbouring countries situated in the Southern Africa region. They have widely different historical and development backgrounds. Angola was a Portuguese colony before it became independent in 1975. Zambia gained independence from Britain more than a decade earlier, in 1964. Since independence, Angola has been affected by a long and devastating civil war. Zambia has instead benefited from peace and relative stability. Angola is a coastal country with an immense stock of natural resources (petroleum), while Zambia is a land-locked country with much more limited resources.

Angola has a larger population than Zambia, but both countries are highly urbanized. Life expectancy at birth is slightly higher in Angola than in Zambia, partly due to much higher HIV/AIDS prevalence rates registered in the latter country. But, overall social indicators are poorer in Angola than in Zambia. The share of total population having access to improved water sources in Angola is almost half that of Zambia. Infant mortality is much lower in Zambia than in Angola and education indicators, such as gross primary enrolment, significantly higher. In contrast Angola has better economic indicators than Zambia. Angola's gross domestic product was 13.8 million against Zambia's 4.3 million (World Bank, 2004a; 2004b). A very important share of Angola's revenues comes from the oil-industry, while Zambia has more diversified sources of income. Yet, both countries remain dependent on exports of primary commodities.

Based upon these markedly different characteristics, both countries count today among the world's severely indebted low-income countries. While at present neither can be considered as a major country of immigration or emigration, their current situations differ especially in so far as the relationship between migration and development is concerned. Zambia was an important country of destination for labour migrants before its economy collapsed due to a sharp decline in the copper price. Angola witnessed significant displacements and cross-border refugee outflows due to its protracted armed conflict.

Nowadays both countries share a very relevant problem: they suffer from a lack of qualified labour in key sectors of their economy and public administration. This problem has been exacerbated by rapidly growing emigration rates of skilled and highly skilled nationals who go abroad to improve their working and living conditions. The deteriorating situation in the two countries constitutes an important push factor for skills migration, whereas the growing demand for skilled and highly skilled labour in richer countries located within and outside the Southern Africa region represents an important pull factor.

The phenomenon of skills migration needs to be seen as a special manifestation of general migration trends on the one hand and, on the other, in relation to a geographical horizon which takes regional population movements and socio-economic factors into account. In fact, Southern Africa is a region of considerable migration, and wars and civil unrest have triggered significant population displacements not only across but also within national boundaries.

1.2.1 General migration trends and the issue of skills migration

Multifaceted demographic, economic, political, social and cultural transformations that have occurred during the last decades have had a profound impact on the patterns and dynamics of population distribution and movements in the region. But development policies and programmes, including structural adjustment and resource allocation, have also affected migration of various population groups.

From a demographic point of view, three kinds of population flows have to be distinguished: internal, intra-regional and extra-regional migration.

Population mobility in Southern Africa continues to occur primarily internally, that is within national borders in the form of rural to rural and rural to urban migration. These movements concern mostly internally displaced people¹ and what is generally referred to as economic migrants.² For both categories natural disasters, such as drought and famines, low agricultural productivity and poverty represent critical push factors. Better employment and income-generating opportunities and access to basic social services pull rural people towards towns. However, urban poverty and unemployment have also been on the rise in cities pushing people to move on in search for alternative sources of income and better living conditions.

Migration across national boundaries occurs predominantly intra-regionally and concerns legal labour migrants, undocumented migrants and refugees.³ Legal cross-border labour migration has increased during the last ten years, especially since the end of apartheid in South Africa in 1994.⁴ This form of population mobility involves

temporary as well as permanent migration. It consists both in contract migration and individually initiated migration. The latter is directed mostly to commercial farms (South Africa and Swaziland) and to the mines (South Africa and Zambia).

Irregular and undocumented migration has also grown in importance in the region during the last two decades (Black et al., 2004).⁵ This phenomenon is spurred by growing poverty and unemployment characterizing many countries of the region, as well as by growing development disparities and widening gaps in individual and social welfare. Irregular migrants are particularly vulnerable to violations of human rights and labour standards, and economic and sexual exploitation. They can become the victims of migrant traffickers and smugglers and face the risk of expulsion or deportation. These measures, a common feature in the Southern Africa region, are fuelled by negative attitudes towards foreigners that are amplified in situations of socio-economic crisis, increasing unemployment and political uncertainty.

Finally, extra-regional population flows have also expanded as growing numbers of skilled and highly skilled migrants seek to maximize the return on investment in their education and training and search for better paid and more rewarding jobs and working conditions that would allow them to apply their skills and to evolve professionally. In fact, it is fundamental to distinguish between unskilled and skilled or highly skilled labour migrants.⁶ Compared to low- or unskilled, skilled and highly skilled individuals have a greater propensity to emigrate because they can better afford it, their skills are in demand abroad and they tend to benefit more from such a move. Skilled and highly skilled migrants are generally granted preferential treatment regarding admission and stay in receiving countries. Most major countries of immigration have already changed, or have at least started to consider changing their migration policies and laws in order to facilitate the entry, work and residence of highly skilled professionals (McLaughlan and Salt, 2002).

There are estimates suggesting that overall 23,000 qualified professionals emigrate each year from Africa (Pang et al., 2002) and data from Europe and the United States show that international migration is quite selective toward highly skilled migrants (Carrington and Detragiache, 1998; Dumond and Lemaître, 2004). Considering the consistency of the phenomenon, it is quite understandable that the permanent emigration of highly educated and trained people, which can translate into the so-called “brain drain”, raises serious concerns in sending countries.

Indeed, the majority of sub-Saharan African countries are today confronted with problems related to a shortage of human resources. This is why governments are anxious to identify effective measures to stem skills emigration, to reverse the brain drain and to harness the contributions to be made by their diasporas. Of course, some

sectors are harder hit than others by skilled labour shortages. The loss of qualified professionals in critical social sectors, such as health and education, is increasingly viewed as one of the most important obstacles toward the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Apart from extra-regional skills migration, skills migration and brain drain which occur between rural and urban areas, and between the public and the private sectors are a problem. The emerging shortages in human capital represent a major challenge in most countries of the region.

The main countries of immigration in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) are South Africa, Namibia and Botswana, while the main countries of emigration are the DRC, Angola, Mozambique and Malawi.⁷ However, intra-regional migration circuits and extra-regional mobility patterns have changed considerably over time (Adepoju, 2001). It has become more difficult to operate a clear distinction between migrant-receiving and migrant-sending countries. An increasing number of countries fall into both categories, as for example Botswana and Lesotho. South Africa with its more advanced economy and higher per capita income remains the most important labour-importing country in the region. But this country is concurrently a major source of international skilled labour migration to more industrialized countries in other parts of the world (e.g. Western Europe, North America, Australia). Another country that fits both categories is Zambia, where immigration has stabilized and emigration concerns mostly highly skilled nationals.

The position of governments in the SADC region regarding immigration and emigration levels has not changed much over the last 15 years. According to UNDESA (2002), most governments remained satisfied with the level of immigration in their country.⁸ The only exceptions are Botswana, where immigration levels were considered satisfactory in 1990 and too high in 2000, and Zambia, where the situation was the reverse. Similarly, almost all governments in the SADC region found that their levels of emigration were satisfactory. This was not the case in Lesotho and Zimbabwe in 1990, but both changed their views, which, in 2000, corresponded to that of other governments.

In 2000 the great majority of governments in the SADC region pursued *laissez-faire* policies regarding the emigration of nationals. This was in contrast to ten years earlier, when Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe applied policies to lower such outflows. Another series of countries, including the DRC, Mauritius, Namibia and the Seychelles, had adopted measures to maintain their level of emigration (see Annex).

Over the years there has been a clear trend in the region towards the tightening and control of immigration. In 1990 three countries (Mauritius, Zambia and Zimbab-

we) had introduced policies aimed at lowering immigration. By 2000 seven countries had adopted such restrictive policies. At that date only Angola, Lesotho and Mozambique were neither maintaining nor limiting migrant inflows. Instead, the Seychelles, South Africa and Swaziland had policies in place to maintain immigration at their current levels.

1.2.2 Regional policy frameworks and migration policies

Most governments consider human resource development and labour markets as key areas requiring regional cooperation and integration in order to enhance economic growth and sustainable development in the region (ECA, 2003). This is why the free movement of people and rights of residence and establishment are objectives proclaimed in various treaties and protocols by regional economic communities and organizations. These objectives were to be attained gradually through different stages, but so far little progress has been achieved regarding their implementation. The strong reservations of the major immigration countries in the region (e.g. South Africa, Namibia and Botswana) have significantly hampered efforts to develop a regional migration regime. The implications of more liberal migration policies, which are hard to control, are a main concern of these countries.

When tracing developments over the last two decades it appears that policy statements at various levels have tended to remain confined to documents and did not easily find their way into practice. The reason for this was that the aims were too general and therefore governments failed to follow suit. The following short review shows that recently a new approach, promoted, among others, by IOM, was chosen that placed emphasis on assisting governments in the implementation process of purposefully circumscribed projects. Among the latter, return migration of skills, and thus curbing the brain drain, has become a priority issue.

The free movement of people within Africa is an objective of the African Union (AU, which in 2003 replaced the Organization for African Unity (OAU)). The AU is expected to accelerate the achievement of this aim by providing assistance to member states. It recently established a strategic framework for a policy on migration in Africa (Black et al., 2004).

Also Article 43 of the Abuja Treaty, establishing the African Economic Community (AEC), recognizes the importance of strengthening regional cooperation with a view to developing a common market with the free flow of capital, goods and labour.

Pooling resources and promoting regional integration is also an aim of the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC).⁹ These objectives were

defined in 1980 to reduce economic dependence on apartheid South Africa. Among its priorities was the need to reduce the vulnerability of labour-exporting countries and to progressively eliminate labour supply to South Africa. In 1992 with the conclusion of the Windhoek Treaty, SADCC was replaced by the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC).¹⁰ The progressive elimination of obstacles to the free movement of labour, capital, goods, services and people in the region and among member states is an objective which is clearly stated in the treaty (Article 5). Visa requirements were to be dropped by SADC member states by mid-1994. This plan did not materialize and several countries failed to ratify the SADC Protocol on Free Movement of Persons. This protocol was replaced in 1997 by a more cautious Draft Protocol on the Facilitation of the Movement of People. However, this latter was also rejected in 2000 by the SADC Council of Ministers. In the meantime, SADC has continued organizing meetings at ministerial level with a focus on migration. SADC also issued a Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan in 2002 which identifies migration as a key cross-cutting issue.

The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA),¹¹ founded in 1994, also seeks to enhance economic cooperation and integration and the development of a common market. In the pursuit of this aim, COMESA developed a Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons, Labour and Services, Right of Establishment and Residence. Similar to the SADC protocols, this protocol was never ratified because of reservations among some member states to modify domestic laws and administrative practice and to subordinate their national political interests to long-term regional goals. There is a considerable reluctance among member states to surrender essential elements of their national sovereignty, especially in such a critical area as migration. Another challenge to regional integration has been the multiple and overlapping membership of states in different economic communities whose mandates and objectives are not necessarily consistent. A country like Angola, for example, is a member in SADC and in COMESA as well as in the Comunidade dos Países da Língua Portuguesa (CPLP)¹² and in the community of Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa (PALOP).¹³

In 1998, when it became apparent that efforts to promote the free movement of people were not fruitful, IOM and the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) launched the Migration Dialogue for Southern Africa (MIDSA). The purpose of MIDSA is to keep international migration and labour mobility issues high on the policy agenda. This forum has proven effective, but has also shown some limitations due to its informal and non-binding nature. To overcome this problem, MIDSA organizers are planning to hold a ministerial session at a regional summit of heads of government. Several MIDSA workshops have already taken place on a range of issues such as border management, trafficking and smuggling, forced migration, har-

monization of migration policies and laws, migration and health. These have involved senior government officials and contributed to the exchange of information and experience on migration policy and practice.

Reversing the brain drain is one of the priorities of the New Partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD). The objectives of this initiative is to turn the African brain drain into “brain gain”, to strengthen and retain human capital for Africa’s development and to enhance the latter by harnessing the know-how and skills of the African diaspora.¹⁴

This last objective is also the main aim of the IOM programme Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA), which replaced the Return of Qualified African Nationals (RQAN) programme. A number of strategies were adopted within the framework of this programme, including permanent or temporary returns of highly skilled migrants and the transfer of resources through virtual links and diaspora networks. Promoting the transfer of knowledge through the temporary return of educated nationals is also the aim of the UNDP-sponsored TOKTEN programme, which concerns some African countries.

In 2002 the International Labour Organization (ILO) launched the Africa Labour Migration Policy Initiative. This initiative seeks to assist governments with the definition and implementation of effective labour migration management policies and strategies. A partnership between the ILO, IOM and SADC was also established to help to strengthen the capacity of Southern African governments in labour migration management. The improvement of migration data collection systems is a major goal in order to develop effective migration management strategies and improve the harmonization of policy and legislation frameworks.

In 2002, with the exception of Mauritius all SADC member states have ratified the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees.¹⁵ All but two countries (Mauritius and Namibia) have also ratified the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees. The 1990 Convention concerning the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families was ratified only by the Seychelles. Similarly, the 1990 Additional Protocol to the UN Convention Against Transnational Crime was ratified only by Botswana and Namibia.

1.3 Methodological aspects of the study

The paucity of statistical migration data and demographic information in the Southern Africa region is a major constraint for the assessment of internal, intra- or extra-regional migration levels and trends. The often limited accessibility to, and poor

reliability of, sources makes it difficult to document changes in the causes and consequences of internal and international flows. The most important shortcomings in data collection at the national level derive from a limited coverage and quality of administrative information, the irregular conduct of population censuses and household surveys, and the absence of empirical studies focusing on individual or family mobility, and various specific aspects of this complex issue.¹⁶ Qualitative migration data are particularly lacking, and the use of what data are available is limited.

Currently, the main sources of migration data are administrative sources, censuses and a few special surveys. Administrative sources would include registers of the population and of foreigners, documentation related to the issuance of visas, residence and work permits, exit clearances, and information gathered at borders. Information from these various administrative sources is often not compiled at all, or not in a timely or regular manner.

Censuses can be very valuable sources of migration data. A major problem with censuses is, however, that not all of them collect data on migration. The other problem of census information is related to the lack of regularity with which this kind of data collection is undertaken. The last census in Angola, for example, took place in 1970. In contrast, Zambia conducted a census in 2000 which included some data on internal migration. Special surveys encompassing data on migration, such as Living Standards Measurement Surveys (LSMS), are only available in some countries. Neither Angola nor Zambia counts among these countries, whereas South Africa does.

Analysis of quantitative data and dissemination of information on migration remains limited in most countries of the Southern Africa region. This is partly due to the fact that migration data are gathered by a number of different government departments and other organizations. National data collection systems do not always produce readily comparable or compatible data that could be assembled to inform various stakeholders as well as the broader public. Similarly, the variety of definitions and sources of data used in different countries render it difficult to compare situations and trends at regional and international levels.

Another limitation of migration data derives from their limited disaggregation by gender, age and level of qualification. Statistical data collected in sending and receiving countries do not allow generalizations to be drawn concerning migration behaviour of different groups of migrants. These shortcomings are currently being addressed in European countries, where most censuses have incorporated a question on the country of birth and nationality of the respondents (Dumond and Lemaître, 2004). A new database on immigrants and expatriates in OECD countries was also

recently established. The database on international migrants contains the first internationally comparable data set that allows to measure and characterize foreign-born populations in OECD countries.

Finally, it must be mentioned that in most African countries reliable data concerning return migration are virtually non-existent. This is largely due to methodological problems related to the operational definition of reverse mobility, and to the fact that migratory movements are often not reflected in adjourned official records. But, furthermore, it has to be borne in mind that today more and more citizens of countries in the Southern Africa region somehow find themselves in the situation of “global commuters” whose country of residence, even when it is recorded, is de facto not a steady one.

2. MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF ANGOLA

The situation of migration and development in Angola has never yet been the subject of specific studies or analyses. This is not surprising considering that research and data collection were in general seriously hampered during the country's protracted civil war.

The Angolan conflict started before the country gained independence in 1975 and was triggered by disagreements between key leaders involved in the liberation struggle. Opposing pro-independence factions allied with the Soviet bloc, on the one hand, and with South Africa and the United States, on the other. Cold war sponsorship and monopolized resource exploitation fuelled what became an almost 30-year long civil war. The conflict has affected all aspects of social and economic life in Angola, creating a legacy which it will take much time and effort to overcome.

ANGOLA: GENERAL FACTS AND DATA

A country of 1,246,700 sq km. located on the western coast of Southern Africa.
Neighbouring countries: DRC, Congo, Namibia, Zambia.
Administrative divisions: 18 provinces.
Capital city: Luanda.
Independence: 1975.
Natural resources: petroleum, diamonds, iron ore, phosphates, copper, feldspar, gold, bauxite, uranium.
Natural hazards: locally heavy rainfall causing periodic flooding on the plateau.
Population: 13.5 million.
Age structure: 0-14 years: 43.5%; 15-64 years: 53.7%; 65 years and over: 2.8%.
Population growth rate: 2.9%.
Birth rate: 45.14 births/1,000 population.
Death rate: 25.86 deaths/1,000 population.
Infant mortality rate: 154 deaths/1,000 live births.
Life expectancy at birth: 46.7 years.
Total fertility rate: 7.0 children born/woman.
HIV/AIDS adult prevalence rate: 5%.
Adults living with HIV/AIDS: 320,000.

Source: *The CIA World Factbook*, 2004; UNAIDS, 2004; World Bank , 2004c.

2.1 Overview of the development situation

Angola counts today among the poorest countries in the world. The country ranks 162nd out of 173 countries on UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI). Almost three decades of armed conflict have had devastating effects on the country's economy as well as its infrastructure and social fabric. Many Angolans had to flee their homes to avoid the effects of armed conflict and generalized violence. As a result, families and entire communities were disrupted. In 1991-92 there was a brief interlude of peace, but thereafter the war intensified producing even greater population displacements than before. The total number of reported IDPs grew from about 530,000 at the end of 1998 to over 4 million by mid-2002 (CCA, 2002).

Since a lasting peace was reached in April 2002 the situation in Angola has started to improve. Despite the progress made in post-war recovery and reconciliation, poverty is widespread and social inequalities are growing. There are many challenges ahead for this Southern Africa country which has an important potential due to its immense stock of natural resources.

2.1.1 Situation analysis

The present situation in Angola is characterized by a continued need to deal with problems created by the war. Important for the Angolan Government (GOA) is to adopt policy measures and implement institutional reforms that can alleviate poverty and promote sustainable development. A process of economic recovery is under way, but much remains to be done.

Gross domestic product grew since 1995 at an average rate of 6.6 per cent, compared to 4.7 per cent in 2003 (World Bank, 2004a). Per capita income increased in the same period to about US\$ 740. Poor Angolans, however, have drawn little benefit from these relative improvements. The Gini coefficient rose from 0.45 in 1995 to 0.51 in 2000, reflecting a shift in relative incomes in favour of the richest 10 per cent of the population (CCA, 2002). The richest 10 per cent of the population received the same share of income as the bottom 80 per cent of the population.

Today, over two-thirds of the population live in poverty, while almost one Angolan out of three is extremely poor. Poverty is particularly widespread in rural areas. Communities in most rural areas face very low levels of self-subsistence. Many rural households are unable to meet even their most basic needs. In 1998 a survey found that food expenditures accounted for 76 per cent of rural households spending (CCA, 2002).¹⁷

When millions of Angolans fled or migrated from their rural home areas to escape the armed conflict and serious human rights violations, many lost all or part of their original assets. These included critical things such as shelter, arable land, agricultural tools and livestock. The rural exodus has resulted in acute labour shortages in agriculture. Helping smallholders in rural areas to rebuild their livelihoods remains an important priority to foster the recovery of the agricultural sector. Today the agricultural sector represents only 8.2 per cent of GDP, whereas industry and services account for 60.3 and 31.5 per cent, respectively (World Bank, 2004a).

Poverty and inequalities have been on the rise also in urban areas. The flight of people from rural areas has been formidable during the war years, turning bigger towns, and particularly the capital city of Luanda, into a refuge for the poor. The population of Luanda grew from 481,000 in 1970 to 3.3 million by 2000. The massive influx from the countryside has increased pressures on urban infrastructure and the labour market. As the majority of IDPs and migrants are un- or low skilled, they turned to the informal sector. At the end of the 1990s it was estimated that in Luanda 54 per cent of all families were involved in the informal economy (Adauta de Sousa, 1998).

The stagnation of the non-oil sectors of the economy has resulted in high levels of unemployment and underemployment, particularly in urban areas where population growth has accelerated due to the extensive rural to urban migration. The 2000/01 Inquérito aos Agregados Familiares sobre Despesas e Receitas found an average of 46 per cent unemployment in urban areas (IDR, 2001).¹⁸

But, finding a suitable job has also become more difficult for skilled and qualified nationals, especially in the public sector. Low salary levels (and arrears in salary payments) as well as poor working conditions act as major deterrents for Angolan jobseekers to enter the civil service. Concurrently, self-employment is hampered by limited access to low-cost credit and loans, onerous and bureaucratic licensing procedures and high rates of taxation (de Vletter, 2002). The environment for investment and job-creation remains constrained not only by the inadequacy of financial services, excessive bureaucracy and barriers to competition. It is also compelled by the general macroeconomic instability and uncertainty, the poor state of the physical infrastructure, the weakness of the judicial system and the low level of education and skills of the majority of the labour force.

Housing is a very serious problem in urban areas even for the middle class. As a result of rapid urbanization, immense informal settlements (the *musseques*) have emerged in peri-urban and also in central areas. The rapid development of new neigh-

bourhoods and the spread of shantytowns has strained urban water supply and sanitation systems. Some areas completely lack these basic services with the attendant serious hygiene and health implications. Many houses and buildings suffer from the complete absence of maintenance. The prices of real estate are very high and most people cannot afford to pay for a mortgage. However, rents are also exorbitant, despite the fact that many landlords ask tenants to pay several months of rent in advance.

Much physical and social infrastructure was destroyed during the war and still needs substantial reconstruction. The social sectors require critical investment and fundamental reforms. The coverage and quality of basic social services is poor and there is a critical lack of qualified personnel in rural areas. Only few people can afford to pay for private health and education services. The great majority of rural households are left with little access to primary health care and schooling. Expanding the access of the poor and extremely poor to health, education and other basic services is one of the most urgent needs in Angola if the MDGs are to be attained.

These are reasons why Angola's social development indicators remain well below those of other sub-Saharan Africa countries. In 2003 only 38 per cent of Angolans had improved access to water sources, compared with 58 per cent of the total population in sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 2004a). Though infant mortality decreased from 172 in 1995 to 154 per 1,000 live births in 2003, this last rate is much higher than the average for sub-Saharan Africa (103 per 1,000 births). Life expectancy at birth stood at 45.2 in Angola in 2002, while it was 48.7 for sub-Saharan Africa (UNDP, 2002).

Though large investments were made in education in the post-independence period to address the problem of high adult illiteracy rates (about 85% in the early 1970s), the development of human resources was seriously hampered by the war. Declining levels of school enrolment, deteriorating quality of education and high drop-out rates registered in the 1980s and 1990s resulted from the destruction of school infrastructure, shortage of qualified teachers and teaching materials and low budget allocations to the education sector. The education indicators in Angola are among the lowest in sub-Saharan Africa. In 2001 the literacy rate of the population aged 15 years and more was 82 per cent for men and 54 per cent for women (MICS, 2001). Gross primary enrolment was 64 per cent compared with 87 per cent for sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 2004a). Higher education and vocational and technical training were also considerably hampered by the difficult situation Angola experienced in the last decades.

Since 2002 Angola is facing a double challenge: from war to peace and from a state-controlled to a market economy. Angola is largely dependent on oil production

and economic growth is primarily led by the booming energy sector which generates very little employment. From 1980 to 2002 oil production grew by more than 550 per cent to 990,000 barrels a day (CCA, 2002). It is expected to double by 2010 to reach almost 2 million b/d (World Bank, 2003). The oil sector's share of GDP increased from 20 per cent in 1991 to 54 per cent in 2001. The share of the non-oil sectors in the economy, in particular of the agricultural sector, has declined making the country heavily dependent on its oil and diamond revenues.

ANGOLA: STRUCTURE OF THE ECONOMY
(% OF GDP IN 2003)

Agriculture	8.3
Industry	60.3
Services	31.5

Source: World Bank, 2004a.

The financial situation of Angola remains weak and recent fiscal results were poor (IMF, 2003). The government runs large fiscal deficits. Government spending as a share of GDP is almost double the average for sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 2003), but the problem is that an important proportion of government expenditure is executed outside the regular budgetary framework. Thus, budgetary allocation to critical social sectors such as health (3.3%) and education (4.7%) are far below the SADC average (7.2% for health and 16.7% for education) (Vinyals, 2002).¹⁹

The fiscal deficits in Angola have resulted in high inflation rates which ranged from an average of 1,174 per cent in the 1989-2000 period to 116 per cent in 2001 and 286 per cent in 2002 (Adauta de Sousa, 2002). This has contributed to the erosion of the purchasing power of wage earners. Another consequence of the very high inflation and weakening national currency has been the growing "dollarization" of the economy. Though total debt as a share of GDP has decreased, Angola continues to rank among the most highly indebted countries in the world. The important external debt service arrears accumulated in the past are a heavy financial burden for the country.

2.1.2 Government policy frameworks and priorities

The government has adopted an economic programme for 2003/04 which aims to consolidate peace, rehabilitate economic infrastructure, improve the delivery of services, strengthen public administration across the national territory, promote growth of the non-oil sectors and prepare the ground for new general elections (World Bank,

2003). A series of long-term development objectives were also envisaged, including the restoration and maintenance of macroeconomic stability, revitalization of the rural sector, rebuilding of social infrastructure, improvement of transportation links to markets and encouragement of private sector participation.

In connection with that policy framework, Angola's first strategy for poverty reduction (EPC) was approved in February 2004 (MINPLAN, 2003).²⁰ The EPC puts strong emphasis on the need to develop human resources as a basis for economic growth and human development in the country.²¹ Efforts to strengthen the human capital for development are focused mainly on primary education, vocational training and the rehabilitation of the health sector. Altogether the areas of priority of the EPC are, (i) social reinsertion; (ii) security and civil protection; (iii) food security and rural development; (iv) HIV/AIDS; (v) education; (vi) health; (vii) basic infrastructure; (viii) employment and professional training; (ix) governance; and (x) macro-economic management.

A primary objective of the ECP is the return, resettlement and reinsertion of 3.8 million IDPs, 450,000 refugees and of more than 160,000 demobilized soldiers and their dependants in their areas of origin. Their reintegration is promoted through the provision of basic social services and the development of productive and income-generating activities.

Another major aim of the ECP is to rebuild the health and education sectors that have severely suffered from the prolonged civil war. This involves the reconstruction of health and education infrastructure and the decentralization of financial, material and human resources to the provinces. In pursuit of these aims, the government plans to reverse various forms of brain drain which had been fuelled by the armed conflicts and manifested itself through rural to urban, public to private sector, or international skills migration.

Regarding the crucial domain of public health, especially after 1992, Angola has experienced a rapid concentration of health personnel in the capital city. This uneven spatial distribution continues to represent a major problem that the government urgently needs to deal with. According to the Angolan *Ordem dos Medicos*, 80 to 85 per cent of their 1,600 registered doctors practise in Luanda. These serious imbalances have resulted in very low population:doctor ratios in rural areas. In the late 1990s, according to the WHO (2002), there was one doctor per 20,000, one nurse per 1,000 and one midwife per 20,000 inhabitants in Angola.

Many Angolan health professionals are reluctant to work in the provinces. The main reasons are the poor working and living conditions outside the capital city and the lack of adequate incentives. In general, salaries in the civil service are low and infrastructure and equipment as well as supervision and information are inadequate and insufficient, together with limited career prospects. That is why many civil servants seek alternative work opportunities involving a part-time or full-time involvement in the private sector, or emigration.

A 1998 survey has shown that an important share of public sector doctors engage in private practice or other activities in order to be able to meet increasing costs of living and help the extended family (Ferrinho et al., 1998). The survey found that public sector salaries had become marginal for urban doctors (10% of total income), while it represented a little more than half of the income of rural doctors (55 per cent). Angolan doctors could earn the equivalent of one month's public service salary in one hour of private practice. However, health workers usually keep a foot in the civil service because of the job security and social recognition it offers. A problem related to their multiple professional engagements is that there are high levels of absenteeism among personnel working in the public service.

2.2 Patterns and flows of migration

In 2003 the population of Angola was estimated at 13.5 million and the annual population growth rate at 3.0 per cent (World Bank, 2004a). The country has one of the highest population growth rates in the world. At these rates, the population is foreseen to double again by the year 2025 (CCA, 2002).²²

Over the last decades Angola experienced rapid urbanization which was further exacerbated by the long armed conflict. Huge numbers of IDPs and economically driven migrants have moved into cities, especially into the capital Luanda, in search for a more secure environment offering better income-generating opportunities. But many Angolans have also fled across international borders to seek refuge or emigrated to pursue their studies and work abroad. The degradation of the education system and the stagnation of the economy have increased these population movements further.

With the beginning of the peace process the migration situation started to reverse. However, for many Angolan emigrants or refugees it is too early to make a decision about return. At present, there remains an attitude of uncertainty among potential returnees.

2.2.1 Inflows and outflows with special attention to skills migration

Between 1995 and 2000 average annual net cross-border migration in Angola was estimated at -17,000, or -1.4 per 1,000 inhabitants (UNDESA, 2002).²³

Refugees represent more than a quarter of the country's migrant stock which stood at 46,000 in 2000.²⁴ This stock constituted 0.4 per cent of the total population. In 2004 about 10,000 of the estimated 12,500 refugees in Angola originated from the DRC (SME, 2004). In mid-2002, 445,000 Angolan refugees were registered abroad (CCA, 2002), the majority in the DRC, Namibia and Zambia.

As already mentioned, there is little data available regarding the volume of outflows and the size of the Angolan population living outside the country. A Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MIREX) estimate suggests that currently there are 78,677 Angolans in the diaspora, with women outnumbering men. 13,075 Angolan citizens were actually registered with Angolan diplomatic and consular missions (5,044 men and 8,031 women).

According to MIREX there are 68 Angolan diaspora associations in more than 18 countries. These include South Africa, Portugal, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Namibia, the United States, Germany, Brazil, Belgium, Canada, Congo, Spain, France, Britain, Sweden, Switzerland, the DRC and San Tome and Principe.

In recent years Angola has experienced increasing legal inflows of labour migrants. These streams involve contract workers for the industry and mining sectors and individual migrants seeking work opportunities in the informal economy. Irregular immigration also grew since the beginning of the peace process, especially across the country's northern borders (SME, 2004). The government is concerned with this recent trend and is trying to strengthen border controls and combat irregular immigration. In 2004, 300,000 irregular migrants were repatriated within the framework of the *Operação Brilhante*.

2.2.2 Outgoing mobility patterns and main countries of destination

The patchy statistical evidence does not allow to determine the distribution of Angolan emigrants and refugees between different countries of destination. Migration data collected in receiving countries shows that, in the 1995-2001 period, 2,056 Angolans immigrated to Europe²⁵ and only 82 to the United States.²⁶ This represents an average annual emigration rate of 0.02 per cent for this period.

TABLE 2.1
ANNUAL INFLOWS OF ANGOLAN ASYLUM SEEKERS IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES (thousands)

Country	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Portugal	3.1	1.9	0.4	0.3	0.1	-	0.4	0.9	2.5	-
UK	0.2	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.8	1.0
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.6	2.2	4.1
France	-	-	0.6	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.6	1.0
Switzerland	-	-	1.1	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.4	0.6

Source: OECD, 2004.

Some data are also available regarding the annual inflow of Angolan asylum seekers to selected European countries (OECD, 2004). Table 2.1 shows that Portugal receives the greatest number of Angolan asylum seekers, reflecting the historical and linguistic linkage between Angola and Portugal. Though Portugal remains the most important overseas country of destination for Angolans, other countries, such as the United States, Brazil and Britain have become significant poles of attraction.

Furthermore, evidence obtained from interviews suggests that migration circuits are changing. The majority of Angolans first migrate to one of the neighbouring countries (e.g. South Africa, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe) and only at a later stage move overseas. This allows migrants to acquire the financial, human and social resources needed to enter industrialized countries, where immigration policies have been considerably tightened.

The choice of a particular destination for student migrants is largely related to the source of funding of their studies. A significant number of scholarships are provided by European academic institutions or multinational oil firms. This is why many Angolan students either go to Europe or to the United States for higher education or specialized training. Angolans whose studies are self-sponsored or paid for by their family are more likely to move to South Africa, or possibly Brazil, where education and related living expenses tend to be less onerous.

Many students who benefit from a scholarship have the obligation to return and serve in the firm or in the government department that sponsored their studies. Multi-national companies insert special clauses into the contracts of the staff they send abroad for study reasons. They do not have any major difficulty with trained staff not returning home because the conditions of service they offer are far above the average in Angola and competitive on the global labour market. The government instead faces a major difficulty in attracting civil servants back after having financed their studies abroad due to the low salary levels and poor working conditions in the civil service.

2.2.3 Return, resettlement and reintegration

Since the end of the war in 2002 migration flows have started to reverse with significant numbers of IDPs and refugees, as well as some labour migrants, voluntarily returning home.²⁷ This process was enhanced by the GOA with the support from the international community. The return, resettlement and reintegration of Angolans is seen as an important priority in order to achieve lasting peace and stability and to promote national reconciliation.

DIFFERENT AIMS AND IDEALS:
TWO ANGOLAN BURSARIES RETURN TO WORK IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR

In Luanda, Luiz and Antonio, both 27 years old, are taking French classes twice a week, paid for by their employer, a major private oil-firm operating in Angola. They had already received a scholarship from this firm to study in Lisbon, where they met. Luiz studied engineering and Antonio business administration. They had been hired by their firm before leaving Angola, and their contracts specified that they had to return and work for at least five years in the firm that sponsored their studies.

A good job was waiting for Luiz and Antonio upon return, but they nevertheless encountered difficulties in readapting to the local context. Luiz referred to insecurity. A discussion of the challenges facing them in the workplace and in their social lives showed some marked contrasts in their respective perceptions and aspirations.

Luiz showed a more individualistic attitude, emphasizing his background and career opportunities. He referred to good salaries and benefits available in the private sector, and was reluctant to formulate any opinion regarding the situation of his country. This, however, was of concern to Antonio. He said he returned from abroad to help his country develop, and pointed to the changes needed to make any significant progress. Antonio spoke about social inequalities, poor governance and corruption.

Thus, their general attitudes seemed to have changed in opposite directions since they had left discussing their own future and the future of their nation.

Source: Author's interview in Luanda, 2004.

The Angolan Social Reinsertion Strategy seeks to facilitate the return of refugees, migrants and demobilized soldiers and their families to their areas of origin.²⁸ The strategy is seen as an important vehicle to consolidate peace, promote social cohesion and enhance economic development. It seeks to foster the reintegration of resettled population through the development of income-generating activities and rebuilding of basic social services. The implementation of this strategy is the task of the Ministry of Assistance and Social Reintegration (MINARS). Another important player is the National Commission for Social and Productive Reintegration of the Displaced and Demobilised. This institution was created in 2002 by Presidential Decree 05/02.

Based on an agreement between the governments of Angola, Zambia and the DRC, and with the assistance of UNHCR, IOM and other stakeholders, several thousands of Angolan nationals were repatriated and resettled (IOM, 2004a). Table 2.2 shows that in 2003/04 over 64,500 refugees received support and assistance to return, mostly from Zambia and, to a lesser extent, from the DRC, Namibia and Botswana.

TABLE 2.2
ASSISTED AND ORGANIZED RETURN OF REFUGEES

Assisted and Organized International Returns of Refugees	2003			2004		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Zambia	5,097	12,967	18,064	12,317	15,208	27,525
Democratic Republic of Congo	1,312	2,499	3,811	3,723	10,178	13,901
Namibia				422	831	1,253
Botswana				29	33	62
Total	6,409	15,466	21,875	16,491	26,250	42,741

Source: IOM Database, 2005.

Repatriation assistance provided by IOM has involved transport and logistics for orderly and safe return, information and counselling regarding the home areas and sensitization regarding the risk of HIV/AIDS and landmines. These initiatives are accompanied by measures aimed at enhancing the successful reinsertion and reintegration of repatriated Angolans in their home communities.

Reinsertion and reintegration are, among others, fostered through the rehabilitation or construction of basic physical infrastructure, such as roads, bridges, shelter, water sources, health centres and schools (IOM, 2004b). Efforts are also made to revitalize basic social services and to develop income-generating activities. These include micro projects in the agricultural, livestock and trade sectors and the provision of low-cost credit. The main objectives of these initiatives are to promote food security among resettled populations and to secure their access to basic social services.

The legal status and rights of returned refugees and migrants is not unproblematic. The introduction of different laws regulating nationality and citizenship in Angola have complicated the situation. A law adopted in 1975 introduced the principle of *jus sanguinis*, but it did not allow Angolans multiple citizenship.²⁹ This has meant that some Angolans gave up their Angolan nationality, a factor which has negatively impacted on their return prospects. However, a new law endorsed in 1984 reintroduced the principle of multiple citizenship with retroactive effect. This second law was replaced in 1991 by a more progressive law that combined the principles of *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli*, while maintaining the principle of multiple citizenship.³⁰

In spite of these legal developments returned migrants and refugees appear to suffer from discrimination. This is due to the fact that forced and economic migration are overwhelmingly seen as negative, and that many Angolans have spent such a long time abroad that they face major difficulties of readapting and reintegration after return. This is even more so in the case of second-generation migrants, who never lived in Angola or resided there for very limited time periods, before they decided to go back to their country of origin.

In recent times Angola seems to have started experiencing a reversal of skills migration, though there is a lack of data confirming this trend. Due to the improving conditions at home an increasing number of Angolans abroad are beginning to consider returning. It is very difficult to determine the volume of these return flows. Evidence from interviews in the field, however, suggests that many skilled and qualified Angolan migrants are still reluctant to go back. A cautious attitude prevails as potential return migrants prefer to wait and see if peace in Angola will last and the situation further stabilizes. This is particularly the case with Angolan professionals

BACK TO THE ROOTS:
A SECOND-GENERATION ANGOLAN MIGRANT MOVES TO LUANDA

The father of Manuel migrated in 1972 from Cabinda over the border to the DRC. The following year he moved to Kinshasa where Manuel was born and spent most of his early life. His father was a trader and enrolled all his five children in school. When Manuel finished high school he went on to study trade and marketing in Kinshasa.

After a few years of work as a language teacher in the DRC he decided to move to Angola. "I was interested in getting to know my country of origin" he said, "and eager to explore and discover new things." Manuel indicated, "my father discouraged me from going because he believed I would have faced lots of problems of integration. That is why my father is not ready to go back. He has been abroad for too long and is very well established."

Today Manuel teaches private French classes in Luanda. He explained he regretted not to have listened to his father. "Since I have arrived in Angola", he said, "I struggled with various forms of discrimination." According to him most Angolan migrants who return from the RDC are seen as foreigners and considered second-class citizens. They have a hard time to be accepted and respected.

Source: Author's interview in Luanda, 2004.

who have good jobs abroad and are well integrated in the host country. It is estimated that today there are about 160 Angolan doctors working in Portugal, and these seem particularly reluctant to return home.

2.3 Human resources, migration policies and government capacity

Angola lacks a comprehensive and integrated migration policy based on an analysis of needed human resources that cuts across various sectors. Though migration and return are prominent issues in policy documents, these seldom put forward economic productivity objectives. They rather focus on repatriation and reintegration of IDPs and refugees which is seen by the government as a fundamental step in the reconciliation and reconstruction process of the country.

Skills migration is dealt with very little in the PRSP and other policy documents, despite the fact that it is widely acknowledged that social and economic development can only be achieved if adequately trained and qualified human resources are available in the country and in critical sectors. Besides bilateral and multilateral agreements on migration and a recent initiative concerning the diaspora, there are no policies in Angola explicitly targeting skills migration. However, a range of policies

adopted by the government in various sectors can be expected to affect migration and return of skills, because they indirectly contribute to encouraging this particular form of mobility. Here only the most important policy initiatives affecting skills migration will be discussed.

2.3.1 Public policy initiatives affecting skills migration

Research in the field has shown a large variety of public policy initiatives which are bound to have an impact on skills migration. Among these initiatives are public sector reforms, incentive schemes or quota systems in employment.

Angola has signed several bilateral and multilateral agreements to facilitate human mobility. An agreement was signed with Namibia promoting the free movement of people and goods, and a similar one with Congo and the DRC as part of the Joint Tripartite Commission for Security. A bilateral agreement is currently under preparation with Zambia. Moreover there are a series of bilateral agreements between Angola and South Africa, Namibia, Cape Verde and Russia, and multilateral agreements among member states of PALOP and CPLP suppressing the need for visas for diplomatic and administrative passport holders.

Public sector reforms affect skills migration in so far as they engender changes in the working conditions of civil servants. The reform of the public administration along with the deconcentration and decentralization of government offices and services are among the main objectives of the PRSP. If properly implemented, these initiatives involve several measures that can have a significant impact on skills migration and on the spatial distribution of professionals.

The Administrative Reform Programme (PREA) promoted by the PRSP aims to redefine human resource development needs, to improve human resource planning and management and to build capacity for improved service delivery at central, provincial, municipal and community levels. A critical challenge is the urgent need to address the shortage of adequately trained and motivated civil servants, especially at the local levels. There is a scarcity of highly qualified staff in the local and provincial public administration with only 3 per cent having a university background (MINPLAN, 2003).

Different measures were taken by the government in recent years in response to the human resource problems which cut across different sectors. This year the government has proceeded to a general readjustment of public sector wages and subsidies (GOA, 2004).

In 1995, the Ministry of Public Administration, Employment and Social Security (MAPESS) elaborated a new classification of professions (MAPESS, 1995). Four years later, MAPESS carried out an assessment to develop a profile of the situation of human resources in the civil service (MAPESS, 1999). The assessment showed that most civil servants, especially the most highly qualified, were concentrated in the capital Luanda (32%). The four central provinces of Luanda, Benguela, Huíla and Huambo retained 58 per cent of all civil servants. Another ten provinces, including Cabinda, Cunene, Bié, Kuanza Norte, Kuanza Sul, Lunda Sul, Malanje, Móxico, Namibe and Uíge, had 36 per cent. Finally, the more remote provinces of Kuando Kubango, Lunda Norte and Zaire, but also the Bengo Province situated closer to Luanda, had only 6 per cent of the total number of civil servants.

The government is facing many problems with the recruitment of qualified health personnel to work in the provinces. This is so despite the fact that in recent years jobs in the health sector have been reclassified and salaries of health workers increased.³¹ Higher incentives for those working in rural areas and special indemnities (e.g. for night shifts or contamination risks) were also established. At the end of the 1990s the basic salary of a doctor was less than US\$ 50 per month. Today, a newly graduated doctor is paid a basic salary of about US\$ 110, and an experienced head of service up to US\$ 1,220.

One problem is that incentives to work in the provinces are not provided by the Ministry of Health (MINSa), but are left to the provinces and only a few have so far adopted such measures. Incentives for health workers were introduced in Cabinda, Huambo and Kuanza Sul and they involve housing, transportation and sometimes food.

Angola has concluded bilateral agreements with a number of countries (e.g. Russia, Bulgaria, Viet Nam, Northern Korea and Egypt) to attract foreign doctors to work in the provinces. A bilateral agreement is currently being concluded with Cuba, a country which provides doctors to many sub-Saharan Africa countries.

There is some debate regarding the adequacy of Angola's international scholarship scheme which has required very considerable resources. Angolan students received extraordinarily high stipends, especially those who studied in Western Europe. This has actually encouraged their permanent settlement in the host country since they were able to set up families and buy houses. Another factor that negatively affects return migration is related to the education system in some of the host countries as, for example Portugal. Overseas students are expected to undertake quite lengthy courses for their original degrees to be recognized. This can take them several years, meaning that their studies and stay abroad will last longer, thereby dimin-

ishing the chances of their return. A major problem is that when newly graduated Angolans return, they are reluctant to go and work outside the capital city. Because of these problems some have started to argue that, rather than sending Angolan health students abroad, training and capacity building should be provided inside the country, taking local needs into consideration.

Another policy initiative affecting skills migration is the one commonly referred to as Angolanization. This process involves the replacement of expatriates in key sectors of the economy with nationals. Angolanization was launched in 1982 when the government issued Decree 20/82 aimed at improving employment opportunities and career prospects for skilled and qualified Angolans. Decree 20/82 establishes that foreign persons should only be hired if the employer is unable to find the required qualifications among Angolan nationals.

It took quite some time for Angolanization to take off. But, in recent years, this policy has started to be taken more seriously. The government is aiming at strict staffing quotas in the private sector, especially in multinational oil firms. The staff in private companies should be composed of 80 per cent Angolans and 20 per cent expatriates. To meet this objective, the Ministry of Planning (MINPLAN) monitors the human resources situation in private companies. These are expected to submit plans and reports on training and capacity building activities concerning national staff, and their recruitment and career advancement prospects. Entrepreneurs who wish to establish a new firm are also requested to submit such staffing and training plans as part of the documentation needed to obtain approval for a private investment project.

Multinational oil firms are the most closely monitored by the government. The majority conduct regular recruitment campaigns in countries with strong Angolan immigration (e.g. South Africa, Portugal, Brazil, Britain, United States). Most of the Angolans recruited from overseas into the oil sector are newly graduated students. Recruitment campaigns generally take place once a year following advertisements in newspapers that are commonly read by Angolans residing abroad. Angolans with multiple citizenship are generally hired as Angolans in order to meet the required national staffing quota. For some this is a problem because as expatriates they would be granted better conditions of service.

Recently the government formally acknowledged the role that the Angolan diaspora can play in national development, especially in this critical phase of reconstruction and reconciliation. A Meeting of Angolan Cadres in the Diaspora (*Encontro de Quadros Angolanos da Diáspora*) was held in Luanda from 6-10 November 2004. This meeting brought together 253 highly qualified Angolans residing in 25 foreign

countries, and 263 national experts and policy makers. Several actions to be undertaken by government and other stakeholders were recommended regarding the brain drain, the rights of Angolan diaspora members, the return and reintegration of Angolan cadres, the national labour market, the creation of employment and income-generating opportunities, the development of human resources, the participation of the diaspora in national development, the trauma of war, the challenges of peace building and national reconciliation, the opportunities and risks related to local investment and the need for public-private partnerships in this period of transition.

The government is planning to undertake an assessment of skills in the Angolan diaspora.³² The aim is to identify the skills and qualifications among Angolan emigrants and to determine their location, to explore the propensity of return of Angolan professionals and possibilities to enhance and facilitate such returns, to strengthen the relationship between the diaspora and the country of origin, and to create the conditions for lasting return migration and fruitful links with Angolans who decide to remain abroad.

The situation of the private sector is an important determinant in the decision to return of many qualified emigrants. Several studies have shown that migrants who acquired human, financial and social capital abroad are reluctant to return, unless they can see concrete opportunities for becoming self-employed and setting up their own business in their home country (Ammassari, 2004b; Ammassari and Black, 2001).

The government has recently revised the legislation on private investment. Law 11/03 abolished differential treatment for national and foreign investments (GOA, 2003). This law also introduced public incentives and subsidies for private investments meeting specific criteria.³³ New laws were also passed in 2003 to promote Angolan entrepreneurship (Law 14/03) and to introduce fiscal and customs incentives for private investments (Law 17/03)(GOA, 2003a; 2003b). Furthermore, new legislation is being discussed regarding financial institutions and transactions. In general, the institutional framework related to private investment has evolved. A *Guiché Unico de Empresas* was established with the objective of accelerating administrative procedures. The National Agency for Private Investment (ANIP) is responsible for promoting, coordinating, orienting and supervising private investments in Angola. The National Institute for Support to Small and Medium Enterprises (INAPEM) provides technical assistance and training and capacity-building support. Despite these initiatives, the business and investment climate in Angola remains particularly uncertain compared with the regional average (World Bank, 2005a; 2005b).

2.3.2 Government structures and institutional capacity

As seen above, there are many disparate policy initiatives in Angola with more direct or indirect implications for internal and international skills migration. These initiatives are managed by different line and sectoral ministries and various government departments that, however, do not always succeed in pooling their resources to ensure efficient and effective collaboration. The role and responsibilities of the key players are briefly reviewed in the next paragraphs.

The **Ministry of Home Affairs (MININT)** has a Department for Migration and Foreigners (SME), dealing with general migration issues but without a specific focus on skills migration. The tasks of the Department range from the collection and analysis of migration data to the development of policies and legislation on migration. Among the priorities of the SME is to improve data collection systems regarding migration and to strengthen border controls to fight the trafficking and smuggling of human beings. Irregular immigration is seen as a serious threat to national stability.

The **Institute Providing Support to Angolan Communities Abroad (IAECAE)** was established in 1992 in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MIREX). The main tasks of the institute are to receive Angolans who return home either permanently or temporarily; provide information and advice on employment and investment opportunities and on other aspects related to return and reintegration (e.g. travel, transfer of personal effects, opening of foreign currency bank accounts); assist Angolans abroad with administrative and legal matters; entertain a fruitful link between the country and its diaspora. The IAECAE focuses on skills migration and has played a pivotal role in the organization of the recent diaspora meeting. It also publishes a bulletin called *Diáspora* which is disseminated amongst Angolan emigrants (IAECAE, 2003). It contains various information including reports on economic, social and cultural issues in Angola and on the realities of the Angolan diaspora.

Different ministries are implementing policies and programmes that affect migration. Since these policies and programmes are aimed at national development and the eradication of poverty they are expected to influence the key determinants of migration and return. Here only those government structures whose policies more immediately affect skills migration can be considered.

The role of the **Ministry of Public Administration, Employment and Social Security (MAPESS)** is central for the assessment, monitoring and development of the national labour market. The ministry is trying to track labour demands and labour needs and to promote an appropriate match between the two. An Inter-ministerial Commission for the Training of Human Resources for the National Economy was

established by Decree 51/01.³⁴ In addition, an Observatory for Employment and Professional Training was created.³⁵ This new structure provides support to the Inter-ministerial Commission and carries out surveys on the labour force in both public and private sectors.

The **Ministry of Assistance and Social Reinsertion (MINARS)** deals with the resettlement and reintegration of IDPs and refugees. It is not much concerned with skills migration as these populations usually involve a relatively small number of highly skilled and qualified people.

The **Ministry of Health (MINSA)** has a particular stake in skills migration because the health sector is the one most affected by various forms of brain drain. As was indicated above, MINSA has already taken some steps to address spatial and sectoral imbalances in the distribution of health workers. Less attention has so far focused on the international brain drain and the role of Angolan health workers who practise abroad. The permanent or temporary return of doctors and other health professionals raises some concern since this is likely to create tensions between returnees and medical staff practising in the country. However, there are specific areas where special expertise is lacking and temporary technical assistance would be needed.

There is a shortage of teaching personnel in higher education institutions and this is a concern for the Ministry of Education (MED). Several private universities were created in Luanda during the last several years. The majority of lecturers and professors teach in both public and private establishments.

2.4 Actions and views of other stakeholders

The issue of skills migration is a relatively new concern for many stakeholders who so far have focused on mitigating the negative effects of the armed conflict and resolving the emergency situation. Many donors, development agencies and NGOs are currently facing the challenge to shift attention from humanitarian to development aid. This is a difficult task and will require the repositioning of different players together with a redefinition of their respective roles and priorities. Past and ongoing programmes and projects related to migration have mostly focused on resettlement, reinsertion and reintegration of refugees and IDPs. Little has so far been done to mitigate the negative implications of skills migration and to enhance its positive development effects.

2.4.1 Programmes and projects of donor agencies

IOM has played a major role in the repatriation and resettlement of displaced and refugee populations. IOM provided significant logistics and transport assistance to these vulnerable groups and promoted their reintegration through micro projects and small credits. HIV/AIDS counselling and prevention are an important cross-cutting component of these return and reintegration programmes.³⁶

IOM also manages several Assisted Voluntary Return (AVR) projects that are currently funded by Belgium, the Netherlands and Switzerland. Assistance is provided to Angolans abroad who are ready to voluntarily return to their home country. These projects are aimed at migrants whose request for asylum was rejected in the host country. A total of 656 Angolans have returned under the IOM projects from several European countries, including the Netherlands, Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, Britain, and Portugal, as well as from South Africa. Assistance provided to migrants consisted of transportation and travel assistance, reinstallation grants, helping to find a job or support to start an income-generating activity.

UNDP collaborates with the Angolan Government and other main stakeholders in promoting people-centred development. The agency seeks to build partnerships to fight poverty through six practice areas: democratic governance, poverty reduction, prevention and recovery, energy and environment, information and communications technology (ICT) and HIV/AIDS. This involves the strengthening of national capacity to manage public affairs, improvement of service delivery, transparency, coordination and accountability and development of public-private partnerships. Attention is focused on improving professionalism, ethic values and standards of central and local government staff through the revision of salary policy, restructuring of careers and promotion of a culture and criteria of performance measurement in order to strengthen the effectiveness of the executive branch. These initiatives are central to improve the working conditions in the public service, thereby retaining skilled professionals and offering them a viable alternative to moving into the private sector or emigration.

The World Bank focuses mainly on capacity building, infrastructure rehabilitation and private sector growth. In 2005 the Bank will undertake a comprehensive study on capacity in both public and private sectors. An assessment on the investment climate and an integrated study into different sectors to better understand what Angola needs to do to diversify its economy are also planned for the near future.

2.4.2 Initiatives of civil society organizations

Professional associations are critical players militating for improvements in the working condition of their members. The Angolan Association of Doctors (*Ordem dos Médicos*) is concerned with the lack of qualified doctors and particularly with their concentration in Luanda. The association expects its members who go abroad to declare where and for what reasons they are going, and when they intend to return. There is a tacit agreement between the members to return. This is not necessarily respected, but doctors usually keep in touch with the association. The reason is that if at a given point in time they decided to come back, they will be helped to reintegrate into professional life. The Association of Doctors is at present undertaking an assessment of Angolan health workers abroad. The purpose of this assessment is to get a clearer idea of their numbers, country of residence and qualifications.

The Association of Lawyers is also concerned with the uneven spatial distribution of qualified law professionals. Today it is estimated that there is one lawyer per 25,000 inhabitants. 95 per cent of all lawyers practice in Luanda, and several provinces do not have any lawyers at all. Though the situation of the judicial system is improving, there remain important gaps in the legal environment and problems related to the rule of law and to governance. The current review of the constitution requires considerable technical expertise which is not necessarily available.

Recruitment agencies and human resources development firms tend to have a good understanding regarding labour needs and mobility in the private sector. In Angola they find it difficult to identify skills and qualifications which appropriately match their clients' needs. The problem is related to the insufficient and poor quality of training and low skill levels characterizing the Angolan labour force.

Private firms are contributing in a critical way to the return of skilled and highly skilled Angolans, largely thanks to Angolanization. The salaries and working conditions offered in the private sector are much better than those in the public sector. This is why the private sector attracts highly skilled Angolans not only from abroad but also from within the civil service. Multinational oil firms tend to get the best and brightest as they propose highly competitive fringe benefits to their employees, such as overseas training, low-rate mortgages and loans, health insurance, pension schemes, education grants for children and temporary housing.

2.5 Policy gaps regarding skills migration

For Angola it is timely to focus on skills migration and find effective ways to influence and manage these flows. Many Angolans left their home country because

of the war and the severe damage the armed conflict inflicted on the nation's economic, social, cultural and political spheres. With peace and stabilization a number of Angolans have already started to return.

There are various reasons for which skilled Angolans may wish to return. For some it may be important to help with the reconstruction of the country, for others to draw benefits from renewed and expanding professional and business opportunities. Family and cultural reasons are usually very important factors influencing migrants' decision to return. However, due to the contradictory history of the conflict, many Angolans at this stage remain cautious with regard to the peace process. They prefer to wait and see if the political situation in Angola will truly stabilize and how the socio-economic situation in the country will evolve.

It may, therefore, be premature to devise active permanent return programmes for skilled nationals. The feasibility of these programmes involving assistance for return and help with reintegration should be reconsidered in the near future. Though it needs to be acknowledged that spontaneous returns are generally more sustainable than assisted returns. Reliability and impartiality of public information regarding the situation in the home country are essential for migrants to spontaneously decide to resettle back home. These are a crucial requirement for information-based return policies to work effectively in the Angolan context.

Clearly, an increment in the spontaneous returns of skilled professionals can be expected with tangible improvements in the working and living conditions in Angola. Targeted sectoral strategies aimed at improving salaries and incentives, infrastructure and equipment, training and recruitment, housing and health care, credit facilities as well as improving the governance and human rights situation are certainly among the best ways to retain skills and encourage their return. However, in some critical sectors (e.g. health), the achievement of such improvements depends on the availability of skilled professionals. Breaking this vicious circle related to skills migration is an important step that needs to be taken by identifying and filling, at least temporarily, the most urgent human resources gaps.

An important share of skilled Angolans may eventually decide not to return home because they are already too settled in the host country, or simply prefer to stay abroad. But some of them, if they are given an opportunity and can benefit from an enabling policy framework, may be ready to return on a temporary basis to make a contribution. The government has taken on this challenge and acknowledged the development potential of the diaspora. The importance of harnessing human, financial and social capital of the Angolan diaspora is being increasingly recognized. The involvement of the diaspora in the reconstruction and development of the country is

seen as a critical factor to achieve a long-lasting peace and effective reconciliation. A major obstacle is the currently limited knowledge regarding human resources that are available in the Angolan diaspora. It is also not clear how knowledge and technology can best be transferred from the diaspora to Angola without necessarily the permanent return of expatriate professionals.

An assessment of skills and capacities of the Angolan diaspora is surely required in order to evaluate the feasibility of temporary return schemes to fill urgent human resources gaps. This is an important step considering that temporary return programmes, such as MIDA or TOKTEN, must be specifically tailored to Angola's evolving needs. These initiatives must avoid the creation of redundancies and competition between Angolan expatriate and national skills. This is particularly important in the light of the resentment that exists among some national cadres who never emigrated or who returned after the conclusion of their studies relative to government-sponsored Angolan students who remained abroad after their studies, not honouring their initial engagement to return.

The use of the Angolan diaspora as a resource for development is a policy option that can readily be contemplated. To achieve this objective, effective ways to reach out to the diaspora need to be developed. Though there are several Angolan diaspora associations, these may not all be suitable to promote links with skilled Angolan expatriates because of their political affiliations. Angolan student associations could also be used. Angolan diplomatic missions and consular offices are also key players, though it needs to be borne in mind that only a small number of emigrants actually formally register with them. The internet can be an effective means to reach out to skilled diaspora members, as shown by the experience of other African countries, for example Ethiopia (IOM, 2005).

Virtually nothing has so far been done in Angola to monitor and enhance migrant remittances. This is an area that deserves priority attention. Policy measures are needed not only to facilitate regular money transfers, but also the repatriation of savings when migrants return. These are important financial resources able to stimulate private investment. A major challenge is related to the lack of knowledge among migrants regarding opportunities for investment and their concern over high investment risks. These negative perceptions are primarily related to an inefficient banking system to support private businesses, poor legal capacity to enforce contracts and the payment of services, and a lack of skilled workers and qualified professionals.³⁷

The importance of developing migration policies with a specific focus on skills migration cannot be overstated. But attention needs also to be paid to the impact of development policies on skills migration. Most cross-cutting and sectoral policies

affect skills migration in one way or another. It is important to determine both direct and indirect effects of these policies on skills migration and systematically address the implications of skills migration in development policy making. Whereas return and reintegration of IDPs and refugees are issues which are frequently mentioned in policy documents, reference to skills migration is rather incidental.

At present there is limited analysis and explanation as to how shortages in human resources in the public administration can be resolved. This despite the fact that public sector reforms are underway and that the government has started to work towards a comprehensive assessment of staffing patterns and capacity levels in sectors that are most severely affected by both international and internal brain drain. This is certainly the case of the health sector, but many other sectors also lack skills and capacities, especially in the areas of planning and management.

A clearer linkage needs to be developed between employment, education and migration policies. For this purpose a more thorough assessment and understanding of labour market needs and trends is required. The establishment of an observatory to assess and monitor the national labour market, and the definition of professions in line with international classification criteria are valuable initiatives adopted by the Angolan Government. There is a need for a more strategic allocation of resources in the areas of higher education and professional training in order to source skills and meet labour market demands. Consideration should be given to increasing in-country training opportunities, possibly through virtual methodologies, in order to diminish the need of Angolans to go abroad to study.

In Angola a significant potential lies in the development of public-private sector partnerships. The private sector is the location of an important share of national financial and human capital. Stronger cooperation between government and private firms can be fruitful in many ways. Angolanization is a good example, but there are also other strategies that can be envisaged. For example, in a country relying so heavily on industry, it seems important to determine the impact of industrial development projects on migration. Ex ante migration impact assessments can be valuable initiatives promoted by the government because they allow to predict the probable impacts of projects on migration, and to adopt strategic migration management measures.

In general, better understanding of skills migration and its impacts on productivity and growth is needed. This will facilitate the development of effective migration policies and to systematically address migration in development policy. Policies will also have to be properly coordinated with regional and international migration instruments. At the national level a major challenge is the need to improve commu-

nication and coordination between different government departments and other institutions dealing with migration or with other issues that directly or indirectly affect migration.

2.6 Strategic outlook and practical recommendations

The above challenges have several practical policy implications for the Government of Angola, as well as for its development partners. In evaluating feasibility it is important to recognize that resources are limited and that there is a need to go about skills migration in a strategic manner by ensuring policy coherence and building synergies between different policy measures. Setting targets to address the challenges of skills migration is essential, while it should be kept in mind that return, reinsertion and reintegration of IDPs and refugees remain key priorities in the Angolan transitional context. In general terms, the reintegration of returnees must continue to be a major and important aim to avoid renewed situations of distress and re-emigration. Reintegration will take time and will require strategic allocation of resources in various sectors and services such as infrastructure, agriculture, health, education and credit.

Reconstruction of the country will have to involve, among other initiatives, major infrastructure development projects. These will affect local communities as well as labour migrants and their families. Both direct and indirect effects of such projects will need to be assessed so that appropriate measures can be taken to amplify positive implications and mitigate negative ones. Identifying and dealing with undesirable social as well as migration effects before they occur is a relevant task of private-public partnerships.

At a more specific level, a number of initiatives regarding skills migration can be envisaged. It seems useful to frame these in a time perspective, distinguishing between the short, medium and longer term.

In the short term, to complement reforms and policies that are already underway in Angola, the following measures appear to be relevant:

Assessment and mobilization of capacities beyond national borders. Some measures were already taken or are planned in the near future to assess the available capacity in various sectors. These initiatives will allow to better identify skills shortages. A simultaneous assessment of capacity and skills in the Angolan diaspora would be a timely activity which could help to meet domestic demands for certain skilled workers. Efforts directed at conducting an inventory of skills in the diaspora should be supported and streamlined.

Multiple approaches can be used for such a capacity assessment abroad. An important component is the **development of an interactive website**. This would allow to store and progressively build information regarding capacities and skills of expatriate Angolans. Some files of the skills databank should be readily accessible to various stakeholders, including private firms and international and non-governmental organizations. Professionals should be able to update their profiles and change information regarding their availability and areas of interest. Privacy regarding personal information obviously needs to be guaranteed. The website should also be used to advertise jobs and specific assignments, as well as for the exchange of experiences.

The website should also be a place where Angolan professionals have the opportunity to gather useful **information regarding the home country**. For this information to be comprehensive and unbiased, it is important to establish links to other relevant sources of information. A suitable location will need to be found for the website which should be housed and operated by a national institution to ensure its sustainability. Information is essential for migrants to decide whether they should return home.

Based on the capacity assessments and skills database, a **temporary return scheme** can be developed more effectively. Whether this should focus on one single sector such as health, or target more sectors, will need to be determined at a later stage. The purpose of the scheme is to fill critical gaps in human resources in very specific areas of competence. It will facilitate the recruitment of Angolans for tasks for which there is no national capacity and that otherwise would be carried out by foreign consultants. There is also scope to consider the possibility of associating qualified Angolan emigrants in higher-level teaching and technical training. This may be a suitable option especially with a view to expanding and improving in-country education and capacity building.

Attributing support for temporary returns will allow migrants to reconnect with the home country and to explore the situation. They are helpful means to create a stronger **linkage between migrants and their home country**. As a result, permanent return becomes more likely and other transfers, such as remittances and investments, are enhanced.

There are various aims for the medium term that require considerable investments:

The development of a system allowing the assessment and monitoring of **migrant remittance flows**, and the adoption of monetary policies and financial regulations that facilitate their transfer and productive investment are important objectives. A

first necessary step to be taken to reach these objectives is to conduct an in-depth study on migrant remittances with a special focus on transfer channels and transaction costs, regulations and policies as well as their use and development impact.

The **knowledge base** regarding different forms of migration (including skills migration) needs to be expanded. This is a necessary condition for sound migration management which involves pooling information from different sources and improving the analysis of various data. An agreement has to be reached among different stakeholders about critical data items that need to be collected on a regular basis and research on specific migration issues.

The development of an **integrated migration data management system** should be considered. This will help to monitor trends of various forms of migration and determine their causes and consequences. A better understanding regarding these issues is needed to develop effective migration policies and also mainstream migration in the wider development agenda.

Retention schemes targeted at particular social sectors, such as the health and education sectors, suffering from the brain drain should further be considered in the medium term. These will need to be developed based on a more thorough assessment of what is needed to motivate civil servants to go back to work in rural areas and in fields that currently are lacking skills. Retention schemes usually involve a series of measures, including financial incentives, housing, training, low-cost credit and education grants for children. These measures have to be accompanied by policies aimed at improving the general working conditions in the public service. Important aspects are related to the physical infrastructure and equipment, recruitment and career advancement opportunities, management practices and supervision.

Replacement of skills is already promoted with the help of bilateral agreements in the health sector (e.g. Cuban doctors). This strategy could be further strengthened and possibly expanded to other sectors.

Many skills return and retention strategies have longer-term implications because they seek to act on the root causes of migration and non-return. Retaining skilled professionals in-country and encouraging their return through tangible improvements in the general socio-economic and political conditions in Angola should of course remain an actively pursued goal.

3. MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF ZAMBIA

The migration and development situation in Zambia differs in many ways from that of Angola due to the two countries' contrasting historical backgrounds. Whilst Angola has been seriously affected by war and instability, Zambia is an example of peace and stability in the region. Rather than producing refugees as many other of its neighbouring countries, Zambia became one of the major recipients of refugee populations. Zambia also experienced significant losses of skilled and highly skilled professionals because of the steady deterioration of socio-economic conditions in the country.

Since independence in 1964 Zambia has been ruled by two political parties which adopted contrasting economic and social policies. The period between 1964 and 1991 was marked by centrally planned interventions including the nationalization of industries, introduction of subsidies and controlled prices. After 1991, following the return of a multiparty system, radical market-based structural reforms were undertaken and economic and trade liberalization promoted.

3.1 Overview of the development situation

Thirty years ago Zambia was one of the most prosperous countries in sub-Saharan Africa. However, the situation of the country has much worsened over time. Zambia currently ranks among the least developed countries in the world with a standard of living half that of the mid-1960s. The human development index of Zambia deteriorated from 0.466 in 1990 to 0.389 in 2002, making the country drop in the human development ranking from 130th to 164th position (out of 177 countries). Despite the structural reforms the country implemented since the 1990s, economic growth stays below the levels needed to create employment and reduce significantly poverty.

3.1.1 Situation analysis

The situation of Zambia began to worsen in the mid-1970s when world copper prices collapsed. The economic crisis that followed was further compounded by oil price shocks and recurrent droughts. Since then, Zambia's economy never fully recovered due to macroeconomic instability, incomplete policy reforms and a continued contraction of food production. In the period between 1974 and 1990 per capita income fell by nearly 5 per cent annually.

ZAMBIA: STRUCTURE OF THE ECONOMY
(% OF GDP IN 2003)

Agriculture	19.3
Industry	29.7
Services	51.1

Source: World Bank, 2004b.

ZAMBIA: GENERAL FACTS AND DATA

<p>A landlocked country of 752,612 sq km.</p> <p>Neighbouring countries: Angola, DRC, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe.</p> <p>Administrative divisions: 9 provinces.</p> <p>Capital city: Lusaka.</p> <p>Independence: 1964.</p> <p>Natural resources: copper, cobalt, zinc, lead, coal, emeralds, gold, silver, uranium, hydropower.</p> <p>Natural hazards: periodic drought, seasonal tropical storms.</p> <p>Population: 9.8 million.</p> <p>Age structure: 0-14 years: 46.1%; 15-64 years: 51.1%; 65 years and over: 2.8%.</p> <p>Population growth rate: 1.5%.</p> <p>Birth rate: 38.99 births/1,000 population.</p> <p>Death rate: 24.35 deaths/1,000 population.</p> <p>Infant mortality rate: 102 deaths/1,000 live births.</p> <p>Life expectancy at birth: 37 years.</p> <p>Total fertility rate: 5.1 children born/woman.</p> <p>HIV/AIDS adult prevalence rate: 16%.</p> <p>People living with HIV/AIDS: 1.8 million.</p>
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Source: *The CIA World Factbook*, 2004; UNAIDS, 2004; World Bank, 2004d; Zambia Census, 2000.

To overcome the economic crisis the government adopted various measures aimed at, among others, reducing the country's dependency on copper and other primary commodities. Efforts were made to diversify the economy by developing the agricultural, manufacturing and tourism sectors. As a result the production of cash crops increased and agriculture's share in non-traditional exports grew from 23 per cent in 1990 to 47 per cent in 1999 (MoFNP, 2002). Yet, agricultural production for exports has suffered from high interest rates, volatile exchange rates and limited credit facilities.

The same factors also adversely affected the manufacturing sector. At the same time the liberalization of trade and growing entry of imported goods with no, or only limited, customs duties negatively influenced the manufacturing sector. Growing competition and high local production costs contributed to the closure and downsizing of domestic companies, resulting in job losses and rising unemployment. This caused manufacturing as a share of GDP to drop from 23.4 per cent in 1983 to 11.3 per cent in 2003 (World Bank, 2004c). On the other hand, the services sector expanded considerably to account today for slightly more than half of GDP. Significant progress was registered in the tourism sector, though its potential remains underexploited due to inadequate infrastructure and marketing, high production costs and lack of long-term financing.

Since 1999 the government is leading a major process of liberalization and privatization. Privatization has involved mergers and foreign acquisitions as well as the closure of many companies. This has contributed to the steady decline of employment in the formal sector as a share of the total labour force from 75 per cent in 1975 to about 10 per cent in 1999. Today, the main source of employment remains the informal sector absorbing approximately 80 per cent of the total labour force in 1999 (GRZ, 2003). Employment in agriculture rose by 30.4 per cent in the 1995-98 period, with many Zambians moving back from urban to rural areas in search of a livelihood.

The macroeconomic and structural adjustment reforms adopted during the last decade have yielded limited results. Since the mid-1980s social development indicators have worsened with increases in morbidity and mortality rates and declining life expectancy. Achieving improvements in education indicators also remains a key priority of the government, though some remarkable progress was made in recent years in increasing the access to and the quality of basic, high and tertiary level education. Gross basic school enrolment increased from 71 per cent in 2002 to 79 per cent in 2003 and learning achievements have improved. However, there are concerns that these improvements may be reversed due to the teacher employment crisis (MoFNP,

2004). The number of basic school teachers that had increased between 2001 and 2002, decreased again in 2003, largely due to budgetary constraints.

Maternal mortality and under-five mortality rates rose in the last years. This negative trend can be explained by the poor access to basic health care facilities as well as a high incidence of malaria and HIV/AIDS. Life expectancy at birth currently stands at 37 years compared with 46 years for sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 2004c). HIV/AIDS has contributed to the lowering of the life expectancy of the Zambian population. Zambia is today one of the countries most affected by this communicable disease. In 2003 the HIV/AIDS adult prevalence rate was estimated at 16.5 per cent and the number of people living with HIV/AIDS at 1.8 million (CSO, 2002).

The spread of HIV/AIDS has increased the burden of disease, while affecting adversely service delivery in the health sectors because of the death of health workers. In 1999, death accounted for 8 per cent of the total loss of medical doctors and 45 per cent of all losses of nurses (USAID, 2003).

In Zambia there are serious rural-urban imbalances in the access to and the quality of social services. A very major problem is related to the lack of skilled personnel in rural areas. 24 per cent of nurses and 38 per cent of doctors are concentrated in the capital Lusaka, which hosts only 16 per cent of the total population (MOH, 2004c). The current doctor per patient ratio is 1:5,172 in Lusaka Province and 1:43,000 in Luapula Province (MOH, 2004b).

Doctors, nurses and other health workers (e.g. midwives, pharmacists) are not ready to work in rural areas because of poor pay and the absence of any meaningful incentives. In rural areas they face hardships because of a lack of adequate housing, educational facilities, transportation and social life. Also, in urban areas there are more possibilities for civil servants to add to their meagre salaries.

A major problem is related to insufficient resource allocation to the social sectors. Public spending is constrained by the government's limited revenues and by policies imposed by international financial institutions to meet macroeconomic targets and conditionalities. Currently only 10 per cent of GDP is allocated to the health sector and public servant personal emoluments are not to exceed 8.1 per cent of GDP. This is one of the conditions for Zambia to qualify for the Highly Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) initiative and the reason why the government suspended new recruitments and froze salaries in the civil service since mid-2003.

Zambia's development prospects are burdened by a large external debt coupled with economic stagnation. In past years, external debt payments have reached such

high proportions that they exceeded total annual loans. Today the country qualifies for debt relief under the enhanced HIPC initiative. However, there has been a delay in reaching the Completion Point under this initiative due to the 2003 fiscal slippages, particularly public sector wage and salary overrun, which led to high domestic borrowing. The Completion Point is now expected to be reached by Zambia in the first quarter of 2005.

Although the government continues to run fiscal deficits, it succeeded in reducing the inflationary spiral characterizing the 1990s. The inflation rate of 17.2 per cent registered in 2003 was the lowest in the last two decades. Interest rates remain very high, while the domestic currency further depreciated. The value of the national currency (the Kwacha) to the US dollar dropped from K2,632 in 1999 to K4,800 in December 2004.

The capital-intensive nature of most investments in Zambia have reduced opportunities for decent employment and worsened structural unemployment. Deteriorating employment conditions compelled many skilled Zambians to accept jobs below their qualifications and involving poor working conditions, or to leave the country in search of better opportunities abroad.

Government is committed to enhance private sector growth as a means to generate employment and additional tax revenues. The focus is on the agricultural, mining and tourism sectors, which are considered to have the greatest potential for private investment. In 2001 there were altogether 336,000 small, micro and medium enterprises (SMMEs) in Zambia, employing about 18 per cent of the national labour force (UN, 2001). Almost all of the SMMEs were micro enterprises.

3.1.2 Policy frameworks and priorities

In 2002 the government adopted a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) for the 2002-2004 period. This is the first poverty reduction strategy to be prepared through a consultative process involving various stakeholders. The focus of the Zambian PRSP is on strong sustained economic growth which is expected to result in the creation of jobs and tax revenue for the state. Agriculture is given critical importance under the PRSP in order to raise the rural population out of poverty, while diversifying the economy and enhancing the production of non-traditional export commodities. Another main objective is the development of industry and manufacturing to reduce unemployment and poverty in urban areas. This objective is pursued through the promotion of foreign investments and by stimulating private sector growth. Furthermore, the Zambian PRSP aims to develop infrastructure and to improve service delivery in the education, health, water and sanitation sectors.

The areas that are not adequately covered by the PRSP are addressed in Zambia's 2002-2005 Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP). These areas include, among others, the judiciary, defence and security, foreign relations, science and technology, information services, policy and central administration, and local government and housing. Though each one of these fields is seen as important, the highest urgency is given to objectives defined under the PRSP.

The Government of Zambia has recently issued a National Employment and Labour Market Policy (NELMP)(GRZ, 2003). The major aim of this policy is to reverse declining trends in the economy by raising the productivity of labour, reducing unemployment and promoting decent work. Among others, it recognizes the critical importance of monitoring the labour market and identifies the institutional framework needed to achieve employment and labour market related aims. An important objective is the establishment and maintenance of a Labour Market Information System.

The NELMP addresses the issue of labour migration and explicitly targets the goal of reducing the brain drain affecting the country. The aim is to attract skilled Zambians back home and to retain those who are still in the country by improving the conditions of employment, particularly for strategic personnel, providing updated information on job openings and opportunities for investment to Zambians who are working abroad, and promoting equality of remuneration.

3.2 The situation of migration

Although Zambia never counted among the major countries of emigration in the region, the country has experienced a very critical brain drain, especially during the last decade. Zambia used to be an important destination for labour migrants from the region who sought employment in the mines. But immigration has declined in the wake of the mining sector crisis.

Migration in Zambia mostly takes place within its national borders, as shown by census data.³⁸ Internal migration grew rapidly in the period from 1969 to 1980 due to the lifting of restrictions on free movement. Natural disasters, such as droughts and floods, reinforced this trend. In the 1980s rural to urban migration streams were primarily directed to small developing towns. Then, during the 1990s, Zambia started to experience net emigration from urban areas due to their increasing unemployment levels. In spite of this tendency, Zambia remains one of the most urbanized countries in the region. In 2003 the urban population represented 36 per cent of the total population (World Bank, 2004).

3.2.1 Inflows and outflows of people

In the year 2000 the migrant stock in Zambia was 377,000, equal to about 3.6 per cent of the population (UNDESA, 2002). Annual average net migration in the period from 1995 to 2000 stood at 14,000. The refugee population in Zambia stood at 251,000 in 2000, or 66.5 per cent of the total migrant stock (UNDESA, 2002).

Zambia has always been the recipient of large numbers of asylum seekers. The country's open door policy has benefited many Mozambicans, Zimbabweans and Namibians and, in more recent years, large numbers of people fleeing from conflict areas in Angola, the DRC and the Great Lakes region.

Population flows out of the country are not that significant compared with other sub-Saharan African countries. The total number of Zambians in OECD countries is

RETURN MIGRATION: A ZAMBIAN ACADEMIC SHARES HIS KNOWLEDGE BACK HOME

In 1976 Patrick got a first degree in Engineering from the University of Zambia. After some years of work in Zambia he was awarded a scholarship for doctoral studies in the United States. This was funded by the University of Zambia. "At that time", he stressed, "there was no bonding system. It was a free gift, my scholarship."

His wife initially remained in Zambia. "It was very difficult to get her over to the United States, because of visa problems. But finally she managed to get a visa for dependants and joined me with the children." His wife ended up doing a PhD as well.

In 1991 they jointly decided to return home. "We were ready to go back for many reasons", Patrick said. "I felt I needed to transfer what I had learned to my own people. My wife could find no jobs matching her qualifications, and we wanted to protect our children from racism. And then, for me, the best place is home."

It was not easy for Patrick and his family to return. They had lost their return tickets because of the collapse of the Zambian airline. This is why they were glad to be able to benefit from return assistance provided under the IOM-sponsored Return of Qualified African Nationals Programme.

Patrick and his family eventually returned in 1995.

"I decided to be part of the permanent furniture", he said, "and I have no regrets." His wife now has a high-level job and he is back teaching at the university.

When asked if he believed he was making a difference he says: "Since I returned from abroad I have trained many people and I have been able to introduce some positive changes. The style is different between someone who was trained in the country and someone who was trained abroad. I openly state my ideas."

Source: Author's interview in Lusaka, 2004.

34,825 compared to 342,947 South Africans, 195,674 Angolans and 77,345 Zimbabweans (Dumont and Lemaître, 2004). However, almost half of these Zambian expatriates are highly skilled (49.3%), compared to only about 20 per cent of the Angolans residing in OECD countries.

International migration of skilled and highly skilled Zambians increased rapidly during the last ten years. The health sector is the most affected by the brain drain. But institutions of higher education also experienced important skills losses since the beginning of Zambia's economic crisis. At the time of independence in 1964, Zambia lacked skilled personnel, particularly lecturers and teachers. Altogether there were only about 140 Zambian graduates because both education infrastructure and teaching personnel were lacking.

Under colonial rule education was provided only to a small number of Zambians who were meant to fill a limited number of white-collar jobs. After independence, considerable resources were invested in education and training of Zambians. A vast programme was launched with the aim of expanding the education system and promoting free universal education. As a result, primary school enrolment grew dramatically until the mid-1980s, and significant progress was also achieved in higher education. The University of Zambia was created in 1966 and in its early years the teaching faculty was entirely expatriate. These expatriates were progressively replaced by Zambians who were trained locally or in foreign countries. Until the mid-1980s, most Zambian graduates were readily absorbed in the civil service. Working conditions in the public sector were still attractive as civil servants were adequately paid and granted competitive benefits such as housing and other allowances. At that time, educated Zambians were still eager to return home after they completed their studies abroad because they could achieve a higher standard of living in their home country.

Today the picture is very different. Public sector wages have been eroded by the lasting economic crisis, high inflation and continued devaluation of the national currency. The government is unable to raise salaries and to maintain public spending at levels needed to prevent the deterioration of economic infrastructure and social services. This has led to a serious deterioration in working conditions which pushes civil servants to look for better employment opportunities in the private sector or abroad in other countries.

This brain drain is triggered by rising demands for skilled labour in more advanced and industrialized countries within and outside the region. In the 1980s a large number of Zambian teachers left the country to fill critical skills gaps in the education sector in Botswana. During the same period Zambia also began to experience the loss of

health workers, especially doctors and registered nurses, who started to emigrate in significant numbers. Zambian skills are very much in demand because education there used to be better than in other countries in the region.

3.2.2 Brain drain and main countries of destination

Initially the main destinations of Zambian health workers were more advanced countries in the region, such as South Africa, Botswana and Namibia. Whereas these countries continue to attract many skilled and highly skilled Zambians, growing numbers of health workers are moving directly overseas to Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand. A recent study suggests that out of more than 600 doctors trained after independence, only 50 remain in the country (USAID, 2003).

The demand for nurses in industrialized countries has grown rapidly and is expected to rise further in the near future. In Britain 15,000 nurses were recruited in 2001 and an additional 35,000 are needed by 2008. In the United States 126,000 nursing posts were vacant in 2003 and the shortage was expected to reach 500,000 full-time equivalent personnel in 2015. Considering this growing demand of nurses it is not surprising that if initially only registered nurses were leaving Zambia, more recently also enrolled nurses have started to emigrate.³⁹ Data from the British Nursing and Midwifery Council shows that in 1998/99 only 15 Zambia-trained nurses were registered in Britain. This number reached 88 in 2000/01 and 183 in 2001/02, to fall back to 135 in 2002/03 (Bach, 2003).

A series of recent reports issued by the Ministry of Health (MOH) show the gravity of the human resource crisis in Zambia (MOH, 2004a; 2004b; 2004c). The loss of health workers in the public sector is reaching some staggering peaks. In December 2003 the prototype establishment register for health boards foresaw 24,358 medical, paramedical and nursing posts, which excluded administrative and support staff. However, at the time only 13,149 of these posts were filled.

The dynamics of the Zambian brain drain is exemplified by staffing trends in two major public hospitals in the Copper-Belt Province. The Kitwe Central Hospital, for example, lost over 20 members of staff during the last quarter of 2003 alone. Though attrition affects mainly nursing staff, critical shortages were registered among all categories of health workers. The nursing establishment of Kitwe Central Hospital requires 470 nurses to ensure adequate patient care. Currently there are only 293 nurses, covering only 62 per cent of actual needs. 68 nurses were lost in the course of 2003, of whom over half resigned, 24 per cent deserted, 15 per cent died and 6 per cent retired.

TABLE 3.1
 ATTRITION OF HEALTH STAFF IN NDOLA CENTRAL HOSPITAL (2003)

Staff Category	Estimated Number of Staff Needed	Staff Losses				Variance
		1 st Quarter	2 nd Quarter	3 rd Quarter	4 th Quarter	
Doctors	131	46	48	57	59	-72
Paramedics	159	102	101	83	98	-61
Nursing services	540	264	245	225	133	-407
Pharmacy	17	8	9	9	9	-8
Biomedical College	18	8	11	11	12	-6
School of Nursing/ Midwifery	65	21	19	18	21	-44
Total	930	449	433	403	332	-454

Source: MOH, 2004a.

Poor accommodation and non-payment of housing allowances, lack of transport to go to work, low salaries and poor conditions of service, a deteriorating working environment, and a high workload resulting in fatigue and burn-out were the main reasons why health staff were leaving the public hospital. Sixty per cent of the health staff went to work in private sector. The remaining health staff emigrated to Botswana (16%), Britain (20%) and New Zealand (4%).

The situation of Ndola Central Hospital is even worse. International migration of health workers, mainly to Britain and the United States, has exacerbated its staff shortages. Table 3.1 shows that the hospital requires 567 nurses, but that there are only 133 staff left providing nursing services (i.e. midwifery, psychiatry, operating theatre and general). Generally, staff first go on leave and subsequently resign or disappear. The Ndola School of Nursing, which should be staffed with 27 tutors, is left with only three. This is why student intake had to be suspended, causing low nursing graduation rates to further decline.

The Zambian brain drain was accelerated in the last decade by structural adjustment programmes that imposed drastic measures involving civil service retrenchment, voluntary retirements and departures. These reforms have fostered the departure of qualified professionals from the public to the private sector as well as skills migration across national borders. Separation rights and generous departure packages were offered indiscriminately to health personnel in the 1990s. A total of 1,487 medical staff took that opportunity granted under the Voluntary Separation Scheme (MOH, 2004b). This has represented a loss of about 10 per cent of the total staff on the public health worker payroll.

Among those who left was an important share of very highly qualified and experienced professionals. This is not surprising considering their better chances of finding employment in the private sector or in a foreign country, compared with the less skilled and less experienced personnel. The best and brightest also have a higher propensity to emigrate to more industrialized countries in the North, as shown by data from European censuses (Dumont and Lemaître, 2004).

3.2.3 Return migration and brain circulation

When talking to Zambians today one gets the impression that hardly any return migration is taking place. Only after a more thorough inquiry are some people able to give a few examples of return. Despite the apparently low levels of return, there is a widespread belief that many Zambian emigrants would return if the country's situation were to improve. Under the current circumstances, however, only few Zambians living abroad seem ready to undertake such a move before they retire.

TRANSNATIONAL LIVES:
THE ADVANTAGE OF KEEPING VARIOUS DOORS OPEN

A few months ago, Kingsley took on his new assignment as special adviser in one of the main sectoral ministries in Zambia.

He had left Zambia in the mid-80s to pursue his studies in the United States. He then started to work as a university lecturer. Altogether he spent 13 years in the United States, where he met his wife, a Zimbabwean national.

In 1998 he agreed to follow his wife to Zimbabwe. He recalls: "I was not ready to return to Zambia, but Zimbabwe was a good option as it had a more dynamic and prosperous environment." He worked as a consultant on various development issues for national and international NGOs in Zimbabwe.

"I never seriously considered going back to my own country" he reports. "It's a pure coincidence that I found an advert for a technical assistant in the Ministry." He accepted a two-year contract and moved back to Lusaka.

His wife stayed in Zimbabwe where she works and Kingsley too keeps a foot there. "I have kept a small farm in Zimbabwe" he says. "I am not sure if I want to settle here for good and so it is good for me to leave a door open."

Source: Author's interview in Lusaka, 2004.

Although there is no statistical evidence regarding the return of skilled Zambians, their propensity to return seems to have decreased in accordance with the deteriorating situation of the country. The degradation of working and living conditions has discouraged many emigrants to return, even if they had jobs waiting for them at home. Many Zambians who studied in eastern Europe and the former USSR, for example, have moved on to Western Europe or the United States rather than return home. Some Zambians who had pursued education and training overseas also return to work on the African continent in one of the more advanced countries in the region.

In the past, however, Zambia experienced some large-scale return movements triggered by changes in the migration policies of some main labour-receiving countries in the region. For example, Botswana invited many Zambian teachers to go back home once the country had managed to train its own teachers. Still, there remains an important number of Zambians who work as lecturers or professors at the University of Botswana.

Few Zambian academics opt to return home because of the poor conditions of service in public universities. The University of Zambia is often closed because of strikes by the teaching staff, or student unrest. The lack of adequate infrastructure and equipment also prompts increasing numbers of lecturers and professors to leave. Thus, the University of Zambia lost 230 professors and lecturers from 1984 to 1994, the majority of whom held a doctorate (CCA, 2000).

The School of Law is suffering from a brain drain as law specialists leave, mostly for Botswana. There are also important human resources shortages in the courts and the Ministry of Justice. Currently, about two-thirds of the posts in the Legal Aid Department in the Ministry of Justice are vacant. But there also are many vacancies in Zambian courts. 30 judges are needed in Lusaka, but only about 50 per cent of these vacancies can be filled.

However, some brain circulation is also taking place, as can be seen in the judicial sector. There are a number of Zambian law professionals, including magistrates and lawyers, who go abroad for limited time periods to carry out specific assignments in foreign countries. A number of lawyers left under a bilateral agreement to provide technical assistance in Namibia, for example. But, there are also Zambian law professionals who spend some time abroad as visiting fellows in foreign universities. These are people who, in principle, are expected to return home.

3.3 Migration policies and government capacity

Similar to Angola, Zambia also lacks a comprehensive and coherent migration policy. This is somewhat surprising given that skills migration and the brain drain are issues which have been on the policy agenda for some time now.⁴⁰ These issues are increasingly dealt with in the health and education sector. They are also addressed in relation with labour policies and public sector reforms. However, the brain drain problem has not yet been addressed in a systematic way. There are serious inconsistencies in the way the human resource crisis is being approached, despite widespread recognition that this is a major threat to the achievement of the MDGs.

3.3.1 Initiatives related to skills migration

Since independence a large number of scholarships were granted to Zambians in order to build national capacity. Some were sponsored by foreign governments, others were funded through domestic resources. To ensure the return of foreign-trained Zambians the government established a bonding system that is still in operation, though with somewhat limited results. Zambians who are awarded a publicly funded scholarship have to sign an agreement before leaving to return after the completion of their studies. But, the bonding system has never worked effectively in practice. A major problem is the lack of monitoring and the difficulty of enforcing the bonding agreements.

Zambianization is a policy which was first adopted soon after independence. Its objective was to oblige employers to give preference to Zambian workers, allowing the recruitment of foreign labour only if the necessary skills cannot be found among

Zambians. An Employment Permit Committee was also established in the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA), composed of the Chief Immigration Officer (Chairperson), a representative from the Ministry of Labour, and representatives from the Zambia Investment Centre, Office of the President, Zambia Police Service, Drug Enforcement Commission and the Anti-Corruption Commission. The main task of the Employment Permit Committee is to examine requests for work permits for foreigners and to reject applications if a qualified Zambian is available. Furthermore, it examines staffing plans of foreign companies and determines the time by which expatriate staff is to be replaced with national workers.

The Public Service Reform Programme (PSRP) was launched in 1993 to improve the quality, delivery, efficiency and effectiveness of public services. It involved three major components concerning the restructuring of the public service, the management and improvement of human resources performance and the decentralization and strengthening of local government. By promoting retrenchment, voluntary departures and retirements, the PSRP exacerbated the loss of highly skilled civil servants. In particular, these measures adversely affected the supply of highly skilled and experienced workers in the health sector.

The health reforms initiated in 1991 involved the establishment of a Central Board of Health and the decentralization of management functions to the districts and hospital boards. This process disrupted essential human resources management and development tasks and created some confusion. These factors contributed to a drop in the morale and motivation of health staff. Benefits and incentives are not paid regularly (e.g. housing, leave travel, installation allowances) and access to loans is limited.

The salary and recruitment freezes introduced in July 2003 have yet to be lifted. Also, expiring contracts are not renewed. This situation creates frustration and uncertainty among civil servants and explains the staggering increases in health staff attrition rates registered during the last 18 months. The massive staff losses in the public sector have caused serious problems for those who remained. With increasing workloads many health workers are suffering from fatigue, stress and burnout. The increasing hardship in turn pushes additional health staff to search for more suitable and rewarding conditions of work in the private sector or abroad.

The government has recognized the importance of “right-sizing”, rather than simply downsizing the civil service. A major component introduced with public sector reforms was a new performance management system. This system was devised to improve the delivery of services and to strengthen public expenditure management and financial accountability. However, the Annual Performance Appraisal System (APAS)

introduced for this purpose in 12 ministries and three public institutions is taking time to properly take off.

In 2001 the Ministry of Health published a Human Resource Plan for the health sector. An Emergency Plan for the Human Resources Crisis was instead issued in 2004. It contains several recommendations, including the need to promote the retention of specific cadres, to enhance return migration, to increase budget allocation to social sectors, to upgrade physical conditions, to expand training and to negotiate bilateral agreements to fill critical gaps in human resources. Zambia concluded bilateral agreements to recruit Cuban doctors and Nigerian tutors and pharmacists to work for a determined period in the country.

Lastly, the government has adopted measures to resettle the retrenched, unemployed, retired and displaced in rural areas. A Land Resettlement Scheme was designed with the objective of making these vulnerable people self-sufficient in food production. Some settlers have been given plots of land. However, according to the government, this land remains under-utilized, partly due to problems related to the late delivery of agricultural inputs, the long distances between the plots and markets, and limited access of settlers to credit facilities.

3.3.2 Government structures and implementation mechanisms

Typically, a wide range of development policies produces direct or indirect effects on skills migration. These initiatives are coordinated by different government departments which have yet to factor migration more systematically into their respective agendas. Moreover, there is no one structure in the Zambian Government which centralizes and coordinates migration policy.

The Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) has an Immigration Department whose core mandate is to regulate entry, stay and exit to and from Zambia. This is done through the enforcement of the Immigration Act, Chapter 123, of the Laws of Zambia. Apart from the Immigration Act, Zambia has ratified various international conventions and is party to a number of instruments relating to migration. These include the ILO Convention No. 97, Migration for Employment (excluding Annex I to III). The Immigration Department has no comprehensive data regarding outflows and inflows of people.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) currently has no particular programmes dealing with migration. But the MFA houses the Secretariat for the NEPAD initiative which, among other issues, seeks to address the challenges related to skills migration and the African brain drain.

Zambia's Cabinet Office is directly responsible for anything to do with the public sector and therefore has critical functions regarding the management and development of human resources. Its Public Service Management Division (PSMD) is responsible for the recruitment, placement and management of personnel in the public service. The Department of Human Resource Development (DHRD), which operates under the PSMD, is mandated to provide information and guidelines for the effective and efficient utilization of human resources. It formulates and implements policies to develop human resources and coordinates scholarships funded from domestic and foreign sources. A scholarship database was established for this purpose that contains data on the number and categories of scholarships awarded to civil servants. However, a tracer system to check whether beneficiaries of foreign-based scholarships have returned to Zambia is lacking.

Labour migration is an issue that concerns the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MLSS) responsible for the development and implementation of policies concerning the labour market, employment and social security. The newly issued National Employment and Labour Market policy identifies the brain drain as a major challenge which it seeks to address by promoting the return and retention of qualified professionals. To achieve this objective wages and salaries need to be raised and better working conditions promoted.

The Ministry of Finance and National Planning (MoFNP) is in charge of the management of fiscal policies and coordinates the implementation of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) and other national development initiatives, such as the Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP). The MoFNP has a major stake in the allocation of resources, though expenditures are made by sectoral ministries which are responsible for the recruitment, deployment and training of human resources.

Some ministries, such as the Ministry of Education (MOE) have devolved some of their human resources functions to horizontal or decentralized structures. The Teaching Service Commission (TSC), for example, is responsible for the development of disciplinary measures, performance appraisal and confirmation and/or promotions of teachers.

The Ministry of Health (MOH) responsible for policy and planning shares a number of critical tasks with the recently created Central Board of Health (CBOH), which is charged with programme execution. In 2004 the MOH established a Human Resources Task Group, which produced a concept paper on the human resources crisis.

There is growing awareness that not only human capital is critically needed in Zambia, but also financial capital to strengthen economic growth and create formal

employment. Foreign investment has much potential whether operated by Zambian emigrants or other nationals, because domestic savings are lacking. The promotion of investment in the private sector is the role of the Zambia Investment Center (ZIC). This institution, which was established by the Investment Legislation of 1991, embarked on an Investment Opportunity Identification Programme in order to develop a National Investment Plan.

The Small Enterprises Development Board (SEDB) plays the role of facilitating the development of small and medium enterprises (SMEs). A number of policy initiatives were adopted by the government with the aim of spurring the development of SMEs. These initiatives are directed, among others, at increasing access to micro finance, expanding the use of appropriate technology, improving data and information collection and the establishment of Business Advisory Boards.

3.4 Actions and views of other stakeholders

The brain drain has become a vital issue on the policy agenda of various donors and technical agencies. There is widespread concern that, unless urgent measures are taken to resolve the human resource crisis affecting critical social sectors, the MDGs are unlikely to be met. This has led donor agencies to strengthen their technical support to the government, on the one hand, and to fund programmes aimed at developing and retaining skills in the public sector, on the other.

3.4.1 Programmes and projects of donor agencies

A number of donor agencies have intensified their focus on the brain drain issue and various concrete measures were adopted to promote the retention of health workers in the public sector. Since September 2003, the Dutch Government is experimenting a Health Worker Retention Scheme in rural areas. The scheme is targeted at doctors working in remote and very rural areas. It was developed on the basis of a thorough categorization of districts and an economic and logistic feasibility study. A series of incentives are provided to doctors participating in the retention scheme, including salary supplements, accommodation, tuition allowances for children and other benefits, such as transportation and food subsidies. Low-cost loans are an important component of the incentive package which is granted to doctors so that they can buy a house or purchase a car. The repayment of loans is guaranteed through an effective mechanism involving the district. Doctors can also benefit from post-graduate training based on their length of service in rural areas. It seems that the retention scheme is creating a positive impact, with expatriate doctors being relocated to less remote areas, because Zambian doctors are keen on participating in the retention scheme. The scheme will be formally evaluated in the course of 2005. The Dutch Govern-

ment is considering providing additional support in order to expand the initiative to target also nurses and clinical officers in very remote areas.

This initiative was meant to complement other strategies that are already being implemented to improve the working conditions of health care providers in rural areas. The improvements in health infrastructure and equipment, for instance, are promoted through a common basket funding approach. This initiative was adopted as part of the health sector wide approach (SWAp) in order to pool resources at the district level with separate donor accounts being maintained at the central level. Various bilateral and multilateral development agencies channel resources into the common basket, including IDA, SIDA, DANIDA, the Netherlands and UNICEF.

The British Department for International Development (DFID) has intensified technical advice to the government on various issues, including human resource development and management in the health sector. A major objective of this bilateral agency is to help with the design and implementation of cost-effective measures that would allow to retain health workers in rural areas.

The World Health Organization (WHO) is sponsoring a retention scheme for the faculty in the School of Medicine. Senior lecturers and heads of department, representing about 20 per cent of total staff, are given salary supplements. WHO is currently looking at possibilities to expand this financial support to include teaching personnel in nursing and midwifery schools.

The World Bank supported Zambia Public Service Capacity Building Project (PSCAP), whose first phase came to an end in December 2004. Currently, the World Bank provides support to the government in some critical areas affecting skills migration, such as the much needed pay reform.

UNDP is currently considering the development of new financial tools in the Lusaka stock exchange allowing expatriate Zambian nationals to make productive investments in their country of origin.

IOM started its operations in Zambia in the mid-1980s with the implementation of the Return of Qualified African Nationals (RQAN) Programme funded under the Lomé Convention. At present, IOM is focusing on the repatriation of refugees, HIV/AIDS prevention activities among refugees, technical assistance to the government in border management and capacity building and the training of immigration officials.

3.4.2 Initiatives of civil society organizations

There are a number of civil society organizations mandated to deal with the issue of skills migration. Professional bodies and associations militating for improvements in the working conditions of their members have long been involved in the debate regarding the causes and consequences of the brain drain. Their attention is currently focusing on the increased burden which skills shortages have placed on those who remain in the public sector, among other issues.

The patient:nurse ratios have dramatically deteriorated, not only in rural but also in urban areas, contributing to a greater workload. An assessment of the scale and consequences of the emigration of nurses is planned by the Zambia Nurses Association (ZNA). With current staffing levels in health services, quality care cannot be provided to the population. The spread of HIV/AIDS has further exacerbated the situation because of the growing demand it has placed on nursing services. The ZNA advocates for increases in the resources allocated for the training of nurses and mid-wives to meet the demand of the health sector. This measure needs to be accompanied by the implementation of policies aimed at improving the working conditions of civil servants.

3.5 Policy gaps regarding skills migration

The international migration of health workers and the resulting human resource crisis in the health sector is the issue that needs to be addressed with the utmost urgency in Zambia, and is one of the most important challenges that needs to be overcome in order to achieve the MDGs.

An exponentially increasing number of health professionals can be expected to be drawn into the global labour market, and this for several reasons. First, the demand for health professionals in industrialized countries is growing and will further expand in the future. International recruitment practices are becoming more aggressive and immigration policies regarding skilled migrants are being relaxed. Second, the loss of professionals engenders further outflows because of the strain it places on the already weak human resource basis and the complex dynamics of chain migration. As skilled migrant networks expand, more opportunities for emigration arise for those who are left behind and desire to follow the example of successful colleagues. Third, differentials in wage levels and living conditions between sending and receiving countries are unlikely to be eliminated in the near future. For this reason, significant spontaneous return flows can be excluded for the short and medium terms.

Retaining capacity in the public sector is a major challenge. It needs to be acknowledged that most professionals, once they have left the civil service, will not easily return to work in the public sector. The higher salaries, better working conditions and career prospects available in the private sector and in more advanced countries makes their return unlikely. In Zambia there is also a certain degree of resentment of professionals vis-à-vis the government and international financial institutions which, they claim, could have better foreseen and prevented the amplification of the human resources crisis.

A major problem is related to the lack of consistency in the planning and management of human resources. While the government recognizes the alarming human resource situation in the social sector, it continues to pursue policies that have adverse, and probably irreversible effects, on the availability of skilled and qualified professionals. Health sector reforms have been short-sighted and failed to identify strategic targets reflecting the skills mix needed in the short, medium and long term. Initially, these reforms have simply downsized, rather than “right-sized” the civil service. In this regard, Zambia represents a good example where the baby (skilled workers) was thrown out with the bath (unskilled workers) through accelerated retrenchment, voluntary retirements and departures.

The pay reform is a major initiative, which hopefully will help to counteract the depletion of human capital in the public sector. However, wage differentials between sending and receiving countries are so large that small increases in wages in the sending country are unlikely to be able to retain professionals. It is therefore essential to integrate this policy with measures aimed at improving the conditions of service and job satisfaction. To improve the service conditions of civil servants an increased budget allocation to the social sectors is required. This is a *sine qua non* condition for increased investment in infrastructure, technology and equipment, training and supervision, and various incentives. Other important areas requiring substantial improvements are management and governance. Poor governance is an important factor pushing professionals to leave the country.

The brain drain, whether it occurs internally (from rural to urban and from public to private) or internationally (from low-income to high-income countries), needs to be approached through a holistic, integrated and strategic perspective. Unless initiatives are anchored in public policy they are hardly sustainable in the longer term. The provision of salary supplements on an ad hoc basis, for example, causes some serious concern in terms of sustainability. Yet, small-scale experiments such as targeted retention schemes can play an important role to see what works and explore best practice. Experience with the Netherlands-funded doctor retention scheme suggests

that access to low-cost credit is a particularly important factor to retain professionals in their jobs.

An area requiring further attention is the education and training of skilled and highly skilled workers in order to keep pace with domestic demands. Some Asian countries have made human resources a major export commodity. This is an unlikely option for a country like Zambia that lacks resources for education and capacity building. Budgetary constraints impose a careful review of training and human resource development needs. These have to be addressed realistically, taking the evolving disease burden into consideration, rather than abstract notions of what training would be desirable. With regard to other countries it has been argued that it is better to train more people, rather than train a few extensively.

In the Zambian case this would mean investing more in the training of enrolled nurses than in the training of registered nurses. However, one argument that speaks against the adoption of such a strategy in Zambia is that, if initially only registered nurses were emigrating, enrolled nurses too have joined the stream. Other issues are related to the interest of the country, but also to the interests of professionals. Training is both an incentive to retain professionals and a powerful means to make them move.

When considering skills migration a position needs to be taken since it is difficult to act in the best interest of all those involved: the migrants and their families, the receiving country and the sending country. In the interest of the nation, the government will need to review bonding strategies in order to render them more effective. A much closer monitoring of foreign-based scholarships that are funded through public sources is required. Another possibility is to establish a compulsory national service scheme obliging in-country trained people to work in under-served areas, possibly by retaining diplomas until this service period is completed.

The exodus of professionals from the government service is most acute in the health sector, but other sectors are also suffering from a growing brain drain. This underscores the importance of dealing with skills migration and the risk of brain drain as a major cross-cutting issue, as is already the case for gender, governance and HIV/AIDS.

There clearly is a need to find effective ways for wealthier countries to indemnify Zambia's health and educational systems for the cost of poaching their professionals, and to greatly increase the financing and technical help to these critical sectors.

An important field that remains unexplored is the role the Zambian diaspora can play in stimulating investment and entrepreneurship and enhancing private sector growth. Research in West Africa has revealed that migrants become interested in returning home if they can see viable opportunities to become self-employed and the possibility to develop their own businesses (Ammassari, 2004b; 2004c; Black et al., 2003).

For the government the expansion of private sector activities is a key priority for the development of the country as it contributes to the creation of employment and to lift people out of poverty.⁴¹ The private sector offers fertile ground to strengthen the linkage between Zambia and its diaspora and to involve it more actively in the development of the home country. Foreign investment is especially needed in Zambia, and the Zambian diaspora could act as a vehicle to mobilize resources.

Finally, it needs to be stressed that the lack of data and research regarding skills migration constitutes a major obstacle for the development of effective policies and programmes. Migration data collection capacity needs to be improved in Zambia in order to allow the government and other stakeholders to factor migration into development policy formulation and to take appropriate measures to contain and reverse the brain drain, or at least mitigate its adverse effects on development.

3.6 Strategic outlook and practical recommendations

Skills migration and its related brain drain is not a new issue for policy makers in Zambia. Several policies and initiatives focusing on the human resource crisis in the health sector are already in place. The recent multiplication of programmes and projects aimed at addressing the brain drain problem calls for effective coordination in order to harmonize the various initiatives. There is indeed a risk that initiatives may be taken too hastily and without adequate assessment of their medium and long-term implications. Yet, there is little doubt that urgent action and considerable resources are required to address both causes and consequences of skills migration and to manage these flows in the interest of Zambia's development objectives.

In the short term the following initiatives and policies can be envisaged:

Improving migration data collection and analysis. The availability of timely and reliable migration data is an essential requirement for the development of appropriate policies regarding skills migration. Such data should derive from various sources and be consolidated in an integrated migration information management system. A major challenge is the harmonization of data collected by different units at the national

level with data gathered in other countries inside and outside the region. This must be born in mind when selecting indicators, developing instruments and building databases geared toward the aim of gaining a comprehensive picture of national, intra-regional and extra-regional migration patterns and trends.

Developing a centralized migration policy structure. Currently a wide range of ministries and government departments deal more or less explicitly with issues related to skills migration. There is no one structure responsible for facilitating the development, and ensuring the coordination of, migration policies and initiatives. The creation of such a structure or the establishment of a migration steering committee should receive serious consideration. Some African countries, such as Mali and Senegal, have put in place ministries for migration, or to foster and maintain relations with their nationals abroad.⁴² The advantage of creating a steering committee is that it provides a more flexible structure to include representatives from various line and sectoral ministries. In Zambia a migration steering committee could be formed to include representatives from the Cabinet Office and the ministries of finance and national planning, home affairs, foreign affairs, labour and social security, health, and education. The most important requirement is that the committee be housed in a key national policy decision-making and planning structure. This will help to ensure that migration issues are systematically addressed in policy planning processes, and reflected in critical policy documents such as the PRSP and TNDP.

Strengthening bonding systems. There is a need for an in-depth review of existing bonding mechanisms to identify their pitfalls. Appropriate measures need to be adopted to maintain links with civil servants who study abroad on publicly funded scholarships, involving, among others, consular offices and embassies. The establishment of a tracer system to monitor the study progress of scholarship holders should be considered and agreements entered into with educational and administrative institutions overseas that are able to assist in ensuring their return.

Expanding retention schemes to scale. Current retention schemes need to be evaluated with the aim of expanding these initiatives, while linking them into the national policy framework. Special attention should be focused on which incentives work best in the Zambian context, in both rural and urban areas. The effectiveness of different incentives, especially credit and loans and related cost recovery mechanisms, needs to be assessed.

Filling critical human resource gaps through temporary returns. Expanding training capacity and increasing skills production must be considered an important priority. A major obstacle is the lack of professors, lecturers, teachers and training. To overcome this problem initiatives can be taken to facilitate the temporary return of

Zambians to fill critical human resource shortages in institutions of higher education and training.

Developing bilateral and multilateral agreements. Zambia already accumulated some experience with bi- and multilateral agreements to fill critical gaps in human resources in the health sector. Such initiatives could be expanded to enhance brain circulation. Furthermore, bilateral and/or multilateral agreements are also needed to develop codes of practice for the recruitment of professionals. The Zambian Government is currently working on a bilateral agreement with Britain regarding the recruitment of health workers, similar to the agreement concluded between South Africa and Britain.

Evaluating the effectiveness of permanent return programmes. Assistance for permanent return should be considered only after a thorough evaluation of past experience with return migration programmes. Zambia was one of the target countries of the IOM-sponsored RQAN programme. An assessment of the impact of this programme is needed to evaluate the relevance and effectiveness of permanent return migration assistance in the Zambian case.

Involving the diaspora in private sector activities. The potential role of the diaspora in private sector activities cannot be overstated. To strengthen the linkages between Zambia and its business diaspora a national forum could be organized with a specific focus on entrepreneurship and investment opportunities. This would allow Zambians from both inside and outside the country to exchange their experiences on private sector ventures and to identify viable strategies to attract foreign investment. The main objectives would be to foster ongoing contacts between the business diaspora and private sector institutions, to enhance the diaspora's awareness of various investment and business opportunities, to encourage the diaspora to invest and/or to mobilize foreign investments for home countries, and to provide a fertile ground to pool financial and human resources for private sector initiatives.

Several measures can be envisioned in the medium term:

Enhancing financial transfers from abroad. Zambia is another country where data on migrant remittances are not systematically collected. This problem will need to be addressed in the medium term. It is important to obtain more and better information on what Zambia receives in return for the loss of its highly skilled and skilled migrants as well as less skilled migrants going abroad. As the Zambian diaspora seems to be particularly scattered and disconnected from home, remittance flows may actually be less important than in other countries. This hypothesis can only be

tested when reliable data on remittances are available. Technical support should be made available to the government, the central bank and other financial institutions to collect the necessary data on migrant remittances and to produce reliable official statistics. Such data will need to be complemented with research on other relevant issues that influence the flow and use of migrant remittances.

Assessing feasibility of compulsory service schemes. Bonding strategies have often fallen short of their aim to retain professionals and safeguard the original investments in their education. One problem has been the lack of means to enforce bonding agreements. It is therefore important to explore alternative strategies able to ensure that graduate students and trained personnel first serve the country before they embark on their own careers. The feasibility of compulsory national service schemes should be assessed, for example.

Long-term measures will have to address the root causes of skills migration. These require substantial political commitment, resource allocation and, especially, consistent policy implementation.

Increasing significantly training outputs. Clearly there is a need to increase the capacity of educational institutions to produce skilled and highly skilled workers. Properly matching the demand for and supply of qualified labour should be a major long-term goal.

Strengthening human resource planning and management. The capacity of government institutions to improve the planning, monitoring and management of human resources needs to be significantly strengthened with the aim to develop efficient, flexible and transparent policies, and to keep stakeholders well informed about their implementation processes.

Improving infrastructure and service delivery. Conditions of service need to be improved. An increase in wages is an important step, but other measures need to be taken as well. Some targets can be reached in the shorter term, whilst others will necessarily require more time to be attained.

4. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

The two case studies focusing on Angola and Zambia show that migration and development phenomena, characterized by historical, socio-political and economic interrelationships, can differ widely subject to specific national contexts. Yet, there are also common features and concerns, particularly as regards countries that belong to the same geographical region. This finding confirms the importance of conducting country-specific assessments on migration and development, as proposed by IOM, in order to be able to take national peculiarities in the design and formulation of appropriate policy interventions into consideration.

Angola and Zambia, both classified among the poorest countries, have very distinctive backgrounds and have reached different stages in development. Nevertheless, they share a common concern over the brain drain, though to a different extent. Zambia definitely is suffering more than Angola from human resources shortages, a condition that undermines national development efforts and poses serious threats to the achievement of the MDGs.

The results of the research conducted in the field by means of interviews and the analysis of policy documents and statistical data lead to the conclusion that the future prospects of the two countries regarding migration and development differ widely also. In Zambia skills migration is rather a structural problem, given the relative stability the country experienced and the steady decline in socio-economic conditions. It is therefore unlikely that important spontaneous return flows will occur in the near future.

In Angola the situation is quite different because the protracted emergency situation has constituted an important push factor for skills migration. The peace process and the large stock of natural resources in the country offer fertile ground for the expansion of opportunities that can pull qualified and educated Angolans back home.

Therefore, in the case of Angola, it seems advisable to strengthen the links between the country and its diaspora and take immediate measures that enhance spontaneous return migration. Some of the more urgent human resource needs in relation to the reconstruction and rebuilding of Angola should be addressed in the short term through temporary return schemes. In the short term, these should be based on a thorough capacity assessment at home, but also reaching beyond national borders to include a skills inventory of the Angolan diaspora. In the long term to attract expatriates back

home, opportunities must be created based on public-private partnerships regarding, in particular, the reconstruction of infrastructure destroyed by the war.

The problem of the brain drain is more acute and more deeply rooted in Zambia. In this country other options need to be sought. The successful retention of skilled and highly skilled nationals who either receive or have received costly education and training at home is of primary importance. At the same time it is hardly less important to identify ways to encourage the temporary return of Zambian professionals working abroad and who may not be ready yet to move back home on a permanent basis. The scope for permanent return programmes may therefore be somewhat less, although some assistance may be offered to attract very high-level professionals back into key technical positions inside the government.

In Zambia an area with good potential for expansion is the private sector, which should see a greater involvement of the diaspora. The private sector could draw significant benefit from the transfer of financial, human and social capital operated and/or facilitated by Zambians who prefer to continue to live and work outside the country. At the same time, the staggering human resource shortages in critical social sectors such as in public health care delivery or education and training, require immediate attention. To overcome the acute human resource crisis, better coordinated and coherent action is needed which has to be grounded in reliable statistical and solid empirical evidence.

In general, there is an urgent need in both countries to factor migration into national and sectoral development initiatives. Of course this can only be achieved if migration is perceived as a variable able to make a substantial difference with respect to development outcomes and if as such it is systematically integrated into development assessment models and policy frameworks. However, the exploration of how individual migration decisions come about and what pivotal role is played by family constraints, among which figure the expectations and aspirations of often also professionally mobile spouses, will also have to receive special attention.

Migration (even if not in this more complex sense, for which research evidence is lacking) should really constitute a cross-cutting issue in PRSPs as well as in other national development plans. It ought to be discussed in all its implications and dealt with in each particular policy sector as is already done with other issues such as gender, governance and HIV/AIDS. This means taking a crucial step forward. In fact, civil servants, but also citizens at large, must become fully aware that migration is influenced by, and in turn influences development in a reciprocal relationship which undoubtedly merits to be more systematically explored and emphasized, even with the effective help of the mass media.

At present, migration is dealt with in a more or less explicit manner by a number of players in separate government offices. As a result, migration is rarely addressed in a coherent and consistent manner, or the subject of a comprehensive and integrated policy approach. To develop sound migration management frameworks and effective migration policies governments will have to work towards the establishment of a centralized structure or agency dealing with migration as a cross-cutting issue. While such a unit can take different forms in different national contexts, it is critically important that it be a sufficiently flexible and dynamic body that allows various perspectives to be taken into consideration and to accommodate concerns arising in different sectors. This is why it should be composed of representatives of different government departments and institutions. It should, moreover, be connected to the leading policy decision making, planning and coordination structure. Whether or not members of civil society or the donor community should also be represented in this body is a question to be answered in each specific national context.

In conclusion, it is clear that skilled and highly skilled migrants can play a meaningful role in the development of sending countries, even when they decide not to return on a permanent basis. Yet, the reversing of the brain drain through their permanent return should remain an important objective.

Past return migration programmes have often been criticized because of their high costs and alleged ineffectiveness. One of the problems is the evaluation of return migration programmes, such as the IOM-sponsored RQAN and UNDP-funded TOKTEN, were undertaken too early without allowing sufficient time for return migrants to reintegrate into their home context and to fully assume the role of agents of change. Today there are clear signs – and some of the interviews conducted in Lusaka tend to confirm the evidence – that some highly qualified return migrants who received assistance to return in the 1990s, are indeed making a difference. They have moved into key positions in the public and private sectors where they can significantly influence the course of events. This is why a follow-up evaluation targeting different countries that have benefited from return migration assistance would be valuable.

Finally, it needs to be stressed that without timely and reliable, comprehensive and possibly harmonized migration data it is difficult to devise effective policies addressing the situation of migration and development. Significant efforts are required in the near future to improve quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis and to disseminate lessons learned and other findings. The importance of disaggregating migration data based on skill levels, and of cross-tabulating them with the most relevant socio-demographic variables, cannot be overstated. In fact, regarding the more or less highly skilled and the unskilled, neither the causes nor the

consequences of migration are the same. In addition, it is essential for policy makers not to forget that the decision of migrants to leave or to return is rarely made by individuals in isolation. These decisions are always embedded in a family logic and in social networks and are influenced by a complex set of opportunities and constraints. This makes it even more challenging for governments and other stakeholders to develop strategies and interventions that have as their goal the enhancement of the benefits of migration for development.

ANNEXES

TABLE 1
SELECTED POPULATION AND MIGRATION INDICATORS IN COUNTRIES OF THE SADC REGION

Country	Population ('000s)	Rate of Population Growth per 1,000 Pop.	Migrant Stock ('000s)	Migrant Stock (% of Population)	Refugees ('000s)	Refugees (% of migrant Stock)	Net Migration ('000s)	Net Migration (per 1,000 Pop.)
Angola	13,134	29.4	46	0.4	12.1	26.2	-17	-1.4
Botswana	1,541	16.1	52	3.4	3.6	6.8	-1	-0.6
DRC	50,948	25.6	739	1.5	332.5	45.0	-340	-7.1
Lesotho	2,035	16.9	6	0.3	-	-	-7	-3.4
Malawi	11,308	24.2	280	2.5	3.9	1.4	-9	-0.8
Mozambique	18,292	23.1	366	2.0	0.2	0.1	14	0.8
Mauritius	1,161	8.3	8	0.7	-	-	-2	-2
Namibia	1,757	20.6	143	8.1	27.3	19.1	1	0.6
Seychelles	80	13.1	5	5.6	-	-	-	-
South Africa	43,309	15.7	1,303	3.0	15.1	1.2	-5	-0.1
Swaziland	925	20.4	42	4.5	0.7	1.7	-1	-1.2
Tanzania	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Zambia	10,421	24.6	377	3.6	250.9	66.5	14	1.4
Zimbabwe	12,627	19.1	656	5.2	4.1	0.6	-3	-0.2

Source: UNDESA, 2002.

TABLE 2
PUBLIC ASSESSMENT OF LEVELS OF IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION

Country	IMMIGRATION				EMIGRATION			
	Assessment		Policy		Assessment		Policy	
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000
Angola	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	No intervention	No intervention	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	No intervention	No intervention
Botswana	Satisfactory	Too high	No intervention	Lower	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Lower	No intervention
DRC	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Maintain	Lower	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Maintain	No intervention
Lesotho	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Maintain	No intervention	Too high	Satisfactory	Lower	No intervention
Malawi	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	No intervention	Lower	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	No intervention	No intervention
Mozambique	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Maintain	No intervention	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Lower	No intervention
Mauritius	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Lower	Lower	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Maintain	No intervention
Namibia	Satisfactory	Too high	Maintain	Lower	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Maintain	No intervention
Seychelles	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Maintain	Maintain	Too high	Too high	Maintain	Maintain
South Africa	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Maintain	Maintain	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	No intervention	No intervention
Swaziland	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	No intervention	Maintain	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	No intervention	No intervention
Tanzania	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Zambia	Too high	Satisfactory	Lower	Lower	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	No intervention	Lower
Zimbabwe	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Lower	Lower	Too high	Satisfactory	Lower	No intervention

Source: UNDESA, 2002.

TABLE 3
PARTIES TO UNITED NATIONS INSTRUMENTS (YEAR OF RATIFICATION)

Countries	1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees	1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees	1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families	2000 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children	2000 Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air
Angola	1981	1981			
Botswana	1969	1969		2002	
DRC	1965	1975			
Lesotho	1981	1981			
Malawi	1987	1987			
Mozambique	1983	1989			
Mauritius					
Namibia	1995			2002	
Seychelles	1980	1980			
South Africa	1996	1996	1992		
Swaziland	2000	1969			
Tanzania	1964	1968			
Zambia	1969	1969			
Zimbabwe	1981	1981			

Source: UNDESA, 2002.

Persons and organizations consulted

Persons consulted in Luanda (Angola)

- Sabrina Avakian, Programme Manager, UN Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute, UNICRI.
- António Armando, Chefe, Departamento de Informação e Análise, Serviço de Migração e Estrangeiros, Ministério do Interior.
- Henrique Barroso, Técnico, Direcção Nacional de Emprego e Formação Profissional, Ministério da Administração Pública, Emprego e Segurança Social.
- João Bastos, Bastionário, Ordem dos Médicos de Angola.
- Aleida Belo, Human Resource Specialist, Training and Development, Esso Angola.
- Manuel Da Costa, Director, Direcção Nacional de Emprego e Formação Profissional, Ministério da Administração Pública, Emprego e Segurança Social.
- Fernando Couto, Coordenador do Núcleo, Observatório do Emprego e Formação Profissional, Ministério da Administração Pública, Emprego e Segurança Social.
- Josefa Coelho da Cruz, Chefe de Departamento para as Organizações Internacionais, Ministério das Relações Exteriores.
- Maria Helena Cunha, Secretária Geral, Ordem dos Advogados.
- Mário Duarte, Director dos Assuntos Académicos, Universidade Lusíada.
- Sabino Escola, Chefe, Departamento de Assistência Técnica, Instituto de Apoio à Emigração e às Comunidades Angolanas no Exterior, Ministério das Relações Exteriores.
- Dennis Flemming, Project Director, Angola Partnership Initiative, ChevronTexaco.
- Costantina Furtado, Chefe do Departamento de Desenvolvimento, Direcção Nacional de Recursos Humanos, Ministério da Saúde.
- Luís Agostinho Gonçalves, Chefe do Departamento de Recursos Humanos, Ministério do Planeamento.
- Torstern Haschenz, Program Development and Liaison Officer, International Organization for Migration.
- José Manuel Imbamba, Secretário Geral, Universidade Católica Angolana.
- Martin Johnston, Country Representative, UK Department for International Development.
- Kinsukulu Landu Kama, Coalition for Reconciliation, Transparency and Citizenship.
- Olivier Lambert, Senior Country Officer, World Bank.
- Alfredo Leite, Chefe de Departamento de Refugiados, Ministério de Assistência à Reintserção Social.
- Rui Garcia Neto, Director Ajunto, Assesor de Migração 1a Classe, Serviço de Migração e Estrangeiros, Ministério do Interior.

- Dr Pedro Neto, Consultor Jurídico de Empresas, Serviço de Migração e Estrangeiros, Ministério do Interior.
- Paola Oliveira, Human Resource Manager, Coca-Cola Angola.
- Luis Paulo, Responsável de Intercâmbio e Cooperação, Serviço de Migração e Estrangeiros, Ministério do Interior.
- Romulo Peixoto, Media and Information Consultant, International Organization for Migration.
- Mike Pillinger, Chief of Mission, IOM Luanda.
- Manuel Vicente Inglês Pinto, Vice-Presidente, Ordem dos Advogados, Coordenador da Comissão dos Direitos Humanos e Acessor de Justiça.
- Gilberto Ribeiro, Economic Adviser, United Nations Development Programme, Luanda.
- Nathalie Rubin, Senior Operations Officer, International Organization for Migration.
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- N. Espírito Santo, Director Geral Adjunto, Instituto de Apoio á Emigração e ás Comunidades Angolanas no Exterior, Ministério das Relações Exteriores.
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- Herculano dos Santos, Chefe da Força de Trabalho, Direcção Nacional de Recursos Humanos, Ministério da Saúde.
- James Shyne, Program Manager, Angola Educational Fund.
- Luz Tantaruna, Programme Manager, AVR, International Organization for Migration.
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- Kingsley Chanda, Commissioner, Customs and Excise, Zambia Revenue Authority.
- Dr Choolwe Beyani, Technical Adviser, Ministry of Education.
- Buck Child, HIV/AIDS Project Coordinator, IOM Lusaka.
- Stella Chishimba, Assistant Director, Department of Human Resources Development, Public Service Management Division.
- Jonathan Chipili, Acting Director, Financial Markets/Foreign Exchange, Bank of Zambia.
- Major Chirwa, Human Resources Specialist, Central Board of Health.

- Anthony Daly, Adviser, Health & HIV/AIDS, UK Department for International Development.
- John Kalokoni, Principal Planning Officer, Ministry of Education.
- Dr Denny H. Kalyalya, Deputy Governor, Operations, Bank of Zambia.
- Patricia Kamanga, National Program Officer, World Health Organization.
- Stanley Kamocha, Head, Labour Statistics Section, Central Statistical Office.
- Albert Kayamba, Director, Human Resources and Administration, Ministry of Labour and Social Security.
- Zifa W. Kazeze, Population Affairs Officer, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa.
- Timothy Kazetu, Assistant Chief Immigration Officer, Immigration Headquarters, Ministry of Home Affairs.
- Dr Sarai Bvulano Malumo, National Programme Officer, United Nations Population Fund.
- Ireen Matanda, Director, Human Resources and Administration, Public Service Management Division.
- Owen Mgemzulu, Principal Planner, Ministry of Labour and Social Security.
- Lebogang Motlana, Deputy Resident Representative, United Nations Development Programme.
- Ganson Moyo, Senior Economist, Economics Department, Bank of Zambia.
- Patrick C. Mulenga, Asst. Director, Macroeconomic Analysis, Bank of Zambia.
- Jennifer Munsaka, Administrator, Zambia Nurses Association.
- Rosemary Musonda, Senior PHN Specialist, World Bank.
- James Musanya, Legal Counsel, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Chris Muyunda, Economic Growth Deputy Team Leader, US Agency for International Development.
- William S. Mweemba, President, Law Association of Zambia.
- Abel Chola Mwitwa, Regional Manager, Zambia Investment Centre.
- Borniface Nalishiwa, Director, Human Resources and Administration, Ministry of Health.
- Vickson Ncube, Secretary and Chief Executive, Zambia Institute of Chartered Accountants.
- Reuben Daimon Nyambose, Director of Technical Services, Public Service Management Division.
- Dr Lemba D. Nyirenda, Lecturer at the School of Engineering, University of Zambia.
- Josiah Ogina, Chief of Mission, IOM Lusaka.
- Patricia Palale, Public Sector Management Specialist, World Bank.
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- Sofia Warttmann, Programme Officer, Technical Cooperation, IOM.

NOTES

1. Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are people who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of, or in order to avoid the effects of, armed conflict, generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural disasters, who have not moved across national borders (IOM, 2004).
2. Internal economic migrants are persons who decide to move within the national borders to enhance their income and living conditions.
3. Refugees and asylum seekers are persons who are outside the country(ies) of their nationality and who, due to fear of persecution, are unable or unwilling to return there. Refugees and asylum seekers can be distinguished in that the former have a well-founded fear of persecution that has been officially recognized according to the UNHCR refugee determination, whereas the latter are those who have made a formal application for asylum/protection but where a decision on their status is still pending (IOM, 2004).
4. In 1995 South Africa adopted Amendments to the 1991 Aliens Control Act with a view to abolishing the most severe restrictions placed on the rights of illegal immigrants.
5. Irregular migrants are persons who either due to illegal entry or the expiry of their visa lack legal status in a transit or receiving country. Undocumented migrants or aliens are those who entered a country without the appropriate documentation.
6. International labour migrants are persons who move across international borders to enhance their income and general living conditions. A further distinction can be made between low-skilled migrants who have no or very little formal education, skilled migrants who were trained and possess technical skills, and highly skilled/qualified migrants who have substantial educational and professional qualifications. These three categories can be related to the ISCO classification of the ILO whereby the first group (low-skilled migrants) would match with ISCO groups 9, the second group (skilled migrants) would roughly match with ISCO groups 4-8 and ISCO group 0, and the third group (highly skilled migrants) would match with major ISCO groups 1-3. See <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/stat/isco/isco88/major.htm>.
A further distinction can be made between labour migrants and student migrants. International student migrants are persons who are outside the country(ies) of their nationality and whose main purpose of emigration is related to their education or training. There obviously is an overlap between these different categories as migrants may belong to one or more categories at the same time, or move from one category to another over the duration of their migration project. For example, an Angolan whose main reason for emigration was to study may also work whilst studying, or an Angolan who completes his/her studies may enter the labour force in the host country.
7. See Table 1 in Annex.
8. See Table 2 in Annex.
9. SADCC was established by nine countries: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.
10. SADC involves 14 member countries. They are Angola, Botswana, DRC, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

11. COMESA currently counts 21 members: Angola, Burundi, Comoros, DRC, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Namibia, Rwanda, Seychelles, Sudan, Swaziland, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe.
12. The CLPC includes Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, East Timor, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, Sao Tome e Principe.
13. PALOP encompasses Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome e Principe.
14. Paragraph 121 of the NEPAD's Human Resource Development Initiative.
15. See Table 3 in Annex.
16. The last population census took place back in 1970, while the next census is planned in the near future. Census data from 1970 do not include information on internal migration.
17. The 1998 *Inquérito sobre a Disposição e Capacidade no Pagamento dos Serviços Sociais Básicos* was conducted in Huambo, Huila and Uige.
18. The IDR was limited to seven provinces including Benguela, Cabinda, Cunene, Huila, Luanda, Lunda Norte and Namibe.
19. These figures refer to the period 1997-2001.
20. *Estratégia de Combate da Pobreza* (EPC).
21. The EPC constitutes the basis for the elaboration of a Medium-term Development Plan for the period 2005-2009 and a long-term development strategy towards the achievement of key goals in 2025.
22. These projections need to be adjusted for HIV/AIDS which is likely to lower the estimated figures.
23. The net average number of migrants during a particular period is the annual number of immigrants less the annual number of emigrants, including both citizens and non-citizens.
24. The migrant stock is the number of migrants residing in a country at a particular point in time.
25. OECD (2004) Eurostat, Immigration of African citizens to European countries 1995-2001.
26. 2002 Year Book of Immigration Statistics, U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics 2003.
27. In 1981 Angola signed the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the related Refugee Protocol of 1967.
28. Decree 1/01 sets minimum standards for resettlement of IDPs and Act 01/GAB: MINARS/02 defines conditions for the return and resettlement of people affected by armed conflict.
29. *Jus sanguinis* (in Latin "right of blood") is the principle according to which a child's nationality is determined by the nationality of the natural parents.
30. *Jus soli* (in Latin "right of the territory") is the principle according to which nationality is determined by the country of birth.
31. In 1995 MAPESS published a new classification of professions (MAPESS, 1995).
32. Recensimento dos quadros angolanos na diáspora.
33. One condition is that the minimum amount invested by using domestic capital (owned by nationals) is US\$ 50,000 and the minimum amount invested by using foreign capital, without distinction based on nationality, is US\$ 100,000. Public incentives and subsidies are granted only for private investment in priority areas for national development.

34. Comissão Intrenministerial para a Qualificação dos Recursos Humanos para a Economia Nacional.
35. Observatório de emprego e formação profissional.
36. The Voluntary Repatriation of Refugees from Zambia, Namibia, the DRC and Botswana, in which IOM implements the safe and orderly return logistics and transport component in Angola on behalf of UNHCR/GOA, was supported by ECHO, the US State Department, Sweden/SIDA, UNHCR, Norway and Finland, while the reintegration projects are funded by Sweden/SIDA, DFID/UK, RSA, OFDA/USA, Chevron Texaco and Switzerland/SDC. HIV/AIDS awareness projects implemented by IOM are funded by ECHO, Sweden/SIDA, UK and UNHCR.
37. See Adauta de Sousa, 2002.
38. The last census in Zambia took place in 2000 and the next census is planned in 2010.
39. Registered nurses are degree-level nurses who train for three to four years, whereas enrolled nurses train for two years.
40. In 1969 Zambia ratified the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees with a number of reservations and the Refugee Protocol of 1967. Zambia is also party to the 1969 OUA Convention governing specific aspects of the refugee problem in Africa.
41. The involvement of private actors in voicing private sector interests has grown in recent years. Several private sector intermediary organizations currently operate in Zambia, including the Zambia Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry (ZACC), the Private Sector Development Association (PSDA), the Small Enterprise Development Organization (SEDO), the Zambian Chamber of Small and Micro Enterprises, the Zambian Chapter of the Southern African Enterprise Development Association and the newly created Zambia Business Forum.
42. See Ammassari (2004a).

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There is much greater awareness today that development affects migration, and that migration influences development. The challenge is to find innovative and effective ways to enhance the benefits of migration while mitigating its adverse development implications for emigration countries. For this purpose, it is important to distinguish between different groups of migrants based on their skill levels. Governments of emigration countries look with considerable concern on the permanent departure of highly educated and trained nationals. Such skills emigration can translate into both negative and positive effects: on the one hand brain drain and, on the other, positive consequences such as the development of emigration countries aided by circular or permanent return of their skilled expatriates.

This study is a follow-up activity to the MDSA Workshop on Migration and Development in Southern Africa, held in Zanzibar, Tanzania, in 2004. It assesses and analyses the migration and development situation of Angola and Zambia, with a special focus on skills migration and a review of government policies and capacity related to skills migration and initiatives of various stakeholders, including donors and civil society organizations.

