

**Addressing the Determinant factors and Actors' Perceptions of
High- Skilled Migration from Sub-Saharan Africa:
The Case of Senegal**

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June 2013

Acknowledgments:

All praise and thanks to Allah the exalted, the Lord of the universe, May the blessings and peace of Allah be upon His Prophets, Muhammad.

I would not have been able to persevere and complete this study without the strength and faith bestowed upon me from the almighty God. My heartfelt thank you goes to my family, most importantly to my mother for the unconditional love and support during the most needed times.

In addition, this dissertation would not have been possible without the guidance and support of several individuals who have contributed and extended their valuable assistance in the preparation and completion of this research.

My utmost gratitude goes to my supervisor, Pr. Cedric Jourde, whose guidance, patience and mentorship has been unwavering throughout the completion of this paper. I also would like to extend my gratitude to all those who have given their opinions and critiques, I think of Moussa Diallo, whose comments were very helpful to me. Last but not least, thanks to all those who, during our questionnaires and interviews have kindly offered their perceptions and perspectives on the subject.

This humble work is dedicated to my late father, who had devoted all his life for my well-being and that of my siblings. Thank you and I wish you were still here.

Introduction:

Skilled emigration from developing to developed countries has reached an unprecedented level and is becoming the dominant pattern for international migration today. According to Ammasari, over 23 000 skilled individuals and professionals leave the African continent each year to OECD countries (citing Adepaju, 2010). Such a significant number of emigrants urge the need to address the determinant factors that are causing the outflow of individuals most needed on the continent.

Scholars such as Mohamed El-Kawas (2004) and Solomon Benatar (2007) posit a theory of push and pull factors, as key elements to address the departure of African professionals. The push factors constitute the incentives and motivational factors for many skilled individuals to leave their home countries. These factors include the unfavorable economic and social conditions that are prevalent in most African countries such as: job scarcity, low wages, bad governance and poor education system. The pull factors in contrast, exist in the receiving countries in the West.

In this research paper, we will focus on the push factors to address the phenomenon of international migration of highly-skilled individuals from Sub-Saharan Africa, with a particular focus on Senegal as a case study. This research asks why highly-educated Senegalese leave their home country and monetize their expertise and knowledge abroad?

While my goal here is to address the transnational movements of professionals and skilled individuals from Sub-Saharan Africa, I do not presume that the push factors or the driving forces behind these movements can be generalized into one single explanation. It is a multidimensional phenomenon and its root causes are very complex and diverse. Therefore, our argument in a nutshell is that, this type of migration feeds from a range of economic issues at home, such as:

lack of employment, underpaid jobs and a challenging social and work environment related to under-development. Moreover, political factors such as the prevalence of neopatrimonial practices, deterioration of public service and inadequate migration policies, all play an important role in skilled migration. These elements, individually or combined, constitute hindrances for professionals to find and carry out their careers at home, hence, they opt to migrate. Our research question, thesis and hypotheses will be elaborated later with greater length.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 1 will address the current situation of international migration and its relevance in international politics, describes the justification of the subject and provides a brief overview of the international migration of skilled individuals from Sub-Saharan Africa. Section 2 will address the research question, main thesis and identify the hypotheses. Section 3 focuses on the theoretical and methodological approaches adopted for this research paper, as well as defining some key concepts related to the subject. Section 4 and 5 will be devoted on analyzing and addressing the hypotheses. Finally, section 7 summarizes our findings and offers future avenues for research.

Section One: Political Importance of International Migration

1.1: Context and Relevance of the Subject:

Generally speaking, the transnational migration is gaining an unprecedented attention in international politics and comparative politics, and there are various reasons why it is now high on the global political agenda. On the one hand, there is a sharp and steady increase of number of migrants throughout the world. On the other hand, transnational migration is redefining the

relationship between the state and its territorial boundaries and reconfiguring our understandings of citizenship and membership (Levitt and de la Dehesa, 2003).

According to the International Organization of Migration, there is an estimated number of 214 million of international migrants today, which represents 3.1% of the world's population (IOM.int). The last ten years have seen a larger increase in this number, by about 3 million a year; in 2002, it was estimated to be 140 million (Marfouk, 2007). In order to depict a better picture of the current situation of immigration, we can say that one out of every 33 persons in the world today is a migrant, whereas in 2000, it was estimated to be one out of every 35 persons (IOM.int; Marfouk, 2007). In other word, if all migrants were to form one country, it will be the fourth largest country in the planet in terms of population, hence, its relevance and importance in international politics.

The rising number of migrants worldwide can be characterized by the ever increasing movement of individuals from less-developed countries to more developed ones. Between 1990 and 2000 alone, the number of immigrants originating from developing countries grew by 96 percent, to compare to only 6 percent for high-income countries (Marfouk, 2007). When it comes to the African continent, the numbers of international migrants were estimated to be 19.3 million people in 2010 (IOM.int). As for Senegal, the available data on Sub-Saharan African migration flows indicates that, in 2000, migration from Senegal to OECD countries represented 2.6 per cent of all Sub-Saharan migrants living in these countries. The Senegalese are – with the Liberians (also 2.6%) - the third most important West African foreign workers group after the Cape Verdeans (3.5 %) and the Gambians (3.1%) (Adepoju; Naerssen and Zoomers, 2008: 144).

1.2: The Sub-Saharan African Migration Scene:

The skilled migration out of Africa is far from being a recent and new phenomenon (Dia, 2005). According to William Easterly and Yaw Nyarko (2009), there were a number of Africans going abroad for Western education as early as 1700s. Later, many of Africa's independence leaders were themselves part of skilled migrants. Leaders such as Leopold Sedar Senghor (Senegal), Hastings Banda (Malawi), Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya), Nnamdi Azikiwe (Nigeria), Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), and many other independence leaders in the continent were once international migrants, who met and strategized in France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America and then returned home to lead the independence movements in their respective countries (Bhagwati & Hanson, 2009). Not only international migration of skilled-individuals is far from being a new phenomenon in Sub-Saharan Africa, but it also played an important role in the region's history and politics. As it was one of the instrumental elements in building states in many parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, without it, as argued by Easterly and Nyarko, the "independence may have occurred much later, if at all, in many African countries" (2009: 320).

Since gaining independence, Sub-Saharan Africa has witnessed numerous civil wars and political instability that has eroded the development of the region and made its political landscape mostly "unpredictable and volatile" (Adepoju, 2008: 13). In addition to that, warlords, dictatorial and corrupt regimes have often succeeded in intimidating professionals, intellectuals and researchers, encouraging a variety of migration configurations from the continent: skilled professionals, labor migrants, refugees and displaced persons. In many ways, it can be argued

that, instead of benefiting from the local skills and talents, the post-colonial era has stimulated and increased the skilled emigration from the continent.

Sub-Saharan Africa is a region of contradictions: it is rich in resources, but is the poorest of all regions in the world. In the same way, while all indicators prove the high illiteracy rate and the deficit of the continent when it comes to professionals, engineers, scientists and skilled individuals, its educated nationals are fleeing in large numbers to the more developed countries. In a study conducted by Johnson and Regets on *International Mobility of Scientists and Engineers to the USA* (1998), they concluded that, about two-third of international students in science and engineering in American universities, do not have the intention to return to their home countries after graduation (citing Dia, 2005: 21). Correspondingly, in his study of *Brain Drain: Putting Africa between a Rock and a Hard Place*, El-Khawas argued that Africans are considered to be the most educated ethnic group in the United States. He also indicated that “there are more African scientists and engineers working in the United States than there are in Africa” (2004:38).

While Africa’s overall emigration rate is relatively low, its high skilled emigration is high and representing 10.4 percent for the world average, which is more than 7 times as high as the immigration rate (1.5 percent) (Marfouk, 2007: 17).

1.3: Why Focus on the International Migration of Skilled Individuals?

I believe that my people who are trained and educated should stay in their country... I do not invest in their education and training so that they can contribute to the development in France [...] we cannot allow pillage of managerial and technical elites in developing countries. Senegalese President Abdoulaye Wade (quoted in Adepoju et al, 2008:142)

While Canada has experienced recent growth in the number of workers entering the country, international competition for educated and skilled workers is now greater than ever before. In response to global labor shortages in certain economic sectors, the United Kingdom, Japan and Germany, countries not traditionally open to immigration, are beginning to compete for skilled workers... Today Canada finds itself competing in a global marketplace where the demand for skilled immigrants is swiftly increasing. (Kapur & Mc Hale, 2005: 36 citing Citizenship & Immigration Canada, 2000).

An in-depth analysis of the current state of international skilled migration reveals an interesting pattern. While certain sending countries are concerned about developing and implementing strategies to retain or limit the departure of their skilled citizens, for the receiving countries, attracting highly-skilled immigrants has become priority in their migration policies. Moreover, even amongst the receiving countries, there is a noticeable “national competitiveness” (Kapur & McHale, 2005: 37) when it comes to attract the internationally mobile human capital. And, these competitions are often supported by different government initiatives through their immigration policies, as we can note on the citation above from the Canadian Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

The ‘competitiveness’ of different states towards attracting more skilled and knowledgeable persons, is in accordance with the realism theory of International Relations, which argues that states are interest maximizers. They are always in a continuous competition to amass resources that will contribute to their relative power and development. Undeniably, skills and human capital constitute some of the most sought after resources. In their pursuit to accumulate such resources, a large number of developed countries have introduced programs aiming to attract qualified and skillful labor forces into their territories. The United States’ H-1B Visa (Bhagwati & Hanson, 2009) Canada and Australia’s point system, Germany’s Green Cards and France’s *Immigration choisie* are policies that serve their interests, while depriving source countries from some of their most important resources and crucial to their development.

While it cannot be denied that receiving countries benefit largely from the migrants with high human capital, there is a common wisdom that suggests that, this movement can be harmful for countries of origin and has a potentially negative effect on the development of South. As argued by Dia, “the vicious circle of migration” is a result of “structural asymmetry of trade between the South and the North” (2005: 145). Similar conclusions are reached by the theorist, Lucas Robert, who claimed that, “income gaps between countries are explained by the increasing external productivity associated with the accumulation of human capital and knowledge” (citing Adepoju, 2010: 103).

Today’s migration is increasingly concerned with the movement of highly-skilled persons from less developed countries. In many cases, these individuals are attracted to receiving countries by higher salaries, better working and living conditions, stability and political freedom, high valuation of human resources and improved educational prospects for their children (Dia, 2005; Adepoju, 2008, 2010; Oxana Borta, 2007). Migrants seek to escape from countries characterized by “unstable politics, endemic ethno-religious conflicts, persistent economic decline and environmental deterioration,” as well as countries that are “completely grounded in poverty” (Adepoju et al, 2008: 21). Undeniably, within an era of global competition for the best and the brightest, having education and skills is becoming an advantage for migrating. Resulting in migrants being often on average better educated and more skilled than non-migrants in the sending country, and sometimes also even in the receiving country (Kapur & McHale, 2005).

Globally, the overall number of high-skilled immigrants grew by 64 percent in the period of 1990 to 2000 (Docquier & Marfouk, 2006). As for Sub-Saharan African, contrary to the dire needs of the region to its professionals and human resources, it has lost more than 30 percent of its skilled manpower between 1960 and 1987, according to Ben Hadji Abdellatif (2010). More

recently, another researcher Ammasari (2005, citing Adepaju, 2010) concluded that about 23 000 skilled workers leave Africa each year. A more in-depth study by Marfouk, found that ten African countries have lost about 40 per cent of “their tertiary educated labor force due to emigration to OECD countries”; for instance, Cape Verde lost (67 percent) of its skilled labor force, Gambia (63 percent), Seychelles (59 percent), and Sierra Leone (53 percent), Mozambique (45 percent) (36:2007). Senegal is ranked 21st of all African countries in high-skilled emigration rate according Marfouk (2007: 19). Such numbers represent a significant loss of economic potential for the continent, especially in today’s global society, where scientific and technological knowledge drive development. Consequently, Africa remains the world’s least developed and least scientifically proficient region in the world and not surprisingly, it is the world’s poorest continent and most affected by the phenomenon of ‘brain drain’. Hence, there is a great need to identify and address the main causes of this outflow.

Section 2: Research Question & hypotheses:

In Senegal as elsewhere on the African continent, the issue of skilled migrants is becoming a hot topic for research and a fundamental element of the country’s political and socio-economic debates. Additionally, “Senegal is one of the few countries in Sub-Saharan Africa to have addressed the migration of its people as a foreign and public policy issue and to have started dealing with these migratory flows as a global reality in African, Europe and North America” (Adepaju et al, 2008: 141). For that, a special council of minister was held in 2002 to address the issue, which led to the creation of new policies and government programs to monitor the

migration of skilled individuals¹ (Adepoju et al, 2008; Dia, 2005; Tall and Tandian, 2010).

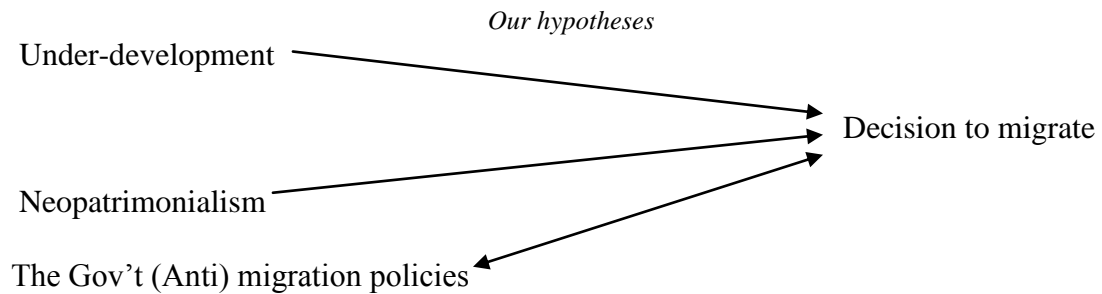
Through these programs, the government has begun taking steps to promote migration policies, to improve cooperation and migration management as well as ‘facilitating’ the home-coming of migrants through a number of bilateral agreements. Unfortunately, however, “there is still much to do” to improve the current situation (Adepoju et al, 2008: 14). This includes creating favorable conditions of life and work for potential migrants and returned migrant, such as: effective job creation strategies, good governance and better education system as alternative to international migration.

My aim here is not to present a thorough and an utmost explanation of the transnational migration of intellectuals and professional from Senegal and Africa, but rather, to analyze some key factors that may influence their decision to migrate, that is, to understand and address why skilled individuals decide to leave their African countries to migrate. Our main question is: what are some of detrimental factors that actors themselves identify as causing the movement of skilled individuals from Senegal? In conjunction with this main question, this paper will also address a sub-question: how effective are state policies in retaining skilled worker?

In many African countries, emigration is often due to the country’s political and social instability. But Senegal has always been a stable country. Hence, its skilled emigration is mainly due “to economic incentives and professional and academic environment less stimulating” (Dia, 2005: 158). In my attempt to answer my question and address the dependent variable (decision to migrate), I am proposing 3 hypotheses that are based on three independent variables:

¹ The Senegalese government does not lack initiatives when it comes to address issues related to migrants and diaspora. There was an autonomous Ministry of Emigrants before it was transferred to the Ministère des Affaires étrangères et des sénégalais de l’Extérieur in 1990s, to later be transferred to the Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de l’Union Africaine et des Sénégalais de l’Extérieur in 2000. Also, the Direction des Sénégalais de l’Extérieur was created in 1993 and later was changed to Conseil supérieur des Sénégalais de l’extérieur in 1995 (Adepoju et al, 2008 ; Marie Angélique Diatta & Ndiga Mbow, 1999).

- 1- An economic factor (first independent variable): Given Senegal's very low level of economic development, economic opportunities abroad are perceived to be better than those existing at home. According to Marfouk, there is an estimated 10 percent increase in living standards between OECD member states and most African countries, including Senegal (2007: 34). This substantial difference in terms of per capita income and living standard are some of the main forces driving the emigration of Senegalese skilled migrants.
- 2- Political factor (second independent variable): Senegal suffers from bad governance and the politics of neopatrimonialism, as do many African countries. The allocation of resources and hiring processes are often dictated by favouritism and clientelism (Kouvibida, 2009; Fatton, 1986; Blundo, 2006). As a result, many highly qualified and skilled individuals are excluded from qualified jobs, because they do not belong to well-connected clientelistic networks, and consequently, they consider migrating abroad to enter job markets that are less defined by clientelism. Doing so increases their chances of monetizing their skills, especially, since the immigration selectivity of some OECD member states work on their favour.
- 3- A public policy factor (third independent variable): Senegal is one of the few countries in Sub-Saharan Africa that have taken the initiative to address the emigration of its nationals and particularly its professionals as a foreign and public policy issue (Adepoju et al. 2008; Diatta and Mbow, 1999; Tall and Tandian, 2010). The efficiency of the state's migration policies, or lack thereof, can contribute to, or hamper retaining professionals and skilled individuals.



Section 3: Research Approach and Method:

While it is of paramount importance for any good social science research to specify the methods of data collection used throughout the research. Stephen Castles argues that migration researchers in particular should also pay sufficient attention to “questions which address whether and how ‘objective’ or ‘factual’ knowledge can be generated” from their research (2012: 4). Hence, this section will be addressing the research method and theoretical foundation adopted for this paper, as well as highlighting the limits and defining some key terms.

3.1: Research Method:

This research project will use a qualitative research method. It is based on a single case study. The choice of the qualitative tool is dictated by the fact that it offers better “sensitivity to the influence of context” (Miles and Huberman, 1994:55). Therefore, it would allow us to go deeper into the issue under study and to have a better and larger understanding of the motivations and factors that are pushing skilled migrants to leave their countries, despite the enormous needs of their home countries to their skills.

Providing its - relatively- low numbers of high-skilled immigrants, compared to most Sub-Saharan African countries², Senegal will be an interesting selection to do a crucial case study. A case is considered crucial when it can be explained by a theory that is “invariant”, as argued by John Herring (2007: 232). In the same way, Harry Eckstein described the crucial case as one “that must closely fit a theory if one is to have confidence in the theory’s validity, or, conversely, must not fit equally well any rule contrary to that proposed” (Ciring Gerring, 2007: 231). In the subject of studying the factors causing migration of skilled-individuals from Sub-Saharan Africa, Senegal provides a crucial case. And, the outcomes of such study could be applied to the rest of the region, perhaps, the more ‘typical cases’ for instance, as John Gerring argues, “[C]rucial cases... provides what is, arguably, the strongest sort of evidence possible in a nonexperimental, single-case setting” (2007:115).

In addition to its low numbers of high-skilled emigrants, Senegal is one of the few countries in the region that is taking efforts to address the migration of its people as a foreign and public policy issue (Adepoju et al, 2008); therefore, it offers us a possibility to analyze if, and to what extent, the state’s migration policies impacted on the decision to migrate.

The methodology used in selecting data for this research project relies on two different steps: First, I have collected and analyzed official documents, produced by Senegalese government and by International Organization for Migration, and I have used scholarly works on migration and international migrations of high-skilled individuals from developing countries.

It is important to note that most of what is known in today’s transnational migration is “one-sided focus” (Berriane and de Haas, 2012: 2), dominated mostly by the narration and

² Senegal is ranked 21st of all African countries in high-skilled emigration rate, according to Marfouk, (2007: 19).

preoccupations of Northern receiving countries (Adepoju et al, 2008; Berriane and de Haas, 2012). Little is known about the perspectives of individuals living in developing countries, how the principal actors (skilled migrants) and governments in sending countries perceive the skilled migration today. Therefore, in addition to analyzing the fundamental and theoretical debates on international migration of skills, it would seem important and relevant in the process of developing our hypotheses to give a voice to the principal actors: skilled migrants and potential skilled migrants. Hence, the second step in our methodology is based on 10 semi-structured interviews conducted in Dakar (December 2012 and January 2013) with potential skilled migrants and 7 interviews in Ottawa (February & March 2013), with Senegalese skilled migrants in Ottawa. The interviews conducted in Dakar focused on potential skilled migrants, composed essentially of university graduates and young professionals looking for better careers. Two main criteria were adopted in the process of selecting our interviewees: A) Attainment of university degree as an indication of skills³. B) Demonstrate an interest in leaving Senegal for a search of better prospects. The goal is to understand their perception of high-skilled migration as potential actors. The interviews focused on addressing what they see as obstacles towards achieving their career goals in Senegal, what motivate them to opt for migration and also, attempting to understand their point of view of why some skilled individuals opt to leave their home countries and monetize their skills abroad.

The interviews conducted in Ottawa focused on Senegalese skilled migrants, composed mainly of employees and professionals working in governmental and non-governmental organizations. Three main criteria were adopted in the process of selecting the interviewees: A) Attainment of a university degree. B) Being successfully selected and admitted in Canada as a

³ Our definition of skilled migrant is based on Marfouk's classification, which sees the attainment of university degree as a determinant qualification of 'skilled' (2007).

skilled immigrant. C) Working within their field of study⁴. The goal is to understand their views of high-skilled migration as principal actors. The interviews focused essentially on their understanding and perceptions of Senegalese skilled migration, the driving factors behind their decisions to migrate and how they would evaluate the efforts of Senegalese government to retain and repatriate its skilled nationals.

One of the main objectives of this paper is to address and analyze the determinant factors that actors (migrants and potential migrants) themselves identify as causing the migration of skilled individuals from Senegal. This is mostly an inductive work, where the actor's perception is at the very core of the analysis, an "emic" approach in other words. Hence, our choice of using semi-structured interview techniques rather than standard survey is justified by the fact that, in addition to providing reliable and comparable qualitative data, it also, allows informants the freedom to express their views on the subject in their own terms, which is of paramount importance for this paper. As it will help us shift the debate towards the perspectives of migrants themselves, instead of relying solely on the viewpoints of Western receiving governments. Moreover, with the semi-structured interview technique, informants are able to talk about their perspectives and experiences in details and in depth, which in turn will be an efficient and practical way of getting data that may otherwise not be available in standard surveys, such as: emotions and examples, as we will note in some of our respondents' interventions.

⁴ It is very common among skilled individuals (for various reasons) not to use their acquired knowledge and expertise in their professions after migrating, i.e. engineers or doctors driving taxi. Hence, the reason behind this particular criterion is to specify the category of skilled persons we are studying, the professionals working in their field of expertise.

3.2: Theoretical Foundation:

One of the main features of all classical work in social science is “the distinction between ‘the personal troubles of milieu’ and ‘the public issues of social structure’” (Castles, 2012: 15). While personal troubles according to Castles, refers to the characters of the individual and the relationship the individual has with others, the public issues refers to the broader environment of the individual (2012). Both of these factors are equally important, particularly, when addressing issues such as migration. Because, for migration researchers, it is “important to carry out micro-level studies of specific migratory experiences, but they should always be embedded in an understanding of the macro-level structural factors that shape human mobility in a specific historical situation” as argued by Castles (2012:16).

As a result, the theoretical approach used in identifying and analyzing the hypotheses in this research paper, will highlight the role of both agency and structure, as advocated by Bruce Magnusson and John Clark, who argued that, a “good social science” suggests hypotheses that are ranging “along the agency-structure continuum” (2005: 552). While we can safely posit that leaving one’s country can be seen ultimately, as a personal decision, it is however, shaped -in large measures- by the individual (agency)’s assessment of the broader context and structure, i.e. local and international economic, political and social situations (structures).

Therefore, in order for our analysis to be relevant and adequate, we will take into account the pressing issues facing these individuals and groups in Senegalese society, in addition to addressing the skilled individuals’ decision to migrate. The significance of recognizing and connecting individual actions with larger social structure and context is acknowledged by

Castles, who argued that: “[N]o social action can be understood without an understanding of the broader context in which it takes place” (2012:16).

3.3 Limits:

Despite the growing interest in the phenomenon of the migration of highly-skilled individuals, we still know very little about the international “human capital outflow” and its magnitude (Kapur and McHale, 2005:11). There is noticeably a “general absence of systematic research on emigration” and the matter became even worse when it comes to addressing the international emigration of skilled individuals from Africa (Berriane and de Haas, 2012: 3). Indeed, there seems to be a large consensus that not enough research has been conducted to address the specifics of international migration of highly-skilled individuals from Africa (Marfouk, 2007; Bhagwati and Hanson, 2009; Marfouk and Docquier, 2006; Kapur and McHale, 2005; Berriane and de Haas, 2012). This is mostly due to the newness of the phenomenon, as compared to the Asian and South American international migrations, and to the receiving countries-centric approaches (Adepoju et al, 2008). As argued by Berriane and de Haas, “much research on African migration is largely defined, steered, and funded by the institutions and interests of wealthy, ‘Northern’ countries or international organizations. Hence, the research and output tends to reflect their largely short-term control- and security- focused agendas. African migration research has tended to reproduce and justify Northern preoccupation with regards to migration” (2012: 2).

Another major difficulty facing African migration research is the scarcity and inaccuracies of statistics and data. This remark is widely acknowledged by many researchers and scholars, as

Marfouk mentioned, quoting Arthur: “the first problem that any researcher of the Third World migration encounters is the general absence of recorded data” (2007: 7). In a similar vein, Berriane and de Haas argued that: “[A] major difficulty facing African migration research is the lack of appropriate official and social scientific data ... migration statistics are either patchy or simply non-existent” (2012: 3). As such data would help us to be in a better position of testing, confirming or contesting any claim about the subject matter. The regional conference of the *Commission économique pour l’Afrique des Nations unies* held in Addis Ababa in 2000, highlighted the lack of adequate data to be a significant obstacle towards monitoring the impact of skilled migration and ‘brain drain’ in the continent (Marfouk, 2007).

An example of the paucity of data comes from the work of William Carrington and Enrica Detragiache from IMF (1999), which is considered as the first serious attempt to put together a documented data on international migration rates by education level. However, this study was seen by many scholars and researchers as limited, (Docquier and Rapoport, 2009; Marfouk, 2007; Bhagwati and Hanson, 2009). Because in their study, Carrington and Detragiache assumed for each country that the skills composition of its nationals to OECD countries to be identical to its skilled migrants to United States (1999). For example, the Senegalese or the Ghanaian immigrants in France or Canada are assumed to be distributed identically –according to their education- in the same way they are in the United States (Carrington and Detragiache, 1997). Hence, such study cannot be reliable for most African countries, where United States is not the major destination.

In this context, it is impossible to present a full and realistic picture of the high skilled emigrants from Senegal and Sub-Saharan Africa. On top of that, there are extremely limited sources regarding the programs and policies of Senegalese and African governments programs to retain and repatriate its skilled labor force.

3.3: Defining Issues:

In an era of multiculturalism and globalization, the dichotomy and a difference between ‘migrant’ and a ‘native’ is all but clear. An individual could identify him/ herself more closely with his host country than his native country. Additionally, there is the emergence of transnational communities of migrants whose identity go beyond the duality of host country and native country, which characterizes the most literatures on migration (Dia, 2005).

The definition of ‘immigrant’ varies from one country to another and from one context to another. It was not until the Rome International Convention of 1924 that the term ‘immigrant’ was first defined in an international treaty. The definition given was: “[A]n immigrant is any stranger who comes to a country for employment, and with the manifest or veiled intention to settle permanently; a labourer is any stranger who comes with the sole intention to settle for a short period” (Adepoju, 2010: 98). For its part, the Canadian government defines ‘immigrants’ as “[P]ersons residing in Canada who were born outside of Canada, excluding temporary foreign workers, Canadian citizens born outside Canada and those with student or working visas”⁵. In France, according to the *Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques*, the juridical definition of an immigrant given by the French High Council of Integration is: “a

⁵ (<http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/81-004-x/2010004/def/immigrant-eng.htm>).

person who is born a foreigner and abroad, and resides in France [...] Conversely, certain immigrants may have become French while others remain foreign. The foreign and immigrant populations are therefore not quite the same: an immigrant is not necessarily foreign and certain foreigners were born in France (mainly minors). Immigrant status is permanent: an individual will continue to belong to the immigrant population even if they acquire French nationality”⁶.

Similar to this notion, Marfouk defines immigrant on the basis of the country of birth rather than on the concept of citizenship (2007) as it is defined by the Canadian government.

While there is no generally accepted and clear definition of ‘immigrant’, that of ‘skilled migrant’ is even more ambiguous and complex. The Canadian Immigration department defined skilled migrant as an immigrant selected “based on their education, work experience, knowledge of English and/or French, and other criteria”⁷. Although many scholars such as Marfouk (2007); and Carrington and Detragiache (1997) see the attainment of university degree as a determinant qualification of ‘skilled’, others such as Dia sees experience and profession as a determinant qualification (2005). In this sense, this paper aligns with the definition of ‘migrant’ and ‘skilled migrant’ given by Marfouk, because not only it is more precise, but also it can be tested and refuted, as a result, it will be more reliable in selecting our interviewees and examining the subject under study.

⁶ (<http://www.insee.fr/en/methodes/default.asp?page=definitions/immigre.htm>).

⁷ (<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/helpcentre/glossary.asp>).

Section 4: Analyzing the International Migration of Senegalese Highly-Skilled

Individuals

In this section, we will analyze the determinant factors that are causing the migration of skilled individuals out of Senegal. However, before going into evaluating our hypotheses and empirical evidences, it could be helpful to address the historicity and the particularity of Senegalese skilled migration, for readers who are not familiar with the country's political and economic context.

4.1: The Senegalese Context

Historically, Senegal has always been both a country of origin and destination of migrants. However, the destinations of its migrants have been diversified over the years. Until 1970s, the Senegalese migrants have in essence a “bipolar direction”: there was a pole of immigrants aiming essentially to bordering countries and to African powerhouses such as Gabon, Congo and Côte d'Ivoire, which, thanks to their booming agricultural and natural resources sectors, were in dire need of workers from other countries. In addition, there was another pole of migrants destined to Europe, exclusively to the former colonial power, France (Tall and Tandian, 2011: 4). These waves of migrants and their choices of destinations proved Marfouk's predictions, which claim that geographical distance, former colonial links and linguistic proximity between countries of origin and destination, to be some of the considerations driving African migration (2007:6). By the 1980s, Senegalese migrants identified new countries, including Italy, USA and Spain, as new and lucrative destinations and began to migrate there. The category of the population prone to migration, however, remained intact, composed essentially of rural

population with no ‘formal’ education and in search of better economic opportunities (Tall and Tandian, 2010; 2011). While this tendency of aiming to new destination was due in large part to the border tightening politics adopted by France at that time, it symbolizes a major shift in Senegalese migration. With these new destinations, the migration strategies are no longer focused on colonial, linguistic and historical links, as predicted by Marfouk (2007). They have become driven by other strategies, such as, the ability to obtain legal documents (Tandian, 2008). Their socio-economic profiles, however, remained the same: they owned small businesses in their destination countries, worked as hustlers, street traders, industrial labors and some other forms of labor that may not necessarily require high education.

In Senegal, people often refer to this type of migrant as a “*modou-modou*”, which is a young male, in most cases originated from the rural area of Senegal, known as *le Bassin arachidier*⁸ and working in the informal sector in Europe. With the development of female migration, emerged the term “*fatou-fatou*” as a feminine equivalence of “*moodu-modou*” (Tall and Tandian, 2010; Fall et al, 2010). The economic success generated by this wave of migrants, corroborated the already perceived notion of migration as a social elevator that would lead to success. To the point that in certain parts of rural Senegal, migration has become regarded not only as a means to success, but an end itself (Tall & Tandian, 2010; Dia, 2005).

However, since the 1990s there have been significant turnarounds of the Senegalese economic situation, which led to fundamental changes in the way migration has been perceived in a national level. It is no longer a business of *Kaw-Kaw*⁹ as it was once perceived to be. As the waves of departures became prevalent, it came to involve new categories of population, which

⁸ Le Bassin arachidier often refer to the regions of St Louis, Louga, Thies, Kaolack and Diourbel. These regions are the major groundnut producers in the country.

⁹ A Wolof term, referring to an individual from rural area, with no ‘formal’ education.

has until recently been spared by this movement, the professionals, intellectuals and highly-educated individuals.

As a direct result of profound political, social and economic crises provoked in part by the extensive implementation of the IMF's Structural Adjustment Program in 1980s (Tall and Tandian, 2010; Dia, 2005) and the deterioration of Senegalese public sector, shadowed by the growing crises of the education system; the migration of educated workers became more and more significant. It also changed drastically the way migration was perceived in the Senegalese society. Whereas before, being a state functionary symbolised individual success, now it is the international migrant that is perceived as a successful individual. Popular language and arts can be useful indicators of this change in local understandings of migration. A good demonstration of this shift is, the emergence of popular songs and discourse criticizing the politics of governments, and praising migrants as modern heroes (Tall and Tandian, 2010). For instance, it became common in Senegal to hear expressions such: "*Am chance mo geune am licence*¹⁰". In popular songs also, you could hear: "*Da nguy diange ba am ay keyit tè do am liggey*¹¹" and, "*Jambar dawul dafa dani dole*¹²" (Tall & Tandian, 2010: 8).

This paradigm shift on migration concerned not only civil servants; it also affected students and young professionals going abroad for higher education and training purposes. Historically, when these students traveled, it was in order to complete their higher education and then return home. More recently, however, due to the economic crises, they do not return home, unlike their

¹⁰ meaning, better having luck than having a bachelor degree.

¹¹ meaning, you may have all the fancy degrees, but they won't give you job.

¹² indicating, the brave (migrant) did not run away, he went to gain more power.

previous counterparts, who went abroad for study and returned home afterward. The reason being, the context at that time was more favorable to returning students, as they encountered a very attractive job market. In contrast to the current situation, employment is increasing becoming scarce, due to the hard-hitting economic crises and the IMF' Structural Adjustment Program.

It is worth acknowledging that, before the emergence of these crises, the migration of highly-educated individuals from Senegal was very limited and concerned mostly teachers and professors, who found countries such as Gabon, Seychelles, and Cote d'Ivoire as lucrative destinations for their qualifications. However, unlike the current paradigm of skilled migration, the teacher movements were not individual venture, but it was rather mostly controlled by the Senegalese government, as part of some bi-lateral agreement between Senegal and some African countries (Dia, 2005; Tall and Tandian, 2009).

Aside from being an individual venture and independent from the state control, the traditional solidarities and supports that characterize the Senegalese society played a vital role in increasing the number of professional migrants in the new destinations (Wabgou, 2008: 143-146). Although the social networks and support routes developed by the first waves of professional migrants facilitated the movement and integration of the new migrants, it cannot be considered as a determinant factor of skilled migration.

In the next three sections, we will address the role of three factors that can influence, at least partly, the decision of educated individuals to migrate.

4.2: Economic factors: Under-Development:

Generally speaking, leaving one's home is not an easy decision for most people, regardless of the reasons behind such a decision. As illustrated by Dia, skilled migration is a phenomenon that expresses "both a movement, a lack, a desire, a choice, a complex situation, a response to a tender or a drama, a tragedy... a phenomenon of deterritorialization because of economic globalization, political and economic instability, lack of human security, a kind of self-accusation or conspiracy" (2005: 157). However, from an economic point of view, "the basic motivation for migration [particularly that of skilled individuals] remains the net financial gains", as argued by Ben Hadji (2010: 108). Henceforth, our first hypothesis argues that economic crises and under-development factors, ranging from lack of employment, inadequate social and work environment at home and income disparities between Senegal and destination countries play a crucial role in the decision of professionals to migrate.

The ongoing economic crises in Sub-Saharan Africa in general created suitable conditions for the mass exodus of talented professionals toward the Western and OECD countries. In Senegal, the country has been in a state of economic crisis since the mid-1970s and that situation intensified in the 1990s with the IMF's Structural Adjustment Programs, which resulted in the "gross domestic product per head [to] sank by 28.1%.³" (Felix Gerdes, 2007: 1). More recently, the country's economy has been significantly affected by the global financial crisis coupled with the oil and food price crises in 2008 (World Bank, 2010). These ongoing crises had negative impacts on the overall development of the country and also impeded its ability to respond to the needs and well-beings of its citizens. Consequently, it created two elements that can be perceived as reinforcing the emigration of professionals and skilled individuals: search for more suitable

and well-paid jobs as well as finding an alternative to the challenging work and social environment existing at home.

4.1 A: Employment-related issues:

In order to shed a light on the prime importance of employment and net financial gains in individuals' decision to migrate, we will begin this section by looking at the different scholarly works on the subject.

Lack of employment at home is considered to be one of the most important factors driving Africa high-skilled emigration, as argued by Abdellatif. "People move to increase their chances of getting a job; migration is intrinsically linked to the search for employment. In most African countries, highly qualified science and technology graduates find it difficult to secure employment" at home (2010: 108). However, an important element that one must take into account here is that the lack of employment at home alone, would not be a sufficient motivation for skilled emigration, has it not been coupled with prospect of employment at the destination countries. Meaning, in contrast with the lack of employment at home, there is a global competition and an increasing needs for skilled workers in most OECD receiving countries, which is a motivating factor for emigrating (Marfouk, 2007; Dia, 2005; Kapur and McHale, 2005). There is a contrariwise correlation between high-skilled emigration form developing countries and availability of employment or its lack thereof in OECD countries according to Marfouk, "[A] one present point increase in unemployment rate at destination countries induces a decrease in highly-skilled emigration rate by 0.4 percent" (2007: 34).

In addition to the unemployment factor of highly-skilled individuals and university graduates, Abdellatif posits that “lack of job satisfaction” among professionals working in developing countries, to be an additional element that can trigger the emigration of skilled individuals (2010:102). Hence, when it comes to “job satisfaction” factor, the perception that most skilled migrants have is that not only employment was available at their destination countries, but also the type of employment offered (would) outweighs what they could expect from their home countries (as we will see later with our respondents). However, whether this perception is confirmed by the facts is less important for us (in many instances, the actual availability of jobs is much lower than expected), because what plays a real causal factor is how potential migrants represent this availability. Obviously, the option to monetize one’s skills and knowledge is not hard in this situation.

A closer observation of Senegalese skilled emigration throughout the time reveals an obvious pattern about employment and rate of migration. The higher the unemployment rate, the higher the rate of professional migrants, which prove the validity of the theories mentioned above. During the 1960s, as the post-colonial era began, professionals and intellectuals from Senegal and Sub-Saharan Africa had little incentive to monetize their knowledge and skills abroad. Most professionals and highly-educated individuals stayed in their home countries, because most of them were able to find a job in the civil service. The size of the state was expanding and the number of highly-skilled workers was relatively low. During that period also, a vast number of African graduates from Western universities returned home and became civil servants, working for a state apparatus in dire need of high-ranking public administrators. Many others “filled the halls of university academe as lecturers and professors, and others delved into contested politics and private industries” according to Michael Mbanaso and Sanrae Crewe (2011: 327). We can

argue that factors related to the availability of well-remunerated jobs and great social conditions offered by the states were crucial in deterring the out-migration of skilled individuals at that time (Tall and Tandian, 2010; Mbanaso and Crewe, 2011).

However, since the mid-1970s, Senegal has been facing economic crises, which has intensified over the years (Gerdes, 2007). These crises had negative impacts on both private and public sectors alike. As a result, chances of employment within Senegalese public sector have decreased significantly, while the private sector was too weak to bring any significant relief or improvement to the labour market. Furthermore, in addition to the failure of the job market to absorb the increasing high demand of employment, there was the implementation of IMF's Structural Adjustment Programs in 1990s, which has led to the elimination of social services and benefits long associated with public sector. Consequently, chances to be hired in public sector were almost non-existent and the ones with high education saw their situation suddenly deteriorating. Hence, a large number of professionals, highly-educated persons and international students opted to emigrate (whether through stay-on after education or through physical out-migration) in search for a -better- job. According to a study conducted by the Senegalese *Ministère de l'Économie et des Finances, Direction de la Prévision et de la Statistique*, about 31.7% of Senegalese migrants claim lack of employment as their personal reasons for migrating (République du Sénégal, 2004).

Throughout my interviews conducted in Senegal, the lack of employment at home constituted a dilemma that is widely felt among graduates and young professionals:

« Il est vraiment très difficile de trouver un emploi au Sénégal donc presque impossible d'avoir un CV bien garni sachant que quand on est jeune, l'idéal serait de faire

beaucoup d'entreprises pour valoriser son CV et construire un avenir vers le poste adéquat » (A.A.D, IT consultant, Dakar, January 2013).

Similarly, a number of respondents confirmed that lack of employment at home and the advantages employers take of young professionals to be some of the determinant factors of their decision to consider migration:

« Le taux de chômage étant élevé au Sénégal, il est parfois difficile de trouver un bon emploi et la plupart du temps les emplois sont mal rémunérés. Il est donc préférable de rester à l'étranger, trouver un job afin de subvenir à ses besoins et à ceux de la famille. [...] De mon point de vue, travailler à l'étranger est souvent bénéfique pour les immigrants car c'est un moyen de s'intégrer au sein d'une communauté et de s'imprégner des valeurs de ladite communauté. C'est une expérience enrichissante et l'occasion d'avoir une ouverture d'esprit » (N.F, a graduate student and currently in the process of emigrating to Canada, Dakar, January 2013).

« ...si des personnes qualifiées ne sont pas valorisées chez elles et qu'elles ont du mal à s'épanouir professionnellement dans leur pays d'origine forcément elles vont aller trouver refuge à l'étranger. Cette absence de considération peut se matérialiser soit par le chômage ou par des rémunérations médiocres voire même par l'exploitation par le biais des stages à durée indéterminée contraires à notre législation. Il revient aux décideurs politiques de prendre les mesures adéquates pour l'application et le respect du droit du travail » (H.B, an intern in a law firm, Dakar, December 2012).

Interestingly, the unemployment factor has been identified by both the potential skilled migrants in Dakar and Senegalese skilled migrants in Ottawa as being determinant in their decision to (consider or to) migrate:

« Il est également... raisonnable que des diplômés sénégalais qui n'arrivent pas à s'épanouir professionnellement au Sénégal décident de faire le saut de l'immigration.

C'est avant tout une affaire de bon sens. Il n'en demeure pas moins que je suis conscient des conséquences énormes de cette situation pour l'avenir du Sénégal en particulier et de tous les autres pays en développement [...] après mes études universitaires, le Canada m'a offert des opportunités professionnelles qui dépassaient de loin ce qui se présentait devant moi au Sénégal. La décision d'immigrer n'a d'ailleurs pas été du tout difficile. Mes parents et amis restés au Sénégal m'ont encouragé à rester. C'est toutefois avec le temps que j'ai réalisé toutes les conséquences de mon choix, pas seulement pour moi-même, mais également pour le Sénégal » (M.D, Policy Advisor at the Canadian Parliament, Ottawa, February 2012).

In Senegal, not only is the prospect of getting a job very limited, but also, the available jobs often fail to meet the social and professional expectations of professionals and university graduates. As it is common to find a clear “mismatch between education, training [on one hand] and employment” offered on the other hand, which in turn can lead to frustration and creates a challenging and inadequate professional environment (Dia, 2005: 149).

Moreover, as an under-developed country, Senegal lacks the capacity to provide employment to individuals with expertise and skills related to high technology and modern science. Such a situation is considered by some respondents as motivating factor to leave the country in search for a more suitable employment:

« Un facteur déterminant était de pouvoir exercer dans mon domaine d'expertise, pour être au diapason des développements technologiques et scientifiques. L'autre facteur était de pouvoir bénéficier d'un cadre de travail égalitaire et positif qui favorise la réussite et émule la compétence » (S.K, a Senior Engineer in Fiber Optics, Ottawa, February 2013)

« On dit déjà ‘ qu'un poisson ne peut survivre hors de l'eau ’ ce qui fait que certains surqualifiés n'ont rien à faire en Afrique puisque des outils de travail leurs manqueront de toutes les façons. Autrement aussi, il y a l'aspect pécuniaire qui ne laisse personne indifférent ainsi que l'évolution professionnelle et scientifique » (M.L.D, Ph.D. student in Toulouse (France), interview conducted in Dakar, December 2012).

4.1 B: Issues Related to Problematic Social & Work Environment:

It cannot be denied that there exists a substantial difference of income and living standards between Sub-Saharan African countries and OECD member states. By looking at the World Bank development indicators for recent years, we can see the magnitude of the differences on the subject of annual gross national income (GNI) per capita between developing countries and developed world. In Senegal for instance, the 2011 GNI per capita was estimated to be \$ 1,070, to compare to \$ 42,420 for France or \$ 45,560 for Canada for the same year (worldbank.org)¹³. Such a difference will in turn widen the gap of living standards between Senegal and OECD countries and sequentially will have a positive effect on Senegalese skilled emigration. As predicted by Marfouk, “a ten percent increase in living standards between the OECD member states and the African countries leads to an increase of the continent high-skilled emigration rate by 6 percent” (2007:34).

The income distribution between source country and host country plays an important role in international migration according to scholars, such as Dia, (2005); George Borjas, (1987) and Adepouju, (2010; 2008). Similarly, the neoclassical migration theory predict that “when the gap in living standard increases the emigration rates goes up and vice versa” (Marfouk, 2007: 22).

¹³ <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GNP.PCAP.CD>

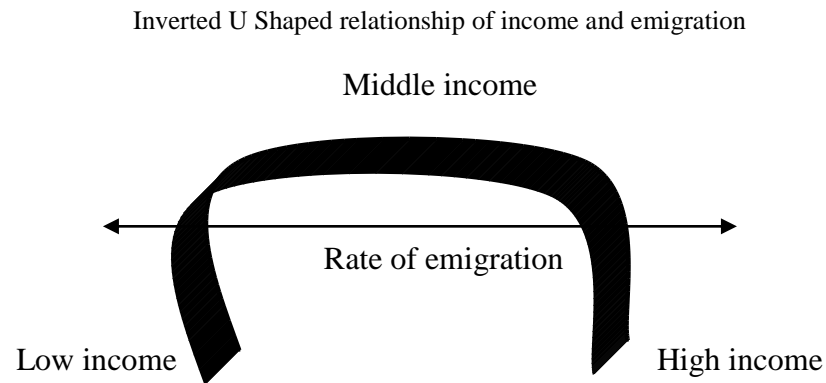
Unsurprisingly, with the low revenue most African skilled individuals generate from their professions at home, many of them “now see migration as their last hope for improving their living standards” (2008: 22).

Nonetheless, considering the neoclassical migration theory, one can wonder why Senegal has relatively higher rates of skilled-emigration than lower-income countries such as Burundi, Central African Republic or Niger for instance (whose GNI per capita in 2011 represented respectively \$250, \$480 and \$360, which is significantly lower than Senegal) (worldbank.org¹⁴). Indeed, this seemingly lack of correspondence does not contest the validity of the theory. As the correlation between level of living standards at home and decision to emigrate is described by Marfouk, as having an “inverted-U shaped relationship” (2007: 23). Based on this notion, middle-income countries are more likely to experience higher skilled emigration rate than countries with higher or lower income-levels (Rotte and Vogler, 2000; Marfouk 2007). Because, the “liquidity constraints play an important role in the probability of individual to emigrate” (Marfouk, 2007: 23).

Following the findings of Marfouk (2007), Rott and Vogler (2000), we can conclude that, constraints related to financial resources explain why poor countries with lower level of living standard often send few emigrants and consequently experience low emigration rate. As for the higher level, the argument is that “after development has taken place, the migration pressure tends to decline and the relationship becomes downward sloping” (Marfouk, 2007: 23) Based on that, Senegalese professionals are more likely to emigrate than their counterparts from say, Equatorial Guinea, because of their high GNI per capita (\$15670) or Malawi, due to their significant low level of GNI per capita (\$360). In a similar vein, Alessandra Venturi and

¹⁴ <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GNP.PCAP.CD>

Riccardo Faini's study on migration from Southern to Northern Europe concluded that migration increases with country of origin income per capita increases (1993).



The notion of inverted-U shaped relationship between migration and the countries of origin economic development could also be applied to individuals. On one hand, skilled individuals with high income, such as ministers, functionaries with higher salaries may not feel the need to emigrate. On the other hand, lower income persons may be reluctant to embark on emigration venture, due to the high amount of expenditures associated with the process of migration, from visa procedures to travel expenses. The category that is more prone to migration is skilled persons with middle income.

The case of Senegal seems to support that theory. In effect, the high rate emigration among professors and teachers in high academic institutions and universities of Senegal is a perfect example. According to SAES (*Syndicat autonome des enseignants supérieurs*), “in eight years, more than 105 university professors and senior researchers fled Senegal to monetize their skills abroad, mainly in French and American universities”. This number is extremely significant, especially if we take into account the low number of professors and researchers the

country has; in 2009, the total number of professors and researchers in Senegal's universities were estimated to be 1,099, including 1002 in Dakar, the capital, and 97 in St. Louis¹⁵”.

The high rate of emigration among university professors and researchers, confirms our argument of an inverted-U shaped relationship between living standard and decision to migrate. As illustrated by Agboten, the emigration of university professors is relatively a new phenomenon in Senegal; as there was a time when university lecturers and researchers received a salary increase in line with senior government officials and enjoyed similar perks and advantages.¹⁶ Then, came the Structural Adjustment Program, which caused a significant decrease in the salaries of university staff, from this time, the decision to emigrate became rampant. According to another study conducted by Abdou Faye on the impact of brain drain on the Senegalese universities, a university lecturer in Senegal with the baccalaureate level¹⁷ and five years of post-secondary school earns between 160,000 CFA francs and 170,000 FCFA (about 246 U.S. dollars to U.S. \$ 261.5). At the same time, a professor, who totaled more than seven years of post-secondary school receives about 600,000 FCFA (about 923 U.S. dollars) a month . And, once in OECD countries, these teachers will not only earn three to five times higher, but will benefit also from better social conditions of living¹⁸.

This mass movement of professors and researchers is due in large part to their problematic social and work environment. In addition to “the deterioration of the learning environment, and ... decline of research” in Senegal, (Makosso 2009: 69-70), Alain Agboton suggests “lack of a

¹⁵ Abdou Faye La fuite des cerveaux affecte de plus en plus l'enseignement supérieur.
www.ipsnews.net/fr/interna.asp?idnews=1470

¹⁶ <http://ospiti.peacelink.it/anb-bia/nr370/e10.html>

¹⁷ Equivalent of high school diploma.

¹⁸ Abdou Faye La fuite des cerveaux affecte de plus en plus l'enseignement supérieur.
www.ipsnews.net/fr/interna.asp?idnews=1470

sense of proportion in the work¹⁹ and frustration from the low salaries paid to professors and researchers, as factors precipitating the departure of this particular category.

Such a tendency resonates with some of our respondents' interjections:

« A mon avis, différentes raisons poussent les surqualifiés à quitter leur pays pour monnayer leurs compétences ailleurs : Il y a tout d'abord l'aspect financier : la plupart du temps, les surqualifiés ont le sentiment d'être sous-estimés chez eux. Ils ne sont pas souvent payés à la hauteur de leurs compétences donc ils n'hésitent pas à partir à l'étranger afin d'avoir un emploi et un salaire qui correspondent à leurs qualifications. Par ailleurs, il arrive que les surqualifiés peinent à trouver un emploi chez eux soit parce que les entreprises n'ont pas les moyens de les payer soit parce que les cadres s'en méfient parce qu'ils sont des concurrents potentiels. Par conséquent pour ne pas se retrouver au chômage, ils préfèrent monnayer leurs compétences ailleurs. [...] Certains immigrants préfèrent également travailler à l'étranger car il y a plus d'avantages sociaux. (N.F, graduate student, Dakar, January, 2013)

«Les conditions de travail aussi font que tous les moyens sont réunis au niveau du poste de travail pour que le salarié puisse atteindre le résultat escompté par son employeur. Il y a le code du travail qui respecte plus le droit et la protection des travailleurs dans un pays développé comparé à mon pays. Il y a les couvertures sociales (maladie, retraite, accident de travail, vieillesse...etc) qui sont plus favorables aux salariés. L'accès au crédit, au logement ainsi que le coût de la vie font de ces pays le lieu idéal pour un

¹⁹ Ibid.

salarié qualifié qui veut réaliser une belle carrière professionnelle » (R.F, works as solar engineer in France, interview conducted in Dakar, December 2012).

In addition to the inequalities in terms of living standard and income between Sub-Saharan African countries and OECD countries, there exist some societal expectations in Senegal that professionals and intellectuals must enjoy certain leverage and perks related to their status. Due to the fact that high education in Senegal is often regarded as a tool and a social elevator that would lead to success and better living conditions²⁰. There has always been a significant difference of standard of living between those educated in higher-education institutions and the rest of society in Senegal (Hendrickson, 2012). Therefore, while for most individuals in Senegal having a steady source of income, epitomizes success and well-being; for professionals and highly educated persons, there is an expectation to have a quality of life equivalent to their academic success. As a result, failure to have those advantages at home may be a motivational factor for skilled individuals to emigrate in search for better living condition:

Ils sont sans doute ... devenus friands légitimes de la logique du Grande Ecole = Poste de Cadre, gros salaire, de la vie dite « à l'occidentale » et ne se voient pas prêt à se battre pour un poste, sur la bases de règles qui leur sont devenues désormais insensées et ce pour un salaire moins excitant. Nous avons rarement vu le retour d'un immigré se baser sur autre chose que l'inquiétude pécuniaire et luxueux. (A.K, graduate student, Dakar, December, 2012).

²⁰ As goes the popular saying, *jangual bo mogguè impose*. Meaning, study hard today, so you can have it your way tomorrow.

4.3: The Politics of Neopatrimonialism:

The second factor that influences skilled individuals' decision to migrate is bad governance, or more specifically, the politics of neopatrimonialism. This translates into a job market that is not based on meritocratic principles, but rather on the personal and political connections one has with a more powerful person, and which undermines severely the Senegalese public services. From the onset, it is worth highlighting that although the practices of neopatrimonialism are to be found in all cultures and it is a worldwide phenomenon that is "omnipresent in modern politics" (Van de Walle, 2011: 155), it is however very prevalent in African societies. To the point, Bratton & Van de Walle concluded that it symbolizes "the core feature of politics in Africa" (citing Engel and Olsen, 2005:36). The literature on neopatrimonialism highlights the fact that respect to the principles of meritocracy is not well-established in Sub-Saharan Africa; those with the right skills and knowledge have a hard time occupying the right profession and advancing further in their careers despite their merit. Instead of objectivity and meritocracy, business transactions, recruitment and appointing are defined to a large extent by neopatrimonial relations, through which public resources are used for personal benefits and gains.

The pervasive nature of political clientelism and neopatrimonialism in Sub-Saharan Africa has generated an interesting debate in both academic and political worlds. A literature review on the scholarly works on patron/ client relationship in the continent shows their fascination towards the subject. In fact, there is no shortage of terms to describe the different forms of corruption related to abuse of power or office. For instance, 'Nepotism', is a term used in some cases to describe a concept based on "kinship and in-group solidarity in terms of recruiting, appointing and allocating public resources as opposed to universalistic criteria of merit hood" (Simon Ulrik

Kragh, 2012: 249). Another term often used is ‘prebendalism’, which is characterized by the “absence of professional administration and a weak capacity of extraction” (Nicolas Van de Walle, 2011: 158). Patronage is also evoked, as a distribution of privileges in return for political supports (Fatton, 1986); ‘favoritism’, the privileging of an elite or a group of persons over others based on interest, (John Mbaku, 2007).

Perhaps, the most used term in defining patron and client relationship in Africa is, ‘neopatrimonialism’. Before the discussing the concept of neopatrimonialism, it may be necessary to be familiar with the concept of patrimonialism first. Max Weber used the term ‘patrimonialism’ to describe a conventional notion in which the ruler exerts patrimonial power over the people (Weber, 1968). Neopatrimonialism on the other hand, is described by Pitcher, Moran and Johnston (2009), as a system “in which political relationship are mediated through, and maintained by, personal connections between leaders and subjects, or patrons and clients” (129). It can also be considered as another form of patrimonial rule, in which ‘patrimonial institutions’ coexist with modern and official institutions. However, while Pitcher, Moran and Johnston argued that neopatrimonialism “had become a “catch-all concept”” (2009: 133) and too general to be conceptualized, Jean-Francois Médard, on the other hand sees this ‘generality’ as a merit not a default. He defined neopatrimonialism as an ideal type of traditional rule based on which the differentiation between the public and private is absent. According to Médard, the notion of neopatrimonialism can include all different forms of political and social corruptions, “clientelism, patronage, copinage, neopotism, tribalism and prebandalism” without losing its specificity (1990: 29-30). The definition outlined by Médard will be used as a reference for this paper, as it will be more suitable to examine the subject under study, for the same reasons that

draw Médard into it. It is more general and it takes into account the social and traditional role, which will be crucial to determine its causality to skilled migration.

However, in spite of the abundance of literature and studies on neopatrimonialism in Africa, scholars have yet to study in depth the impact of this political dynamic on the specific issue of African skilled migration. There is a gap in the literature in linking between high-skilled emigration and neopatrimonialism at home. Most literatures talked about each separately; very few associated them with each other. However, from our standpoint, we perceive the relationship between neopatrimonialism in its different forms (i.e. favoritism, clientelism and corruption) and skilled emigration to be a central question in addressing the determinant factors causing the migration of professionals from Senegal, as we will demonstrate in the next two sections.

4.2 A: Causal Link between Neopatrimonialism and Skilled Migration

There are five phenomena associated with neopatrimonialism: rent seeking, corruption, weak implementation, ethnic politics, and the preservation of poverty and social exclusion (Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith, 2002). All these practices and factors have great impacts in driving away professionals and high-skilled individuals from their source countries. Accordingly, in a study conducted by Marie Hadamovsky *on the Relationship between Corruption and Migration* she predicted a strong relationship between corruption in home country and emigration. Her argument is that countries with high corruption are expected to encourage emigration and discourage immigration and that, low levels of corruption increase the net flow of people on average, and vice versa (2012). On a related note, Katy Bernato (2012) focusing on the migration from Greece to other European countries, concluded that the high level of corruption in Greece

to be a determinant factor of brightest and most educated persons fleeing the country. Certainly, neopatrimonial practices such as corruption and nepotist appointments and recruitment can have a negative impact on local professionals and graduates, and consequently, it can be a determinant factor on their decision to emigrate. The conclusions reached by Frank Nowikowski, whose study focused on the practices of nepotism in Italian universities support our argument. For Nowikowski, the practices of nepotism are to be blamed for urging the country's best researchers and professors to emigrate to the USA or the UK “after failing to progress at home because of their lack of connections” and consequently fueling the brain drain in the country²¹.

Looking at Africa as a whole, John Kuada argues that to understand the organizational behaviour in Africa, researchers must take into consideration the role of family and kin and their importance for employees (1994). While it is true that personal relationship occur on the margin of all bureaucratic systems, Bratton and Van de Walle argue that, they “constitute the foundation and superstructure of political institutions in Africa” (citing Engel and Olsen, 2005: 36). As a result, not only corruption is much prevalent in the region, but also the principle of meritocracy is severely undermined when it comes to recruit individuals in the public sector.

In light of the arguments made in the above literature, we feel confident that the causal relationship between neopatrimonialism and skilled migration applies to the case of Senegal. We elaborate on that in the next section.

²¹ <http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/418337.article>

4.2 B: Neopatrimonialism as Determinant Factor of Skilled Migration from Senegal:

Within the social framework of Senegalese society, the basic unit is “the clan”, which is according to Jonathan Baker, an “entity that may include ethnic group, locality, religion and lineage” (1973: 289). Similarly, Wabgou concluded that in Northern Senegal’s main ethnic community, the traditional solidarities and supports based on the notion of lineage (*lenyol*) and clans (*galle*), or extended family play a vibrant role in the society(2008: 143-146). Given the problem of the scarcity of employment opportunities in the country, which we have analyzed in the previous section, it becomes easier to understand why the few available positions are often attributed through personal connections, not through a meritocratic system. Hence, in order to be able to access these limited resources, individuals rely on their families and connections, rather than their skills and knowledge. Consequently, having skills and credentials are not considered in most cases (Adepoju et al. 2008) and are often undermined by the notion of “particularistic family solidarity”, “social distance” (Kragh, 2012: 249; 2009: 1) that characterize Senegal and most African societies.

In the interviews we have conducted with educated individuals in Senegal and Canada, the problems related to neopatrimonialism do appear to play a major role. Both, potential and actual migrants do perceive this issue as a central one when comes the time to decide whether to migrate or not. As a young graduate student from Dakar told us:

« Pour accéder à certains postes, il ne suffit pas d'avoir des compétences ou du talent mais plutôt du piston. Le piston prime sur le talent, ce qui est injuste car on ne met pas souvent les hommes qu'il faut à la place qu'il faut ! Le piston semble être un atout majeur sur la route de la réussite alors qu'un poste doit se mériter [...] Il est parfois aussi plus aisé de gravir les échelons à l'étranger par le biais de formation, de concours

ou de promotion interne alors qu'au Sénégal, un employé peut occuper le même poste durant des années avant de voir ses fonctions évoluer » (N.F, graduate student, Dakar, January 2013).

The perception of this informant is confirmed by statistical studies conducted by international organizations. A Transparency International report (2009-2010), which analyzes the nature of regimes across all branches and agencies in the government across Africa, found that Senegal suffers from corruption at all levels of governments and private sector. Moreover, in its 2012 Corruption Perception Index, Transparency International ranked Senegal among the most corrupt nations²². The combination of massive corruption and under-development that exist in Senegal handicapped the country's ability to create favorable conditions for economic and social development for its citizens and most importantly, for its graduates and professionals. As these circumstances are likely to be an obstacle and impede the ability of graduates and professionals to achieve their career goals in Senegal; particularly, if we take into account the "huge number of educated people with no jobs" in Senegal (Sylla, 2011: 219). As a result, there is a sense of frustration among the educated Senegalese who cannot flourish or cannot find an adequate employment at home. Consequently, these individuals will opt for emigration and monetize their skills and knowledge. One of the respondents we have interviewed, an engineer now working in France, explained that:

« Parmi les obstacles...Il y a aussi la corruption et le manque de professionnalisme des autorités qui recrutent souvent par affinité ou par complaisance ... » (R.F, works as a solar energy engineer in France, interviews conducted in Dakar, December 2012). His

²² Senegal is ranked 94th out of 174 countries and scored 36 out of 100 (<http://cpi.transparency.org/cpi2012/results/>)

perception echoes that of a university graduate, a young man from Dakar, who told me that

« [...] La corruption et l'absence de règle claire dans les recrutements et promotion. Chez nous une promotion est rarement donnée au mérite, généralement c'est du clientélisme, du népotisme voire même du tribalisme et je pense que cette injustice crée des appels d'airs pour l'étranger » (M., a university graduate, Dakar, January 2013).

Other respondents made similar arguments:

Ainsi, beaucoup de diplômés sénégalais sont sans emploi ou exploités [...] Il est très difficile de décrocher un stage encore moins un emploi si on n'a pas un carnet d'adresse bien garni (H.B, an intern in a law firm, Dakar, December 2012).

« Un autre obstacle serait le besoin sénégalais d'user d'un « bras long », et non des compétences et qualifications, pour intégrer les positions et entreprises qui définissent notre projet professionnel. Ou encore, la réalité du marché, mais cela bien sur reste un facteur incorruptible qui ne relève pas de notre propre vouloir. Cela fait partie du 'jeu' » (A.K, graduate student, Dakar, December, 2012).

For some authors, this issue raises an interesting paradox that professionals and public officials face: on one hand, they have to adhere to the norms and rules of their profession, which require impersonality, objectivity, neutrality and equality of rights without consideration of a person's family or kin-group. On the other hand, there are cultural norms and societal expectation that require professionals to “profitoo” and take advantage of their status to assist and serve the interest of their family members and relatives. The failure to do so can be regarded

as a “lack of dignity” and antipathies towards family members (Blundo and Sardan, 2002: 44). These practices are well-ingrained in the socio-cultural norms of Senegal, to the point “people begin to regard it as the norm” (Lawal, 2007: 1), which can consecutively deter the ‘moral’ and behavioral integrity of individuals, as argued by Blundo and de sardan (2002: 235). Therefore, after a long stay abroad, many professionals and graduates will start seeing these norms and morals in different light, as they feel no longer able to adhere to these types of practices. A gap has opened up between their current norms and the norms of their home societies and they find it difficult to accept certain aspects of their home societies; it becomes ‘upside down’ culture shock. As one of our respondents puts it:

« On quitte le Sénégal comme étudiant ou élèves avec beaucoup de rêves. Mais ne nous voilons pas la face. On y revient soit comme porteurs de projets ou comme chercheurs d'emploi. Ce qui fait que les facteurs endogènes au marché du travail sénégalais peuvent, dans la plus part du temps, jouer contre le revenant surqualifiés c'est à dire la méconnaissance du marché du travail et aussi des règles de recrutement opaques inextricables qui perdent le revenant. Il y'a une très forte appréhension des méthodes de recrutement basées sur le relationnel dans le privé comme dans le public » (M.L.D, PHD student in Toulouse, Interview conducted in Dakar, December 2012).

Although there is a genuine desire for most skilled-individuals from Senegal, to use “their intellectual abilities at the service of their countries”; however, this desire is likely to grow into a source of daily anxiety and frustrations, due to the ongoing “corruption and lack of human security” at home (Dia, 2005:157).

The interposition of some of our respondents confirmed this analysis:

Upon my graduation from Sherbrooke, I returned home with an intention to settle and use my expertise for the benefit of my country, but I was very disappointed and disheartened by the way people handle business there. [...] I could not see myself working under the responsibility of someone, whose only merit was to be related to an influential person and was awarded the position because of that [...] I decided to apply for immigration Canada” (C.T, financier in an international bank in Canada, February 2013).

To sum up, we have learnt in this section that, in Senegal, the allocation of resources and hiring process are heavily inclined to clientelistic networks. Because of that, highly qualified and skilled individuals, who do not belong to well-connected clientelistic networks, are often excluded from qualified jobs. Consequently, these individuals would consider migrating and monetizing their skills abroad, where the job markets are more merit-oriented.

Section 5: Government (Anti) Migration Policies

Senegal is one of the few countries in Sub-Saharan Africa to address the emigration of its nationals and particularly the professionals, as a foreign and public policy issue (Adepoju et al. 2008; Diatta and Mbow, 1999; Tall and Tandian, 2010). In this section, we evaluate the Senegalese states’ policy towards migration of its professionals and elites. We will analyze whether it is efficient or not in maintaining the skilled at home, facilitating the return and re-integration of the skilled emigrants.

A number of scholars agreed that skilled migration poses real policy difficulty for sending countries, due in part to the complexity of migration issues (Bhagwati and Hanson, 2009; Adepoju et al, 2008). Perhaps, such a complexity is an indicator of why policies concerning skilled migration are some of the most debated issues on migration literature. Although there is an agreement among scholars about the needs for effective migration policies, however, their disagreement lies on how to develop and implement coherent policies that limit the mass exodus of the most needed skills, while preserving the interests of both sending countries and the migrants themselves. Indeed, the mass movement of certain skills and professions i.e. doctors and health care workers are detrimental to Sub-Saharan African countries and there is an urgent need to adopt policies that limit if not to retain them home. Because, the “hemorrhaging of health professionals from African countries is easily the single most serious human resource problem facing the health sector today” (citing Adepoju et al, 2008: 32).

A number of recommendations have been suggested by migration specialists and scholars, such as: restricting the emigration of certain professionals and calling for the OECD receiving countries to stop hiring skilled individuals from Sub-Saharan Africa, as it constitute an unfair trade and a theft of investment. Other ideas suggested that receiving countries ought to pay “departure tax” to sending countries (Wabgou, 2008: 146). However, scholars such as David Ellerman called these recommendations “archaic and unimplementable” (2003: 31). Additionally, there are serious human rights and discriminatory concerns that are at stake if applied. Can a country like Canada for instance, tells a Senegalese or Ghanaian doctor that s/he must return home, while at the same time allowing an immigrant doctor from South America or Asia to settle down and start a new life? Hence, Bhagwati argued that, certain anti-migration measures are “likely to run afoul of anti-discrimination principles and constitutional provisions

in [most] countries”²³. Though there have been significant efforts in developing policies regarding “ethical recruitment of skilled professionals”²⁴, mostly concerning health workers from Sub-Saharan Africa, its implementations are judged to be unsatisfactory (Adepoju et al, 2008:32).

Undeniably, educating and training skilled individuals cost African countries in a variety of ways. In order to recuperate some of that investment, some policy ideas suggested “that the cost of higher public education should be treated as a loan (secured in some fashion) unless the graduates satisfy certain minimum requirement of public service after graduation”. Although this policy would seem to be fair, however, Ellerman concluded that “it may be difficult to implement” particularly for African states (2003: 30).

Conceivably, that is why Bhagwati claimed that the most important characteristic any migration policy should take into account is its practicability (2012). Keeping people at home is easier said than done, however. Simply attempting to retain skilled persons at home at any cost, can cause more harm than benefit. As he illustrated, “[T]rapped in Kinshasa, under appalling conditions, the brain will drain away in less time than it takes to get to New York”²⁵. For this reason, in addition to the human rights concerns in restricting migration, Bhagwati argues that restricting or limiting skilled emigration “would do little for their countries”²⁶. Instead, he proposes that tax be levied on citizens abroad, known as the “Bhagwati Tax”²⁷. The argument

²³ <http://www.project-syndicate.org/print/the-brain-drain-panic-returns>

²⁴ The Code was adopted by Commonwealth health ministries in 2003, it encourages fairness and recommends that recruitment should be transparent and take into consideration the needs of home countries, as well as facilitating the return of the professionals at the end of their contracts.

²⁵ <http://www.project-syndicate.org/print/the-brain-drain-panic-returns>

²⁶ Ibid

²⁷ The “Bhagwati Tax” as he claimed is inspired by the American system, as in US citizens and permanent residents abroad, like those at home, must pay federal taxes.

behind it is that, the diaspora must accept certain obligations towards their home countries, which would put them on an equal footing with their compatriots remaining at home.

5.1: Senegal: Policies for Encouraging the Return and Retention of Skilled Migrants

In Senegal, the government has been exploring policies and strategies to attract their nationals back, in order to contribute to local development. Through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Senegalese Resident Abroad, the Senegalese government have held meetings with its constituents in the diaspora, encouraging them with offers of incentives to return (Adepoju et al, 2008; Diatta and Mbow, 1999). Nonetheless, the Senegalese government find itself in an awkward situation, when it comes to developing and implementing policies capable of facilitating the return and retaining of its skilled migrants. On the one hand, emigration is regarded by the government not only as a mean to reduce domestic unemployment, but also an important contribution in boosting “revenue into the country through migrants’ remittances” (Adepoju et al, 2008: 26). On the other hand, the government is aware of (and worried about) the detrimental effects of the loss of those skills in terms of achieving development and most importantly, the loss of investment associated with skilled emigration.

In actual fact, the international migration of Senegalese nationals have been an important element in the country’s foreign policies since the early days of independence, with a number of initiatives been adopted throughout the years to address issues related to migrants and diaspora. In 1965, the Senegalese government signed the first of many conventions with its French counterpart for social security benefits of its nationals in France (Diatta and Mbow, 1999). Additionally, a number of initiatives and efforts have been taken in the past by the Senegalese

government, to facilitate the return and the re-integration of its nationals living abroad. As “the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Senegalese Abroad was restructured in 1993 to enhance the welfare of nationals abroad, including their repatriation and rehabilitation” (Adepoju et al, 2008:36).

However, it was in 2002 that the migration of skilled individuals became one of the fundamental elements of political, economic and social debate of the country. A special Council of Ministers was held in 2002 to address issues related to the mass movements of the Senegalese professionals and skilled individuals (Adepoju et al, 2008; Tall and Tandian, 2010). As a result, the government of Senegal, with the assistance on UNDP through the *TOKEN* Program²⁸, implemented strategies aimed at attracting back its nationals abroad and benefitting from their experiences and competencies acquired abroad. Perhaps, one of the most important strategies the Senegalese government adopted in its efforts to limit the outflow of its skilled nationals was a bilateral agreement on labour migration signed with France in 2006 (Adepoju et al, 2008). It is worth mentioning here that the treaty itself came about as a reaction towards the ‘selective migration bill’ adopted by French government, which was severely criticised by the then Senegalese president, Abdoulaye Wade.

Some of the major decisions the agreement focused on were:

- 1) *Measures against the brain drain: making it possible for Senegalese students and professionals to migrate temporarily to France, to enhance their professional skills and then return home, to participate in the development of their country.*

²⁸ Transfer of Knowledge Through Expatriate National, a UNDP program.

2) *Measures to strengthen Franco-Senegalese cooperation for economic and social development: aiming at supporting the Senegalese government in speeding up growth and development in Senegal, in order to eradicate the root causes of general migration through the creation of jobs and the enhancement of agriculture, fishing, health, micro-projects for development- all within the framework of co-development policies* (Adepoju et al, 2008: 148).

Although such a treaty was theoretically feasible, it has failed to live up to its potential, as the outflow of professional continues and the fact that France can still single handedly select the immigrants it needs without consulting the Senegalese government is a good indicator of such a failure. The “unilateral character” of the treaty is considered to be one of the reasons why it was unsuccessful. Because, not only the Senegalese government simply ‘negotiated’ an initiative that came from French government, but most importantly, it did not take into account the view of the principal actors: the migrants themselves (Adepoju et al, 2008: 149). Instead of having an inclusive approach, most initiatives adopted by the Senegalese government were mere exclusive agreements between governments and almost exclusively with France. Not surprisingly, throughout our interviews with Senegalese skilled emigrants in Ottawa, we find that all our respondents in Ottawa are not aware of Senegal’s migration policies:

« Pas trop. [et] Si elles existent, je dirai que ces politiques ne me paraissent pas très efficaces » (S.K, Senior engineer in fiber optics, Ottawa February 2013)

« Rien. Il est déjà arrivé qu'un agent du ministère des affaires étrangères du Sénégal nous à rencontre Ottawa dans le cadre du projet Tokten²⁹ de la Banque mondiale, mais sans suite. Depuis lors, rien ne nous est parvenu en ce sens » (M.D, Policy Advisor at the Canadian Parliament, Ottawa, February 2012).

The Senegalese government has proposed wide perspectives of programs and policies favouring return of migrants. In 2006, it has proposed a new strategy encouraging the immigrants' return to be linked into agriculture with the so called: Plan REVA³⁰. However, there are a number of reasons to believe that such an initiative was set to failure from the onset. Because, the agriculture is not a new development; it has been there even before skilled-individuals decide to leave the country to monetize their skills and knowledge abroad. Besides, it is not lucrative enough to induce skilled migrants to return home, especially, after many years of high education, sophisticated training and possibly high-profiling jobs overseas, coming back home just to work in the agricultural sector may not be very realistic. Thus, if we take into account the fact that the agricultural sector in Senegal and in most Sub-Saharan African countries, while employs a large number of people, it remains significantly informal and generates very low income and productivity. Most importantly, for many Senegalese, agriculture is not regarded as a “worthy realisation³¹” for homecoming, or an indication of improvement in one's socio-economic status (Wabgou, 2008: 26; 153), which is of prime importance in Senegalese society. Especially, if we take into account the societal expectations often associated with high education.

²⁹ Transfer of Knowledge Through Expatriate Nationals, a program initiated by UNDP to counter the effect of brain drain in developing countries.

³⁰ Retour Vers l'agriculture.

³¹ Wabgou made an emphasis on this word, because, according to him, “the Senegalese immigrant usually has a very peculiar conception of the dignity or honour that he would receive if he returned home. This dignity is linked to the concomitant improvement in his socio-economic conditions” (2008: 153)

There is an important paradoxical inclination in the governance of migration in Senegal. While in theory the government is calling its nationals, particularly, its skilled professionals to return home; in practice, their politics can be viewed as motivating individuals to emigrate. In fact, the most 'effective' migration policies the country have developed are the ones interested in promoting migrant remittances for an investment purposes. The government often uses its embassies to circulate information and motivate its nationals abroad on domestic investment opportunities specific for migrants. A number of initiatives have been adopted by the government that benefit immigrants largely over the rest of the population. From facilitating loans to lowering the customs duties and taxes on specific imported products and services brought to the country by immigrants (Diatta and Mbow, 1999; Adepoju et al, 2008), one can question the government priorities and sincerity when it comes to migration policies.

With the continuous lamentation over the loss of skilled professionals, Adepoju posits that Sub-Saharan African leaders should be aware that, "migrant remittances do not compensate for the potential contribution of skilled emigrants through training and the transfer of expertise to young cohort at home" (2008: 45). In order for any policy encouraging the return and retention of skilled migrants to be effective, the Senegalese governments needs to address the factors that are driving this phenomenon in the first place, before endeavouring into the mission of returning skilled migrants back, as argued by Adepoju et al (2008). Issues such as: chronic poverty, unemployment, low wages and bad governance prompt skilled persons to leave their home countries. Once that is taken care of, then they could attempt to "provide returnees with places to work in environments conducive to productivity, and with due reward for their efforts" (Adepoju et al, 2008:35).

Section 6: Conclusion

In conclusion, this dissertation has addressed the ongoing occurrence of international migration of skilled individuals from Senegal, by focusing on the determinant factors and actors' perceptions that are causing the outflow of professionals and skilled persons, also known as push factors. Moreover, the paper has also explored migration policy in Senegal and the roles of government strategies in limiting or retaining skilled emigration.

Leaving one's home to monetize its knowledge and skills is a complex issue, "it expresses at once a movement, a lack, a desire, a choice, a complex situation ... [and] a drama" (Dia, 2005: 157). Hence, in order to better understand the motives and logics behind the individual's decision to emigrate, we have relied on information from traditional sources (books, journal articles and newspapers), as well as interviewing principal actors i.e. potential and skilled emigrants from Senegal. As a result, we have identified internal and external factors related to development and good governance that play an important role in perpetrating this phenomenon. Issues such as: endemic poverty related to under-development, unemployment, search for better living conditions, failed education system and the absence of fair and objective recruitment are driving more and more talented and skilled Senegalese into migrating to a variety of destinations. In addition to these internal factors, the ability of the Senegalese government to utilize its professionals is often hampered by certain external restrictions imposed by some international organizations.

Indeed, like most sub-Saharan African countries, Senegal is facing serious challenges in retaining, attracting back and effectively utilizing its skilled nationals. Although a number of initiatives have been developed to allow the Senegalese government to utilize the expertise of its

nationals, but these initiatives are in most cases not home grown. Meaning, they were not developed by the Senegalese government and they did not take into account the perspective of migrants themselves; hence, they were insufficient and inadequate. On this point, we refer to Wabgou, “in order to find real solutions to the issue of migration from Senegal, the Senegalese government has to take its own initiative instead of waiting for proposals” (2008: 148).

What is needed first and foremost is to address the determinant factors that are feeding the international emigration of skilled individuals from the country, then, develop pragmatic and realistic strategies that would attract back and retain the most needed expertise at home. Unless those measures are taken and applied rigorously, the outflow of skilled will continue and will have brighter days ahead.

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Annex One: Interview Questions (Dakar)

Nom :

Parcours académique :

Parcours professionnel:

- 1- En tant que diplômé ou surqualifié voyez-vous l'immigration comme une bonne perspective dans votre plan de carrière? Pourquoi et pourquoi pas ?
- 2- Quels sont les obstacles potentiels vers la réalisation de vos objectifs de plan de carrière au Sénégal (s'il y'en a) ?
- 3- Selon vous, pourquoi des surqualifiés abandonnent leur pays pour monnayer leurs compétences ailleurs?

Annex Two: Interview Questions (Ottawa)

Academic background:

Parcours académique :

Professional background:

Parcours professionnel:

Q1: What are your perceptions of Senegalese skilled Emigration?

Q1: Quelle est votre perception de l'immigration des Sénégalais diplômés?

Q2: What are the determinant factors behind your decision to pursue your professional career abroad?

Q2: Quels sont les facteurs déterminants qui ont motivé votre décision de poursuivre votre carrière professionnelle à l'étranger?

Q3 (A): What do you know about the policies of the Senegalese government for retaining and repatriating skilled individuals back to Senegal?

Q3 (A): Que savez-vous des politiques du gouvernement Sénégalais afin de rapatrier et retenir les diplômés en retour au Sénégal?

(B): How would you evaluate their effectiveness or ineffectiveness?

(B): Comment évaluez-vous leur efficacité et leur inefficacité?

(C): What are your suggestions to limit the outflow of skilled migrants from Senegal?

(C): Quelles sont vos suggestions pour limiter la fuite des émigrés diplômés ?