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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIPPA	Access to Information and Protection Privacy Act
ANC	African National Congress
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BEAM	Basic Education Assistance Module
CAPS	Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement
CCZ	Consumer Council of Zimbabwe
CIO	Central Intelligence Organisation
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FDI	foreign direct investment
FET	Further Education Training
GDP	gross domestic product
GNU	Government of National Unity
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus / Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMR	infant mortality rates
INEE	Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies
IOL	Independent on Line
IPS	Inter-Press Service
LDE	Limpopo Department of Education
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDGs	millennium development goals
MoH	Ministry of Health
NCA	National Constitution Assembly
NSC	National Senior Certificate
NSNP	National School Nutrition Programme
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PTUZ	Progressive Teachers' Union of Zimbabwe
POSA	Public Order and Security Act

REQV	Relative Education Qualification Values
SA	South Africa(n)
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAMP	Southern African Migration Project
SDA	School Development Association
SIRDIC	Scientific and Industrial Research and Development Centre
SPSS	Statistical package for the social sciences
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa(n)
TTLs	Tribal Trust Lands
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDAW	United Nations Division for the Achievement of Women
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNISA	University of South Africa
US / U.S	United States
USA	United States of America
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
ZIMRA	Zimbabwe Revenue Authority
ZIMTA	Zimbabwe Teachers' Association
ZINTEC	Zimbabwe Integrated Teacher Education Course

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Old and new migration trends between Zimbabwe and South Africa

There is a long history of migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa that dates back to when Zimbabwe was an English colony. Crush (2002) described Zimbabwe's migration history as unusual in that it has been both a sending country and recipient of migrants from the Southern African region. For many years now, Zimbabweans have gone to work in South Africa on mines, farms and in towns, especially Johannesburg. Crush (2002:1) argued that "almost a quarter of adult Zimbabweans have parents and grandparents who have worked in South Africa at some point in their lives". At the same time, Zimbabwe was at one point a major recipient of migrants from Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia. For example, during the 1951 census, there were 246,000 foreign African nationals in Zimbabwe, 40% of them from Mozambique (ibid). Most of these migrants worked on Zimbabwe's farms and mines (which were viable then) and some of them have permanently settled in the country following their retirement and old age (Gwaunza, 1998).

More recently, Zimbabwe has increasingly become a major exporter of migrant workers (Crush, 2002). This is because of Zimbabwe's failed economic policies, especially the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) of the 1990s, the controversial and unplanned 'fast track' land reform programme of the early 2000s, disputed elections and continued political discontentment. The overall impact of these policies has been to transform the country from being both an exporter and recipient of migrants to being a major exporter only. Furthermore, this new migration trend has been dominated by professionals who seek better pastures (Chikanda, 2005) in South Africa, Botswana and overseas. This new trend has also seen teachers, who previously have endured the country's economic deterioration, migrating to seek teaching posts in South Africa, Botswana and overseas.

This recent trend has raised concerns over the quality of education now offered in the once vibrant and pride of the nation education sector of Zimbabwe. The progress of Zimbabwe towards development, especially social development, depended on its performance in education as well as health sector. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) regards literacy rates and access to education as predictors of public awareness of environmental and health issues, and the use of family planning (Kanyongo, 2005:70). Zimbabwe, which previously scored very high in both education indicators together with Cuba and the State of Kerala (India), has been cited in Development Studies literature as a successful example of universalising education. Achieving universal education, which is in line with the millennium development goals (MDGs) and the Dakar Framework on Education 2000, has placed Zimbabwe on the map in the world. The collapse of such a once successful model of universal education would obviously be noticed with concern all over the world and everyone would be interested in knowing how this happened.

One, arguably the major, factor contributing to the disintegration of one of the world's models of social development and universal education is the migration of teachers, which is the focus of this study. The underlying causes of this phenomenon, which are discussed in detail in Chapter three, include a long history of teachers' dissatisfaction with work conditions and remuneration partly blamed on the government's cut on support to the education sector initially necessitated by the adoption of a market-based economic policy (ESAP) and later by the economic crisis during the new millennium. Hence, the Zimbabwean case shows how social development is dependent on economic development regardless of the role of the state as government revenue shrinked forcing the government to cut its support for the public service sectors including education and health.

The Zimbabwean teachers relocated to different countries in the Southern African region as well as abroad to countries such as the United Kingdom (UK) (McGregor, 2006; Pasura, 2009). But, the focus of this study is on Zimbabwean teachers who migrated to South Africa, which is host to the bulk of these teachers and other migrant types (UNDP, 2010; Crush and Tevera, 2010) partly because of its being an economically stable country in close proximity to Zimbabwe, its solidarity with the Harare government and therefore had less exclusionary policies towards Zimbabweans, and had an education system facing shortages of qualified teachers. The following

sub-sections analyse the successes and challenges faced by the education systems of both Zimbabwe and South Africa in order to find out how they created the endogenous 'push' and 'pull' factors that have contributed to the migration of qualified and experienced teachers from Zimbabwe to South Africa.

1.2 Successes and challenges of the Zimbabwean education system

Zimbabwe became independent from British rule in April 1980 and it inherited the British education system based on primary, ordinary (Form 1-4), and advanced (Forms 5-6) levels. Two decades after Zimbabwe's independence, the country's education sector was regarded as one of the best in Africa as it achieved a male literacy rate of 94.2%, female literacy rate of 87.2% and total literacy rate of 90.7% (UNICEF Press Centre, 2008; Kanyongo, 2005:70). These figures placed Zimbabwe in the first position in male literacy, second in female literacy and first in total literacy in the Southern African region (Kanyongo, 2005). In addition, the UNICEF Press Centre (2008) asserted that Zimbabwe has achieved one of the highest adult literacy rates in Africa, 90%, primary education for all and secondary education for the majority (65%) by the mid-1990s.

All these successes are attributed to the policies taken by the new Zimbabwean government at independence in 1980. The government adopted a socialist policy called 'growth with equity' in the education as well as the health sector (Kanyongo, 2005:66). This policy was combined with the early declaration of universal education, which was also done at independence. Although both principles were politically motivated, they actually served to redress the inequalities in the pre-independence (or colonial) education system that favoured White learners only at the expense of Blacks (Kanyongo, 2005).

As a result of the declaration enrolment rates shot up. The government embarked on an expansion of the entire system including building schools in remote rural areas and disadvantaged urban areas, expediting the training of teachers, and providing of teaching and learning materials in schools. Local communities also assisted through providing labour and other resources (Kanyongo, 2005). While the schools were being built, pressure on the available

infrastructure was managed through “double shifts per day, but with two different sets of teachers” (Kanyongo, 2005:66). These shifts guaranteed the efficient use of the available infrastructural stock without compromising existing teacher-pupil ratios.

Although negatively affecting the quality of education, the supply of teachers was temporarily managed through hiring untrained teachers especially in primary schools. A better and expedited strategy to train teachers was introduced in the form of the Zimbabwe Integrated Teacher Education Course (ZINTEC). Kanyongo (2005:66) described ZINTEC as a low-cost teacher-training scheme that required the teacher to spend two terms of the four-year course in college and the remainder in the classroom. With the formation of a separate Ministry of Higher Education in 1988, which is responsible for tertiary education including teachers’ colleges, universities and vocational colleges, the supply of teachers further improved. For example, the teacher stock increased from 18,483 in 1979 to 60,886 at the end of the decade (Kanyongo, 2005:67). The locally trained stock of teachers was supplemented by mathematics and science teachers trained in Cuba through a bilateral agreement between the governments of the two countries.

As a result of these policies, access to education improved for most Zimbabweans. Primary schools, where education was made free, expanded from 2,401 in 1979 to 4,504 by the end of the first decade of independence. Government funding for the education sector dramatically increased from 4.4% of recurrent public expenditure in 1979-80 to 22.6% in 1980 (Kanyongo, 2005:69). The figure gradually went up as the first decade of independence progressed. Government’s efforts were complimented by substantial community financing and later on non-governmental organisations such as UNICEF. Murisa (2010:13) argued that the Zimbabwean education sector was basically financed through government revenue “supplemented by large amounts of assistance from donor governments”. Channelled through the government, most of the donor funds assisted in the construction of classrooms, training of teachers, development of curriculum and administration. For instance, UNICEF supported the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture through “building and furnishing classrooms, providing textbooks, building boreholes, toilets and hand-washing facilities in rural schools, training teachers in Early

Childhood Development, and paying fees for about 1500 orphaned and vulnerable children" (UNICEF Press Centre, 2008).

The major outcome of the Zimbabwean education system has been the production of professionals for the private, public and external job markets in Southern Africa and overseas. Today, there are thousands of teachers, engineers, doctors, nurses and other professional Zimbabweans working and living outside the country (Kanyongo, 2005). Even among unprofessional migrants in South Africa, Zimbabwean migrants have been found to be more educated than migrants from other countries in the region (Mosala, 2008).

While the education sector expanded massively after independence in 1980, the system was challenged by the shrinking in quality of education, particularly for the majority of the population living in rural areas (Kusereka, 2009:61). In other words, government's focus on quantitative expansion compromised the overall quality of the education system. The bulk of the government's funding for the education sector went to paying teachers and administrative staff. Despite receiving on average above 20% of the national budget since 1980, the education sector has used most of this money for staff salaries (Government of Zimbabwe, 2005). For instance, in the 2002 budget the two ministries of education (basic and tertiary) received 26.6% of the total budget. But, 93% of this amount was consumed in staff salaries and allowances, leaving 7% for learning materials, infrastructure development and maintenance. This resulted in teachers being the major input in the education system as teachers became the main source of information without being supplemented by textbooks.

The Nziramasanga Commission in Education reported in 1999 that government's failure to support the education sector with teaching and learning materials and infrastructure was due to the increasing demand for education (Kusereka, 2009). The appointment of this Commission indicated government's focus into issues of quality of the education system. The outcomes of the findings of the Commission included among others the decentralisation of some government functions including "procurement of textbooks and stationery, construction and maintenance of schools, recruitment of teachers and instructional supervision of teachers" to districts (Kusereka, 2009:62). But, this positive change came when the mounting pressures of the brewing economic

crisis had started forcing government to cut on its spending in the social sector. Hence, without adequate financial support from the national government, this decentralisation was only good on paper and not implementable on the ground.

The successes achieved in the system, especially quantitatively, were however threatened by the collapse of the education system as a result of challenges related to the sustainability of funds and the political unrest after 2000 (UNICEF Press Centre, 2008). Kanyongo (2005) argued that the challenges to this education system actually started at independence in 1980. The policies in education mentioned above were "hurried and centralised" (Kanyongo, 2005:70). Goals and targets were not given reasonable time frames and were not linked to available resources (ibid). Hence, the high spending in education as well as health was not sustainable in the long term since it placed a burden on the government. As Murisa (2010) argued, the two major sources for the education sector namely government revenue and donor funding, gradually dried up as the political and economic crisis unfolded leading to significant cuts in support for the sector.

Government's shrinking support for the education sector as well as its health counterpart started with the adoption of ESAP around 1991. Kanyongo (2005:71) argued that "the fall of communism in the late 1980s forced the government of Zimbabwe to move towards a more capitalist society". This resulted in the adoption of World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) economic reform programmes partly because of the need to be legible for debt. Part of the requirements by these Breton Woods institutions included cutting social spending for example in education and health, remove subsidies and re-introduce user fees (cost recovery) in these social sectors (ibid). UNICEF Press Centre (2008) argued that school fees have never been expensive but close to free. But, it is the development levies that were supposed to "take care of buildings, school facilities and sports" that went beyond the reach of most parents and impeded some children's access to education (Kanyongo, 2005:71). The situation was made worse by the fact that ESAP impoverished many Zimbabweans such that most struggled to pay these fees for their children.

Furthermore, the means tested Social Development Fund that was supposed to assist the disadvantaged including orphans and children of the disabled was inadequate and took long to be

disbursed due to government bureaucracy (Kanyongo, 2005). Around the same time in the late 1990s and early 2000s, inflation started to rise, eroding teachers' and parents' salaries. The schools were "caught between reduced government funding and increased costs of supplies" (Kanyongo, 2005:71). While many pupils could not afford to pay school fees (and levies), a government directive was issued to the effect that no students were to be sent home for failing to pay fees (Kanyongo, 2005:72). The controversial 'fast-track' land reform programme that compulsorily acquired White-owned farms contributed to the drying up of donor support, which led government to further cut financial support to schools. The UNICEF Press Centre (2008) agrees with Kanyongo (2005:72) that the further cut in government and donor support to the education system had the following effects: "(a) general shortage of books, science equipment and other essential learning facilities due to poor funding in schools, (b) poor students' performance due to lack of books and other learning/teaching resources, (c) low morale among teachers as a result of poor salaries and other working conditions, and (d) lack of attraction and retention of qualified teachers because of poor amenities in rural areas".

The UNICEF Press Centre (2008) adds that the effect also included frequent teacher strikes over salaries and low school attendance of both teachers and pupils. For example, with only a week to national primary, ordinary and advanced level examinations in October 2008, 40% of the teachers did not report for duty. Reporting for the same period, the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE, 2009) said that school attendance by pupils dropped to 20% by the end of 2008 from 85% in 2007. Kwenda wrote for the Inter Press Service News on 21 October 2011 that this low attendance of both teachers and pupils was due to an ongoing strike by teachers since March 2008. Teachers engaged in this longest strike in history due to several grievances including low salaries, "which could hardly pay for their transport to work, poor working conditions, election results and the ensuing political violence, and ongoing hostilities" as the ruling party, ZANU-PF, believed that teachers supported the opposition, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) (Kwenda, IPS News 21 October 2011). Teachers' as well as other civil servants' salaries were reduced to almost nothing because of inflation that had reached 231 million percent, the highest in the world. This led to the Zimbabwe Teachers' Association (ZIMTA) president, Tendai Chikowore, to comment, "Education service delivery has been seriously compromised and is on the brink of collapse" (Kwenda, IPS News 21 October 2011).

Eventually, the 2008 school year was ruled out. The impacts of this gradual collapse of Zimbabwe's education sector included among others poor national results. For example, UNICEF Press Centre (2008) reported that there was a significant drop in the national Ordinary Level (Form 4) pass rates from 72% in the mid-1990s to 11% in 2007. About 94% of rural schools, which serve the majority of the population, were still closed in January 2009 (Oxfam International, 2009). Around the same time, urban schools re-opened as teachers' salaries in the Zimbabwean dollar were supplemented by parents in US dollars. This further widened inequality in access to education between rural and urban areas (ibid).

UNICEF Press Centre (2008) adds that this crisis in the education system was also due to political violence and displacements associated with the 2008 general elections. This is supported by Chibaya (2007), who attributes the downfall of Zimbabwe's education system to low wages that are close to the poverty line and the "expulsion of teachers who support the opposition". In some schools, teachers were under "surveillance by state security agents", who work with the ruling party's officials to suppress the opposition (ibid).

Furthermore, as the Zimbabwean crisis went on for years, it caused several vulnerable children including orphans and female children to drop out of school (UNICEF Press Centre, 2008). But, UNICEF, international donors (through non-governmental organisations) and the government through the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) have assisted in rectifying the problem involving orphans. Although much has been achieved in reducing the gap between males and females in both literacy rates and access to education between 1979 and 1999 (Kanyongo, 2005), gender biases in favour of males still exist in the education system. The UNICEF Press Centre (2008) asserted that females were disadvantaged in access to education particularly where resources were inadequate with parents preferring investing more in males' education than females'. Such trends were more common after the re-introduction of school fees (plus levies) as part of the ESAP policies and during hyperinflation. If access to education is different for boys and girls, this would have a bearing on the type of jobs, incomes and the marketability of females both in the local and international labour markets. Hence, this has motivated the researcher to

analyse the determinants of this migration including the role of gender in determining who among the Zimbabwean teachers is migrating to South Africa or remaining behind.

1.3 Successes and challenges of the South Africa education system

South Africa is a young democracy since the country received freedom from White domination and the apartheid regime in April 1994. Since then, the South African (SA) education system has faced both successes and challenges. The post-apartheid government inherited a system with social inequalities including poor infrastructure, inadequate training for teachers, poverty and unemployment (Government of South Africa, 2006). Since 'freedom day', the government has made conceited efforts to reduce the impediments to most South Africans' access to education. Early after 'freedom day', the government declared basic education as a right for every citizen as enshrined in the 1996 Constitution's Bill of Rights (Department of Education, 2010). In addition, nine years of schooling (i.e. between 7 and 15 years of age) were made compulsory. But progression in secondary education is optional as it depends on the learner's performance (ibid). Central to the post-apartheid government's policy is investing most of its revenue in public education since the government regards education as "…the key to reducing poverty and accelerating long-term economic growth" (Department of Education, 2010).

An analysis of the government's spending on education confirmed its commitment to educating all citizens. Since 1994, the education bill increased from R31.8 billion to R75 billion in 2004-5 (ibid). The increased expenditure catered for the expansion of infrastructure, paying school fees and more recently financing child nutrition programmes. The education system is divided into two types of schools that is, private and public. In the former type, parents pay all the fees for their children, which are also higher than in the public schools. But in the public schools, government has significantly reduced the burden of fees on parents (Department of Education, 2010). Over the years, government has gradually made both primary and secondary education free for learners at some schools. "During 2009, the no-fee status of schools was extended from 40% to include 60% of learners nationally by 2010. These learners will be attending 64% of schools. In these schools learners do not pay fees, but the schools receive large state allocation per learner than other schools, as well as a higher allocation of non-personnel non-capital

expenditure. In the other schools, parents can apply for fee exemptions" (Department of Education, 2010).

Furthermore, the post-apartheid government has reduced the chances of learners in public schools dropping out because of poor nutrition (or poverty) through the introduction of a national nutrition programme. "By March 2009, the National School Nutrition Programme (NSNP) supported some 5.6 million learners in about 1,800 public schools on a daily basis during school terms, at a cost of R1.50 per child per day. About 26,408 food handlers are working on the programme and receive a payment every month" (ibid). As a result of these policies, school enrolment rates went up, indicating improved access to education. For example, while there were 11.7 million learners (including those in private schools) by mid-2003, there were 12.3 million learners by mid-2007 countrywide (Department of Education, 2010).

Since most of these policies were focused on improving access to education, challenges developed particularly with regard to the quality of service delivery and negatively affected the outputs of the system namely, pass rates. Since introduction of the National Senior Certificate (NSC) in 2008, national pass rates have been of great concern to the government and other stakeholders. For instance, the national average pass rate was at 62.5% in 2008, and 60.7% in 2009. In some cases, lower figures are found per subject or per province. Learners often perform the lowest in mathematics and science subjects and Mpumalanga is one of the provinces with the lowest performance for example in 2010.

Some of the stakeholders including teacher unions have attributed these results to the curriculum, which is based on Outcomes Based Education (OBE) or its modifications. OBE regards learning as an interactive process between teachers and learners. It was introduced in the system in 1998 through Curriculum 2005 and it was modified into the current Curriculum Statement in 2008. A review of Curriculum 2005 revealed problems in its implementation. Such problems included "lack of clarity, a huge paper workload, and lack of knowledge by teachers on how to implement the curriculum" (Curriculum 2005 Review Report, 2000). The one-to-one interaction between learners and teachers as well as the paper workload could not fit well into the school system where some learning areas have high teacher to learner ratios. Hence, Teacher Unions have

protested on behalf of teachers that "the system is biased and have blamed it for the country's high failure and drop-out rates" (Independent Online, 2011). Currently, a new Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) is being prepared to be introduced into the system in January 2012 starting at Grade 10 level. The Minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshekga, described this new curriculum as the one to "replace the highly criticized OBE system introduced in 1998 … OBE will not be completely scrapped, but modified to improve the performance of pupils" (ibid).

Another challenge faced by the system is that the expansion of the education system in post-apartheid was not accompanied by an expedited programme to train teachers as it was in the Zimbabwean case. Instead, some of the existing teacher training colleges were rationalized into Further Education Training (FET) centres soon after 'freedom day'. The government seems to be of the view that these teacher training colleges were producing incompetent or too many teachers into the system. This can be inferred from the government document *The National Policy Framework for Teacher Education and Development in South Africa* of 2006. In this document, the government argued that the challenge facing teacher education was one of "limited conceptual knowledge that is, poor grasp of their subjects" (Government of South Africa, 2006). A further analysis of the education system through a Ministerial Committee on Rural Education reported in 2005 revealed challenges that include "shortage of qualified and competent teachers, problems of teaching in multi-grade and large classes, under-resourced school facilities, and limited access to professional development programmes for teachers" (ibid).

Hence, it was on the basis of this report that the government saw the need for injecting qualified teachers into the entire system. It seems the best strategy for the SA government was to seek for these human resources from beyond its borders in the short-term, while producing more competent teachers in the form of university graduates in the long-term. The Ministerial Committee report of 2005 predicted a shortfall of around 15,000 teachers by 2008 taking into consideration existing trends in enrolment and teacher-learner ratios and most of these shortages were being experienced in mathematics, science, technology and languages. Hence, this turn in policy created significant teacher vacancies, which Zimbabwean teachers who were unhappy at home, quickly grabbed on. The government attributes the shortages in qualified and competent

teachers in the system to the poor health of senior teachers especially with regard to HIV/AIDS, which resulted in increased absenteeism and eventually death. These teachers are supposed to be replaced by new university graduates in education programmes. But, this graduate output is "reduced by the number of students who do not complete their programmes and by those who choose not to teach or not to teach in South Africa" (Government of South Africa, 2006).

The unattractiveness of the teaching profession among graduates is not only a challenge being experienced in South Africa, but in other countries both of the South and North. For example, in the USA, Arab (2005) found that despite attracting fewer new entrants, the profession is losing teachers at a higher rate than other occupations. De Villiers and Degazon-Johnson (2007) argued that this is a phenomenon that is also affecting the teaching profession in countries of the South where the profession is regarded as of least or last choice. This has resulted in teachers not wanting to stay in the profession in their own country but move abroad. This decision comes probably because of the reduced social status of the teachers in their own countries and the low incomes paid by their governments.

1.4 The research problem

It is clear from the overview of the education systems of the two countries that the crisis in the Zimbabwean education system 'pushed' the teachers away, while the need for qualified teachers 'pulled' them towards the South African system. But it is not clear what other exogenous, mitigating and personal factors are at play in the teachers' decision to immigrate to South Africa or how many teachers that were affected by the Zimbabwean crisis responded through emigration to South Africa or other countries in the region and overseas. There is heavy reliance on estimates rather than actual figures obtainable from research surveys or border statistics. Estimates from the major trade unions including the Zimbabwe Teachers Union (ZIMTA) and the Progressive Teachers' Union of Zimbabwe (PTUZ) place the number of teachers that have left the country since the beginning of the political and economic crisis at around 45,000, which is almost half of the 100,000 teacher compliment in public primary and secondary schools in 1997 (Chagonda, 2010). Public schools, which form the majority of schools in the country, were more affected by the migration of teachers than their counterparts in the private sector. Rural

schools, which provide education to the majority of the country's population, were more affected than urban schools where parents came to the rescue of the situation through contributing incentives in US dollars to the teachers in order to supplement their meagre salaries eroded by inflation of the local currency (UNICEF Press Centre, 2008). This further widened the gap between rural and urban areas in access to education.

Although an estimate, the figure of 45,000 teachers who left the Zimbabwean teaching sector points to the fact that the emigration of teachers is a huge problem for the country. The picture is worse given that there is no direct benefit to the Zimbabwean government, which invested in the training of these teachers through infrastructural development, support grants and salaries. The government would have benefited directly from this emigration if there were bilateral agreements with the host countries. But in the case of South Africa, there is no such bilateral agreement (Crush, 2002). This scenario is a potential threat to international relationships between the two countries especially in the long-term should there be changes from the current to new governments that do not have a history of collaboration. After identifying the huge need for the injection of qualified teachers in its education system around 2005 through a Ministerial Committee, the South African government delayed in engaging Zimbabwean teachers until around 2008/9 fearing a diplomatic row with the Zimbabwean government (Chibaya, 2007). In 2009, the South African government openly recruited Zimbabwean mathematics and science teachers. This was in violation of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) protocol that attempts to reduce the movement of professionals in the region (Murisa, 2010:14). The government hides behind the fact that the hiring of Zimbabwean teachers, who form the majority of foreign teachers in South Africa, as well as teachers from other countries such as Ghana and India is a temporary measure while they are training their own teachers (News24, 26 July 2011). But, a big question is, how long is the temporary measure? As learnt from the review of the South African education sector, it is unlikely for the country to have enough teachers especially in the short-term. News24, 26 July 2011, reports that about 10,000 teachers leave the teaching profession each year and yet only 6,000 teachers graduate annually in South Africa.

Despite the uncertainty surrounding the actual figures involved, there is no doubt that the migration of Zimbabwean teachers has negatively affected the "once vibrant" education system

(UNICEF Press Centre, 2008). It has resulted in Zimbabwe losing the "best qualified and highly experienced teachers" and therefore, exposing schools to "less qualified, less experienced and even unqualified personnel, with serious consequences for development" (Mushonga, 2007:2). INEE (2009) argued that among the teachers who remained in the country after the disintegration of the education sector around the end of 2008, a significant number of them were inexperienced and untrained. Highly experienced and quality teachers were the most likely to leave the country since the majority of them previously disgruntled over their salaries being lumped together with those of junior teachers (Kusereka, 2009:13). High quality teachers have been arguably the central factor in the achievements of the Zimbabwean education system since teachers have been the major inputs of the system, supplemented to a smaller extent by textbooks (ibid:61; UNESCO, 2000). Hence, the migration of high quality and experienced teachers negatively impacted on effective learning and the quality of education in Zimbabwe. UNESCO (2000) realises that a "better trained teaching force is an important factor in educational quality". In addition, one of the goals of the Dakar Framework on Education (2000) was to identify, train and retain good teachers.

The formation of a government of national unity (GNU) as well as the adoption of multiple currencies in 2008 and 2009 respectively, could not help redeem the situation. For example, the GNU's Minister of Education, David Coltat, lamented that, "Zimbabwe has one of the highest literacy rates in Africa, but this might change with the problems in education" (allAfrica.com, accessed on 9 June 2011). Following the adoption of multiple currencies in February 2009, teachers' and other civil servants' salaries remained around or below the poverty line. In 2009, the GNU's Finance Minister, Tendai Biti, said that they could not review teachers' salaries upwards because the government was broke (ibid). During that time, all civil servants including teachers survived on a monthly allowance of US$100. When salaries were introduced in 2010, an average civil servant was earning a gross salary of US$276, which was inadequate in a country that relies heavily on imports because of a production sector that is not functioning at all (ibid). In January 2012, an average teacher's net salary was around US$300 and the teachers were striking for the salary to be increased to US$540 (News24, 10 January 2012). It is for a long time now that teachers' unions have been lobbying the government for higher salaries and better working conditions for teachers. Because of this, some of the unions have been blamed by the

ruling party for supporting the opposition. Low salaries are likely to maintain the outward flow of teachers from the Zimbabwean education sector to those of richer countries even during the period of the GNU, when the sector is recovering from the crisis.

Peculiar to the Zimbabwean teacher emigration is the likelihood to find a wide variety of determinants, which would include among several others political unrest, food shortages, low salaries, dissatisfaction with service delivery, and poor funding in education. The study systematically analyses these various determinants in order to show more exactly why Zimbabwean teachers immigrated to South Africa. It also finds out the determinants of non-migration. In other words, among a cohort of teachers faced with the same challenges in the system, why would some choose to migrate while others remain behind? Besides the costs of migration factors suggested by the classical economic theories of migration (Massey et al, 1993), other possible answers to this question would include gender-related issues, the interaction of location in Zimbabwe and political unrest, incentives, and working conditions.

Gender is a major determinant of migration. Gaidzanwa (1998) discusses what she calls a gendered discourse against migrancy. In the entire Southern African region there is the "historic association of mobility by women with prostitution in the colonial towns" and this is an argument often used to mobilize against women moving alone as traders or job seekers (ibid). In her study of Zimbabwean women who are cross-border traders between Zimbabwe and South Africa, Gaidzanwa (1998:92) found that most of the women who "have explored the cross-border trade in large numbers are predominantly single, widowed and divorced women as well as elderly women in difficult family circumstances". Hence, successful migrant women are often looked down upon as having ill-gotten income. Due to gender-related issues, most women with the same qualifications as men might not explore these teaching opportunities and therefore, would not improve themselves and their families. This would create a gap in incomes and asset ownership between male and female teachers.

If the teachers on demand in South Africa are those specialised in some learning areas and not others, it is possible that some female teachers likely to immigrate to South Africa would be discriminated on the basis of subject specialisation. There is a history in Zimbabwe of females

not willing to take subjects that are perceived as difficult and are best understood by males such as mathematics and science (Gordon, 1998). The study also assessed the effects of gender-related perceptions in subject selection and how they helped explain gender differences in teacher migration to South Africa. Furthermore, selection on the basis of subject specialisation is likely to be a condition used by receiving governments in order to screen out other migrants and protect local teachers. Crush (2002:2) argued that "there are fears in countries such as South Africa and Botswana that the free movement of people will flood them with migrants from the less developed countries (in the region)". In fact, migrants are often "unjustifiably blamed for high unemployment rates, increasing crime, and land and housing shortages" (ibid).

As a result of gender misperceptions, some men are likely to deny their spouses the chance to look for vacant teaching posts in South Africa. Some men are likely to use women's other roles such as caring for the family to argue against their movement to South Africa. Although women employed in non-manual and professional jobs (such as teachers) are known to be more autonomous than unemployed women (Hindin, 2000:102), it is likely to find single, separated, divorced or widowed females also dominating among the female teachers migrating to South Africa as found by Gaidzanwa (1998) in the case of cross-border traders. If gender discrimination against female teachers migrating to South Africa exists, then it is also expected that the female teachers currently married that migrate would be those who arrive into the hands of a male custodian.

During the Zimbabwean crisis, some of the teachers coped through having secondary employment, which included cross-border trade between South Africa and Zimbabwe especially for female teachers (Gaidzanwa, 1998; Chagonda, 2010). Hence, with the adoption of multiple currencies around February 2009, most of these teachers lost their secondary source of income since goods were now available and cheaper in the supermarkets such that no one wanted to buy their over-priced imported goods. All things being equal, it is rational to expect a significant proportion of the migrant teachers to be females since their secondary income source, cross-border trade, naturally died. Furthermore, since some of these female teachers had familiarized themselves with South Africa or had actually forged relationships with the locals, their migration

would be easier. Since gender issues are more complex than such expectations, it is possible to find results contrary to these expectations.

Other teachers are likely to have been influenced into migration by the series of acts of violence perpetrated by the ruling party, ZANU-PF, and its supporters against members of the opposition or members of civil society perceived as opposition supporters. Political violence experienced after the March 2008 disputed presidential elections affected more the rural areas where the ruling party used to enjoy an overwhelming majority than in urban areas (Raftopoulos, 2009). In these areas, teachers were conceptualised by the ruling party as the agents of the opposition aimed at mobilising the rural masses against ZANU-PF (Chibaya, 2007). The BBC News reported in 2008 that "many Zimbabwean teachers had been beaten up and hospitalised in politically motivated situations" (Chireshe and Shumba, 2011:116).

Although a huge benefit to South Africa's education system as well as the material well-being of the teachers, this migration can be stressful especially where the migrant is separated from the spouse and family. When the migrant lives in separation from the spouse, there are high chances of either the migrant or spouse engaging in extra-marital relationships. This would result in the breakdown of families, the spread of sexually transmitted illnesses (STIs) including HIV/AIDS from the migrant to the spouse or vice versa, and the sprouting of new families especially at destination area where men are involved. This is why richer countries facilitate the relocation of whole families in circumstances where they engage migrant workers that settle in their country for a long time. But some countries that have not yet implemented such policies put migrant families at risk of such negative consequences.

1.5 Purpose and objectives of the study

The study basically assessed whether there are significant correlations between the teachers' migration and non-migration to South Africa and several determinants of migration. By so doing, it attempted to provide answers to the research question: why have some Zimbabwean teachers migrated to South Africa and others remained behind? In finding answers to this 'why' question, it also answered the 'who' question about this migration. In other words, who among the

Zimbabwean teachers has migrated to South Africa or remained behind? Answers to the 'why' question were not limited only to the driving forces behind this migration but also included an analysis of mitigation factors and personal characteristics of migrant versus non-migrant teachers since the possession of some characteristics exposes one to migration but another to non-migration. Hence, answers to the 'why' question were looked for within or beyond the education systems of both countries as well as in mitigating factors and personal characteristics, which the study called the determinants. The determinants were mainly sub-divided into demand-pull, mitigation, and supply-push factors.

The purpose of the study was to explain teacher migration to South Africa and it excluded other teacher emigration from Zimbabwe to richer countries of the North or other regional countries such as Botswana. The main focus was therefore on what SIRDIC (2008) termed *secondary external brain drain*, which "occurs when human resources leave their country (Zimbabwe) to go and work elsewhere in their region e.g. South Africa". Although statistics on the destination countries of the teachers were unavailable, it seemed that more teacher emigration have been to South Africa than either to Botswana or richer countries of the North. Unlike these other countries, South Africa's control of Zimbabwean immigration has seemed more relaxed such that some teachers could have entered the country without legal documents such as work permits. In addition, teachers as well as other civil service workers could visit South Africa without the need to obtain a visa, which until early 2009 cost about R2000 to obtain for those individuals who were not civil servants (Chagonda, 2010:12). Again, fewer Zimbabwean teachers would migrate to countries of the North because of the frictional effect of distance. This explains why the study was concerned about teacher migration to South Africa and not to the other destination countries. Furthermore, the study focused on teachers only and therefore excluded all other forms of migrants from Zimbabwe to South Africa such as casual workers, petty traders, business operators and other professionals. These other forms have been researched on by other scholars (Gaidzanwa, 1998; Mosala, 2008; Kiwanuka and Monson, 2009).

The main objective of this study was therefore, to analyse and discuss the roles of various determinants of the migration of professionals (or brain drain) involving qualified teachers

between two neighbouring countries of the South that do not have a bilateral agreement for the transfer of such skills. To achieve this overall objective, the study step-by-step determined the:

(a) Role of gender issues and other mitigation factors in influencing who among the teachers has migrated to South Africa or remained in Zimbabwe.
(b) Contribution of the deterioration in social service delivery in influencing Zimbabwean teachers' migration or non-migration to South Africa.
(c) Extent to which the immigration of teachers to South Africa was determined by the hardships associated with the economic crisis.
(d) Role of school based factors in influencing the teachers' immigration to South Africa, and
(e) Effects of the political environment on the teachers' migration or displacement to South Africa.

1.6 Research design and methodology

The study basically used a quantitative research design to collect primary data from the field. This involved the self-administration of questionnaires by 100 Zimbabwean teachers in Zimbabwe and another 100 currently teaching in South Africa. Conducting fieldwork in both Zimbabwe and South Africa facilitated for comparison between migrant teachers in South Africa and non-migrant teachers who remained in Zimbabwe. In South Africa, the study involved the purposive selection of three provinces including Limpopo, Mpumalanga and Gauteng provinces. These provinces were selected because they offered the highest chances of finding Zimbabwean teachers because of the following reasons: (a) Limpopo province's geographic proximity to the border with Zimbabwe, Beitbridge; (b) Mpumalanga's massive recruitment of foreign teachers, including Zimbabweans, because of low pass rates and the dire need for qualified teachers; and (c) Gauteng as the highest as well as the first recipient of Zimbabwean teachers around early 2000s some of who taught in private colleges before the government's official recruitment of Zimbabwean teachers around 2008/9. The study encountered a challenge in identifying the South African schools with Zimbabwean teachers that were enough to reach the desired sample size especially given that some private schools are not officially registered or their activities are not well monitored.

In Zimbabwe, the study involved the purposive selection of Harare, Bulawayo, Masvingo and Manicaland provinces. These provinces were selected because of their ability to offer contrasts between rural and urban areas as well as between different agro-ecological locations. While Harare and Bulawayo are entirely urban provinces, Masvingo and Manicaland are largely rural provinces with more than 70% of their populations living in rural areas (Central Statistical Office, 1992). While Masvingo is generally hot and dry with high chances of crop failure, Manicaland is cool and wet with good crop harvests and incomes from crop sales. In addition, the lower parts of both Masvingo and Manicaland, which are located in the southern part of Zimbabwe, are the driest and are also in close proximity to the border with South Africa. This selection enabled the study to control for the effects of location in Zimbabwe and agro-ecological factors.

Like in the selection of the provinces, purposive sampling was also used in the selection of districts as districts in close proximity were selected in order to reduce the costs of travelling when the districts are far apart. Quota sampling was used to select specific numbers of teachers from different types of schools including private and public, primary and secondary, and urban and rural schools per district (Table 1.1). Snowball sampling was also used especially in selecting the South African sample since it was more difficult to identify the Zimbabwean teachers in the host country. This was partly because records on which schools had these teachers were not available from provincial offices. Snowball sampling is recommended in cases where desired respondents are difficult to locate (Castillo, 2009).

In addition, more than one teacher per school was sometimes selected in order to reach the desired sample size in South Africa. But, concerted effort was made to ensure that both private and government secondary schools as well as private primary schools where Zimbabwean teachers were known to be found were all included in the sample. Prior to the survey, the researcher knew that some Zimbabwean teachers taught in private primary schools based on a visit to Tohoyandou, Vhembe district of Limpopo province, where these teachers were found. Hence, purposive selection was used in conjunction with referral or snowball sampling as the

researcher used his prior knowledge as well as obtained information from other migrant teachers especially on which schools have Zimbabwean teachers particularly females.

Table 1.1 Sampling strategy used during fieldwork

Country	**Province**	**No. of teachers per province**	**No. of teachers per district**	**Types of schools represented by the teachers**
Zimbabwe	Harare	25	8	1 primary, 1 private, 2 high, 4 low income
	Bulawayo	25	8	1 primary, 1 private, 2 high, 4 low income
	Masvingo	25	8	*Urban*: I primary, 1 secondary; *Rural*: 3 government, 3 Mission
	Manicaland	25	8	*Urban*: I primary, 1 secondary; *Rural*: 3 government, 3 Mission
	Sub-total	**100**		
South Africa	Gauteng	34	11	2 primary, 4 private & 5 government
	Limpopo	33	11	2 primary, 4 private & 5 government
	Mpumalanga	33	11	2 primary, 4 private & 5 government
	Sub-total	**100**		

NB: Three districts selected per province in both samples

Source: Summary of sampling strategy

In Zimbabwean schools, one male and one female teacher were selected per school. Since all Zimbabwean schools have both male and female teachers, balancing the sample in terms of gender was found necessary in order to improve the representativeness of the sample as well as reduce standard errors. The selection of the two teachers per school was based on simple random

sampling. Separate lists of male and female teachers were requested from the administration of each school and a male teacher was randomly selected from the list of male teachers. A female teacher was selected in the same way. Simple random sampling was preferred in the selection of the teachers per school because it reduced researcher biases in the selection process since "the researcher who selects cases on an intuitive basis might very well select cases that would support his or her research expectations" (Babbie, 2010:200).

The study was basically quantitative as it attempted to systematically investigate teacher immigration to South Africa, answering the 'who' questions about this migration, using statistical techniques. Quantitative methods offered the advantage of high levels of reliability in the data gathered (Matveev, 2002). But quantitative methods alone would not provide in-depth explanations as to 'why' this migration has occurred, which would be done well by qualitative methods (ibid). Hence, qualitative methods formed the second but minor data collection methods whose data was used to compliment the quantitative data.

The fieldwork had the potential to intrude into other people's lives or unwillingly expose people's private lives. In order to avoid such negative impacts on other people's lives, especially the respondents and their families, the study proposed the following. Firstly, all teachers responded to the questionnaires or interviews on the basis of informed consent. That is, the aims of the research were explained to the respondent before he/she could respond. The researcher or research assistants stressed the fact that the data would be used solely for academic purposes and nothing else. After that the respondent made an informed decision whether to participate or not in the research. In cases when the respondent chose not to respond, a replacement was found from the same school or nearby schools.

Secondly, the entire study did not use the names of individuals. For example, in the questionnaires the researcher generated a respondent number which was used for identifying the respondent. In reporting the life stories of migrant teachers with stories that helped explain some of the quantitative research findings or added new views, pseudo names were used, such as Mrs X, instead of actual names. School names were also not used since this could unintentionally expose the operation of school authorities or other teachers. Finally, respondents answered the

questionnaire at their own times when they were not busy. This meant that prior to interviews or questionnaire administration, the respondents were notified of their selection for the study and they chose the time when they were ready for the interview or questionnaire administration. With all these mechanisms put to effective use, there is hope that the study did not negatively affect other people unintentionally.

The main instrument for quantitative data collection was a detailed but short and structured questionnaire. Questionnaires offer the advantage that they allow for the collection of lots of information from many people within short periods of time. In addition, they are easy to analyse especially using statistical software packages such as SPSS or others. In order to improve the validity of the questionnaire, it was pre-tested through a pilot study conducted both in Zimbabwe and South Africa. The pilot study involved five (5) conveniently selected teachers in South Africa and the same number in Zimbabwe. A pre-test was deemed necessary to perfect the questions and the suggested answers especially making them clear and unambiguous to the respondents (Babbie, 2010:256).

The same questionnaire, with few variations, was administered to both migrant teachers in South Africa and non-migrant teachers in Zimbabwe for the sake of comparing the effects of determinants on migration or non-migration. Strict *skip rules* were used for non-migrants or migrants to skip questions that did not refer to them. Furthermore, for some variables and where necessary, information was sought for the current period and around 2008, the peak of the Zimbabwean crisis. This strategy allowed for the comparison of the views of migrants and non-migrants during the peak of the crisis (around 2008) as well as after and during the GNU and use of multiple currencies in Zimbabwe. The questionnaire was sub-divided into six sub-sections. The first sub-section was for the identification of respondents including identifying the migration status of the respondent that is, whether migrant or non-migrant. This sub-section was followed by background information, which sought information on age, sex, marital status, living arrangements, education levels, subject specialisation, and work experience (Appendix 1).

The third sub-section was on mitigation and demand-pull factors including knowledge about destinations and source of the knowledge, previous migration experience, South Africa's

attractiveness, and costs of migration as well as reasons for migration or non-migration, and future migration plans. This sub-section was followed by gender-related issues particularly seeking females' experiences regarding the decision to migrate especially who started with the emigration idea, whether spouses and society at large supported the idea and the challenges they faced or are likely to face and their coping strategies. This was followed by questions on the teachers' satisfaction with social service delivery now and during 2008 including education, health and urban services, and how they responded to the crisis in the social sector. This sub-section also captured the respondents' views over their opportunities or lack for upward mobility as well as self-development. The sixth sub-section sought information on economic determinants including the teachers' perceptions of the quality of life led now and around 2008, salaries earned in Zimbabwe, their adequacy for poverty avoidance, how they compare with those earned in South Africa, and asset ownership. The final sub-section covered the political determinants especially the extent to which teachers were affected by politically motivated violence and whether emigration was one of the responses to this violence.

The teachers self-administered the questionnaires with the researcher guiding them through the process of filling the questionnaires. Self-administered questionnaires often face challenges of missing data for some variables and low return rates (E-valued, 2011). In order to deal with such problems, the researcher cross-checked the completed questionnaires for inconsistent or incomplete answers and collected correctly filled questionnaires. Questionnaires with problems were returned to the respondents to verify their answers. This ensured the collection of data of high quality as well as helped avoid revisits. Some of the teachers were hired to assist the researcher both in the verification of completed questionnaires and the navigation of the study areas as they are familiar to the areas.

The supplementary data collection methods, which were qualitative, involved the life stories of a few migrant teachers. Migrants who shared their life stories included those from Zimbabwean schools affected by political violence, from high-income schools that provided incentives to stay, and females who faced serious challenges in their immigration to South Africa. Life stories of migrants provided more insight into the complex processes involved in migration decision making which could not be captured by the questionnaire survey. Hence, life stories

complemented the questionnaire study, which used tests of significance to determine the main demand-pull, supply-push and mitigating factors influencing immigration to South Africa. Key informants, such as school heads, were also interviewed wherever possible since some of these officials are often too busy to have time for an interview. Visiting provincial or district education offices was the entry point of the fieldwork. This is because visiting provincial or district education offices first helped the researcher seek permission for entry into the schools as well as obtaining any information or records concerning the migration of teachers.

From the presentation of the research techniques so far, it is obvious that the major analytical framework was quantitative. Preliminary analysis involved the production of frequency tables. This was followed by the discussion of outstanding percentages or trends. Further analysis involved two-way tables or cross-tabulations and the Pearson Chi-square was used to test for independence between each determinant and immigration to South Africa. These results were alternatively displayed in frequency tables, pie charts, line graphs, and double-bar graphs. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software was used both for data entry and analysis. SPSS offers quick analysis using the 'run frequencies or crosstabs' commands. Following the processing of these statistics, the programme produces an output file showing the frequencies, percentages and cumulative percentages. Results of qualitative methods were used to cross-check, add to, or criticize the findings from the major data collection method, the questionnaire.

1.7 Overview of chapters

This chapter, the first in a series of eight chapters, introduced the study starting with the successes and challenges in the education systems of Zimbabwe and South Africa, a description of the problem as seen by the researcher and other authorities, and the methodology used when collecting data. The next and second chapter is called *Determinants of the Brain Drain: Literature and Theoretical Perspectives*. It discusses literature on the global trends in the brain drain and its impact on development in exporting countries, factors 'pushing' professionals from poor countries of the South, factors 'pulling' professionals to richer countries of the South or North, and mitigation factors. The chapter ends with the presentation of conceptual and

theoretical frameworks that guided the entire study. The third chapter, entitled *The Zimbabwean Crisis as a Cause of the Migration of Teachers*, discusses the origin and progression of what is commonly called the 'Zimbabwean crisis' as well as linked it to migration trends from Zimbabwe to South Africa. Chapter four reports on the methodology as conducted during fieldwork. It defines the variables including the dependent and several independent variables as they were used during fieldwork. Chapter five marks the beginning of the presentation and discussion of the results of fieldwork. It discusses the profiles of the samples of migrant and non-migrant teachers and begins to note findings that are relevant to the topic. Chapter six compares migrant and non-migrant teachers on their responses to questions related to demand-pull and mitigation factors. Chapter seven provides a detailed comparison and discussion of the teachers' perceptions of the social, economic and political dimensions of the Zimbabwean crisis and their coping strategies. It also analyses the reasons for migration or non-migration, which sort of summarised the major determinants of teacher migration to South Africa. The last chapter, eight, summarises and concludes the entire study. It ends with recommendations based on the implications of the major findings of the study for literature as well as for policy formulation.

1.8 Chapter conclusion

This chapter introduced the study as well as placed the migration of Zimbabwean teachers to South Africa in context. The chapter highlighted the successes and challenges faced by the education systems of the two countries and how the challenges had a bearing on teacher migration to South Africa. The challenges faced by the Zimbabwean education system, which were as a result of a crumbling economic and political environment, formed the endogenous 'push' factors of this migration. Teacher shortages especially for mathematics and science subjects constituted the major challenge of the post-apartheid South African education system and this provided the impoverished Zimbabwean teachers with somewhere to go. The chapter then explained the problem statement, justification to the research, research design and methodology, research objectives, delimitation and scope of the study.

CHAPTER II

DETERMINANTS OF THE BRAIN DRAIN: LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the relevant theories on international migration that guide the study and the literature on the brain drain affecting countries of the South. Literature discussed in this chapter pertains to global trends in the brain drain and its impact on development in source countries, factors 'pushing' these professionals from their home countries, factors 'pulling' professionals to richer countries both in the South and North, and mitigating factors. Push and pull factors can be found both within and outside the education systems of the source countries. The introductory chapter has already highlighted some of the challenges faced by the education systems of both Zimbabwe and South Africa, which are endogenous supply-push or demand-pull factors for this migration. But, both types of endogenous factors depend on the performance of the macro political-economic environments of both countries. For example, the problems facing Zimbabwe as a whole in recent years translated to the political and economic crisis discussed in Chapter 3, which led to the disintegration of the country's education sector as discussed in Chapter 1. Gender issues, together with the economic, social and psychological costs of migration constitute the mitigating factors in the migration process. This is because freedom or lack of it from the control of men or care responsibilities may help determine whether a female independently migrates for trade or in search of a job (Gaidzanwa, 1998).

2.2 Theoretical perspectives in international migration

Massey et al (1993) reviews the progression of theoretical conceptualisations of the reasons of international migration over several years starting with Ravenstein's pioneering work in 1885. These authors discussed several theories including neoclassical, dual labour market, new economics of migration, world systems, network, and institutional theory. Classical economic theories of migration can be traced back to Ravenstein's hypotheses on migration in 1885, which suggested that the most important reason for migration are the wage-level differences between

macro-level units (Massey et al, 1993). These theories can be divided for analytical purposes as well as on the basis of the factors and levels of decision making they emphasize into macro, micro and cumulative causation theories (Fig. 1.2).

Macro theories of international migration stress the role of wage or labour endowment differences between macro-level units such as countries or regions as the major reasons why international migration occurs. Examples of macro theories include the *classical macro-economic* theory by Harris and Todaro, the *dual labour market* by Piore and *world systems* theory by Wallerstein (Massey et al, 1993). The Harris and Todaro model of 1970 postulates that people move mainly because of differences in wages that are caused by geographical differences in the supply of and demand for labour between two areas (e.g. rural and urban) or countries (ibid). This theory and its extensions or refinements hypothesized that "the higher the wage differential and the lower the urban unemployment rate the more migration into the urban areas will occur" (Fischer et al, 1997:58). Hence, it explained why well-educated people are more likely to emigration since they have the highest chances of avoiding unemployment abroad (ibid). But this theory fails to explain why some people choose not to migrate even when wage differences exist.

In the 1979 dual labour market theory, Piore argued that immigrants are not pushed by low wages or high unemployment at home, but are pulled by the dire need for foreign labour in richer countries (Massey et al, 1993). The need for foreign workers emanate from the fact that labour in the richer countries is expensive because of reasons that include (a) the expectation that wages should increase proportionally to job hierarchy, (b) the industrialists' huge investment in their human capital, and (c) high labour union activities. Hence, employers in the richer countries prefer employing immigrants who can accept lower wages as some of them are 'target earners', who seek to earn enough money to meet a specific goal (e.g. buy land or build a house) that would improve their well-being or status at home (ibid). For instance, in the study of health professionals who emigrate from Zimbabwe, Chikanda (2005) found that one of the reasons for intending to move abroad was to save money quickly in order to buy a car or paying off a home loan (54.1%). This theory explained why immigrant women constitute some of the cheap labour in richer countries abroad as they accept low wages because they want to supplement household

incomes back home. This is one reason why local people in recipient countries end up having negative feelings towards immigrants as they blame them for pulling wages downwards, resulting for example in the South African xenophobic attacks in 2008.

The world system theory by Wallerstein, writing around 1974, is basically a development theory that explained how the *core*, which includes the richer countries or urban areas, has developed through the exploitation of resources from the *periphery* that is, poorer countries or rural areas. The structure of the world market, which is basically capitalistic, has developed over several centuries in a way that the core or richer countries developed outwards to incorporate the periphery or poorer countries into one world market economy that generally favours the continued development of the core (Massey et al, 1993). In their extraction of resources from the periphery, capitalists have developed communication and transport links that have not only improved the movement of raw materials from and products or capital to the periphery but also people, skilled or unskilled. This is because the communication and transport links made the movement of people easier as migration costs were reduced (Massey et al, 1993). This theory explained how some of the richer countries in Europe and America have and continue to develop through both the outflow of products and capital to and inflows of skilled labour from poorer countries. At the regional level, it also explained the existence of the regional cores such as South Africa in the SADC region which continues to develop at the expense of peripheral countries. The improved transport systems between South Africa and its regional counterparts including both road and air make it easier for the movement of goods and people as the costs of migration are reduced.

Micro theories of international migration basically argue that macro-level factors are processed by the individual or other decision making units such as the household into the decision to emigrate or not. Such theories include the classical micro-economic theory (Todaro, 1989) and the household decision-making model (Lucas and Stark, 1985), which Massey et al (1993) call the 'new economics of migration'. Fischer et al (1997) argued that the major challenge for migration studies is often to determine which among the macro-level factors dominate in the micro-level decision-making process. The classical micro-economic theory stresses the fact that most, if not all, migration decisions are made by an informed and well-calculating individual. It

views migrants as rational actors who decide to migrate because a cost-benefit calculation leads them to expect a positive net return, usually monetary, from movement (Todaro, 1989; Massey et al, 1993:434). Writing in 1962, Sjaastad's version of micro-economic theory regarded international migration as a form of human capital investment in which people choose to move to where they can be more productive, given their skills (ibid). Extensions and refinements of this theory such as by Lee in 1966 have included intervening obstacles such as economic, social and psychological costs that the potential migrant should face before enjoying the higher wages at destination (ibid). The inclusion of migration costs helps explain why other people choose not to migrate despite the existence of macro-level wage differentials.

The theory has been criticized primarily on its assumption of a migrant who is rational, calculative and well informed even about several destination areas in order to choose to go where utility is maximized. But, this is not always true since not all potential migrants have perfect information about for example wages and unemployment rates in recipient countries. In fact, besides being inadequate, the information that they obtain from emigrants could be biased since "emigrants tend to exaggerate the good parts of their life abroad and say less about the bad parts" (Fischer et al, 1997:82). Furthermore, the theory assumes that the best measurement of quality of life is material wealth, which is best represented by the maximization of income (ibid). This assumption is not always correct. It does not explain why some people do not move despite the opportunity to double or triple their current wages. This is true for some Zimbabwean teachers, who probably despite knowing about the existence of wage differences between Zimbabwean and South African teachers continue to work in Zimbabwe. This means that there could be other reasons why these teachers are not migrating to South Africa. Hence, the search for determinants of this migration was not myopically focused on wage differentials only as the classical economic migration model suggested. In fact, other classical micro-economic theorists have gone beyond monetary benefits and included all other benefits or costs associated with either the area of origin or destination. "People weigh the different advantages and disadvantages of their present macro-level unit of residence and potential alternatives and decide whether they want to remain within their present area of residence (decision to 'stay') or whether they want to move to a different geo-political unit (decision to 'go')" (Fischer et al, 1997:49).

The other micro theory of international migration, the household decision-making model, argues that migration decisions are not only made by individuals and for selfish reasons, but are also made by and to benefit "larger units of related people" such as the household or family (Massey et al, 1993:436). Households or families make this decision not only for the purpose of maximizing expected income but also to minimize risk against several uncertainties in life including imperfect markets, crop failures and unemployment. This theory has the added advantage that it helps explain why migrants remit and some remit more than others to the households of origin. In their classical study on why migrants from Botswana to South Africa remitted, Lucas and Stark (1985:902) postulated that remittances are often viewed as "part or one clause in a self-enforcing contractual agreement between migrant and family. The underlying idea is that for the household as a whole it may be a Pareto-superior strategy to have members migrate elsewhere, either as a means of risk sharing or as an investment in access to higher earning streams. Remittances may then be seen as a device for redistributing gains, with relative shares determined in an implicit arrangement struck between the migrant and remaining family".

Migration can therefore be used as a household survival strategy as well as a form of insurance against risk and uncertainty, especially in poorer countries of the South where formal insurance mechanisms are absent or inadequate. In addition, migration can help provide the necessary capital to make additional investments in agriculture including the application of new technologies such as irrigation, fertilizers, and treated seeds, which otherwise should have been provided by the formal banking system. For instance, in the study of female immigrants to South Africa from the SADC region, Lefko-Everett (2007:2) found that for many of them, migration is a household survival strategy caused primarily by household need.

The third group of theories, *cumulative causation and network*, suggest that once international migration is started, it is likely to be perpetuated not necessarily by the factors that initially caused it. Further emigration from the source country can be the result of other factors such as networks, which help to reduce both the costs and risk of emigration to the remaining family members. Massey et al (1993:448) defined migrant networks as "sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin". Fischer et al (1997) argued that the

presence of a family member abroad increases the flow of information to family members who initially stayed behind. “Such information reduces uncertainty and is likely to ease the decision to ‘go’ for additional family members” (ibid:72). In some cases, family ties are the main reason for migration.

Sometimes more emigration from source countries is caused by seeing the achievements of emigrants who moved earlier including their better incomes, quality of life, ability to purchase land, and improved agricultural production as they can afford new technologies and capital intensive farming methods (Massey et al, 1993). This creates a feeling of relative deprivation among family members, kinsmen or friends who initially stayed behind, which induces new emigration. Such cumulative causation cannot be ruled out in the immigration of Zimbabwean teachers to South Africa since the feeling of deprivation would be unavoidable especially when fellow teachers who emigrated earlier showed signs of having a better quality of life.

Massey et al (1993) argued that migration is also continued by the emergence of institutions particularly in recipient countries that promote immigration for a profit. Such institutions would include the recruitment and placement agencies who have been blamed often for the continued brain drain involving teachers or nurses from poorer countries of the South to richer countries of the North (Daily Inquirer, 26 June 2009). Finally, a culture of migration is likely to develop in source countries as former migrants, who have tasted lifestyles and consumer goods from abroad, realize that such lifestyles cannot be maintained by incomes earned at home. Previous migration experience helps explain why some people migrate and others remain behind.

Since the current study is also particularly concerned about the reasons why some teachers choose not to leave the country (Zimbabwe), it is necessary to briefly explain theoretical perspectives on non-migration. Traditional explanations of non-migration include risk aversion, migration control, social security, and discrimination (Fischer et al, 1993). Non-migrants are more likely to be risk averse particularly with regard to risk caused by imperfect labour markets. Migration control especially the immigration requirements increase the cost and risk of migration. For instance, Matlosa (1998) argued that the South African government introduced a visa for Zimbabweans in order to control the immigration of Zimbabweans especially for trade.

But, sometimes wage differences are stronger incentives for emigration than the costs and risks of migration including illegal migration.

Fischer et al (1997) argued that a social security system that includes for example school or health assistance, retirement, housing and employment rights has the potential to retain the population of a certain region or country. Although for immigrants access to these benefits depends on their migration status, even the permanent resident non-citizens may not be granted all such benefits. Hence, expected constraints in accessing the social security system of the recipient country may make emigration unattractive for some people. Likewise, any forms of discrimination in recipient countries may operate in the same way to increase immobility. But, it is not clear whether potential migrants have enough information about such negative aspects of the destination country. This is because "emigrants tend to exaggerate the good parts of their life abroad and say less about the bad parts" (Fischer et al, 1997:82). But, where expected benefits outweigh the costs of emigration, discrimination is less likely to cause the person to stay (Padarath et al, 2003). For instance, despite facing discrimination in some recipient countries (SIRDIC, 2008), many Zimbabweans persevere in order to achieve economic or other gains associated with emigration.

Presenting a different approach to non-migration called the *insider-advantage*, Fischer et al (1997) hypothesized that where non-migration itself has a positive value to the individual or society at large, then some people are likely to stay. For instance, non-migrants can obtain maximum utility from investing in the "accumulation of location-specific skills, abilities and assets" such as upward movement in the organisational hierarchy (Fischer et al, 1997:76).

All the theoretical perspectives discussed above are summarized diagrammatically in Figure 2.1. These theories stress different reasons for the migration of citizens of poorer countries to richer countries. Such reasons include: (a) macro-level differences in wages or labour markets, with low wages or high unemployment in source countries pushing citizens into emigration; (b) the preference for cheap immigrant labour by capitalists pulling citizens of poorer countries to recipient countries; (c) the individual need to better one's welfare (usually measured in monetary terms) or the household need to improve financial and social security; (d) and reduction in the

costs or risk of emigration provided by improved communication and transport links as well as the development of migrant networks and institutions.

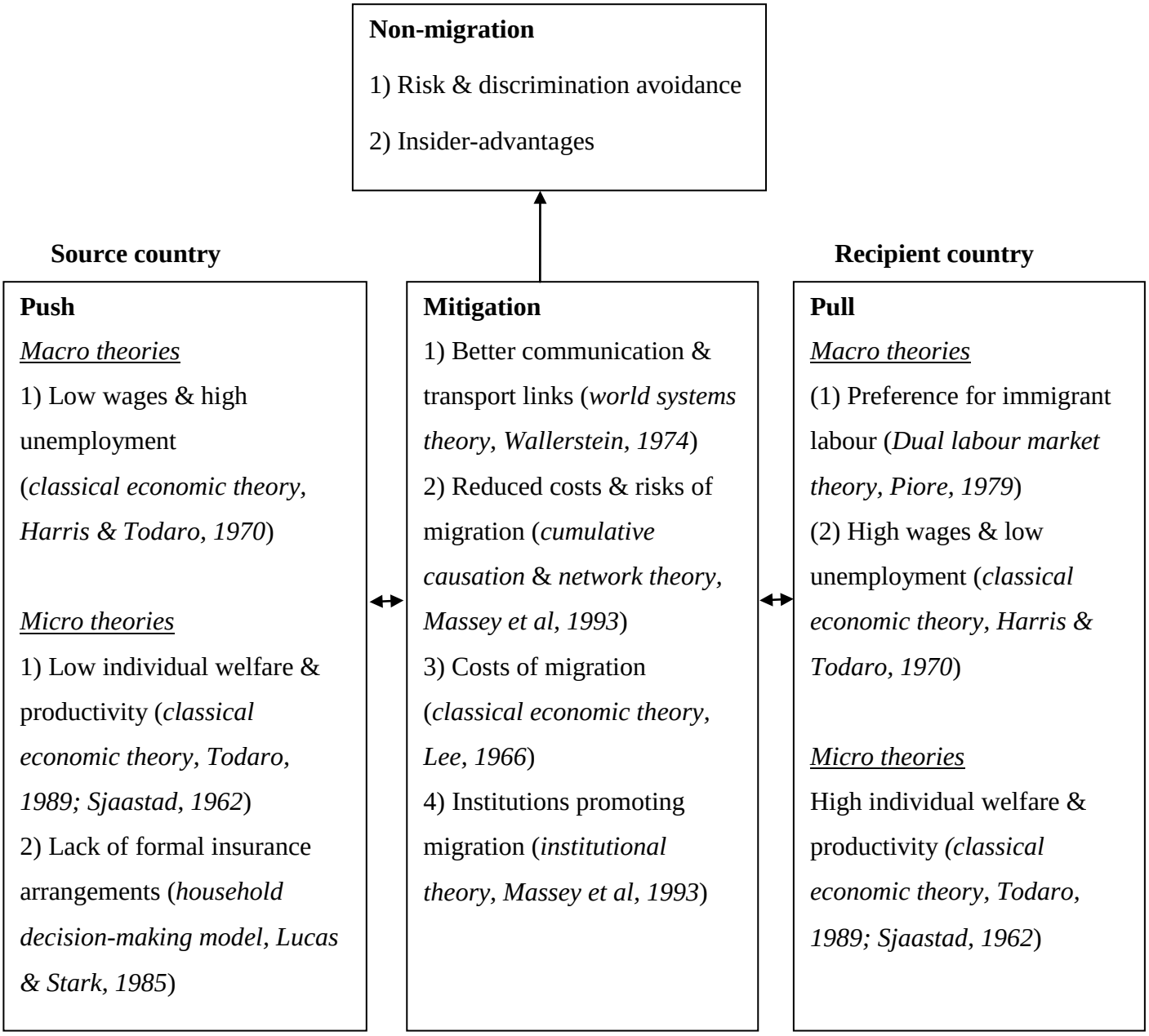

Fig. 2.1 Theoretical perspectives in international migration

Some of the theories discussed under this sub-section highlighted the link between migration and development. This link, which Parnwell (1993) described as complex is doubled barrelled. On the one hand, uneven intra or inter-country development explains why citizens of some countries or regions migrate while those of others do not. On the other hand, migration and remittances exacerbate inequality in the sender country, which lead to more emigrations. Wallersteins' (1974) world systems theory explained how the development of a capitalistic world market has favoured the continued growth of 'core' areas at the expense of peripheral areas. In Africa, several regional 'core' countries can be identified towards which citizens of the peripheral countries tend to migrate (Adepoju, 2008). In the SADC region, South Africa and Botswana are the hosts to most of the migrants from other countries in the region. The current study is basically concerned with migration from a peripheral country, Zimbabwe, to the 'core' country in the region, South Africa, during a period of economic, social and political crisis in the peripheral country. Besides being facilitated by improved communication networks in a globalised world, this study also highlights how deviation from globally acceptable policies and governance can lead to economic downfall and the concomitant deterioration in social service delivery and emigration.

2.3 Trends and impacts of the brain drain

In their definition of brain drain, SIRDIC (2008:10) separated external from internal brain drain and further subdivides external brain drain into primary and secondary. "Primary external brain drain occurs when human resources leave their country (e.g. Zimbabwe) to go and work overseas in developed countries such as Europe, North America and Australia. Secondary external brain drain occurs when human resources leave their country to go and work elsewhere in their region e.g. South Africa, Botswana, Namibia, etc. Internal brain drain occurs when human resources are not employed in the fields of their expertise in their own country or when human resources move from the public sector to the private sector or within a sector e.g. when university lecturers become commuter bus drivers or nurses become informal traders, etc" (SIRDIC, 2008:10).

The study is primarily concerned with secondary external brain drain. Since most of the available literature includes primary external brain drain involving the movement of professionals from

countries of the South to overseas countries, a review of this literature here would help highlight the extent of the brain drain in countries of the South, Zimbabwe included. The review is general as it includes all professionals from source countries in Africa and Asia. But in some cases, the review becomes more specific to teachers or health professionals since they are the majority of professionals involved and for whom most literature is available. Starting on the Asian continent, the Manila based Daily Inquirer of 26 June 2009 reported that for the past 10 years, around 4,000 Filipino teachers left the country. Most of these teachers were Mathematics, Science, English and Special Education teachers. The daily paper predicted that this trend was likely to continue since the major destination countries of these migrants, the United States of America (USA) and specific Arab countries continue to have a need for teachers in the coming decade.

On the African continent, Kyambalesa (2009) reported that an average of 12,146 technical and professional African nationals was admitted to the USA annually between 1974 and 1985. This figure increased to 32,317 skilled African nationals admitted into the USA between 1993 and 1995 only. Hence, this data indicate an increasing trend of the migration of African professionals to the USA. In fact, the World Bank Group cited by Kyambalesa (2009:1) estimated that 70,000 skilled Africans "leave their home countries every year to work in industrialized nations".

Adepoju (2008) highlighted the existence of international migration both within and beyond the Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries that are mainly caused by political and economic crises. Secondary brain drain in the SSA countries is mainly directed towards regional core countries including Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana in West Africa, Kenya in East Africa, Gabon in Central Africa, and South Africa in Southern Africa. But for those professionals leaving the continent, common destinations include richer countries in Europe, the Middle East, and the USA and Canada. For example, there were large-scale emigration of both skilled and unskilled Nigerians in 1975 and 1990 to the Gulf and the Maghreb States as a result of both political and economic crises at home, respectively (ibid).

In the Southern African Development Community (SADC), regional differences in wealth and salaries have resulted in the net outflow of professionals from poorer to richer countries, primarily South Africa, SADC's richest country (Sachikonye, 1998; Padarath et al, 2003).

Despite the inaccessibility of data on the movement of health professionals within the SADC region, Padarath et al (2003) cited a South African study that used a sample of 400 skilled foreigners, which found that 41% of them were from Africa and 18% of these from SADC countries. Another study conducted in Botswana found that 77% of the skilled foreigners came from other African countries and the majority of them from SADC countries (ibid).

In Zimbabwe, the brain drain has been widely researched upon with most of the findings also pointing to an increasing trend of qualified Zimbabweans migrating to richer overseas countries and those in the region, especially South Africa and Botswana. A detailed study on the causes and effects of the brain drain in Zimbabwe by SIRDIC (2008) estimated that 479,348 Zimbabweans were living in diaspora. Most of these diaspora Zimbabweans are professionals since the study found that the majority of them hold a bachelor's degree. The Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) surveys are one of the sources that have documented the brain drain in Zimbabwe and the Southern Africa region. Based on a sample selected from most of the skilled sectors in Zimbabwe, a SAMP survey conducted in 2001 revealed that 57% of the sample of professionals from across Zimbabwe's economic sectors "had given a 'great deal' of thought to emigrating from Zimbabwe" (Tevera and Crush, 2003). And 27% had made a mental commitment to move in the next six months from the period of the survey, 50% in the next two years, and 67% in the next 5 years.

The health and education sectors were found to be the hardest hit by this emigration although these authors found professionals from other sectors to be leaving also in large numbers. These figures predicted continued emigration of skilled Zimbabweans since 2001. This prediction has been proved correct since then as skilled Zimbabweans including teachers have continued to emigrate in the mid and late 2000s. Other statistics seem to suggest that this trend in the brain drain in Zimbabwe should have started even earlier than the dawn of the new millennium. For example, Padarath et al (2003) reported that approximately 200 doctors left Zimbabwe for Botswana and South Africa in 1992. Furthermore, out of 1200 doctors trained in Zimbabwe during the 1990s, only 360 were still practicing in the country in 2001.

All the statistics cited above have raised concern among national and regional policy makers mainly because of the devastating effects of this brain drain especially for development and poverty reduction efforts in poorer countries of the South. Other studies have found the brain drain to have positive impacts also. For example, in a study of the experiences of both source and recipient countries in the Commonwealth, Morgan, et al (2006:34) found that "teacher recruitment and mobility have mainly had a positive impact on poverty and international development especially through teachers sending money home and returning home with savings". For instance, Jamaican teachers earned three times more in England. In Botswana, expatriate teachers made a "major contribution to the development of the education system, especially the rapid expansion of secondary schools" (ibid:34).

The source country is also likely to benefit through the transfer of knowledge and skills especially when migrants return home. Researching on the health sector, Padarath et al (2003:10) argued that "many health personnel migrate for short period of time and return to their country". In this case, short-term migration is more beneficial to the source country than long-term migration since the professionals return soon equipped with more experience, skills and personal resources than when they left. This benefit to the source country has led some economists and development agencies to suggest that poor source countries should treat the brain drain as a form of trade, which ultimately benefits their economies. For instance, bilateral arrangements between source and recipient countries in the movement of health professionals such as the deployment of Cuban doctors to Zimbabwe have mutual benefits to both countries (ibid).

On the other hand, most studies have found more negative than positive impacts of the brain drain in countries of the South, whether involving teachers or other professionals, especially to the source countries or regions. For example, Arab (2005:ix) argued that teacher migration is "one form of teacher turnover that destabilizes schools, which directly affect the success of students". This study was conducted in some regions of the USA that were losing teachers during a period when most ordinary people were complaining about declining test scores and increasing indiscipline in public schools.

Despite finding overwhelmingly positive impacts of teacher migration in the Commonwealth countries, Morgan et al (2006) found negative impacts particularly in the sending countries. For example, they found serious problems in the Jamaican education system, where the state subsidizes teacher training by about two-thirds. South Africa also experienced a significant loss since the teachers recruited overseas were rated as above average in effectiveness (ibid). International organisations such as the World Bank and UNESCO also recognize the negative impacts of teacher migration especially on effective learning and the quality of education in the exporting countries. UNESCO realizes that a better trained teaching force is an important factor in educational quality. In addition, one of the goals of the Dakar Framework on Education (2000) was to identify, train and retain good teachers.

Other negative effects on the source country (such as Zimbabwe) found by SIRDIC (2008) include a smaller tax base and a loss of scientists, the majority of who were trained in Zimbabwe but are now working in other countries. Kyambalesa (2009:9) argued that such significant losses in trained and professional personnel further delay African countries from realizing "meaningful levels of economic growth, development and competitiveness". This is because the very same professionals leaving the continent are the ones who are supposed to spearhead socio-economic development in Africa. Weiss (1998) argued that a skilled and professional human resource base helps raise economic productivity and social development.

More negative consequences to the source country due to the brain drain have been found in the health sector but with some of them relevant to education. Padarath et al (2003) regarded the knowledge and skills loss from poorer to richer countries as a form of reverse (poor to rich) subsidy, which benefits the richer countries. Furthermore, this loss occurs at a time when most of the poorer countries are already struggling to address poverty, internal inequalities and crises. Hence, the knowledge and skills loss to poor source countries exacerbates both internal and regional inequalities between rich and poor areas, districts and countries. For example, while Lesotho is a major source country for both skilled and unskilled foreigners working in South Africa, a wide gap separates it from South Africa. For instance, the doctor to population ratio which was 5.4 doctors per 100,000 people in 1996 in Lesotho was far lower than 56.3 per

100,000 in South Africa (Padarath et al, 2003). Matlosa (1998:46) argued that "South Africa cannot develop if its neighbours remain impoverished".

In some cases the brain drain involving health personnel has resulted in the disturbance of the overall functioning of the health system and increased mortality and morbidity. Some health institutions in source countries have ended up operating under optimal capacity or have been totally shut down. Padarath et al (2003) cited the example of the South African spinal injuries centre, which was closed due to emigration of the only two anaesthetists that manned the centre to Canada. The shortages in health personnel due to the brain drain have also resulted in unrealistic workloads. Faced with these workloads, the remaining personnel have sometimes coped through strategies that further negatively affected the overall efficiency of the system including absenteeism, having a second job to augment poor salaries, poor treatment of patients, under-the-counter fees, and the sale of drugs that should be free (ibid).

These coping strategies are also relevant to the education sector particularly for Zimbabwe where some teachers have coped with low salaries through cross-border trade (Gaidzanwa, 1998; Chagonda, 2010) among several other strategies. The effects of such strategies include increased absenteeism of teachers from school as they concentrate on their secondary sources of income as well as inequality in access to education as those who could afford the extra lesson fees in US dollars were the only ones receiving quality education. For example, during the teacher strikes and temporary closure of Zimbabwean public schools around 2008, schools in urban areas re-opened earlier than those in rural areas as parents augmented teachers' salaries in US dollars (Chagonda, 2010; UNICEF Press Centre, 2008). This further widened the gap between urban and rural areas in access to education.

The negative effects of the brain drain on source countries have often been extended to include costs of the training investment that is required for the source country to replace the professionals that have left the country (Padarath et al, 2003). These authors highlight that problems exist in attempting to quantify these training costs. But, based on estimates, they argued that training a general practicing doctor in the SADC costs about US$60,000. Hence, several millions of US dollars of Zimbabwean taxpayers' money should have been lost only for

the period between the 1990s and 2001 when nearly 840 doctors of the 1200 trained in this period left the country. The loss to the source country is sometimes so significant such that even when remittances are used to boost the general economy of the source country, they might fail to offset the overall decline in the economy that results from the brain drain (ibid).

In most cases the recipient country stands to gain more than it loses from the immigration of professionals from poorer countries. Very few losses to the recipient country have been noted in the literature including increasing recruitment costs due to more active recruitment processes and language or cultural differences that negatively affect the efficiency of expatriates especially where local supervision and support is lacking (Padarath et al, 2003). Several benefits to the recipient country have been found including filling up posts that would have been vacant, lower costs involved in recruiting immigrants as compared to costs of advertising and appointing experienced local citizens, and filling up less desirable posts such as those in rural and high need or deprived areas (Padarath et al, 2003).

Some negative consequences of the brain drain have been noted at the individual rather than the macro level. For example, some highly skilled immigrants have faced exploitation and 'brain wastage' in recipient countries where they are made to do simple and menial jobs that are not related to their knowledge and skills (ibid). Furthermore, different forms of discrimination have been reported at workplaces in recipient countries including racism and xenophobia. However, immigrants often have to deal with such negative consequences since the benefits derived from immigration should outweigh the costs for the immigrant to stay.

The literature reviewed above on trends in the brain drain and its impact highlighted the fact that this phenomenon is increasingly becoming more common in a globalised world. But poor source countries are heavily paying the price for the brain drain in their countries with the challenge that they continue failing to meet certain globally agreed welfare goals and standards of living such as education for all by 2015. This further widens the gap between the richer and poorer countries, some of who are geographically located in proximity to each other. Policies to address such growing but bad inequalities between countries would be more informed if the impacts

(including both costs and benefits) of the brain drain could be more quantified and disaggregated by sector so that more sector oriented policies can be derived.

2.4 Causes of the brain drain

Some researchers have argued that the causes of the brain, which are quite complex in reality, go beyond the division into push and pull factors (Weiss, 1998:76). As Weiss (1998:76) correctly noted, the factors causing the brain drain are "multiple, dynamic, complex and interrelated". But, these authors have not suggested any equally complex frameworks for studying the causes of the brain drain. Hence, the division of the causes into supply-push and demand-pull factors is still the most useful framework for the systematic analysis of the causes of the brain drain and was used in this study.

2.4.1 Supply-push factors

The causes, factors or determinants of the brain drain from poorer to richer countries have been divided for analysis purposes into push and pull factors. These factors involve macro level differences between the source and recipient countries. But whether a potential migrant would move out of or remain in the source country depends on the micro (individual or household) level processing of information regarding the macro level differences and other mitigating factors (Fig. 2.1). The mitigating factors are sometimes called the intervening obstacles (Fischer et al, 1997), 'stick' factors (Padarath et al, 2003), or intervening variables (Massey et al, 1993). Literature presented under this section starts with a review of the 'push' factors followed by 'pull' and mitigating factors.

The presentation of literature on the supply-push factors groups these factors into those endogenous (within) and exogenous (beyond) a particular sector, like the health sector, as suggested by Padarath et al (2003). Most skilled migrants from nearly all economic sectors in countries of the South usually cite economic reasons for their emigration to richer countries. For example, Chikanda (2005:11) found that the major reasons for the intention of health personnel to emigrate from Zimbabwe were primarily economic. In most cases, low salaries and poor

working conditions in the home countries are 'pushing' the professionals including teachers away from home and the salaries earned in the industrialized countries, which are more as compared to those at home, are 'pulling' them (Daily Inquirer, 26 June 2009). Studying brain drain among countries in the Commonwealth, Morgan et al (2006) found that professional development and better salaries were the main reasons for the emigration of teachers from Jamaica and South Africa to richer countries of the North. For instance, "Jamaican teachers earned three times more in England and South African teachers 3 to 4 times more" (Morgan et al, 2006). Faye (2003) reported that Senegalese university lecturers who emigrate to Europe or North America earn three to five times more than what they earn in Senegal. The Financial Gazette of 14-20 October 2004 reported that "unsatisfactory remuneration and poor conditions of service" at the University of Zimbabwe have resulted in most faculties experiencing a mass exodus of lecturers.

In most cases data on sector-specific wage differentials between the source country and several potential recipient countries is not readily available to the migrant. Hence, potential migrants often depend on information from friends or relatives already living in diaspora, which is often incomplete (Fischer et al, 1997). In some cases, labour unions have availed information on wage differentials in their efforts to improve their bargaining power on behalf of workers. Martineau et al (2002) cited figures provided by unions showing stark wage differentials for junior doctors in selected SSA countries in 1999 (Table 2.1). In Zimbabwe, 86.6% of the health personnel studied by Chikanda (2005:12) earned extremely low wages such that they found it necessary "to do two or more jobs in order to make ends meet".

Table 2.1 Average monthly salary levels for junior doctors (US$ equivalent – 1999)

Sierra Leone	Ghana	Zambia	Lesotho	Namibia	South Africa
$50	$199	$200	$1058	$1161	$1242

Source: Martineau et al (2002: 4)

In most sectors including health and education, professionals have also emigrated due to non-economic reasons such as unmet needs for career advancement and attending better schools. A SIRDIC (2008) survey on the effects of brain drain in Zimbabwe found that half of the sample

gave reasons that were mainly work-related including career advancement (29%) and attend school (a quarter). Kyambalesa (2009:8) argued that "emigration to wealthy nations assures African migrants access to free and high quality" education and health for themselves, their children or other dependents. Such services are either expensive or of low standard in their home countries. SIRDIC (2008) concluded therefore that the brain drain in Zimbabwe is "based on the global phenomenon associated with man's quest for better opportunities in life".

Kyambalesa (2009) added to the list several other non-economic endogenous factors that are 'pushing' African professionals from their home countries. Focusing on what he termed "misplacement of talent", he argued that some professionals have decided to immigrate to other countries after finding that their upward mobility in organisations is based on political patronage rather than excellence. In these countries "corruption, nepotism, tribalism and other similar forms of behaviour have permeated every level of organisational life" (Kyambalesa, 2009:4).

Regarding the education systems of most source countries, teaching as a profession seems to be losing its status, which may contribute to emigration of teachers to other countries. De Villiers and Degazon-Johnson (2007:7) argued that "the profession of teaching is sadly becoming in most of the developing countries a profession of least or last choice, hence teachers would not stay in their profession in their own country but move outside". This negative attitude towards the profession is exacerbated by governments that offer teachers little salaries and when teachers strike for better salaries, they threaten to disengage all of them and hire new teachers (whether locals or expatriates). Kyambalesa (2009:6) argued that there is an "unfortunate and common tendency" by African national governments to disregard local talent but have more faith in expatriates, which they are even willing to pay more money. In addition, government officials have a tendency of branding professionals that immigrate to other countries as failures (ibid:6). And yet, they do not attempt to find out why these professionals are migrating or address the causal issues such as low salaries and the unavailability of jobs.

The lack of resources and facilities at work is another endogenous push factor for professionals immigrating to richer countries (Padarath et al, 2003; Chikanda, 2005). This is a reason that has been commonly found in surveys in the health sector but with relevance to the education sector

as well (Kanyongo, 2005). For example, 45% of the health personnel studied by Chikanda (2005:11) mentioned the lack of resources and facilities within the Zimbabwean health care system as a reason for leaving the country. Padarath et al (2003) argued that one of the reasons health staff emigrate is dissatisfaction, de-motivation and sometimes a feeling of insecurity resulting from occupational risks and hazards. Such risks increase in the health systems of source countries due to mismanagement, deterioration or lack of facilities and resources.

Exogenous push factors contributing to the brain drain include economic and political crises gripping entire nations in some countries of the South. Most Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries have gone through decades of economic crises particularly during the 1980s and 90s, which have resulted in the current deterioration of health and education structures (Adepoju, 2008). Structural adjustment programmes that were implemented in most of the SSA countries saw significant reduction in governments' spending in the social sectors, which in some cases resulted in the freezing of wages and the scaling down or total cessation of staff development programmes. Furthermore, faced with a huge external debt burden, most SSA countries are incapacitated to initiate socio-economic development, create employment and raise wages (ibid).

Some of these countries face further economic challenges including unfavourable exchange rates, high taxation, and the unavailability or unaffordability of basic goods and services, which further push professionals into diaspora (SIRDIC, 2008; Tevera and Crush, 2003). Previous and classic studies such as the one by Gulliver among the Ngoni of Southern Tanganyika have already highlighted how poverty and economic necessity drove people out of native reserves to sell their labour in towns "where remuneration is higher and opportunities of employment greater". Otherwise, if there were "reasonable and reliable opportunities to earn sufficient money at home, they would definitely not go away to work" (Mitchell, 1990:38).

Zimbabwe is one SSA country that has experienced a crisis that includes both economic and political dimensions (refer to Chapter III). As a result of this crisis, thousands of professionals from different sectors of the economy have immigrated to richer countries both in the SADC region and overseas. For example, a survey on the brain drain conducted by Tevera and Crush (2003) in nearly all the economic sectors of Zimbabwe found "high levels of dissatisfaction with

the cost of living, taxation, availability of goods and salaries. The dissatisfaction went deeper to include housing, medical services, education and the future of children". Padarath et al (2003) were of the view that the migrant's aspirations for children's education and future should be included under exogenous push factors.

Regarding the political aspect, human rights abuses in some African countries, Zimbabwe included, have been argued to 'push' professionals to leave their home countries (Kyambalesa, 2009). Such abuses can be in the form of "slavery, torture, mass disappearances, denial of freedom of speech, and repudiation of freedom of the press" (ibid). For example, Chikanda (2005:12) found that 48% of the Zimbabwean emigrant health staff was "fleeing the high levels of political violence in the country". Padarath et al (2003) found that "crime, political insecurity and safety concerns are strong exogenous reasons for health personnel migration". The effect of political exogenous factors cannot be ruled out in the case of the immigration of Zimbabwean teachers to South Africa.

Some evidence exists already on how political violence has 'pushed' some teachers into exile in the United Kingdom (UK) as well as South Africa. For example, Nyawanza reported on 5 December 2007 for the online newspaper, New Zimbabwe, the appeal case against deportation by a migrant Zimbabwean teacher known as SC (*Case No. EWCA Civ1278*). SC initially entered the UK as a visitor, later on switched to a student permit, which later expired hence her eviction. The UK Court of Appeal accepted her appeal on the assumption that as a teacher it was unsafe for SC to return to Zimbabwe where "teachers are readily identified as members of the MDC (the opposition, known as Movement for Democratic Change) and are frequently mistreated as such". But in reality, SC was not a MDC member. In March 2007, Chibaya reported for the Institute of War and Peace the case of Stella Chikava, a female Zimbabwean science teacher who immigrated to South Africa and was selling newspapers on the street in Johannesburg. Stella mentioned that prior to fleeing to South Africa she was abducted, persecuted, abused and then released by supporters of the ruling party for allegedly supporting the opposition.

While this evidence is based on what one might call 'isolated cases', the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (2011) prepared a more detailed and academic article on the activities

of the ruling party's youth militias, which primarily included the perpetration of political violence. The Board was of the view that government used youth militias to carry out violence for example, during the 2008 election period. In return for their services, the youth militias were offered jobs in the civil service and were rewarded with immunity from persecution. However, much has to be done on quantifying the migration effects of the political violence particularly how significantly it influenced teacher immigration to South Africa in the presence of various other exogenous push factors.

2.4.2 Demand-pull factors

On the other hand, pull factors can also be disaggregated for analysis purposes into endogenous and exogenous factors (Padarath et al, 2003). Better salaries and the availability of jobs in recipient countries have been found to be the main endogenous pull factors. The dire need for teachers or other professionals as a result of shortages in richer recipient countries is 'pulling' teachers as well as other professionals into emigration. Teacher shortages have been reported in the USA, the United Kingdom (UK), Europe, Australia and some Arab countries. For example, the USA is estimated to be in need of 2 million teachers in the next decade and some Arab countries, 450,000 (Daily Inquirer, 26 June 2009). This has resulted in what some analysts term "aggressive recruitment strategies" for migrant teachers in some of these countries. For example, there has been a significant increase in private teacher recruitment agencies to more than one hundred in the UK and close to seventy in the USA (Daily Inquirer, 26 June 2009). This sprouting of teacher recruitment agencies in some richer countries of the North has often been blamed for the increase in the brain drain in African and Asian countries. On the contrary, Morgan et al (2006) argued that the "international recruitment of teachers is not the main reason for teacher shortages in some developing countries". Instead, these authors place the blame on some of the developing countries that are failing to address internal issues such as poor teacher salaries and teacher training programmes that are not expanding in the face of high demand.

There are several reasons that have been suggested by different scholars for the shortages of teachers and other professionals in richer countries of the North. An analyst consulted by the Filipino Daily Inquirer of 26 June 2009 on teacher migration in the Philippines argued that one

of the major reasons of teacher shortages in these richer countries is aging. For instance, in Canada, Italy and the Netherlands more than 60% of primary school teachers are estimated to be over forty years of age. The figure is more alarming in Germany and Sweden where more than 40% are estimated to be over fifty years of age (Daily Inquirer, 26 June 2009).

Another reason cited in the same paper as well as by other scholars (Arab, 2005) is the declining interest of richer countries' nationals in joining the teaching profession. Citing a study conducted in the USA, the Daily Inquirer article reported that teaching is the second hardest job to fill in the USA since "many of the nationals would rather pursue other more rewarding careers than become teachers". Furthermore, instead of improving the salaries and working conditions of teachers in these richer countries, their governments are "finding it more convenient and economical to recruit" migrant teachers who are offered lower salaries and are contracted for shorter periods without benefits (Daily Inquirer, 26 June 2009). Other reasons for the shortages of teachers in some richer countries include growing populations and expanding education systems. Hence, teacher shortage in these countries partly explain why there is increased brain drain involving teachers from poorer countries in Africa and Asia in recent years, which is likely to continue in the near future if anything is not done to stem it.

The exogenous pull factors are the opposite of exogenous push factors. For example, immigrants are in recipient countries for better quality of life, economic and political stability involving more stable currencies, low cost of living, better or more affordable health and education facilities, lack of political violence, human rights abuses, and repression of freedom and the absence of repudiation of the freedom of the press (Padarath et al, 2003).

2.4.3 Mitigating or intervening factors

Lee's (1966) theory, especially his notion of intervening variables, introduced the effect of mitigating factors in migration decision making which probably explain why some people choose not to migrant even when wage differentials exist between source and recipient countries. Padarath et al (2003) argued that for push and pull factors to actually lead to migration they have to overcome various mitigating (or 'stick') factors. These factors, termed *barriers to migration,*

include the costs of migrating, which are not only limited to financial but also social costs (ibid) (Fig. 2.1). Financial barriers include the monetary costs of traversing the distance between home and the foreign destination, which are usually higher in international than internal migration, the costs incurred while searching for work at destination and the income forgone while not yet employed or paid. Social barriers include the "effort involved in learning a new language and culture, the difficulty experienced in adapting to a new labour market, and the psychological costs of cutting old ties and forging new ones" (Massey et al, 1993:434).

The existence of some of these barriers explains why most international migrants go to nearer than far away destinations. For example, while most Mexican migrants go to the United States of America (USA), it is unlikely "that one will hear of mass migration from Mexico to Europe" (Fischer et al, 1997:57).Some of the financial and social costs of migration can be offset through having a family member or kinsmen in the place of destination. But not all migrants would know someone in all different potential destinations. Therefore, differences in the availability of kin at potential destination area might work together with other factors such as differences in wages, to cause or not cause migration. This is related to the theory of cumulative causation and networks, which was discussed in detail under theoretical frameworks but is likely to explain why some Zimbabwean teachers migrate while others choose to remain at home.

Padarath et al (2003) included among the mitigating factors all other strategies within or beyond a particular sector that help retain professionals in their home countries. Endogenous retention factors in the health sector include among others high levels of morale, rewards and incentives (Fig. 2.1). High levels of morale involve the "feeling among health workers that they are able to deliver good quality care and a perception of being valued by society" (ibid). These factors are also relevant to the education sector where teachers are likely to have high levels of morale when they produce good results and feel valued by society. But in source countries that are faced by economic crises and the lack of funding of the education sector it is difficult for teachers to produce good results as argued by Kanyongo (2005) in the case of the Zimbabwean education system (Chapter I). Exogenous retention factors involve social values that place importance on family unity, strong social and cultural ties and patriotism (Padarath et al, 2003).

Fischer et al (1997:56) argued that "migration intensities are conditional on the socio-economic characteristics of migrants". This argument highlights the mitigation effects of personal characteristics in migration decision making, which Lee's (1966) theory has since alluded to. Personal characteristics whose migration effects have been widely assessed include among others age, sex, marital status, level of education, and migration experience. In the human life span, there are ages during which the likelihood of migration is high and those during which the migration likelihood is low. Mosala (2008:11) reported that most of the Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa are between the ages of 21 and 40 years, which is the middle of their work and family life. A survey conducted by SAMP in 2001 also found that "skilled Zimbabweans in the 25-35 years age group had given most thought of emigrating" (Tevera and Crush, 2003). Hence, there is a high likelihood of finding people outside these ages including those younger and older dominating among non-migrants.

Sex differentials in the propensity to migrate reflect gender inequalities in societies. Since the effect of gender on the immigration of Zimbabwean teachers to South Africa is one of the study's central objectives, a detailed review of gender and migration literature is necessary at this point. Literature on gender and international migration indicate significant changes from the previous predominance of men in international migration streams to increasing proportions of female migrants. International migration figures for the world at large, the African continent and the Southern Africa region (SADC) all show the increased involvement of women in international migration (United Nations Division for the Achievement of Women (UNDAW), 2004; Lefko-Everett, 2007). For instance, the proportion of female international migration in Africa rose from 42% of total in 1960 to almost 50% around 2007 (Lefko-Everett, 2007: 27). Hence, the term 'feminisation of migration' has been used to describe the growth in both numbers and the importance of female migration.

The feminisation of international migration takes different forms including women's movement: (a) as dependents of other migrants; (b) to marry someone in another country; (c) as forced migrants fleeing from conflict, persecution, environmental degradation, and natural disasters; and (d) as wage earners especially in the service industries of richer recipient countries (UNDAW, 2004; Lefko-Everett, 2007). The intensity of the movement of women in labour

migration streams seems to vary according to the economic sector since higher intensities are likely to be found in traditional women's jobs, most of which are in the service sector.

UNDAW (2004) argued that gender should be central to any discussion of the causes and consequences of migration since it is "a key organizing principle of society". For example, an inclusion of gender issues in the discussion of migration causes helps improve knowledge on how "expectations, relationships and hierarchies associated with being female or male affect the potential for international migration" (UNDAW, 2004:27). One way in which gender affects the potential of women to emigrate is through the mitigating effects of women's traditional family roles. For instance, in a study of female immigrants to South Africa from the SADC region, Lefko-Everett (2007) found that gender roles demanded that most of the women engage in circular movements associated with cross-border trading. This is probably the other reason why more South African women were found likely to desire living outside the country for temporary periods while men desired leaving permanently (Crush, 2001).

Another way is through women's autonomy and capacity to make decisions including those related to emigration. UNDAW (2004) argued that some societal norms make it inappropriate for a woman to emigrate autonomously. For example, Gaidzanwa (1998) found for the SADC region that the historic association of female mobility with prostitution is often used to discourage females from independently migrating for trading or job-seeking. On the contrary, most of the women migrants studied by Lefko-Everett (2007) said they were migrating independently and they had defied resistance from their families and communities. In addition, many of them felt that men are as vulnerable as themselves. Before accepting these findings as indicating improvements in women's autonomy in the SADC region, it is worth noting the type of women who gave these responses most of who were elderly married cross-border traders. Hence, these findings are not much different from Gaidzanwa's (1998:92) observations that most of the women who "have explored the cross-border trade in large numbers are predominantly single, widowed and divorced women as well as elderly women in difficult family circumstances". These are women who are free of men's control as well as those who use migration as a survival strategy (Lefko-Everett, 2007:2) and therefore it is easier for them to defy family and community resistance than younger married women who are at risk of infidelity.

Finally, gender can militate against women's emigration through inequality in access to resources. Discriminatory practices in some source countries including women's lack of access to resources or education determine whether women migrate autonomously or not (UNDAW, (2004). For instance, Crush (2001) found for potential emigrants from South Africa that more women than men were likely to find it difficult or very difficult to leave the country because of their inability to afford emigration costs. In the same study, women were found less likely to have travel experience as well as social networks including contact with professional associations or employment agencies outside South Africa, which further justified why their potential for emigration was significantly lower than that for men (Crush, 2001).

While the study mainly included gender as a mitigation factor, gender inequality in source countries can also push more women than men into emigration. For instance, some women leave gender unequal societies because their economic, political and social expectations are not met at home (UNDAW, 2004). In the South African study by Crush (2001), more women than men "expressed dissatisfaction with work-related factors including job, income, job security and prospects as well as social factors such as housing, schooling and medical services".

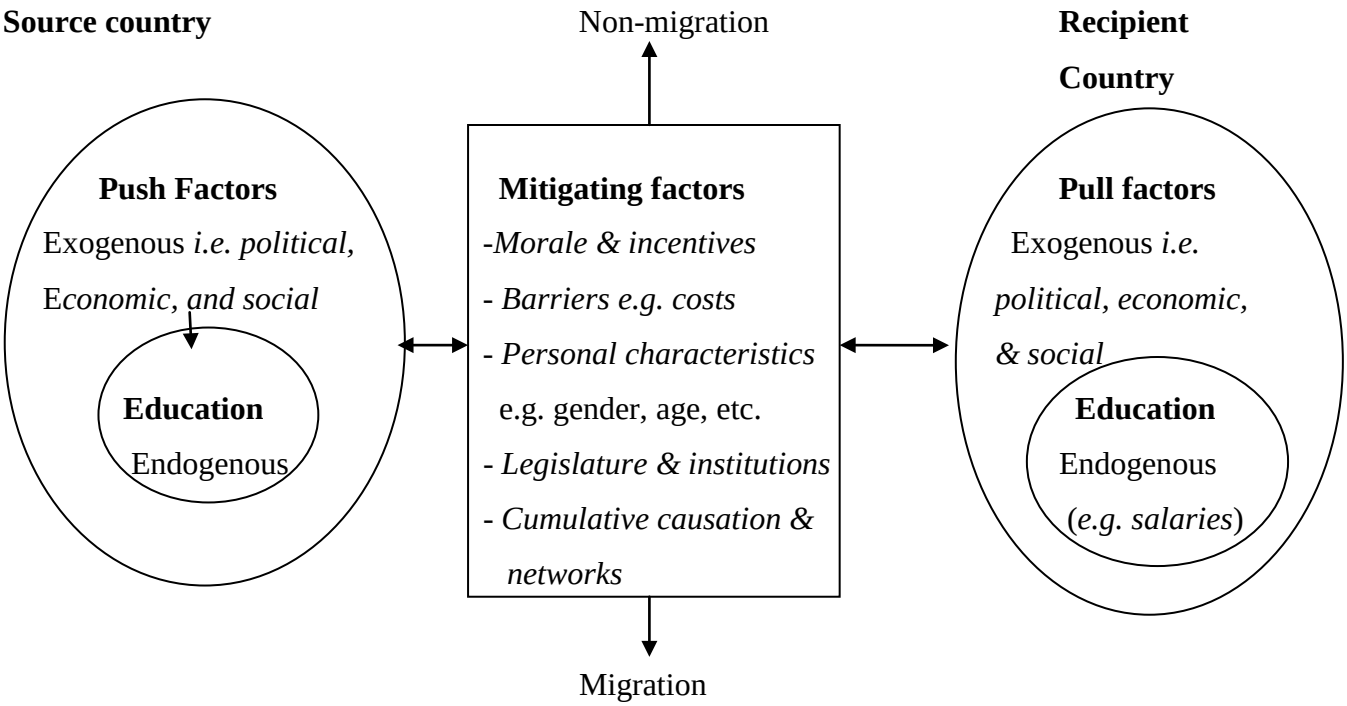

Fig. 2.2 Conceptual framework of causes of Zimbabwean teachers' migration

All the factors discussed above including push (exogenous and endogenous), pull (exogenous and endogenous) and mitigating factors such as incentives, barriers to migration, and personal characteristics including sex (or gender) are all summarized in a conceptual framework of the causes of Zimbabwean teachers' immigration to South Africa presented in Fig. 2.2.

2.5 Importance of the study

The migration of Zimbabwean teachers to South Africa is a current issue of concern even to the world governing organisation responsible for education, UNESCO, such that it warranted being the major topic of the 6th UNESCO Symposium on Teacher Migration held in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) on 8 and 9 June 2011. The brain drain involving teachers as well as other professionals is a sensitive issue in terms of international relations and yet it is increasingly becoming a common phenomenon in a globalised world. For this phenomenon to be accepted especially by the exporting countries there is need for scientific research and documentation of the causes of this phenomenon and then share experiences among countries. This proposed study is one attempt at documenting this phenomenon. There is a need to dispel the general belief in this area of study that only richer countries of the North are tapping on Africa's resources with the alleged result that the economies of these countries continue to develop at the expense of African economies. Hence, this study highlighted how brain drain can be South to South instead of the often over-emphasized South to North. If this brain drain has helped countries of the North to develop as is often alleged, then why can it not help fellow countries of the South to develop and eventually the rest of Africa through spill-over effects?

There is limited data on migration between Zimbabwe and South Africa, which has resulted in many undocumented movements between the two neighbouring countries (Mosala, 2008; Tevera and Crush, 2010). Furthermore, there is limited research that focused directly on teacher migration during the Zimbabwean crisis. Teacher migration has partly appeared under brain drain literature since teachers have been found to be among most professionals moving out of Zimbabwe (Tevera and Crush, 2003: SIRDIC, 2008). Unlike nurse or doctor migration, which poses threats to people's lives, teacher migration has attracted less attention among researchers and surveys. This study is an attempt at filling such gaps in literature on teacher migration in the

context of economic and political crises. The current teacher exodus to South Africa threatens to reverse Zimbabwe's post-independence achievements in education as well as the country's chances of achieving universal primary education by 2015. UNESCO identified dwindling numbers and quality of teachers as the major challenge facing the teaching profession today, which makes it a relevant topic in the current globalised world.

The study is also important in its research design, which is cross-country as it studies and compares migrant teachers with those who remained in the country. Most migration studies have either interviewed migrants in the recipient country such as South Africa (Mosala, 2008) or potential migrants in the source country such as Zimbabwe (Tevera and Crush, 2003). Findley (1982) argued that most migration studies have found it easier to conduct interviews only at the place of destination. Migration studies conducted at area of origin often rely on other household members reporting on behalf of the absent migrant or on potential migrants, some of who might end up not migrating at all. On the other hand, studies carried out at destination often face the challenge of identifying enough migrants from the desired area(s) of origin or *ex post* rationalisations of the reasons for migration (Findley, 1982).

One of the strengths of this study is that it interviewed both the immigrant teachers in South Africa (host country) and the non-migrant teachers, some of who are also potential future migrants, in Zimbabwe (sender country). By so doing, the current study assessed previous causes of this brain drain as well as found if there are significant changes in the causes for one to expect a decline in the brain drain. It also identified the reasons why other teachers were not emigrating, which most studies do not attempt to do. Finding such reasons has policy relevance since it may help in identifying the remedies to this migration through strengthening the positive factors that are already helping to retain some of the teachers. The inclusion of both migrant and non-migrant teachers of the same age cohort provided an added advantage to verify whether any gender differences found were related to the migration process or the choice of teaching subjects.

2.6 Chapter conclusion

The discussion of theory and literature indicated that international migration has become more complex in the presently globalised world than before and this suggests the need for theories that can broaden the conceptualisation of migration especially forced migration. Fischer et al (1997) defined involuntary migration as one in which the urge to migrate is very strong particularly as a result of flight, expulsion or refugee movement caused by wars, political terror or ecological disasters. But, the literature review indicated that mere concerns about human rights abuses and the sense of insecurity are compelling some professionals to emigrate. Furthermore, political drivers of migration are increasingly becoming interconnected with economic and social repercussions such that it is difficult to separate the migration effects of one group of factors from the other let alone separating the migration typologies neatly into voluntary and involuntary.

Fischer et al (1997) represented one group of theorists that do not separate voluntary from involuntary migration when modelling international migration decision-making. These authors argued that even in the case of involuntary migration where the urge for the individual to migrate is very strong, the basic mechanisms of migration decision making remain in place. As a result, they included in their Interdisciplinary Framework the effects of macro-level political and geo-ecological factors in the source area, region or country in increasing the potential to emigrate (Fischer et al 1997:52). In the Zimbabwean case, a thin or blurred line exists between voluntary and involuntary or political and economic immigrants (Mosala, 2008). Hence, the study did not separate the Zimbabwean teachers in South Africa into voluntary and involuntary migrants for analysis purposes. Instead, the analysis was based on the conceptualisation of the determinants into demand-pull, mitigation and supply-push factors.

The other challenge was finding out which among the various and so many potential causes of the brain drain discussed in this review were most important in the teachers' decisions to migrate to South Africa. One of the ways that other researchers have used to negotiate around this challenge includes the use of weights, whereby respondents would give a high weight to a very important reason (Mushonga, 2007). Since the current study primarily yielded quantitative and

categorical data, the Pearson's chi-square was used to test for independence between immigration to South Africa and the determinants based on distributions observed in two-way tables (or cross-tabulations). The findings on the migration effects of the determinants were then cross-checked against the findings of the teachers' reasons for migration or non-migration, the views of a few school heads interviewed as well as information from records such as circulars. The following chapter discusses the unfolding of the Zimbabwean crisis, its dimensions, and how it arguably formed the major driving force behind the mass exodus that occurred from the country after 2000.

CHAPTER III

THE ZIMBABWEAN CRISIS AS A CAUSE OF THE MIGRATION OF TEACHERS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the unfolding of what is now commonly known as the 'Zimbabwean crisis', factors leading to the crisis, and its consequences including the mass exodus of the 2000s in which professionals such as teachers were also involved. This is necessary in order to place the Zimbabwean teachers' immigration to South Africa into its broader context as well as improve the reader's understanding of developments in the country during this time. The discussion of the crisis also highlights the link between economic growth and social development since the devastating effects of the economic crisis were most visible in the social sectors including health and education (Murisa, 2010). Furthermore, the Zimbabwean crisis exposes the nexus between state policies and economic development proving the extent to which the state is still a formidable force in the economy especially in countries of the South. Finally, the crisis shows the nature of human beings particularly their tendency to escape from undesirable and life threatening circumstances or simply seeking to improve their lives.

3.2 Zimbabwe before the crisis

Zimbabwe is a landlocked country bordered by Mozambique on the east, Zambia on the north, Botswana west, and South Africa south (Fig.3.1). She is a founding member of the regional developmental cooperation of countries called the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Zimbabwe is a former British colony and achieved independence from the British through an armed struggle in April 1980.

Like in most former colonies, the Zimbabwean government inherited a country that was characterised by inequalities among races as well as between rural and urban areas. One

major source of inequality between the majority black Zimbabweans and their minority white counterparts was in the ownership of land, which was skewed in favour of the whites. The land issue, as it is commonly called, was at the centre of the economic and political crisis that occurred in the country after 2000. In the 1997-2007 National Health Strategy, the Ministry of Health (MoH, 1997:3) reported, "commercial farmers (mostly whites) owned on average 100 times more land than small-scale farmers (all black) in 1976. While 77% of land suitable for intensive agriculture was allocated to whites, the bulk of the population lived in drought prone areas with poor soils …"

Fig. 3.1 Map of Zimbabwe

Source: U.S Bureau of African Affairs (2011)

This unequal appropriation of land between blacks and whites is blamed on the imperialistic Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and other Acts of a White-dominated Parliament, which led to the formation of communal areas (former Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs) or 'reserves') where millions of black Zimbabweans eke a living out of barren and exhausted soils. "This Act alienated considerable tracts of land from Africans so that by 1963 only 50,000 square

miles were set aside for the use and occupation of 2,630,000 Africans, against 75,000 square miles for some 215,000 Europeans" (Gann, 1963).

Racial inequalities in land ownership as well as resource inequalities between rural areas, where the majority black Zimbabweans lived, and urban areas accounted for most of the disparities in social development indicators such as life expectancy, infant mortality rates (IMR), school enrolment rates, and literacy rates between these sub-groups. For instance, in 1979, IMR was 14 infant deaths per 1000 births for whites, 40 for blacks living in Harare and 146 for blacks in rural areas (MoH, 1997:3). Such inequalities in the ownership of resources as well as other concerns regarding White rule, formed the background of Zimbabwe's liberation war that culminated in the country's independence in April 1980 (Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010).

Armed with the zeal to reverse the inequalities of the colonial regime, the newly elected ZANU-PF led government of Zimbabwe made concerted efforts to redress the previous inequalities especially during the first decade of independence (1980-90). The first Chapter of this thesis cited Kanyongo's (2005) reported on how the government expanded the entire education system to include remote rural areas through building new schools, training teachers and forming two ministries responsible for basic and higher education. Consequently, access to education for most Zimbabweans significantly improved and eventually the system produced professionals including teachers, nurses and doctors (ibid).

In the health sector, the government expanded infrastructure and training of nurses and doctors as well as developed new health management systems in previously under-serviced rural areas (MoH, 1997:5). These transformations were supported by the necessary resources since government's spending in health shot up by 94% in real terms and 48% in real per capita terms between 1979 and 1987 (MoH, 1997:12). Because of these efforts, life expectancy, IMR and nutrition indicators dramatically improved. For example, the IMR for rural areas decreased from 88 infant deaths per 1000 births in 1978 to 69 in 1988. While about 21% of children had low weight for age in 1980, 11% in 1985 were below the line (MoH, 1997:8).

Regarding the economy, agriculture formed the backbone of the country's vibrant economy. This is reflected in the African Development Bank's 1998 figures, which showed that while 65.8% of the Zimbabwean labour force was in agriculture, only 20.1% was in services and a meagre 14.1% in industry (Sachikonye, 1998:x). Furthermore, agriculture supported most of the manufacturing industries since most of them were agriculturally based (Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010). Agriculture was diversified including the production of cereals such as maize and wheat, tobacco, beef and milk. Tobacco, mining and tourism were the top foreign currency earners for the country particularly in the 1980s (Mashingaidze, 2006). Manufacturing employed 16.5% of all those in the formal economy and contributed 24.8% of GDP in 1990, about three times higher than most African countries (Zeilig, 2002).

There is evidence to support the argument that the economy was performing well in the 1980s. Figures provided by the World Bank in 1998 for the 1980-90 period, indicated an annual average growth rate of 3.0% in the gross domestic product (GDP) (Sachikonye, 1998:x). Compared with other SADC countries, Zimbabwe's annual average GDP growth rate was position four out of ten countries, coming after Botswana (10.3%), Lesotho (4.3%) and Angola (3.7%) (Sachikonye, 1998:x). In comparison with the rest of African countries, Zimbabwe had fairly well developed industrial and agricultural sectors (Zeilig, 2002). The country also used to have a relatively developed infrastructure including a good network of tarred roads, which is in an advanced state of deterioration now due to lack of maintenance following the crisis.

Because of the country's well performing economy and impressive social development indicators, Zimbabwe was held in high esteem in both the SADC region and the African continent as a whole. In the SADC region, Zimbabwe was given the responsibility for food security in the region hence, branded the 'breadbasket' of the region (Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010). The term 'breadbasket' came about when Zimbabwe was given the responsibility of ensuring the availability of enough food stocks in the SADC region (Murisa, 2010:4). Mashingaidze (2006:58) commented that during this time, Zimbabwe used to be described as the 'African jewel' because of a highly performing economy as well as strong currency, which was stronger than the United States dollar. Because of Zimbabwe's

"high profile foreign policy and effective domestic management record", president Mugabe won international prizes such as the 1988 World Freedom against Hunger Award (ibid: 58). In addition, the country was a major recipient of international aid and several international organisations set up their regional headquarters in Harare during this period (1980s).

All the achievements of the 1980s were reversed a decade or two later when the crisis started. Indicators in education, health and the economy plummeted to pre-independence levels. For example, Mashingaidze (2006:61) quoted the US Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Christopher Dell, saying "… the purchasing power of the average Zimbabweans in 2005 had fallen back to the same levels as in 1953 when the Confederation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was established." There is consensus in the literature on the timing of the beginning of the crisis, which is around 1990. But, Mashingaidze (2006) placed the beginning of the crisis around mid 1990s. Mlambo and Raftopoulos (2010) argued that although the crisis started earlier, its recent manifestations are associated with recent political and economic developments in the country at the dawn of the new millennium (2000).

3.3 Causes and dimensions of the crisis

The causes of the Zimbabwean crisis are complex, inter-tangled, and sometimes debatable. Although there is consensus in the literature that the causes are found in the political and economic developments in the country since the mid 1990s, it is not easy sometimes to separate the initial causes from ripple effects of a "gradually dysfunctional state" (ibid:1). Mlambo and Raftopoulos (2010) argued that the Zimbabwean crisis actually involved a series of crises. The crisis has occurred over a prolonged period, more than a decade now and its effects have been so marked and devastating for everyone outside the country to notice. For instance, massive out-migration from the country in the 2000s was enough evidence of a crisis at home.

There is no consensus on the exact causes of the crisis with the ZANU-PF led government of Zimbabwe and its allies blaming the crisis on the opposition, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), and its western allies, and the western countries particularly the USA and UK

blaming the ZANU-PF government's policies for the crisis. Many authors are of the view that the crisis was due to the ZANU-PF led government's economic and political policies among which was the ruling party's recourse to violence as a strategy to suppress the opposition (McGregor, 2006; Clemens and Moss, 2005; Kiwanuka and Monson, 2009; and Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010). Some of the allies of the ZANU-PF led government such as South Africa admire President Mugabe for standing up against western countries, who in the eyes of many African leaders try to dictate policies for other countries (UN, 2009).

Despite the divergent views on the exact causes of the crisis, three dimensions to the crisis can be identified in most of the literature including the political, economic and social dimensions (Murisa, 2010). As argued in the introduction to this chapter, these three dimensions are interrelated since the events that occurred in the political arena had repercussions on both the economic and social sectors. The political dimension include government's inability to curb corruption, which involved some of its members, the prioritization of some political and sometimes autocratic decisions despite their being detrimental to the economy, resorting to violence in order to suppress the opposition, and disputes with regard to election results and the rule of law (Murisa, 2010:3). On the economic front, the government's adoption of the market-based economic reforms in 1991 set the pace for the economic meltdown and the effects of this economic policy were exacerbated by the mismanagement of the economy, declining foreign direct investment and the closure of local and multi-national companies (ibid:3). The social dimension, which includes the disintegration of the social service delivery system, was mainly a response to the crisis that was initially caused by economic and political policies and yet it led to the further severity of the crisis.

The thesis now focuses initially on the political dimension and lastly on the social dimension of the crisis. While the government significantly attempted to redress the inequalities of the colonial regime in many sectors including health and education, little was done in the 1980s on redistributing land to the majority Black population, which was the main reason for the armed struggle. This was partly because government's acquisition of land previously owned by White commercial farmers, which was based on the 'willing seller' principle, led to the slow acquisition of land for redistribution to the majority black Zimbabweans. Corruption in the redistribution

process also contributed to the snail's pace of the land redistribution process especially given that some government officials besides undeserving of resettlement were actually allocated more than one farm (Council for a Community of Democracies, 2010). Muzondidya (2009:183) reported for this period between 1980 and 1990 that government was being criticized particularly by academics for failing to curb corruption in both government and society, for condoning a culture of injustice, violation of democratic rights and continued inequalities in ownership of land and the economy. Partly due to the perpetuation of corruption, Zimbabwe has been described as one of the world's most unequal societies with less than 5% of the population (including black and white families and businesses) owning almost 70% of the country's income (Zeilig, 2002).

In the late 1990s, the ZANU-PF led government made two autocratic decisions that had significant negative effects on the economy. Firstly, the government untimely decided to recognize belatedly the veterans of the liberation struggle that ended in 1980 through unbudgeted for payouts of Z$50,000 gratuities and Z$2,000 monthly pensions for each war veteran in October 1997 (Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010:2). Secondly, within a short space of time, President Mugabe unilaterally decided to prop up the government of Laurent Kabila in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), which was at war with Rwandan and Ugandan supported rebels (ibid). Mashingaidze (2006:56) recounted, "At its height in 2000, the DRC military venture drained at least US$1 million per day." By 2002, the DRC military venture involved 15,000 troops, a quarter of the entire Zimbabwean army. This military venture benefitted a few army generals and businessmen, who were rewarded with contracts on mines and logging companies (Zeilig, 2002). Hence, Mlambo and Raftopoulos (2010) argued that the DRC military intervention destabilised the fiscus and Mashingaidze (2006) called it one of the major causes of the crisis.

Literature suggests that government's policies, mismanagement of the economy and corruption led to the formation of a hitherto only strong opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999. The previous developments including the adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), war veterans' payouts and the DRC military intervention increased discontentment among workers and civil society, hence the formation of the MDC (Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010; Zeilig, 2002). The MDC emerged from the

Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) representing workers and its composition included leaders of the ZCTU, Morgan Tsvangirai and Gibson Sibanda, "industrialists and white farmers, smaller pressure groups and left wing parties" (Zeilig, 2002:3). The appearance of this new party on the political scene and that it nearly toppled the violent regime in the June 2000 parliamentary elections where it obtained 57 out of 120 seats seemed a threat to the ruling ZANU-PF. The new party had also joined forces with civil society that is, the National Constitution Assembly (NCA), to oppose the government's proposed new constitution, which gave more powers to President Mugabe including seizing White-owned land, during a constitutional referendum in February 2000 (Mashingaidze, 2006).

The emergence of the MDC is said to have created a sense of panic in the ruling party, ZANU-PF, and forced it to change its campaigning strategies (Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010: 2). New strategies designed to revive the ruling party included fighting back the opposition together with its allies (white farmers) through violence and seizing white-owned land in a chaotic land reform programme (ibid:59). This aggressive land reform programme dubbed the 'fast track' land reform programme started in 2000 and was orchestrated by a 'loosely organised group of war veterans' (U.S Bureau of African Affairs, 2011) or party thugs since some of them were too young to have fought in the war of independence (Council for a Community of Democracies, 2010). This programme was characterized by "forced expulsion of white farmers and violence against both farmers and farm employees" (U.S Bureau of African Affairs, 2011). Analysts argued that the 'fast track' land reform programme was initiated in order to help the ruling party regain its lost popularity since it was twenty years after independence and yet pre-independence inequalities in land ownership had not been fully addressed. At the same time, the ruling party used the land grabbing exercise as a weapon for destroying the opposition (MDC), which ZANU-PF was convinced it was "a front for whites, particularly white farmers" (Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010:2). Clemens and Moss (2005) reasoned that it was not by coincidence that the economy started to fall at the same time that ZANU-PF initiated and perpetuated violence against the opposition and white farmers. "… The forcible appropriation of commercial farms seems calculated to undermine the financial and popular support of the opposition", (Clemens and Moss, 2005:4).

As in other former colonies characterised by unequal distribution of land or other resources, land redistribution was necessary. But it is the chaotic way in which it was done that made the Zimbabwean government receive many critics and caused the country to plunge into economic and social deterioration. The expropriation of land without compensation, which President Mugabe explicitly stated following his re-election into office in 1996 (Council for a Community of Democracies, 2010:3), has been the most criticised policy particularly by western countries. Murisa (2010:3) argued that the 'fast track' land reform programme has been criticised on the basis that it deviated from "acceptable norms of transfer of property". Hence, Zimbabwe's former colonial master, Britain, which was in support of land redistribution based on the 'willing seller' principle, responded to the land seizures and the associated human rights abuses with a "number of punitive measures, including ending arms shipments to Zimbabwe and cutting its financial aid to the Zimbabwean government" in 2000 (UN, 2009:6).

On the other hand, the Zimbabwean government has accused the former colonial power and its allies such as the United States of America (USA) of trying to meddle in its domestic affairs. The Zimbabwean government claimed that Britain, "in support of white farmers, has been trying to force regime change in Zimbabwe" (UN, 2009:6). With ties that date long back during the liberation struggles for the two countries, black South Africans feel solidarity with Zimbabwe although they might not agree in total with the policies taken by the Zimbabwean government. Admiring President Mugabe for standing up against western countries, who many African leaders feel they try to dictate policies for other countries, most black South African leaders were unwilling to criticise the Zimbabwean government's policies (UN, 2009). In fact, South Africa has reliably supported Zimbabwe throughout the crisis period via formal imports and exports, trade of Zimbabweans who cross the border to buy or sell goods, and providing essential goods and services (ibid). In this way, South Africa has also helped to slow down the rate of deterioration of the economic and social situation in Zimbabwe.

Besides the land invasions, the period leading to the March 2002 disputed presidential elections was also characterised by intense violence and intimidation of the opposition (MDC) supporters, which resulted in the loss of 50 lives mostly opposition supporters (U.S Bureau of African Affairs, 2011). President Mugabe emerged as the winner with 56% of the votes against 42% for

the opposition leader, Morgan Tsvangirai. But the results of this election were unacceptable to the international community as the election was ruled as not free and fair. The consequences of the 2002 election included the imposition of travel restrictions against senior Zimbabwean officials and the embargo on the sale of arms to Zimbabwe by the United States of America (USA), the European Union (EU) and other European countries. The USA and EU also froze the financial assets of selected government officials and the Commonwealth suspended the country from its council meetings (U.S Bureau of African Affairs, 2011).

Analysts including Mashingaidze (2006) described the ruling party's violence and intimidation of the opposition supporters as tantamount to political intolerance. Ideologically, the ruling party viewed the opposition, MDC, as having alliance with white farmers in Zimbabwe and western countries, and as "outside genuine nationalist aspirations. … The ruling elite have strong elements of sectarian and totalitarian approaches to nationhood. They cannot tolerate political plurality and harness diversity for development. Citizens who do not belong to and identify with the ruling party ZANU-PF and did not participate in the liberation struggle are vilified as unpatriotic and traitors without rights to participate in the Zimbabwean body politic" (Mashingaidze, 2006:59). The former army general, Vitalis Zvinavashe, was reported to have openly refused to "recognize a government led by a person who is not a veteran of the war of independence, ruling out the opposition" (Zeilig, 2002).

Towards the disputed 2002 Presidential elections, the ruling party (ZANU-PF) also passed a series of repressive laws in order to consolidate its power among which were the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and the Access to Information and Protection Privacy Act (AIPPA) (Mashingaidze, 2006:62). POSA carried "the death penalty for acts of insurgency, banditry, sabotage and terrorism" (Zeilig, 2002). Furthermore, both laws were selectively applied as journalists from privately owned media only and supporters of the opposition were arrested based on violating either AIPPA or POSA[1], respectively (Mashingaidze, 2006:63). Privately owned newspapers like the Daily News, The Tribune and The Weekly Times were closed for violating these laws, while the government monopolized the media through its control of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Holdings (ibid:63). AIPPA and POSA were laws that "curtailed free

[1] POSA was meant to give the police more powers to deal with terrorist activities and criminal elements.

speech, free press, and rights of assembly" (U.S Bureau of African Affairs, 2011). On the basis of these laws, opposition leaders including Morgan Tsvangirai, Welshman Ncube and Gasela were tried for treason in March 2003 and these charges were later dropped for all of them. In addition to the political environment after 2002 becoming increasingly tense and extremely polarised, the economy further melted down.

The violence against the opposition and the repression of freedom of expression led the Commonwealth Election Observer team to refuse to endorse the June 2000 Parliamentary elections on the basis that conditions were not favourable for democratic participation. This further chased investors from Zimbabwe and contributed to the further downfall of the economy. There was also fear among investors that the government might also seize their properties in the same way as the land seizures. "Besides uncertainties in the land sector in 2002, some government supporters threatened to seize industries in a replica of the land seizures." (Mashingaidze, 2006:62)

The setup of Youth Militia camps around 2002 popularly known as the 'Border Gezi' camps is also worth mentioning. The Militia camps were aimed at indoctrinating the youth so that "they fully appreciate their country and stand by it in times of crisis" (Zeilig, 2002). But the products of these Youth Militia camps were notoriously known for their participation in acts of violence against members of the opposition (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2011). Prior to the 2005 Parliamentary elections, which the ruling party also lost to the opposition, the government again aggressively and without notice cleared slum dwellings in Zimbabwe's urban and peri-urban areas (U.S Bureau of African Affairs, 2011; UNDP, 2010). This programme called 'Operation Murambatsvina' or 'Operation Restore Order', destroyed the homes of about 700,000 people and "thousands of families were left unprotected in the open in the middle of Zimbabwe's winter" (U.S Bureau of African Affairs, 2011). This further increased the ruling party's unpopularity especially in urban areas and contributed to increased migration.

While the 2000 parliamentary and the 2002 presidential elections were marred with violence and repression of the opposition, the March 2008 parliamentary elections occurred with little violence and were mediated by the Southern African Development Community (SADC)

(Raftopoulos, 2009). The opposition, MDC led by Tsvangirai, won the parliamentary elections with 109 seats as compared to 97 seats for the ruling party, ZANU-PF. But, the March 2008 presidential elections did not have a decisive winner with a "50% plus one" majority, making a run-off election necessary (ibid). Raftopoulos (2009) argued that the violence that took place prior to the run-off election at the end of June 2008 was responsible for further political uncertainty. This violence was targeted on the electorate, particularly in rural areas, as punishment for the ruling party's loss in March 2008 election and a "warning against the repeat of such a vote" (Raftopoulos, 2009:222). Most of the violence occurred in the three Mashonaland provinces (East, Central and West), which were former strongholds of ZANU-PF. The major opposition leader, Morgan Tsvangirai, finally withdrew from running for the presidency in the run-off election citing violence (Raftopoulos, 2009).

The political dimension of the crisis reviewed above clearly shows the ruling party's constant recourse to violence in order to silence the opposition as well as consolidating its power. In a book entitled, *When a State Turns on its Citizens: Institutionalised Violence and Political Culture*, Sachikonye (2011) recounted how violence has characterised Zimbabwean politics for over a century now. The same violence, which was condoned, initiated and sponsored by the state, has been the weapon used by the state during the period leading to elections since 2000 as well as during the fast track land reform programme. Sachikonye (2011:87) reported that fewer than 1,000 Zimbabweans, including members of the opposition party and civil society such as teachers, have been killed in this violence since 2000. In spite of this seemingly low number of victims, this state sponsored violence has been witnessed by a larger proportion of the Zimbabwean population with the result that it has created a "society traumatized by fear, withdrawal and collective depression based on past memories of violence, intimidation and harassment" (ibid:87).

The origins of the economic dimension of the crisis can be traced back to 1990 when the ZANU-PF led government adopted the economic structural adjustment programme (ESAP). The introduction of ESAP marked government's change of policy from "state-based economic development to a market-based approach" (Murisa, 2010:5). Since government had high expenditure due to the redressing of social inequalities in the first decade of independence, it was

forced to adopt ESAP in 1991 on influence from the Bretton Woods Institutions that is, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Most of the literature agrees that the government's adoption of ESAP as well as other economically irrational policies should have initiated the crisis. Mlambo and Raftopoulos (2010) argued that economic policies contributed to the disastrous state of the crisis and topping the list of such economic policies was ESAP. Instead of improving the inflow of foreign direct investment (FDI) and efficiently relocating labour in line with neo-liberal economics, ESAP actually achieved the opposite. It resulted in "de-industrialisation, growing unemployment and the severe erosion of living standards of the majority" (Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010:2). There is evidence that the economy performed badly during and soon after the implementation of ESAP, which was between 1991 and 1995. World Bank statistics for 1998 cited by Sachikonye (1998:x) indicated an average annual GDP growth rate of 1.3% between 1990 and 1996 as compared to 3.0% for the 1980-90 period.

The downsizing and closure of some companies that started with ESAP continued as well as worsened after the political turmoil of the 2000s including the series of disputed elections, the criticised 'fast track' land reform programme, and violence against the opposition. As a result, the once vibrant and diversified economy collapsed heavily (Clemens and Moss, 2005). Mashingaidze (2006) observed that Zimbabwe is the only non-war economy that experienced such a dramatic economic decline. GDP dropped by 40% starting in 1997 and this drop was associated with a 51% decline in manufacturing and 50% in exports. Unsurprisingly, this decline occurred mainly in the foreign currency earning industries such as mining, tourism and tobacco production. It is estimated that 400 companies closed down operations between 2000 and 2006 (Mashingaidze, 2006:61). By 2007, exports contributed only 9.9% of GDP as compared to 33.5% in 1997 (Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010).

In order to meet so much unbudgeted for politically-motivated expenditure as well as deal with a huge budget deficit, which amounted to 22% of GDP in 2001, government embarked on printing money to cover up the deficit (Clemens and Moss, 2005). This resulted in the free fall of the Zimbabwean dollar such that by November 2003 inflation had reached triple digits that is 620% (ibid). Printing of the local currency and its increased inflation should have started around 1997 with the unbudgeted payment of the war veteran gratuities and pensions and for the entire crisis

period, the Zimbabwean dollar has been unstable and re-valued through the removal of some zeros several times. Chagonda (2010:4) argued that inflation of the Zimbabwean dollar rose from 19% in 1997 to 56% in 2000, to over 1000% by 2006, and dramatically rose to 231 million percent by July 2008.

The social impacts of the economic decline and hyperinflation on average Zimbabweans included unemployment, dwindling purchasing power, and poverty. The unemployment that started with ESAP in the 1990s worsened in the 2000s. The closure of manufacturing industries further drove unemployment levels up (Murisa, 2010). This led to four among every five people being unemployed (Mashingaidze, 2006:62). There was a decline in formal employment in urban areas from 3.6 million in 2003 to 480,000 in 2008 (Murisa, 2010:5). At the climax of the crisis in 2008, unemployment reached 90% (Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010). The few who remained in formal employment earned wages below the poverty datum line as their incomes were "eroded by the hyperinflationary environment" (Murisa, 2010:5). Hence, the US Ambassador remarked that the buying power of average Zimbabweans in 2005 had dropped to the same levels as in 1953 when the Confederation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland were established (Mashingaidze, 2006:61).

All these effects led the World Economic Forum in its 2005 Global Competitiveness Report to rank Zimbabwe among countries with the worst macro-economic environment (ibid). To justify this ranking, figures showed that foreign direct investment (FDI) declined from US$444 million in 1998 to US$9 million in 2004 (Mashingaidze, 2006). Hence, with its economic and political policies, the government further scared away foreign investors (Clemens and Moss, 2005). Among the government policies with the most detrimental effects on the economy, average Zimbabweans' lives and the country's image on the international scene was the policy of land grabbing under the 'fast track' land reform programme. This programme disrupted farming and accounted for three-quarters fall in the staple maize production (Mashingaidze, 2006:3). Mlambo and Raftopoulos (2010) argued that this disruption in agriculture was the most devastating blow to the economy since agriculture formed the backbone on which the manufacturing sector depended on. As a result of the collapse in agriculture, some factories closed down, outputs and foreign currency earnings declined, and unemployment massively increased (Mlambo and

Raftopoulos, 2010:3). In its implementation of the land grabbing policy, the government overlooked the fact that the majority (65.8% in 1998) of the country's labour force was employed in the agricultural sector especially the white-owned commercial farms

The poor performance of the economy led to huge budget deficits and inadequate funding for social services especially health and education. For instance, the inability to provide clean water especially in urban areas is believed to have resulted in the 2008 cholera outbreak (ibid). Poverty, which was at 70% head count in 2002 worsened as a result of the hiking of prices of food and other consumables due to inflation as well as a significant fall in the national maize output (Murisa, 2010:7). In 2008, Oxfam International (2009) reported that 80% of Zimbabwe's population lived on less than one dollar a day, without access to basic commodities such as food and water. Almost 5.1 million people, half of the nation, struggled to eat one meal a day. Clemens and Moss (2005) argued that the crisis resulted in the increase of morbidity and mortality particularly among children. Life expectancy figures, which responded to the deterioration in the health sector, declined from 63 years in 1990 to 40.9 years in 2005.

For a country once called the breadbasket of the SADC region, it was ironical that almost half of its population now faced food shortages. The country was transformed from being a self-sustained and sometimes exporter of food, especially maize, to a country depending on importing basic foodstuffs to feed its population (Clemens and Moss, 2005:3). Murisa (2010:8) attributed the huge shortfalls in maize and other cereals that followed the 'fast track' land reform programme to "declining support to agriculture from the fiscus, land and poor land preparation due to limited tillage capacity, unsustainable financing mechanisms for the sector and the generally unfavourable macro-economic environment". There were also shortfalls in high nutritional value commodities such as meat, milk, and groundnuts as well as oil seed derivatives (Murisa, 2010:8). All this created food insecurity in the country that reached levels that were beyond the normal effects of drought.

Clemens and Moss (2005) observed that the crisis did a blow to Zimbabwe's position in Africa where because of its vibrant and diversified economy it used to be regarded as the breadbasket of the SADC region and a hope for Africa's future. Mlambo and Raftopoulos (2010) argued that the

once internationally recognised health and education services sectors, which were the pride of the nation, were no more. The ultimate consequence or alternative for most Zimbabweans was 'voting with their feet'. In response to the deteriorating situation at home, most Zimbabweans have left the country (Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010:4). In the health sector, the migration of professionals further worsened the shrinking of the health delivery system (Murisa, 2010). The Portfolio Committee on Health and Child Welfare in the inclusive government reported in 2010 that only 21% of the required health professionals were in the country (Murisa, 2010:6).

On the contrary, the government shifted the blame for the entire crisis to drought and external forces (Clemens and Moss, 2005; Mashingaidze, 2006). "Critics blame Mugabe's government policies for the negative state of affairs but the government and its allies on the other apportion the blame on foreign and domestic enemies of the state opposed to the land reform" (Mashingaidze, 2006:62). One of the ripple effects of the crisis was poor funding of social services particularly health and education (Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010). Besides the sanctions imposed on the few elite ZANU-PF members, the country in general gradually became isolated with most western donors pulling out of the country, hence the government's blame of western countries for not supporting the land reform programme. Lack of funding especially in health as well as the resultant emigration of health workers are blamed for the country's increased rates of morbidity and mortality during the crisis.

Clemens and Moss (2005) analyzed funding for Zimbabwe's health sector and found evidence contrary to the government's claims. These authors used OECD data, which indicated a decline of US$43 million in foreign aid to the Zimbabwean health sector between 1994 and 2003. But, this decline was far lower than the one in health spending due to the loss of domestic revenue (Clemens and Moss, 2005:3). The Ministry of Health acknowledges and admits the existence of "major shortfalls in material, human and financial resources" in the health sector (MoH, 1998:12). These shortfalls started to be experienced as early as the mid 1990s and were consistent with a decline in the government's health spending. While government's spending in health was 3.1% of GDP (US$22 per capita) in 1990, it dropped by half to 2.1% of GDP (US$11 per capita) in 1996. The Ministry of Health (1998) observed, and correctly so, that the health indicators achieved in the 1980s were threatened by increased demand on the health system due

to HIV/AIDS and dwindling financial resources. Hence, poor funding of health and education should have started with ESAP policies in the mid-1990s and not the isolation of the country related to the 2000-2002 land grabbing.

Mlambo and Raftopoulos (2010:3) argued that the cuts in funding especially for the health sector came at a time when funds were needed most because of the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the country. Clemens and Moss (2005) blamed the poor funding on the under-performing economy. They argued that although not sufficient for development, economic growth is necessary for development including the improvement of health, education and quality of life. This argument suggests that the collapse of the Zimbabwean economy eventually affected the social sectors negatively, particularly the health and education sectors. Performance of the Zimbabwean health sector, for example, dramatically declined primarily in response to the gradual drying up of government funding.

Clemens and Moss (2005) analysed and criticised the government's second claim, drought. While a relationship between economic growth rates and rainfall cycles existed in Zimbabwe in the past decades, data from Zimbabwe's Department of Meteorology was contrary to this claim especially for the period after 1999. In fact, "while rainfall recovered, the economy continued to decline" (Clemens and Moss, 2005:3). These authors further compared Zimbabwe with its neighbours that is, Zambia and Malawi, since rainfall cycles often follow a regional pattern. They found that while Zimbabwe's maize production significantly declined by 74% between 1999 and 2004 that for Malawi declined by only 31% and Zambia's, actually increased (ibid). Hence, the drought excuse could not sufficiently account for the country's woos, which leaves the blame on the government's policy decisions such as the land grabbing policy in 2002. This policy disrupted farming and explains why there was a three-quarter decline in the staple maize production, which negatively affected rural incomes, exports and food security. The focus of this write-up now shifts to the migration impacts of the crisis.

3.4 The crisis as a cause of the mass exodus

Literature argued that the massive migration from Zimbabwe that has occurred since 2000 have been mainly crisis driven. This places Zimbabwe in the same ranks as other African countries that have recently experienced crisis-driven migration such as Angola, the DRC, and Rwanda (Crush and Tevera, 2010). Akpabio (2008:2) argued that the Zimbabwean situation is actually not new on the African continent. In fact, corrupt politicians and the mismanagement of economies by the ruling elite have placed countries like Ghana and Nigeria before in dilemmas similar to that of Zimbabwe and their populations turned into economic refugees. Similarly, millions of Zimbabweans have used migration to "survive the political and economic crisis" at home (Crush and Tevera, 2010).

The exact numbers of Zimbabweans that have fled the country as a result of the crisis is uncertain and reliance is on estimates especially from secondary sources. This is because of a number of reasons including: (a) the Zimbabwean government has not cared to record all departures, (b) the recipient countries that have records such as South Africa, have not made such statistics available to the public, (c) some immigrants enter recipient countries such as South Africa "clandestinely by jumping the borders, or swimming through the river", and (d) circulation has been found to occur as many migrants in the region return home frequently (Crush and Tevera, 2010:4).

Clemens and Most (2005) estimated that close to one-quarter of Zimbabwe's population had left the country by 2005. The end of year population figure provided by Zimbabwe's Central Statistical Office for the period between 2001 and 2006 was 11,95 million (almost 12 million) (Chagonda, 2010:5). Mathematical deductions would place Clemens's and Moss's (2005) estimates at around 3 million people that had left the country by 2005. Pasura (2008) classified the major migration from Zimbabwe since 1960 into five phases (Table 3.1). The phase that has experienced the most migration in the country's history is that 'between 1999 and present', which is the crisis period. An estimated 3 to 4 million Zimbabweans have left the country during this period (Table 3.1) (Pasura, 2008:98). This means that the crisis period has actually caused a mass exodus of its own kind that has never been experienced in the country's history.

Zimbabweans of all walks of life including professionals and non-professionals have left the country in large numbers.

Although the total number of migrants displaced by the crisis is uncertain, there is more certainty regarding the whereabouts of most of them. The UNDP (2010) argued that about 83% of the total Diaspora Zimbabweans is living in Africa particularly circulating between home and neighbouring countries including South Africa, Botswana, Malawi, Namibia, Zambia, and Mozambique. "South Africa is home to two thirds of these" Zimbabweans (UNDP, 2010:9). In consensus with the UNDP's analysis, Crush and Tevera (2010) argued that Zimbabweans fleeing the crisis at home have found somewhere to go because of the proximity of Zimbabwe to other countries like Botswana and South Africa as well as the demand for Zimbabwean skilled professionals in these countries. Most of the Zimbabweans fleeing the crisis at home have migrated to South Africa or Botswana because of the economic stability, higher wages and employment standards in these countries (Lefko-Everett, 2004).

Table 3.1 Zimbabwe's five phases of migration

Period	**Nature of migrants**	**Sizes of migration based on secondary sources**	**Main destinations**
Phase 1 1960-1979	Migration of political exiles and labour migration to South Africa	210,000 political exiles & 75,000 labour migrants to South Africa	Zambia, Botswana, Britain, South Africa & Mozambique
Phase 2 1972-1989	Flight of White Zimbabweans	142,000	South Africa, UK, Australia, Canada, New Zealand
Phase 3 1982-1987	Ndebele migration	5,000	South Africa, Botswana, Britain
Phase 4 1990-1998	Migration of skilled professionals	200,000	South Africa, Botswana, UK, USA, Australia
Phase 5 1999-present	The mass exodus following political and economic crisis	3-4 million	South Africa, UK, Botswana, Australia, USA, Canada, New Zealand, etc.

Source: Pasura (2008: 98)

UNDP (2010:9) placed the Zimbabwean population living in South Africa at 2,120,000 (Table 3.2). Referring to some estimates, which may be exaggerative, Crush and Tevera (2010:2) placed the Zimbabwean population in South Africa at about 3 million. The UNDP estimate appears to be more realistic as it is consistent with the argument that two-thirds of Diaspora Zimbabweans have found a 'home' in South Africa. The Zimbabwean population in South Africa has reached this figure within a few years following the peak of the Zimbabwean crisis (2006-2008) and South Africa's relaxation of visa requirements for Zimbabweans in April 2009, after it took many years to reach 500,000 by 2005 (UNDP, 2010).

Table 3.2 Estimated numbers of Zimbabweans in the diaspora by location

Country / Region	**Estimated Population**
South Africa	2,120,000
UK	400,000
Botswana	200,000
Elsewhere in Africa	200,000
USA and Canada	50,000
Australia and New Zealand	20,000
Elsewhere in the world	50,000
Total	3,040,000

Source: UNDP (2010:9)

This analysis is also consistent with the findings by Crush and Tevera (2010) based on official entries into South Africa, which showed two peaks including during the early 1990s where 750,000 Zimbabweans entered South Africa annually and in 2008, which recorded 1.25 million entries alone. While the earlier peak is consistent with the collapse of apartheid in South Africa and economic hardships ushered by ESAP in Zimbabwe, the second peak was as a result of the political and economic crisis. Similar trends were observed in Botswana where the official number of Zimbabweans entering the country increased from 746,212 in 2006 to 1,041,465 in 2008 (Kiwanuka and Monson, 2009:33).

The major drivers of the Zimbabweans immigration to neighbouring countries as captured through migrants' reasons for migration can be basically classified into political and economic. Tracking the crisis that took several years to unfold, a Johannesburg survey conducted by Makina in 2007 found variations in the predominance of political and economic reasons over time (UNDP, 2010). Zimbabweans who arrived in South Africa between 1979 and 2000 gave reasons related to the economic conditions at home and the search for better employment. But, political reasons predominated the period after 2002, which had the violent run-up period to the Presidential elections, the land invasions, and 'Operation Murambatsvina' (or Operation Restore Order, a slum clearance programme in Zimbabwe's urban and peri-urban areas conducted in 2005) (UNDP, 2010). After 2005, political reasons were overtaken by economic reasons again. This should be the period when most Zimbabweans felt the effects of the economic meltdown including food shortages resulting from reduced commercial farming and hyperinflation. Raftopoulos (2009:222) confirmed that it was only after 2000 that large numbers of people left the country because of political violence, forced removals and the economic deterioration. Under the economic and social deterioration, the immediate reasons for migration were related to finding work and surviving the crisis at home.

Kiwanuka and Monson (2009:26) made a similar classification of the reasons for Zimbabweans immigration to other countries in the SADC region. In their study, political reasons where mentioned by a few participants in focus group discussions held in Zimbabwe and these few mentioned harassment and persecution of the opposition (MDC) supporters by the ruling party's leaders as their main reason for migration. The economic reasons, which were based on the economic crisis and were mentioned by the majority of the respondents in this study, included "unemployment, hyperinflation and devaluation of the currency, poverty, acute shortages of foodstuffs, and the collapse of major economic and public service sectors such as health care and education" (Kiwanuka and Monson, 2009:25). These authors concluded that as long as this migration occurred "against a backdrop of economic – and arguably state - collapse", they may be regarded as constituting forced rather than voluntary migration (Kiwanuka and Monson, 2009:26).

The fact that fewer migrants mentioned political reasons for their migration than those who mentioned economic reasons can be attributed to the fear and suspicion that has characterised most Zimbabweans whenever political issues are discussed due to the institutionalised violence associated with Zimbabwean politics mentioned by Sachikonye (2011). In fact, Sachikonye (2011) singled out the state-sponsored violence as the major driving force directly or indirectly behind the mass exodus. “Such a migration cannot simply be explained in terms of the search for greener economic pastures. Escape from authoritarianism, violence, trauma and fear is a large factor behind the exodus” (Sachikonye, 2011).

As they argued again in their paper, Kiwanuka and Monson (2009) revealed that the Zimbabweans’ migration into neighbouring countries was aimed at looking for jobs and survival. Except for about 825 Zimbabweans found in refugee camps in Botswana, the majority of Zimbabweans who are living in other countries in the region are involved in employment be it in the formal or informal sectors of the host countries (Kiwanuka and Monson, 2009:37). This has been necessitated partly because in all the SADC countries that have received the Zimbabwean immigrants none have encouraged more immigration especially through direct assistance or undocumented migration. Botswana has been arguably the country with the most exclusionary policies towards the Zimbabweans (ibid). Furthermore, the majority of Zimbabwean immigrants in the region have moved alone leaving households behind just to earn income to support families left at home. This has resulted in the observation that most of the Zimbabweans’ migration in the region involves circulation rather than permanent relocation (Kiwanuka and Monson, 2009; Crush and Tevera, 2010). Consistent with circulation, the majority of Zimbabwean immigrants have been found to include shoppers, informal cross-border traders, and short- and long-term skilled and unskilled migrants who frequently return home (Kiwanuka and Monson, 2009: 6).

The migration effects of the deterioration in social service delivery including lack of medication or personnel in hospitals or lack of education (as some schools had most of the teachers and pupils absent around 2008) were not captured well in the migrants’ reasons for migration in most of the literature. But, Murisa (2010) argued that problems in the social sector were among the most visible part of the crisis. The fact that most social services including health, education and

the provision of water and sanitation especially in urban areas had virtually disintegrated particularly during the peak of the crisis, around 2008, should have at least appeared in some of the migrants' reasons for migration.

One source that referred to social issues in the immigrants' reasons for migration is an article on Zimbabweans who jumped the border across the Limpopo into South Africa reported by the Drum Magazine (a South African based monthly magazine) of 23 August 2007 under the title, *Here Comes a Human Tragedy*. The Magazine's report stressed the fact that survival was at stake since the illegal Zimbabwean immigrants were prepared to take several risks in the migration process including the possibility of crocodile attacks when crossing the Limpopo River and the likelihood of apprehension and deportation.

It also demonstrated the link between the lack of food at home, which resulted from government's policies especially the land invasions, indigenisation of commercial farms and hyperinflation, and the desire to look for work (an economic reason). "…They're starving and there is no food in Zim. And they are looking for work" (Drum Magazine, 23 August 2007:105). The Magazine's report further highlighted one social reason for immigration to South Africa, which was not related to earning an income at all. Breathing heavy and slow, a Zimbabwean woman jumping the border into South Africa said, "I have pneumonia and I'm here because I need to get to the hospital in Messina (in South Africa). Where I come from there's no medical care" (ibid:105). The Magazine placed the rate of deportation of Zimbabwean 'border jumpers' for the previous week at 50-60 immigrants per day.

While not underplaying the huge migration effects of the Zimbabwean crisis, Crush and Tevera (2010) highlighted that the majority of Zimbabweans has remained at home despite the economic and political crisis. This has been made possible by the fact that on average a Zimbabwean in South Africa, for example, supports five people at home. The migration of some family members has led to the non-migration of other members even in the existence of "increasingly intolerable personal circumstances" (Crush and Tevera, 2010:3). This argument partly explains why the pace of economic and social collapse in Zimbabwe has not been as fast as it would have been.

Three-quarters of migrant families in Zimbabwe receive remittances (Crush and Tevera, 2010). For these families, most of the money goes towards survival rather than development. This implies that Zimbabweans have used migration as a survival mechanism during the crisis and not for development, which supports the argument that this migration is basically forced rather than voluntary. “The proportion of migrant remittances spent on food is amongst the highest in the world” (Crush and Tevera, 2010:15). Remittances especially during the crisis peak were more in kind form rather than cash (Kiwanuka and Monson, 2009). As a result of the shortage of commodities in Zimbabwean shops and the devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar, most migrants used their incomes “to purchase foodstuffs, clothes and other basic needs, such as medicines, in the host country, which they send back to dependents in Zimbabwe”. Cash, exchanged into US dollars first, was “remitted only to cover specific expenses such as school fees or funeral costs that can only be paid for in cash” (Kiwanuka and Monson, 2009:52).

Besides the little preference for remitting cash, migrants generally remitted small amounts as they also struggled to survive in the host countries. Garcia and Duplat (2007) found that “Zimbabwean migrants spend as much as 50% of their meagre incomes on support to families remaining in Zimbabwe”. But owing to the devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar, these small amounts translated to several millions of Zimbabwean dollars that could buy little or a substantial amount of basic needs depending on the inflation rate at that time. Chagonda (2010) reported the case of a teacher who left the profession for the more lucrative informal sector in 2008 and was involved in a money-changing business on the parallel market (or ‘black market’). Despite receiving around 100 British pounds on a monthly basis from a family member in the UK, the teacher decided to exchange this amount and buy Zimbabweans dollars, which he traded again making a profit from this exchange enough to buy food and other needs. This informal money-changing business helped his family to survive better than through the teaching job and the remittances alone.

But there are challenges associated with remittances and the opportunities created by having a family member in disapora, which can help explain why some teachers that received remittances could have continued to migrate to South Africa. From the Grape Vine, there are stories of some migrants that have forsaken their families in Zimbabwe and started new ones in recipient

countries such as South Africa. Furthermore, migrants have been found to remit for several reasons including selfish ones (Lucas and Stark, 1985), such that there is no guarantee for the remaining family that the migrant member will remit, more often or more money. Therefore, migrant families that end up not receiving remittances or receiving meagre remittances could be more than expected. Having a family member in diaspora may not adequately explain why other family members would not migrate. The UNDP (2010:10) argued that "understanding migrant motivation and behaviour namely why one person leaves and another stays, is extremely difficult". But, this should be done at some point if this migration has to be fully understood. The thesis is one attempt at explaining why some professionals decided to leave the Zimbabwean cauldron while others remained behind, using the teaching sector.

3.5 The crisis as a cause of teacher migration

Teachers, like any other Zimbabwean, have left the Zimbabwean cauldron in large numbers. Prior to the crisis, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s, the teacher population responded positively to the expansion of the education system as it grew to reach about 100,000 by 1997 (Chagonda, 2010). This figure, an estimate from the Zimbabwe Teachers' Association (ZIMTA), included both primary and secondary school teachers in Zimbabwe's public schools. During Zimbabwe's crisis, the profession lost several thousands of teachers as a result of poor remuneration for civil service workers including public school teachers (ibid). The migration of teachers in large numbers started at the same time as the mass exodus that is, "after the disputed general elections in 2000 and commencement of the fast track land reform programme" (Chagonda, 2010:10).

ZIMTA and the Progressive Teachers' Union (PTUZ) place the number of teachers that have left the country during the crisis at around 45,000. This is about 45% of all the teachers that were in public schools in 1997. Private schools were less affected by this teacher migration. Chagonda (2010) reported that when most teachers absented themselves from schools during the third school term in 2008, "a few teachers in the private schools remained teaching". The Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE, 2009) confirmed this fact when it reported that attendance in Zimbabwean schools went down to around 20% by the end of 2008

from about 85% in 2007. This heralded the complete disintegration of the once pride of the nation education system.

As in the case of the mass migration, the common destinations of the teachers leaving Zimbabwe include South Africa and Botswana in the SADC region as well as the UK overseas. The Southern Migration Project (SAMP) survey of 2005 found that teachers made up 7.4% of the sample of Zimbabwean immigrants to South Africa (Crush and Tevera, 2010). The teacher population in South Africa should have dramatically increased during the peak of the crisis (2007-2008) due to hyperinflation, which made teachers' salaries next to nothing, and the increased violence targeting teachers particularly those in rural areas. By the end of 2008, 30,000 teachers are estimated to have left the country, 10,000 of them to South Africa (INEE, 2009). On 26 July 2011, News24 placed the number of foreign teachers in South African public schools at more than 5,400. According to statistics extracted from the government employee database, *Persal*, the majority (3,796) of these teachers is from Zimbabwe (Table 3.3). These figures exclude foreign teachers in private schools as well as those in other provinces since the statistics are only for three out of South Africa's nine provinces. This means that there are far more Zimbabwean teachers in South Africa than these figures indicate. What can be learnt from these figures, however, is that Zimbabwean teachers dominate among all foreign teachers in South Africa.

Table 3.3 Foreign teachers in South Africa by Country of origin and province

Country of origin	*Number*
Zimbabwe	3,796
Ghana	500
India	501
Namibia	90
Province	
Gauteng	1,286
Eastern Cape	975
Limpopo	934

Source: Data extracted from News24, 26 July 2011

Literature on the driving forces behind the Zimbabwean teachers' migration seem to focus mainly on hyperinflation and the collapse of the education sector due to reduced funding of the sector as well as other public service sectors like health. Chagonda (2010) argued that during the crisis, teachers appeared to be the least paid civil service workers. For instance, in October, November and December 2008, teachers' salaries in Zimbabwean dollars were Z$729,000, Z$3 million, and Z$12 million, respectively. The US dollar equivalents for each of these months were less than US$10 (ibid: 9). The October salary (Z$729,000) was the worst since its US dollar value on the parallel market was only US$0.72. These next to nothing salaries led teachers in their large numbers to take the 'mother of all' industrial action, which resulted in the complete disintegration of the education system by the end of 2008 as reported by INEE (2009), UNICEF (2008), and others. During this industrial action, many teachers left the profession for good. Besides being frustrated by poor salaries and working conditions worsened by the economic crisis and hyperinflation, the other reason behind the teachers' industrial action of 2008 was partly because teachers were also victims of political harassment and intimidation for allegedly supporting the opposition (Chireshe and Shumba, 2011). The BBC News reported in 2008 that "many Zimbabwean teachers had been beaten up and hospitalized in politically motivated situations" (Chireshe and Shumba, 2011:116).

Most of the literature on the forces behind the teachers' migration over-emphasizes the developments in the education sector towards the peak of the Zimbabwean crisis neglecting the fact that teachers had long since been complaining about appalling working conditions and salaries that were not in commensuration with their working experiences. Remuneration of Zimbabwean teachers was not an issue in the 1980s as they were regarded as middle class citizens and their earnings were higher than their counterparts in the region (Murisa, 2010:13). It became an issue starting in the early 1990s when the amount allocated to the education sector by government for operating costs decreased (Murisa, 2010). As early as 1990, some studies found that most secondary school teachers indicated dissatisfaction with their remuneration (Kusereka, 2009). This was partly blamed on the large teaching force (Kusereka, 2009:64), shrinking government support for the education sector (Murisa, 2010:13), and a salary structure that only consider pre-service education and qualifications while disregarding seniority and experience. A Commission on the status of the education sector headed by Nziramasanga revealed in 1999 that

senior teachers were demoralised by earning the same salaries as their junior counterparts (Kusereka, 2009).

Furthermore, a job evaluation exercise conducted in 1995 revealed that the civil service workers' salaries including those of teachers lagged by 84% behind those in parastatals and 144% behind their private sector counterparts (Kusereka, 2009: 64). Prior to the September 2008 'mother of all' industrial actions by the teachers, several other industrial actions had been conducted and one of these was between 8 and 20 May 2003. This industrial action was as a result of the delayed results of a job evaluation exercise conducted in 2002 that was supposed to address the "disparities in teachers' salaries with those of other civil servants of equivalent qualifications and experience" (Kusereka, 2009:65). This explains why most of the teachers studied by Chireshe and Shumba (2011) had developed a negative attitude towards the profession as they saw no bright future for the Zimbabwean teacher. "Teachers have been promised better salaries and working conditions for a long time now without any change. Teachers' plight is not being addressed or is not being listened to; teachers' dignity continues to deteriorate. A change in the political situation was seen as the only source of teachers' hope" (Chireshe and Shumba, 2011:117).

Although remuneration was the major cause of dissatisfaction, the list was long and included "poor prospects for promotion, poor accommodation and insufficient educational resources" (Kusereka, 2009:68). Other studies found that urban teachers were generally more satisfied than their rural counterparts (ibid). Rural secondary school teachers particularly those in remote rural areas had to deal with "large classes, often in over-crowed and poor facilities, without textbooks or any source of instructional assistance" (Kusereka, 2009:63). The Commission headed by Nziramasanga also reported that rural schools faced common problems including inadequate teachers' houses, classroom furniture, water and sanitation, which resulted in qualified teachers shunning these schools (ibid). The only channel for these teachers to advance themselves was promotion to become deputy heads or school heads, which depended on performance appraisals by the school heads. The other avenue out of this dilemma, which was seemingly unachievable, was finding better positions in the non-teaching sector that was also shrinking due to the economic crisis.

Despite facing these endogenous problems, the teachers also had to operate in challenging environments created by the exogenous problems related to the economic and political crisis. For example, their working conditions were worsened by government's reduced spending in the educator as well as other public service sectors. This translated into the government's inability to revise teachers', as well as other civil servants', salaries upwards in line with inflation (Murisa, 2010:14). In addition, the teachers had to deal with students from different socio-economic and political backgrounds (Murisa, 2010:65). Hence, for most of the teachers, the decision to migrate seemed to be spontaneous and yet the pressure to migrate had gradually built up. For instance, Memory Chipunza, a teacher at Glenview 1 primary school in Harare, said that none of the 16 teachers she found at the school when she arrived in 2006 were still there in May 2008 (Chagonda, 2010:11). Most of the teachers who left her school did not communicate their whereabouts but she heard from the Grape Vine that so and so was in Botswana or South Africa (Chagonda, 2010:11). This case study shows the dramatic rate at which many teachers left the country particularly during the peak of the crisis (2007-2008).

Besides responding to the problems within the education sector as well as the economic and political crisis gripping the country through migration, other teachers resorted to other coping mechanisms. INEE (2009) reported that for the teachers who remained in the country after 2008 (about 70,000 teachers), morale was low and a significant number of them were inexperienced and untrained. Most of them were "forced to spend their time scraping together enough to survive than returning to school" (ibid). Chagonda (2010) found that almost all of the 16 public sector teachers he interviewed were involved in informal sector activities including petty commodity trading, cross-border trading and foreign currency dealing. As the formal sector shrank under the crisis, the informal sector expanded as "it proved to be the sector that sustained many livelihoods" (Chagonda, 2010:11). The basic reason why the informal sector proved to sustain livelihoods was the shortage of foreign currency and most basic commodities in the country. "A speculative informal economy will thrive in hyperinflationary situations as it provides an opportunity for people to hoard goods and re-sell them later at inflated prices, rather than keeping money which is prone to losing value because of hyperinflation" (Chagonda, 2010:11). Chagonda (2010) also cited several other countries where this happened during

hyperinflationary environments including Germany during Weimar Republic (1920-23), Argentina (1988-89) and Yugoslavia (1992-94).

It is unclear whether engaging in the informal sector and migration to neighbouring countries were mutually exclusive or independent responses to the crisis. Based on available literature, it is likely that most teachers tasted both informal sector activities and migration. Besides sustaining livelihoods of the teachers, informal sector activities could also have helped in either financing the migration process or sustaining families when the migrant teachers were job searching. In addition, for those teachers engaged in cross-border trading to countries such as South Africa, informal sector activities could have helped in either gathering information about the teaching profession abroad or forming social networks. Chagonda (2010:12) argued that teachers, like other civil service workers, were best placed to engage in cross-border trade to South Africa because "since 2005, Zimbabwean civil servants could visit South Africa without the need to obtain a visa, which until early 2009 cost about R 2000 to obtain for those individuals who were not civil servants".

But later, the informal sector also shrank particularly due to the introduction of multiple currencies and the availability of most commodities in supermarkets in Zimbabwe starting in 2009. Post-2008 developments in the country, particularly the adoption of multiple currencies, could have acted either to cause further teacher migration or retain other teachers in the country. Soon after its formation, the Government of national unity (GNU) officially adopted multiple currencies in February 2009 to try and stem hyperinflation of the local currency. Commonly known as 'dollarisation' of the Zimbabwean economy, this measure is defined by Bloch as involving the "substitution of a domestic currency by a more stable foreign currency" but not necessarily meaning the adoption of a single currency (Chagonda, 2010:12). The major currencies like the US dollar, the South African Rand, the British Pound Sterling and the Botswana Pula are all accepted as legal tender in Zimbabwe. The Inter-Press Service (IPS) News reported on 24 January 2009 that the use of foreign currency, such as the US dollar and South African rand, started way before the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe made it official. This unofficial 'dollarisation' should have assisted in pushing upwards the "prices of basic food items, fuel and medicines, putting them out of reach for ordinary people" especially during the crisis peak in

2008. As most of Zimbabwean workers were still paid in the local currency, this unofficial 'dollarisation' encouraged migration for the purpose of earning foreign currency particularly among families that had no access to foreign currency that is, those without relatives in diaspora. Raftopoulos (2009) agreed that many people left the country because goods and services were increasingly made available only for foreign currency.

The official adoption of multiple currencies in the Zimbabwean economy negatively affected the livelihoods of those who depended on informal sector activities particularly cross-border traders and money-changers who included teachers. This is because during the crisis when most shops were empty, cross-border traders imported goods from South Africa and Botswana for resell to desperate Zimbabweans at three or four times their cost (IPS News, 24 January 2009). Hence, they were pushed out of business by the shops that were now allowed to charge for their goods and services in foreign currency at a low price compared to cross-border traders. As some of the cross-border traders were used to lavish and expensive lifestyles at the expense of the desperate fellow countrymen during the crisis, this made some of them, teachers included, to struggle to survive hence making migration to South Africa the most reasonable option. This is one possible reason why teacher migration to South Africa could have continued including those teachers who had previously remained in the country after 2008. The other reason could be that because of limited foreign currency reserves in the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, the civil service workers were started off with a flat allowance of US$100 across the board. Even when they started to be paid salaries based on remuneration levels, the salaries were low and significant increments were not forthcoming until to date. Teachers' salaries to date, which on average are around US$300, remain lower than those paid to South Africa teachers that are around US$1,500. But the payment of the teachers in foreign currency was influential in retaining some teachers and making most of them go back to the classroom in 2009. Most of the teachers that Chagonda (2010:14) spoke to said that they had gone back to the classrooms because the US$100 that they were getting was much better than the worthless trillions of Zimbabwean dollars which they had been getting from the government before the official adoption of multiple currencies in the economy.

3.6 Chapter conclusion

The chapter discussed the pre-crisis period (before 1990), which arguably constituted the country's brightest years, the political, economic, and social dimensions of the crisis and how these led to the mass exodus hitherto never experienced in the country's migration history. The ruling party's desperation to remain in power took central priority over more important issues of the economy and people's welfare. This further weakened its support base. But, the more the economy deteriorated, the more the ruling party resorted to violence and coercing people into voting for it. Most Zimbabweans decided to vote with their feet because they felt weak against a violent ruling party, which also manipulated state organs to achieve its political goals. The ruling elite deliberately left the economy to crumble as they should have put in place measures to restore sanity to the economy and politics way before the total collapse in the economy and social service delivery. Hence, the ruling party should be blamed for the Zimbabwean crisis and not the external forces or the professionals who emigrated in order to have a decent standard of living, which their own government failed to provide.

The momentum of teacher migration was partly reduced by the formation of the government of national unity (GNU), which saw the education ministry being led by David Coltat (an opposition party member) and the adoption of more stable multiple currencies. On the contrary, teacher migration was likely to have continued after 2008 although for more voluntary rather than involuntary economic reasons. At the same time, most of the teachers 'pushed' by the crisis during its peak particularly the food shortages and hyperinflation still remain in diaspora. This implies that other unresolved issues in the country are 'pushing' new teachers into diaspora and help 'stick' those already abroad. The thesis focuses on explaining why some teachers migrated during different periods while others still remained in Zimbabwe. The next chapter presents the fieldwork logistics, justifying why some steps were taken during fieldwork and how some important variables were operationalised.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology used during data collection in the field and goes further to describe key variables and the analysis plan. It highlights the challenges faced during fieldwork as well as the quality of the data collected and its shortcomings. This is a central chapter in this write up as it attempts to justify the methods used to collect data as well as address issues of reliability and validity of the research.

4.2 Research design

A quantitative research design was used during fieldwork. It involved the administration of questionnaires to 200 Zimbabwean teachers, 100 teaching in South Africa (migrant teachers) and the other 100 in Zimbabwe (non-migrant teachers). A pilot survey pre-testing the questionnaire preceded the main research survey. The pilot involved ten teachers, five teaching in South Africa and the other half in Zimbabwe. The pilot was conveniently conducted in Mutare, Manicaland province of Zimbabwe, with both non-migrant and migrant teachers, who were on school holidays from their respective schools and countries. This design limited the costs of the pilot survey and enabled the researcher to get feedback from the teachers involved particularly on the clarity of questions. The timing of the pilot survey was December 2011 and the main research survey followed between April and September 2012. Feedback from the pilot survey involved constructive criticisms of the instrument and assisted in improving questions and suggested answers. Further details are discussed under the data collection sub-section in this chapter.

Five migrant teachers provided life stories regarding their immigration to South Africa in the qualitative part of the fieldwork, which supplemented the findings of the quantitative study. Documents including circulars on the engagement of foreign teachers by South African government schools were collected from the department of education in the three provinces. In

Zimbabwe, one randomly selected school head per province was interviewed on the current extent of the teacher migration problem at his or her school as well as reasons for the migration of some teachers and the non-migration of others (interview guide on Appendix 3). School heads were found to have a better understanding of teachers' issues and concerns as they are more directly in contact with teachers than either district or provincial education staff.

4.3 Conceptualisation and operationalisation of key variables

This section discusses the variables used in the study. It starts with the independent variables whose effect on migration or non-migration was assessed in the study and ends with a discussion of how reasons for migration or non-migration were categorised.

4.3.1 The determinants

The study refers to determinants as those factors found within or beyond the education systems of both countries as well as mitigating factors and personal characteristics that influenced the teachers' decisions to migrate. The determinants constitute the list of factors with a possible effect on influencing migration or non-migration. The study discusses the effects of several types of determinants influencing Zimbabwean teachers' decisions to immigrate to South Africa including personal characteristics; mitigation factors such as gender, network, costs of migration, and school-related factors; demand-pull factors such as attractiveness, unattractiveness and net weight of South Africa's attractiveness factors; and supply-push factors such as social, economic and political factors (Fig. 4.1). The list of determinants and the nature of each determinant including categories is provided in Table 4.1. These determinants formed the list of independent variables found from the review of literature (Chapter 2) and the discussion of the Zimbabwean crisis (Chapter 3) likely to influence the teachers' decisions to migrate or not migrate to South Africa.

Table 4.1 The determinants and their categories as used during data analysis

Variable	Categories
Personal characteristics	
Age (Q2.1)	Less than 25 years, 26-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, 45-49, and 50 years or more
Sex (Q2.2)	Male or female
Marital Status (Q2.3)	Never married, married, widowed, divorced
Occupation of spouse (Q2.6)	Unemployed/at home, professional, skilled, general worker, or self employed/business person
Ethnicity (Q2.7)	Ndebele, Zezuru, Karanga, Manyika/Ndau, or *Other* (e.g. Sotho, Venda)
Professional Qualification (Q2.1)	Degree, diploma, certificate, and not professionally qualified
Subject of specialisation (Q2.10)	Languages/arts, Mathematics/Science, Commercials, Social Science, Technical, Computer
Years of work experience	1-5 years, 6-10, 11-15, 16-20, 21-25, and more than 25 years
School related factors	
Type of school taught in Zimbabwe (Q3.11b)	Private, government or urban/rural council, and mission
Location of school taught in Zimbabwe (Q3.11a)	Urban, rural
Network factors	
Knowledge of outside teaching opportunities (Q3.1)	Yes or No
knowledge of wage gap (Q6.12)	Yes or No
Migration experience (Q3.4)	Yes or No
Costs of migration	
Costs of migration (Q3.10)	Social costs, monetary, costs related to settling down in host country
Gender	
Support of migration idea by husband or society	Supportive, neither supportive nor unsupportive, unsupportive
Money for processing papers, travel & subsistence	Serious, not serious challenge
Care for children	Husband/relatives, maid, boarding school, can't leave because of care role
Demand-pull factors	
Attractiveness of SA (Q3.7)	Economic, social and political
Unattractiveness of SA (Q3.8)	Violence/crime, discrimination, youth behaviour
Net-weight of attractiveness (Q3.9)	Attractive, neither attractive nor unattractive, unattractive
Supply-push factors: social	
Current satisfaction with education, health & urban services (Q5.1a, Q5.5a, 5.8a)	Bad, average, or good
Satisfaction with education, health & urban services in 2008 (Q5.1b, Q5.5b, Q5.8b)	Bad, average, or good
Economic	
Current personal severity of economic crisis (Q6.1a)	Hard, average, or easy
Personal severity of economic crisis in 2008 (Q6.1b)	Hard, average, or easy
Adequacy of household income (Q6.10)	Inadequate for food, Adequate for food only, or Adequate for food and non-food needs
Access to food (Q6.2a)	A struggle, not a struggle
Diet (Q6.2f)	Compromised, not compromised
Children's fees (Q6.2c)	Afforded, could not afford
Political	
Extent of political violence after 2008 elections Q7.1)	Large extent, small extent, or not at all
Rating of safety, freedom of expression & participation (Q7.7 and Q7.8)	Good, average, bad

Source: Suggested determinants of Zimbabwean teachers' immigration to South Africa

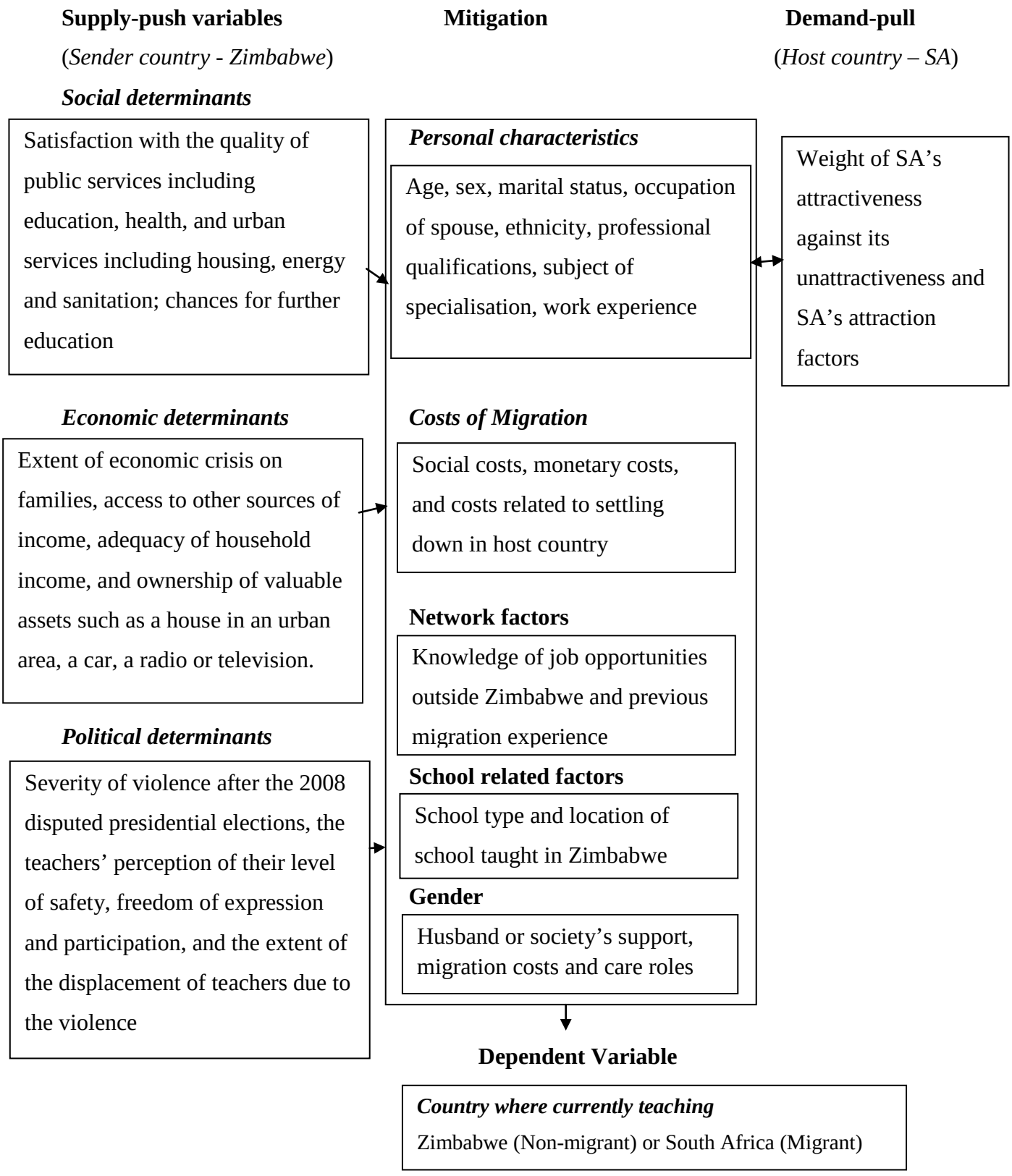

Fig. 4.1 Conceptualisation of Zimbabwean teachers' migration decision making

The units of analysis were the Zimbabwean teachers and focus was mainly on the differences between migrant and non-migrant teachers with regard to their characteristics, previous migration experiences, perceptions, and their responses to the political, economic and social environment. The dependent variable, migration or non-migration, was measured as the *Country where Currently Teaching* (Q1.1). It is categorical with two categorises including: (1) a Zimbabwean teacher currently teaching in South Africa (also called the migrant teacher) and (2) a Zimbabwean teacher at home (also called non-migrant teacher).

Personal characteristics used in the Zimbabwean teacher migration decision-making model included age, sex, marital status, occupation of spouse, ethnicity, professional qualifications, subject of specialisation, and work experience (Table 4.1 and Fig. 4.1). Females are increasingly found among international migrants as dependents of other migrants or independent migrants (UN Division for the Achievement of Women, 2004). In the case of the migration of professionals, their domination in such streams depends on the profession since most females are still found in traditionally women's professions including nursing and teaching. Since the South African government required assistance particularly in the teaching of mathematics and science subjects (News24, 26 July 2011), it is likely to find more male than female teachers migrating to South Africa. This is because Zimbabwean female teachers are still out-numbered by their male counterparts in these fields as there is a history in Zimbabwe of females not willing to take subjects that are perceived as difficult and for males such as mathematics and science (Gordon, 1998). Hence, the sex variable is expected to co-vary with subject of specialisation due to the effects of gender. The migration effects of gender were further assessed under mitigation factors and a section was provided in the questionnaire that asked female migrants or potential female migrants to rate the husband's and society's support for their migration and known potential challenges to their migration such as access to financial resources and the pressure of care roles.

Age is a known predictor of migration. Young and middle aged adults have a higher propensity to migrate than their more elderly counterparts. Most studies on Zimbabweans that have migrated to neighbouring countries especially South Africa have found that most of these migrants are below 40 years of age (Tevera and Chikanda, 2009) or between 21 and 40 years (Mosala, 2008:11), which is the middle of their work and family life. In the case of the

Zimbabwean teachers, age is expected to co-vary with years of work experience that is, as age increases years of work experience also increase. The inclusion of such related variables helps to cross-check the quality of data and ensures reliability. Since this study involves migration for survival, married or divorced and widowed teachers with families were likely to dominate over the never married. The occupation of the spouse is an indicator of total household income, with teachers having a working spouse more likely to migrate as the spouses could share both social and financial responsibilities. Professional qualifications of the teacher would determine migration or non-migration since the brain drain tends to be selective as the highly qualified teachers are more likely to migrate than the less qualified. Mushonga (2007:2) argued that one of the consequences of the migration of teachers from Zimbabwe is exposing schools to "less qualified, less experienced and even unqualified personnel, with serious consequences for development".

Certain ethnic groups have a greater propensity to migrate than others usually because migration has been institutionalised in their culture. Mitchell (1989) found for some East African societies that migration had become a *rite de passage* for the transition to adulthood. In the case of Zimbabwe, ethnicity is also related to the provinces as different ethnic groups dominate in different provinces for example, Ndebeles are mainly found in Matebeleland, Karangas in Masvingo, Zezurus in Mashonaland, and Manyika/Ndau in Manicaland. Manicaland province, located in the eastern highlands on the border with Mozambique, has more favourable climatic conditions for agriculture than the rest of the country. This means teachers from this province have alternative sources of income including farming. Moreover, the greater part of this province is located further away from the South African border than the rest of the selected provinces making the province least likely to send teachers to South Africa.

Network factors discussed in the teachers' migration decision making model included prior knowledge of teaching opportunities outside Zimbabwe, knowledge of the exact wage gap and previous migration experience (Table 4.1 and Fig. 4.1). Prior knowledge of teaching opportunities outside the country increases the chances of a teacher migrating and helps sustain the exodus. Knowledge can be shared among friends, relatives, and kinsmen as well as through public media. Ethnicity can also operate through the sharing of knowledge such that members of

a certain ethnic group can end up dominating certain migration streams than other groups. Previous migration experience referred to whether the teacher had lived continuously for a period of up to six months in another foreign country or South Africa before. People with a migration history are likely to migrate in future as they could have forged links before or have adapted to the social costs of migration.

School related variables used in the model included type of school and the location of the school taught in Zimbabwe (Table 4.1 and Fig. 4.1). Three major types of primary and secondary schools according to the responsible authority are found in Zimbabwe and they include: government or council (both rural district and urban councils), mission or church, and independent (that is, trusts or board of governors) (Kusereka, 2009:60). These three types of schools can be ranked according to the quality of school facilities and the ability to retain experienced teachers into lowest quality, average and highest quality, respectively. Except for urban government and council schools that have good facilities and better qualified and experienced teachers, rural government and district council schools are among some of the disadvantaged schools in Zimbabwe. Independent or private schools, which basically form the private sector, generally offer the best quality education but charge higher fees and are regarded as for the upper class (Kusereka, 2009:60).

The location of the school currently or last taught in Zimbabwe is also likely to determine who among the teachers migrate to South Africa and who remains behind. As cited already in the review of the education systems of the two countries, poor working conditions existed more in rural than urban areas (Kusereka, 2009). Urban teachers also started to receive supplementary incomes in US dollars from parents, commonly known as incentives, earlier than rural teachers (UNICEF Press Centre, 2008). Furthermore, the political violence that followed the disputed 2008 presidential elections affected more rural than urban areas. All these factors would make rural teachers more likely to migrate than their urban counterparts. On the contrary, lessons learnt during the implementation of World Bank and IMF economic reform programmes and the economic hardships they caused in the 1990s showed that urban dwellers suffered more economic hardships than their rural counterparts (Ranga, 2004). Kiwanuka and Monson (2009:30) found that the majority of Zimbabweans that migrated to other countries in the

Southern African region due to the crisis "came from the urban areas of Harare, Bulawayo and Gweru". This is because the urban economy is more cash-based than the rural economy where people can produce some of what they consume. This explains why urban teachers were more likely to migrate in circumstances involving economic crisis-driven migration.

Costs of migration factors were measured using a single variable that was further categorised into (1) social and psychological costs, (2) monetary costs, and (3) costs related to settling down in the host country. Social and psychological costs meant whether separation from the spouse or family, learning a new language, and leaving old friends were mentioned by the teachers as serious challenges to migration. Monetary costs meant that money for travelling or processing necessary documents was regarded as a serious challenge. The remaining costs, which were actually serious challenges related to settling down in the host country, included initial accommodation and learning or adapting to a new curriculum or education system. This variable and its value labels were identified through the review of literature related to the factors influencing international migration (Massey et al, 1993).

Three variables were used for the demand-pull factors including South Africa's positives, negatives and the teachers' net weight of South Africa's attractiveness over its unattractiveness. For example, the teachers were provided with answers related to the attractiveness of South Africa including better salaries, stable currency or economy, availability of jobs, proximity to Zimbabwe, free education, better health facilities, and peace (Appendix 1). These factors were disaggregated from complex groupings such as *economic factors* (better salaries, stable currency or economy, and jobs available), *social* (free education, better health facilities and proximity to Zimbabwe), and *political* (peace). Proximity of South Africa to Zimbabwe is a proxy of the effect of distance on the decision to migrate and where to migrate. In migration studies, distance is conceptualised as meaning physical, economic or social distance. While physical distance simply refers to the kilometres travelled or to be travelled, 'economic distance' involves costs and availability of communication, information and transport networks (Ranga, 2004:169). 'Social distance', which is argued by Hugo in 1982 to be the greatest of the three types of distance especially in international migration, includes "separation from an accustomed circle of family and neighbours or from particular ethnic group or from other particularistic social

groupings to which the mover belongs" (Ranga, 2004: 169). Although the notion of distance has an economic intonation, it was used mainly in its social sense. However, South Africa offers advantages to Zimbabwean migrants in terms of all the three types of distances just in the same way that the USA does for Mexican immigrants.

Social supply-push variables were made up of the teachers' levels of satisfaction with the quality of public services including education, health, and urban services especially housing, energy and sanitation (Table 4.1). Murisa (2010) argued that the social dimensions of the crisis especially the shrinking funding of the health and education sectors were some of the most visible aspects of the Zimbabwean crisis. The study used the teachers' perceptions of the quality of social service delivery to assess the influence of the crisis in these sectors on the decision to migrate or not. The teachers' perceptions were assessed for two periods namely the crisis peak period (around 2008) and the current period, which is the post-crisis peak period.

Some studies such as the one by Tevera and Chikanda (2009:13) used a *lived poverty index* to measure the impact of the deterioration of the social service delivery system during the crisis. They found for example that 73.9% of the sample had never gone without medicine or medical treatment. On face value, such a figure suggests little significance of the impact of the deterioration in social services on ordinary Zimbabweans. Due to their hardworking nature also acknowledged by some citizens of host countries such as South Africa (Drum Magazine, 23 August 2007), many Zimbabweans could have avoided living in poverty but they were in contact, including indirectly, with a system deprived of standard social service delivery. This partly explains why this study used the teachers' perceptions of the quality of the service delivered in education, health and urban services. Although an assessment of perceptions yields less empirical evidence, it avoids the intricacies of measuring and defining certain concepts since individuals have their own perceptions of the standard service delivery which they can assess whether it is met or not. Robert Chambers recommended this strategy in the assessment of poverty.

Economic supply-push determinants included the teachers' rating of the effects of the economic crisis on their lives, whether the teachers struggled to have food or pay children's fees or compromised their diet due to the crisis, adequacy of household income especially whether their food and non-food needs were adequately met, and ownership of valuable assets such as a house or land in an urban area, a car, a radio or television (Table 4.1). Measurements of actual incomes were collected but were found to be less accurate as most migrant teachers could not remember the equivalent values in US dollars of incomes earned in the local currency before migration owing to the frequent devaluation of the local currency. Hence, effective comparisons could be made only between the current incomes of both migrant and non-migrant teachers. The erosion of household incomes and the resultant food insecurities were also among the most visible effects of the crisis (Murisa, 2010) and the economic supply-push factors mentioned above were used to assess the influence of such effects on the decision to migrate.

Like in the case of social supply-push factors, the teachers' perceptions on the effects of the economic crisis on their lives as well as the adequacy of household incomes were used to assess the influence of the economic dimension of the crisis on the decision to migrate or not. The ownership of valuable assets is a predictor of wealth. The ownership of assets such as radio or television, satellite dish, and mobile phone additionally indicate the teachers' access to information and communication. The influence of wealth on migration decision making is debatable. But, in the case of the Zimbabwean teachers' migration to South Africa, the accumulation of valuable assets especially a house or a car might have contributed to the teachers' desire to migrate to '*egoli*' (referring to South Africa as the land of gold, where dreams are realised). This is because most teachers, like other civil servants, had been deprived ownership of these assets for a long time due to meagre salaries earned for more than a decade when the crisis had been going on.

Finally, political supply-push factors included the severity of violence against teachers after the 2008 disputed presidential elections at the schools taught by the teachers in Zimbabwe, the extent of the displacement of teachers due to the violence, and the teachers' perceptions of their level of safety, freedom of expression and political participation in Zimbabwe. Violence was defined as including intimidation, beatings or persecution of any kind. As Sachikonye (2011)

argued, institutionalised violence supported and sponsored by the state directly or indirectly contributed to the Zimbabwean mass exodus. Politically motivated violence is a relevant factor in the teachers' decisions to migrate since some of the teachers, especially those in rural areas, were directly affected as they were accused of supporting the opposition party, MDC (ibid; Chireshe and Shumba, 2011, IPS News, 24 January 2009; Raftopoulos, 2009; Nyawanza, 2007; and Chibaya, 2007). The effects of all these determinants on the migration or non-migration of Zimbabwean teachers to South Africa were synthesized through assessing the significance of the Pearson Chi-square value for the test of independence between each determinant and immigration to South Africa.

4.3.2 The categories of reasons for migration and non-migration

In addition to testing for independence between the determinants and immigration to South Africa, the study also analysed migrant teachers' reasons for migration and non-migrant teachers' reasons for non-migration as well as the future plans of both groups. For migrant teachers, the reasons for migration question (Q3.15), which was a multiple-response question, provided several suggested answers as well as the space for teachers to add other reasons besides the provided. The reasons suggested in Q3.15, which were based on literature review and the discussion of the Zimbabwean crisis, were disaggregated from four complex groupings of reasons for migration including: *economic* (e.g. inadequate salary, expensive or shortage of foodstuffs), *political* (e.g. violence or repression), *reasons endogenous to the education sector* (e.g. poor accommodation or other services at school, high workloads or lack of materials, lack of promotion or movement to a better school, inadequate incentives), *social* (e.g. need to further studies, fellow teachers migrating, no future for me or my children, teachers' lost dignity or respect), and *other reasons* (e.g. join spouse) (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Conceptualisation of reasons for migration or non-migration

Category	**Reasons for migration or non-migration**	
	Migration	*Non-migration*
Supply push / pull		
Economic	Inadequate salary, expensive or shortage of foodstuffs	Given adequate incentives, job security or pension schemes
Political	Violence or repression after March 2008 presidential election	Love for the country (patriotism)
Social	Need to further studies, fellow teachers migrating, no future for me or my children, teachers' lost dignity or respect	Family roles and responsibilities, want to be close to family (value of family unity), husband or relatives disapprove
Demand push / pull		
Economic	Better salaries, stable currency or economy, and jobs available	
Political	peace	Fear of violence or crime
Social	Free education, better health facilities, and proximity to home	
Endogenous push		Subject taught not in demand, a degreed teacher is required
Mitigation factors (costs of migration)		
Economic		Lack of money for travelling or processing necessary papers
Social / Network		Lack of kin or friend in diaspora, lack of information
Other reasons		
Other	Join spouse	

Source: Conceptualisation of reasons for migration or non-migration

The corresponding question for non-migrant teachers (Q3.13), which was also a multiple-response question, was derived from a disaggregation of reasons for non-migration including: *lack of networks* (e.g. lack of kin or friend in diaspora and lack of information), *costs of migration*, which included monetary costs and avoiding social costs of migration (e.g. family roles and responsibilities, want to be close to family, and love for the country), *gender* (e.g. husband or relatives disapprove), *economic benefits endogenous to the home country's education sector* (e.g. given adequate incentives, job security or pension schemes), *risk and discrimination avoidance* (e.g. fear of violence or crime), and *the host country's regulatory measures* (subject taught not in demand, a degreed teacher is required) (Table 4.2). Family roles and responsibilities could either be classified under avoiding social costs of migration or gender since this category also includes care roles, which act against female teachers' willingness to migrate.

Other researchers have also used similar conceptualisations of the major factors causing international migration, which helped inform this study. The Johannesburg survey conducted by Makina in 2007, identified three categories of reasons why Zimbabweans have left their country including: *economic* (e.g. employment), *political* (ranging from the government's violent silencing of rebels in Matebeleland in the 1980s to more recent political beatings), and *other* (e.g. family re-unification) (UNDP, 2010). The factors encouraging people to migrate can be sub-divided into demand-pull, supply-push, and network or other factors (UNDP, 2010:10) (Table 4.3). Researching on the health sector, Padarath et al (2003) focused at both origin and host country factors but further sub-divided them into those endogenous and exogenous to health.

Table 4.3 Factors that encourage people to migrate

Type of migration	***Demand-pull***	**Supply-push**	**Network / other**
Economic	Labour recruitment	Un or under-employment	Jobs and wage information flows
Non-economic	Family unification (e.g. spouses re-unite)	Flee war and persecution (e.g. displaced persons and refugees / asylum seekers)	Communication, transportation, assistance / organisations, desire for new experience or adventure

Source: UNDP (2010:10)

Migration decision making models that focus at factors influencing migration both at origin and destination areas provide a more comprehensive picture of migrants' decision making processes. One of the strengths of this thesis is its attempt at focusing at both country of origin and destination factors as well as including both migrant and non-migrant teachers in the study. For instance, the economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe (Chapter 3) should have 'pushed' the teachers into migration, but the availability of teaching jobs and better salaries should have 'pulled' them to South Africa (Chapter 1). But, beyond the 'push' and 'pull' factors in either country is the interaction of these factors with mitigation and personal factors (Fig. 4.1). It is this aspect that is sometimes missing in some of the studies that have attempted to explain migration from Zimbabwe during the crisis.

Despite the fact that most of this migration was forced by the need to look for work and support families left home (Kiwanuka and Monson, 2009), selectivity still existed especially regarding who among family members migrated, where were the migrant's best chances of getting an income including a better one, and other considerations such as who would take care of the family remaining behind. For example, a teacher's subject of specialisation, possession of a degree, or links with friends or relatives in South Africa, for instance, were likely to increase his / her likelihood to migrate and particularly to South Africa instead of other countries.

4.4 Sample design and sampling methods

Samples of Zimbabwean teachers were selected for the study both in Zimbabwe and in South Africa. The Zimbabwean sample involved 100 primary and secondary school teachers including those in government, rural or urban district council, mission (church) and private schools. Public schools, where the government of Zimbabwe is the direct employer of the teachers, include government, urban and rural district council as well as most mission schools scattered in Zimbabwe's rural areas. The sampling techniques used during fieldwork were highlighted in Chapter one. This sub-section focuses mainly on the field experiences including the challenges faced and coping strategies used in accordance with the realities faced on the ground.

Sample sizes per province and district were selected during fieldwork as detailed in Chapter one. Results of the sampling process by type of school as done during fieldwork are shown in Table 4.4. It is important to note from the table that Harare and Bulawayo are entirely urban areas and therefore the columns for rural government and mission schools have missing data for these provinces.

The researcher faced some challenges in the selection of the Zimbabwean sample during fieldwork. As discussed in Chapter one, a male and female teacher were randomly selected at each school that were identified through quota sampling. But, some of the selected teachers were reluctant to participate in the study allegedly because they were busy or the questionnaire appeared too long for them considering their time or other personal factors. These teachers were replaced by other teachers who were willing or felt solidarity with the researcher so as to complete the questionnaire. Furthermore, the researcher learnt that some senior teachers especially males tended to decline the invitation to participate in the study even after being selected. They tended to shove-off the completion of the questionnaire to the junior staff.

All these challenges resulted in a slightly larger proportion of the Zimbabwean sample being females since more females than males ended up replacing the unwilling to participate senior and male teachers. The selection of girls' only schools where lady teachers are over-represented also contributed to this effect in the sample although to a smaller extent since these schools were not many. However, this challenge and the way it was resolved actually helped to compensate for the few female teachers identified in the South African sample of migrant teachers and increased the overall proportion of female teachers when the two samples are put together. Overall, the Zimbabwean sample was representative of the teacher population mainly because of the use of stratified and simple random sampling techniques. If stratified simple random sampling was not used as it made some senior teachers feel compelled to participate, the views of junior staff could have been over-represented in the study.

Table 4.4 Results of sampling in Zimbabwe

Province	**District**	**Type of school and no. of teachers selected**					**Total**
		Rural Govt	***Rural Mission***	***Urban Low Inc***	***Urban High Inc***	***Private***	
04 Harare	04 Harare 1 (*around City Centre*)			4	4	1	**9**
	05 Harare 2 (*10-15 km from City*)			4	2	2	**8**
	Harare 3 (*More than 15km*)			6		2	**8**
05 Bulawayo	10 Bulawayo 1 (*around City Centre*)			4	4	1	**9**
	11 Bulawayo 2 (*10-15 km from City*)			4	2	2	**8**
	12 Bulawayo 3 (*More than 15km*)			6		2	**8**
06 Masvingo	07 Masvingo	4		1	1	2	**8**
	08 Chivi	7	2				**9**
	09 Bikita	6	2				**8**
07 Manicaland	01 Mutare	2	2	2	2	1	**9**
	02 Chimanimani	4	4				**8**
	03 Mutasa	4	4				**8**
Total		**27**	**14**	**31**	**15**	**13**	**100**

Source: Fieldwork sampling results

NB: The researcher used the distance from the city centre to select samples in Harare and Bulawayo. For example, while 10-15km from Harare City included suburbs like Warren Park and part of Kuwadzana, more than 15km included Chitungwiza and Glen view. Inc means income.

Table 4.5 Results of sampling in South Africa

Province	**District**	**Type of school and no. of teachers selected**					**Total**
		Rural Govt	***Rural Mission***	***Urban Low Inc***	***Urban High Inc***	***Priv-ate***	
01 Gauteng	19 Pretoria			6		5	**11**
	20 Johannesburg			6		6	**12**
	21 Soweto			6		5	**11**
02 Limpopo	13 Capricorn	4		2		5	**11**
	14 Vhembe	4		2		5	**11**
	15 Waterberg	4		2		5	**11**
03 Mpumalanga	16 Gert Sibande	4		2		5	**11**
	17 Nkangala	4		2		5	**11**
	18 Ehlanzeni	4		2		5	**11**
Total		**24**		**30**		**46**	**100**

Source: Fieldwork sampling results

In South Africa, the major sampling challenge faced that was also highlighted in Chapter one was identifying the government and private schools with Zimbabwean teachers enough to reach the sample of 100 teachers. This was not because these teachers are few in South Africa but because they are scattered in sparsely spaced provinces, districts and schools within the country. The absence of records especially lists of both government and private schools with Zimbabwean teachers from the Department of Education provincial offices, which would have formed sampling frames, resulted in the inability to use probability sampling techniques such as systematic or simple random sampling. This explains why the researcher used his knowledge about where Zimbabwean teachers could be found including private primary and secondary schools as well as snowball or referral sampling in order to identify enough teachers for the South African sample.

Table 4.5 presents the results of sampling in South Africa. It is important to note from the table that mission or church schools are regarded as private schools in South Africa unlike in Zimbabwe where they constitute public schools. In addition, most South African teachers tend to

prefer urban government schools including the high income or upper class schools where no Zimbabwean teacher was identified through referral sampling. If they exist in such schools, they are not many. This explains why the columns for rural mission and high income schools have missing data. Like in Zimbabwe, most private schools in South Africa are located in urban areas. All private schools charge higher fees than government schools, some of which are even free in South Africa. Hence, most private schools are located in urban areas where there are people who can better afford to pay high fees than those in rural areas. This meant that most Zimbabwean teachers who taught in South African government schools were located in rural areas.

4.5 Data collection and fieldwork

The data analysed in this study was basically collected through a research survey conducted between April and September 2012 in selected provinces in the two countries. The research survey involved the use of a seven-page questionnaire (Appendix 1) self-administered by both migrant and non-migrant Zimbabwean teachers since all teachers are literate. The questionnaire offered the advantages that it is inexpensive and is appropriate where literacy rates are high and respondents are co-operative (Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO)). The questionnaire primarily constituted a series of close-ended questions. That is, teachers had to select a single or multiple answers from a list provided by the researcher (Babbie, 2010:256). The researcher used the pilot survey to pre-test the questionnaire in order to make questions and answers clear and unambiguous to the respondents. One of the challenges of close-ended questions is the lack of clarity of the questions (Babbie, 2010: 256). The issue of clarity was central to the quality of the entire study particularly given that the questionnaire was self-administered by the teachers.

Another challenge of close-ended questions highlighted by Babbie (2010:257) is the risk of the researcher setting double-barrelled questions with multiple answers and yet the researcher expects a single answer. The researcher ensured that respondents were clearly directed as to which questions required single answers and those that required multiple answers. Close-ended questions were preferred over open-ended questions, which were minimally used, because of their weaknesses over their close-ended counterparts. For instance, close-ended questions provide greater uniformity of responses and therefore, are easier to process than open-ended

questions (Babbie, 2010:256). The guideline for implementing close-ended questions, which the researcher strictly adhered to, is simply ensuring that the list of answers exhausts all possible responses. The provision of a space under the Other Category assisted in the teachers expanding the list of answers to include those previously excluded. The pre-test went a long way to improve the list of possible answers as well as the overall validity of the questionnaire instrument.

On the other hand, open-ended questions were less preferred because they require coding prior to their computer-based processing (Babbie, 2010:256). Coding requires the researcher to interpret the meaning of the responses, which opens the room for misunderstanding or bias by the researcher. Using open-ended questions might have also resulted in the respondents giving answers that were irrelevant for the researcher's intent.

Feedback that was obtained from pre-testing the questionnaire assisted the researcher in restructuring it several times in order to ensure the respondents' confidentiality, guide the respondents in filling the questionnaire easily, make some unclear questions clearer, and make the questionnaire shorter by avoiding repetition in the questioning. The researcher responded to the feedback from the pre-test in several ways. A clear introduction to the study, which covered its purpose in order to gain the confidence of the respondent, was added (Appendix 1). It was necessary to guarantee the confidentiality of the respondent's information from the start since some of the questions were on political issues in Zimbabwe, which is a sensitive topic to most Zimbabweans. Confidentiality is an ethical issue in every research since the collection and use of information generated through research might intrude into other people's lives or unwillingly expose people's private lives.

In order to avoid such negative impacts on the selected teachers' lives, the researcher used the strategies suggested in Chapter one that included the identification of respondents using numbers or pseudo names rather than actual names as well as informed consent. The use of school names was likely to lead to the wrong assumption that the teachers' views represented the entire school; hence, these names were also not used. Reference is only made to the type of school and its location including whether located in an urban or rural area and the name of the district. These strategies, which ensured the confidentiality of the respondents' information, helped reduce any

chances of the data collection process negatively affecting the schools and teachers who participated in the study.

Skip rules were also added in the questionnaire for directing migrant and non-migrant teachers to their respective specific sections and the availability of such rules in the questionnaire were also highlighted in the introductory statement. An example of a question that was unclear during pre-testing but was improved after pre-testing was the first question, *country of enumeration* (Q1.1) (Appendix 2). Some teachers regarded this question as referring to where they were during the enumeration of the South African census recently held in 2011. In other words, they regarded the term 'enumeration' as used only in censuses. The question also appeared confusing since during the pre-test migrant teachers were questioned in Zimbabwe while on school holiday from their respective South African schools. Hence, this first question was changed to: c*ountry where currently teaching*.

A female migrant teacher who participated in the pre-test pilot survey suggested that some respondents, especially females, lie about their age as they want to appear younger. She argued that a categorised age variable is more likely to get honest responses than an open question where the respondents had to slot in their ages, which was used in the pre-test questionnaire instrument (Appendix 2). Age data, especially in censuses, is known to face errors such as age heaping or digit preference due to illiteracy or lying as suggested by this teacher. Hence, the age variable, as well as other variables where respondents were likely to lie such as monthly income (or salary), was categorised. This resulted in almost all of the variables being categorical or discrete with none being continuous.

As most of the respondents felt that the pre-tested questionnaire was long and took quite some time to complete, effort was made to reduce the size of the questionnaire from 8 pages in the pre-test instrument to 7 pages in the main survey instrument. Most of this reduction was effected on questions that had repetition such as those that attempted to capture the teachers' perceptions of the quality of social service delivery in three time periods that is, in the past 6 years, 3 years and current periods. The main survey instrument reduced the time periods to two that is, in the past 4 years (around 2008) and current periods in order to avoid such repetition. Major changes were

also effected on the gender section, which during pretesting was answered by both males and females and had general questions. The changes included making the section more focused on women's issues and therefore responded to by female teachers only. The researcher had to negotiate with some teachers to complete the entire questionnaire as some of them still felt that 7 pages were too many. Due to the pressures of their work, some teachers ended up reading and filling the questionnaire hurriedly, leading to the incompletion of some relevant questions. Nevertheless, such cases were not many as the teachers felt solidarity with the researcher especially when they realised that the questionnaire was for further education purposes. Zimbabweans value education and tend to support fellow Zimbabweans who are studying. For instance, a deputy-head at Warren Park High School in Harare wanted to know more about the fees structure of UNISA's post-graduate degree programmes and the researcher referred him to the university's website.

Questionnaire administration was preceded by seeking permission from the provincial offices for entry into the schools. In Zimbabwe, the provincial director's office in the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture required a written letter requesting permission to visit selected schools in the province, which had to be accompanied by an official letter from the researchers' institution. Consultation with other researchers at universities in the country revealed that this often took quite some time due to bureaucracy or red tape. The fastest method, which the researcher used, was approaching school heads directly, explain the purpose of the study to them and show them a written proof that the researcher is registered for a research degree. All heads of the selected schools approached granted the researcher permission to administer the questionnaire to their teachers and some went further to introduce the researcher and the project to their staff members as well as requesting them to co-operate. Hence, the researcher quickly and efficiently collected data in Zimbabwe and enjoyed as well as learnt from the entire process.

In South Africa, some selected teachers were found too busy to complete the questionnaire during the weekdays when they were at school. Hence, the researcher ended up leaving the questionnaires with them and made arrangements to collect the questionnaires at a later date. Some of the teachers were so much willing to help, since some of them are also studying, such that they requested more questionnaires to pass on to other fellow Zimbabwean teachers they

know or from neighbouring schools. The researcher gave such teachers only one extra questionnaire in order to avoid over-sampling from one district or province. But, this strategy assisted in replacing some questionnaires that were not fully completed or had some crucial sections of the questionnaire incomplete.

Besides using the questionnaire, data was also collected from five migrant teachers through informal interviews in which they gave their life stories narrating the circumstances surrounding their immigration to South Africa. This was a qualitative method of obtaining more information about the teachers' reasons for migration and mitigation factors. The results were used to cross-check reasons and mitigation factors obtained through the questionnaire. Three of these migrant teachers provided stories that showed the migration effects of political violence, one on the mitigation effects of gender in the migration process, and another one on the effects of incentives in retaining the teachers in Zimbabwe. The researcher, who is also a migrant teacher, provided a story on the health crisis and the role of migration. The results of these life stories are used to expand the discussion on migrant teachers' reasons for migration in Chapter five.

The final part of fieldwork in South Africa involved secondary data collection mainly in the form of circulars on the recruitment of foreign teachers from the department of education offices in the three provinces. This is because in South Africa governance is decentralised and each provincial government and its departments have their own policy. One such circular collected from the Limpopo Department of Education is shown in Appendix 4. The results of these interviews or reviews of documents are discussed together with the profiles of migrant teachers in Chapter five. In Zimbabwe, the researcher interviewed three randomly selected school heads, one per province, on the current extent of the problem involving teacher emigration as well as why other teachers have remained teaching in the home country and how the government can solve this problem (Appendix 3). The selected schools whose heads responded to the interview included a rural mission high school in Chimanimani district of Manicaland province, a low-income suburban high school in Harare, and a high-income suburban high school in Masvingo province. The results of these interviews are discussed together with the reasons for non-migration in Chapter five.

4.6 Data capturing and editing

Data that required capturing in the computer for computer-based processing was that obtained through the questionnaires. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS for windows 14.0) spreadsheet was used for both data entry and analysis. This software programme offered data manipulation procedures including selecting and analysing some data cases separate from the rest of the cases as well as computing new variables. Data was entered gradually immediately after each batch of completed questionnaires was collected. This strategy helped avoid the hiring of a data entry clerk, which would have increased the research expenses. The researcher only incurred the expenses related to the purchase of equipment including a Pentium 4 Acer Laptop and software like Microsoft Office 2007 and the SPSS package. The fact that data capturing was done by the researcher, who also designed the questionnaire and the SPSS data file, and was familiar with the nature of all variables, helped reduce data entry errors as well as time spent editing the data.

Data errors emerged starting from the collection of the data to data capturing. During data collection, the researcher improved the quality of the data through checking all questionnaires for errors encountered during the completion process. The errors faced were mainly of two types. The first type involved missing data whereby the teachers skipped some questions that they were supposed to answer. Although some questions had missing data because of hurrying during completing the questionnaire such that some instructions and skip rules were not followed, other questions were unanswered because the teachers reasoned that these questions were not relevant for them. For example, one science teacher in Limpopo province wrote on the questionnaire's social section, which asked the teachers to evaluate the quality of education, health and urban services in Zimbabwe during 2008 and currently, that: "what has this got to do with education?" After writing this statement, he left most of the questions under this section unanswered. This teacher overlooked the fact that the Zimbabwean teacher does not operate in a vacuum, instead he lives in the same community and his children have to attend the same school or health facilities as any other Zimbabwean. Hence, dissatisfaction with social services could have added the final edge in the teachers' decision to migrate.

The researcher checked the missing questions to see if they included the major determinants included in the teachers' migration decision-making model (Fig. 4.1) and if they did, the teacher was asked to kindly complete those questions. If the teacher was unavailable probably because the questionnaires were collected from one contact person at a later date, then the questionnaire was regarded as spoiled and replaced by another one. In some cases the question with missing data was related to a previous question due to consistency checks built within the questionnaire. In such cases, the researcher completed the missing question on behalf of the respondent using the respondent's similar responses to a related question.

The second type of errors encountered during data collection, which were less common, involved wrong or irrelevant answers. For instance, section four of the questionnaire, which is on gender issues and was supposed to be filled by females only, was sometimes completed by male teachers. Another example of this type of error occurred when non-migrant teachers completed the section for migrant teachers (especially questions 3.5 to 3.16) or vice versa. Editing of such questionnaires involved cancelling out the irrelevant responses leaving only relevant ones.

Errors encountered during data capturing were mainly of one type that is, entering digits above 2 for questions with two categories or codes only. This error became common because some questions with multiple answers were re-coded during the construction of the SPSS data file so that each suggested answer was treated as a single variable with two codes that is, 1 for yes and 2 for no. Hence, while a certain answer was coded 5 on the questionnaire before re-coding, it had to be re-coded with 1 or 2. The common error was that the number 5 was entered against the answer if the respondent selected it, instead of 1, which indicated yes for this answer. Such errors were identified through running the frequencies command in the SPSS programme and were then corrected accordingly. Except for these errors associated with the few multiple response questions, the rest of the questions were well pre-coded and this made data entry easier and faster as well as guaranteed the reliability of the data collected.

4.7 Statistical techniques and data analysis

Data processing was done by the computer. It involved the processing of frequencies and two-way tables (or cross-tabulations). This was done using the same SPSS for Windows package through accessing the '*analyze data'* window. The SPSS software programme was preferred because of the analysis advantages that it offered, which were specified in Section 4.6. After processing the data as instructed by the researcher, the programme produced an output file that was then printed. Data analysis involved using the printed outputs to identify common responses or trends and to display frequencies on graphs including pie charts, line and double bar graphs. These types of graphs are the most suitable for use in circumstances where categorical or discrete data is involved.

Further analysis of the two-way tables involved the use of the Pearson's Chi-square and significance tests in order to examine whether the distributions observed in the two-way tables were as a result of chance. Statisticians generally agree on a chi-square (or p-value) of 0.05 as the threshold of statistical significance. This means that a chi-square significance level less than 0.05 that is, statistically significant, indicate that the observed distributions are not as a result of chance. On the other hand, chi-square values greater than 0.05 suggest the increased likelihood of an observed distribution occurring due to chance. The accuracy of the results of chi-square significance tests depended on the categories that the researcher created for the variables especially those that were continuous. Chi-square significance tests are only suitable for categorical data and therefore continuous data such as age of the teacher had to be recoded into several categories. However, most of the continuous variables including age and salaries were categorised during the construction of the questionnaire and the researcher exercised enough caution when creating the categories such that this process had little effect on the results of chi-square significance tests. Data used to generate the Pearson's Correlation were basically nominal since the numbers assigned to the observations were simply values that could only be counted and not ranked or measured. The nominal level of measurement is considered the simplest level and the human nature of the topic under analysis warranted the use of such a level of measurement.

Analysis of qualitative data involved the identification of major themes from the life stories, interviews or documents that provided further evidence to help expound some findings of the quantitative analysis. It is worth noting that there was no separate sub-section where the findings of qualitative data were presented since only the most relevant findings were incorporated into the main quantitative analysis. For instance, circulars on the recruitment of foreign teachers obtained from the Department of Education provincial offices in South Africa helped explain why Zimbabwean teachers with certain specific characteristics were more likely to migrate to South Africa than others.

The five migrant teachers shared life stories that focused on different issues or themes. The first theme was on the ability of incentives, which are received more by teachers in private than public schools, to retain teachers in Zimbabwe. This theme was used to supplement the statistical results of the mitigation effects of school-based factors on migration. The second theme highlighted the dominance of the private sector albeit charging exorbitant fees in service delivery when the public sector had disintegrated and how this scenario reinforced the need to migrate. This theme emphasized the significant role played by migrant remittances in ensuring access to health, which was then expensive and mainly provided by the private sector. The last theme explored teachers' roles in Zimbabwean politics and how some of them ended up as victims of violence that was perpetrated by ZANU-PF supporters against the opposition party members. This theme was used in analysing the migration effects of political violence, a topic that was not easy to capture through the questionnaire.

Due to the human nature of the topic being studied, open-ended questions were also included in the questionnaire in order to gain deeper understanding of some issues such as gender and political factors. The close-ended questions only facilitated for the quantification of information where possible but they could not offer quality answers to the research questions. Teachers' responses on the political 'push' factors were grouped into themes such as freedom of expression, nature of political violence, and voting. This information was used to show how politics 'pushed' some of the teachers into migration and was supplemented by some of the migrant teachers' life stories. Generally, the results of qualitative data are integrated into the

discussion of the quantitative data analysis to create a smooth flowing presentation of results in the next chapters.

4.8 Shortcomings and errors

Errors related to data collection and capturing have already been highlighted in the previous sub-section. These errors included missing data, wrong completion involving the filling of irrelevant sections in the questionnaire, and incorrect entering of codes particularly for multiple response questions during data capturing. Further shortcomings of the fieldwork emanated from the fact that although all teachers are literate, their levels of understanding and interpreting questions are different and so are their individual qualities including patience, thoroughness and observation of details. This explains why some male teachers proceeded to complete the gender section, which was intended for females only, despite the presence of a guiding statement on the top of this section (Appendix 1). In addition to the teachers' individual differences mentioned above, the teachers also showed differences in answering the political section with some of them, especially those in Zimbabwe, tending to neglect completing this section. This occurred despite the reassuring print on the questionnaire to the effect that the teachers' information was held in confidentiality including the fact that their names were not required. Probably fear that has resulted from the institutionalised violence mentioned by Sachikonye (2011) has made most Zimbabweans including teachers develop a sense of suspicion and mistrust such that they are not ready to discuss political issues with strangers.

Common errors associated with quantitative research methods such as those that arise from the selection of a few people to represent a larger population are inevitable. One such error is the standard error, which indicates the extent to which the sample estimates are distributed around the true value (or the population parameter) (Babbie, 2010). The standard error is a function of the sample size such that as the sample size increases, the standard error decreases. The rule of thumb often used by statisticians is that the sample size should be at least 5% or more of the population size in order to reduce the standard errors as well as making the sample more representative of the population. The fact that the exact population of Zimbabwean teachers in South Africa was not known made it almost impossible to select the recommended sample size,

which forms at least five percent of the population. But, going by the estimates of Zimbabwean teachers in South Africa for example 3,796 provided by News24 on 26 July 2006, the sample size of 100 Zimbabwean teachers selected in South Africa is statistically reasonable so as to generalise the findings of this study to all Zimbabwean teachers in South Africa. In addition, Babbie (2010:207) concluded that the population size is almost always irrelevant in determining the sample size and accuracy of estimates. The extent to which the results could be generalised to all teachers in South Africa also depended on the sincerity and honesty of the teachers' responses to the questionnaire since the study depended on their perceptions, which are subjective.

The sampling strategies used in this study attempted to reduce errors such as the standard error. Statistically, homogenous samples are known to produce lower sampling errors than heterogeneous samples (ibid:206). The study deals only with teachers, which is a homogenous group. In addition, the selection of stratified samples involving a male and female teacher per school particularly in the Zimbabwean sample helped create homogenous subsets of males and females with heterogeneity between the subsets. This strategy helped reduce sampling errors since stratification especially according to class or gender is known to reduce sampling errors to zero (ibid:215). Stratification according to gender provided added advantages including selecting the appropriate number of male and female teachers for the study as well as creating subsets homogenous in other variables such as subject of specialisation, which is selective according to gender. There is a history in Zimbabwe of females not willing to take subjects that are perceived as difficult and for males such as mathematics and science (Gordon, 1998).

4.9 Chapter conclusion

The chapter defined the variables used in the research and also provided the research design. The dependent variable, *the country where currently teaching*, helped categorise the teachers into migrants and non-migrants. The selection of the determinants was informed by theory and literature discussed in Chapter 2. The determinants of international migration are conceptualised as sub-divided into demand-pull, mitigation, and supply-push factors and a similar framework is used in the presentation of field results in Chapters 7 and 8. However, the difference between factors involved in decision-making when migration is voluntary and involuntary is blurred in

the case of the Zimbabwean teachers. This is because as argued in the next chapters, both wage differentials and the crisis contributed to the migration of the Zimbabwean teachers to South Africa. In addition, the range of factors that compelled the teachers to leave Zimbabwe for South Africa is very broad including economic, social and political. The diversity of factors that 'pushed' Zimbabweans into migration suggests the need for a modern conceptualisation of involuntary migration that does not only involve refugee movements caused by wars, political terror or ecological disasters, but also the search for jobs elsewhere due to discontentment with human rights abuses at home, lack of freedom of expressions, a sense of insecurity and several other 'push' factors. The next three chapters present and discuss the results of an analysis of associations between the dependent variable and each determinant using two-way tables and chi-square tests.

CHAPTER V

SAMPLE PROFILES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first in a series of three chapters that present, analyse, and discuss the fieldwork findings. Initially, it discusses the samples of migrants and non-migrants together in order to facilitate for comparison. Later on, the discussion is more focused on migrant teachers alone. Based on the results presented in this chapter, the researcher starts to make inferences with regard to migration selectivity. Analysis of the data presented and discussed in this chapter is mainly done using frequency tables, pie charts and bar graphs.

The next chapters, 7 and 8, present and discuss the results of associations between migration to South Africa and the determinants. While Chapter 7 focuses on demand-pull and mitigation factors, Chapter 8 dwells on supply-push factors that are further sub-divided into social, economic and political factors as well as reasons for migration or non-migration. Analysis of the data presented in Chapters 7 and 8 involved two-way tables (cross-tabulations) and chi-square significance tests to assess whether an association existed between the determinants and the dependent variable, immigration (migration or non-migration) to South Africa. This constituted the major data analysis strategy. Results of analysis of data collected using the qualitative research design such as migrants' life stories, department of education circulars and interviews with school heads were incorporated into the major data analysis strategy in order to provide more evidence or expand the major findings. Some results of statistical analysis were not displayed in this presentation of results as this helped reduce the overall length of the thesis. These additional results were attached as appendices.

5.2 Personal characteristics of migrant and non-migrant teachers

Results that were statistically significant ($P(\text{test statistic}) < 0.05$) indicated the existence of an association between age of the teacher and immigration to South Africa. Most of the non-migrant

teachers were aged between 35-39 years old (28%) (Fig. 5.1). The age group with the second largest percentage among non-migrant teachers was 30-34 years old. In other words, most non-migrant teachers were aged between 30 and 39 years old. On the other hand, the 35-39 years age group also constituted the modal class (32%) of the migrant teachers but the second largest percentage was found among the 40-44 years age group (Fig. 5.1). These results meant that most migrant teachers were aged between 35 and 44 years old. Based on these findings, migrant teachers were slightly older than non-migrant teachers. Generally, the age data for migrant teachers formed a normal distribution with both ages younger than 30 years and more than 49 years having the least percentages of migrant teachers. The age distribution of non-migrant teachers indicated an unexpected trough among the 40 to 44 years age group, which further explained the migration of teachers around this age group. Teachers aged fifty years or above constituted a higher percentage among non-migrants than migrants. Teachers in this age group are approaching retirement age and therefore are motivated to settle down at home.

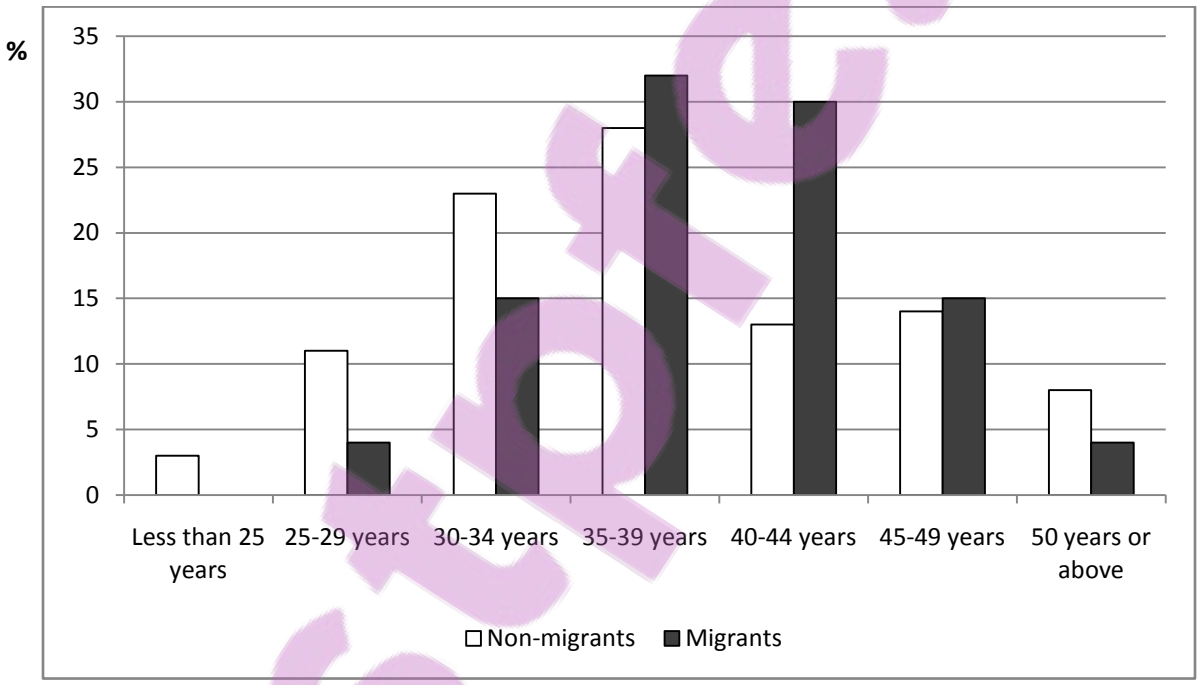

Fig. 5.1 Ages of the teachers

Source: Survey results

Years of experience as a teacher are usually positively associated with the age of the teacher. Results that were highly significant ($P<0.01$) indicated a strong association between years of experience and immigration to South Africa. The majority (35%) of non-migrant teachers had

between 11 and 15 years of teaching experience (Fig. 5.2). When the age group with the second highest percentage was taken into consideration, most non-migrant teachers had between 1 and 15 years of teaching experience. While most migrant teachers also had between 11 and 15 years (41%) of teaching experience, their second highest percentage had between 16 and 20 years of experience (Fig. 5.2). These results indicated that most migrant teachers had between 11 and 20 years of teaching experience. Migrant teachers were older as well as had more teaching experience than non-migrant teachers. Other researchers such as Mushonga (2007) have argued that the migration of teachers has robbed Zimbabwe of high quality and more experienced teachers necessary for the country's development. These findings provided more weight to such arguments.

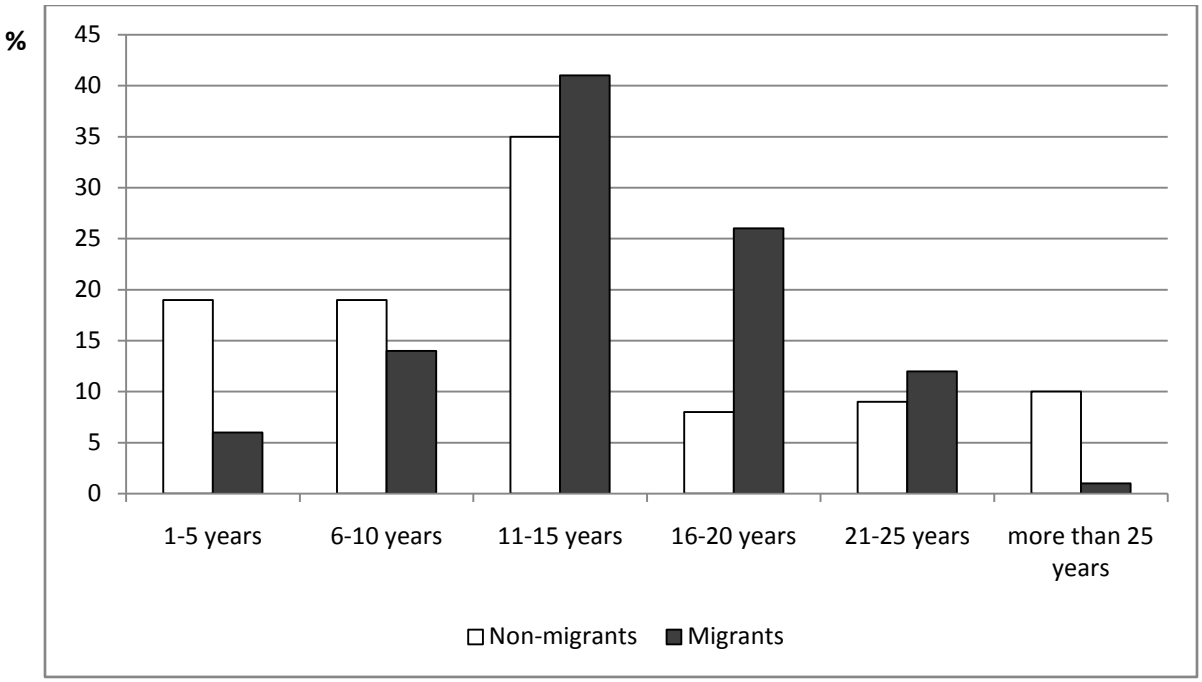

Fig. 5.2 Work experience of the teachers

Source: Survey results

The quality of teachers is further indicated by the levels of professional qualification. Highly significant results ($P<0.01$) again indicated the existence of an association between professional qualification and immigration to South Africa. Most migrant teachers possessed teaching degrees (65%). On the other hand, 32% of non-migrant teachers, which was the second majority, possessed a teaching degree (Fig. 5.3). Instead, half of the non-migrant teachers were diploma holders. In addition to possessing a degree, 16% of migrant teachers and 7% of non-migrant

teachers had Master's degrees (Appendix 5.1). Migrant teachers were more qualified than non-migrant teachers. Consistent with the finding on years of experience, teacher migration has robbed Zimbabwe of the better qualified and therefore, higher quality teachers. The situation appeared worse when viewed from the perspective of other researchers' findings, which indicated that the quality of Zimbabwe's education has depended to a large extent on the quality of teachers, supplemented to a lesser extent by textbooks (UNESCO, 2000; Kusereka, 2009).

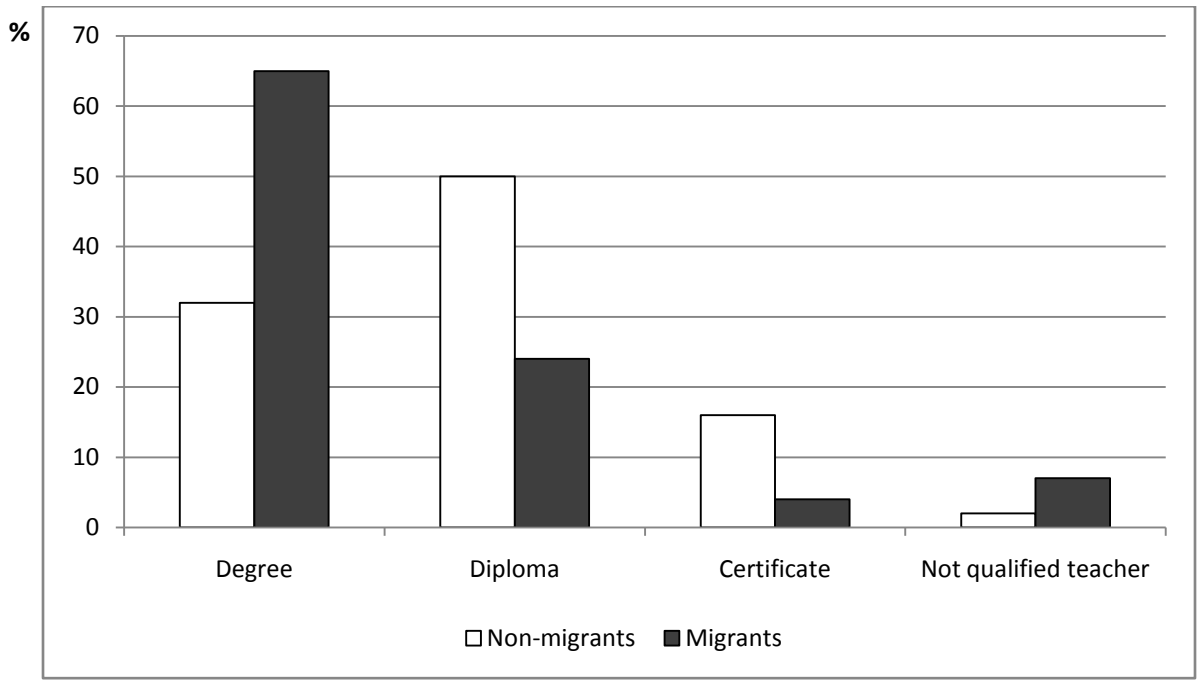

Fig. 5.3 Professional qualifications of the teachers

Source: Survey results

A highly significant association ($P<0.01$) also existed between subject of specialisation and immigration to South Africa. Most of the migrant teachers were specialised mathematics or science teachers (62%) (Fig. 5.4). But, the majority (54%) of non-migrant teachers were specialised in teaching languages or the arts, which included English, Shona, History, Religious Education (or Bible Knowledge). At most schools these subjects are compulsory and sometimes regarded by students as less difficult subjects and therefore, were expected to have the larger proportion of both students and teachers. Migration to South Africa selectively preferred teachers with skills considered rare in South Africa that is, mathematics and science teachers. Most of the migrant teachers that were not specialised in mathematics and science were found in private schools. This meant that Zimbabwe did not only lose more experienced and qualified teachers

but also teachers with skills most demanded in richer countries. Other studies have found that richer countries both in the South and North are facing shortages of teachers specialised in mathematics and science as their citizens with these qualifications are shunning the teaching profession for the more paying private sector (Daily Enquirer, 26 June 2009; Government of South Africa, 2006). Zimbabwean teachers with mathematics or science were partly lucky that a gap occurred in the South African education system precisely during the same time when Zimbabwe was experiencing the peak of her crisis.

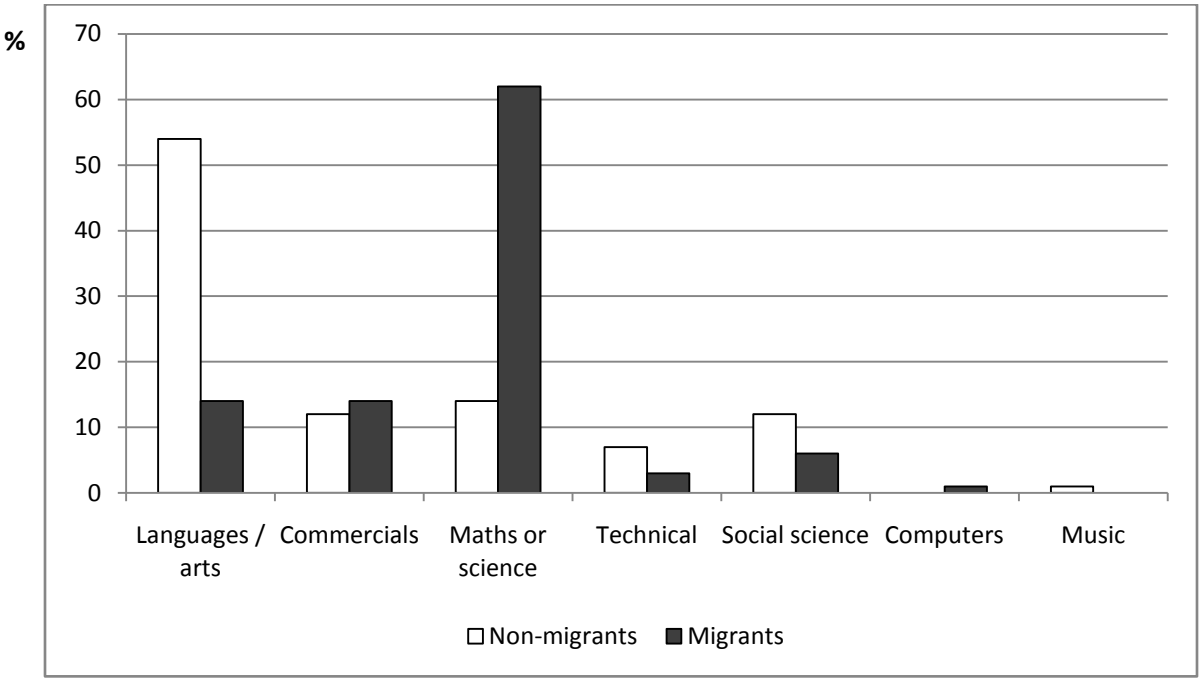

Fig. 5.4 Subjects of specialisation of the teachers

Source: Survey results

The immigration of Zimbabwean teachers to South Africa was also significantly selective according to gender ($P<0.01$). Despite the use of snowball sampling in order to locate more female Zimbabwean teachers in South Africa, almost four-fifth of the migrant teachers were males (79%) (Fig. 5.5). Females slightly outnumbered males among the non-migrant teachers (60% compared with 40%) mainly because of female teachers' willingness to participate in the study especially where some selected senior males denied participation in the study as well as the inclusion of girls' only schools where female teachers were over-represented. Although unintended, this increased the overall proportion of females when the two samples were put together.

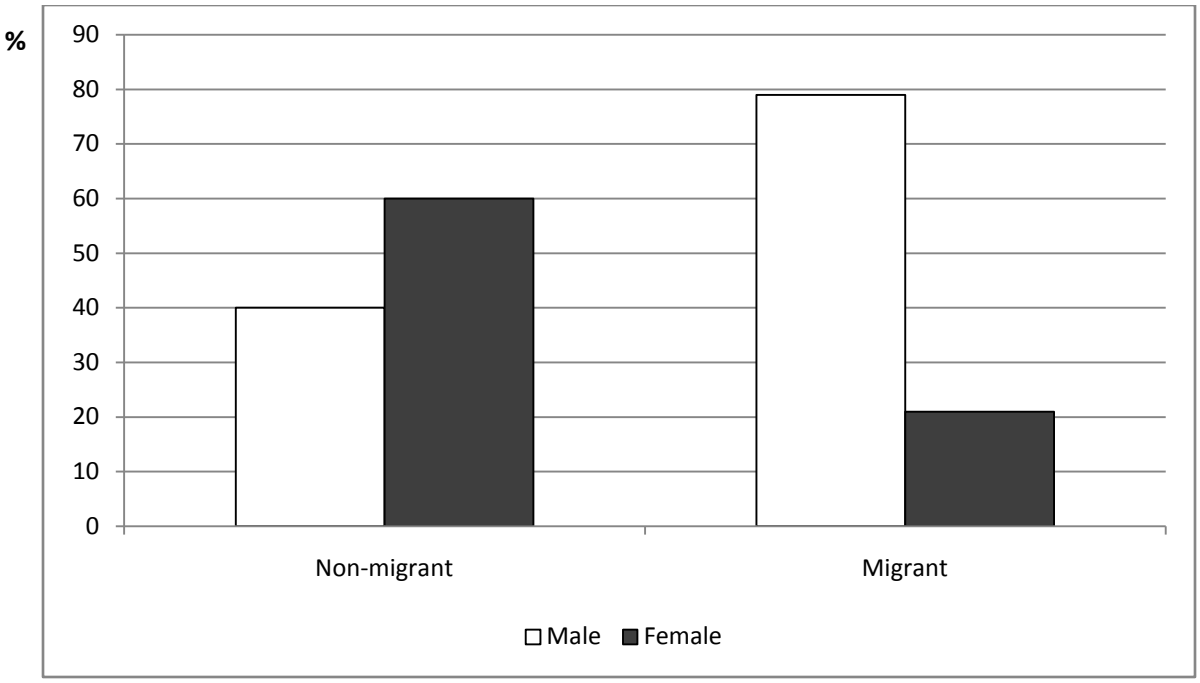

Fig. 5.5 Sex of the teachers

Source: Survey results

The fact that females constituted about one-fifth of migrant teachers can be explained partly by the differences in subject specialisation between the two genders. Highly significant results indicated an association between sex of the teacher and subject specialisation. Female teachers made up one-fifth of all the teachers specialised in mathematics and science when both migrants and non-migrants were put together (Fig. 5.6). But, a larger percentage of female teachers was specialised in languages and art subjects. Female teachers were less represented among migrant teachers partly because they were less specialised in mathematics and science subjects, which are mainly on demand in the South Africa education system. Other researchers have found that Zimbabwean females have a history of not willing to take subjects that are perceived as difficult and for males such as mathematics and science (Gordon, 1998).

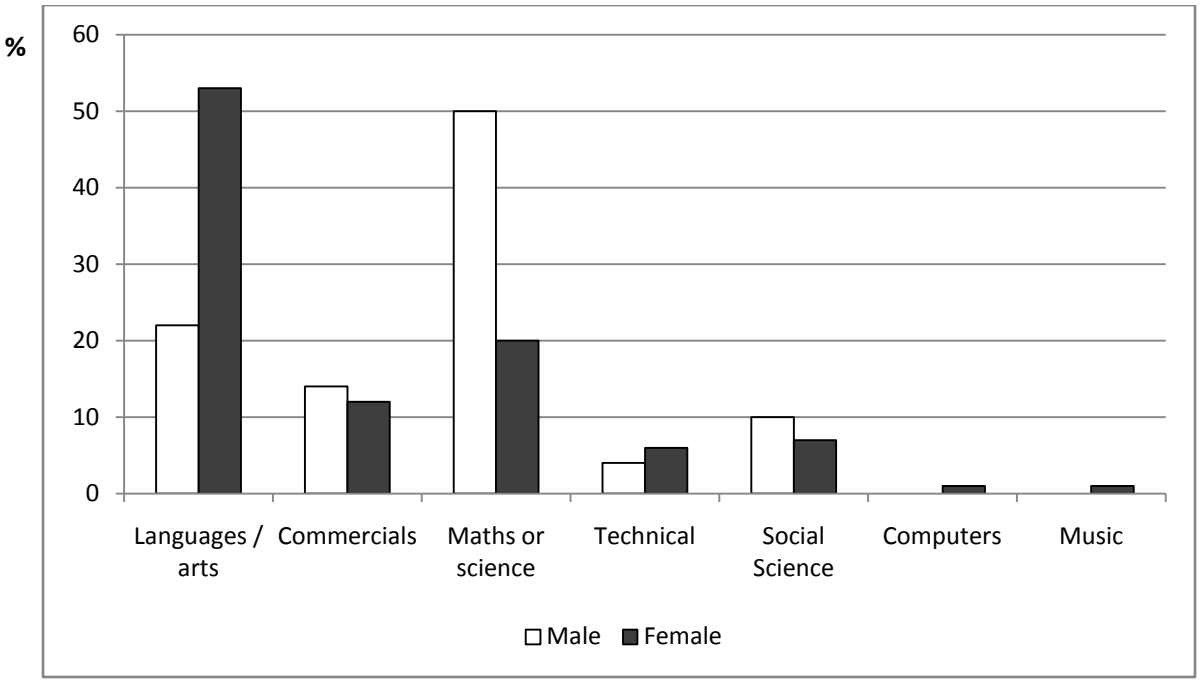

Fig. 5.6 Subject of specialisation by sex of teacher

Source: Survey results

A significant statistic also revealed the existence of an association between marital status and immigration to South Africa. Almost nine-tenth of migrant and four-fifth of non-migrant teachers were married (Table 5.1). On the other hand, 14% of non-migrant and 5% of migrant teachers were never married. The immigration of teachers to South Africa was associated with married people who had families to support. Further analysis related to the whereabouts of the teachers' spouses, which was also statistically significant, indicated that while 80% of non-migrant teachers had been living continuously with their spouses for the previous six months to the date of completing the questionnaire, only one-fifth of migrants lived with spouses (Table 5.1). Considering migrants only, a larger proportion of male and half of female teachers did not live with spouses (Appendix 5.2).

Table 5.1 Other personal characteristics of the teachers (N=200)

Characteristic	Non-migrants (%)	Migrants (%)
*Marital status**		
Never married	14	5
Married	79	89
Widowed	7	1
Divorced	0	5
*Whether living with spouse**		
Yes	80	20
No	35	65
*Where spouse usually live***		
South Africa	34	4
Zimbabwe – rural area	33	26
Zimbabwe – urban area	20	68
Other country	13	2
Occupation of spouse		
Unemployed /at home	13	18
Professional	57	65
Skilled worker	12	0
General worker	3	5
Self-employed	9	8
Operate business / project	3	3
Student	3	1
Ethnicity		
Ndebele	12	4
Zezuru	9	22
Karanga	50	44
Manyika /Ndau	28	23
Other	1	7

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level ($P<0.05$) ** Significant at 1% level ($P<0.01$)

These findings illustrated that the migration of Zimbabwean teachers to South Africa, which is typical of labour migration, involved the migrant alone leaving the country in search of wage labour while the rest of the family remained behind. The only difference is that while labour migration in the old times used to involve men leaving wives behind, the migration involving teachers was also characterised by women leaving husbands in search of wage labour. Other related findings included the observation that some of the non-migrant females had spouses working in South Africa and that the spouses of most of the migrant teachers lived in Zimbabwe in an urban area (Table 5.1).

Further analysis of married teachers whose result was insignificant ($P>0.05$) revealed that majorities of both migrant and non-migrant teachers were married to professional spouses such as teachers, nurses or others (Table 5.1). Hence, the fact that the spouses were also working professionals in Zimbabwe partly explains why most of the migrants lived alone in South Africa. Tentatively, this could imply that migrant families shared their risks such that when one spouse moved out in search of teaching jobs outside Zimbabwe the other remained earning an income, although meagre, to sustain the family. Although teachers' and other civil servants' salaries are still low in Zimbabwe (News24, 10 January 2012), couples having both partners working were better placed economically than couples with one partner working. The other reason for these living arrangements, which is based on the Grape Vine, is that most teachers view the quality of education offered in South Africa as poor and the behaviour of youths as unbecoming. Most teachers prefer having their children study in Zimbabwe and this means that one of the spouses, usually the wife, is compelled to remain behind with the children unless they are sent to boarding schools.

Insignificant results, which suggested that the observed distributions could be due to chance, indicated that half of the non-migrant and 44% of the migrant teachers belonged to the Karanga ethnic group that occupies most of Masvingo province located in the south of the country (Table 5.1). This was probably because Karanga teachers were also found in other provinces including Manicaland, Harare and Bulawayo. The greater part of Masvingo province is not suitable for crop production, which explains why it is a major exporter of its citizens both internally and

internationally. For example, among the non-migrant teachers studied in Harare, 64% of them were Karanga, originally from Masvingo province.

5.3 Migrant teachers in South Africa

The highest proportion (36%) of the migrant teachers arrived in South Africa in 2008, which coincided with the peak of the Zimbabwean crisis namely: the highest inflation rate ever that reached 231 million percent by July 2008 (Chagonda, 2010:4), political violence, which mainly affected rural teachers, and the longest teacher strike that saw the collapse of the Zimbabwean education system around the end of 2008. The year before 2008 as well as the other year after also witnessed high influxes of the teachers (Fig. 5.7). As a result, most of the Zimbabwean teachers arrived in South Africa between 2007 and 2009. The South African government's official recruitment of specialised Zimbabwean mathematics and science teachers around the same period partly contributed to the influxes of Zimbabwean teachers between 2007 and 2009. This implies that the immigration of Zimbabwean teachers to South Africa significantly peaked between 2007 and 2009 in consistence with the peak of the Zimbabwean crisis and then declined thereafter. The three school heads who were interviewed in Zimbabwe all agreed that the emigration of teachers is no longer a major problem at their schools in the current period, 2012.

On the other hand, the payment of Zimbabwean teachers' salaries or allowances in US dollars as well as the official adoption of multiple currencies in the Zimbabwean economy around 2009 helps explain the decline in the teacher exodus after 2009, particularly to South Africa. This finding gave more support to Chagonda's (2010) observation that the payment of the teachers in foreign currency was indeed influential in retaining some teachers and making most of them to go back to the classroom in 2009.

On arrival in South Africa, more than half of the migrant teachers were accommodated by friends (41%) (Table 5.2). Since the crisis has occurred over an extended period, friends, most of who were also teachers that immigrated earlier, facilitated the relocation of the migrant teachers through providing initial accommodation. Besides friends, extended family members especially uncles, aunts and cousins some of who had relocated to South Africa a long time ago also

assisted the teachers with initial accommodation as mentioned by 24% of the migrant teachers. Immediate family members such as brothers and sisters provided accommodation for 18% of the migrant teachers. Immediate and extended family members together provided accommodation for 42% of the migrants, which was not much different from the percentage provided by friends. Negligible proportions of the migrant teachers rented their own accommodation or joined spouses. Hence, networking with relatives or friends in diaspora helped facilitate the relocation of these teachers to South Africa. Without such networks, some of these teachers would not have migrated.

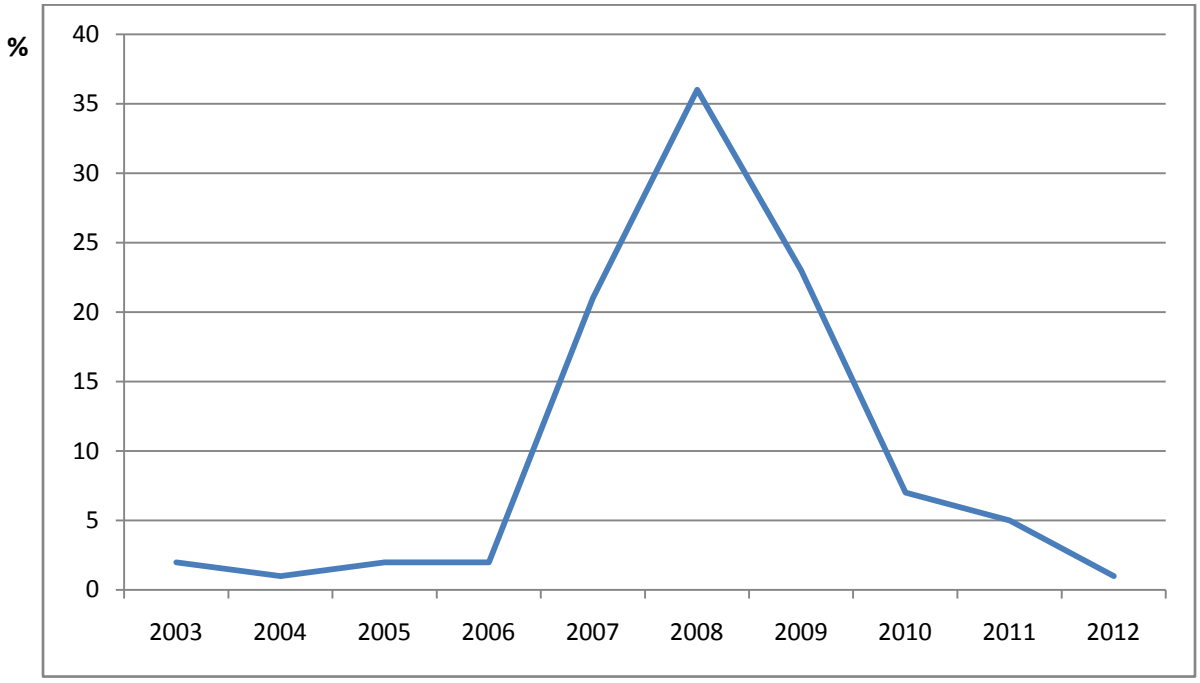

Fig. 5.7 Year arrived in South Africa

Source: Survey results

Responses to a related question, which enquired if initial accommodation was a challenge to the migrant teachers or would be a challenge to the non-migrant teachers if they were to migrate, further supported the importance of networks in the migration process. While 42% of non-migrant teachers mentioned initial accommodation as a serious challenge if they were to migrate, only 24% of the migrant teachers reported considering accommodation as a serious challenge during their immigration to South Africa (Fig. 5.15). The presence of relatives or friends in South Africa significantly made initial accommodation a trivial issue during the migrant teachers' decisions to migrate.

Table 5.2 Profiles of migrant teachers (N=100)

Profile	**%**
Who provided initial accommodation	
Immediate family member (mother, sister or brother)	18
Extended family member (uncle, aunt or cousin)	24
Friends	41
Rented accommodation	10
Joined spouse	7
Current salary	
R0-5000	12
R5,001-10,000	17
R10,001-15,000	20
R15,001-20,000	51
Type of job taken on arrival in South Africa	
General work e.g. vending	13
Teaching at private school	48
Teaching at government school	21
Semi-skilled job e.g. construction	14
Cross-border trade	4

Source: Survey results

When they arrived in South Africa, nearly half of the teachers joined private schools (48%). Another significant proportion (27%) of the migrant teachers started off working in non-teaching jobs including general work such as vending and semi-skilled jobs like in construction. Further analysis revealed that the majority of those who engaged in non-teaching activities on arrival in South Africa were those who arrived between 2007 and 2008. On the contrary, all the migrant teachers who joined government schools on arrival were those who arrived in South Africa starting from 2009 onwards. The delayed official recruitment of Zimbabwean teachers into South African government schools contributed to this pattern since teachers who arrived before or around 2008 were forced to engage in non-teaching jobs or teaching in private schools in order to survive.

Among the sample of migrant teachers, those currently teaching in government schools were slightly more than those in private schools (60% compared to 40%). Half of the migrant teachers earned between 15,001 and 20,000 South African Rands (equivalent to between 1,765 and 2,353 US dollars at a conversion rate of One US dollar = R8.50) (Table 5.2). Most of the teachers in government schools belonged to this top income bracket (Fig. 5.8). Hence, government schools paid better salaries than most private schools. On the other hand, 30% of teachers in private schools were in the lowest income bracket (R0 to R5,000, which was equivalent to between nothing and 588 US dollars). In fact, most teachers in private schools earned salaries that were up to R10,000. Salaries earned in private schools were double or more than double the current salaries for the teachers who remained in Zimbabwe that have remained at around300 US dollars on average (Independent Online 12 January 2012). For some of the few migrant teachers who earned a maximum of R5,000 per month only, immigration to South Africa was more about living together with the spouse or being able to budget the salary because of a more stable economic environment rather than a huge wage gap.

The wage gap between teachers in private and those in government schools has made some teachers who started off in private schools to move to better paying government schools. For instance, 44% of the migrant teachers who joined private schools on arrival in South Africa have moved to government schools (Appendix 5.3). Other teachers including those teaching mathematics and science subjects have remained in the private sector as they found slight or no differences between their salaries and those earned in government schools. For some of these teachers, entry into government schools was almost impossible simply because of their subject specialisations, which excluded mathematics and science. While most of the teachers at government schools were mathematics or science specialised teachers except for a few at quasi-government (*Dena lade*) schools, there was more variability in subject specialisation among private school teachers (Appendix 5.4).

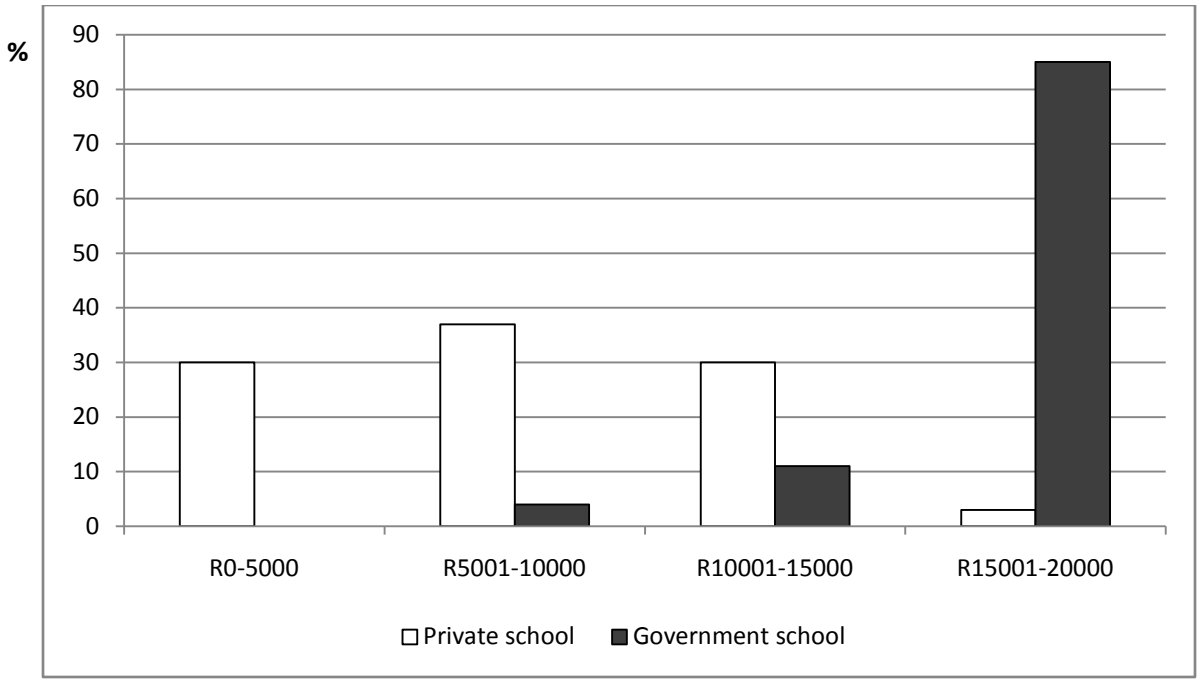

Fig. 5.8 Teacher's salaries in private and government schools in South Africa

Source: Survey results

There was more variability in salaries for teachers in private schools than those in government schools. This variability was explained by the observation that salaries in the private schools were negotiated at individual levels rather than through collective bargaining. A government school teacher in Limpopo province, who initially taught at a private school in Gauteng province on arrival in South Africa in 2007, explained the existence of significant differences in salaries among teachers at the same private school. This teacher, called Mr. S, is in the early forties and specialised in mathematics and science. He approached a private school in Johannesburg in early 2007 and was offered a place to teach for R3,800 per month. Unsatisfied by this offer at school A, he tried his luck at another private school (B) in the same area, which offered him R4,900 per month. But, for other reasons, he preferred working at school A. Equipped with this better figure, he went back to school A and bargained for the same figure offered by school B. School A consented to the new figure, R4,900, and he started working.

Later on, Mr. S regretted having negotiated for R4,900 instead of a higher figure like R6,000. This is because as he learnt later from a Zimbabwean colleague at the same school some teachers at School A were earning salaries as high as R9,000, which was equivalent to salaries earned in

government schools at that time, depending on their negotiations with the school. Unhappy with the salary that he negotiated for, Mr. S only taught for a few months and went job searching in the public sector. “My work permit just became ready around that time and I was offered a place to teach at a government school in Limpopo province”. The private school did not use a uniform rate for all teachers or a sliding scale probably because of the incentive to cut expenses as well as maximise profits. This is because private schools are run on strict business principles and not on social justice and redistribution principles as are government schools. This story by Mr. S also highlighted the fact that many Zimbabwean teachers worked in private schools without work permits and sometimes without passports too, which also explains why private schools were the first employers of most of the migrant teachers.

Besides demanding work permits before one could teach, most government schools now require degreed teachers in most provinces including Limpopo, Mpumalanga and Gauteng. Teachers with Diplomas were among some of those first employed in government schools when the government of South Africa started recruiting officially Zimbabwean mathematics and science teachers around 2007 and 2008. But, as the supply of Zimbabwean teachers increased with the worsening of the crisis at home, most provincial governments shifted their recruitment policies so as to employ the best qualified and experienced teachers. For instance, Circular No. 166 of 2012 produced by the Limpopo Provincial Education Government (Appendix 4) clearly stated that teachers with Diplomas plus 120 or more credits and those with Relative Education Qualification Value (REQV) 13 (professionally unqualified) would not be re-appointed in 2013. The Limpopo Department of Education issued a similar circular notifying the non-appointment of Diploma holders among foreign teachers at the end of 2009 for the 2010 school year. Other provinces including Mpumalanga followed suit.

This resulted in some Diploma holders leaving the province for other provinces where Diploma holders were accepted or they enrolled for teaching degrees in order to remain teaching in the same province or in South Africa. Other Zimbabwean teachers with Diplomas including in mathematics or science returned home and some non-migrant teachers who wished to migrate to South Africa postponed their immigration. Most Zimbabwean teachers hold Diplomas from several teaching colleges in the country and this was reflected in the sample of non-migrant

teachers where half of the teachers had Diplomas in Education (Fig. 5.3). Hence, Circular 166/2012 was a follow up policy shift aimed at screening out those foreign teachers with Diplomas who had enrolled for teaching degrees but have not completed their programmes. In addition, there are some foreign teachers who studied mathematics or science at university who are teaching without teaching qualifications and these are evaluated by the Department of Education as REQV 13 that is, professionally unqualified. They earn about R3,000 less than qualified teachers (or REQV 14), whose salaries are in the top income bracket (R15,001 to 20,000). The recruitment policy shifts towards degreed and then qualified teachers only by the Department of Education should have helped to reduce the rate of Zimbabwean teacher exodus to South Africa.

Circular 166/2012 also highlights the minimum entry requirements for foreign teachers in South Africa, which is a Bachelor's degree plus teaching qualification or a composite Bachelor's degree. It also highlights the fact that foreign teachers are engaged by the Limpopo Department of Education (LDE) on annually renewable contracts, which is the same in Mpumalanga and Gauteng. The contracts are renewed on the basis that school authorities notify the districts as to whether the services of the foreign teachers are still required or not. Although not stated explicitly to the foreign teachers, annual renewal of their contracts is actually based on their performance and compliance. Principals and school governing boards (SGBs) have the discretion to renew or not renew a foreign teachers' contract depending on their evaluation of the teacher's performance including results of learners, normal or extra lesson attendance, and compliance to school rules and authority as well as other orders from above. Informal discussions with several Zimbabwean teachers in Limpopo revealed that many of them are not happy with contracts that are renewed on yearly basis. This is because such contracts make them illegible for certain privileges enjoyed by their South Africa colleagues including accessing bank loans, hire purchases and car loans. Furthermore, preparing new contracts and re-appointing all foreign teachers annually gives more administrative work to the Department of Education, which often resulted in delays of between 1 to 3 or more months in the payment of foreign teachers' salaries especially during the first few months of each new year (Appendix 4).

Besides the above mentioned effects, the annual contracts together with the wage gap between private and government schools have led to a lot of internal movements involving the Zimbabwean teachers moving from one school to another. For instance, 44% of the migrant teachers who taught at private schools on arrival in South Africa were currently teaching at government secondary schools in 2012 (Appendix 5.3). Most teachers whose contracts have failed to be renewed at some government schools have not returned home but have looked for and been appointed to teach at other government schools. This has been facilitated by the fact that their work permits, which are for five-year periods, would be still valid as well as that they are already in the government's employee database system called *Persal*. Former employees who already have a *Persal Number*, which is used for processing salaries, are often given first preference when they look for a new school to teach as their re-engagement means less administrative work for the Department of Education. Nevertheless, the fact that most of the Zimbabwean teachers whose contracts have been terminated at some government schools went on to look for vacancies at other government schools including in other provinces meant that these teachers were still satisfied with teaching in South Africa and unwilling to return home.

Almost half of the migrant teachers were satisfied with teaching in South Africa and the other half were unsatisfied (Fig. 5.9). Those who were satisfied mentioned that this was because the salaries they get in South Africa are better than those earned by teachers in Zimbabwe. The salary earned in South Africa "allows me to do projects at home; I can budget the current salary; and I made progress on my social status". Although some of the working conditions were undesirable, most of the satisfied teachers were of the opinion that these negative aspects were less important than earning a salary, which is better as compared to the one earned in Zimbabwe. In addition, most of them were coping with the challenges they faced in South Africa. "Even though the workload is too much, the salary is better; money is the answer for all problems; salaries encourage us to work; and I now have good rapport with learners". These were some of the views of the satisfied migrant teachers.

On the other hand, the migrant teachers who were unsatisfied with teaching in South Africa mentioned several negative aspects associated with the South African education system including: "poor working conditions; poor curriculum design or confused education system;

learner indiscipline and poor results; too much workload especially on foreigners as we are expected to work longer hours than our South African colleagues; no pensions, job security and our future is not known; and salaries still inadequate for our needs". In summary, the unsatisfied teachers were of the opinion that they are 'treated as second class citizens'. Other researchers have argued that immigrants often have to deal with negative consequences since the benefits derived from immigration should outweigh the costs for the immigrant to stay (Padarath et al, 2003).

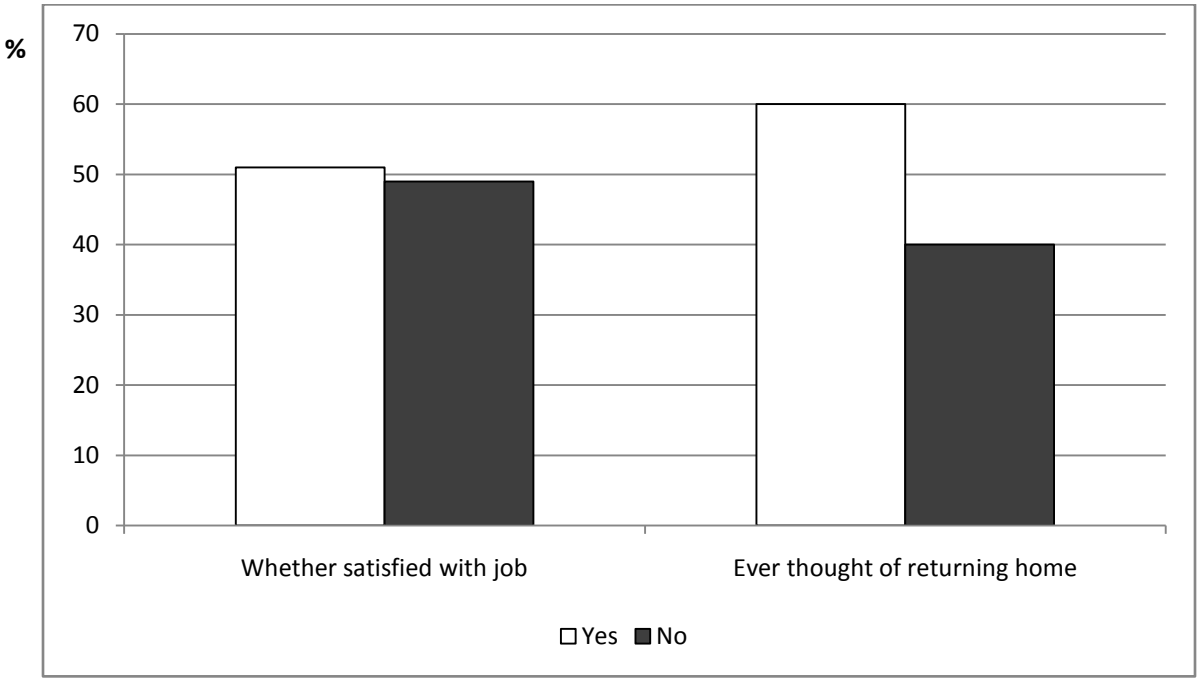

Fig. 5.9 Migrant teachers' job satisfaction and migration plans

Source: Survey results

About two-fifth of the migrant teachers have never thought about returning home. But, the highest proportion (60%) had thought about returning to Zimbabwe (Fig. 5.9). Only a fifth of the migrant teachers have seriously thought about relocating to Zimbabwe. This means that most of the migrant teachers have not given the idea of returning to Zimbabwe a serious thought. They were still satisfied by the South African salaries, which they believe are still better than those currently earned in Zimbabwe. This is why migrant teachers whose contracts were not renewed by some government schools chose to look for vacancies at other schools or provinces instead of going back home. As highlighted under the determinants, South African teacher salaries are four or five times more than those currently earned by teachers in Zimbabwe especially those in the

more lucrative government schools. But, many migrant teachers exaggerated this wage gap as they indicated that South African teachers earn ten times more than teachers in Zimbabwe. However, the majority of the migrant teachers correctly mentioned that Zimbabwean teachers earned between four and five times more in South Africa. This wage gap, which was also cited by some of the migrant teachers ("salary still low in Zimbabwe"), helped retain migrant teachers, who were more qualified and experienced than their non-migrant counterparts, in South Africa.

Despite the wage gap, some migrant teachers did not wish to go back home because the economy is still poorly managed and the political environment is not yet stable. What mainly made some of the migrant teachers think about returning home, although less seriously, was the desire to reunite with and be close to families. Hence, some of the migrant teachers were in a dilemma since they were motivated to stay by the better salaries but had to deal with absence from the family as well as the challenges of the host country's education system.

5.4 Chapter conclusion

The chapter highlighted the selectivity of teacher migration to South Africa. Most migrant teachers, unlike their non-migrant counterparts, were middle-aged males who possessed degrees in education, specialised in teaching mathematics or science, and highly experienced. This indicated a significant brain drain to Zimbabwe with huge development repercussions. The chapter also confirmed the existence of gender disparities in the choice of subjects in Zimbabwe since more males than females were specialised mathematics and science teachers. Results also suggested that most of the teachers were 'pushed' into migration to South Africa by the need to survive the crisis at home, which reached its peak around 2008. Better salaries offered in South African government schools attracted those teachers who arrived after 2008. The existence of growing communities of Zimbabweans in South Africa also facilitated their relocation since most of the teachers were accommodated by friends or relatives on arrival. Despite facing challenges related to the work environment, most of the teachers remain in South Africa because of higher salaries as compared to those currently earned by teachers in Zimbabwe and unfinished reforms. The next chapters present and discuss the results of the effects of the determinants on immigration to South Africa starting with the demand-pull and mitigation factors.

CHAPTER VI

DEMAND-PULL AND MITIGATION FACTORS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the effects of demand-pull and mitigation factors on the teachers' immigration to South Africa. These two groups of factors were discussed together in order to show whether non-migrants were also attracted by teaching in South Africa and if so, why they remained behind. The effect of factors that were likely to repel the teachers' migration to South Africa and their net-effects when considered together with demand-pull factors is also discussed in this chapter. The mitigation factors included in the analysis and discussion of results were gender, gender, network factors, costs of migration, and school-based factors.

6.2 Demand-pull factors

Demand-pull factors referred to the aspects of the host country, in this case South Africa, which attracted the migrant teachers or would attract non-migrant teachers to South Africa. For both migrant and non-migrant teachers, South Africa's major attraction was better wages (83% and 72%, respectively) (Fig. 6.1). This result was consistent and further supported the previous finding that a high wage gap between teachers' salaries in Zimbabwe and those earned by South African teachers attracted as well as retained Zimbabwean teachers in South Africa. This means that Zimbabwean teachers were attracted to South Africa by greener economic pastures. Other economic demand-pull factors including stable currency and the availability of jobs received the second and third highest percentages both among non- and migrant teachers. Better health facilities in South Africa attracted 47% of the non-migrants as compared to 29% of migrant teachers. This result suggested that non-migrant teachers were more attracted by social factors such as better health facilities in South Africa than migrant teachers. The proximity of South Africa to Zimbabwe, which indicated the trivial frictional effect of distance, attracted 31% of migrant teachers as compared to 23% of non-migrants (Fig. 6.1).

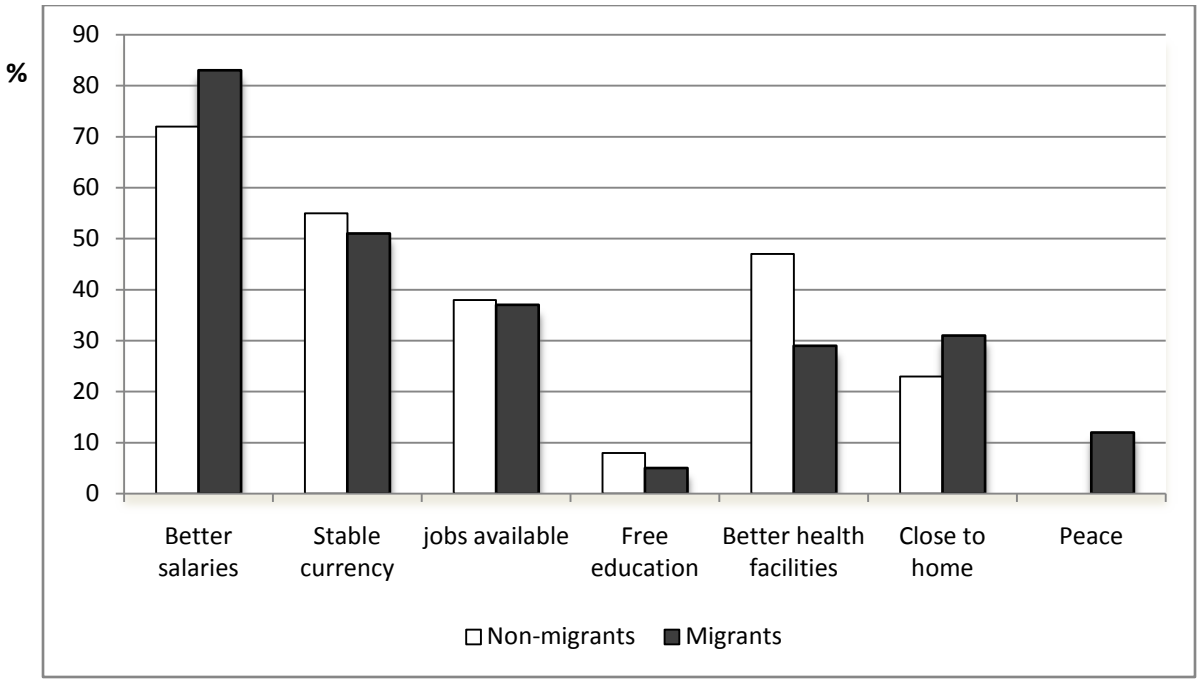

Fig. 6.1 Factors attracting the teachers to South Africa

Source: Survey results

Demand-pull factors that received the lowest responses were free education and peace in South Africa. None of the non-migrant teachers felt that there is peace in South Africa. This result was consistent with the results of related questions, which indicated that most non-migrant teachers found South Africa unattractive because of violence or crime and this aspect deterred the third highest percentage of the non-migrant teachers from relocating to South Africa (Table 7.13). The fact that very small proportions of both non- and migrant teachers were attracted by free education in South African primary and most secondary schools was not by coincidence. From the results already presented, some of the migrant teachers indicated being dissatisfied with teaching in South Africa because of learners' indiscipline. Information from the Grape Vine indicated that most of the migrant teachers were not willing to live with their families in South Africa because undisciplined South African pupils would be bad influence to their children especially given that in South Africa children's rights are highly protected. Furthermore, most of the Zimbabwean migrant teachers were aware of the lower quality of the education received by children in South Africa as compared to that of Zimbabwe. This was supported by the World Economic Forum's rating of the South African education system at number 140 out of 144

countries in the world in September 2012, which was below the education systems of most countries in the region including Zimbabwe.

Violence or crime was the most unattractive aspect of South Africa for both non- and migrant teachers. But, this demand-push factor was mentioned more among non-migrants (93%) as compared to migrant teachers (74%) (Fig. 6.2). Also related to violence or crime was a migrant teacher's comment that there is "no respect for human life" in South Africa. Information on violence or crime in South Africa is available in print and electronic media accessible even in Zimbabwe. Exposure to information on violence or crime should have created a sense of fear among the non-migrants, which helps explain why some of them have not migrated.

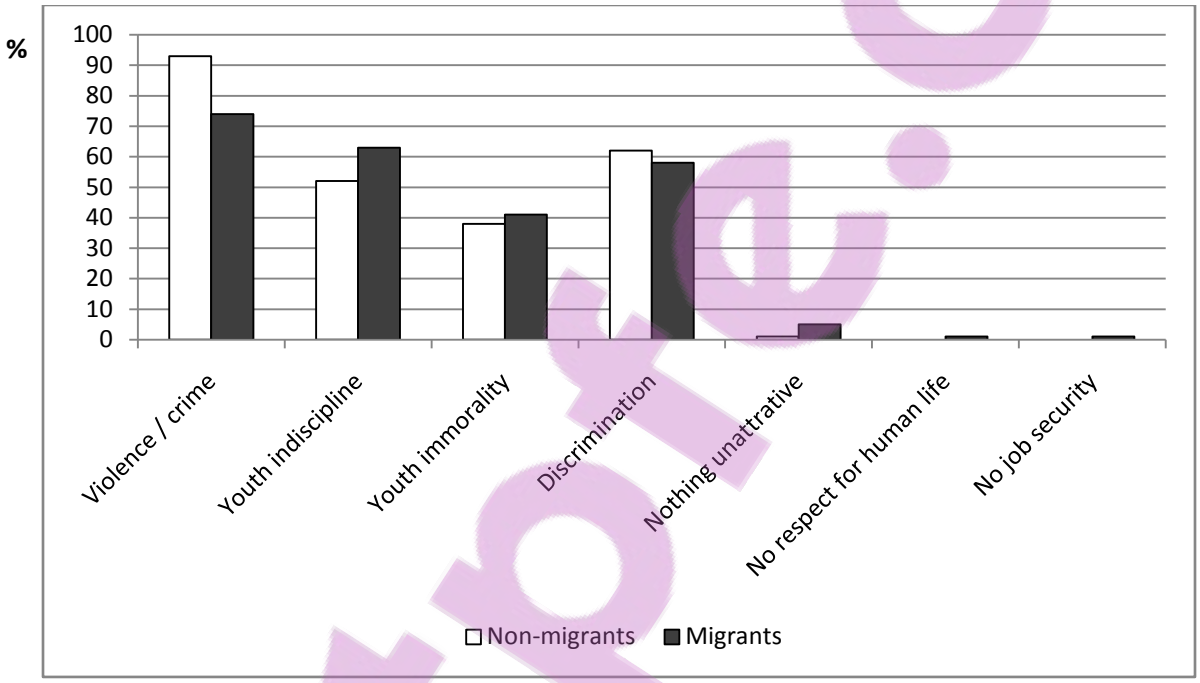

Fig. 6.2 South Africa's unattractive factors

Source: Survey results

The second most unattractive aspect of South Africa for both groups of teachers was discrimination against foreigners. This aspect was mentioned more among migrant than non-migrant teachers. As already mentioned under migrant teachers' profiles, some of the teachers were dissatisfied with teaching in South Africa because they were treated as second class citizens and often expected to go an extra mile in their performance as compared to their South African colleagues. Migrant teachers, most of who were dissatisfied with teaching in South Africa

because of lack of discipline among pupils, consistently rated youth indiscipline as one of South Africa's unattractive factors. But, as other researchers have argued, immigrants often have to deal with these negative aspects since the benefits derived from immigration should outweigh the costs for the immigrant to stay (Padarath et al, 2003).

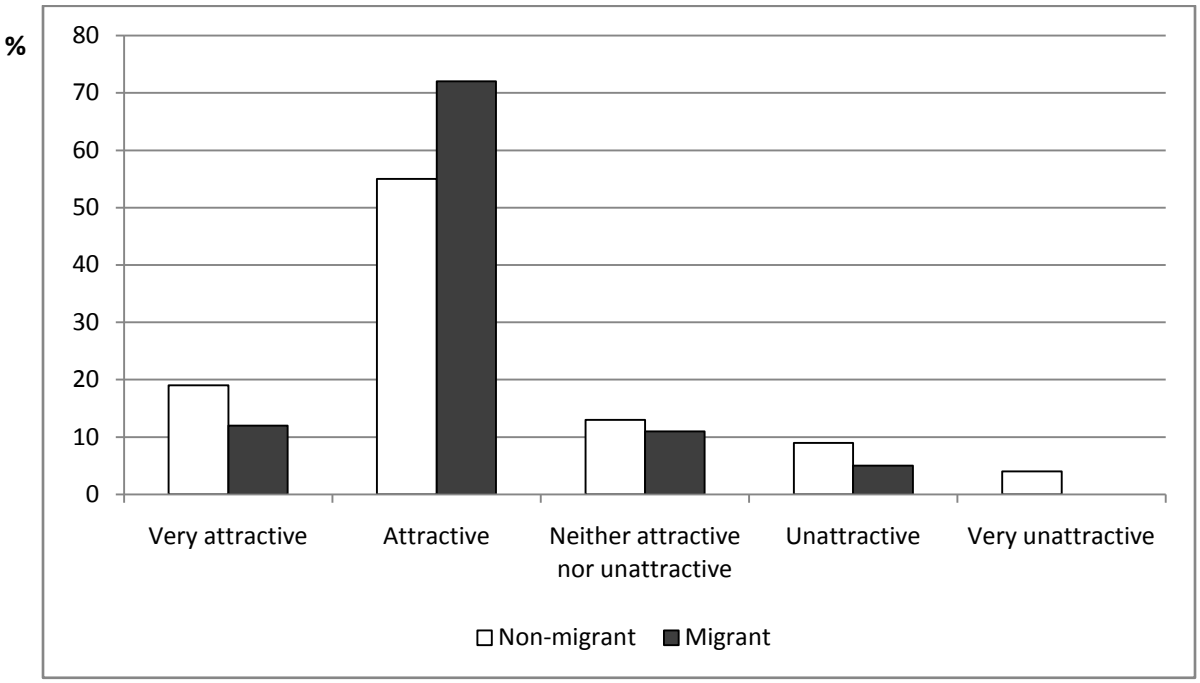

Fig. 6.3 The teachers' net weight of South Africa's attractiveness

Source: Survey results

Despite the existence of unattractive factors about South Africa, 72% of migrants and 55% of non-migrant teachers still found the country as an attractive destination (Fig. 6.3). For most of the teachers, South Africa's economic positives including better salaries, stable currency and job availability overrode its social problems particularly violence or crime for the country to have attracted as well as retained the Zimbabwean teachers. In other words, South Africa's social problems including violence or crime could not stop some of the Zimbabwean teachers, who were in desperate need of getting better incomes to support families in a crisis ridden environment, from immigrating to that country. South Africa remained an attractive destination for most of the teachers and the country has the potential to keep on attracting teachers even in future. Other researchers have found that most Zimbabweans fleeing the crisis at home have migrated to South Africa or Botswana because of the economic stability, higher wages and employment standards in these countries (Lefko-Everett, 2004).

6.3 Mitigation factors

Mitigation factors influenced the teachers' final decisions about whether to migrate or not and mitigation factors included in the study were gender, networking factors, costs of migration, and school-based factors (Fig. 4.1). The effects of personal characteristics on migration selectivity have already been discussed under sample profiles. This section focuses more on gender, which is one of the study's main objectives as set out in Chapter one, rather than on the other personal characteristics.

6.3.1 Gender

As the discussion of the sample profiles indicated, gender operated through subject specialisation to determine who among the Zimbabwean teachers immigrated to South Africa. Female teachers were fewer among migrants as compared to their male counterparts and they were most concentrated in private schools where there was more subject variability but poorer salaries than in government schools. The effects of gender on teacher immigration to South Africa were further assessed through questions on whether female teachers' ideas about emigration were supported or not by their husbands and society as well as whether money or child-care constituted serious challenges to the migration process.

About 62% of non-migrant teachers that have recently thought about leaving the country were females (Appendix 5.8). Most of them wanted to leave the country because of poor salaries and working conditions. "No salary increment and yet life has become tougher", responded a non-migrant female teacher. Few of them wanted to migrate in order to join spouses that were already abroad. This meant that many female teachers wanted to migrate for economic reasons especially for better salaries rather than for other reasons such as joining spouses. On the contrary, the discussion of migrant teacher profiles showed that female teachers constituted only a fifth of migrant teachers in South Africa. This implied that while many female teachers have thought about migrating, a few of them have actually migrated to South Africa.

The results presented in this sub-section refer only to female teachers and this explains why the number of respondents in Tables 6.1 is less than 200 teachers. Gender has militated against the migration of many female teachers who could have moved. The emigration idea for most of the females who have migrated and those with the intention to migrate originated within themselves (Table 6.1). But, most of the non-migrant female teachers with migration intentions were not supported by their spouses in their decisions to migrate (Fig.6.4). In contrast, a higher percentage of the migrant female teachers were supported by husbands in their intentions to leave the country (52%). These results, which were statistically significant ($P<0.05$), indicated an association between husbands' support and immigration to South Africa. Hence, most of the non-migrant females with the intention to migrate were not supported by their husbands and this helped explain why some of the female teachers could not migrate despite having the intentions. But, most of the migrant female teachers migrated with the blessings of their husbands. This means that supportive husbands played a crucial role in the migration of female teachers most of who were married.

Only 15% of the migrant female teachers continued to migrate to South Africa when their husbands were unsupportive of the idea. Although a small proportion, this result significantly showed the resistance that some females still faced from their husbands when it came to migration. For most of the non-migrant and a few migrant female teachers whose husbands were unsupportive of the emigration idea, most of their husbands (46%) were unsupportive because there was no one else to do their traditional roles including taking care of children especially in cases where children were still very young.

Immigration to South Africa was also significantly associated with the support from society ($P<0.05$). In consistence with the effects of a male dominated society, most non-migrant female teachers with the intention to migrate indicated that society including friends and relatives was not supportive of their idea to migrate (Table 6.1). But, 63% of the migrant females said that society was supportive. Again, few migrant female teachers went on to migrate to South Africa despite lack of support from society (26%). Society's disapproval of the non-migrant female teachers' emigration was based on the concern for children's welfare when the mother had migrated. Some of these professional females were denied the chances of migrating and

improving their lives on the basis of their traditional roles particularly child rearing. Consistently, family roles and responsibilities were cited as the reason for non-migration by the second highest percentage of the non-migrant teachers especially females (Table 7.13).

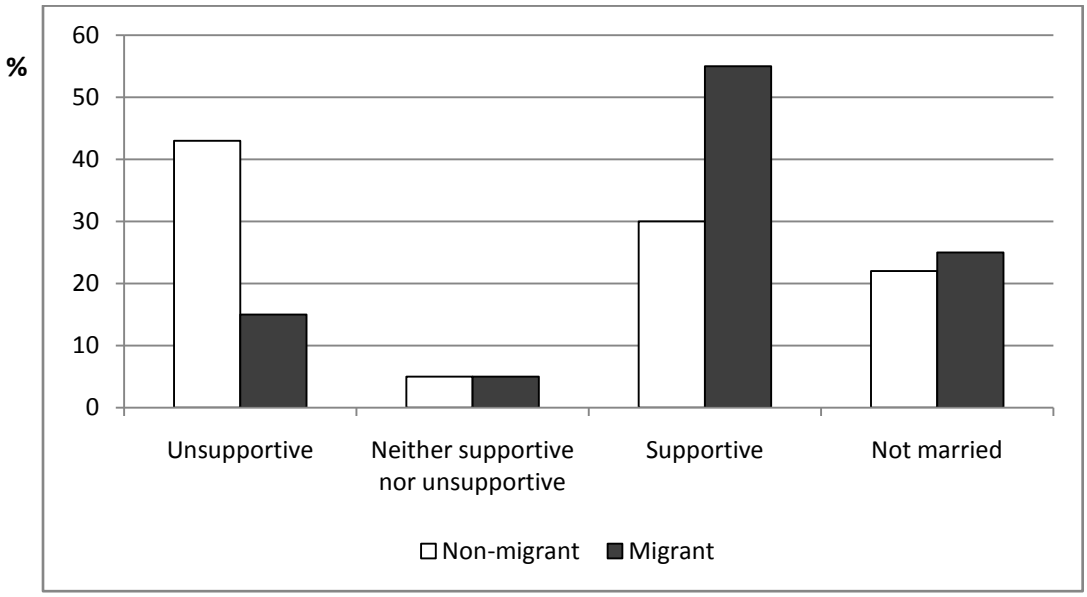

Fig. 6.4 Whether husbands were supportive of the emigration idea?

Source: Survey results

Most of the non-migrant females suggested coping with child care in their absence through sending children to boarding schools (31%) (Table 6.1). The second highest proportion of these females suggested leaving children with the husband (25%). Such a strategy enables the sharing of child-care roles between the spouses but would work properly in conjunction with day-care centres especially when the husband goes to work. Equal percentages of migrant females, 23% each, coped with the challenge of child-care through leaving children in the care of relatives, sending children to boarding schools, and taking the children with them to South Africa. Hence, sending children to boarding schools was suggested as a strategy of coping with the demands of child care roles. This strategy facilitates the migration of female teachers that have been discouraged from migration by husbands and society on the basis of child-care roles.

Table 6.1 Gender profiles of migrant and non-migrant teachers (N=62)

Profile	Non-migrant (%)	Migrant (%)
*Who came up with idea to migrate**		
Me	62	85
Husband	6	10
My relative	0	5
Husband's relative	2	0
Never thought about emigration	30	0
*Did society support the idea**		
Unsupportive	60	26
Neither supportive nor unsupportive	11	11
Supportive	29	63
Was money for travelling and processing papers a serious challenge		
Very serious	23	11
Serious	17	21
Not serious	60	68
*Who took care of children?**		
Husband	25	18
Send to relative / hire relative	13	23
Hire maid	3	13
Send children to boarding school	31	23
Cannot migrate because of care role	22	0
Do not have children	6	0
Took children with me	0	23
Who provided (would provide) accommodation?		
Friend	26	41
My relative, a female	41	29
My relative, a male	12	6
Husband's relative, a female	6	6
Joined husband	15	18

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level (P<0.05) ** Significant at 1% level (P<0.01)

Money for travelling and subsistence in a foreign land was not a serious challenge for most of the female teachers including both non- and migrant female teachers (60% and 68%, respectively) (Table 6.1). For most of them, money to cover migration expenses would come or came from their own salaries. This result meant that the female teachers could independently use their own salaries for migration and that their incomes would be sufficient to cover migration expenses. Although mentioned by a few female teachers in response to the open question on migration challenges, accommodation was not a serious challenge for most of the female teachers since they knew someone already in South Africa. Most non-migrant female teachers expected to be accommodated by a female relative if they were to migrate to South Africa (41%) (Table 6.1). The second largest percentage of non-migrant female teachers would be accommodated by a friend. The order of these responses was vice versa in the case of migrant female teachers most of who were accommodated by a friend and the second majority, by a female relative during their immigration to South Africa (41% and 29%, respectively). These results indicated waning discrimination against females since most of them did not stay in the custody of male relatives who would oversee them.

An open-ended question on challenges likely to be faced or were faced when the female teachers migrated to South Africa further assessed the militating effects of gender on female migration (Appendix 1). Results of this question indicated that most of the non-migrant females were afraid of abuse including rape if they were to migrate to South Africa. The few non-migrant female teachers who were challenged by accommodation if they were to migrate to South Africa also mentioned abuse as a serious challenge. In other words, without pre-arranged accommodation these women feared being sexually abused. The study has already found that violence or crime were major unattractive factors of the destination country (South Africa) for both non- and migrant teachers but especially for non-migrant teachers. Other researchers have found that some female cross-border traders from Zimbabwe end up sleeping at open markets and risk being sexually abused (Kiwanuka and Monson, 2009).

Non-migrant female teachers then mentioned a long list of other challenges, which included loneliness, leaving the family behind, and learning a new language. The list of challenges mentioned by migrant female teachers included discrimination, fear of abuse including rape,

finding a job, leaving children unattended, and loneliness. A married female migrant teacher in her mid-forties who responded to the questionnaire in Limpopo province listed the challenges she faced when she migrated to South Africa as, “afraid of living alone, society treats us as deviants, I feel emptiness and insecure”. Another married female in the mid-thirties in Mpumalanga included in her challenges, “living without children, deprived of conjugal rights (sex), and live in fear of sexual abuse”. These challenges were shared among several other migrant female teachers. Other female teachers especially those not married were at risk of exchanging sex for a job. For example, an unmarried female in her late thirties and teaching in Mpumalanga was proposed love in exchange for a job by an education official but she refused.

The solutions suggested by non-migrant female teachers for dealing with these challenges if they were to migrate included: “avoiding what other women do that is, creating new families; do not travel late; find proper accommodation in advance; report any problems to the police; learn the people’s language fast; save money and leave with enough money; and make the family join me”. On the other hand, migrant female teachers have coped with challenges associated with immigrating to South Africa in the following ways: “be committed in Christianity or prayers for protection; learnt the local language so fast that I am not regarded as a foreigner; left older child (4 years old) in Zimbabwe and took with me the younger (less than one year old); parted with a lot of money living in a more secure suburb; ignored society’s negative comments; and stayed focused remembering why I am here”. Although female teachers were involved or intended to be involved in international migration for better salaries, they faced challenges some of which were unlikely to be faced by their male counterparts including loneliness, fear of sexual abuse, denied of conjugal rights, and being treated as deviants by society. Coping strategies such as learning the local language fast helped reduce the female teachers’ risk of sexual abuse that is associated with the vulnerability of being foreigners.

The story of a 34 year old female migrant teaching in Mpumalanga province further illustrated the challenges faced by female migrants especially with regard to child care. This lady, let us call her Mrs. T, relocated to South Africa in January 2009. Previously she worked for Zimbabwe Revenue Authority (ZIMRA) as a border official. While at work she was involved in some scandals involving corruption. She said that she was forced into corrupt activities by the nature

of the system at work. “Sometimes I had to sign off a truck that had not been properly cleared because the deal involved senior officials”. As a Christian, she felt that she was not doing the right thing and also she suspected that the syndicate was close to be exposed hence, she left for South Africa. She had a biological brother already teaching in Mpumalanga. This means that the provinces where the migrant teachers are located depended on the presence of relatives or friends that immigrated earlier. The major challenge that she faced was that her first son was just about a year old. She already had a maid who looked after this child when she went to work. The couple decided to leave the one-year old child with the maid. But this was not an easy decision. “My sister and her husband were of the opinion that I should not go to South Africa because the child was still young. I should have left the child with them since they live nearby, but they did not want to hear anything about this since they were against my idea of relocating to South Africa”. Hence, despite the unsupportive relatives, Mrs. T migrated to South Africa.

Her maid, who some people alleged was too close to her husband, later got married. She then took the boy with her to South Africa and enrolled him at a day centre. After two years, she got pregnant again. “I was awarded fully paid maternity leave for three months just like our South African colleagues”. The coming of the new baby girl meant another challenge since she could not bear living with two children alone in a foreign country. Her husband could not live with her in South Africa because he is a nurse by profession and his job is not listed on the rare skills category in South Africa. This is when the couple decided to hire a family relative as a maid. The relative looked after the older child (now over 3 years old) while she took the new child with her and enrolled her at a day centre. This story showed how women’s traditional care roles posed challenges to the migration of these professional women. It also showed that the South African policy on maternity leave does not discriminate against foreign teachers.

6.3.2 Network factors

Network factors have been argued to encourage international migration (UNDP, 2010). The study used knowledge of teaching opportunities outside Zimbabwe, knowledge of the exact wage gap between Zimbabwean and South African teachers, and previous migration experience as network factors. The chi-square values of all network factors were highly significant indicating

the association between the network factors and immigration to South Africa (P<0.01). A larger proportion (60%) of the non-migrant teachers had knowledge of teaching opportunities outside Zimbabwe, which was mainly acquired through friends as well as relatives in diaspora (38% and 27%, respectively) (Fig. 6.5 and Table 6.2). The remainder, 40% of non-migrant teachers, did not have knowledge about teaching opportunities outside the country. Almost all migrant teachers had knowledge of teaching opportunities in other countries prior to their migration (92%). Prior to their movement, migrant teachers were more knowledgeable of opportunities outside the Zimbabwean teaching sector than current non-migrants. Migrant teachers' knowledge also mainly came through information from friends in diaspora (43%) and secondly through the Internet (20%) (Table 6.2). Other teachers who relocated to South Africa earlier facilitated the immigration of most of the teachers to South Africa particularly through the distribution of information as well as providing accommodation. The Internet would help cross-checking information provided informally by friends as well as finding actual places or provinces in need of teachers.

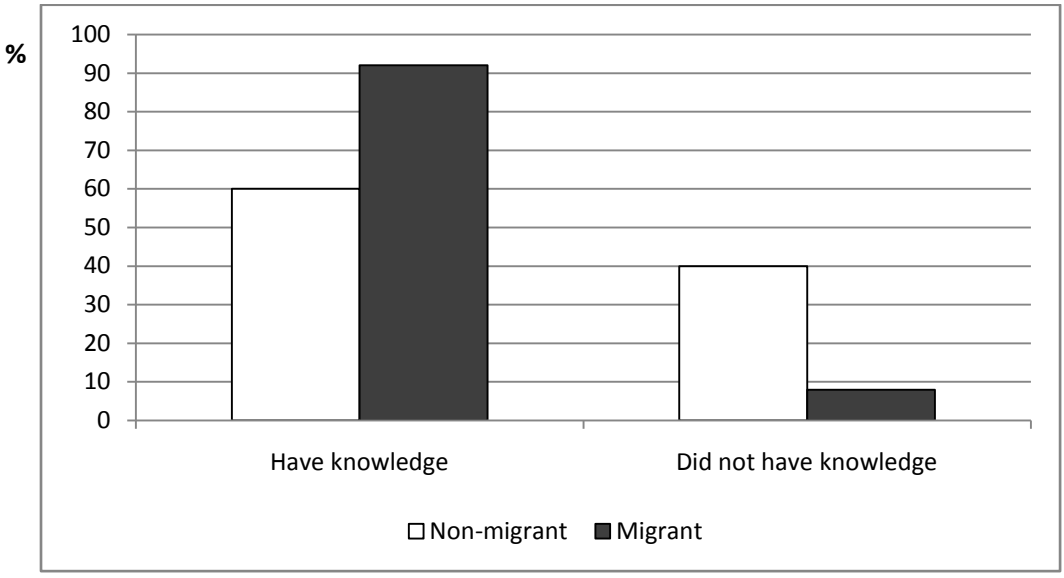

Fig. 6.5 Teachers' knowledge of opportunities outside Zimbabwe

Source: Survey results

The nature of the knowledge received by most of the non-migrant teachers mainly from friends and relatives in diaspora included knowledge about salaries (83%) as well as the job requirements (79%) (Table 6.2). In addition to knowing about salaries and job requirements, migrant teachers also knew about the places or provinces in need of teachers in South Africa.

Despite knowing about salaries earned by teachers outside Zimbabwe, fewer non-migrant than migrant teachers knew the exact wage gap between Zimbabwean teachers and their South African counterparts. Most migrant teachers had additional knowledge about the host country, South Africa, as compared to the knowledge possessed by non-migrant teachers including the knowledge of place or provinces in need of teachers in South Africa and the exact wage gap. Most of the migrant teachers correctly estimated that South African teachers earned between four and five times more than their Zimbabwean counterparts.

Knowledge about security, violence or discrimination was the least mentioned type of knowledge possessed by both migrant (17%) and non-migrant teachers (28%) (Table 6.2). Other researchers have found that the information obtained by non-migrants about the destination countries mostly emphasise the positive and little about the negative aspects of the destination countries (Fischer et al, 1997).

There was also a significant association between previous migration experience and immigration to South Africa. The question on migration experience attempted to screen out short-term movements for shopping, visiting or cross-border trading. Only previous movements of up to six months were regarded as migration. Most of the non-migrant teachers had not migrated before (83%) (Table 6.3). Among the few non-migrant teachers with previous migration experience, almost half of them have previously migrated to South Africa in search of work. These teachers, who should be appropriately termed return migrants, have failed to settle in South Africa probably because of the non-recruitment of Diploma holders in South Africa, value of family unity, the Zimbabwean government's payment of teachers' salaries in foreign currency and the subsequent call for the re-engagement of teachers that had previously stayed at home because of the 2008 strike. Like the non-migrant teachers without migration experience, most of the non-migrant teachers who had previously migrated to South Africa also arrived at their respective schools around 2009. These results showed the effects of the payment of teachers' salaries in foreign currency and the re-engagement process, which were not overwhelmingly successful but contributed to the recovery of Zimbabwe's education sector.

Table 6.2 Teachers' knowledge of opportunities outside Zimbabwe (N=152, missing=48)

Knowledge Aspect	Non-migrants (%)	Migrants (%)
Source of knowledge of outside opportunities		
Print media	12	15
Radio or television	4	7
Internet	14	20
Friends	38	43
Relatives	27	14
First-hand knowledge (have been there)	5	1
Nature of knowledge		
About salaries **	83	59
Job requirements	79	64
Place or province in need of teachers *	34	56
Security, violence or discrimination	28	17
Knowledge of wage gap between SA and Zimbabwe **		
Yes	23	62
No	77	38
How many times more SA teachers earn?		
2-3 times	40	25
4-5 times	40	48
6-7 times	10	5
8 or more times	10	23

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level (P<0.05) ** Significant at 1% level (P<0.01)

On the other hand, more than half of migrant teachers (58%) had migrated before and therefore had previous migration experience (Table 6.3). Most migrant teachers with migration experience have previously migrated to South Africa and in search of work or to work (Table 6.3). Fewer migrant teachers have migrated to other countries mainly Botswana and overseas countries. While previous migration to Botswana was mainly in search of work, migration to overseas countries was mainly for education purposes. For instance, some of the teachers specialised in mathematics and science obtained their degrees in Cuba. None of the non-migrant teachers had

previously migrated for education purposes. This was consistent with the previous finding that migrant teachers were more educated than their non-migrant counterparts.

Table 6.3 Teachers' previous migration experience (N=200)

Migration aspect	Non-migrants (%)	Migrants (%)
*Ever migrated before***		
Yes	17	58
No	83	42
Where previously migrated to		
South Africa	89	70
Botswana	0	11
Other African country	6	8
Overseas country	6	11
*Purpose of previous migration **		
Look for work	47	49
Holiday or visiting	16	16
Education	0	9
Trade	21	4
Work or business related	11	22
Join spouse	5	0

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level (P<0.05) ** Significant at 1% level (P<0.01)

6.3.3 Costs of migration

Costs of migration were sub-divided into *social* (separation from spouse or family, learning a new language, leaving old and making new friends), *economic* (money for travelling and for processing documents), and *settling* (learning new curriculum or education system and initial accommodation). Among the costs of migration factors, money for travelling, money for processing documents and initial accommodation had statistically significant chi-square values (P<0.05). Separation from spouse or family, which was a social and psychological cost, was the most serious challenge involved in the migration process for both non- and migrant teachers

(80% and 69%, respectively) (Fig. 6.6). This challenge could not significantly explain why other teachers have remained in Zimbabwe since it was equally faced by a high proportion of the migrant teachers also. Results of reasons for non-migration suggested otherwise since the need to be close to families (or family unity), which was cited by the highest percentage of the non-migrant teachers, explained why most of these teachers could not migrate (Table 5.19). When a new *social cost* variable was computed using the SPSS software package, those who mentioned at least one social cost were higher than those who did not both among migrant and non-migrant teachers.

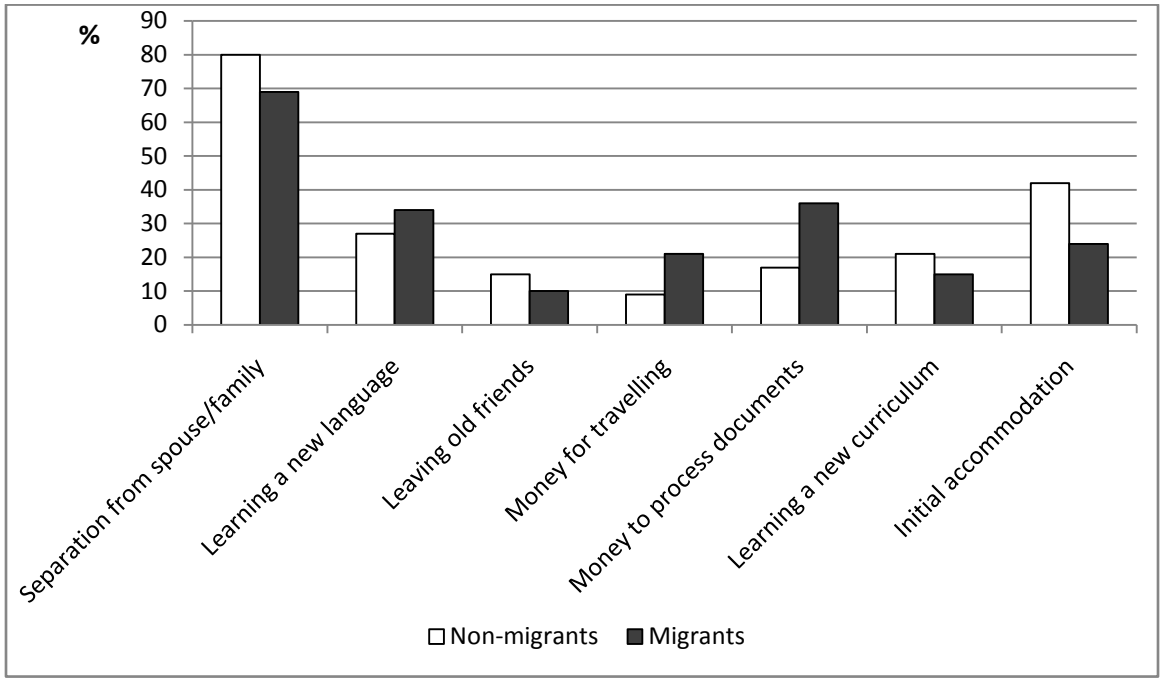

Fig. 6.6 Costs of migration

Source: survey results

The second most serious challenge for non-migrant teachers, which also had a significant chi-square value ($P<0.05$), was finding initial accommodation when they arrive at the destination (42%). In other words, non-migration was associated with the challenge of finding initial accommodation. A similar result was found when the *settling costs* variable was computed since non-migrant teachers were more challenged by settling costs than migrant teachers. These results indicated that some non-migrant teachers could have decided against emigration either because of the need to be with family or the challenge of finding initial accommodation.

But for migrant teachers, the second most serious challenge that was also statistically significant was finding money to process the necessary documents including passports, evaluation of certificates, and work permits (36%) (Fig. 6.6). Although cited by few teachers in general, economic costs were more cited by migrant than non-migrant teachers as serious challenges to migration. Considering the time that most of these teachers migrated to South Africa, around 2007, 2008 and 2009, teachers' salaries paid in the local currency were eroded by hyperinflation and those paid in foreign currency were meagre since all civil servants were started with allowances of US$100 in February 2009. This amount was not enough to pay for a passport, which cost more than US$150 at that time. But, current teachers' salaries in Zimbabwe, which are around US$300 per month on average, could easily be saved and meet migration costs if the non-migrant teachers were to migrate. A passport currently costs about US$50 if obtained through the normal application procedure. Costs of travelling were less serious challenges to the migrants as compared to the costs of processing the necessary documents. This is because the physical distance between Zimbabwe and South Africa is shorter than between Zimbabwe and overseas countries such as the United Kingdom (UK). This is why some of the migrant teachers were attracted to South Africa by its close proximity to Zimbabwe (31%).

6.3.4 School based factors

School factors that were assessed in the study included the location of the school as well as the type of the school. In addition, the migration effects of school based factors were also assessed through reasons for migration or non-migration. For instance, the suggested list of answers for migration reasons included those related to school-based factors such as: poor accommodation, high workloads, the shortage of learning or teaching materials, and the adequacy of incentives.

There was an association between the type of school taught in Zimbabwe and immigration to South Africa ($p<0.05$). Most of the non-migrant (44%) and migrant (37%) teachers taught at government or urban council managed schools in Zimbabwe's urban areas (Table 6.4). The second largest percentages of both non- and migrant teachers taught at government or rural council schools located in rural areas. The significant result could therefore be attributed to the

fact that while some migrant teachers previously taught at universities or colleges in Zimbabwe, none of the non-migrants came from these institutions.

However, the variance between teachers who taught in government or urban council and those in government or rural council schools was smaller for migrant than non-migrant teachers. This meant that migrant teachers almost equally came from government or urban council and government or rural council schools. Furthermore, the insignificant test statistic for the association between location of school and immigration to South Africa suggested that the observed distributions were due to chance (Table 6.4). Both teachers from urban and rural areas were likely to migrate or not migrate to South Africa. As argued under the challenges of the Zimbabwean education system under Chapter one as well as four, there were several reasons why teachers in either urban or rural areas could migrate to South Africa. For instance, teachers in urban areas where the economy is cash based had extra expenses that their rural counterparts did not face such as rent, transport and service rates such as water, refuse collection and sewer maintenance. They were also faced with a deteriorated service delivery system during the crisis where most of the services mentioned above were paid for but were not delivered efficiently.

On the other hand, other researchers have documented a history of poor accommodation and other services including water and sanitation for rural teachers (Kusereka, 2009). Even if they were paid a rural retention allowances on top of their basic salaries, this amount paid in the local currency was negligible because of inflation. Other researchers argued that the political violence that occurred after the March 2008 presidential election affected more those in rural than urban areas (Raftopoulos, 2009). Teachers in rural areas received parents' incentives in foreign currency, which made some teachers return to schools after staying at home for most of 2008, at a later date than those in urban areas (UNICEF Press Centre, 2008).

The results of reasons for migration highlighted that school-based factors such as poor accommodation and other services as well as high workloads and the shortage of teaching or learning materials were cited by a few migrant teachers as reasons for immigration to South Africa (Table 7.13). Incentives including those paid by parents in foreign currency were not one of the major reasons for non-migration as they were cited by a few non-migrant teachers. In

addition, inadequate incentives were actually cited by 27% of the migrant teachers as a reason for migration. Teachers who were lucky to be in high income suburban schools, the dream of most teachers according to Mr. S, enjoy more incentives than those in other public schools. But, these incentives especially those paid in the local currency could not stop some of the teachers from immigrating to South Africa. For instance, 11% of the migrant teachers previously taught at high-income suburban schools prior to their immigration to South Africa (Appendix 5.6).

Table 6.4 Type and location of schools taught by the teachers in Zimbabwe (N=200)

Type or location	**Non-migrant (%)**	**Migrant (%)**
School type **		
University or college	0	14
Private school	6	4
Government or urban council	44	37
Government or rural council	35	32
Mission school	15	13
Location of school		
Urban	50	55
Rural	50	45

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level (P<0.05) ** Significant at 1% level (P<0.01)

Mr. S, the government school teacher in Limpopo province whose story was reported under migrant profiles, was one of the migrant teachers who previously taught at an elite high-income suburban school in Harare that offered several incentives. The school where Mr. S taught was for girls' only and multi-racial as Black and White Zimbabweans attended the same school.

"I should be in the United Kingdom (UK) now instead of here in South Africa. All my colleagues left for the UK while I procrastinated. It was easy for the teachers at our school to leave for the UK since some of our students networked us with their parents in the UK. Some of my friends actually went to the UK without Visas". The researcher asked him why he did not go to the UK together with his colleagues. "Indecision and the fact that I had family responsibilities", he retorted. As the researcher learnt later, Mr. S was undecided about leaving

Zimbabwe as he hoped against hope that things were going to change for the better soon. Seeing that nothing had changed soon, he networked with his former colleagues in the UK who sent him an air ticket to fly to the UK. Money for the air ticket and initial settling was hard to come by and as other researchers reported some Zimbabwean immigrants in the UK actually had to sell properties in order to raise this money (McGregor, 2006). This decision to move to the UK came late since the UK Embassy in Harare had now become stricter about whom among Zimbabweans to allow or not allow entry into the UK. “I was denied a visa to enter the UK and this shuttered my hopes of ever leaving the country”.

The researcher asked him why he came to the decision to migrate to the UK as well as why he was then desperate to move after several years of procrastination. He confessed that the School Development Association (SDA) was very supportive, but the money was still not enough because of the runaway inflation of the Zimbabwean dollar at that time that is, around 2007. “The SDA gave use extra money in the local currency on top of our salaries, which was more than double our government salaries. They also provided us free transport to and from school”. Despite all the incentives they were paid at the elite school in Harare, Mr. S and his friends were determined to leave the country for greener economic pastures. Under the pressure to move then, Mr. S finally settled for South Africa since the door leading to the UK had been closed for him. This story by Mr. S highlighted that indecision and the need to be with families were some of the factors that helped to retain other teachers in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, incomes including incentives paid in the local currency became inadequate as a result of hyperinflation hence, his decision to migrate.

Few teachers including both non- and migrant teachers taught at private schools in Zimbabwe. Although private schools in Zimbabwe are far outnumbered by public schools, this result suggested that salaries and incentives paid to teachers at private schools, which are far higher than those in government and council schools helped retain teachers in private schools. Other researchers found that when government schools closed down under pressure from the crisis around 2008, the few schools that were left operating were private schools (Chagonda, 2010). Again, as other researchers have also argued, private schools have higher quality facilities and pay better salaries than public schools (Kusereka, 2009).

The study also found that about 14% of the migrant teachers sampled in South Africa were former university or college lecturers. Lecturers at teachers' colleges and universities were not part of the Zimbabwean sample. Low salaries and poor working conditions, which also existed in universities and colleges (Financial Gazette, 14-20 October 2004), have contributed to the brain drain involving lecturers. Almost all of these former lecturers possessed Masters Degrees, which is the minimum entry requirement for a junior lecturer at university or college. This result meant that the salaries paid to high school teachers in South Africa, particularly in government schools, were far better than those earned by Zimbabwean university or college lecturers since these former lecturers had to part with the more independent tertiary education system for the more demanding basic education system in terms of workloads and supervision.

6.4 Chapter conclusion

This chapter, the second in a section of results presentation and discussion, indicated that despite being repelled to South Africa by factors such as violence or crime and discrimination against foreigners, the country was generally attractive to both migrants and non-migrants. This was mainly because salaries are better in South Africa than in Zimbabwe. Although both migrant and non-migrant teachers had knowledge of teaching opportunities outside Zimbabwe, more migrant than non-migrant teachers had migrated before in search of employment. Separation from spouses or families challenged both groups of teachers, but non-migrant teachers were more challenged by initial accommodation than their migrant counterparts. Consistently, some female teachers have not migrated due to the fear of sexual abuse especially if they were to move alone and without pre-arranged accommodation. Husbands and society in general discouraged some of the female teachers from migrating so that they take responsibility of their traditional care roles. School-based factors such as incentives and the location or type of school played a little role in interfering with the teachers' migration decision making. Mitigation factors partly explained why some of the teachers remained behind despite experiencing the same crisis, whose dimensions and migration effects are the subject of discussion in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VII

SUPPLY-PUSH FACTORS

7.1 Introduction

Under supply-push factors, the study assessed whether there was an association between immigration to South Africa and the teachers' perceptions of the social, economic, and political dimensions of the Zimbabwean crisis. Chapter three dwelt more on these dimensions and argued that these factors formed the major driving forces behind the Zimbabwean mass exodus after 2000 as well as the exodus involving teachers. The results of statistical tests for independence between immigration to South Africa and the teachers' perceptions of the quality of life as well services provided by the social sector including education, health and urban services were all insignificant.

This indicated that there was no association between immigration to South Africa and the teachers' perceptions of the quality of life and services provided during the crisis. In other words, teachers' perceptions of life under the crisis could not explain why some teachers migrated and others did not since the observed distributions of migrant and non-migrant teachers for these variables followed similar patterns. That is, while the period around 2008 received the most unsatisfactory rating from both non- and migrant teachers, the current period (2012) had more satisfactory responses. But, a comparison of the teachers' perceptions of the quality of life and services around 2008 and in the current period yielded more useful information in explaining current and future drivers of teacher migration. Hence, the results presented and discussed in this chapter emphasised the findings of the comparisons between the two periods. However, an assessment of the association between immigration to South Africa and the extent of political violence around 2008 as well as the teachers' perceptions of their security, freedom of expression and participation in Zimbabwe yielded significant results.

7.2 Migration and the crisis in the social sector

Most non- and migrant teachers rated the quality of Zimbabwean education around 2008 as unsatisfactory (Table 5.7). Other researchers reported that the once pride of the nation education system actually collapsed around 2008 with most of the teachers as well as pupils absent from schools (Kwenda, 2011; Chagonda, 2010; UNICEF Press Centre, 9 October 2008). In contrast, more than half of both non- and migrant teachers appraised the current quality of Zimbabwean education as good (54% and 59%, respectively) (Table 7.1). The second highest percentages of both teacher groups regarded the current quality of education as average that is, neither good nor bad. This shift from unsatisfactory to average and satisfactory indicated that Zimbabwe's education has significantly recovered since its collapse around 2008. This improvement was due to several factors including the payment of teachers' salaries plus parents' incentives in foreign currency, the appointment of David Coltat, an educationist in the opposition party (MDC), as the Minister of Education, and donations from other countries.

Despite the improvements in the Zimbabwean education system, almost half of the non-migrant teachers including females were unsatisfied by their current salaries and working conditions. The teachers' salaries were still lower as compared to those earned in South Africa and this is why most migrant teachers have not seriously thought about returning home. At the same time, inflation related to the global crisis and the gradual increase in prices of fuel on the world market means that teachers' salaries have to be adjusted accordingly. But, Zimbabwe's government of national unity (GNU) complains of a huge wage bill.

Since the quality of education received the most unsatisfactory rating around 2008, most of the justifications for unsatisfactory responses provided by the teachers referred mainly to this period (Table 7.2). Most non- and migrant teachers rated the education quality around 2008 as unsatisfactory because of low morale or lack of motivation to work among the teachers. The second highest percentages of both non- and migrant teachers rated this way because of teacher strikes (Table 7.2). Most Zimbabwean children did not attend school in 2008 because for the greater part of this period teachers were on strike due to dissatisfaction with salaries that were eroded by hyperinflation and almost negligible as well as several other concerns.

Table 7.1 Teachers' perceptions of education quality around 2008 and currently (N=200)

Perceptions	Non-migrants (%)		Migrants (%)	
	Around 2008	*Current*	*Around 2008*	*Current*
Very bad	46	1	33	5
Bad	35	8	33	10
Neither good nor bad	6	20	10	15
Good	8	54	18	59
Very good	5	17	6	11

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level (P<0.05) ** Significant at 1% level (P<0.01)

Statistically significant results (P<0.05) indicated an association between immigration to South Africa and the absence of teachers for some subjects especially mathematics and science. More migrant than non-migrant teachers rated the education quality around 2008 as unsatisfactory because there were no teachers for some subjects (Table 7.2). Migrant teachers, who were mainly mathematics and science teachers, perceived that their absence resulted in the shortage of teachers for these subjects and this further worsened the quality of the education system in 2008.

Results that were highly significant (P<0.01) indicated an association between immigration to South Africa and the teachers' responses to the crisis in the education sector around 2008. While most migrant teachers moved their children to more expensive but better quality schools (32%), half of the non-migrant teachers paid teachers incentives in foreign currency for their children to go back to school (Table 7.2). The only schools that remained operating during the collapse of Zimbabwe's education system around 2008 were private schools, which offered better quality education but charged higher fees. Migrant teachers, some of who were already earning foreign currency, could afford paying these higher fees.

Table 7.2 Teachers' reasons for unsatisfactory rating of education and their responses

Reason / response	Non-migrant (%)	Migrant (%)
Reasons		
Teacher strikes	46	45
No books or other materials	33	32
Low morale among teachers	80	73
No teachers for some subjects *	24	43
Teachers absent from school	21	30
Poor results	9	20
Violence	2	3
Responses to children's education **		
Moved children to more expensive schools	12	32
Contributed teachers' incentives	51	23
Bought books & other materials	18	13
Took children to South Africa	1	25
Did not have children in school	12	6
Paid extra-lesson tutors	5	1
Responses to education crisis as a teacher **		
No action	23	4
Contributed to migration to SA	2	71
Transferred to better school	13	5
Left teaching profession	9	6
Engaged in second job	28	3
Offered extra lessons	11	3
Buying and selling or income-generating project	10	5
Was not teaching then	4	4

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level (P<0.05) ** Significant at 1% level (P<0.01)

About 23% of migrant teachers, the third highest percentage particularly those who had not migrated, also responded with paying teachers' incentives. A quarter of the migrant teachers no longer trusted Zimbabwe's education system as they took their children with them to South

Africa. Some of these children have since returned home with the improvements in Zimbabwe's education but others have continued to stay in South Africa. The second highest percentage (18%) of non-migrant teachers bought books and other learning materials for their children. Sometimes this response was used in conjunction with hiring other teachers to offer extra lessons to their children especially where the parents (who are also teachers) could not help their children themselves. Non-migrant teachers coped with the poor quality of education offered around 2008 through less expensive strategies that ensured their children's continued learning. In their capacity as teachers, most non-migrants responded to the crisis in the education sector through having a second job including conducting extra lessons to the pupils that were not going to school by then or were not being attended to by teachers (28%). But, most migrant teachers responded through immigration to South Africa (71%) (Table 7.2).

The teachers' perceptions of the quality of Zimbabwe's public health delivery system both around 2008 and currently followed a similar pattern as that for the education sector. While the current quality of public health delivery was mainly rated as good, its status around 2008 was mainly scored as very bad (Table 7.3). It is not only the education sector that has improved since the peak of the crisis around 2008 but also the health sector. But, most migrants' responses shifted slightly from very unsatisfactory around 2008 to unsatisfactory and average. The improvements in the health sector have not reached the quality that was expected especially by migrant teachers. It is possible that migrant teachers compared the Zimbabwean health sector with that of the host country and found it still lacking.

Table 7.3 Teachers' perceptions of the quality of health around 2008 and currently (N=200)

Perceptions	**Non-migrants (%)**		**Migrants (%)**	
	Around 2008	*Current*	*Around 2008*	*Current*
Very bad	52	4	54	5
Bad	30	17	35	28
Neither good nor bad	7	31	6	28
Good	10	46	5	40
Very good	1	2	0	0

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level (P<0.05) ** Significant at 1% level (P<0.01)

The 2008 period received most of the unsatisfactory rating and the reasons given by the teachers for rating the quality of public health delivery as unsatisfactory referred mainly to this period. The major aspects of the Zimbabwean health sector that led to the unsatisfactory ratings both among migrant and non-migration teachers included in order of priority the unavailability of medicines at health centres, striking health personnel, and high fees that required payment in foreign currency (Table 7.4). Most of the challenges facing the health sector around 2008 affected both migrant and non-migrant teachers in similar ways. Some non-migrants went further and included corruption among the challenges facing the public health system at that time.

Table 7.4 Teachers' reasons for unsatisfactory rating of health and their responses

Reason / response	**Non-migrant (%)**	**Migrant (%)**
Reasons		
Doctors / nurses striking	57	51
No medicines *	60	78
High fees in US dollars	43	29
High doctor or nurse to patient ratio **	44	24
No treatment before payment	31	26
Unrepaired ambulances	13	22
Corruption **	9	0
Health staff not motivated	4	0
Responses to health crisis **		
No action	27	22
Contributed to migration to SA	4	53
Moved to private hospitals	16	13
Had no cash to move to private hospitals	32	8
Moved to traditional healers	3	0
Relatives in diaspora assisted	11	5
Provided fuel for ambulance	1	0
Used medical aid	5	0
Was not sick at that time	1	0

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level ($P<0.05$) ** Significant at 1% level ($P<0.01$)

The health sector crisis contributed to the immigration of half of the migrant teachers (Table 7.4). This result was cross-checked with the result of a related question, which also showed that the majority (70%) of migrant teachers were influenced into migration to a large extent by poor health delivery (Appendix 5.5). As argued in Chapter three, a social service delivery system that had collapsed also contributed to most of the teachers' decisions to migrate.

Most non-migrant teachers wanted to move to the private sector during the crisis in the public health sector but they could not because of lack of money (Table 7.4). The private sector, which was the first to charge services in foreign currency during the crisis, charged far more fees than the public health delivery system. Those who earned foreign currency including migrant families were better able to access services of the private sector. About one-tenth of the non-migrant teachers were assisted to pay health bills by relatives in diaspora. This figure appears small and insignificant at face value. But, family members in diaspora actually rescued the situation when there was illness or injury in the family during the crisis period. The researcher, who is also a teacher, recalls an event that occurred in the eastern border city of Mutare, Zimbabwe, around 2008 that further showed the significant contribution of the Diaspora towards Zimbabwean families' access to more expensive health delivery:

> Our neighbour, who is a pensioner and aged around the late fifties, was involved in a car accident and broke several ribs. We took him to a private hospital in the city of Mutare where he would get the best quality service at that time given the crisis in the public hospitals. This private facility charged nearly 200 US dollars for consultation and x-rays and a further 250 dollars for admission into the hospital per day. This was during the time when most Zimbabweans were earning salaries in the devalued local currency valued below the equivalence of 100 US dollars per month. We adopted a cost effective and yet uncompromising strategy to the recovery of our neighbour (call him Mr. M). This strategy involved getting the available and yet expensive treatment from the private hospital and having Mr. M admitted in a public hospital, which charged less daily admission rates but had no medicines and working x-ray machines. This helped reduce the overall costs to what we could afford after pooling together our resources as neighbours and friends. Even after trying to minimise the overall costs, his bill amounted

> to more than 1,000 US dollars. Mr. M had a sister working in Switzerland (forgotten the job title), a brother in Australia and a daughter in the UK, both of them nurses. After contacting these relatives in diaspora, Mr. M received bits and pieces of this amount from each relative such that within a week all the money we spent on him were repaid. Mr. M survived and this is because he was lucky to have neighbours and friends who immediately pooled resources together during his injury and relatives in Diaspora who financed his treatment.

Hence, having migrant family members or relatives acted as health insurance for many Zimbabwean families during the crisis in the health sector. At the same time, neighbours, friends and church members pooled resources together in order to deal with health risks and uncertainties as and when they occurred. Despite such risk sharing strategies, 25% of non-migrant and 42% of migrant teachers lost relatives due to otherwise treatable illnesses, which could not be treated because of the collapsed public health system and unavailability of funds in foreign currency to pay for services in the private sector (Table 7.8). Some of the teachers' inability to pay for services including health and education which were then provided efficiently by the private sector alone and at very high prices marked in foreign currency should have motivated them to migrate to South Africa. A few non-migrant teachers responded to the crisis in the health sector through joining medical aid schemes. Such schemes covered the consultation of private doctors and the purchase of medicines. Although teachers in such schemes had to foot part of the bill directly from their pockets, this was usually at a later date after the patient had consulted a doctor or accessed medication.

Urban services received the least indication of improvement since the peak of the crisis around 2008 (Table 7.5). The reasons for non- and migrant teachers' unsatisfactory ratings of the quality of urban services included in order of priority frequent power cuts, the shortage and rationing of water, and expensive rent or land. The first two aspects of service delivery, which the teachers were dissatisfied with, had resulted from the shortage of foreign currency to pay for imported electricity or maintain as well as expand water pipes and reservoirs. Rent started to be paid in foreign currency well before the official adoption of multiple currencies and the payment of teachers' salaries in foreign currency. The payment of rent in foreign currency well before

official ‘dollarisation’ should have ‘pushed’ some of the teachers who taught in urban areas into immigration to South Africa. Other researchers found that the list of factors that pushed many Zimbabweans into diaspora was long and included dissatisfaction with housing (Crush, 2002). Poor quality urban services contributed to the migration of 44% of the migrant teachers (Table 7.6). This result was cross-checked with the result of a related question, which showed that 54% of the migrant teachers were influenced into migration to a large extent by poor services in towns (Appendix 5.5). This percentage was lower as compared with the percentage of migrants influenced into migration by crisis in the health sector that is, 70%.

Table 7.5 Teachers’ perceptions of the quality of urban services around 2008 and currently (N=200)

Perceptions	**Non-migrants (%)**		**Migrants (%)**	
	Around 2008	*Current*	*Around 2008*	*Current*
Very bad	54	15	58	17
Bad	24	33	32	30
Neither good nor bad	10	28	4	28
Good	10	22	5	25
Very good	2	2	1	0

Source: Survey results

Most non-migrant teachers coped with frequent power cuts through the use of firewood. This response had negative repercussions especially on the environment as it caused the clearing of forests around urban centres as well as increased global warming and changed weather patterns. In the case of water rationing most of them did nothing about it. Smaller proportions of both non- and migrant teachers cited the lack of resources to purify water or the prevalence of water-borne diseases as the major reason for an unsatisfactory rating of the quality of urban services. Such problems were not significantly inferred from the teachers’ responses although other researchers argued that the cholera outbreak especially in Harare around 2008 indicated the extent of collapse of the urban services delivery system (Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010).

Table 7.6 Teachers' reasons for unsatisfactory rating of urban services and their responses

Reason / response	Non-migrant (%)	Migrant (%)
Reasons		
Rent or land expensive	41	48
Building materials expensive and in short supply	30	39
Water in short supply (rationed)	66	63
Water not purified	34	39
Frequent power cuts	66	72
Blocked sanitation drains	44	37
Responses to crisis in urban services		
No action	33	29
Organised community to strike	0	4
Contributed to my migration to SA	1	44
Moved to rural area or other town	3	3
Organised community to repair sewage drains	8	3
Used firewood for power	33	14
Disposed own refuse e.g. dug pits	24	4

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level ($P<0.05$) ** Significant at 1% level ($P<0.01$)

Deterioration of social services including in education, health and urban services all formed the background on which teacher immigration to South Africa, particularly around 2008, occurred. The situation was worsened by the fact that the social services that should have been provided by the government at affordable rates became more available in the private sector and at exorbitant fees sometimes charged in foreign currency. The situation in the three social service sectors discussed including education, health and urban services, has generally improved in the current period with the quality of urban services lagging behind the most. This implied that such social problems could no longer account for teacher migration in the current period.

7.3 Migration and life under the economic crisis

One of the results with an insignificant chi-square value was that of the teachers' perceptions of life under the crisis. This meant that the teachers' perceptions of life under the crisis could not explain why some teachers migrated and others remained in the country. Chapter 3 argued that some of the impacts of the economic crisis on the lives of Zimbabweans included unemployment, dwindling purchasing power, and increasing poverty. In consistence with this argument, both non- and migrant teachers perceived life around 2008 as very difficult (62% and 60%, respectively) (Table 7.7). In comparison, there were more mixed feelings about life in the current period, 2012. Most of the teachers were of the view that life in the current period was average (neither hard nor easy) (Table 7.7).

Table 7.7 Teachers' perceptions of life under the economic crisis and currently (N=200)

Perceptions	**Non-migrants (%)**		**Migrants (%)**	
	Around 2008	*Current*	*Around 2008*	*Current*
Very hard	62	6	60	7
Hard	25	29	23	26
Neither hard nor easy	8	45	11	39
Easy	5	18	6	23
Very easy	0	2	0	5

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level (P<0.05) ** Significant at 1% level (P<0.01)

The shift of most teachers' views from leading very hard lives around 2008 to average lives in the current period indicated that the pressure of the economic crisis had eased a bit but not gone away completely. As noted earlier, despite earning salaries in foreign currency, most of the non-migrant teachers were not satisfied with their current wages that significantly lagged behind those earned by migrant teachers in South Africa. In addition, the results of reasons for migration indicated that expensive or the short supply of foodstuffs contributed to the teachers' immigration to South Africa. While food shortages were mainly experienced around 2008 because of hyperinflation that made business people unable to plan for the next day, food prices have remained high during 'dollarisation' mainly because Zimbabwe imports most of the food

consumed in the country. This explained why most migrant teachers also lived average lives when in Zimbabwe with their families during the current period.

While the economic crisis had eased a bit for most of the teachers, life had not changed much for a quarter of both non- and migrant teachers who responded that life was still hard in the current period (29% and 26%, respectively) (Table 7.7). Most of the teachers viewed life as hard around 2008 and a few teachers felt the same in the current period because they struggled to have food on the table (53% and 59%, respectively) (Table 7.8). Food is a basic need and in richer countries most of the citizens do not struggle to have food because it is cheap and their incomes are far above the poverty datum line. This implied that life in the current period was still hard due to the prices of basic foodstuffs that were still high in relation to the teachers' incomes.

The situation for non-migrant teachers was worse than that of migrants as their incomes have remained close to the poverty datum line. For instance, The Zimbabwean Newspaper of 12 August 2009 reported that the food basket for the low income family of six was at US$148.30 in July 2009 and this resulted in teachers' allowances being raised to US$155 per month in August 2009. Despite this pay rise, teachers' incomes remained below the poverty line. The results of a related question on the adequacy of current salaries further confirmed this finding as for one-third of the non-migrant teachers, which was the majority, monthly salaries were only adequate for food and clothing (Fig. 7.1). But, about 15% of the non-migrant teachers lived in food poverty as their salaries were inadequate even for food alone. It was assumed that the teachers' perceptions on the adequacy of salaries were based on other factors such as household size. The high prices of foodstuffs in the current period as well as food shortages around 2008 made most of the teachers to struggle with having food on the table and this pushed some of the teachers into migration.

There was more support for the argument that teachers' salaries were inadequate for food, which was in short supply around 2008 and expensive even in the current period, since a significant proportion (42%) of non-migrant teachers compromised their diets (Table 7.8). The fact that a slightly lower percentage (35%) of migrant teachers compromised diets could be explained by the variation in the migrant teachers' year of arrival in South Africa. The teachers that arrived

around 2008 and earlier had better access to cheaper foodstuffs and could consume more varieties of foodstuffs, which were still unaffordable to most non-migrant teachers' families. This meant that life around 2008 was easier for some of the migrant teachers' families.

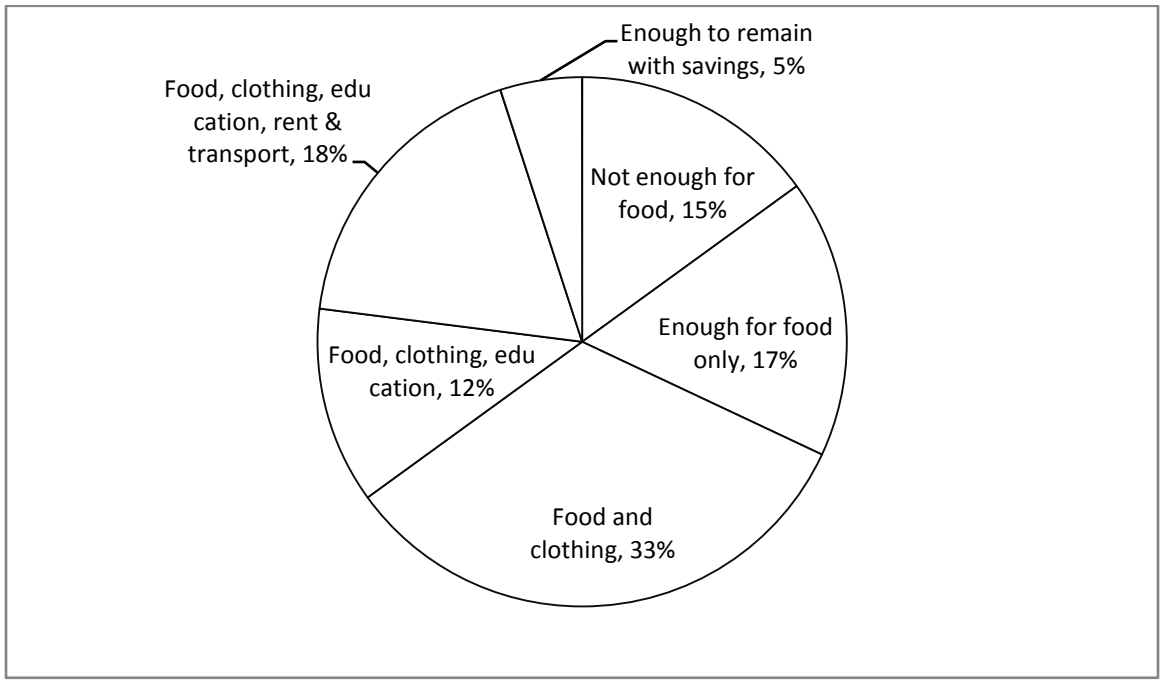

Fig. 7.1 The adequacy of non-migrant teachers' current salaries

Inadequate incomes and food shortages or expensive foodstuffs were both related as they led to the dwindling purchasing power of the teachers. These factors, which also dominated among the migrant teachers reasons for migration, were further confirmed as the major driving forces of this migration. Asked about what aspects of life under the crisis they disliked most, both migrant and non-migrant teachers cited in order of priority, a devalued currency and the lack of foodstuffs in the supermarkets (Table 7.8). The devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar was actually responsible for the teachers' dwindling purchasing power and the business peoples' inability to stock foodstuffs. As a result of their reduced purchasing power, the second highest percentages of both non- and migrant teachers also struggled with paying children's school fees. Other researchers have argued that tuition fees have been nominal but levies have made fees get out of reach of most parents (Kanyongo, 2005). In addition to the levies, parents were expected to pay teachers' incentives since 2008 when this strategy was introduced to help incentivise teachers to return to the classroom. This has made education more expensive.

Table 7.8 Teachers' justifications of ratings of life under the crisis

Justification / response	Non-migrant (%)	Migrant (%)
Why life was hard		
Struggled to have food	53	59
Could not afford new clothes	36	36
Could not afford school fees	43	49
Lost relatives to treatable diseases **	25	42
Walked to work or no transport *	21	33
Compromised diets	42	35
Why life was easy **		
Migration to South Africa	0	91
Remittances from diaspora	31	5
Paid incentives in US dollar	23	0
Second job / income generating activity	19	2
Black market activities e.g. money exchange	26	2
Aspects of economic crisis disliked most		
No foodstuffs in supermarkets	29	22
Changing prices	14	20
Bank withdrawal limits	2	1
Stagnant salaries	16	4
Devalued Zimbabwean dollar	20	39
No or expensive transport (no fuel)	1	2
Expensive 'black market'	2	1
No credit from banks or shops	4	0
Inability to budget for the next day	12	11

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level (P<0.05) ** Significant at 1% level (P<0.01)

Coping with the economic hardships for some of the teachers involved multiple responses since most teachers used more than one coping strategy during the crisis. Many migrant teachers omitted this question (Q3.14) mainly due to neglecting skip rules (Appendix 1). Most of the teachers including both non- and migrant teachers coped with the Zimbabwean crisis through petty trading (35% and 47%, respectively) (Table 7.9). Cross-border trade, which was also associated with the selling of petty commodities on the 'black market' brought from outside the country as they were on demand because of the food shortages, was the coping strategy mentioned by the second largest percentages of both non- and migrant teachers (28% and 29%, respectively). The third most popular strategy used by the teachers to cope with crisis was remittances from relatives in diaspora (22% and 21%, respectively). This meant that migrant teachers also coped with the crisis through engaging in petty and cross-border trading as well as receiving remittances from relatives in diaspora prior to their migration. The fact that migrant teachers went on to immigrate to South Africa means that incomes from these additional sources were inadequate or unsustainable for their families.

Another question was added which required the teachers to state their major response to the economic crisis especially the reduced purchasing power and impoverishment. A highly significant chi-square value ($P<0.01$) indicated an association between immigration to South Africa and the teachers' major response to the economic crisis. While most migrant teachers decided to look for work outside the country (61%), most non-migrant teachers engaged in income-generating projects (31%). Examples of these projects included sewing, poultry keeping, selling peanut butter, selling cakes, and photography. Poultry keeping was the most common project engaged in by non-migrant teachers. The second highest percentages of non-migrant teachers coped with the Zimbabwean crisis through cross-border and petty trading (20% each) (Table 7.9). Cross-border and petty trading were consistently cited by non-migrant teachers as coping strategies or responses to the economic crisis in both the multiple and single response questions, which suggested their significant survival value in the non-migrant teachers' lives.

Table 7.9 Teachers' coping strategies and responses to the economic crisis

Coping strategy / Response	Non-migrant (%)	Migrant (%)
Coping strategies used during crisis	*N=100*	*N=42*
Remittances from diaspora	22	21
Cross-border trade	28	29
Illegal mining	6	3
Petty trading	35	47
Second job	7	12
Money exchange	5	6
Selling fuel	2	6
Farming	14	9
Parents' incentives (in US dollars)	13	3
*Major responses to the economic crisis***	*N=100*	*N=100*
Job searching outside Zimbabwe	14	61
Got job outside Zimbabwe	4	27
Got second job in Zimbabwe	10	2
Income generating project	31	5
Cross-border trade	20	2
Trading scarce commodities	20	1
Money exchange business	1	1

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level (P<0.05) ** Significant at 1% level (P<0.01)

The economic crisis, which reduced the teachers' purchasing power, significantly contributed to the teachers' immigration to South Africa in search of better economic pastures. But, other teachers remained behind as they coped with the crisis through income generating activities, cross-border and petty trading. The results on gender analysis also showed the tendency by non-migrant female teachers to prefer cross-border trade to South Africa while they remained close to families and avoided challenges associated with immigration to South Africa. Petty trading and the operation of flea markets were also mentioned by some non-migrant female teachers as the other sources of income. As some researchers have argued, it was easier for teachers and other civil servants to engage in cross-border trade because until 2009 Zimbabwean civil servants

could visit South Africa without the need to obtain a visa, which cost about R 2000 to obtain for those individuals who were not civil servants (Chagonda, 2010: 12). Other researchers found that "incomes from cross-border trade enables them to meet the basic needs of their families" (Kiwanuka and Monson, 2009: 58).

Smaller proportions, which mainly constituted a quarter of either non- or migrant teachers, indicated that life under the crisis particularly in the current period was easy or very easy for them and their families. Some of the reasons why non-migrant teachers responded this way were because they received remittances from family members in diaspora (31%), engaged in 'black market' activities especially money exchange, and were paid incentives contributed by parents (23%) (Table 7.9). But for migrant teachers, life in the current period was easy because of their immigration to South Africa.

7.4 Migration and the political crisis

Statistically significant results ($P<0.05$) indicated an association between immigration to South Africa and whether the Zimbabwean schools taught by the teachers around 2008 were affected by political violence as well as the extent of the violence. A significantly larger proportion (76%) of migrant teachers came from schools affected by political violence after the March 2008 presidential elections than the proportion of non-migrant teachers that were at such affected schools (Table 7.10). On the contrary, non-migrant teachers dominated among those teachers whose schools were not affected by political violence at all (Fig. 7.2).

Table 7.10 Whether school taught in Zimbabwe was affected by political violence? (N=192)

School affected by political violence*	Non-migrants (%)	Migrants (%)
Yes	59	76
No	41	24

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level ($P<0.05$) ** Significant at 1% level ($P<0.01$)

NB: Some teachers did not complete the section on politics

Political violence significantly contributed to the teachers' immigration to South Africa whether the schools taught by the teachers were affected to a large or small extent. An assessment of the teachers' responses to political violence further confirmed this finding since most of the migrant teachers whose schools were at least affected said that political violence contributed to their decision to migrate to South Africa (66%) (Appendix 5.7). But, most of the non-migrant teachers who taught at schools that were at least affected by political violence remained at their schools (42%). Furthermore, most of the teachers including non- and migrant teachers knew a fellow teacher who had immigrated to South Africa or the UK because of political violence.

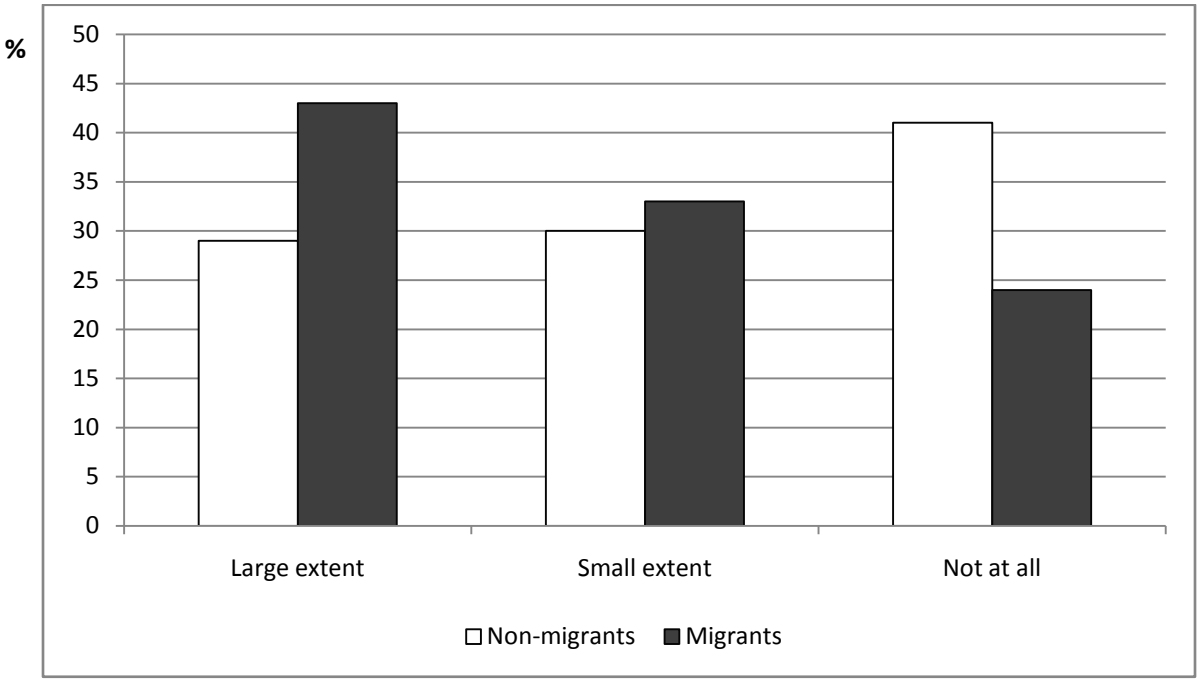

Fig. 7.2 Extent of political violence at schools taught by teachers around 2008

Patterning of political violence by location of school taught in Zimbabwe was also assessed in order to contribute to the literature on this topic. The results indicated the existence of an association between both the occurrence and extent of political violence and the location of the school taught by the teachers ($P<0.05$). While most of the schools affected by political violence were those in rural areas (54%), most of the schools that were not affected at all were in urban areas (63%) (Table 7.11). Rural schools dominated overwhelmingly among the schools affected by political violence to a large extent. But, urban schools dominated among the schools affected by political violence to a small extent and not at all (Table 7.11).

These findings indicated that political violence affected rural schools to a large extent. Since most migrant teachers also came from schools affected by political violence to a large extent, this meant that political violence mainly displaced rural teachers to South Africa. Politics together with the economic crisis that reduced the teachers' purchasing power mainly accounted for the influx of teachers into South Africa around 2007, 2008 and 2009. This conclusion was confirmed through the reasons for migration where inadequate salaries and political violence or repression were the highest and second highest reasons, respectively (Table 7.13). Furthermore, political violence might not have been the major reasons for migration but it influenced the migration of 59% of migrant teachers to a large extent and 23% to a small extent (Appendix 5.5).

Table 7.11 Distribution of political violence by location of school in Zimbabwe (N=192)

School affected by political violence?*	**Urban (%)**	**Rural (%)**
Yes	46	54
No	63	37
Extent of political violence*		
Large extent	39	61
Small extent	56	44
Not at all	63	37

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level (P<0.05) ** Significant at 1% level (P<0.01)

The results of the test of independence between immigration to South Africa and teachers' perceptions of personal security, freedom of expression and participation in Zimbabwe around 2008 were statistically significant (P<0.05) and those for the current period were highly significant (P<0.01) (Table 7.12). There were more mixed feelings among non-migrant than migrant teachers on their satisfaction with personal security, freedom of expression and participation in Zimbabwe around 2008. While most of the non-migrant teachers rated their satisfaction as very bad (47%) or bad (18%), other substantial percentages responded with average (neither good nor bad) (14) and good (18) (Table 7.12). On the other hand, there was more consensus among migrant teachers in their ratings as most of them responded with either very bad (55%) or bad (30%). These findings indicated that most of the migrant teachers were

not satisfied with their personal security, freedom of expression and participation in Zimbabwe around 2008. Although some migrant teachers were not victims of the political violence around 2008 and their schools might not have been affected to a large extent, the fact that some of the teachers' schools were affected to a small extent could have accounted for their unsatisfactory perceptions.

Table 7.12 Teachers' perceptions of personal security, freedom of expression and participation in Zimbabwe

Perceptions	**Non-migrants (%)**		**Migrants (%)**	
	Around 2008	*Current period*	*Around 2008*	*Current period*
Very bad	47	17	55	24
Bad	18	25	30	32
Neither good nor bad	15	23	11	38
Good	18	27	4	5
Very good	1	8	0	1

Source: Survey results.

NB: Results of 2008 were significant at 5% level ($P<0.05$) and current period 1% level ($P<0.01$)

Some of the migrant teachers shifted in their perceptions of satisfaction with personal security, freedom of expression and participation from unsatisfactory around 2008 to average in the current period. This meant that they could not yet rate their satisfaction as good. Substantial percentages of migrant teachers maintained their rating as unsatisfactory even for the current period (Table 7.12). This meant that considering the perceptions of the migrant teachers, most of them were still unhappy about the political scenario in Zimbabwe particularly that they feared for their personal security and were worried about the freedom of expression and participation in the country. The current political situation in Zimbabwe could be helping to retain some of the migrant teachers in South Africa. The distribution of non-migrant teachers' perceptions for the current period became more dispersed but with increasing percentages perceiving their security, freedom of expression and participation as average and satisfactory. There was a significant drop in the percentage of non-migrant teachers who were unsatisfied with their personal security, freedom of expression and participation between 2008 and the current period. Hence, the

teachers' perceptions of security, freedom of expression and participation in Zimbabwe seemed to be polarised particularly in the current period where non-migrant teachers were more satisfied with the current political situation and migrant teachers were more suspicious.

The reasons for unsatisfactory ratings related to personal security, freedom of expression and participation provided by the teachers particularly migrants indicated the lack of freedom of expression as the ruling party could not accept any criticism or opposing views.

> I was arrested for opposing the ruling party (ZANU-PF); one could be arrested, beaten or victimised for being anti-ZANU-PF; criticism not permitted; could not openly air out views; it is dangerous to be vocal.

The other reasons suggested that some of these teachers still live in fear of political violence in the current period as they witnessed political violence by supporters of the ruling party ZANU-PF on members or perceived members of the opposition around 2008.

> People intimidated before elections; intimidation is still there; victimisation still prevails; ZANU-PF can cause violence anytime; violence still exists; you never know the interests of the person you talk to; party members still victimised" (current period). "There was violence, some people were abducted and killed; torture camps; militia groups; we were victims of violence and abuse from war veterans; one could be easily killed; intimidation, violence and vote rigging; harassment of people; cheating (that was around 2008).

There were also reasons that showed the ruling party's tendencies towards autocratic rule and a one-party, undemocratic state. This is because the teachers' views suggested that people were forced to vote for the ruling party only or the ruling party rigged elections in order to remain in power.

> Autocratic rule prevails; forced to vote for ruling party; elections not free and fair at all; everything in the hands of ZANU-PF; forced to vote for what you are against; lack freedom in choosing leaders; people forced to accept what they did not want; vote rigging.

The final group of reasons for unsatisfactory rating of personal security, freedom of expression and participation suggested that the law was unfair in its treatment of opposition party members and there was also the repudiation of the freedom of the press.

> Oppressive laws favouring ZANU-PF; police do nothing when the victim belongs to the opposition (MDC); no protection of victims of violence; no rule of law; no transparency; independent papers not allowed in other areas; no news of opposition party on ZTV (Zimbabwe television); and censorship.

Those who rated positively the majority of who were non-migrant teachers provided reasons that suggested that because they have not seen acts of violence or people forced to vote for the ruling party, then the political situation was fine or had improved.

> It is peaceful; never victimised; no violence yet; not involved in politics (apolitical); people free to vote alone in booths; Zimbabwe is a democratic country; free movement at any time; I did not suffer from any violence since; never heard of someone imprisoned for expressing his/her views.

Some of the teachers especially migrants suggested that there was an impasse in the political situation and one could not know what the future had in store regarding the political environment.

> Not clear what will happen politically; not clear, no good faith; not yet certain; nothing has changed politically; unstable political atmosphere; no change in the use of state organs in spreading fear.

Most of the teachers were of the view that teachers were victims in the violence that ensued in the country after the March 2008 presidential elections. The teachers provided several reasons why teachers were victimised most of which suggested that the ruling party believed that the teachers supported or sympathised with the opposition, MDC. This means that in some cases teachers were innocent victims.

> Teachers were believed to be anti-government; they were believed to be for the opposition; they were perceived as MDC members; ruling party afraid that teachers would influence pupils against it; teachers accused of politicising people; thought they feed rural parents with information.

The belief that teachers would turn voters against the ruling party was sometimes because teachers were the most knowledgeable people in the community and they could see what was going wrong in the economy and government.

> Educated and know their rights; teachers are the educated people in the community; they had access to information such as satellite televisions; they interact with the community; they know their rights and could mobilise society to resist oppression; they are respected in community and were likely to cause change; teachers can spread the truth.

Finally, the belief that teachers supported the opposition could have been based on actual facts as some teachers were really opposition party members. But even if they were members, they had the democratic right to support any party they wanted. This shows the political intolerance of the ruling party, ZANU-PF. The comments of a few teachers suggested that teachers actually influenced pupils against voting for the ruling party especially pupils over 18 years old who were legible to vote. “Teachers were teaching pupils to change; teachers taught politics to pupils; teachers were very supportive of MDC and focused on change”.

Three migrant teachers who previously taught at rural secondary schools in Zimbabwe, two of whom were directly pushed into migration by political violence in Zimbabwe, shared their stories with the researcher. Mr. G. is a specialised mathematics and science teacher aged 43 years old and teaching in Gauteng province. He arrived in South Africa in 2008. Prior to his immigration to South Africa he taught at a rural mission school in Masvingo province. He was the Secretary for the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) for his constituency from 2000. "As a former secretary of the MDC, I have first hand information on the cruelty of ZANU-PF's bloody tactics to steal the election victory". After a tip-off from ZANU-PF insiders, he disappeared from the constituency towards the March 2002 presidential elections. But, his house and the property inside were damaged by violent youths from the Border Gezi Training Centre. "My house, which I built with the meagre salaries from the Ministry of Education, became a kraal for goats and donkeys since the doors and windows were shattered by ZANU-PF youths".

During the campaign periods for most of the other elections held after March 2002, Mr. G went into hiding and only appeared during voting since "I earnestly wanted my vote to be counted". Towards the March 2008 presidential elections, he was alerted again by an insider from ZANU-PF in the district that his lucky for survival could run out since ZANU-PF was going to unleash violence against opposition members during the election. "Since I was already at loggerheads with ZANU-PF officials in my constituency, getting out of the country was the only option. I tried to seek for a transfer to another district for the sake of my safety but all was in vain. The Deputy Regional Director in the Ministry of Education for Masvingo Province, who was a ZANU-PF cadre, thwarted my efforts at transferring". This is how he ended up moving to South Africa. His story shows that teachers that participated actively in politics were mainly the ones that ended up as victims of political violence or had to flee the country for their safety.

The second teacher whose immigration to South Africa was directly driven by political violence is another mathematics and science teacher aged around 46 years and is teaching in Limpopo province. Mr. MG is among the first batch of teachers recruited in Limpopo province around April 2008 when the Limpopo Department of Education (LDE) started recruiting Zimbabwean teachers. Prior to his recruitment by the LDE, he taught at a mainly White private school in Johannesburg that is in 2006 and 2007. Before moving to South Africa, he also taught for two

years in Botswana. He left Botswana because his contract was not renewed since there was a new policy that required half of the staff at all schools to be constituted by Tswana teachers. “At the school I taught, all teachers were foreigners except for the administrative and supporting staff”. The school used the “late to arrive, first to go” principle to screen out some of the excess foreigners and this is how he found his contract not renewed.

What made Mr. MG move to Botswana in the first place? “Politics”, he answered. “Most of the teachers at our school (name provided) were forced to leave the school except for three teachers out of twenty-seven. ZANU-PF youths with the backing of the much feared central intelligence organisation (CIO) chased us while they looted all the property that we had worked for in several years. We left without anything”. The researcher became curious to hear more and that is when he narrated the whole ordeal. Mr. MG was the MDC Secretary for his constituency in rural Chikomba district of Mashonaland East province. “They always targeted the Secretary because he was the one with the list of members”. It was in early 2000 when Mr. MG and other teachers at his school attended the official launch of the MDC in Chitungwiza, Harare. “We were then tasked to introduce the party in our constituency”. When they started to campaign for the opposition party, MDC, the ruling party ZANU-PF was silent. Later and towards the 2000 parliamentary elections, a ZANU-PF insider in the constituency informed Mr. MG and the other teachers that following a meeting held in Harare, the ruling party had resolved unleashing violence on all opposition members. “We also learnt that in our constituency they had already beaten up and wounded some MDC members and they were after us”.

Mr. MG and the other teachers went into hiding and their hiding places mainly involved hotels in Harare. But, they were tracked down by members of the CIO and on another occasion they accidentally met the ZANU-PF Youth League Chairman for their constituency, who hated them so much. All this hibernation was sponsored by the MDC. They were finally instructed to move to the eastern city of Mutare, which appeared further from Harare and the mounting pressure. On their way to Mutare, some of the teachers blundered as they suggested going via the school. “When we arrived at the local shopping centre, we were immediately surrounded with guns pointing at us”. They were in the custody of the ruling party’s agents for 5 months being subjected to different types of torture including mental torture. They were finally pardoned and

released back to their school. Towards the 2002 presidential election they were ordered to attend ZANU-PF rallies, which they refused mimicking that they were not supposed to be politically active as civil servants. That is when they were ordered to leave the school without anything.

The third life story by Mr. N, aged 40 years, who also taught in rural Chikomba district of Mashonaland East Province but was not an active member of the opposition, showed how some teachers politicised pupils against the ruling party. "ZANU-PF youths and war veterans would descend on our school say when we are at assembly. They ordered me as the Acting Head of the school to chant the slogan in support of ZANU-PF. When my fellow teachers failed to chant the slogan to their satisfaction, they were allegedly associated with the opposition". Some of these teachers were actually influencing the pupils, especially those aged over 18 years and legible to vote, against voting for the ruling party. Some of them were distributing T-shirts for the MDC, which Mr. N refused to take. "They were forced to surrender the T-shirts and confess their resignation from the opposition. Immediately they were ordered to buy membership cards for the ruling party, ZANU-PF". All this was done under intimidation, persecution and even torture. Mr. N did not migrate then but later around 2010 after realising that his income continued to be inadequate for his family's needs. Other researchers found that Mashonaland East province, which used to be the stronghold for ZANU-PF support together with the other two Mashonaland provinces, was one of the provinces most affected by political violence after the disputed 2008 presidential elections (Raftopoulos, 2009).

The three life stories indicated that most of the teachers were desperate for change in the political system and this resulted in some of them actively campaigning for the newly formed opposition party, the MDC, especially in the early 2000s. As other researchers argued, the ruling party used violence again opposition members in order to regain its waning support (Mashingaidze, 2006). The teachers were mainly victimised because some of them were actual members of the MDC. For some of these teachers, violence did not only involve intimidation, persecution or torture but also the destruction and looting of hard-earned properties. Those who were not politically active were less likely to be victimised and this is probably why some teachers could not leave the country. The story by Mr. N showed how some teachers were forcibly recruited into the ruling party membership, which echoes some of the migrant teachers' sentiments that they were forced

to vote for the ruling party. Hence, the finding that most of the migrant teachers were not happy about their personal security, freedom of expression and participation including voting especially around 2008 was not a surprise. Politics around 2008 should have significantly contributed to the influx of teachers who arrived in South Africa around this time.

7.5 Reasons for non-migration and migration

Reasons for migration or non-migration provided a summary of the determinants of the Zimbabwean teachers' immigration to South Africa and this is why they are discussed after the determinants as this helped cross-checking the important determinants. Results of reasons for non-migration are presented first and then later are the results of reasons for migration.

7.5.1 Reasons for non-migration

The suggested answers for this question included reasons that were further grouped into lack of networks, gender, monetary costs of migration and avoiding social costs, knowledge of South Africa, and factors endogenous to Zimbabwe's education system. Half of the teachers, which were the majority, have not migrated or have returned because they wanted to be close to their families (Table 7.13). Their value of family unity made most of the non-migrant teachers to stay at home. Although the chi-square value was insignificant, more female than male non-migrant teachers mentioned this reason. The second majority (40%) of the teachers has not migrated because of family roles and responsibilities and again female teachers were more represented than their male counterparts. The third and fourth reasons with relatively high percentages included fear of violence or crime (33%) and love for the country (21%) (Table 7.13). Out of the top four reasons, three, including want to be close to family, family roles and responsibilities and love for the country were all related to avoiding social costs of migration. Hence, social reasons were responsible for the non-migration of most of the teachers.

The other major reason, the fear of violence or crime, gave more support to the previous result discussed under demand-pull factors. This result indicated that despite fearing violence or crime in South Africa, most of the teachers (both non- and migrant) still found SA to be an attractive

destination. On the other hand, based on this new finding, the new argument is that despite perceiving SA as an attractive destination, a third of the non-migrant teachers have not migrated because of fear of violence or crime. A school head from Manicaland province in Zimbabwe supported this finding during the interviews when he said that other teachers have not left for South Africa because of "fear of the unknown".

Responses to 'subject taught is not in demand', which was the fifth most common reason for non-migration, rendered more support to the previous finding that most of the non-migrant teachers taught languages or art subjects that were not in demand especially in South African government schools. Lack of networks measured by the lack of information or friends and relatives in diaspora could not explain why some of the teachers have not migrated. This supported the previous findings that most non-migrants, like migrants, knew about teaching opportunities outside the country and that this knowledge came from friends and relatives in diaspora. Among supply-pull factors or benefits associated with the country of origin, job security or pensions received a higher percentage than incentives. This meant that other teachers have not stayed behind mainly because of incentives.

7.5.2 Reasons for migration

The major reason why the teachers have migrated to South Africa is because of inadequate salaries earned in Zimbabwe both during the use of the inflationary Zimbabwean dollar and the use of the US dollar since 2009. This reason received overwhelming responses from 76%, which was about three-quarters, of the migrant teachers (Table 7.13). The second highest percentages of the migrant teachers were 'pushed' into migration by either the expensive foodstuffs and food shortages or political violence (36% each). These two findings were consistent with the initial assessment under economic supply-push factors where the major finding was that incomes eroded by inflation and the food shortages around 2008 or high food prices in the current period 'pushed' most of the teachers' into migrating to South Africa.

Table 7.13: Teachers' reasons for migration and non-migration (N=200)

Reason for non-migration	%	Reasons for migration	%
Lack of information	7	Poor accommodation / other services	8
Lack of kin/friend in diaspora	12	High workload / lack of materials	6
Husband or relatives disapprove	8	Expensive food or shortages	36
Family roles and responsibilities	40	Political violence or repression	36
Lack money to process papers	13	Inadequate salary	76
Subject taught not in demand	17	Fellow teachers migrating	11
Don't have a degree	7	No future for me or children	21
Fear of violence or crime	33	Lack of promotion / movement to better school	1
Love for the country	21	Need to further studies	8
Want to be close to family	51	Inadequate incentives	27
Given adequate incentives	4	Join spouse	4
Job security, pension or other benefits	13	Teachers lost dignity or respect	30

Source: Survey results

These results indicated that economic factors, which included inadequate salary and expensive foodstuffs or food shortages, dominated among the driving forces of this migration. As a result, it can be argued based on these findings and those on reasons for non-migration that migrants and non-migrants were motivated by different factors. While most non-migrants were motivated by social factors into staying at home, migrant teachers were motivated by economic reasons in their immigration to South Africa. In other words, for the non-migrant teachers 'money cannot solve all problems' but for the migrant teachers 'money solves all problems'.

Political violence or repression was the second major driving force behind the immigration of teachers to South Africa. This result further supported the findings of the political supply-push factors where the major finding was that some of the teachers were 'pushed' into migration by political violence whether their schools were affected by violence to a large or small extent. Despite not being direct victims of political violence, other migrant teachers were indirectly 'pushed into migration' as most of them were dissatisfied with personal security, freedom of

expression and participation in Zimbabwe. Other reasons why the teachers immigrated to South Africa that received substantial responses included 'teachers lost their dignity or respect' (30%), inadequate incentives (27%), and no future for me or my children (21%) (Table 7.13).

Teachers lost dignity as a result of several factors but mainly because they earned lower salaries than those in the private sector and even those in the informal sector including the more lucrative 'black market' at that time. This de-motivated most of the teachers as they used to earn more than these other groups especially around the 1980s and early 1990s. Like in the case of reasons for non-migration where incentives could not explain why some teachers remained in the country, incentives were also inadequate to retain most of these teachers. The story by Mr. S, who migrated from an elite school in Harare that provided many incentives including free transport, also provided further support to this finding. The previous finding that some of the migrant teachers (25%) actually pulled their children out of the collapsed Zimbabwean education system and took them to South Africa supported the finding that 21% of the migrant teachers left because they saw no future for themselves or their children.

Immigration to South Africa created the opportunity for some of the teachers to do further studies. Responses of migrant teachers showed a significant shift from unsatisfactory chances for further education around 2008 when they were in Zimbabwe to satisfactory chances in the current period when they were in South Africa. But, the responses of non-migrant teachers, which were more mixed, did not show a significant trend between the two periods in chances for further education. The major reason for unsatisfactory chances for further education around 2008 particularly for migrant teachers was lack of money to sponsor their own education. Migrant teachers could have been motivated by the prospects of earning enough money to pay for their own further studies when they immigrated to South Africa. But, the realisation that they could engage in further studies could have come later when they were already in South Africa after seeing that their salaries were enough to pay for further studies programmes.

Reasons that were mentioned the least included school-based reasons such as poor accommodation or the provision of other services as well as high workloads or the lack of teaching and learning materials in schools. Furthermore, most of the teachers did not migrate

because fellow teachers were migrating. Only a few migrant teachers mentioned other reasons such as joining a spouse and none of the teachers mentioned lack of promotion or movement to a better school as the reason for immigrating to South Africa. Although some of the school-based reasons can explain the internal migration of teachers within Zimbabwe, they could not account for why these teachers have immigrated to South Africa.

7.6 Chapter conclusion

The chapter presented and discussed the teachers' perceptions of the quality of social service delivery around 2008 and in the current period. The deterioration in social services contributed to the migration of some teachers especially those who left the country around 2008. But, since social service delivery improved during the GNU and the use of multiple currencies (current period), this aspect could not account for the migration that occurred after 2008. The difficult lives experienced by most of the teachers during the peak of the crisis (around 2008) explained the high inflow of Zimbabwean teachers into South Africa around that time. These teachers were motivated by the human need to survive the crisis at home, which was both economic and political, rather than the search for better salaries. Since the pressure of the economic crisis has eased a bit due to the adoption of multiple currencies and the availability of most goods and services on the market, most of the teacher migration after 2008 was less motivated by survival needs but rather the wage differences between the two countries and networking with those who migrated earlier. Wage differences continued to exist because teachers' salaries paid in foreign currency in Zimbabwe remained close to the poverty line as the GNU claimed that it was broke and could not revise teachers' salaries upwards on a regular basis. Hence, the teachers' immigration to South Africa occurred over two distinct periods that is, one during which life was at stake and survival strategies imperative and the other when the teachers' salaries could afford them the basics in life but others chose to earn more in South Africa. The implication of these findings as well as those presented and discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 for literature, policy and further research are discussed in detail in the next and last chapter of this volume.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter, the last in a series of six chapters, provides a summary of the entire study as well as makes conclusions based on the major findings. The conclusions were separated into those from literature and findings of the empirical investigation. The chapter ends with recommendations related to the brain drain, the role of South Africa in this migration, and the need for more economic and political stability in Zimbabwe.

8.2 Summary

This study was motivated by the collapse of one of the most successful education systems in countries of the South that is, the Zimbabwean education system. The developments in Zimbabwe's education system provided a point of interest for scholars in development studies as Zimbabwe together with other low income countries such as Cuba, Costa Rica and the state of Kerala in India has been used as a classical example of universalising social services such as education. As the findings in Chapter 3 have shown, the collapse of the Zimbabwean education system was preceded by the collapse of the economy. This also motivated the researcher as he was interested in understanding more about the relationship between economic and social development.

The main objective of the study was to explain why some Zimbabwean teachers have left the country and others have remained behind when both teachers lived in a country under an economic and political crisis as well as a collapsed education system. The study proposed that answers to the 'why' question could be found in the teachers' individual differences and the extent of the impact and their responses to the social, economic and political crises as well as the role of intervening or mitigation factors such as networking, gender, costs of migration, and school-based factors.

The review of theories and literature in Chapter 2 helped in the identification of different factors responsible for the brain drain involving the migration of professionals from countries of the South to richer countries of the North. Despite alerting the researcher of the usual 'push and pull' factors, Chapter 2 also highlighted the effects of mitigation factors in the migration process particularly the article on brain drain in the health sector by Padarath et al (2003). The supply-push factors, which involved the social, economic and political dimensions of the Zimbabwean crisis, were discussed in detail in Chapter 3. The anatomy of the crisis was described and its influence on the mass exodus from Zimbabwe after 2000 was analysed. Teacher migration from Zimbabwe was located within the mass exodus, and the macro-level factors that initiated teacher migration including hyperinflation, teacher strikes, and the eventual collapse of the education system around 2008 were also looked into in Chapter 3.

Chapter 4 described the research design, which was basically quantitative research and supplemented to a smaller extent by qualitative data collection methods. This research design involved the administration of a questionnaire in order to find out the determinants of Zimbabwean teacher immigration to South Africa. In addition to the questionnaire, data was also collected through interviews with a few school heads in Zimbabwe and secondary data sources particularly circulars collected from the Department of Education provincial offices in South Africa. The questionnaires were self-administered by 100 teachers in Zimbabwe selected from different types of schools including private, mission, and government or council schools both in rural and urban areas. Another 100 Zimbabwean teachers currently teaching in South African private and public schools responded to a similar questionnaire, which had the same questions for both migrant and non-migrant teachers except for a few sections that were more specific to one group or the other. The questionnaire basically constituted close-ended questions whereby the respondents had to tick or circle appropriate answers except for a few questions that required explanations. These questions improved reliability and they were easier to process than open-ended questions. Prior to its administration, the questionnaire was pretested on 10 teachers, 5 currently teaching in Zimbabwe and the other 5 in South Africa. Pre-testing the questionnaire improved it in terms of clarity of the questions, expanding the list of suggested answers, as well as brevity since repetition was reduced. The questionnaire was an appropriate instrument for the

study as the teachers are educated and they could complete the questionnaire without any problems.

The fieldwork study, which was conducted between April and September 2012, involved two parts that is one part conducted in Zimbabwe and the other in South Africa. In Zimbabwe, the study was conducted in four selected provinces including Harare, Bulawayo, Manicaland and Masvingo. This selection, which was purposive, was aimed at controlling for the effects of location of school that is urban or rural as well as ethnicity. In South Africa, the study was conducted in selected three provinces including Gauteng, Mpumalanga and Limpopo. These provinces were selected because of the higher probability of finding Zimbabwean teachers than in other provinces. Zimbabwean teachers were least likely to be found in the rest of the other provinces because they are located further away from home and the support of friends and relatives.

Conducting the study in both Zimbabwe and South Africa facilitated for comparison of the determinants of immigration to South Africa among migrant teachers against a reference group, the non-migrant teachers. This research design, which was one of the study's major strengths, was a deviation from most migration surveys that are conducted either in the country of origin or the recipient country, with a greater proportion preferring the recipient country. The quantitative research design had advantages that included quick gathering, processing and analysing of data, reliability as the study could be replicated, and improved coverage of the desired respondents that is, the migrant teachers. Probability sampling techniques including simple random and stratified sampling were mainly used in the selection of the Zimbabwean sample. But, non-probability sampling techniques such as snowball sampling were used to identify the migrant teachers in South Africa mainly because they are scattered among many districts, clusters and schools. The data that was gathered using the questionnaire was captured and processed using the computer. Two-way tables (or cross-tabulations) were used to analyse the data and the Pearson Chi-square test of independence was used to test for significant associations between immigration to South Africa and the determinants.

The major limitation of the study emanated from the fact that the study relied on the teachers' perceptions, which were subjective. The accuracy of the results therefore depended on the assumption that the teachers sincerely and honestly responded to the questionnaires such that their views could be regarded as representing the views of other teachers in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Other limitations were related to the teachers' understanding of questions, ability to follow skip rules, and patience on completing the entire questionnaire since teachers were always busy attending lessons and assessing pupils' work. Some of the limitations were dealt with accordingly in order for the study to be a success and the following conclusions were reached on the basis of the major findings.

8.3 Conclusions from literature study

Zimbabwean teachers' immigration to South Africa involved brain drain to Zimbabwe but 'brain gain' to South Africa. This means that South Africa will continue to develop as its citizens taught by the Zimbabweans pass high school and train to become doctors and engineers at the expense of those in Zimbabwe. This scenario fits well into Wallerstein's world systems theory where the outward expansion of the core into the periphery in order to extract resources ends up in the development of communication networks and the movement of resources to the core including skilled and unskilled labour (Massey et al, 1993).

As typical of brain drain, most of the highly skilled and qualified teachers who should spearhead both economic and social development in the exporting country have left, leaving less qualified teachers with Diplomas including in mathematics and science subjects. Padarath et al (2003) argued that this knowledge loss from a poorer country to a richer country is actually a form of reverse (poor to rich) subsidy, which benefits the richer country. South African pupils that could have gone without teachers especially for mathematics and science subjects do not only have teachers in form of the Zimbabweans, but arguably some of the best teachers that money can buy. The loss to the exporting country, Zimbabwe, has occurred when the country is recovering from its worst economic and political crisis and needs the services of these teachers most.

The country's loss of highly qualified, experienced and specialised teachers to South Africa poses a serious challenge to the country's ability to achieve universal primary education by 2015. The quality of the country's education system, which depended on the quality of teachers since a small proportion of the country's annual budget went to purchase support materials such as textbooks (Kusereka, 2009; UNESCO, 2000), was further dealt a huge blow by the immigration of the high quality teachers to South Africa. Despite the existence of a SADC protocol that restricts the movement of professionals within the region, which South Africa neglected when she went on to officially recruit Zimbabwean teachers in 2007 and 2008 (Murisa, 2010), it is in the interest of Zimbabwe to retain its own professionals.

On the contrary, the major challenge facing the South African education system, which is faced in the education systems of other richer countries including those of the North, is attracting and retaining young graduates especially in mathematics and science. Teacher shortages have been reported in the USA, the United Kingdom (UK), Europe, Australia and some Arab countries (Daily Inquirer, 26 June 2009). The expanding of some education systems, which is relevant for the South African system, has also been blamed for the teacher shortages. This has led to the debate whether the aggressive international recruitment of teachers involves social justice especially to the education systems of the poorer countries where the teachers are expected to come from. Morgan et al (2006) argued that the brain drain in poorer countries of the South cannot be blamed on the international recruitment of teachers but on the exporting countries' failure to address internal matters such as teachers' salaries and focusing on expanding teacher training in the face of increasing demand. This argument seemed appropriate since teachers and other professionals are human beings that are motivated by the need to improve their lives. The most concerned party in this movement, who are the poorer and exporting countries, should find ways of dealing with this brain drain including creating a socio-economic and political environment that motivates the teachers to remain in their country as well as consistently improving teachers' salaries and other working conditions.

The study found the existence of a huge wage gap between current salaries earned in Zimbabwe's education sector and those earned by teachers in South African government schools, which was between four to five times. Although the wage gap had less influence on the teachers'

immigration to South Africa during the peak of the Zimbabwean crisis around 2007 and 2008, it definitely played a significant role after 2009 when teachers in Zimbabwe were paid in foreign currency. Neo-classical economic theory from Ravenstein writing around 1885 to the Harris and Todaro model in 1970 has postulated that differences in wages between two geographical areas have the potential to cause migration from the area with lower wages and high supply of labour to that with higher wages and high demand for labour (Massey et al, 1993). In support of economic theory again, the study found that economic reasons predominated over political reasons for the migrant teachers' immigration to South Africa.

The study confirmed the feminisation of international migration, which is documented in literature. The study's findings slightly deviated from the findings by Gaidzanwa (1998) in a study on cross-border trade where most of the women who "explored the cross-border trade in large numbers are predominantly single, widowed and divorced women as well as elderly women in difficult family circumstances". Instead, most of the female teachers who have migrated to South Africa as well as those who intended migrating were married. But, the finding that most non-migrant teachers especially females used cross-border and petty trading to survive the crisis was consistent with the argument by Lefko-Everett (2007) that gender roles demanded that most women engage in circular movements. In addition to family roles and responsibilities, the fear of violence or crime especially rape in South Africa also explained why some female teachers have not migrated to South Africa.

In the case of the teachers, access to financial resources to cover emigration costs as well as the lack of networks were not found to militate against immigration to South Africa as found by other studies (Crush, 2003). Although a small percentage of migrant female teachers defied husbands and society including relatives, most of them were supported by husbands and society in their immigration to South Africa. But, most of the resistance faced by non-migrant teachers from spouses and relatives has been argued on the basis of women's gender roles particularly their roles in child care. The association of women who migrated alone with prostitution in townships, which was found by Gaidzanwa (1998), could be inferred from a few migrant women's challenges but was not quantitatively significant.

The study found that teacher immigration to South Africa peaked between 2007 and 2009 and then declined. This peak was associated with migration to survive the economic and political crisis at home. The effects of government's reduction in social spending during the crisis was analogous to the cuts in social spending under the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), which 'pushed' some citizens of SSA countries into diaspora (Adepoju, 2008). Akpabio (2008) argued that the displacement of nationals on the African continent due to dictatorial leadership is not new as it has happened in other African countries before. Hence, international migration has been used in the African continent to survive both economic and political crises at home. In the Zimbabwean case, dictatorship and autocratic rule were so intertwined with the economic and social collapse such that it was not easy to separate the effects of political, economic and social drivers of this migration. Chikanda (2005) found that some of the health staff he studied fled high levels of political violence in Zimbabwe. The current study found that the major driving forces behind Zimbabwean teacher immigration to South Africa were inadequate salaries (or reduced purchasing power) followed by political violence.

Contributing to the literature on non-migration, the study found that the need to be close to families, family roles and responsibilities as well as the fear of violence or crime explained most of the non-migration. The value of family unity is one of the exogenous retention factors in the migration decision making model by Padarath et al (2003). The fear of violence or crime acts in the same way that discrimination does to increase non-migration (Fischer et al, 1997). As the study also confirmed, friends and relatives in diaspora least shared the knowledge about violence and crime in South Africa with non-migrants, which meant that the teachers' knowledge on this topic came from other sources such as public media. As the study also found, most of the teachers (both migrants and non-migrants) viewed South Africa as an attractive destination despite the violence and crime in that country. This supported literature, which argued that where expected benefits outweigh the costs of emigration, discrimination is less likely to cause the person to stay (Padarath et al, 2003). Social costs of migration especially being separated from spouses and families, which were measured by the 'need to be close to family', accounted for most of the non-migration. Benefits associated with the home country such as job security, pensions or incentives could not account for most of the non-migration.

8.4 Conclusions from empirical investigation

The conclusions based on the major empirical findings are discussed under four sub-sections including (a) the selectivity of teacher migration, (b) the determinants of teacher migration around 2008, (c) the determinants of teacher migration in the current period, and (d) the future of Zimbabwean teacher migration. Two periods were considered because the determinants at the peak of the crisis when the economy used the local currency and those in the current period when the economy uses foreign currency and the country is run by a government of national unity (GNU) were found to be different.

8.4.1 Selectivity of Zimbabwean teacher migration to South Africa

The study found that teacher migration to South Africa was selective as it favoured more the experienced and better qualified teachers. Most migrant teachers had degrees in education including Master's degrees and they were specialised in mathematics and science subjects. Female teachers were under-represented among migrant teachers partly because of the subjects they specialised in, which excluded mathematics or science and were therefore not demanded in South Africa especially in government schools. The organisation of society including women's care roles and unsupportive husbands also accounted for the fewer females among the migrant teachers. Teachers with other subjects as well as those with diplomas or certificates taught in private schools but for less income than for those in government schools.

This selectivity in the teachers' immigration to South Africa was caused by the fact that South African graduates specialised in mathematics and science are attracted more by the private sector of that country, which pays double or triple the salaries paid in the education sector. In addition, the high supply of Zimbabwean teachers around the peak of the crisis in Zimbabwe led some Department of Education provincial governments including Limpopo and Mpumalanga to screen out mathematics or science teachers with diplomas. This resulted in the further tapping of Zimbabwe's highest quality teachers that is, those with degrees. The migration of Zimbabwean teachers to South Africa was also selective in terms of marital status as more than four-fifth of the migrant teachers was married. This indicated that teacher immigration to South Africa was

for the survival of families most of which were left in Zimbabwe. Hence, it is not a totally new phenomenon in the region since there is a long history of labour migration for better wages from less performing economies to better ones especially South Africa and Botswana.

The major difference between Zimbabwean teachers' immigration to South Africa and typical labour migration is the involvement of females who were working for the survival of families but had to live for long periods without spouses. Among non-migrant teachers, higher percentages of females than males had thought or seriously thought about leaving Zimbabwe for reasons that mainly included poor salaries and working conditions. Although they desired to leave the country, most of the female teachers still teaching in Zimbabwe could not leave because of care roles especially where these teachers had young children as well as unsupportive husbands or society. Hence, the involvement of female teachers as labour migrants is likely to increase in future if these impediments to their emigration are removed. Some of the migrant female teachers have dealt with the demands of child care roles through sending the children to boarding schools or relatives or taking them to South Africa. Female teachers that have migrated or those who intended to migrate were challenged in immigrating to South Africa by several issues that included finding someone to accommodate them or the money for living in paid accommodation for an unknown period when looking for work, loneliness, fear of sexual abuse, denied of conjugal rights, and being treated as deviants by society. Some of the female teachers that have immigrated to South Africa have coped with these challenges through living Christian lives, staying focused in their mission (which is earning incomes for the survival of families left behind), and learning the local language fast so that they were not regarded as foreigners by the local people.

8.4.2 Determinants of teacher immigration to South Africa around 2008

Most of the Zimbabwean teachers arrived in South Africa between 2007 and 2009. This period coincided with the peak of the Zimbabwean crisis and this implies that most of this migration was crisis driven rather than simply for greener economic pastures. If this migration was for greener economic pastures, the graph of year of arrival in South Africa (Fig. 5.7) should have been gentler. Another finding that showed that most of the teachers' immigration to South Africa

was for survival is the fact that some of the teachers engaged in non-teaching and degrading jobs for people who are educated including vending, construction and cross-border trade on arrival in South Africa. Those who entered government teaching posts on arrival, which paid more than private school posts, were mainly those who arrived in 2009 and after. This means that most of the teachers were willing to teach in private schools, which paid lower salaries, in order to survive the crisis at home. The other finding that showed that most of this migration was for survival is that the teachers' immigration to South Africa should have been spontaneous such that some of them looked for work without work permits or passports and could only be accommodated in private schools although it is illegal for a foreigner to work in South Africa without these documents.

For most of the teachers, filling vacant posts in the more lucrative government schools involved an opportunity that came when they were already in South Africa. They could not have been influenced into immigration to South Africa by the huge wage gap, which was found between teachers employed by the governments of the two countries. As a result of this opportunity that occurred around 2008 when the South African government officially recruited Zimbabwean teachers, some of the teachers then transferred from the lower paying private schools to the more lucrative government schools motivated by the wage gap between these two education sectors. Instead of determining the initial immigration of the teachers, the huge wage gap actually served to retain most of the teachers in South Africa. This is because salaries earned by teachers in Zimbabwe have not increased at a faster rate so as to catch up with those earned by teachers in South African government schools. In addition, the salaries have not responded positively to the high cost of living in Zimbabwe necessitated by the fact that Zimbabwe is not yet manufacturing most of the foodstuffs and other goods consumed in the country and the fact that Zimbabwe's government of national unity (GNU) is broke.

The most common reason for immigration to South Africa provided by the migrant teachers, which was because of inadequate salaries earned in Zimbabwe, referred both to the period around 2007 and 2008 when teachers' salaries paid in the Zimbabwean dollar were eroded by hyperinflation and the period after 2009 when teachers' salaries were paid in foreign currency (Appendix 5.9). In the earlier phase, around 2007 and 2008, teachers' salaries were inadequate as

a result of the economic crisis that caused inflation to reach its highest levels ever. This made teachers' salaries almost negligible leading to teachers' unions and the teachers deciding that it was better for the teachers to be at home rather than at school. Besides the inadequate salaries, this period was also characterised by the shortage of foodstuffs in the country as a result of both hyperinflation and government's failed fast-track land reform programme as discussed in Chapter 3. The shortages in foodstuffs were inseparable from expensive foodstuffs since wherever basic foodstuffs were available they became more expensive because of simple market principles of demand and supply. As the Zimbabwean dollar was losing value on daily basis, most of the unscrupulous business people who operated on the 'black market' started charging their goods in foreign currency before most of the workers especially civil servants were paid salaries in foreign currency (Inter Press Service News, 24 January 2009). This explains why expensive food or shortage of food received the second highest percentage among the migrant teachers' reasons for migration.

There was no significant association between immigration to South Africa and teachers' perceptions of life around 2008 as both non- and migrant teachers equally rated life during this crisis peak as difficult. This is because most of the teachers struggled to have food as it was both scarce and expensive as well as because their salaries were negligible. The teachers did not only struggle with food but also with accessing services including education for children, health and urban services. Most of them could not pay for these social services that were then provided mainly by the private sector and at extremely higher rates quoted in foreign currency. This is because the quality of services offered by the public sector had deteriorated significantly and in some cases the services were not available at all.

For instance, Chapter 3 argued that the teachers' strike that spanned for nearly a year meant that children in public schools could not attend school for the greater part of 2008. Similar deterioration of services occurred in the health sector as evidenced by the absence of medicines and high doctor or nurse to patient ratios. Education and health, which are basic social goods that should be provided by the state based on social justice and equity, were then basically offered by the private sector whose sole aim was to make profit. This made such services expensive and accessible to a few citizens of the country. With their negligible salaries that were

even inadequate for food alone, most teachers and other civil servants could not afford accessing these basic services in the private sector. For instance, most of the teachers indicated that even though they wanted to transfer patients to private hospitals they could not because they lacked the finances.

In response to a disintegrated social service delivery system, some of the teachers especially migrants transferred their children from public to private schools that were more expensive but offered better quality education. In addition, about a quarter of the migrant teachers took their children to South Africa because children in public schools were not learning. Besides charging exorbitant fees, the private sectors in both education and health also charged their services in foreign currency well before the official adoption of multiple currencies in the country, which came around early 2009. Civil society followed suit as landlords also pegged their rentals in foreign currency or groceries that had to be obtained on the 'black market' at overcharged prices.

Incentives paid in the Zimbabwean dollar during this period were rendered useless in retaining the teachers since they were also eroded by inflation no matter how many times they multiplied the teachers' salaries. Due to the devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar, exchanging incentives paid in the local currency on the parallel market resulted in bundles of Zimbabwean dollar notes being exchanged for a few US dollar notes. The study found that even for teachers in elite suburban schools who earned more than double their salaries in incentives in the local currency and had other benefits, migration to South Africa or other countries such as the UK was inevitable.

But, before their decisions to immigrate to South Africa, migrant teachers found ways of coping with the crisis that were not different from those used by non-migrant teachers. Both non- and migrant teachers coped with the crisis through cross-border trade and petty commodity trading. These two strategies were related as the teachers, who until 2009 did not require a visa to enter South Africa unlike Zimbabweans who were not civil servants, traded some wares and souvenirs from Zimbabwe in South Africa and used the money to buy the goods especially foodstuffs highly demanded in Zimbabwe. Sometimes items brought from South Africa were sold in Zimbabwe at more than double the prices at which they were bought. Relatives in diaspora,

particularly those who went to countries like the UK during the beginning of the Zimbabwean crisis before the UK government adopted a stricter policy on Zimbabweans' immigration to the UK, assisted some of the teachers' families.

Non- and migrant teachers significantly differed in their major responses to the crisis around 2008. While non-migrant teachers regarded cross-border and petty trading as their major responses to the crisis, migrant teachers looked for work outside the country. In other words, cross-border trade was a temporary coping strategy for migrant teachers but a longer term strategy for non-migrant teachers. A few non-migrant teachers also looked for work outside the country as a major response to the crisis, particularly in South Africa. But these teachers returned home particularly around 2009 when Zimbabwean teachers started to be paid in foreign currency.

The need to be close to families received the highest percentage among the reasons for non-migration and formed the greatest mitigation factor. Cross-border trade was used as a major response to the Zimbabwean crisis by non-migrant teachers probably because of its association with absence from home and family for short-periods of time. Cross-border trade also seemed to be regarded especially by female non-migrant teachers as safer than migration for a longer period associated with finding a teaching job in South Africa, an option that some of them shunned due to the fear of violence or crime including rape. This conclusion was confirmed by the words of a non-migrant female teacher when suggesting solutions to challenges faced by females in migrating to South Africa: "better remain teaching in Zimbabwe and do cross-border trade". Hence, the need to be close to families or avoiding separation from spouses and families for a long time explained why some teachers continued to live in increasingly uncomfortable circumstances in terms of the socio-economic and political environment.

Political violence, which also peaked around 2008 especially prior to the presidential run-off election, significantly contributed to the teachers' influx into South Africa around this time. But, it was rated as the second major reason for migration after inadequate salaries. A few of the teachers were directly 'pushed' into migration by political violence that targeted the opposition party members as they were actually in support of the opposition, which was their democratic

right. Most teachers especially migrants rated their security, freedom of expression and participation in Zimbabwe around 2008 as unsatisfactory and the reasons they provided suggested that most of them were indirectly in contact with political violence or other dirty tactics used by the ruling party to win elections.

8.4.3 Determinants of teacher immigration to South Africa in the current period

The period after 2009 to date saw the arrival of less substantial percentages of Zimbabwean teachers in South Africa. This meant that the rate of Zimbabwean teacher immigration to South Africa peaked in 2008 and then started to decline. About a quarter of the migrants arrived in South Africa in 2009 probably because this period was close to 2008 and some of the teachers who had spent most of 2008 not going to school decided to migrate rather than return to their schools when teachers started to be paid in foreign currency in early 2009. Although the teachers' immigration rate slowed down after 2009, it did not stop. The effects of network factors partly explained why teacher migration continued after the peak of the Zimbabwean crisis around 2008. The study also confirmed the effects of networks in this migration since more migrant than non-migrant teachers hard more information about teaching opportunities outside Zimbabwe prior to immigration to South Africa, and most of them were also accommodated by friends on arrival.

Teacher immigration after 2009 was also explained by inadequate salaries paid in foreign currency. Even after teachers' salaries started to be paid in foreign currency and teachers' salaries were also supplemented by parents' incentives, they remained inadequate for the teachers' needs. The period of the GNU and the use of foreign currency in Zimbabwe has been characterised by spaced increases of teachers' salaries and by unsubstantial percentages as the GNU claimed that it is broke. At the same time, prices of goods and services have increased several times since the official adoption of foreign currency in early 2009. This has made teachers' salaries stay close to the poverty datum line.

Teachers started to be paid in foreign currency in February 2009 and they were started with an allowance across the board of US$100. But this amount was increased to US$155 per month in August 2009 (Education International, 5 August 2009). Teacher unions including ZIMTA and PTUZ complained that despite this increment, teachers still remained below the poverty line. Around the same time, The Zimbabwean newspaper reported on 12 August 2009 that the food basket for the low-income class for a family of six, which is produced on monthly basis by the Consumer Council of Zimbabwe (CCZ), rose from US$138.05 in June 2009 to US$148.30 in July. Hence, the teacher unions were justified in arguing that teachers' salaries were still below the food poverty line. During that time the consumer basket, which also included rent, water, education, clothing and footwear, was pegged at US$344. This meant that teachers in Zimbabwe met only food needs and not all the other non-food needs.

Teachers were also unhappy about the current salary, which on average was around US$300 since 2011. The Independent on Line (IOL) reported on 12 January 2012 that Zimbabwean teachers went on strike demanding a pay rise. During this time, the food basket was at US$143.94 and this meant that with a salary around US$300 most of the teachers met their food needs (allAfrica.com, 9 August 2012). The consumer basket, which was at US$561.13, was beyond the teachers' reach. Hence, the claims by the teachers who arrived in South Africa after 2008 and during the payment of teachers' salaries in foreign currency that they migrated because salaries in Zimbabwe were inadequate were also justified. Most non-migrant teachers including females had also thought about leaving the country because of inadequate salaries. Salaries that were not commensurate with the costs of living explained most of the teachers' immigration to South Africa particularly after 2009. Sometimes it was not that the teachers' salaries supplemented by parents' incentives were inadequate per se, but the teachers compared their current incomes with those earned by their fellows teaching in South African government schools and found a huge gap. The huge wage gap, with South African government salaries between four and five times those offered by their Zimbabwean counterpart, also explained current teacher immigration to South Africa. But, relocation was also facilitated by the existence of networks with teachers that arrived earlier during the peak of the Zimbabwean crisis.

Most of the social factors that 'pushed' the first group of teachers into migration to South Africa around 2008 had less significant effect on the current teacher migration. This is because as the study found, the quality of social service delivery including education, health and urban services has improved in the current period. Urban services were the only sector that did not receive enough improvement according to the teachers' ratings. The Independent on Line (IOL) confirmed this finding as it reported on 12 January that since the formation of the GNU, the situation in the education sector has somewhat improved owing to donations from the international community.

The political situation did not receive significant improvement as most of the teachers, especially migrant teachers, were of the view that the political situation in Zimbabwe was still unclear. Some of them believed that the ruling party was capable of unleashing violence on opposition members and supporters at any time especially towards elections. Hence, the teachers' fears for personal security and dissatisfaction with freedom of expression and participation in Zimbabwe explained why some migrant teachers were not willing to return home and could also account for current immigration.

8.4.4 The future of Zimbabwean teacher migration

Migrant teachers in South Africa were less likely to return home soon. Although some of them seriously thought about returning home recently, this was mainly when they thought about re-uniting and living together with their families. The existence of a huge wage gap between current teachers' salaries in Zimbabwe and those earned in South African government schools is likely to keep them for a further period in South Africa. Furthermore, although some of the migrant teachers' jobs were insecure as annually renewable contracts were sometimes not renewed due to poor performance of learners or lack of compliance with school authorities, most of them still got jobs in other government schools. This means that the existence of teaching vacancies in some government schools as a result of young South African graduates shunning the teaching profession is likely to help retain these teachers in that country. The unclear political situation and continued dissatisfaction of migrant teachers with their security, freedom of expression and

participation in Zimbabwe in the current period also explained why most of these teachers were not ready to return home.

Non-migrant teachers particularly females planned to migrate because of inadequate salaries at home and for better salaries in the diaspora. Although economically attractive, South Africa appeared an unfavourable destination for these teachers because of challenges related to violence or crime including the fear of rape for most female non-migrant teachers. These teachers were also retained in Zimbabwe by the value of family unity, family roles and responsibilities, and unsupportive husbands or society. Hence, future emigration of the magnitude of that experienced around 2008 is less likely to occur again given that there were improvements in other sectors especially social service delivery sectors such as education and health. If only current teacher salaries could improve, then the rate of teacher immigration to South Africa could further be reduced.

8.5 Recommendations and suggestions

Recommendations discussed in this section are sub-divided into those focused on policy makers both within and beyond the education sectors of the two countries and those related to further research on the topic of teacher migration in Zimbabwe.

8.5.1 Recommendations for policy makers

8.5.1.1 Reduce the brain drain involving teachers

The challenge that the Zimbabwean economy faces is that it has not significantly improved such that government revenue has been inadequate to cater for better salary packages for civil servants including teachers. The Independent on Line (IOL) newspaper of 12 January 2012 quoted the Minister of Finance in the GNU, Tendai Biti, maintaining his position that the government's wage bill was too large to afford civil servants a significant pay rise. Government revenue is also going towards servicing long outstanding debts and the education system has been propped up by international donations. The study found that incentives including those paid in foreign currency

by parents since the crisis in the education sector around 2008 and 2009 were inadequate to retain the Zimbabwean teachers. But, one anomaly in the government's payment scheme is that the salaries of newly recruited and more experienced teachers are lumped together or separated by a small amount (Kusereka, 2009). This has been blamed for some of the more experienced teachers' lack of motivation (ibid). A school head for one of the schools that participated in the interviews during the study suggested that government should "pay teachers according to their qualifications and experience" in order to permanently address the problem of teachers leaving the country. A salary payment policy that pays civil servants according to their qualifications and experience has been overdue in Zimbabwe.

Teachers that have acquired Bachelor's or Master's degrees expected to climb the salary scale to a higher level. When this could not happen, some of them felt that they deserved to be in better paying positions. The salaries that the teachers earned around 2008, which were negligible and could not purchase enough food for their families due to hyperinflation, made the teachers' immigration to South Africa a rational decision.

Throughout the crisis period, there was no political will by the ruling elite to stop or reduce the loss of the skilled teachers to neighbouring countries such as South Africa. The time that the government was close to reviewing teachers' salaries and pay them according to seniority was after the recommendations of the 1999 Nziramasanga Commission in education, which coincided with the beginning of the farm invasions and the economic crisis. Hence, the issue died a natural death then. Instead, teachers and their labour union leaders were accused of trying to sabotage the country and siding with the opposition party, the MDC, whenever they went on industrial action in protest of poor salaries and working conditions. Even today, it seems as if the ruling elite are unwilling to re-engage the 'unpatriotic' teachers who previously fled the country. Instead, the emphasis has been more recently on training new teachers instead of attracting back those who have left or retaining the current compliment of teachers. For instance, some teacher training colleges now have more than one intake annually and ZINTEC has been widely re-introduced in order to expedite teacher training. Government's policies on reducing or preventing another brain drain and attracting back those in diaspora needs further research.

8.5.1.2 The role of South Africa

South Africa's receipt of these teachers into its education system was not wrong from the standpoint of the teachers and their families since this ensured their survival. If South Africa had not accepted these teachers, the effects of the crisis in Zimbabwe could have had more devastating effects including the loss of lives due to hunger. South Africa has been accused of being Zimbabwe's ally during the crisis period based on the solidarity between the two ruling parties that is, the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa and ZANU-PF in Zimbabwe, which dates from their movements for liberation from colonialism and apartheid (UN, 2009). The UN (2009: 6) argued that Zimbabwe's economy depends to a great deal on South Africa especially through formal imports and exports as well as through cross-border trade involving ordinary Zimbabweans.

In the same way, South Africa's open recruitment of Zimbabwean teachers around 2008 was influential in helping these teachers and their families survive. South Africa has issued five-year work permits to the Zimbabwean teachers and as most of those teachers who were engaged around 2007 and 2008 are nearing the expiry dates of their work permits, it would be appropriate if their contracts were not extended so that they can return home and help rebuild their country after the crisis. Some of the teachers could have made savings or started businesses in Zimbabwe and this would go a long way to revive the country's economy. But, the return of these teachers would depend on whether the Zimbabwean government welcomes them or not as well as if the government can assure them of a salary scale that takes into consideration qualifications and years of experience.

If the teachers are not assured of a reasonable salary to maintain a decent standard of living and a safe or free political environment, South Africa's decision to stop recruiting or renewing Zimbabwean teachers' permits would not be helpful. This is because as long as the teachers perceive the economic and political situation at home as not conducive, they would find other places to go including South Africa's private schools whose activities seemed to be less monitored by the government. The study found that some teachers worked in private schools without work permits, which they could not do in government schools, and this made these

schools the entry points for most of the migrant teachers that arrived in South Africa before 2009.

Unlike richer countries of the North that face teacher shortages due to ageing populations, South Africa has a young population but which shuns the teaching profession because it pays less as compared to other professions. The South African government has the potential to improve teachers' salaries and make them comparable with those offered in other sectors of the economy. It should also take advantage of the young population and the relatively high unemployment rate by recruiting high school graduates to train as teachers. However, teacher training can be expedited only if teacher training colleges offering diplomas in education are re-introduced. Once they have basic teaching qualifications, the teachers can enrol for teaching degrees through distance learning. This strategy together with bonding for specific periods can help improve South Africa's teacher compliment since most of the available teachers especially in rural areas are approaching retirement age.

8.5.1.3 Move towards economic and political stability

Based on the findings of the study especially those related to politics, some of the migrant teachers still fear for their lives if they return to Zimbabwe. Most of the migrant teachers were directly or indirectly influenced into immigration to South Africa by political violence. The ruling party's intolerance, which formed the base on which state controlled violence was orchestrated against opposition party members, also resulted in the victimisation of teachers who were members of the opposition. The Government of national unity (GNU) and the two major political parties, ZANU-PF and MDC, should ensure the end of hostilities, the willingness to cooperate and rebuild a country that is free of suspecting one another of evil intent, free of violence, and having free and fair elections.

As Chapter 3 argued and the results of fieldwork confirmed, the political and economic crisis that peaked around 2008 in Zimbabwe significantly contributed to the influx of teachers into South Africa. President Mugabe's autocratic rule as well as his party's political intolerance led to the economic and social service meltdown. This created an environment that was not conducive

for highly qualified and experienced teachers that mattered most in the country's social development to live hence, their immigration to South Africa. The selfish motives of the ruling party elite were given first priority instead of the electorate's social and economic needs. This is the major challenge that faces social service delivery in countries of the South today and makes the hope of poverty reduction through making basic services available to all citizens a dream, which is difficult to realise. One major threat to millennium development goals and targets including primary education for all by 2015 is political and economic instability especially in countries of the South.

In the current globalised world, there are globally acceptable policies such as upholding democratic principles and deviation from such policies puts a country at risk of isolation. It can be learnt from the Zimbabwean crisis that the ruling party's adoption of radical policies such as the controversial 'fast track' land reform programme resulted in the downfall of the economy and the country's loss of development aid. The review of the Zimbabwean crisis in Chapter 3 gave support to the argument that economic growth is necessary for social development. Zimbabwe's model of social development especially in the health and education sectors was unsustainable when the economic crisis started, indicating the link between economic growth and social development. Poorer countries of the South should learn from the Zimbabwean crisis especially how politics, the economy and social development are interconnected.

South Africa cannot be blamed for openly recruiting the Zimbabwean teachers who were available and desperately in need of work irrespective of the existence of the SADC protocol that restricts the movement of professionals within the region. This indicated that restrictive policies alone cannot prevent the brain drain. Instead, governments should be concerned more about the welfare of their human resources and make salaries as well as other benefits comparable to other countries in the region. This concern from the government has been missing for a long time in the case of the Zimbabwean civil servants, teachers included, as their services are regarded as replaceable or dispensable especially if they criticise the government or join the opposition.

Finally, as long as some countries continue to develop faster than others, such countries will attract human resources from the poorer peripheral countries. This makes Wallerstein's (1974)

world systems theory relevant even today. Instead, richer countries should help the poorer countries develop too, not only through foreign investment and development aid, but through loans with easy terms aimed at helping poorer countries industrialise and create jobs. Corruption by the ruling elite should be dealt with more severely and at global level.

8.5.1.4 Improve the proportion of female teachers specialising in mathematics and science subjects

The study found that few female teachers have migrated to South Africa especially to teach mathematics and science subjects in the more lucrative government schools. Instead, most female teachers that have immigrated to South Africa ended up in the less lucrative private schools teaching other subjects such as languages and commercials as well as in primary schools that offered the least salaries. This pattern has resulted in an income gap between male teachers, most of who taught mathematics and science subjects in government schools, and female teachers. Females should be encouraged from early days in school to like mathematics and science. Gender mainstreaming can be used when enrolling for teacher training programmes so that females are encouraged to join the mathematics and science department. This would enable female teachers to exercise choice over whether to migrate or not especially considering that mathematics and science teachers continue to be on demand in richer countries. Training females in mathematics and science subjects offers an added advantage to the exporting country that is, having enough teachers in these subjects since female teachers have strong attachments to families and are less likely to migrate. But, female teachers should exercise the choice to migrate or not instead of being forced into non-migration because of specialising in subjects that are not in demand abroad, reproductive roles and other responsibilities.

8.5.2 Recommendations for further research

Some of the findings made in this study raised questions that need to be further researched on in future. Two major findings that deserve further research include verifying why most female teachers have not immigrated to South Africa despite thinking about leaving the country for

better wages outside the country as well as why parents' incentives paid in foreign currency have failed to retain the teachers in Zimbabwe.

8.5.2.1 Investigate the constraints to female teacher immigration and inform policy

There is need for research into whether most female teachers' decisions against immigration to South Africa or other countries is out of choice or is forced by their circumstances and society's negative attitude towards female migration. Female's circumstances that could militate against their movement found in the study included the subjects that females choose to specialise in at tertiary level and reproductive and care roles. Further research can expand the list of these circumstances. Research is also required on finding solutions to female teachers' challenges to international migration. For instance, some female teachers who could not migrate because of child care roles should be made aware of solutions such as sending children to boarding schools or relocating with them as well as the maternity policies in host countries some of which are not discriminatory of foreign female teachers like the South African one.

8.5.2.2 Examine the impact of parents' incentives on future teacher migration

Since the peak of the crisis in the education sector around 2008, parents' incentives paid in foreign currency initially meant to supplement teachers' salaries in the local currency that were eroded by inflation should have assisted in making some of the teachers go back to school. More research has been done on the retentive power of the payment of teachers' salaries in foreign currency than parents' incentives. These incentives have made the delivery of education in Zimbabwe more expensive and ideally inappropriate since educating a nation should be government's responsibility. But, the strategy should be documented as one of the strategies that were used during a period of crisis and can be used elsewhere as a way of dealing with crisis especially involving the education sector. On the contrary, most of the teachers' responses seemed to treat parents' incentives as trivial in retaining them in Zimbabwe (Appendix 5.9). Hence, there is need for further research on the values of these incentives, how the values vary by type and location of school as well as how they might contribute to inequality between urban and rural teachers, for example.

8.5.2.3 Examine the Zimbabwean government's policies towards reducing or preventing the brain drain involving teachers and facilitate the return of teachers in diaspora

There is a research need to determine whether there is political will to prevent future disintegration of the social service delivery system especially the education system and prevent the migration of skilled teachers again. Some skilled teachers may be willing to return home with the reforms going on in the country, but there is a research need to find the attitude of the ruling elite towards these potential return migrants and whether there are mechanisms or policies put in place to facilitate the return of such teachers.

8.6 Concluding comments

The objectives set in Chapter one included finding the effects of the economic, social and political dimensions of the Zimbabwean crisis on the teachers' immigration to South Africa. One of the major findings of the study was that most of the teacher immigration to South Africa, which occurred around 2008, was crisis driven. The crisis for the teachers, like for every Zimbabwean, involved salaries that could not purchase basic needs and services as well as dissatisfaction with personal security, freedom of expression and participation in the country. The immigration of these professionals to South Africa constituted a major brain drain to Zimbabwe as the country was significantly robbed of the most qualified, experienced, and specialised teachers. The Zimbabwean government needs to find strategies to retain these teachers, which include in the short-term paying teachers according to qualifications and experience so that more qualified and experienced teachers remain in the country. In the long term, a more peaceful and democratic political environment as well as economic growth would help to more permanently retain the teachers in the country.

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APPENDIX 1: Final questionnaire used for determinants of Zimbabwean teachers' immigration to South Africa

*The problems that Zimbabwe has been facing have caused some professionals, teachers included, to leave the country for other countries such as South Africa. These teachers have left a gap in the Zimbabwean education system that may take time to fill. In addition, Zimbabwe's standing in social development has been undermined. This research survey is an attempt at systematically analysing the causes of this emigration in order to help find solutions to address this problem. Hence, you are kindly asked to complete this questionnaire to the best of your knowledge. The data as well as the results of this survey will be used only by the researcher for further studies and no one else will have access to this information. Your name or school is not required; you are only identified through a number. Make sure all relevant questions are completed (follow instructions about the **next question to go to**) and you are encouraged to fill in **Other** answers not only those provided wherever applicable. Teachers in South Africa are regarded as **migrants** and those in Zimbabwe **non-migrants**.*

1. IDENTIFICATION

1.1 Country where currently teaching *1. Zimbabwe (non-migrant)* *2. South Africa (migrant)*	1.2 Province *1. Gauteng 2. Limpopo* *3. Mpumalanga 4. Harare* *5. Bulawayo 6. Masvingo* *7. Manicaland*	1.3 (a) **District no.** *01 to 21* b) **School / Respondent no.** *01 to 200* *[NB: For office use]*	1.4 Type of school currently taught in South Africa / Zim. *1. Private – primary* *2. Private - Secondary* *3. Government- low density* *4. Government- high density* *5. Government- rural sec* *6. Government- rural primary* *7. Mission Secondary*	1.5 When did you arrive at this school? …… *Month & year*

2. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

2.1 Age (in complete years) *1. Below 25 years* *2. 25-29 years5. 40-44 years* *3. 30-34 years6. 45-49 years* *4. 35-39 years 7. 50 or above*	2.2 Sex / gender *1. Male* *2. Female*	2.3 Marital Status *1. Never married (**go to Q2.7**)* *2. Married* *3. Widowed (**go to Q2.7**)* *4. Divorced (**go to Q2.7**)*	2.4 If married, has your spouse been living with you continuously for the past six months? *1. Yes (**go to Q2.6**)* *2. No (**go to Q2.5**)*
2.5 If no, where does spouse usually live? *1. South Africa* *2. Zimbabwe – rural* *3. Zimbabwe – urban* *4. Other .....*	2.6 Occupation of spouse *1. Unemployed / at home* *2. Professional (e.g. teacher)* *3. Skilled worker (e.g. builder)* *4. General worker (e.g. maid)* *5. Self-employed* *6. Operate business/project* *7. Other .....*	2.7 Your ethnicity 1. Ndebele 2. Zezuru 3. Karanga 4. Manyika 5. Other	2.8 Your highest academic qualification *1. Master's degree* *2. Bachelor's degree (e.g. BSc Gen)* *3. Advanced (A) level* *4. Ordinary (O) level*

2.9 Professional qualification (**Circle all relevant**)	2.10 Subject of specialisation	2.11 Who funded your highest academic / professional qualification?	*2.12 Total years of work experience as a teacher?*
1. Degree (e.g. BEd) *2. Diploma* *3. Certificate (e.g. PGCE)* 4. Not professionally qualified	*1. Arts / Languages* *2. Commercials* *3. Mathematics / Science* *4. Technical* *5. Social science (e.g. Geography)* *6. Other .....*	*1. Self – own salary* *2. Parents* *3. Spouse* *4. Other relative* *5. Government* *6. Other .....*	*1. 1 to 5 years* *2. 6 to 10 years* *3. 11 to 15 years* *4. 16 to 20 years* *5. 21 to 25 years* *6. More than 25 years*

3. **MIGRATION ISSUES***(NB: Teachers in South Africa provide information **before migration**& those in Zimbabwe provide **current**)*

3.1 Did / do you have knowledge of teaching opportunities outside Zimbabwe?	3.2 Source of this knowledge	3.3 Nature of knowledge received (**Circle all relevant**)	3.4 Have you ever lived outside Zimbabwe continuously for 6 months before?
1. Yes *2. No*	*1. Print media* *2. Radio / television* *3. Internet* *4. Friends in diaspora* *5. Relatives in diaspora* *6. Other .....*	*1. About salaries* *2. Recruitment requirements* *3. Place/province in need of teachers* *4. Security/violence/discrimination* *5. Other .....*	*1. Yes* *2. No*
3.5 Where?	3.6 Main purpose of visit	3.7 What attracted / would attract you to South Africa? (**Circle all relevant**)	3.8 What is unattractive about South Africa? (**Circle all relevant**)
1. South Africa *2. Botswana* *3. Other African country* *4. Overseas*	*1. Look for work* *2. Holiday / visiting* *3. Education* *4. Trade incl. cross border* *5. Work / business related* *6. Join spouse* *7. Other .....*	*1. Better salaries* *2. Stable currency / money* *3. Peace* *4. Free education for children* *5. Better health facilities* *6. Jobs available* *7. It is close to home* *8. Other .....*	*1. Violence / crime* *2. Indiscipline among learners* *3. Immorality among youths* *4. Discrimination against foreigners* *5. Nothing* *6. Other .....*

3.9 Weigh South Africa's attractiveness against its unattractiveness? ☐ *1. Highly attractive* *2. Attractive* *3. Neither attractive nor unattractive* *4. Unattractive* *5. Highly unattractive*	3.10 If you were to migrate / have migrated, would / did you consider the following as **serious** challenges? (**circle <u>most serious</u> only**). *1. Separation from spouse/family* *2. Learning a new language* *3. Money for travelling* *4. Money to process documents* *5. New curriculum / system* *6. Leaving old / making new friends* *7. Initial accommodation*	3.11 Type of school currently or last taught in Zimbabwe? ☐ *1.University / college* *2. Private* *3. Urban (low density suburb)* *4. Urban (high density suburb)* *5. Rural (government/council)* *6. Rural (Mission)* ***(NB: If teaching in South Africa, <u>go to Q3.14</u> now)***	3.12 (a) If you are still teaching in Zimbabwe, have you recently thought about leaving the country to another country? 1. *Seriously thought about it* *2. Thought about it* ☐ *3. Never thought about it* **(b) Why?** ....
3.13Up to now, why have you not left Zimbabwe? (**circle important)** *1. Lack of information* *2. Lack of kin / friend in diaspora* *3. Husband / relatives disapprove* *4. Family roles & responsibilities* *5. Lack money to process papers* *6. Subject taught not in demand* *7. Don't have a Degree/ is required* *8. Fear of violence / crime* *9. Love for the country* *10. Want to be close to family* *11. Given adequate Incentives* *12. Job security, pension / benefits* *13.Left, but returned (**answer 3.15*** 14. *Other .....*	3.14. How did you cope with the crisis in Zimbabwe (e.g. inflation, food shortages, expensive goods, education & health)? (**circle most relevant**) 1. Relatives in diaspora assisted 2. Cross-border trade 3. Illegal gold / diamond mining 4. Buying & selling scarce goods 5. Secondary job ……. 6. Money exchange 7. Selling fuel 8. Farming 9. Parents' incentives (in US$) 10. Other …….. ***(Non-migrantsgo to <u>Q4.1</u>)***	3.15 If you left Zimbabwe, why? (***circle important only***) *1. Poor accommodation/ services* *2. High workload/materials lacked* *3. Expensive / shortage of food* *4. Political violence / repression* *5. Inadequate salary* *6. Fellow teachers migrating* *7. No future for me / children* *8. Lack of promotion / movement to better school* *9. Need to further studies* *10. Inadequate incentives* *11. Join spouse* *12. Teachers' lost dignity/respect* *13. Other .....*	3.16 To what extent did the crisis in Zim influence your decision to leave the country? (***use**: 1. Large extent, 2. Small extent, 3. Not at all*) -Inflation of Zim dollar ☐ -Food shortages ☐ -Expensive goods/services ☐ -Poor health delivery ☐ -Collapsed education sys ☐ -Political violence ☐ -Corruption/mismanaged ☐ -Poor services (in towns) ☐ -High cost of living during US dollars ☐
3.17 (a) Have you recently thought about returning to Zimbabwe? ☐ 1. *Seriously thought about it* *2. Thought about it* *3. Never thought about it* *4. Have returned home* **(b) Why?**	3.18 (a) When did you arrive in South Africa? (e.g. Nov 2006) ..... (*Month & Year*) b) Who accommodated you (e.g. uncle)…….. ☐ c) Current salary (*in Rands*) *1. R0-5000 3. 10001-15000* *2. 5001-10000 4. 15001-20000*	3.19 Type of job done when you first arrived in South Africa ☐ *1. Non-teaching (e.g. vending)* *2. Teaching private school* *3. Teaching government school* *4. Cross-border trading* *5. Non/semi-skilled job (e.g. construction)* *6. Other ……..*	3.20 (a) Are you satisfied with teaching in South Africa (i.e. salaries, workloads, &learners' discipline)? 1. Yes ☐ 2. No **(b) Why?** …… …… ……

4. **GENDER ISSUES***(NB: For **female teachers only**)*

4.1 If you have thought about leaving or have left Zimbabwe to another country, is / was it your own idea? 1. Mine 2. My husband's idea 3. My friends' idea 4. My relatives' idea 5. My husband's relatives' idea 6. Never thought of migrating **(go to Q5.1)**	4.2 Was / is your husband supportive of the idea? 1. Very unsupportive 2. Unsupportive 3. Neither supportive nor Unsupportive 4. Supportive 5. Very supportive 6. Not married (**go to Q4.4**)	4.3 If any of your ratings is **below 3** (i.e. unsupportive), why? (**circle most important**) 1. Jealousy of me / fear I will find someone else 2. Expect me to take care of him and children 3. Children were/are too young 4. No one to do my roles 5. Other ..... 99. Don't know why	4.4 Were / are friends, relatives, or society at large supportive of the idea? 1. Very unsupportive 2. Unsupportive 3. Neither supportive nor Unsupportive 4. Supportive 5. Very supportive
4.5 If any of your ratings is **below 3** (i.e. unsupportive), why? (**circle most important**) 1. Society does not expect a married woman to migrate alone 2. Concern is on children's welfare 3. Fear unfaithfulness among partners 4. Fear maid can take my husband 5. Other ..... 99. Don't know why	4.6 If you rebelled / would want to rebel againsthusband's or society's opinion on the migration of a woman, why?	4.7 Was / is money for processing papers, travelling & subsistence in a foreign land a serious challenge for you? 1. Very serious 2. Serious 3. Not serious	4.8 If money was / is a serious challenge, where did / would you expect the money to come from? 1. My own salary or savings 2. Husband's salary & mine 3. Husband's relatives 4. My relatives 5. Husband's friends 6. My friends 7. Other .....
4.9 If you left / were to leave Zimbabwe, who did / would you expect to take care of your husband or children? 1. Husband take care of children 2. Find relative to take care of family 3. Hire maid (non-relative) 4. Send children to boarding school 5. Send children to relatives 6. Can't leave because of this reason 7. Not married / don't have children 8. Other	4.10 If you left / were to leave Zimbabwe, who did / would you expect to live with on arrival in the foreign land? 1. Friend(s) 2. My relatives (female) 3. My relatives (male) 4. Husband relatives (female) 5. Husband's relatives (male) 6. Join husband 7. Other	4.11 What other challenges did / would you expect to face in migrating to South Africa as a woman?	4.12 How did / would you expect to deal with these challenges? ....

5. SOCIAL ISSUES

5.1 Rate the quality of education received by children in Zimbabwe? (a) In the **current period** ☐ (b) In the **past 4 years** (around 2008) ☐ *1.Very bad* *2. Bad* *3. Neither good nor bad* *4. Good* *5. Very good*	5.2 If any of your ratings is **below 3** (i.e. unsatisfactory), why? (**circle most important reasons only**) ☐ *1. Teacher strikes* *2. No books & other materials* *3. Teachers not motivated/ low morale* *4. No teachers for some subjects* *5. Teachers absent* *6. Poor results* *7. Other .....*	5.3 As a **parent**, what did you do for your children's education? ☐ *1. Moved them to better quality but more expensive schools* *2. Contributed their teachers' Salaries (incentives)* *3. Bought books & other materials* *4. Took children to South Africa* *5. Didn't have children in school* *6. Other .....*	5.4 As a **teacher**, how did you respond to the problems? ☐ *1. Did nothing* *2. Contributed to my migration to SA* *3. Moved to better school* *4. Left teaching for black market / other job* *5. Engaged in secondary job* *6. Engaged in cross-border trade* *7. Sold scarce commodities* *8. Not teaching by then* *9. Other .....*
5.5 Rate the quality of public health delivery in Zimbabwe (a) In the **current period** ☐ (b) In the **past 4 years** (around 2008) ☐ *1.Very bad* *2. Bad* *3. Neither good nor bad* *4. Good* *5. Very good*	5.6 If any of your ratings is **below 3** (i.e. unsatisfactory), why? (**circle most important reasons only**) *1. Doctors or nurses striking* *2. No medicines* *3. Hospital fees high / in US$* *4. High doctor/nurse: patient ratio* *5. No treatment before paying* *6. Unrepaired ambulances / without fuel* *7.Other.....*	5.7 How did you respond to these problems? ☐ *1. Did nothing* *2. Contributed to my migration to SA* *3. Moved to private hospitals* *4. Wanted to move to private hospitals, but no cash* *5. Moved to traditional healers* *6. Relatives in diaspora helped* *7. Provided fuel for ambulance* *8. Other .....*	5.8 Rate the quality of **<u>urban services</u>** (housing, water, electricity, & sanitation)? (a) In the **current period** ☐ (b) In the **past 4 years** (around 2008) ☐ *1.Very bad* *2. Bad* *3. Neither good nor bad* *4. Good* *5. Very good*
5.9 If any of your ratings is **below 3** (i.e. unsatisfactory), why? (**circle most important only**) *1. Rent / land expensive* *2. Building materials in short supply or expensive* *3. Water in short supply (rationed)* *4. Water not purified / diseases* *5. Frequent power cuts* *6. Blocked sanitary drains* *7. Refuse not collected* *8. Other .....*	5.10 How did you respond to these problems? ☐ *1. Did nothing* *2. Organised community to strike* *3. Contributed to migration to SA* *4. Moved to rural area/other town* *5. Organised community to repair blocked sewage drains* *6. Used firewood for power* *7. Disposed own refuse e.g. pit* *8. Other .....*	5.11 Rate your chances of getting further education. (a) In the **current period** ☐ (b) In the **past 4 years** (around 2008) ☐ *1. Very low* *2. Low* *3. Neither low nor high* *4. High* *5. Very high*	5.12 If any of your ratings is **below 3** (i.e. unsatisfactory), why? (**circle most important only**) *1. Lack of funds to sponsor self* *2. No study programs for teachers* *3. No lecturers at universities* *4. Study leave not approved* *5. No money for transport to education centres* *6. No staff development by employer* *7. Other .....*

6. ECONOMIC ISSUES

6.1 Rate the effect of the economic crisis in Zimbabwe on you & your family? (a) In the **current period** ☐ (b) In the **past 4 years** (around 2008) ☐ 1. Very hard for us 2. Hard for us 3. Neither hard nor easy 4. Easy for us 5. Very easy for us	6.2 If any of your ratings is **below 3** (i.e. hard for you), why? (**circle most relevant**) 1. Struggled to have food 2. Couldn't afford new clothes 3. Couldn't afford children's fees 4. Lost relatives/friends to treatable diseases 5. Walked to work / no transport 6. Compromised our diet 7. Other	6.3 If any of your ratings is **above 3** (i.e. easy for you), why? ☐ 1. Migration to South Africa 2. Assistance from relatives in diaspora 3. Paid incentives (in US dollar) 4. Secondary job / income generating activity 5. Black market activities 6. Cross-border trade 7. Other	6.4 What aspect of the economic crisis did / do you dislike most (**choose only one, please**) ☐ 1. No foodstuffs in supermarkets 2. Always changing prices 3. Bank withdrawal limits 4. Stagnant salaries 5. Devalued Zim dollar 6. No / low fuel supply (transport expensive / not there) 7. Expensive black market 8. No credit from banks / shops 9. Inability to budget for next day 10. Other .....
6.5 What was your major response to the economic crisis? ☐ 1. Job searching outside Zimbabwe 2. Got a job outside Zimbabwe 3. Got a second job in Zimbabwe 4. Engaged in income generating project (namely)..... 5. Engaged in cross-border trade 6. Sold scarce commodities 7. Money exchange business 8. Other (specify)	6.6 Value of **current salary**(*if in Zim now*) or **salary last earned** while teaching in Zimbabwe (*if inSouth Africa now*). ☐ *1. US$0 – 100* *2. US$101 – 200* *3. US$201 – 300* *4. US$301 – 400* *5. Above US$400*	6.7 Value of **spouse's current salary**(*if in Zim now*) or **spouse's salary when you were teaching** in Zimbabwe (*if inSouth Africa now*). ☐ *1. US$0 – 100* *2. US$101 – 200* *3. US$201 – 300* *4. US$301 – 400* *5. Above US$400* *6. Not working/generating income* *99. Don't know*	6.8 Value of income from **other sources** now (*if in Zim now*) or when teaching in Zimbabwe (*if inSA now*). (***name the sources***:..... .....) *1. US$0 – 100* *2. US$101 – 200* ☐ *3. US$201 – 300* *4. US$301 – 400* *5. Above US$400* *6. No other income sources*
6.9 Value of **total household income** (from own salary, spouse's salary & other income sources) now or while teaching in Zimbabwe. ☐ *1. US$0 – 100* *2. US$101 – 200* *3. US$201 – 300* *4. US$301 – 400* *5. Above US$400*	6.10 Adequacy of **total household income**? ☐ *1. Not enough for food alone* *2. Enough for food alone* *3. Enough for food & clothing* *4. Enough for food, clothing &education* *5. Enough for food, clothing, education, rent &transport* *6. Enough, leftwith some money to save*	6.11Assets currently owned (**Tick all applicable**) *1. House in urban area* ☐ *2. Car* ☐ *3. Land in urban area* ☐ *4. Radio or Television* ☐ *5. Cattle* ☐ *6. Satellite dish* ☐ *7. Expensive mobile phone* ☐	6.12Did / do you know the exact difference of salaries between Zimbabwean and South African teachers? ☐ 1. Yes 2. No If yes, how many times more is a South African teacher's salary? …….*times more*

7. POLITICAL ISSUES (*NB: Feel free to complete this part, remember your name or school is not recorded anywhere*)

7.1 Before or after the presidential elections in **2008**, to what extent was the school you taught affected by politicallymotivated violence? *1. To a large extent* ☐ *2. To a small extent* *3. Not at all (**go to Q7.7a**)*	7.2 If affected, were school teachers perpetrators or victims of the violence? *1. Perpetrators* ☐ *2. Victims* *3. Both (fought back)*	7.3 How did you respond **immediately**to the violence? ☐ *1. Retaliated* *2. Contributed to my migration to SA* *3. Transferred to another schol* *4. Remained at same school* *5. Left teaching for the black Market / non-teaching job* *6. Went home to stay (resigned* *7. Other .....*	7.4 How did other teachers respond **immediately** to the violence? (***circle all applicable*)** *1. Retaliated* *2. Left the country* *3. Transferred to another school* *4. Remained at same school* *5. Left teaching for the black Market / non-teaching job* *6. Went home to stay (resigned* *7. Other .....*
7.5 Give the current whereabouts of <u>one</u>fellow teacher who left the country due to political violence? ☐ 1. South Africa 2. Botswana 3. Other regional country 4. United Kingdom 5. Other overseas country 6. Back in Zimbabwe 7. Don't know anyone	7.6 (a) Why would the perpetrators of the violence target teachers? .... b) How did the law (police) or government deal with the perpetrators and victims of this violence? ..... ……..	7.7 (a) Rate your satisfaction on your **current** security, freedom of expression and participation (e.g. voting&safety) in Zimbabwe. *1.Very bad* ☐ *2. Bad* *3. Neither good nor bad* *4. Good* *5. Very good* **b) Why**: .... ……..	7.8 (a) Rate your satisfaction on your security, freedom of expression & participation (e.g. voting& safety) in Zimbabwe in the **past 4 years** (around 2008). *1.Very bad* ☐ *2. Bad* *3. Neither good nor bad* *4. Good* *5. Very good* **b) Why**: .... ……..

APPENDIX 2: Pre-tested questionnaire on determinants of Zimbabwean teachers' immigration to South Africa

The problems that Zimbabwe has been facing have caused some professionals, teachers included, to leave the country for other countries such as South Africa. These teachers have left a gap in the Zimbabwean education system that may take time to fill. In addition, Zimbabwe's standing in social development has been undermined. This research survey is an attempt at systematically analysing the causes of this emigration in order to help find solutions to address this problem. Hence, you are kindly asked to complete this questionnaire to the best of your knowledge. The data as well as the results of this survey will be used only by the researcher (Mr. D. Ranga) for his further studies and no one else will have access to this information. Your name or school is not required; you are only identified through a number. Make sure all relevant questions are completed (follow instructions about the ***next question to go to****) and you are encouraged to fill in* ***Other*** *answers not only those provided wherever applicable. Thank you.*

IDENTIFICATION

1.1 Country where currently teaching ☐ *1. Zimbabwe (non-migrant)* *2. South Africa (migrant)*	1.2 Province ☐ *1. Gauteng 2. Limpopo* *3. Mpumalanga 4. Harare* *5. Bulawayo 6. Masvingo* *7. Manicaland*	1.3 (a) **District no.** ☐ *01 to 21* b) **School / Respondent no.** ☐ *01 to 200* *[NB: For office use]*	1.4 Type of school currently taught in South Africa / Zim. *1. Private – primary / combined* *2. Private - Secondary* *2. Government- rich urban* *3. Government- poor urban* *4. Government - rural* ☐ *5. Mission*

1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

2.1 Age (in complete years) ☐ *1. Below 25 years* *2. 25-29 years* *3. 30-34 years 5. 41-44 years* *4. 35-39 years 6. 45 or above*	2.2 Sex / gender ☐ *1. Male* *2. Female*	2.3 Marital Status ☐ *1. Never married (**go to Q2.8**)* *2. Married* *3. Widowed (**go to Q2.8**)* *4. Divorced (**go to Q2.8**)*	2.4 If married, has your spouse been living with you continuously for the past six months? *1. Yes (**go to Q2.6**)* ☐ *2. No (**go to Q2.5**)*
2.5 If no, where does spouse usually live? ☐ *1. South Africa* *2. Zimbabwe – rural* *3. Zimbabwe – urban* *4. Other .....*	2.6 Occupation of spouse ☐ *1. Unemployed / home maker* *2. Professional (e.g. teacher)* *3. Non-professional (e.g. maid)* *4. Informal sector / self job* *5. Operate business* *6. Other .....*	2.7 Your highest academic qualification ☐ *1. Master's degree* *2. Bachelor's degree (e.g. BSc)* *2. Diploma* *3. Certificate* *4. Advanced (A) level* *5. Ordinary (O) level*	

2.9 Professional qualification	2.10 Area of specialisation	2.11 Place where highest academic / professional qualification obtained?	2.12 Who provided most of the funds for highest academic / professional qualification?
1. Degree (e.g. BEd) *2. Diploma* *3. Certificate (e.g. PGCE)*	*1. Arts / Languages* *2. Commercials* *3. Mathematics and Science* *4. Technical* *5. Other .....*	*1. Zimbabwe – Univ. of Zim.* *2. Zimbabwe – Other univ.* *3. Zimbabwe – Teachers' coleg* *4. Cuba* *5. Other .....*	*1. Self – own salary* *2. Parents* *3. Spouse* *4. Other relative* *5. Government*

2. **MIGRATION ISSUES** *(NB: Teachers in South Africa provide information **before migration** & those in Zimbabwe provide **current**)*

3.1 Did / do you have knowledge of teaching opportunities outside Zimbabwe?	3.2 Source of this knowledge	3.3 Nature of knowledge received (**Circle all relevant**)	3.4 Have you ever lived outside Zimbabwe continuously for 6 months before?
1. Yes *2. No*	*1. Print media* *2. Radio / television* *3. Internet* *4. Friends in diaspora* *5. Relatives in diaspora* *6. Other .....*	*1. About salaries* *2. Recruitment requirements* *3. Place/province in need of teachers* *4. Security/violence/discrimination* *5. Other .....*	*1. Yes* *2. No*
3.5 Where?	3.6 Main purpose of visit	3.7 What attracted / would attract you to South Africa? (**Circle all relevant**)	3.8 What is unattractive about South Africa? (**Circle all relevant**)
1. South Africa *2. Botswana* *3. Other African country* *4. Overseas*	*1. Look for work* *2. Holiday / visiting* *3. Education* *4. Trade incl. cross border* *5. Work / business related* *6. Join spouse* *7. Other .....*	*1. Better salaries* *2. Stable currency / money* *3. Peace* *4. Free education for children* *5. Better health facilities* *6. Jobs available* *7. It is close to home* *8. Other .....*	*1. Violence / crime* *2. Indiscipline among youths* *3. Immorality among youths* *4. Discrimination against foreigners* *5. Nothing* *6. Other .....*

3.9 Weigh South Africa's attractiveness against its unattractiveness? ☐ *1. Highly attractive* *2. Attractive* *3. Neither attractive nor unattractive* *4. Unattractive* *5. Highly unattractive*	3.10 Type of school currently or last taught in Zimbabwe? ☐ *1. Private* *2. Urban (low density suburb)* *3. Urban (high density suburb)* *4. Rural (government/council)* *5. Rural (Mission)*	*3.11 Total years of work experience as a teacher?* *.....years* ☐ *1. 1 to 3 years* *2. 4 to 6 years* *3. 7 to 9 years* *4. 10 to 12 years* *5. 13 to 15 years* *6. More than 15 years*	3.12 If you are still teaching in Zimbabwe, why have you not migrated? (**circle important only**) *1. Lack of information* *2. Lack of kin / friend in diaspora* *3. Husband / relatives disapprove* *4. Lack money to process papers* *5. Subject taught not in demand* *6. Don't have a Degree/ is required* *7. Fear of violence / crime* *8. Want to be close to family* *9. Given / adequate Incentives* *10.Other .....* *(**go to Q3.15**)*

3.13 If you left the school, why? (***circle important only***) *1. Poor living conditions* *2. Poor working conditions* *3. Political violence / abuse* *4. Inadequate salary* *5. Economy in shambles* *6. Fellow teachers migrating* *7. No future for me / children* *8. Lack of promotion / movement to better school* *9. No / inadequate incentives* *10. Other .....*	3.14 (a) When did you arrive in South Africa? (e.g. Nov 2006) ..... *Month and year* (b) Type of job done when you first arrived in South Africa ☐ *1. Non-teaching* *2. Teaching private school* *3. Teaching government school* *4. Trading*	3.15 (a) Have you thought about returning to Zimbabwe / leaving Zimbabwe to another country? ☐ 1. *Seriously thought about it* *2. Thought about it* *3. Never thought about it* (b) Why?	3.16 Before migration, did / would you consider the following as **serious** challenges? (**circle serious ones only**) *1. Separation from spouse/family* *2. Learning a new language* *3. Money for travelling* *4. Money to process documents* *5. New curriculum / system* *6. Leaving old / making new friends* *7. Initial accommodation*

3. **GENDER ISSUES** *(NB: Please be **honest** with your opinions)*

4.5 If yes, what conditions? ☐ *1. A woman should have grown-up children before migrating* *2. A woman should stay with / near a male relative* *3. If working / living conditions for women outside improve* *4. Migration for unmarried women* *5. If we migrate together* *5. Other .....*	4.6 Who has the final say in matters involving the emigration of a female spouse? ☐ *1. Herself* *2. Husband* *3. Both husband & herself* *4. Family members* *5. Other .....*	4.7 Would your relatives approve if you decide that your spouse should live & work outside Zimbabwe? ☐ *1. Yes (**go to Q4.9 if you are a married female**)* *2. No* *99. Don't know*	4.8 If no, why? ☐ (**use same codes as in Q4.3**)

4.9 If you are a **married female teacher**, did / have you discussed emigrating with your husband? ☐ *1. Yes* *2. No (**go to Q4.12**)*	4.10 If yes, what was his response? ☐ *1. Agreed easily* *2. Took some time to agree* *3. Agreed after consulting relatives or friends* *4. Issue not finalised* *5. Refused*	4.11 Did he make conditions for you to emigrate? ☐ *1. No conditions* *2. Yes, there were conditions (specify) ....*	4.12 Are you a **female** currently teaching in South Africa? ☐ 1. Yes 2. No (**go to Q5.1**)
4.13 If you are a female **migrant**, what challenges did / do you face as a result of being female?	a) before emigration:	b) during the migration period:	c) Currently: ....
3.14 How did you deal with these challenges?	a) before emigration:	b) during the migration period:	c) Currently: ....

4. SOCIAL ISSUES

5.1 Rate the quality of education **currently** received by children in Zimbabwe? ☐ *1.Very bad* *2. Bad* *3. Neither good nor bad* *4. Good* *5. Very good*	5.2 Rate the quality of education received by Zimbabwean children in the **past 3 years** (in 2009) ☐ *1.Very bad* *2. Bad* *3. Neither good nor bad* *4. Good* *5. Very good*	5.3 Rate the quality of education received by Zimbabwean children in the **past 6 years** (in 2006) ☐ *1.Very bad* *2. Bad* *3. Neither good nor bad* *4. Good* *5. Very good*	5.4 If any of your ratings is **below 3** (i.e. unsatisfactory), why? (**circle most important reasons only**) ☐ *1. Teacher strikes* *2. No books & other materials* *3. Teachers not motivated/ low morale* *4. No teachers for some subjects* *5. Teachers absent* *6. Poor national results* *7. Other .....*
5.5 As a **parent**, what did you do for your children's education? ☐ *1. Moved them to better quality but more expensive schools* *2. Contributed their teachers' Salaries (incentives)* *3. Bought books & other materials* *4. Took children to South Africa* *5. Other .....*	5.6 As a **teacher**, how did you respond to the problems? ☐ *1. Did nothing* *2. Is main reason why I migrated* *3. Moved to better school* *4. Left teaching for other job* *5. Engaged in secondary job* *6. Other .....*	5.7 Rate the quality of **current** public health delivery in Zimbabwe ☐ *1.Very bad* *2. Bad* *3. Neither good nor bad* *4. Good* *5. Very good*	5.8 Rate the quality of public health delivery in Zimbabwe in **past 3 years** (in 2009) ☐ *1.Very bad* *2. Bad* *3. Neither good nor bad* *4. Good* *5. Very good*
5.9 Rate the quality of public health delivery in Zimbabwe in **past 6 years** (in 2006) ☐ *1.Very bad* *2. Bad* *3. Neither good nor bad* *4. Good* *5. Very good*	5.10 If any of your ratings is **below 3** (i.e. unsatisfactory), why? (**circle most important reasons only**) *1. Doctors or nurses striking* *2. No medicines* *3. Hospital fees high & in US$* *4. High doctor/nurse: patient ratio* *5. No treatment before paying* *6. Unrepaired ambulances / fuel* *7.Other.....*	5.11 How did you respond to these problems? ☐ *1. Did nothing* *2. Is main reason why I migrated* *3. Moved to private hospitals* *4. Wanted to move to private hospitals, but no cash* *5. Moved to traditional healers* *6. Relatives in diaspora helped* *7. Other .....*	5.12 Rate the **current** quality of **other services** (housing, water, electricity, sanitation & refuse collection)? ☐ *1.Very bad* *2. Bad* *3. Neither good nor bad* *4. Good* *5. Very good*

5.13 Rate the quality of **other services** (housing, water, electricity, sanitation & refuse collection) in **past 3 years**? *1.Very bad* ☐ *2. Bad* *3. Neither good nor bad* *4. Good* *5. Very good*	5.14 Rate the quality of **other services** (housing, water, electricity, sanitation & refuse collection) in **past 6 years** (2006)? ☐ *1.Very bad* *2. Bad* *3. Neither good nor bad* *4. Good* *5. Very good*	5.15 If any of your ratings is **below 3** (i.e. unsatisfactory), why? (**circle most important reasons only**) *1. Rent / land expensive* *2. Building materials in short supply or expensive* *3. Water in short supply* *4. Sanitary drains not serviced* *5. Refuse not collected* *6. Other .....*	5.16 How did you respond to these problems? ☐ *1. Did nothing* *2. Organised strikes* *3. Is main reason why I migrated* *4. Moved to rural area/other town* *5. Organised community to do the work* *6. Disposed own refuse e.g. pit* *7. Other ....*
5.17 Rate your **current** chances of getting further education. ☐ *1. Very low* *2. Low* *3. Neither low nor high* *4. High* *5. Very high*	5.18 Rate your chances of getting further education in the **past 3 years** (since 2006). ☐ *1. Very low* *2. Low* *3. Neither low nor high* *4. High* *5. Very high*	5.19 Rate your chances of getting further education in the **past 6 years** (since 2006). ☐ *1. Very low* *2. Low* *3. Neither low nor high* *4. High* *5. Very high*	4.20 If any of your ratings is **below 3** (i.e. unsatisfactory), why? (**circle most important reasons only**) *1. Lack of funds to sponsor self* *2. No lecturers* *3. Study leave not approved* *4. No money for transport to education centres.* *5. Other ....*
5.21 Rate your **current** chances of getting promotion / moving to better/urban school? *1. Very low* *2. Low* ☐ *3. Neither low nor high* *4. High* *5. Very high*	5.22 Rate your chances of getting promotion or moving to a better / urban school in **past 3 years** (2009) *1. Very low* ☐ *2. Low* *3. Neither low nor high* *4. High* *5. Very high*	5.23 Rate chances of getting promotion or moving to a better / urban school in **past 6 years** *1. Very low* *2. Low* ☐ *3. Neither low nor high* *4. High* *5. Very high*	5.24 If any of your ratings is **below 3** (i.e. unsatisfactory), why? (**circle most important reasons only**) *1. Nepotism by senior officials* *2. Bribery by senior officials* *3. Could not qualify* *4. Not interested* *5. Other* *.....*

5. ECONOMIC ISSUES

6.1 Value of monthly income currently or last earned while teaching in Zimbabwe. ☐ *1. US$0 – 100* *2. US$101 – 200* *3. US$201 – 300* *4. US$301 – 400* *5. Above US$400*	6.2 Adequacy of this income ☐ *1. Not enough for food alone* *2. Enough for food alone* *3. Enough for food & clothing* *4. Enough for food, clothing & education* *5. Enough for food, clothing, education, rent & transport*	6.3 Value of monthly income from secondary source now or while still in Zimbabwe ☐ *1. US$0 – 100* *2. US$101 – 200* *3. US$201 – 300* *4. US$301 – 400* *5. Above US$400*	6.4 Type of secondary income source. ☐ *1. Informal sector / self-job* *2. Trading (e.g. cross-border)* *3. Remittances from internal migrants* *4. Remittances from international migrants* *5. Crop or livestock sales* *6. Other .....*
6.5 Adequacy of **total household monthly income** (own, spouse's salary plus secondary sources) ☐ *1. Not enough for food alone* *2. Enough for food alone* *3. Enough for food & clothing* *4. Enough for food, clothing & education* *5. Enough for food, clothing, education, rent & transport*	6.6 Do you **currently** own the following assets (**Tick all applicable**): *1. House in urban area* ☐ *2. House in rural area* ☐ *3. Car* ☐ *4. Land in town* ☐ *5. Land in rural area* ☐ *6. Radio or Television* ☐ *7. Cattle* ☐	6.7 Did you own the following assets **3 years ago** (in 2009) (**Tick all applicable**): *1. House in urban area* ☐ *2. House in rural area* ☐ *3. Car* ☐ *4. Land in town* ☐ *5. Land in rural area* ☐ *6. Radio or Television* ☐ *7. Cattle* ☐	6.8 Did you own the following assets **6 years ago** (in 2006) (**Tick all applicable**): *1. House in urban area* ☐ *2. House in rural area* ☐ *3. Car* ☐ *4. Land in town* ☐ *5. Land in rural area* ☐ *6. Radio or Television* ☐ *7. Cattle* ☐
6.9 Rate your satisfaction regarding availability of foodstuffs & other goods **currently**. ☐ *1.Very bad* *2. Bad* *3. Neither good nor bad* *4. Good* *5. Very good*	6.10 Rate your satisfaction regarding availability of foodstuffs & other goods **3 years ago** (in 2009). ☐ *1.Very bad* *2. Bad* *3. Neither good nor bad* *4. Good* *5. Very good*	6.11 Rate your satisfaction regarding the buying power of currencies **currently** used in Zimbabwe. ☐ *1.Very bad* *2. Bad* *3. Neither good nor bad* *4. Good* *5. Very good*	6.12 Rate your satisfaction regarding the buying power of currencies used in Zimbabwe **3 years ago** (in 2009). ☐ *1.Very bad* *2. Bad* *3. Neither good nor bad* *4. Good* *5. Very good*

6.13 How much more does a Zimbabwean teacher earns in South Africa **currently**. ☐ *1. 2 to 4 times more* *2. 5 to 7 times more* *3. More than 8 times more* *99. Don't know*	6.14 How much more did a Zimbabwean teacher earn in South Africa **3 years ago** (in 2009). ☐ *1. 2 to 4 times more* *2. 5 to 7 times more* *3. More than 8 times more* *99. Don't know*	6.15 How much more did a Zimbabwean teacher earn in South Africa **6 years ago** (in 2006). ☐ *1. 2 to 4 times more* *2. 5 to 7 times more* *3. More than 8 times more* *99. Don't know*	5.16 What was your response to these differences in salaries between Zimbabwe and South Africa? ☐ *1. Did nothing* *2. Is main reason why I migrated* *3. Interested in emigration, but couldn't for other reasons (specify) .....*

6. POLITICAL ISSUES

7.1 After the hotly contested **2008 elections**, to what extent was the school you taught affected by politically motivated violence? ☐ *1. To a large extent* *2. To a small extent* *3. Not at all (**go to Q7.7a**)*	7.2 If affected, were school teachers perpetrators or victims of the violence? *1. Perpetrators* ☐ *2. Victims* *3. Both*	7.3 How did you respond **immediately** to the violence? ☐ *1. Retaliated* *2. Is main reason I migrated* *3. Left the school* *4. Stayed at school/ in country* *5. Left teaching for other professions (displaced)* *6. Went home to stay (resigned* *7. Other .....*	7.4 How did other teachers respond **immediately** to the violence? (***circle all applicable*****)** *1. Retaliated* *2. Left the country* *3. Left the school* *4. Stayed at school/ in country* *5. Left teaching for other Professions (displaced)* *6. Went home to stay (resigned* *7. Other .....*
7.5 For your fellow teachers who left the country, where are they now (**circle all applicable**). 1. South Africa 2. Botswana 3. Other regional country 4. United Kingdom 5. Other overseas country 6. Back in Zimbabwe	7.6 a) Why would the perpetrators of the violence target teachers? .... b) How did the law (police) or government deal with the perpetrators of this violence?	7.7 a) Rate your satisfaction on your current security, freedom of expression and participation (e.g. voting) in Zimbabwe. ☐ *1.Very bad* *2. Bad* *3. Neither good nor bad* *4. Good* *5. Very good* b) Why:	7.8 a) Rate your satisfaction on your security, freedom of expression & participation (e.g. voting) in Zimbabwe in the past 3 to 6 years ago (2006 to 2009). *1.Very bad* ☐ *2. Bad* *3. Neither good nor bad* *4. Good* *5. Very good* b) Why: .....

APPENDIX 3: Interview guide – Zimbabwean teachers' immigration to South Africa

Respondents

- Principals (one school per province)

1. Your age and sex (gender) ……years Gender: Male / Female
2. For how many years have you been in the position of school head? ……
3. What is the general teacher to pupil ratio at your school / district? 1 teacher to ……pupils
4. How many teachers are currently teaching at your school / in your district? ……
5. How many of these teachers have joined your school / district after the re-engagement of teachers who had previously resigned in 2009? ……..
6. How many teachers have your school / district lost since 2007 due to migration to other countries …….....
7. What kind of teachers has mainly left your school / district due to migration to other countries (Tick the correct answer):
   (a) Below 30 years ☐ 30-45 years ☐ Above 45 years ☐
   (b) Males ☐ Females ☐ Males & females equally ☐
   (c) Degreed ☐ Non-degreed ☐ Degreed & non-degreed equally ☐
   (d) Science/Maths teachers ☐ Commercial subjects teachers ☐ Language/Social Science teachers ☐
   (e) Less than 10 years' experience ☐ With 10-20 years' experience ☐
   With more than 20 years' experience ☐ All groups of experience ☐
8. There is a general concern that many teachers have left and continue to leave Zimbabwe for South Africa and other countries, how serious is this problem in your school / district?
   ……
   ……
   ……
9. Why are these teachers leaving Zimbabwe? (**refer to**: political, economic, social, and work-related reasons)……
   ……
   ……
10. What have yourschool / district done to reduce the number of teachers leaving your school / district for other countries?**(refer to**: incentives (how much), accommodation or otherservices, allowances, bonding, etc.)…….
    ……
    ……
11. What are the *challenges* and *successes*that you have faced when addressing this problem (**refer to**: communities' / parents' willingness to help, government's role, non-governmental organisations' roles, etc)? ……
    ……
    ……
12. What should the government do to permanently address the problem of teachers leaving the country? ……
    ……
    ……
13. Why are other teachers not leaving Zimbabwe for South Africa or other countries? ……..
    ……
    ……
    ……

.....E N D .....

APPENDIX 4: Sample of a circular on the engagement of foreign teachers (Limpopo province)

LIMPOPO
PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

DEPARTMENT OF
EDUCATION

Ref. No. : S4/2/1/2
Enq. : Nethengwe S.

Tel. : 015 – 284 6582
Fax : 015 – 295 9965
E-Mail Address : nethengwes@edu.limpopo.gov.za

Date : 14 September 2012

TO : DISTRICT SENIOR MANAGERS
CIRCUIT MANAGERS
SCHOOL PRINCIPALS
SCHOOL GOVERNING BODIES

CIRCULAR NO. 166 OF 2012

SUBJECT : ENGAGEMENT OF FOREIGN EDUCATORS IN SUBSTANTIVE POSTS FOR 2013 SCHOOL YEAR.

1. The above matter bears reference.
2. All Secondary schools which engaged foreign educators in substantive posts in 2012 are directed to submit applications for further engagement of this category of educators in 2013.
3. This is in view of the fact that their contracts are ending on 31 December 2012 and that their engagement for the next academic year will need prior approval of the Head of Department.
4. The affected schools should write application letters to their respective Districts indicating whether they still need the services of such foreign educators or not.
5. Those foreign educators whose qualifications have been evaluated as REQV 13(s) professionally qualified or Diploma plus 120 or more credits, will not be re-appointed from January 2013. The minimum requirements for engagement of foreign educators in South Africa is the Bachelors' degree plus teaching qualification or the composite Bachelors' degree.
6. District Managers should then compile a consolidated list of such educators on the Pro-Forma provided. This will assist the Department in ensuring that they [foreign educators] receive their salaries at the end of January 2013. District Senior Managers are directed to monitor the process as the Department experiences delays in receiving the forms provided and cause unnecessary delays in payment of salaries in the new school year.
7. The information requested above should reach this Office on of before Friday, 12 October 2012.
8. The communiqué should be brought to the attention of all stakeholders involved.

.....
MR. THAMAGA MJ
HEAD OF DEPARTMENT

.....
DATE

APPENDIX 5: Additional results

5.1 Teachers with Master's Degrees

Whether teacher has Masters Degree	Non-migrants %	Migrants %
Yes	7	16
No	93	84

Source: Survey results

5.2 Migrant teachers: sex of teacher by whether living with spouse

	Whether living with spouse?	
Sex of teacher	*Yes %*	*No %*
Male	31	69
Female	50	50

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level (P<0.05) ** Significant at 1% level (P<0.01)

5.3 Migrant teachers: Type of job done on arrival by type of school currently taught **

	Private		Government	
Type of job done on arrival	**Primary %**	**Secondary %**	**Urban %**	**Rural %**
Non-teaching	31	11	11	47
Teaching private school	19	37	27	17
Teaching government school	0	0	39	61

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level (P<0.05) ** Significant at 1% level (P<0.01)

5.4 Migrant teachers: Type of school currently taught by subject of specialisation **

Subject	Private school %	Government school %
Languages /Arts	23	8
Commercials	21	9
Mathematics / science	32	83
Technical	6	0
Social science	15	0
Computers	3	0

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level (P<0.05) ** Significant at 1% level (P<0.01)

5.5 Migrant teachers: Other factors that influenced immigration to South Africa (N=200)

Factor	Extent of influence		
	Large %	*Small %*	*Not at all %*
Inflation of Zimbabwean dollar	91	5	4
Food shortages	75	16	9
Expensive goods and services	83	15	3
Poor health delivery	70	16	14
Collapsed education system	58	26	15
Political violence	59	23	19
Corruption / mismanagement	41	35	24
Poor services in towns	54	23	24
High cost of living during 'dollarisation'	74	10	15

Source: Survey results.

5.6 Type and location of school taught in Zimbabwe*

Type and location	Non-migrants %	Migrants %
University or college	0.0	14
Private school	6	3
Urban high income	11	10
Urban low income	33	27
Rural government or council	35	33
Rural mission (church)	15	13

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level (P<0.05) ** Significant at 1% level (P<0.01)

5.7 Teachers' responses to political violence **

Response	Non-migrants %	Migrants %
Retaliated	6	3
Contributed to migration to SA	0	66
Transferred to another school	16	4
Remained at same school	42	13
Left teaching profession	14	6
Stayed at home	20	8
Went on strike	2	0

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level (P<0.05) ** Significant at 1% level (P<0.01)

5.8 Non-migrant teachers: Thought about leaving Zimbabwe recently?

Sex of teacher	Thought about emigration?	
	Yes (%)	*No (%)*
Male	38	42
Female	62	58

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level (P<0.05) ** Significant at 1% level (P<0.01)

5.9 Migrant teachers: Period arrived in South Africa by reasons for migration

Reasons	Before 2008 (%)	2008 (%)	After 2008 (%)
Poor accommodation / other services	0	13	9
High workload / lack of materials	0	7	13
Expensive food or shortages	35	36	41
Political violence or repression	46	32	28
Inadequate salary	85	65	78
Fellow teachers migrating	12	7	13
No future for me or children	8	26	28
Lack of promotion / movement to better school	4	0	0
Need to further studies	8	13	6
Inadequate incentives**	8	26	41
Join spouse	0	3	6
Teachers lost dignity or respect	31	29	25

Source: Survey results. * Significant at 5% level (P<0.05) ** Significant at 1% level (P<0.01)