



ORIGINAL PAPER

From “brain drain” to “brain gain”. Where does Romania stand?

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Abstract

The article starts from the definition of "brain gain" and "brain drain" and the effects of this transfer of highly qualified human resources from less prosperous countries, to the more developed countries. Afterwards, it is presented the current "brain drain-brain gain" phenomenon, aiming at highlighting the highly skilled migration flows and statistical data from the OECD and European Union member states. The last part of the article highlights the situation in Romania, showing the evolution and consequences of the "brain drain" by using the inquiry investigation technique, based on the questionnaire, applied to 250 of inhabitants of Craiova, thus aiming to analyse the perception on the brain drain phenomenon.

Keywords: *brain drain, brain gain, OECD and UE countries, Romania, statistical data, sociological research*

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”Brain drain” and ”brain gain”. A theoretical perspective

Migration can be defined as a mass movement of the population from one territory to another, as a result of certain factors of a different nature: economics, social, political and natural issues (The Romanian Academy, 2009: 624). People migrate for various reasons, but the focus of this study is on the highly skilled people, with a university background. That is *brain migration*, also known as *brain drain* in the specialized literature.

The British Royal Society initiated the syntagm of ”brain drain”, by referring to the migration of scientists and technology experts in the 1950’s and 1960’s, from the Great Britain to the United States of America and Canada (Cervantes and Guellec, 2002 apud. Gibson and McKenzie, 2011: 3). In 1969, “Brain migration” was described by the UNESCO as „an abnormal form of scientific exchange between countries, characterized by a one-way flow in favour of the most highly developed countries” (UNESCO, 1969 apud. Kaemf and Singh, 1987: 2). Beine, Docquier and Rapoport see ”brain drain” or ”brain migration” as ”an international transfer of human capital, especially in the sense of highly qualified people migrating from less prosperous countries to more prosperous states” (Beine, Docquier and Rapoport, 1998: 631–652). In the Oxford Dictionary ”brain drain” is defined as ”the emigration of highly trained or qualified people from a particular country” (Oxford Dictionary). Rapoport and Docquier notice that, in the *New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics*, ”brain drain” is most frequently used to describe ”the migration of engineers, physicists, scientists and other professionals who have high qualifications and university training” (Docquie and Rapoport, 2007 apud. Gibson and McKenzie, 2011: 3).

On the other hand, for the countries which receive this incoming labour force, the phenomenon is called ”brain gain” and thus, these states use the immigrants’ qualifications to develop certain sectors, with no significant investments in training and qualification. The gain of the countries of origin consists of the remittance the migrants send to the people left behind, and possibly the transfer of knowledge and the creation of scientific networks. The losses of the country of origin lie in the educational expenses incurred by the training of the human resource and the departure of the highly qualified people from the system (Schellinger, 2015: 5-6).

Sociological theories that are relevant to the field of brain drain

The migration theories analyse the evolution of the migration phenomenon from various perspectives, including aspects such as: causes, effects, characteristics, factors etc. Relevant theories include those put forward by E.G. Ravenstein, Samuel A. Stouffer, Everett S. Lee, the theory of neoclassical economics, the theory of the new economics of migration, the theory of the dual and segmented labour market, the dependency theory, the migration network theory, the systemic theory. Whilst all of these theories are important, the most relevant ones for the field of brain migration are the *dependency theory* and *the (world) system theory*. On the other hand, *the theory of the dual and segmented labour market* is the one which most clearly explains the high level of international migration in the secondary sector, as compared to the migration in the primary sector (the brain migration).

The theory of dependence has played an important part in the evolution of the concept of migration ”by imposing a shift of perspective, and by generating the theory of

the world system, with strong emphasis on the macrostructural aspects which lead to the development of the migrants' flows" (Constantinescu, 2002: 102).

The idea behind the dependency theory is that the global order reflects a domination on the part of the industrialised capitalist countries as compared to the under-developed or developing societies. This theory revealed the fact that " the under-developed countries have always been a source of raw materials, inexpensive workforce and a marketplace for the developed countries – which have been constantly interested in avoiding competition in an extremely competitive era. Thus, the third-world countries became economically dependent upon exports, they are forced to obtain substantial financial support from abroad, they shelter transnational companies, and they become ever less capable of exerting control over their own economies, as well as their own youth, who become fascinated with the metropolises and educational systems in the Western world, and who can benefit from higher training in the Western capitalist countries" (Otovescu, 2008: 115).

Emigration from the poor countries to the rich ones has always been of interest and has provided relevant information regarding the relation between these two categories of states. In the developed countries, the issue of "brain-drain" has been a topic of research in the field of the dependency theory " in the context of the examination of the losses in the under-developed societies in relation to those states which are economically and socially developed" (Otovescu, 2008: 115)

The world-system theory is approached by a series of researchers, the most representative of whom is Immanuel Wallerstein, who examined the relation between the developed countries and the less developed ones, and concluded that the latter have fewer opportunities to reach the same level as the developed societies. This is due, on one hand, to the considerable difference between them, and, on the other hand, to the structure of the dependent economies. They are useful to the strong societies, which are in constant search for inexpensive raw materials and workforce and safe marketplaces. According to Wallerstein, the current polarisation of the world system originates in the difference between the "peripheral" areas, in which there has been an accumulation, and the "central" areas, which have become the home of capitalism. It also showed that the world system dependency consists of three parts: the centre, the semi-peripheral areas and the peripheral ones (Wallerstein, 1994).

"International migration has integrated permanent, growing flows between peripheral and semi-peripheral areas to the societies in the centre of the world system. Many people have departed from the traditional yet poor community, full of diseases and misery, to migrate in search of a better life in the city, and, later on, to the countries in the centre of the world economy" (Wallerstein, 1994).

The theory of the dual and segmented labour market explains international migration from the perspective of the destination country, whilst ignoring the determining factor in the country of origin. This theory, represented by *Michael J. Piore*, Lang and Dickens is based upon the idea that the international migration of the workforce is related to the course of the developed economies in the capitalist societies, to the opportunities in those states. The theory divides the labour force market into two sectors: the primary sector and the secondary sector (Otovescu, 2008: 113). In the description of the theory of the dual and segmented labour market " the *primary sector* is mainly characterised by stable jobs, decent work conditions, generous benefits and the possibility of promotion, whereas the *secondary sector* is characterised by instable, under-qualified jobs, hard or dangerous work conditions and low possibility of promotion" (Constantinescu, 2002:

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100). Thus, this theory explains the fact that, in the receiving countries, in today's society of women's emancipation and higher education available to an increasing number of people, the jobs in the secondary sector (unstable, under-qualified and in hard work conditions) are no longer attractive to the locals, which makes these jobs available to migrants. From the perspective of this theory, brain drain is related to the availability of jobs in the primary sector, and it is less intense in relation to the migration of the labour force in the secondary sector.

The evolution of the “brain drain” phenomenon at international level

Globalization has begun to emerge as a new world order, unleashing profound social transformation (Niță, 2014: 18), with “progress of top technique” and economic competition (Ilie, 2014: 240), so, in this context, migration was able to “develop and improve social and economic conditions, or, perpetuate stagnation and inequality” (Porumbescu, 2015:166). In absolute values, the migration rate for highly qualified people has increased, owing, on one hand, to a higher level of education in the countries of origin, and, on the other hand, to better infrastructure, to improved transportation and to the development of international organizations and state connections.

Within the doctrine, the “brain-drain” term is used in parallel to that of “brain-gain”, which makes the residents of a particular country improve their level of qualification, due to the risk of importing highly qualified people (Gibson and McKenzie, 2011: 10).

Between 1960 and 2010, the international migrant stock has gone from 74 million to 188 million. However, given the increase of the world's population, this increase of the migration rate was merely from 2.7% to 2.8% (UNDP, 2009 apud. Gibson and McKenzie, 2011: 7). On the other hand, following an analysis of the migration of the people with third level education in 6 OECD states, Cecily Defoort concluded that, between 1975 and 2000, it increased fourfold (Defoort, 2008: 285-318).

The migration rate for the states in the OECD has increased substantially over the past 10 years (UNDESA, 2013). An analysis of the migration rate of people with higher education – the proportion of residents with higher education who live in an OECD member state – reveals the fact that low-income countries are inversely affected by “brain drain”. In some parts of the Sub-Saharan African region and in Central America, sometimes half of those having graduated from higher education migrate to OECD member states, with serious consequences to critical sectors, such as education, health and engineering (OECD, 2016).

Most often, migration displays some rather controversial elements. For instance, an emigrant who is qualified in one field of activity in the country of origin may not have the chance to exercise their profession in the host country and will therefore be forced to turn to another sector.

The developing countries could benefit from this “brain drain”, should the countries of origin and the countries of destination sign treaties to encourage “the repatriation of knowledge and skills” (brain circulation). The diaspora networks play an essential part, such as in the case of the Indian migrants who started some companies and returned to their country of origin (OECD, 2016).

Within the European Union, migration tends to be permanent, from poor to rich countries, leading to a massive reduction of the qualified labour force in the countries of origin, whereas in the countries of destination the number of qualified people in on the

rise. Since the year 2000, the European states have witnessed the highest migration rate, for instance 8.3% in Romania (UNDESA, 2013: 4).

As for the educational level of the emigrants, one third of them, aged less than 15, have got no higher education, mostly because the majority of the jobs on offer, available to the migrants are not in the primary sector (UNDESA, 2013: 5).

In 2010-2011, the number of the emigrants with higher education, originating in the OECD states was 31 million, 13 million more than in 2000-2001. As compared to 2000-2011, in 2010-2011 there can be noticed an increase of the number of emigrants with higher education, originating in the following areas: Asia and Oceania, the European states which were not members of the OECD and Central Asia, the Middle East and North Africa, the OECD, Latin America and the Caribbean, Sub-Saharan Africa (OECD, 2015: 26). The number of the highly qualified emigrants originating from Asia and Oceania in 2010-2011 was 8.3 million, in the European states which were not members of the OECD, in Central Asia, in Latin America and in the Caribbean, the number of emigrants with third level education went to 3.9 million, respectively 3.8 million. The most significant increase of the number of highly qualified emigrants was in the Sub-Saharan African region. This number almost doubled as compared to the rate of 940.000 in 2000-2001 (OECD, 2015: 25-26).

In 2000/01 – 2010/11 in the OECD member states, the top five countries with highly qualified emigrants stayed the same, and in 2010/11, it consisted of India (2.2 million), the Philippines (1.5 million), China (1.5 million), the United Kingdom (1.5 million) and Germany (1.2 million) (OECD, 2015: 25-26).

In 2010/11 Romania was among the states which saw the number of emigrants with higher education increase at a significant rate: 108%. besides Romania, there are also some other countries with impressive migration rates: Brasil (105%), Poland (114%), Columbia (116%) and Pakistan and India (123%) (OECD, 2015: 26-27).

It is also worth noting the fact that 46% of the total number of emigrants originating from Asia and Oceania had higher education.

Regarding the gender of the highly qualified emigrants, in 2010/11 there were more than 16 million women (whereas in 2000/01 there were 9 million less), as compared to the number of men: 15 million as compared to the 9 million registered in 2000/01 (OECD, 2015: 29).

In 2010/11, the favourite countries of destination for the highly qualified emigrants were the United States of America, the United Kingdom and Canada, these three countries hosting 62% of these emigrants (OECD, 2015: 29).

Over the past few years, an important element of the international migration and of the ever-growing phenomenon of "brain-drain" was the students' migration. In 2012 at the level of the OECD states there were 2.7 million international students, more than in 2008, when there were merely 2.2 million students studying abroad (OECD, 2015: 29-30).

The evolution of "brain drain" and "brain gain" in Romania

In Romania, this *brain migration* phenomenon has become increasingly important after the year 2007, upon admission to the European Union. The main reason was the fact that it is easier to leave the country to make a better living in the Western countries. This phenomenon cannot be analysed in terms of "good" or "bad", due to the fact that, from a migrant's perspective, this decision is good for them, but bad for the country. The main reason for the negative impact of migration upon our society is the fact

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that the elite will no longer stay home, in Romania, which will lead to a shortage of scientists in various fields such as medicine or the IT industry. In our view, this phenomenon should be reduced as much as possible, because it can obviously not be stopped.

An analysis of the Romanian residents, based upon the statistical data provided by the National Statistics Institute, reveals a considerable change between 2002 (21.723.710 inhabitants) and 2013 (20.020.074 inhabitants), namely a difference of approximately 1.7 million inhabitants (approximately 9%) (NIS, 2014: 5). It can be noticed the fact that, following Romania's admission to the European Union, between 2007 and 2008, the number of Romanian residents decreased by approximately 500.000 (2%) (NIS, 2014: 5).

If we take into consideration various sets of information from several databases (the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the World Bank, 2011; the International Organization of Migration, 2008; Ilie, 2014: 66) it is correct to give an estimate figure of 3 million Romanian residents left to live abroad over the past 27 years.

Nevertheless, the data of the national census in 2011 revealed a number of 1.113.269 Romanian emigrants, 727.540 of whom had been gone abroad for more than 12 months and 385.729 temporary emigrants (NIS, 2012).

According to the National Statistics Institute, the main category of Romanian emigrants consists of people aged between 25 and 64 years old, both in 2002 and in 2012. The second category consists of people aged between 15 and 24 years old, being the second proportion both in 2002 and in 2012 (NIS, 2014: 13).

At the same time, Romania is affected by population ageing. In 2010 the average age was 38.3 years old, whereas in the European Union the average was 40.9 years old. Under the current circumstances, by 2060, Romania will come second in Europe, when referring to population ageing, the demographic dependency ratio reaching a level of 64.8%. Therefore our country will have to adopt a set of measures to prevent the migration of young people towards the Western countries and to facilitate the increase of the birth rate.

Holland and his collaborators, in their study “Labour mobility within the EU - The impact of enlargement and the functioning of the transitional Arrangements” in 2011, estimated that, for the time period between 2004 and 2009 the highest country leaving rate was in Romania (7.3%), as compared to the net rates of EU-2 and EU-8. (Holland et. al, 2011; 252).

In a report entitled “Social Affairs and Inclusion, Employment and Social Developments in Europe. 2011” it is mentioned the fact that Romania has the highest mobility rate, of over 11%, even including the 7-year period (between 2004 and 2011), when the mobility rate was 6% (European Commission. DGE, 2011: 253).

In 2010/11 Romania was among the states with the highest rates of emigration towards the OECD member states, many of these emigrants having benefitted from higher education. Thus, in 2000/01 there were 268.200 highly qualified emigrants, whereas in 2010/11 there were 557.100 emigrants, which adds up to a 108% increase. The emigration rate of the highly qualified people was 16% in 2000/01 and 21% in 2010/11 (OECD, 2015: 26-27).

Regarding Romania's status as a destination country for the highly qualified emigrants, the UN 2013 report highlighted a surprising situation. Thus, it showed that, by 2010-2011, Romania received 109.000 highly qualified emigrants, most of whom originated in Asia and Africa. Apparently, the number of highly qualified people who

have left the country by 2011 was less than 10% of the highly qualified Romanian citizens (UNDESA, 2013).

The Western countries are fully aware of the advantages of employing young people from less developed countries. The people chosen for being employed are often excellent in their respective fields of study. The advantages of the Western countries consist of the fact that the immigrants are often paid less, they do not require expensive training, and the employing companies attract highly qualified people, thus contributing to the development of the host country.

In a paper published in 2011, entitled "Al patrulea Val. Migrația Creierelor pe ruta Romania-Occident" ("The Fourth Wave. Brain drain on the route Romania- the countries of the West", the authors notice the fact that the tendency of "brain migration" from Romania is oriented towards the well developed countries such as: the United States of America, Great Britain, Germany and France. These countries are the first four choices of Romanians (Alexe et. al, 2011: 9).

The migration of the Romanian citizens, whether or not they have higher education, has led to serious problems in Romania. In the long run, the social and economic effects of this mass migration are negative: population decline as a result of a deteriorated age structure of the population; faster population ageing due to the fact that the second-generation migrants, the offspring of the current migrants, choose to live abroad because they have studied there; many divorces; low level of remittances due to ever less frequent contact with the family members left behind, and because of the frequent instances of entire families deciding to move abroad (Ilie, 2014: 65-66); a loss of the money invested in training the young people who decide to emigrate; increasing community and regional discrepancies throughout the Romanian territory, as poor villages and counties become even poorer than those which have benefited from the money the migrants have sent home (Sandu, 2010).

In terms of the direct effects that migration has upon the Romanian labour force, there can be mentioned: a deficit of labour force; a diminishing number of tax payers; returning emigrants employed illegally or informally; strong pressure upon the national retirement system ("It is estimated that the proportion of the people aged at least 65 will double from 15% to 30% by the year 2060 and that the number of working people will diminish by 30%, thus leading to strong pressure upon the national retirement system, medical services and long-term healthcare") (MLFSPE, 2015: 3); pressure upon the medical services (in 2008, the density of doctors for 10.000 inhabitants was 19 and 25 in 2011, as compared to 33 in the EU); fields of activity which are seriously damaged by the massive migration of the labour force, such as healthcare, education or research (Ilie, 2014: 65-66), both in terms of efficiency and of personnel.

In Romania, one of the sectors seriously affected by the brain drain in healthcare. Out of the 50.000 doctors who are currently (in the year 2010) working in Romania, approximately 2000 migrate each year to the Western countries. In March 2016, in an interview for DC News, the President of the Romanian College of Physicians, Gheorghe Borcean said that 14.000 Romanian doctors have chosen to move to the Western countries over the past 15 years, which means that 2 or 3 doctors leave the country every day.

Another issue which is in close connection to brain drain is the fact that many young people go abroad to pursue their university studies. According to the existing statistical data, almost 40% of them no longer consider returning to their country of origin in order to exercise their profession (Digi24, 2015). In the line of the efforts Romania is making to diminish the risk of Romanian graduates staying abroad, it is worth mentioning

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the SMART Diaspora project, initiated in 2014 by the League of Romanian Students Abroad (LRSA). “Strategia Multidimensională de Atragere în România a Tinerilor din Diaspora” (SMART Diaspora = the multidimensional strategy of attracting diaspora students back to Romania) is a public political proposition aiming at valuing the strategic potential of the highly qualified young people who have studied abroad and at facilitating their contribution to Romania's economical and social development” (LRSA, 2014). Here are some of the propositions in the SMART Diaspora project: “Financial facilities offered upon (re)settlement in Romania, such as fiscal deductions over a given amount of time; “fellowship” and “internship” programmes conducted in state institutions; “online” recruiting for those candidates to official positions who are abroad; a more dynamic process of the recognition of degrees and diplomas awarded abroad, etc”(LRSA, 2014).

In spite of the obviously negative aspects of migration, in general terms, and of brain drain in particular, the Romanian Government seems to be unaware of these aspects, as it has yet failed to implement any public policy in order to reduce the migration phenomenon.

The opinion of the people in Craiova regarding the phenomenon of “brain-drain”

This section presents the results of a field research, meant to see how the people in Craiova feel about the phenomenon of “brain-drain”. The research was conducted by means of the inquiry method by using a questionnaire. The lot of inquired people consisted of 250 inhabitants of the city of Craiova. The data were collected in the spring of 2016.

The working hypothesis was the fact that the low salaries and the shortage of employment opportunities are the main reasons for the migration of the highly qualified people in our country. Therefore, the first objective of our research was the identification of the reasons which lead to the increase of the number of emigrants among those who have graduated from an institution of higher education.

The second hypothesis was the fact that the brain drain has some rather negative effects upon the national economy, the most obvious of which being the fact that it deprives the Romanian society of highly qualified specialists. Under these circumstances, we wanted to identify how the people in Craiova perceive the effects of brain drain upon our society.

Starting from the dependency and systemic theories, we expressed the hypothesis that most of the highly qualified migrants in Romania (which is a developing state) tend to emigrate to the developed countries. This led to another objective, namely to identify the opinion of the people in Craiova related to the countries that these highly qualified migrants choose as their destination.

The same theories mentioned above led us to express the hypothesis according to which most of the highly qualified migrants who come to Romania (which is a developing state) originate in under-developed countries. Therefore, the fourth objective of our research was to identify the perception of the people in Craiova regarding the phenomenon of “brain gain”, namely to identify the states of origin of the immigrants who come to Romania after having graduated from an institution of higher education.

Another working hypothesis was expressed, based upon the theory of the dual and segmented labour market. It inferred that the phenomenon of “brain drain” is less significant than the migration of the people who search for jobs in the secondary sector. Thus, another objective of our research was to identify the opinion of the people in Craiova regarding the difference in numbers between migration in the primary sector (brain drain),

and migration in the secondary sector (jobs which are instable, under-qualified and in hard work conditions).

The sixth working hypothesis was the idea that the field of activity which is the most seriously affected by the phenomenon of brain-drain is healthcare. Therefore, the sixth related objective of our research was to identify the opinion of the people involved in the inquiry regarding that field of the national economy which is the most seriously affected by the migration of highly qualified Romanian graduates.

Table 1. Based on your own knowledge, in which sector of the international labour market do Romanian emigrants work?

Choices	Percentage
<i>The primary sector</i> (basically characterised by stable jobs, decent work conditions, generous benefits and the possibility of promotion)	7.6%
<i>The secondary sector</i> (instable, under-qualified jobs, hard or difficult work conditions and low possibility of promotion)	90.8%
DK/DA (Don't know/ Don't answer)	1.6%
Total	100%

Source: Data collected from authors field research conducted between 5th to 20th of April, 2016

When asked in which sector of the international labour market Romanian emigrants work, 90.8% of the people in Craiova mentioned the secondary sector (instable, under-qualified jobs, hard or difficult work conditions and low possibility of promotion), whereas only 7.6% of the respondents chose the answer according to which the Romanian emigrants can find a job in the primary sector, basically characterised by stable jobs, decent work conditions, generous benefits and the possibility of promotion.

Table 2. Based on your own knowledge, to what extent is "brain-drain" a serious reality of our society?

Choices	Percentage
To a very high extent	9.6%
To a high extent	65.6%
To an average extent	14.4%
To a small extent	4.8%
To a very small extent	4%
DK (Don't know)	1.6%
Total	100%

Source: Data collected from authors field research conducted between 5th to 20th of April, 2016

When asked to what extent brain-drain is a serious reality in our country, most respondents (65.6%) chose the answer according to which "brain-drain" is a serious problem to a high extent, 9.6% chose the answer "to a very high extent", whereas 14.4% of the interviewed people answered that "brain-drain" is serious to an average extent. A mere 6.6% of the interviewed people mentioned that in Romania the phenomenon of "brain-drain" is serious to a small extent (4.8%) and to a very small extent (4%).

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Table 3. What impact do you think ”brain-drain” has on Romanian society?

Choices	Percentage
A negative impact	72.8%
Both positive and negative impacts	17.6%
A positive impact	6.4%
DK (Don't know)	3.2%
Total	100%

Source: Data collected from authors field research conducted between 5th to 20th of April, 2016

Regarding the impact of brain-drain upon the Romanian society, 72.8% of the respondents considered that the impact is ”negative” and 17.6% expressed an opinion according to which the phenomenon has both positive and negative effect. A mere 6.4% felt that the impact of this phenomenon is a ”positive” one.

Table 4. In your opinion, which is the most negative impact of brain-drain on our country?

Choices	Percentage
The loss of specialists	64.8%
The loss of the money invested in training the young people	19.2%
The loss of the taxes which the migrants could have paid	11.2%
A diminishing birth rate	4%
DK (Don't know)	0.8%
Total	100%

Source: Data collected from authors field research conducted between 5th to 20th of April, 2016

64.8% of the interviewed people considered that the main negative aspect of ”brain-drain” is the loss of specialists, 19.2% - the loss of the money invested in training the young people, whereas 11.2%, respectively 4% mentioned ”the loss of the taxes which the migrants could have paid” and ”a diminishing birth rate”.

Table 5. In your opinion, which field of activity is most seriously affected by the phenomenon of ”brain drain” in our country?

Choices	Percentage
Healthcare	74.4%
Education	6.4%
IT	17.6%
Industry	1.6%
Total	100%

Source: Data collected from authors field research conducted between 5th to 20th of April, 2016

74.4% of the people in Craiova who took part in this inquiry mentioned the medical sector as being the field of activity most seriously affected by the phenomenon of “brain-drain”, followed by ”IT” (17.6%), education (6.4%) and industry (1.6%).

Table 6. In your opinion, which is the main reason for the highly qualified people to leave Romania?

Choices	Percentage
Lack of employment opportunities	55.2%
Low salaries	20.8%
Bad conditions of the social systems (healthcare, education etc)	11.2%
Corruption	11.2%
Bad work conditions	1.6%
Total	100%

Source: Data collected from authors field research conducted between 5th to 20th of April, 2016

For 55.2% of the respondents, the main reason for which the highly qualified people leave our country is "the lack of employment opportunities", for 20.8% of them - "low salaries", for 11.2% - "the bad conditions of the social systems (healthcare, education, etc.)", for 11.2% - "corruption" and for 1.6%, "the bad work conditions".

Table 7. In your opinion, which category of states is favoured by the highly qualified Romanian migrants?

Choices	Percentage
The developed countries	96%
The developing countries	2.4%
DK (Don't know)	1.6%
Total	100%

Source: Data collected from authors field research conducted between 5th to 20th of April, 2016

96% of the people in Craiova who took part in the interview said that most of the highly qualified Romanian people migrate towards the "developed countries", whereas a mere 2.4% considered that Romanian migrants would choose a "developing country".

As for the state of choice, most of the respondents mentioned Italy (25.6%), Spain (24%) and Great Britain (22.4%), Germany (12.8%) and France (11.2%). Only 4% of the interviewed people mentioned other states (the USA, Canada, Belgium, Greece, the Netherlands, Denmark).

Table 8. In your opinion, which category of states is the origin of the highly qualified emigrants who come to Romania?

Choices	Percentage
The developed countries	9.6%
The developing countries	63.2%
The under-developed countries	24.8%
DK (Don't know)	2.4%
Total	100%

Source: Data collected from authors field research conducted between 5th to 20th of April, 2016

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In order to find the opinion of the people in Craiova regarding the phenomenon of “brain gain”, we asked them a question intended to identify the category of states which is the origin of the highly qualified people who come to Romania. Thus, 24.8% of the respondents considered that the highly qualified emigrants come from the “under-developed countries”, 63.2% of them mentioned “the developing countries”, whereas 9.6% chose the “developed countries”.

Conclusions

The first assumption was partly confirmed. The phenomenon of “brain drain” is mainly caused by the lack of employment opportunities, according to the interviewed people. In the inquiry, they mentioned that, in our country, the massive loss of medical specialists, who emigrate to the states of Western Europe, is rooted in the precarious salaries in the Romanian healthcare system, as well as in the poor infrastructure in the Romanian hospitals and in the “unorthodox” practices of some doctors.

The second working hypothesis was confirmed. 72.8% of the respondents consider that brain-drain has a negative effect upon Romania's economy. 64.8% of them mentioned that the main negative impact of this phenomenon is the fact that it deprives the Romanian society of its best professionals. There are also people who believe that another negative effect is the loss of the money the Romanian state invested in the training of the highly qualified Romanian migrants.

The third working hypothesis was also confirmed. 96% of the respondents acknowledged the fact that most of the highly qualified people tend to leave Romania (which is a developing country), to go to the developed states. Some of the states mentioned by the interviewed people are: Spain, Italy, Great Britain, France, Germany etc.

The fourth hypothesis was confirmed as well. 63.2% of the respondents mentioned the fact that most of the highly qualified immigrants who come to Romania (which is a developing country) originate in developing countries.

The fifth working hypothesis was also confirmed. Most of the interviewed people (90.8%) believed that the phenomenon of “brain drain” is less intense than the migration in the secondary sector.

Even the sixth working hypothesis was confirmed, with a high proportion of the respondents mentioning the healthcare system as among the most seriously affected fields of activity in our country, due to the phenomenon of brain-drain.

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