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Teacher migration to Botswana: causes and implications for human resources management in education

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Teacher migration to Botswana: causes and implications for human resources management in education

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Abstract

Botswana has been a host country to migrant teachers from various countries and regions of the world for many years. This paper reports on the migration motives that prompted teachers from four countries to move to Botswana to work in junior and senior secondary schools, and their attitudes towards human resource management (HRM) policies and practices in these schools. The teachers completed an 87-item questionnaire which measured four dimensions of migration push-pull factors, and HRM policy and practice issues. Multiple factors were revealed, linked to economic issues, personal circumstances, community and school-related conditions in both the home and host countries. However, the influence of each factor is related to migrants' gender and countries of origin. As a follow-up to the above, a small, qualitative investigation was conducted. The reactions of five Botswana school managers to the HRM issues raised in the first phase were investigated by means of interviews. The results reveal the unique challenges of a diversified workforce for HRM in these schools.

Keywords: teacher migration; Botswana secondary schools; gender influence; country of origin; human resource management

Introduction

The emergence of migrant labour, especially of professionals such as teachers, doctors, and nurses, is often argued as one of the major outcomes of globalisation (Brown 2006, 2). The International Organisation of Migration estimates that some 20 000 skilled professionals – doctors, nurses, engineers, accountants, managers and teachers – leave Africa each year (IOL 2006, 1). The contemporary migrant teachers present in

schools in different countries across the world are, in many ways, replicas of the Sophists of Europe in the fifth century: travelling and giving lessons for pay (Brown 2006, 1). Many African countries continue to play host to migrant teachers just as African migrant teachers also leave their home countries for other countries within Africa and beyond (Adepoju 2006, 27). As these to-and-fro movements of teachers are undertaken, a complex web of teacher migration results.

Teacher migration involves educators leaving their home country to work on a contractual basis for a period, exceeding one year, in another country (Oucho 2003, 12). In the last two decades, the movement of migrant teachers across, and out of, Africa has increased significantly as countries became more differentiated in their supply of local labour and economic development (Adepoju 2006, 25–26; Commonwealth Secretariat 2003, 11). The evidence of teacher mobility has become a concern, politically as well. Migration was discussed at the Regional Seminar on Labour Migration in Lusaka in 1999, at the 15th Conference of Commonwealth Education in Edinburgh in 2003, at colloquiums that brought about the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and at the parliamentary level of various SADC member countries (Commonwealth Secretariat 2003, 11; *Seychelles Nation* 2003, 8). There is good reason for paying this attention to teacher migration because close to half of all reported labour migrants move from one developing country to another (ILO 2001, 26; UNESCO 2006, 16).

Botswana is one African country that has been a host country to migrant teachers, dating back to the 1970s (Brown and Schulze 2002, 1). The period between 1975 and 1990 saw the greatest inflows of migrant teachers for work in schools at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels (Brown and Schulze 2002, 2). In recent years however, especially since the introduction of government policy in the 1990s aimed at the localisation of teaching posts (RNPE 1994), the scale of the migrant teacher inflow has reduced. Nevertheless, up to 2004 migrant teachers from different countries globally were still arriving in the country, albeit at a lesser volume when compared to the 1980s (Hanson in Brown 2004, 8). Many of these migrant teachers are required to teach secondary school subjects such as Computer Studies, Design and Technology, Art and Craft, Moral Education, Home Economics, Business Studies, and so on that have been deemed “scarce-skill areas” (TSM 2004, 3).

It has been acknowledged that the presence of migrant teachers in schools can have profound implications for people management in schools (Ingersoll 2001, 3). Schools are dependent on the commitment, continuity and cohesion among employees and are therefore especially prone to suffer when subjected to either wide cultural differences among teachers and or high rates of teacher turnover (Brown 2004, 4). Yet surprisingly little is known about migrant teachers’ attitudes towards human resource management (HRM) activities in their host schools. This question represents one of the major exclusions in the existing reflections on the teacher migration impact debate in migrant destination countries. There is also a tendency in Botswana to explain teacher immigration in economic terms (Brown and Schultz 2002, 16), without having empirical justification for this claim.

The concerns raised above formed the basis of a study on which this article reports. First, the study examined empirically the reasons why teachers leave their homelands to work in secondary schools in Botswana and their views of HRM policies and practices in the schools. Second, it investigated Botswana school managers' reactions to the above-mentioned. Finally, it indicated the implications for HRM of teacher migration to secondary schools in Botswana.

Migration models and motives

This paper concurs with Bailey (2003) as well as Mahroum (1999) that teacher migration is a form of skilled labour migration. A number of models have been put forward to explain labour migration (Borjas 1994; Hugo 2003; Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino and Taylor 1993). Many of these models focused on economic aspects, and explain migration in economic terms (Borjas 1994). Other models focused on the place-utility elements, and explain labour migration as an "adjustive" response by individuals to maximise the functional value of a place (Wolpert in Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson 1998, 63). The world system model disagrees that economic or place-utility factors give rise to labour mobility, suggesting instead the existence of ideological and material ties as well as ongoing processes of market penetration (Massey et al. 1993, 431). For other scholars, migration is an outcome of networks (Lucas and Meyer 1999, 66). For them, networks increase the likelihood of migratory movements because they lower mobility risks and increase the expected net returns (Taylor in Boyle et al. 1998, 105).

Although all of these migration models have been criticised (Mafukidze 2006, 107–104), the brief sketch above suggests that a variety of factors, which may be economic, social, environmental and/or personal, can drive migration (Mafukidze 2006, 104). Piore (in Khan 1992, 5) grouped the range of casual factors of migration into two distinct categories, namely *push factors* and *pull factors*, and suggests that migration is not caused by push factors in the migrants' country of origin, but by pull factors in the receiving countries. Piore's classification of the casual factors of migration is adopted as the point of departure in exploring teacher migration because it draws various aspects of the different migration models together. But the factors propelling different cohorts of migrants to migration are not the same. Assessing how these casual factors have influenced teacher migration in other contexts therefore becomes a necessity.

Economic motives

Economic factors may function to either push or pull an individual to migrate (Hugo 2003, 10). Hugo (2003, 10–11) suggests that income differential determines whether economic factors are perceived as having a push or pull status. Although a number of scholars have questioned the role economic factors play in labour migration (Bogue,

Arriaga, Anderton and Rumsey 1993, 14–120), it is largely well established from many African, European, North American and Asian studies that economic factors have significant influence (Adepoju 2006; Bempah, Kaylen, Osburn and Birkenholz 1994; Stinebrickner 1998). Baugh and Stone (Stinebrickner 1998, 124) found inter-school district migration of teachers in the United States to be extremely responsive to wage differentials. Stinebrickner (1998, 127–130) determined that, if policies were designed to reduce teacher migration, increases in wages would be more successful in doing so than improved working conditions at school. Oucho (2000, 52–57) assessed the attitudes of skilled migrants (engineers, lawyers, accountants, doctors, etc.) in Botswana towards life in the country, and their future plans, and reports their general satisfaction with socio-economic conditions. But his (2000, 52) study did not include teachers. Nevertheless, the above evidence shows the pull effects of economic factors. Other authors have also demonstrated the influence of income-incentive factors for migration and the fact that economic pull factors in a destination are more influential than economic push factors (Boyle et al. 1998; Eurostat 2001, 6; IOL 2006, 1).

In addition, there are studies which suggest that economic motives are mediated by gender (Bunt-Kokhuis 1996, 45–65; Oucho, Campbell and Mukamaambo 2000, 57; Welch 1997, 329), marital status, (Eurostat 2001, 1–6; Mantra 1998, 11; United Nations 1994, 46) and country of origin, (Eurostat 2001, 1–6; Hugo 1992, 98). However, in these studies, little attention is paid to teachers as a unique group regarding these variables.

School and community-related motives

A small number of studies focused on school and community-related motives for migration, and have isolated both push and pull factors (Commonwealth Secretariat 2003, 8; Ingersol 2001, 2–3). The characteristics of the schools in the home country of migrants (e.g. dissatisfaction with jobs, and the management styles of school principals) are significantly related to teacher out-migration (Ingersol 2001, 2; Bunt-Kokhuis 1996, 78). Furthermore, increasing levels of unemployment at places of destination deter in-migration (Bunt-Kokhuis 1996, 64). At the same time, increasing employment opportunities at destination sites increase in-migration and deter out-migration (Clark 1986, 66). This evidence suggests that how an individual experiences the migration origin or destination “community” will largely shape the push/pull nature of the community factors.

There is evidence that community characteristics such as infrastructure and climatic factors are significantly related to migration (Armitage and Powell 1997, 504; Bempah et al. 1994, 69–72). A common reason advanced by British teachers for taking up teaching duties in tropical regions in developing countries was “to live in a better climate” (Armitage and Powell 1997, 506). The school and community factors inform this study as source of motives because they allow for a broader assessment of migration factors among the migrant teachers in Botswana.

Personal-related motives

More recently, migration causes among education professionals have pointed to personal factors. A few *Asian*-based studies have shown that the propensity to migrate tends to be positively related to formal educational achievement (United Nations 1994, 94). A similar tendency is revealed by research conducted in certain countries in Africa and Latin America (Bailey 2003, 245; Mafukidze 2006, 106; UNESCO 2006, 16), where it is shown that labour migrants are usually the most skilled. In the US school context, evidence suggests that the more educated a teacher is, the higher the probability of migration between schools (Greenberg and McCall in Bempah et al. 1994, 70). The teacher's level of education therefore cannot be ignored; such a personal factor informs this study.

Marital status and children seem also to be a factor in teacher migration. There is evidence that British teachers migrated because they wanted to save a failing marriage, or because they recently experienced a divorce (Armitage and Powell 1997, 506). Accordingly, Bunt-Kokhuis (1996, 47) observes that many European migrant academics were "single, divorced or don't have a family". The desire to live close to kin is also associated with the migration of widows (Boyle et al. 1998, 121; Shanthi 2006, 2–4). It has been shown that females often migrate to enhance their husbands' careers. However this gesture appears one-sided because mobility that gave priority to the wife's career was seldom made by the husband (Romanin and Over 1993, 413–415). Married females can experience greater conflict over geographic mobility, a situation that can lead to separation (Bunt-Kokhuis 1996, 46; Shanthi 2006, 2–4). Other studies have reported no significant relationship between female marital status and migration (e.g. Graves and Lineman in Bempah et al. 1994, 70).

Personal-related motives for migrating vary considerably between migrants of different regions (Bunt-Kokhuis 1996, 113; United Nations 1994, 44). Among European academics, enjoyment of being in a different culture, the chance to see more of the world, learn a new language, get to know oneself better and obtain access to good facilities at host schools were the key reasons prompting migration (Bunt-Kokhuis 1996, 113). African labourers sometimes move to Europe to join family members or with the hope of getting married; and both males and females migrated for more or less the same reasons (Eurostat 2001, 4; United Nations 1994, 44). The above evidence points to different aspects of personal push and pull factors in teacher migration, and reinforces the need to investigate such factors in the Botswana context.

But teacher migration raises more concerns than just its causes. Migrants move with, *inter alia*, their cultures (Alhuwalia 2001, 5). In recent years, evidence from HRM studies (Khilji 2003, 109; Jaeger and Kanungo 1990, 3) shows that the culture of individuals influences how they respond to organisational management. The reaction of migrants towards management practices in host countries has been a point of concern in the literature on migration (Khilji 2003; Jaeger and Kanungo 1990). This issue will now be briefly explored.

Teacher migration and HRM policies and practices

In schools in Botswana, the HRM system generally includes practices in four areas, recruitment/selection, employee appraisal, training and compensation. Although HRM is generally centralised, that is performed at the Ministry of Education level, many of these functions are delegated to school heads and other managers at the school level. For instance, they are required to conduct teacher appraisal and in-service training, and to reward and motivate teachers (Brown 2001, 5). Evidence shows that migrants, often of different cultures, have beliefs that conflict with the managerial policies of the host country (Jaeger and Kanungo 1990, 1–23; Hofstede 1991, 77). Moreover, although evidence suggests that migrants' inclusion and acceptance are major concerns in schools, indigenous employees are often intolerant of issues of equality towards migrants (Bascia 1996, 151–162; Brown 2001, 1–23).

Some authors argue that the way in which an HRM system operates is influenced by the gender of the HRM manager, with females being more likely to encourage participation (Gibson 1995, 255; Verheul 2003, 14). Across cultures, females tend to have lower expectations about participation in the workplace, involvement in decision making and career aspirations. Hence, practices often disadvantage females (Aycan, Kanungo, Mendonca, Yu, Deller, Stahl and Kurshid 2000, 192–201; Dickens 1998, 23). Yet females tend to identify more with the philosophy of an HRM system, compared with males (Price 2001, 38; Verheul 2003, 12).

Little research has examined the role of a migrant teacher's age, academic qualifications and subject area of specialisation in his/her experience of HRM practices in school organisations. It may be argued that higher academic qualifications may cause the migrants to feel less concern about HRM issues, because of greater employment prospects elsewhere (Oucho 2000, 66; Greenwood in Bogue et al. 1993, 126). Bunt-Kokhuis (1996, 33) observed that educators in disciplines in the natural sciences are more prone to migration than those working in the social sciences. Such a degree of ease in migration could shape attitudes towards HRM among these individuals. However, there is a lack of research evidence for Botswana in this regard.

Based on the review outlined above, two key issues have received somewhat limited attention in the teacher migration literature: (1) the reasons why teachers from various parts of the world migrate to Botswana, and (2) their experience of HRM practices in the host country. This research paper aims to address these two concerns. But given the possibility that migration may be triggered by factors in both the origin as well as the destination country, the paper adopts Piore's (Khan 1992, 5) push-pull classification of migration casual factors to guide this investigation. This model states that although the factors deemed as push or pull can vary in nature, push factors operate at the migration origin whereas pull factors operate at the destination country. The relevance of this classification system to the investigation is that it can facilitate a coherent explanation of the causes for the teacher migration.

Problem statement and hypotheses

The investigation was guided by the following research problems:

- (1) What are the reasons why teachers migrate to work in Botswana's secondary schools, and how do they feel about HRM practices in these schools?
- (2) How do school managers in Botswana feel about the issues migrant teachers raised regarding HRM practices/policies in the schools?

Based on problem statement (1) above, it is hypothesised that there are no significant relationships between:

- (a) migrant teachers' characteristics (countries/regions of origin, gender, academic qualifications, subject area specialisation) and various push/pull (economic, personal, community and school-related) reasons for migration
- (b) migrant teachers' characteristics (countries/regions of origin, gender, academic qualifications, subject area specialisation) and their attitudes towards HRM

These hypotheses were investigated quantitatively.

Method

Mixed-method design

The study adopted a mixed-method design; this results from a combination of the quantitative and the qualitative approaches (Brown 2004, 74). Within this paradigm, aspects of both the quantitative and qualitative techniques are applied on a phased basis (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2003, 340). Creswell (De Vos 1998, 360) developed a dominant/less-dominant framework for carrying out research using the mixed paradigm; this framework guided this study. The quantitative phase dominated, while the qualitative phase was less dominant. This is because the investigation was built around testing the above hypotheses (cf. problem statement and hypothesis 1). A small qualitative investigation was done as a follow-up to the quantitative phase to answer research question (1) (cf. problem statement 2). This facilitated a holistic view and strengthened the internal validity of the design. A survey design was deemed most appropriate in the quantitative phase because the researchers wanted to include a large number of migrant teachers; a semi-structured phenomenological interview was used in the qualitative phase since it was a follow-up investigation.

Sample

Migrant teachers who had been working in secondary schools in Botswana for at least one year participated in the study. This is consistent with the definition of migration adopted in this study (cf. introduction); this was the main selection criterion for de-

cluding who to include in the investigation. The teachers were identified conveniently through the principal of each school. The sample for the quantitative phase was drawn purposively by the researchers.

For the qualitative phase, school managers (principals and deputy principals) were selected purposefully from the schools where migrant teachers, who participated in the quantitative phase, had been employed. This was the main selection criterion for deciding which school managers to include. The decision to include school managers of schools where migrant teachers had been employed was to ensure that the issues raised in the survey bear some relevance to their schools.

Instruments

Two separate instruments (questionnaire and interview schedule) were used to collect data; each was influenced by the design adopted above (cf. mixed-method design section).

Questionnaire

A self-administered questionnaire was used to collect data for the quantitative phase. The questionnaire was developed in the English language and consisted of three sections. The first section of the questionnaire asked for demographic information. In the second and third sections, migration motives and feelings towards HRM policies and practices were assessed, using a total of 75 statements, developed from the literature review. The respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with each statement by using a five-point Likert-type scale. One indicated strong disagreement, and five strong agreement. (In presenting the results, the positive responses were grouped together and the same was done with the negatives.) Five scholars who specialised in the area of labour migration checked whether the draft questionnaire appeared to be a suitable measure of what was being measured and whether the constructs were accurately captured. The instrument was also pilot tested to ensure that all relevant factors were included in each of the sections. Thus content and face validity were addressed.

Interview schedule

A semi-structured phenomenological interview schedule, developed by the researchers, was used to collect data for the qualitative phase. The questions were based on themes that emerged from issues that came out of the way migrant teachers responded to the questionnaire regarding HRM practices/policies in the schools. Four themes were covered: career development opportunities, non-involvement of migrants in decision making, issues of motivational practices, and migrants' experience of the school system. A semi-structured interview was adopted to keep a degree of consistency in the questions that respondents were asked, and a degree of flexibility in the interview exercise to ensure respondents were able to relate their "lived experiences" freely. This facilitated the asking of probing questions.

Trustworthiness of the findings was addressed by means of Guba's model of trustworthiness (Brown and Schulze 2002, 5). This model includes (1) truth value, (2) applicability or the degree to which the findings can be applied to other contexts or with other groups, (3) consistency or whether the findings would be consistent if the enquiry was replicated, and (4) neutrality or the freedom from bias in the research procedures and results. These dimensions were addressed through (1) triangulation of methods, (2) prolonged engagement in the research setting to establish good rapport, and (3) the analysis of interview transcripts with an external coder to ensure peer examination.

Procedure

The study was conducted in the South and South Central Regions of Botswana. These areas of the country had the majority of secondary schools with migrant teachers. To gain access to these schools, the researchers used the school heads as gatekeepers (Brown and Schulze 2002, 4). During the quantitative phase, the researchers administered the questionnaire personally. As many of these secondary (junior/senior) schools as possible were visited, and at each school as many migrant teachers as possible were asked to participate. The teachers were asked to complete the questionnaire on the spot; this was to ensure maximum return. A total of 110 volunteered. Data were collected over a two-month period.

During the administration of the questionnaire, the researchers made arrangements with the school managers (principals and deputy principals) for follow-up interviews. However, the interviews were conducted three months after the quantitative data were collected. This was to facilitate analysis of the data. This was explained to all the school managers. Five school managers were interviewed for about 90 minutes each. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim.

Data from the questionnaire were analysed using various tests: T-Test, ANOVA, and Tukey Post Hoc. The main method of data analysis used for the qualitative data was thematic content analysis. This entailed identifying, coding and categorising patterns in the data (Corbin and Strauss 1990; Miles and Huberman 1994). The results of these analyses are presented in the sections below.

Quantitative results

Biographical data

The migrants originated from four regions as follows: Africa (41.8%), the Caribbean (22.7%), Asia (15%) and Europe (20%). The majority (70%) of the migrant teachers were married. By subject area of specialisation, the largest representation of migrants was in the technical subjects (32.7%), business studies (26.4%) and mathematics/natural science fields (26.4%), and relatively smaller numbers in humanities/languages (13.6%). The majority (92%) of the migrants were between the ages of 30 and 49 when they arrived in Botswana.

Factors that motivated teachers to migrate to Botswana

The responses of the migrant teachers on the various push/pull factors appear in Tables 1 to 4.

TABLE 1: ECONOMIC PUSH/PULL FACTORS AND DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANT TEACHERS' RESPONSES

Economic factors	Responses in %		
	* Strongly disagree / Disagree	Neutral	Strongly agree / Agree
Push factors:			
High cost of living in home country	27.3	37.2	35.5
Unsatisfactory benefits of previous job	30.9	6.4	62.7
Unsatisfactory working conditions in home country	34.5	3.7	61.8
Low salary in home country	34.5	1.9	63.6
High income tax in previous country	55.5	10	34.5
Job insecurity in home country	60.0	20.0	20.0
Difficulty finding employment in home country	73.6	7.3	19.1
Unemployed in home country	81.8	3.7	14.5
Pull factors:			
Demand for my labour in Botswana	20.9	7.3	71.8
Better working conditions in Botswana	26.4	5.4	68.2
Opportunity to improve economic security	26.4	7.2	66.4
Free passage to Botswana	35.5	9.1	55.4
Better income in Botswana	44.5	2.8	52.7
Lower income tax in Botswana	50.9	13.6	35.5
Could not find a better job elsewhere	61.8	18.2	20.0

(* Percentage listed in ascending order of response for strongly disagree / disagree)

Table 1 shows that the economic push/pull factors were related to teachers' economic security, income/salary and working conditions. There is an indication that low salary and unsatisfactory working conditions and benefits in a previous job were important economic push factors for more than 60% of the migrant teachers. Important pull factors were demand for migrant teacher labour in Botswana, better working conditions and the opportunity to improve economic security.

TABLE 2: PERSONAL PUSH/PULL FACTORS AND DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANT TEACHERS' RESPONSES

Personal factors	Responses in %		
	* Strongly disagree/Disagree	Neutral	Strongly agree/Agree
Push factors:			
To enhance migration prospect for family	76.4	18.1	5.5

Difficulty coping with relatives	90.0	0.0	10.0
To get away after a divorce	91.8	1.8	6.4
To get away from problems with others in home job	92.7	0.9	6.4
No close relatives in previous home community	97.3	0.9	1.8
Pull factors:			
Liking for adventure motivated me to move here	30.0	2.7	67.3
To broaden intellectual horizon	35.5	6.3	58.2
Better prospects for family welfare	59.1	0.9	40.0
To get better education for my children	80.9	4.6	14.5
Moved to stay with spouse	85.5	0.9	13.6
Moved to join/be near friends	90.0	0.0	10.0
Moved to join/be near relatives	92.7	1.8	5.5
Moved in the hope of finding someone to marry	95.5	0.0	4.5
Moved to Botswana to get married	98.2	0.9	0.9

(* Percentage listed in ascending order of response for strongly disagree / disagree)

According to Table 2, it does not seem as if the migrants were motivated by personal push factors to teach in Botswana: 10% or fewer agreed that personal factors such as disruptive relatives, no close relatives in homeland community, or desire to get away after a divorce pushed them to move. The most important personal pull factors were a liking for adventure and opportunities to broaden one's intellectual horizons.

TABLE 3: SCHOOL-RELATED PUSH/PULL FACTORS AND DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANT TEACHERS' RESPONSES

School-related factors	Responses in %		
	* Strongly disagree / Disagree	Neutral	Strongly agree / Agree
Push factors:			
Lack of promotion prospects in previous job	42.8	24.5	32.7
To avoid dissatisfaction in previous job	45.4	4.5	50.1
Having to work with inadequate resources	49.1	6.4	44.5
Unhappiness with previous employer	61.8	3.7	34.5
To avoid long working hours in previous job	76.4	16.4	7.2
To avoid heavy workload in previous job	87.3	2.7	10.0
Pull factors:			
For better promotion opportunities	67.3	6.4	26.3
For less workload in the classroom	88.2	1.8	10.0

(* Percentage listed in ascending order of response for strongly disagree / disagree)

Table 3 shows that although 50% of the migrant teachers were motivated to migrate by job dissatisfaction in their countries of origin, a slightly lower percentage (45.4%) disagreed that they moved to Botswana for such reason. Table 3 also indicates a mixed response regarding resource-related concerns, with 44.5% agreeing that lack of resources pushed them to move but 49.1% disagreeing. It is also important to note that 88% disagreed that they were motivated by the prospect of a smaller workload in the classroom, indicating that these migrant teachers were willing to work hard in their host country.

TABLE 4: COMMUNITY-RELATED PUSH/PULL FACTORS AND DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANT TEACHERS' RESPONSES

Community-related factors	Responses in %		
	* Strongly disagree / Disagree	Neutral	Strongly agree / Agree
Push factors:			
Political problems in own country	68.2	18.2	13.6
Poor physical environment in home country	77.3	0	22.7
Unfavourable weather in home country	81.8	2.7	15.5
Poor community service institutes in home country	84.5	4.6	10.9
Lack of desirable social activities	95.5	0.0	4.5
Pull factors:			
Better political security	67.3	1.8	30.9
The close proximity to home country	76.3	5.5	18.2
To experience better weather conditions	79.1	1.8	19.1
To access better community service institutions	81.9	3.6	14.5
To access better health-care services	83.6	0.9	15.5
To access better social services	94.5	0.9	4.6

(* Percentage listed in ascending order of response for strongly disagree/disagree)

According to Table 4, community-related factors did not emerge significantly as motivators for teacher migration to Botswana. Less than 25% of migrants felt pushed by community conditions in their home countries such as poor physical environment (22.7%), unfavourable weather conditions (15.5%) and political problems (13.6%). But nearly one third (30.9%) of the teachers felt pulled to Botswana for better political security; this figure is slightly higher than the percentage (13.6%) who indicated they felt pushed by political problems. Nevertheless, the majority (67.3%) disagreed that a quest for political security had anything to do with their migration.

Attitudes of migrant teachers to HRM practice/policies in Botswana schools

The responses on HRM policies and practice appear in Table 5.

TABLE 5: DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANT TEACHERS' RESPONSES TO HRM PRACTICE/ POLICY ISSUES

HRM practices and policies	Responses in %		
	* Strongly disagree / Disagree	Neutral	Strongly agree / Agree
HRM policy:			
I believe in the goals of the Botswana education system	3.7	23.6	72.7
I find that HR policies enable me to work as part of a team	31.8	40.9	27.3
I am treated as an equal with other teachers	66.4	29.1	4.5
I find that HR policies promote cultural diversity	84.5	10.9	4.6
HRM practices:			
I feel the work I do is valued	1.8	32.7	65.5
I find that the promotion system discriminates against migrants	4.5	40	55.5
I have opportunities to work with others in team	7.3	20	72.7
I find that the transfer system discriminates against migrants	8.1	66.4	25.5
I want to leave because of the way I am treated	20.9	47.3	31.8
I am happy with my workload	20.9	32.7	46.4
I feel I am treated with respect as a migrant	23.6	25.5	50.9
I feel I am targeted with heavy workload as a migrant	25.5	43.6	30.9
I feel socially accepted by everybody	29.1	68.2	2.7
I often feel isolated from other teachers	40.9	49.1	10
I am committed to my job as a teacher	43.6	50.9	5.5
I am happy with the quality of my work life at the school	50.9	33.6	15.5
I am included in decision making	56.4	33.6	10
I am given the opportunity to develop in my career at work	67.3	30.9	1.8
I experienced the education system as fair to migrants	76.4	18.2	5.4
I receive motivational comments from my school officials	79.1	17.3	3.6
I experience the education system as caring to migrants	87.3	10	2.7

(* Percentage listed in ascending order of response for strongly disagree/disagree)

Table 5 indicates that the majority of the migrant teachers believe in the goals of the Botswana education system. However, they do not feel policies encourage equal treatment of teachers or promote cultural diversity. Regarding HRM practices, migrants have a sense that the work they do is valued. However, more than half feel unhappy with the quality of their work life, a promotion system that discriminates against them, their exclusion from decision making, lack of opportunity to develop their careers, unfair treatment, lack of motivational comments from managers and an uncaring education system.

The information reported in Tables 1 to 5 may be influenced by gender, country of origin and other variables. To test these hypotheses, t-tests, analysis of variance (ANOVA) and Tukey's HSD Post Hoc tests were conducted. Significant relationships are reported in Tables 6 to 9.

The relationship between origin of migrants and push/pull factors for migration

Significant relationships were found between migrants' countries of origin and different push/pull factors for migration as illustrated in Table 6a and Table 6b.

TABLE 6A: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MIGRANTS' ORIGIN AND PUSH/PULL FACTORS FOR MIGRATION (N=110)

Regions	N	Mean	ANNOVA		
			df	F-value	p-value
Economic pull:					
Africa	46	2.2510	3	26.165	p<0.01
Asia	17	2.2299			
Caribbean	25	2.2036			
Europe	22	1.4956			
Economic push:					
Africa	46	2.0676	3	9.495	p<0.05
Asia	17	1.8562			
Caribbean	25	1.7644			
Europe	22	1.5253			
Personal push:					
Africa	46	1.0707	3	3.677	p<0.05
Asia	17	1.0147			
Caribbean	25	1.2100			
Europe	22	1.2614			
Community pull:					
Africa	46	1.5362	3	5.884	p<0.05
Asia	17	1.1961			
Caribbean	25	1.2133			
Europe	22	1.3182			
School push:					
Africa	46	1.8768	3	3.493	p<0.05
Asia	17	1.4902			
Caribbean	25	1.6333			
Europe	22	1.5379			

TABLE 6B: MEAN DIFFERENCES AND TUKEY HSD CRITICAL VALUE FOR RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MIGRANTS' ORIGIN AND PUSH/PULL FACTORS FOR MIGRATION (DF_{ERROR} = 106)

Pairs of region with significant values	HSD Group mean difference	MS (within)	qk	*HSD value
Economic pull:				
Africa – Europe	0.7551	0.122	4.59	** 0.3266
Asia – Caribbean	0.7341			
Caribbean – Europe	0.7078			
Economic push:				
Africa – Europe	0.5424	0.164	4.59	** 0.3786
Personal push:				
Europe – Asia	0.2469	0.084	3.74	*** 0.2208

Community pull:				
Africa – Asia	0.3402	0.139	3.74	*** 0.2840
Africa – Caribbean	0.3229			
School push:				
Africa – Asia	0.3866	0.274	3.74	*** 0.3988
Africa – Europe	0.3389			
Africa – Caribbean	0.2435			
Caribbean – Asia	0.1431			
Caribbean – Europe	0.0955			

* The harmonic mean of the group sizes = 24.094; **qk_(0.01); ***qk_(0.05)

Table 6a and Table 6b show there were significant relationships between teachers' origin and various push/pull factors:

- Teachers who came from Africa, Asia or the Caribbean were significantly more motivated to migrate to Botswana because of economic pull factors in Botswana than teachers from Europe. Migrants from Europe were the least motivated by economic pull factors. For the economic push factors, differences were only observed between Africa and Europe; economic push factors drove significantly more African teachers to Botswana than teachers from Europe.
- Teachers who came from Europe or the Caribbean were also significantly more motivated to migrate to Botswana because of personal problems (push factors) back home (e.g. difficulty in coping with relatives) than teachers from Asia or Africa. Asian migrants were the least motivated by such problems.
- Teachers who came from Africa were significantly more motivated to migrate to Botswana for positive community-related reasons in Botswana than teachers from Asia or the Caribbean. Teachers from Asia were the least motivated by community-related pull factors.
- For school-related push factors however, there were no significant differences among the different groups of migrant teachers (cf. Table 6b), despite the significance of the ANOVA (cf. Table 6a).

In terms of other factors such as school-related *pull* factors (e.g. less workload at school), personal *pull* factors (e.g. to seek better prospects for family, or to get married), and community-related *push* factors (e.g. unfavourable weather conditions), there was no significant difference among the migrant teachers from the different regions.

The relationship between gender of migrants and different push/pull factors for migration

Significant relationships were found between migrants' gender and different push/pull factors for migration as illustrated in Table 7.

TABLE 7: ONE-SAMPLE (2-TAILED) T-TEST COMPARISON BETWEEN GENDER AND PUSH/PULL FACTORS FOR MIGRATION (N=110; TEST VALUE = 0)

Variable	N	Mean	df	t-value	* p-value	95% confidence interval of the difference	
						Lower	Upper
Economic: Male – pull Male – push	71	2.1306 1.9171	** 70	35.150	p<0.01	2.0272 1.8083	2.2340 2.0258
Economic: Female – pull Female – push	39	2.0047 1.7493	*** 38	26.241	p<0.01	1.8484 1.6143	2.1609 1.8842
Personal: Male – pull Male – push	71	1.4329 1.1338	** 70	32.353	p<0.01	1.3772 1.0639	1.4885 1.2037
Personal: Female – pull Female – push	39	1.4769 1.1282	*** 38	22.476	p<0.01	1.4094 1.0266	1.5445 1.2298
Community: Male – pull Male – push	71	1.3920 1.2887	** 70	32.937	p<0.01	1.2904 1.2107	1.4936 1.3668
Community: Female – pull Female – push	39	1.3205 1.2778	*** 38	29.713	p<0.01	1.2129 1.1907	1.4281 1.3648
School: Male – pull Male – push	71	1.4577 1.7700	** 70	27.252	p<0.01	1.3365 1.6404	1.5790 1.8995
School: Female – pull Female – push	39	1.3077 1.5556	*** 38	19.133	p<0.01	1.1430 1.3910	1.4724 1.7201

(* p = 0.000; ** critical value = 2.576; *** critical value = 2.714)

Table 7 indicates that for both genders, economic, personal and community-related pull factors were more important for migration than the various push factors. In contrast, school-related push factors were more significant than these pull factors.

Migrants' attitudes towards HRM practices and policies

Significant relationships were found between migrants' country of origin or gender and attitudes towards HRM practices and policies, as illustrated in Table 8a and Table 8b.

TABLE 8A: SIGNIFICANCE FOR MIGRANTS' REGION OF ORIGIN AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS HRM PRACTICES AND POLICIES (N=110)

Variable	N	Mean	df	F-value	Significance
Origin:					
Africa	46	1.7516	3	5.732	P < 0.05
Asia	17	1.7899			
Caribbean	25	1.7771			
Europe	22	2.0022			

TABLE 8B: TUKEY HSD CRITICAL VALUE AND SIGNIFICANCE FOR MIGRANTS' REGION OF ORIGIN AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS HRM PRACTICES AND POLICIES

Pairs of region with significant values	HSD Group mean difference	MS (within)	**qk	*HSD value
Origin:				
Africa – Europe	0.2506	0.058	3.74	0.1834
Asia – Europe	0.2122			
Caribbean – Europe	0.2250			

* The harmonic mean of the group sizes = 24.094 ; **qk_(0.05)

Table 8a and Table 8b show that migrant teachers from Europe were significantly more positive towards HRM policies and practices than teachers from Asia, the Caribbean or other parts of Africa. Those from other parts of Africa were the least positive in this regard. Furthermore, Table 9 shows that female migrant teachers were significantly more positive towards HRM policies and practices than males.

Age when migrating to Botswana, academic qualifications and subject area specialisations did not significantly influence attitudes towards HRM in Botswana schools.

Discussion

What is perhaps most striking about the evidence is the magnitude in which the different dimensions of push/pull factors influence migrants from four regions to migrate to Botswana. Teacher migrants are similar to other labour migrants in the sense that economic reasons (related to job opportunities, income levels and working conditions) emerged as the predominant cause of migration for the majority, with migrants from other African regions being the most driven by economic reasons and Europeans the least (cf. Tables 1, 6a and 6b). The relative state of economic conditions in each of the four source regions has been suggested as a possible reason for the differential influence of economic factors, since the general economic migration hypothesis posits that migrants would move towards the better economy. In other African nations, the economic situation may have been less favourable, compared to conditions in Botswana. Overall, economic pull factors were more popular than push factors, which supports the general economic migration hypothesis.

In broad terms, the bulk of the labour migration literature seems to imply that economic forces are the main motives for migration. But this study found that migrants from Europe and the Caribbean who moved to Botswana to teach were more driven by personal motives related to family/work affiliation, adventure and intellectual stimulation (cf. Tables 2, 6a and 6b). By comparison, Asian migrant teachers were the least motivated by personal reasons to migrate. Considering the strong family ties in Asian cultures this result makes sense.

As regards community-related factors (e.g. political security), this study also reflects trends that were reported in the literature that community conditions contributed to teacher migration, depending on the country of origin of the migrant teachers. The fact that African teachers in particular were attracted to Botswana to teach is understandable, since political security in Botswana is better than in many other parts of Africa (cf. Tables 3, 6a and 6b).

School characteristics and conditions (e.g. dissatisfaction with previous teaching job, inadequate resources) influence some teachers to migrate to Botswana. For instance, migrants from other parts of Africa were influenced the most and Asian migrants the least by negative school-related factors in previous countries. This makes sense in light of the fact that school conditions in many parts of Africa are worse than those in Botswana but better in Asia and Europe than in Botswana. Since dissatisfaction with school conditions has been associated with teacher out-migration elsewhere in the literature, this finding provides some degree of support for that literature. However, Table 3 indicates that school-related factors did not significantly cause teacher migration to Botswana. This means that migration may still occur in the light of satisfactory school conditions, if teachers perceive that other aspects of their lives (economic, personal, community) are unsatisfactory.

The influence of the push/pull factors as reasons for migration varies in strength with gender, but both male and female teachers migrated for similar motives (cf. Table 7). This is contrary to research findings elsewhere (cf. personal-related motives section). In some of the labour migration studies (e.g. United Nations 1994), the primary breadwinners in households migrated mainly for economic motives. It may be that the migrants were the primary breadwinners in these families. The significant influence of migration pull rather than push factors on the genders (except for school-related push factors) is consistent with the wider labour migration literature. In this study, perhaps the gender groups were attracted to the pull factors for psychological reasons, that is a desire to identify with the positive rather than the negative reasons for migrating (Hugo 2003, 18). An alternative explanation is that perhaps they had some sort of information on the host country that informed them about the migration prospects, before they migrated.

Regarding attitudes towards HRM activities in Botswana schools, it was established that female migrants were significantly more positive towards HRM than male migrants. A possible explanation for this is that, across most cultures, females tend to conform to dominant “macho-cultures”, which may explain their relatively positive attitudes.

Furthermore, European migrants were significantly more positive towards HRM than migrants from, in rank order, Asia, the Caribbean or other parts of Africa (cf. Table 8a and b). European teachers tend to migrate to Botswana for reasons related to adventure and the experience of different cultures and probably do not intend to stay for long. In contrast, teachers from other parts of Africa may hope to find a better permanent future in Botswana. This may explain why European teachers are less bothered by HRM activities than African or Caribbean teachers.

Although the migrants believe in the goals of the education system in Botswana, various issues emerged, related to employee motivation, reward, involvement in decision making, training/career development, equal opportunities and fair treatment (cf. Table 5). It was therefore necessary to qualitatively explore these perceived weaknesses with school managers.

Qualitative findings

The following main findings emerged:

- School managers' HRM practices/policies

HRM seems to be a low priority management area for the managers included in the sample. Two major administrative nuances appear to contribute to this. The first is that the HRM system in the schools is built on a quasi-arrangement between the Education Ministry at national level, and the school at local level, resulting in a division of the HRM functions between the two spheres. The second is that at the school level, no personnel are appointed specifically to administer HRM, and the HRM functions in the organisation are only implemented periodically. Recruitment and selection practices are done at the Ministry level, and are the most frequently used HRM functions. Employee reward apparently is the least used HRM function. This is the view expressed by one school manager:

Our education system is a centralized system; all of what goes on in our schools is based on what the education office at the Region says. That is one reason we don't have a specific person dealing with HRM issues...we [managers] are the ones who, at the end of the day, deal with HRM issues at the school.

- School managers' reactions to migrant teachers' concerns about opportunities for career development

In each of the schools, staff training was seen as an important investment. But the school managers expressed scepticism about the training of migrant teachers. This seems to hinge on the transient nature of the labour force of migrant teachers. A typical comment was:

It is a damn nuisance – you spend all your money training them [migrants] and ... as soon as they see better economic conditions elsewhere, they are off.

What we have been doing over the last few years is spending our time training our local teachers ... and they, in turn, assist the migrant teachers at the classroom level where necessary...The reason for this is to avoid migrants moving with the training they receive, sometimes before imparting that skill to others.

The overall impression from the interviews on the training and career development of migrant teachers was that school managers felt the training of local teachers was a better investment because the migrants' labour was temporary. This seems to imply that compared to the migrants, the local cadre of teachers would always be available, and could assist in the future training of new teachers. The above results confirm the position held by the majority of migrant teachers in the quantitative survey that they were overlooked in career development issues at work (cf. Table 5). Accordingly, the migrant teacher resources do not appear to be viewed as a source of creative energy that merits developing, and investing in, for the benefit of the school.

- School managers' reactions to migrant teachers' concerns about non-involvement in decision making

Throughout the interviews, the school managers expressed surprise that migrant teachers felt excluded from decision-making roles in the schools (cf. Table 5). There was an impression among the managers that the extent to which migrant teachers are involved in decision-making roles depends on the leadership styles of individual school heads. However, there were occasions in the interview when it was evident that decision-making roles were centralised. A typical comment was:

In Africa, leaders make decisions and communicate these to others ... migrant teachers are not appointed to leadership posts as a general rule, unless it's one of those exceptional cases where there are no local teachers. That is perhaps why most times they [migrants] are only told things.

The school managers clearly are not keen to appoint migrant teachers to positions of leadership so they could be brought into active participation in school decision making. There was little or no evidence of a commitment towards decentralised decision making and staff empowerment.

- School managers' reactions to migrant teachers' motivation concerns

The school managers understood the importance of motivated teachers, but there was a sense that teachers should be naturally motivated. This view was captured in the comments of one manager:

I find that talking to people is as far as it needs to be; ... migrant and local teachers should ... carry out their tasks as professionals, without having to be constantly cheered; ... we are not cheerleaders in the school. Every month they are paid.

Comments about motivation were often linked to discussions about incomes, which the managers viewed as the government's responsibility. None of the managers used any motivational techniques at their schools.

With migrant teachers on their staff, the workforce was unstable. Hence, managers were keener to invest in local teachers. In addition, the managers seemed to feel that migrant teachers were not committed to their work. The quantitative results substantiate this since over three quarters of the migrants were either *not* committed or were unsure whether they were committed to their work (cf. Table 5).

- School managers' reactions to migrant teachers' experience of the school system in Botswana

All the managers were surprised that the migrant teachers found the Botswana school system unfair and uncaring and that job promotion and job transfer practices discriminated against them (cf. Table 5). Their disagreement is reflected in the following responses:

There is no discrimination in the way teachers are transferred or in the way teachers are promoted; ... transfers and promotions are done at the Ministry level; when [migrant] teachers were recruited they were told that they could be posted to schools anywhere in the country where their services are needed, and most of them had no problem at that point so how can they be complaining now?

In our system, teachers are promoted every three years; ... the promotion system is open to everybody; so I can't see how there can be discrimination.

The above observation reflects the differences in perspective that migrant teachers and school managers have of HRM practices. The overall impression among the school managers was that perhaps migrant teachers do not understand how the education system works. The cultural background of the migrant teachers was seen as a crucial issue. One manager commented:

They bring their own culture here; ... it is why we sometimes have problems with some of them because we see and do things differently; but we expect them to adapt to our local situation and understand how we do things.

The managers clearly do not see diversity management as a priority. In general, among the school managers interviewed, a *hard* rather than a *soft* version of HRM seems to prevail.

Conclusions and implications

The research is limited by the fact that it was conducted in only one region of Botswana – hence the conclusions are confined to schools in that particular area. Nevertheless, the research has shown, quite vividly, that one of the major challenges facing Botswana secondary school managers, as a result of teacher in-migration, is workforce diversity management. Issues of migrant gender and regions of origin exemplify the diversity aspect well. This is especially so when one takes into consideration the obvious reality that migrants move with their cultures – their attitudes, beliefs, values, and so on. Responses from school managers would suggest that this diversity in the workforce in schools is not recognised as a quality that is worth valuing and supporting through HRM. Migrant teachers' desire for involvement in decision making and career opportunity development provides examples of challenges for current HRM practices. Failure to address these challenges could lead to migrants becoming unmotivated and unproductive, or even to out-migrate.

The relatively positive attitudes of European migrants, and females in general, towards HRM activities can be used as a starting point to develop and reposition their approach to HRM in the schools to help migrants who are less positive towards HRM become more positive. Managers should keep in mind that European migrants' main reasons for migrating to Botswana are personal and community issues, which HRM cannot manipulate. This is in contrast to Caribbean and other migrants who migrated especially for school-related working conditions and compensation reasons. These migrants wanted working conditions in which they can feel motivated to work and achieve personal growth and job satisfaction. However, there is an apparent lack of professional interest among school managers in this regard. This may be the trigger that prompts these migrants to leave the school system or the country.

It is evident that Botswana cannot continue to rely indefinitely on migrant teachers as the workforce base for its education system. This option is quite unreliable because migrant teachers may out-migrate at any time, especially if they perceive that the economic or non-economic motive(s) which caused them to go to the country is no longer attractive, or if they perceive that the HRM practices are too hostile. The future of the Botswana education system then lies in its ability to use its own indigenous teachers.

In general, the research provides a better insight into the interplay of motives that contribute to teacher labour migration across national frontiers. It highlights some of the complexities facing school organisations in the Botswana context. The above conclusions provide an important road map in which to develop HRM policies and practices to manage the human resources in secondary schools in Botswana, if reliance on migrant teachers is a policy agenda.

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