

Teacher Migration: A case study of South African teachers migrating
to Abu Dhabi.

by

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This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfilment of the
academic requirements for the Degree of Master of
Education.

University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.

2018

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Acknowledgements

- All praise and glory to God, with Him all things are possible.
- To my late Dad, Earle Vester, your overwhelming belief in me is still the inspiration behind my academic achievements.
- To my husband, Clyde, thank you for your unwavering support, love and the many sacrifices throughout my academic journey.
- To my eldest son, Cayden, your kind and encouraging words kept me motivated.
- To my youngest son, Eliah, your delightful sense of humour and laughter has made this journey lighter.
- To the January, Niemack, Haupt, Felton & Rooks family, your support is most appreciated
- To Dr. Manik, my supervisor, your guidance and patience have been invaluable.
- Finally, to the migrant teachers of this study, thank you for trusting me with your stories.

Abstract

The global migration of teachers has been raised as an area of growing concern, particularly as developing countries struggle to retain teachers. South Africa (S.A.) is no exception, as previous migration studies show an exodus of teachers, thus neglecting to address the exit of teachers may have detrimental consequences for the development of South Africa, warranting further research into the migration of South African teachers (Manik, 2005). In response to this call, this sub-study explored migrant teachers' reasons for leaving South Africa and the reasons why they were choosing to migrate specifically to Abu Dhabi.

Categorised as qualitative research, this study was underpinned by the interpretivist paradigm as it was useful in understanding how South African teachers constructed their decision-making to exit S.A. and migrate to Abu Dhabi. A Case study methodology was used which placed the migrant teachers as the unit of analysis within the study. Data was elicited through five semi-structured interviews with teachers. Additionally, online documentary analysis gathered data on the strategies used by international teacher recruitment agencies to attract South African teachers to the Emirate of Abu Dhabi. Additionally, a reflexive field note journal was maintained to enhance the validity of this study.

The findings revealed that teachers felt forced to exit South Africa due to low salaries, a high crime rate, religious intolerance and race-based policies, which denied teachers and their families' access to opportunities. Additional push factors revolved around teachers' working conditions as they were frustrated with the large class sizes and high workloads, a lack of career progress, an ineffective curriculum, a lack of student discipline and poor school leadership and management. Furthermore, personal relationships, that is, strained marriages and friendships played an underlying role in the decision to migrate, including teachers' need for personal development. Spousal influence was not a reason for migration from S.A. but it emerged as an important consideration, especially in terms of the degree to which the nature of hierarchical structures within the family influenced the decision-making of migrant teachers.

Teachers were attracted to Abu Dhabi due to high salaries linked to the achievement of financial goals, a low crime rate, religious acceptance and perceived non-race based policies that provided access to opportunities. Additionally, the receiving country's level of economic and social development also influenced teachers' decisions and it was established that recruitment agencies played a role in steering South African teachers specifically towards Abu Dhabi as a teaching destination.

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

DECLARATION - PLAGIARISM

I, Tatum Vester, declare that

1. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.
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5. This thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the thesis and in the References sections.

Signed: Tatum Vester – 8/06/2018

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Chapter 1: Introducing the migration landscape

1.1 Background

The international recruitment of skilled workers like professors, engineers, nurses and teachers from poor countries in Africa is resulting in a crisis and South Africa is no exception, (Okoro, 2014) although it is not regarded as a poor country. Teacher migration has emerged with some concern as South Africa in its capacity as a sending country, is losing teachers to predominantly developed countries (South African Council for Educators, 2011). South Africa appears to have also adopted the role of a receiving country as it recruits teachers from Zimbabwe and the rest of Africa (Nkau, 2003; Manik, 2014). This has led some scholars to argue that South Africa has a continuous pool of teachers and should not be concerned by the exodus of its teachers (Manik, 2005). However, research has indicated that there has been a qualitative impact (in terms of a brain drain) as headmasters in the United Kingdom rated emigrating South African teachers as being of above average effectiveness (Appleton & Sives, 2006). South African teachers appear to be “particularly favoured for their hard work, loyalty and dedication (De Villiers, 2016, p.1). Whilst South Africa has made strides in providing access to education for all, the quality of education provided has been criticised with regards to large class sizes and a shortage of teachers in key subject areas (for e.g. Maths and Science), thus providing the impetus for the need to explore teachers’ decision-making in becoming migrant teachers.

1.2 Reasons for teacher migration

Studies (Nkau 2003; Manik, 2014; De Villiers & Weda, 2017) have shown that Zimbabweans migrated to South Africa due to political instability in their home country and the anticipated socio-economic opportunities in South Africa. Ironically, even though South African teachers earn higher than 50% of the national workforce, they were migrating for similar reasons (Crouch, 2001). A large scale study conducted in Jamaica, South Africa, United Kingdom and Botswana identified the pull factors as being a higher salary, an opportunity to travel and professional development (Morgan, Sives & Appleton, 2006).

Similarly, a study (Manik 2005; 2010) of teachers migrating from South Africa specifically to the United Kingdom, revealed that teachers wanted to achieve particular socio-economic goals and have a better quality of life. Teachers' decision-making for leaving the South African education system centered around low salaries, poor training of the curriculum namely outcomes based education, increased class sizes and workloads, limited career mobility and poor school based management (Manik, 2010).

To an extent, the reasons for teacher migration from South Africa have been examined, however, Morgan, Sives and Appleton (2006) point out that their research was conducted at a specific point in time and it would be interesting to re-examine the phenomenon to see how it has evolved. Thus, signalling the need to re-explore teachers' reasons for migrating. Additionally, Manik's (2005) study only focused on one 'flyway'(route) that is from South Africa to the United Kingdom and it suggested further research avenues on 'flyways' from South Africa to the Middle East. In this regard, a qualitative project based on South African teachers' reasons for migrating from South Africa (to the Middle East and other countries) and their experiences abroad was initiated (Manik, 2015). However, very few studies like this have been conducted in the Middle East, and this sub-study as part of that project narrows its focus to South African teachers' migrating to teach specifically in government schools in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi.

1.3 Rationale and Significance of the Study

Teacher migration was raised as an area of growing concern, at the Commonwealth Ministers of Education Conference in 2003 as many countries were struggling to retain teachers (Appleton, Morgan & Sives, 2006). South Africa is no exception as its professional teacher's body, The South African Council of Educators (2011) cautions, that emigrating teachers compromise the country's ability to provide quality education to future generations. While South Africa has made strides in providing access to education, the quality provided has been controversial given that skilled teachers have been leaving the country. Thus, this is an area that warrants further research as Manik (2005) warns that neglecting to address the exit of teachers may have detrimental consequences on the developmental trajectory of South Africa.

Teacher migration is an area of personal interest, as the researcher has worked in Saudi Arabia and is currently teaching in Abu Dhabi. Whilst there is no formal database that monitors teacher migration, Manik (2009) reveals that South Africans are in the majority when compared to all foreign teachers in Britain. Anecdotally, the researcher has noted similar trends in the Middle East. For example, the number of South Africans being annually recruited to Abu Dhabi appears to be increasing in comparison to migrants of other native English speaking nationalities. Many South African migrant teachers informally share stories of an increasing number of teachers based in South Africa reaching out to them to gain information about the recruitment process and to share their Middle East professional and personal experiences. A South African representative of an international recruitment agency, who noted that there has been a “surge in South African teachers interested in finding teaching positions in the Middle east” (News24, 28-02-2017, P.1), shared similar sentiments. Additionally, while teachers are spread across the U.A.E. the recruitment agency representative notes that Abu Dhabi has become a popular choice for South African English, Mathematics and Science teachers as “these teachers across the country have been applying for these positions in numbers” (News24, 28-02-2017, P.1). Interestingly, de Villiers (2011) predicted that South African teachers would migrate to especially the United Arab Emirates, of which Abu Dhabi is a part. Such predictions have a ring of accuracy as at the 2012, Commonwealth Research symposium, the question was raised as to why teachers were opting to go to the Middle East as opposed to the U.K. (Penson & Yonemura, 2012). Such questions provide a justification for this particular study, as it seeks to explore the reasons for teachers’ decision-making in migrating from South Africa to Abu Dhabi.

Whilst a limited number of teacher migration studies have been conducted, these have contextualised themselves primarily in Botswana, United Kingdom and Jamaica with South Africa being emphasised as a sending country to western counterparts (Morgan, Sives & Appleton, 2006). Local studies have added to the debate within teacher migration but have been limited in that it focused specifically on migrant teachers’ trajectory to the United Kingdom and the immigration of Zimbabwean teachers to S.A. (Manik, 2005; Manik 2010; Manik, 2014; De Villiers & Weda, 2017). Very little research has taken place in the Middle East and as far as can be ascertained none has narrowed its contextual lens to Abu Dhabi.

Furthermore, the serious need to manage teacher migration in the South African context can be summed up by SACE (2011) as it was strongly recommended that the Department of Basic and

Higher Education develop effective strategies to deal with teacher migration, particularly Mathematics and Science teachers. This research was part of a larger study, which focused on the inward and outward migration of teachers' in the context of South Africa. Thus, it could be used to inform policy makers' strategies to understand teacher migration and retain skilled teachers, which can only be effectively developed, if the reasons for teacher migration are fully explored.

1.4 Outline of Chapters

This thesis is divided into five chapters.

CHAPTER ONE: commences with a brief overview of the motivations for teacher migration from South Africa to developed countries. The rationale and the significance of studying teachers' movements from South Africa to Abu Dhabi is provided.

CHAPTER TWO: explores the push and pull factors fueling international teacher migration from source to destination countries, particularly from developing to developed countries. The South African and Abu Dhabi contexts are discussed and government's response to migration trends are explored with reference to brain drain, circulation and gain. Finally, the rationale for the theoretical framework that forms the foundation of this study is provided.

CHAPTER THREE: focuses on the methodological approach underpinning this study, including the considerations of selecting a qualitative paradigm, methods and the tools used. The limitations of each, particularly around transcribing the interviews is acknowledged, however counter-strategies are provided to address these limitations.

CHAPTER FOUR: presents the findings of the study which are thematically framed around the research questions that is, what are teachers reasons for migrating from South Africa and why are they going specifically to Abu Dhabi and how long do they intend being abroad?

CHAPTER FIVE: provides a discussion of the findings, which are related to the literature and thereafter some conclusions are drawn.

CHAPTER SIX: provides an overview of the study, a summary of the findings and recommendations for the source country is offered.

Chapter 2: Reviewing the theoretical lay of the land

2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the motivations cited in the literature, that is the push and pull factors fueling teacher migration. Since the trajectory under study is from South Africa to the Emirate of Abu Dhabi, it was deemed necessary to outline and examine the educational, socio-economic and political contexts of both countries. Much attention and detail is given to past studies examining the flyway from SA to the UK (Manik, 2005; Morgan, Sives & Appleton, 2006; De Villiers, 2007; Manik, 2010) as data pertaining to South African teacher migration is limited. This chapter commences with a discussion of the role of globalisation as a facilitator of international migration as it is through this lens that teacher migration is enhanced.

2.2 Globalisation

Scholarly literature concerning migration cannot be devoid of a discussion of globalization as it has been noted and widely accepted, that migration has been fueled by this phenomenon (Manik, 2005). Many definitions of globalization abound within the literature and while they share common links, an exact definition cannot be found (Kilic, 2015). After reviewing numerous definitions, Al-Rodhan & Stoudman (2006, p.5) argued that the “literature did not give a closer understanding of what globalization actually is.” Their sentiments were that any working definition should be “complex, multifaceted and proposed” that globalization could be summed up as a “process that encompasses the causes, course and consequences of transnational and transcultural integration of human and non-human activities.” They argue that globalization is all encompassing and their definition includes why globalization takes place, how it unfolds and the impact of globalization across different countries and subsequently cultures. Set against this backdrop, this study aligns itself with Weber’s (2007, p. 280) view of globalisation as the “increasing social, economic, financial, cultural and technological integration of different countries and regions.”

Within this context, national borders lose importance and while the boundaries may be clearly demarcated geographically and politically, the “economic borders have largely disappeared as countries begin to compete in a globalized economy” (Jordaan, 2001, p.80). Such an economy,

inevitably requires a world labour market which has established itself under the assumption that “labour is a commodity that can be traded, substituted and replaced across borders with relative ease” (Edwards & Spreen, 2007, p.3). Under this assumption, an international teacher labour pool has emerged with teachers taking up the opportunity to migrate across borders. Migrating teachers as part of the “the worldwide movement of people has become a defining feature of globalization” with advantages and disadvantages for sending and receiving countries (Cruz, 2008, p.365).

2.3 Advantages and Disadvantages of Globalisation

Proponents of globalization list its advantages as being increased “trade links between countries, knowledge dissemination, high mobility of human resources and better conditions for producers, consumers, entrepreneurs and the workforce” (Popa, 2014, p.492). However, critics have warned that globalization incurs a cost to nations where the turnover of labor leads to “human resource depletion, underdevelopment and societal upheaval” (Edwards & Spreen, 2007, p.3). The question is, which nations or countries are pre-disposed to such a bleak fate as articulated here? Inevitably it appears that “liberal economic policies that favour developed nations while rendering many developing nations worse off” (Rivera Maulucci, 2008, p.20). Since South Africa is labelled as a developing nation within a globalized economy and world labour market, it cannot afford to be absent from this discussion concerning global migration and the effects thereof. This is particularly significant as Barker (2014, p.101) notes that “globalization has the potential to allow powerful countries to overrun the cultural, economic and political systems of smaller and less powerful countries.” Indeed the Emirates are much more powerful global players in many respects than South Africa.

2.4 Migration

Migration according to Nkau (2003, p.6) can be defined as a “geographical or spatial mobility between one geographical area and another.” Thet (2014) further categorized this into internal migration which is migration within one country. However this study locates itself within international migration as it is concerned with migration between countries on different continents. An international migrant has been defined as a “person who changes their country of usual residence for at least a year” (Penson, Yonemura, Sesnan, Ochs & Chanda, 2011, p.3).

Different definitions attempt to provide a time frame as to what qualifies as migration and the literature further categorises migration as temporary or permanent. (Nkau, 2003). However, Manik (2005, p.13) cautions that this is “problematic as there is no limit for when a movement may be considered to be a migration.” Classifying participants in this study as temporary or permanent was problematic for two reasons. Firstly, all participants had signed two or three year work contracts, thus by the above definition they should be considered permanent migrants as they would be outside of South Africa for more than a year. However, a two-year contractual clause implies that they would be returning to South Africa on completion of the contract, thus suggesting that their migration would be temporary. Additionally, residency status in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) is directly linked to a work visa which allows migrants to reside in the country as long as they are employed. Residency is temporary as migrants must leave the U.A.E within 30 days of the work visa being cancelled, if they have not secured other employment (The National, 19-05- 2017). For these reasons, this study adopts Manik’s (2005, p.13) definition of migrants “as people who are moving from one country to another regardless of the duration of their stay in the host country.”

2.5 Categorising migrants

Different types of migrants have emerged, the traditional expatriate is one that is sent overseas by employee organizations for a short-term project whilst the self-initiating expatriate looks for work abroad and is directly hired by a company (Richardson & Mallon, 2005). Since the South African Department of Education does not send teachers abroad, this study holds the assumption that teachers themselves are initiating the process to work overseas. Teachers are considered to be skilled migrants as they typically have tertiary qualifications and hold professional positions whilst unskilled migrants have lower levels of education and are often referred to as “labourers” (Dolaman, 2010, p.29). A further categorization of S.A. migrant teachers in the UK, by Manik et al (2006) sliced them into three groups. These were “goal achievers” as they migrated temporarily to achieve socio-economic goals, “lifestyle emigrants” who migrated permanently for a better quality of life or “transients” who did not intend settling permanently in the source or receiving country but intended to migrate across different countries in the future (Manik, Maharaj, Sookrajh 2006, p.18).

2.6 International migration context

Many countries are experiencing migration, for example, approximately 3000 Philipinos per day leave their country to work abroad (Lederer, 2011). The Jamaican government is concerned about the loss of skilled labour and the effect on the country's economic development (Morgan, Sives, Appleton, 2005; Manik, Maharaj, Sookrajh, 2006; Morgan, Sives & Appleton, 2006). Attendees of the Commonwealth Education meetings were advised that there was large scale teacher migration from Barbados, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago (Caravatti, Lederer, Lupicio & Van Meter, 2014). Similarly, skilled migration has also occurred from Korea to Canada (Hong, 2008), South Africa to the U.K, (Manik, 2010), from Mexico to the U.S. (Perez-Paton, 2012) and Nigeria to the U.S. (Okoro, 2014) to mention a few.

On closer examination of the migration patterns, it becomes increasingly evident that there are particular directions that labour moves in, especially for teachers. Recruiting countries typically appear to be from the North (above the Brundt line), with first world status whilst source countries which are “the countries from which teachers are recruited for services abroad” appear to be from less developed countries in the South (Secretariat 2004, p.1). The impact of international recruitment on source countries, particularly developing countries will be explored further on, in detail. However, it is worth mentioning at this juncture that governments recognize the significant role education plays in meeting society's economic goals. In order to meet the Millennium Developmental Goals of primary education for all, “an estimate of two million teachers are needed for Sub-Saharan Africa alone” (Penson & Yonemura, 2012, p.16). If teachers are leaving the South, this is likely to have a detrimental effect on the economic and social development of the source country especially for those like South Africa with a developing economy.

2.7 The South African migration context

It is necessary to examine the South African context, particularly the political, social and economic trajectory as migration is a process that is “articulated and mediated by national and local forces, social circumstances and conditions and histories” (Weber, 2007, p.281). This viewpoint is evident when on one hand, South Africa post 1994 celebrated the advent of a democratic society while on the other hand, migration to New Zealand, Australia, U.K and the USA in the same time period increased due to a “spiraling crime rate, crumbling infrastructure, weakening rand and affirmative action policies” (De Villiers, 2011, p.8). It was particularly the migration of the skilled, that led to debates around South Africa's perceived ‘brain

drain.’ It is evident that the loss of skills from South Africa has escalated and this is noted in particularly health, education and technology (Manik, Maharaj & Sookrajh, 2006; Kaplan & Hoppli, 2017).

The exit of South African teachers to the U.K. may have been triggered by government policies in response to a perceived oversupply of teachers. The government encouraged teachers to take early retirement by offering voluntary severance packages during the 90’s and it placed a moratorium on the appointment of new teachers (SACE, 2011). With veteran teachers exiting and new teachers struggling to secure employment, South Africa became an attractive labour pool for international recruitment agencies, particularly for the United Kingdom (Morgan, Sives, Appleton, 2006). However, an intense recruitment drive by the U.K. resulted in a great number of teachers leaving South Africa, to the extent that the former Minister of Education, Kader Asmal accused recruiters of “raiding” South Africa’s resources (Morgan, Sives & Appleton 2006, p.38). As a direct response, the U.K. changed their regulations thus hindering South African teachers without British ancestry from migrating to teach there (Manik, 2010).

Other destination countries have emerged as South Africa has become a source country for recruiting teachers to western countries like Australia and Canada (Caravatti, Lederer, Lupico & Van Meter, 2014). Additionally, recruiting countries have actively sought South African teachers to teach in the Far and particularly the Middle East in recent years. Thus prompting De Villiers (2011) to predict that South African teachers would be recruited by Taiwan, Thailand, China, Singapore, Korea, Australia, New Zealand, and particularly the United Arab Emirates in which this study is situated. Some have argued that source countries do benefit from migration or at the very least there are mutual gains for the source and destination countries implying that migration is not an area of great concern. (Brzozowski, 2012; Katseli, Lucas & Xenogiani, 2006) However, this research asserts that regardless of any benefits, it is certainly an area that at minimum requires monitoring and consideration, given that South Africa requires 17 000 - 20 000 new teachers per year and potentially has only 9000 newly qualified teachers per annum (Morgan, Sives & Appleton, 2006).

The international recruitment of teachers becomes especially important as Ochs (2003) points out that teacher loss occurs not only through international recruitment but also through teacher attrition. In South Africa, teacher attrition is attributed to “death, retirement, career change and mass teacher recruitment to industrialised nations” (De Villiers 2011, p.54). Additionally, amongst South African teachers there was an HIV prevalence of 12.7% in 2004, which is an

“appallingly high level of infection” and aids related teacher deaths further depleted the education labour pool at that time (Bennel, 2005, p.440). Over the time such figures are still alarming as a large scale study commissioned by the Department of Health in 2016 reveals that there are about 58000 teachers who are living with HIV/AIDS in South Africa (Zuma, Simbayi, Rehle, Mbelle, Zungu, Mthembu, North, Van Zyl, Jooste, Moyo, Wabiri, Maduna, Mabaso, Naidoo, Chasela & Chikovore, 2016). In such a context teacher loss to overseas schools becomes particularly significant.

2.8 Development of the UAE economy and education system

A brief overview of the development of the UAE’s economy and education system is provided to give some insight into their growing demand for teachers. Very little literature is available across the disciplines thus this study seeks to provide some foundation albeit- limited, to setting the scene for future migration studies.

The United Arab Emirates has capitalized immensely on the 1960’s oil discovery, reinventing it from a “sleepy desert town dependent on fishing, pearling, trading and wadi agriculture to a complex, consumer economy supported by modern transportation and communication systems” (Al Kaabi, 2005, p.47). The U.A.E. comprises of seven Emirates, however only two emirates contribute to the federal budget namely Abu Dhabi and Dubai with the latter’s contribution being quite small (Russell, 2012). It is technically classified as a developing country but the average GDP per capita was estimated at \$42000 in 2009 placing it as the 17th richest country in the world (Dolaman, 2010). However, the U.A.E. faces the challenge of having a small native population, as they do not have enough educated Emirati citizens to sustain the rapidly growing economy (Reynolds, 2010). Like other countries, the U.A.E. looks to the global labour pool, employing many foreign workers who make up about 85% of the 5 million population (Dolaman, 2010). Labour migration including teachers has increased at a phenomenal rate towards countries in the Middle East who have prospered from the discovery of oil but lacked human resources resulting in a large expatriate workforce (Tyner, 1995; Randeree, 2009). This is a trend that still continues as by 2020 it is projected that “UAE nationals will account for less than four percent” of the workforce (Gulf News, 05-04-2008).

The development of education within the U.A.E. has been pegged to the development of the economy. When the economy relied on pearl diving, education was administered by religious leaders and involved basic reading and math with schooling considered completed when

students had memorized the entire Koran. (Bel Feki, 1993). It was only in 1953, that the Emirate of Sharjah established its first formal school which was privately funded, by 1962 primary schools began including a middle and secondary programme, holding the first examination in 1967 (Suliman, 2000). The introduction of free public education for citizens resulted in a rapid increase in students and schools leading to the establishment of the Ministry of Education which governed education in all Emirates (Badri, 1991).

There were no teacher training colleges or policies in place within this young country therefore many teachers were recruited from abroad, largely Arab neighbouring countries (Suliman, 2000). Since most expatriates' children, particularly those from western countries are unable to access public school the demand for private international schools escalated, these schools charged very high school fees as this is the sole source of funding (Suliman, 2000). Consequently, the need for foreign teachers who are native English speakers increased dramatically and it shows few signs of slowing down in current times. In a UAE newspaper article entitled "Foreign teachers in big demand at UAE schools" the managing director of a teacher recruitment agency estimated that a few thousand foreign teachers are still in demand due to the increasing number of private schools and the ongoing recruitment for public schools ([The National](#), 12-06-2016). Certainly across the UAE there is a rising demand for teachers, however this study narrows its lense to the recruitment of teachers into Abu Dhabi public schools.

2.9 The Abu Dhabi Context

In 2005, Abu Dhabi was the first Emirate to form its own Department of Education and finance public schools with government funds given that it is the wealthiest emirate (Suliman, 2000). The Department of Education was formed to regulate, monitor and offer support services to public schools and provide licensing and accreditation to private schools in Abu Dhabi (Al Alili, 2014). In 2010, a new progressive curriculum, was implemented which was a massive educational reform from "traditional teaching content, methods and assessments to a child centered learning environment resulting in independent and creative thinking students" (Al Alili, 2014, p.67). This was seen as a way to provide well-educated and highly qualified Emirati citizens to fill positions within the private and public sector thus decreasing reliance on foreign workers (Ali Alili, 2014). Although Arabic is the official language, English is acknowledged as the language of commerce thus public schools now cater for Arabic and English instruction

(Reynolds, 2010). From 1970, most public school teachers were recruited from neighbouring Arab countries like Egypt and Jordan. However, in 2010 the New school Model was introduced and given the ideals of this progressive curriculum, many of these teachers were replaced with English speaking teachers from largely western countries in 2011 (Caravatti, Lederer, Lupico & Van Meter, 2014). Since South African teachers have and are being recruited to work in Abu Dhabi public schools, the reasons for their migration needed to be explored.

2.10 Reasons for migration

Lai (1996, p.1) argues that migrants “cannot be certain that they will be successful in another country and essentially are taking a risk” which begs the question, why do people still migrate if they are not sure about the future? The reasons or motivation/s for migration can be summed up using “push-pull” factors (Morgan, Sives & Appleton, 2005, p.226). Push factors include “conditions at a person’s current employment that impels them to search for other job opportunities” (Laigo, 2013, p.32) amongst others in the home country. Migrant South African social workers have described their push factors around poor working conditions and heavy workloads (Kasiram, 2009). Similarly, Okoro (2014) notes that Nigerian health workers cited under resourced hospitals, high patient- doctor ratios, lack of basic amenities as major reasons for migrating to the United States. In addition, “inadequate governance, poor pay, an unsatisfactory education system and a lack of social amenities” compounded the push factors that created a need to migrate (Okoro, 2014, p.189). A study conducted by Manik (2005) involving teachers migrating from South Africa specifically to the United Kingdom, revealed that low salaries, poor training of outcomes based education, increased class sizes and workloads, limited career mobility and poor school based management were push factors. Additionally, the “reduction of teachers’ leave, the application of the post provisioning norm and the instability faced by unprotected temporary teachers” were further reasons cited (Manik, Maharaj & Sookraj, 2006, p.21). Working conditions appear to have a greater effect on especially first year teachers to leave or move (Kukla-Acevedo, 2009).

It has been suggested that the government’s neglect of its responsibilities to “improve strategies to attract and retain staff” has been the cause of migration (Martineau, Decker, & Bundred, 2004, p.2). Push factors for Zimbabwean teachers included the countries extremely high rate of inflation, low teachers’ salaries and the unavailability of basic products within the market

(Penson, *et al*, 2011). According to SACE (2011, p.5) many teachers on the continent of Africa are migrating to S.A. because of the country's "economic prosperity, political stability and the promise of better working conditions." South Africa has become Zimbabweans "favoured destination" due to its political and economic stability and "close proximity" to Zimbabwe (Manik, 2014, p.173). Ironically, even though South African teachers earn higher than 50% of the national workforce they were migrating for similar reasons (Crouch, 2001). Additional push factors were cited by South African immigrants going to Australia, who were motivated to leave because of crime, violence, political instability, the Aids pandemic, corruption and declining health care (Khawaja & Mason, 2008).

Pull factors are reasons that draw migrants to a particular area and these often relate to economic and socio-economic factors (Thet, 2014). Many female Filipino teachers have left their country in search of "greener pastures" (Lederer, 2011). The grass being greener on the other side has often been linked to monetary gain as substantial increases in pay greatly influence the "propensity to move location in migrants' decision-making" (Ackers, 2008, p.415). A 2.7 times higher salary in England was a key pull factor in attracting teachers from developing countries of the South (Appleton, Morgan & Sives, 2006). Higher salaries meant that South African teachers with families were able to provide for their collective needs and pay for their children's university education (Manik *et al*, 2006). Similarly, a large scale study conducted in Jamaica, South Africa, United Kingdom and Botswana identified the prime pull factor as being a higher salary abroad (Morgan *et al*, 2006). Not all teachers migrated for economic security, for example, European teachers migrating to Botswana were least motivated by economic pull factors (Brown & Schulze, 2007). However, the overwhelming majority of teachers migrating from developing to developed countries cite a higher salary as a key pull factor. Additionally, better living conditions, the environment, the public sector governance, socio-economic conditions and political stability are pull factors amongst migrants (Thet, 2014). To a degree, there is a "mirror image of push and pull factors, where the relative gap is significant then the pull of the destination country will be significant" (Edwards & Spreen 2007, p.5). For example, a high crime rate may be a push factor from a source country resulting in the migrant being attracted by a low crime rate in the destination country, hence the push and pull factor mirror each other. A low crime rate becomes a significant pull factor if the difference between the low and high crime rate is very large. Another factor to consider are profit driven recruiters as they can accelerate migration trends. (Caravatti *et al*, 2014, Manik, 2005).

2.11 Recruitment agencies

International recruitment has taken place through governments and private recruiters (Penson & Yonemura, 2012). Increasingly the internet is being used to advertise and to search for new career opportunities (Kroeze, 2015). Schools and recruiters have access to a pool of teachers at “job fairs where candidates can be screened, interviewed and offered positions over a few days” (Cox, 2012, p. 12). Many schools, local and national governments are increasingly relying on recruitment agencies. These agencies appear to keep abreast of teacher shortages and surpluses in different countries and use this information to maximize profit. Thus, leading Sives, Morgan & Appleton (2005) to claim that teacher migration is generated in response to shortages in receiving countries. For example, on the announcement of teachers being made redundant in the Caribbean, British recruitment agencies recruited teachers to teach students of Caribbean descent in the U.K. (Morgan *et al*, 2006). Recruitment agencies enter these labour pools via direct marketing campaigns at universities and job advertisements on the internet, magazines and newspapers (De Villiers, 2011). Their sales pitch includes offering teachers attractive salaries, free accommodation, free flights and the opportunity to travel (Manik, 2012.) Additional incentives may include “discount shopping cards, gift vouchers, free internet, free criminal records check, discounted insurance or free personal accident cover.” (De Villiers, 2011, p.56). Recruitment agencies are increasingly targeting South African teachers with attractive offers especially as salaries are tax free in the Middle East (De Villiers, 2011). Thus, recruitment agencies appear to be using aggressive marketing strategies to attract teachers “to the land of milk and honey” becoming a pull factor unto themselves (Lederer, 2011, p.46) This was evident in South Africa, as Manik (2012, p.7) claims that these agencies were “largely responsible for the hype” created in post-apartheid SA about the benefits of teaching in the U.K.

However, which teachers are being recruited becomes of particular significance within South Africa’s diverse context. Race and country of origin greatly influences which teachers are being targeted and the terms of the employment contract offered (Caravatti et al, 2014). Applicants must be citizens of either Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, South Africa, U.K. or the USA, as English speakers are viewed as “an asset to recruiters” as the schools follow an English medium of instruction (De Villiers, 2007, p.7). However, English speakers with particular physical features are targeted. For example, in Taiwan, “parents preferred English native teachers who embodied a western look, which is white skin with particular accents” thus rejecting black applicants (Lan, 2011, p.1682). Whilst African teachers are interested in

teaching abroad, Manik (2012) also reported that none had been recruited from South Africa to the U.K. as English was their second language. This led Manik (2005) to argue that African teachers are being linguistically and racially discriminated against.

Ironically, teachers whose first language is Afrikaans have been recruited which may imply that linguistic criteria is being used as a front for discriminating against African teachers based solely upon race. African teachers appear to be further discriminated against as they apply to fill vacancies left by teacher migrants. Manik's (2010) research revealed that schools complained that it was difficult to replace teachers in former Coloured and Indian schools as even though the governing bodies had largely African members, they did not want to employ African teachers. The labor pool appears to be segregated according to nationality, native language and race with recruitment agencies seeking out particular teacher attributes. According to Manik, Maharaj and Sookraj (2006, p.22) recruitment agencies seek teachers who have good "language proficiency and communication skills in the class, self-management and professional learning, a sense of humour and respect for others, emotional resilience, adjustment skills and a cultural awareness of knowing oneself." Teachers who migrate with such skills and attributes can only represent a loss to the South African education system.

2.12 Unethical practice by recruitment agencies

At times, teachers also incur a personal loss as promises made by recruitment agencies are sometimes broken, the abuse of migrant teachers by recruitment agencies has been widely noted. This includes giving "inflated expectations of life in the source country, providing no information about the expected cost of living, misrepresenting their salaries, charging high placement fees and forcing them into housing contracts" (De Villiers, 2011, p.56). In some cases, unlicensed recruitment agencies have set up Filipino workers with employers with a history of abuse (Dolaman, 2010). Indian nurses have had their 'recruitment fees' stolen by fictitious recruitment agencies advertising fake jobs abroad, a scenario that some teachers have experienced as well (Martinuea, Decker & Bundred, 2002). Similarly, teachers have been lied to and there are many examples of recruitment agencies violating teachers' human rights (Caravatti *et al*, 2014). Filipino teachers migrating to the U.S. reported being victims of visa fraud, sub-standard housing and indentured servitude (Lederer, 2011). Loss of professional status, rigid contracts, job insecurity and barriers to achieving resident status have been the

experiences of some teachers (Sinyolo, 2010). Unkept promises by recruitment agencies were reported by a number of teachers from Barbados as well (Penson *et al.*, 2011).

2.13 The commonwealth teacher recruitment protocol

The frequency with which these abuses occur has led to the formation of organisations and legislation to protect migrants' rights. The protocol for the recruitment of commonwealth teachers was signed by 22 commonwealth countries including South Africa as an ethical guideline for international teacher recruitment and it sought to protect especially teachers and source countries (Manik *et al.*, 2006). Its goal was to ensure the protection of a teacher's right to migrate abroad, protect the integrity of education systems of sending countries and prevent poor countries from having their labour exploited (De Villiers, 2007). The outlining of teachers' rights was of paramount importance as it sought to prevent the exploitation and abuse of teachers. However, Ochs (2010) reports that most teachers do not know about the protocol or their rights as migrant teachers. National and international publicity is needed in schools and recruiting agencies to bring an awareness about the Protocol (Edwards & Spreen, 2007). They go on to add that while it is considered a step in the right direction it is not a legal document and at best has only moral force.

2.14 Impact of teacher migration on source countries

Much of the literature concerning the benefits of teacher migration on the sending country has emphasized the role of remittances. For example a substantial 25% of the Philippines' GDP is from remittances (Ochs, Degazon-Johnson & Keevy, 2011). Ministers of Finance and Trade in India and China have encouraged health professionals to take up work abroad to improve their balance of payments. (Martineau, Decker & Bundred, 2006). However, there is a cost that the source country bears as Lasagna (2009) notes that taxpayers are losing hundreds of millions due to teacher attrition and migration. The cost of teacher training through government subsidies to universities and state funded bursaries has cost the South African government millions of rands (Morgan, Sives & Appleton, 2006). This has led De Villiers (2011) to argue that South Africa is bearing the cost of training teachers for overseas positions. Another case in point is the Caribbean region where remittances have not offset the cost and loss of skilled migrants (Ochs, Degazon-Johnson & Keevy 2011). Others have argued that labour migration

is a positive for source countries that have high unemployment levels and are unable to accommodate excess labour (Sives, Morgan & Appleton, 2005). However, “if the main gains from international recruitment accrue to the migrant teachers, it is likely that any effects of reducing poverty in developing countries are indirect” (Appleton, Morgan & Sives, 2006 p. 772).

Replacing migrant teachers further increases the cost to governments and schools as new teachers need to be trained, interviewed and recruited (Kukla-Acevedo, 2009). Principals in Jamaica noted that they experienced difficulty in replacing the teachers who had migrated especially in key subjects like Maths and Science as there was a lack of experienced candidates (Morgan, Sives & Appleton, 2006). Similar findings were documented in South Africa as principals noted that it was the “best and the brightest teachers” in particularly scarce subjects that were internationally recruited which inevitably impacts on the quality of education (De Villiers, 2011, p.54). Furthermore, the degree of difficulty in attracting replacement teachers appears to be divided according to location and racialised lines. De Villiers’ (2011) research reveals that former Coloured and Indian schools had greater difficulty in attracting teachers as opposed to former white (ex-model C) schools as they were viewed as having more attractive working conditions. This is of much concern, as it is the former Coloured, Indian and African schools that make up the vast majority of South African schools and are the most in need of significant improvement. Lederer (2011) rightly argues that teacher migration exacts a social cost and harms the quality of education even for a country like the Philippines with labour surpluses and an economy dependent on remittances.

2.15 Brain gain, drain and circulation

“As highly professional and skilled manpower emigrate from developing to developed countries, it is implicitly assumed that the country of immigration or the host nation experiences brain gain” (Okoro, 2014, p.8). For example Miller (2008) argued that by internationally recruiting teachers, England gained stability to their education system in light of local teacher shortages, it maximized student potential, maintained standards, reinforced discipline policies and it increased achievement. Another example of brain gain is represented by a small population of migrant professors in U.K. business schools who made contributions to education and research (Al-Dajani & Ozbilgin, 2013).

Conversely, a brain drain defined as the “flight of highly skilled professionals and academics from developing to developed countries, from poor countries to rich countries” (Okoro, 2014, p.8) would have the opposite effect on the source country, suggesting that poorer countries are left worse off. Unsurprisingly, a ‘brain drain’ initially was also an emotionally charged topic amongst citizens from the source country. For example, during the Soviet era, Russia viewed immigrants as betraying the country as it lost the benefits of those skills (Latova & Savinkov, 2012). Similarly, teacher migration from SA during the late 1990’s-early 2000’s was seen as an act of disloyalty (Manik, 2005).

However, there has been a progression to a more positive dialogue concerning skilled migration as scholars began to discuss the benefits of a brain drain beyond remittances. Adams Jr. (2003) asserted that migrants from developing economies may motivate others to study based on the economic benefits that the migrant appears to enjoy. He added that since only a small population of a nation migrate, the idea is that these newly skilled workers would remain in the host country thus raising the average educational level in the country. Certainly, it may motivate those in the developed country to study further and lead those individuals acquiring new skills in the source country but it may still represent a loss to the developing country as the newly skilled worker is lured abroad by better prospects. Migration may hold the possibility of increasing the average educational level of a developed country however, it is likely to have the opposite effect on a developing economy which may represent a continuing brain drain.

Amidst the debate of a brain drain and gain the concept of brain circulation has emerged. The idea of circulation is that those “migrants who left their home countries for better lifestyles abroad are now reversing the brain drain as they return home” (Saxenian, 2005, p.36). In theory, this sounds promising, since a key element to this argument is that migrants must return to the country of origin. In the Sives et al, study (2006), most Jamaican teachers wanted to work abroad for at least seven years, and of those returning, none planned to remain in the teaching profession. While the skills may return, if they are never realized in the classroom this may still represent a brain drain to the education system. In South Africa, principals did not view returned teachers as making an extra contribution based on their time abroad and a lack of returned teachers in Jamaica made it difficult to assess as well (Sives et al, 2006). It appears that the South African education system has not meaningfully benefitted from brain circulation as at best it may be a very limited “untapped resource” (Manik et al, 2006, p.28). Given the circumstances, Manik et al (2006) have asserted that it is imperative that governments of source

countries, particularly South Africa formulate a response to the exit of its teachers (Manik, et al, 2006).

2.16 Government response to teacher migration

Evidence exists that source countries are able to influence and control international migration by regulating laws. For example, Korea passed the Overseas Korean Act (OKA) which was designed to draw the Korean population who had migrated back home, and it was so successful that even Koreans born in America were attracted (Cho, 2012). Russia implemented a programme to assist and support its scientists who wanted to return thus ensuring the development of domestic science (Latova & Savinkov, 2012). Canada initiated the Seasonal Agricultural Workers' programme whilst New Zealand called it the Recognised Seasonal Employer programme which allows migrants to take up temporary work, save money and learn new skills for part of a year before returning to the source country (Mares, 2011). China and India have also formulated policies to attract their overseas scientists and engineers (Kale, 2009). In an effort to curb the negative impacts of teacher migration, contributing factors to teachers leaving Barbados were identified and appropriate policies were developed (Penson & Yonemura, 2012). The Jamaican government explored the idea of a managed migration programme whereby teachers migrate for a fixed period and return on completion of their contracts (Sives et al, 2006). However, with reference to the large scale teacher migration to the U.K, South African born researcher Guy Mulvaney stated that the S.A. government had not "initiated any repatriation schemes to bring our valuable educators back home" (Cape Argus, 15-03-2009).

Educational policy-makers within Africa have paid little attention to migration. (Nyarko, 2014). South Africa's response has been focused on the symptom namely, addressing teacher shortages. It formed the Funza Lu Shaka bursary scheme in an effort to attract school graduates to enter the teaching profession thereby increasing the teacher numbers to address the shortages. Is this enough? Interestingly in another sector, a social worker bursary scheme in 2007 still resulted in trained social workers leaving after completing their service commitment (Kasiram, 2009). There is no evidence to suggest that newly qualified teachers will remain in the South African education system. On the contrary, a survey conducted amongst South African university students in their final year of study, across 11 higher education students

revealed that almost 30% of newly qualified teachers planned to teach abroad (Bertram, Appleton, Muthukrishna & Wedekind, 2006).

Increasing university teacher graduates is a simplistic response to a multifaceted and complex problem that does not address the root cause of teachers exiting the profession, and this will likely represent a loss of investment for the South African government. In the short-term, employing teachers from other African countries may alleviate the pressure but this is not sustainable. A case in point is Botswana: while migrant teachers fill vacancies they may decide to migrate from Botswana if the reasons why they initially migrated from their home country begins to emerge in the host country (Brown & Shulze, 2007). Effective management of migration can only rest on reducing the push factors that prompt it in the first place (Adepoju, 2008). This is particularly important as a number of signs show that the pull factors from richer countries will increase over the next 10-20 years (Martineau et al, 2002).

2.17 The human capital perspective on migration

As governments respond to migration concerns, it is important that they do not focus exclusively on the financial incentives that initiate migration. Much of the migration literature cites a higher salary for moving from source countries in the south to destination countries in the north (Crouch, 2001; Morgan, Sives & Appleton, 2005; Manik *et al*, 2006; Lederer, 2011) which may sway governments understanding of migration to lean towards the human capital of migration. According to Korpi and Clark this model (2017, p.237) focuses on “how movers self-select to take advantage of skill specific wages at alternate locations...” Here the focus is on the job that offers a higher salary as the primary motivation to migrate. However, Korpi and Clark argue that this model is far too centered on employment and income gains which is often the view taken by policy-makers (Korpi and Clark, 2017). Even when differences in earnings are higher in the destination country, migrants prefer to wait before making the decision to move as they consider other reasons or factors that impact on their migration decision-making (Khwaja & Mason, 2008). Thus the South African government must be cognisant of all factors that prompt migration, not just those concerning finances, to ensure that they develop a full and appropriate response to teacher migration.

2.18 Theoretical Framing

Understanding push and pull factors in migration is complex, Blakewell (2010) suggests that there is no singular grand theory that is able to explain all facets of immigration. Many migration studies have focused either on the macro-level which examines broad patterns of movement or the micro-level which focuses on the individual (Lai, 1996). Micro-level studies have been limited to the analysis of wages and capital, whilst macro-level studies have been criticised for neglecting the motivations of the individual (Hennebry, 2006). For this reason, the theoretical framework in this study will draw upon three theories namely, Push and Pull, New Economics and Dual Labour Market theory as they best relate to the aim of the study.

Whilst a number of theories exist, these have been carefully and specifically chosen as they explain the initiation or causes of migration which is the focal point of this study (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1993; Thieme, 2006). Additionally, the New Economics of migration does not only focus on the individual but includes households as being part of the decision-making process (Manik, 2005). Since the participants of this study have the option of migrating with their immediate families, a theory such as this that considers the household's influence and decision-making on migration, will be useful. While the economic benefits of migration are acknowledged within this theory, a wage differential is not necessary as a factor for migration which allows other reasons to be explored (Massey et al, 1993; Kumpikaite & Zickute, 2012). As shown in other migration studies, it is expected that other motivations aside from financial benefits will emerge thus a theory which allows for this is key. Therefore, it is important to consider the push and pull theory.

2.18.1 Push & pull theory

King (2012, p.13) outlines the broad framework of push and pull theory as a set of “push factors in a region or country of origin” for example, “poverty, unemployment, political repression & poor marriage prospects” which force people to migrate. Whereas “pull factors operating from the place or country of destination” could include better financial prospects and living conditions that can attract migrants (King, 2012, p.13). In its simplest form this model views migrants from poorer countries being pulled and pushed to richer countries. The European Commission (2000, p.11) adds that that “the more disadvantaged a country is, the more likely it will produce migration. Kumpikaite & Zickute (2012) point out that the push and pull model

has been continually developed and in this regard acknowledge and cite the contributions of Ravenstein, (1889), Lee, (1966), Mazzarol & Soutar, (2002) and (Wang, 2010). Under this framework, much of the literature have cited Everest Lee's push and pull model which acknowledges the migrant as a decision-maker as they consider not only the positives and negatives in the host and source country but also the obstacles to migration (De Haas, 2009). The assumption is that migration will occur if the positives exceed the negatives and the barriers to migration can be overcome (De Haas, 2009). Manik (2005, p. 22) argues that the limitation of push and pull theory "lies in the premise of migrants being individual, rational people." For this reason it was important to consider New Economics theory as it included the family in the decision-making process.

2.18.2 New Economics Theory

New economics theory holds that it is not necessarily the migrant who makes the decision to migrate as Stark (1991) compares a migrant to that of a brick or bottle of wine which does not make the decision to move into different markets. In this model, households can decide that the individual should migrate which is considered a "calculated strategy" for the individual and family (Stark, 1991 p. 24). It implies that migration is a "family strategy undertaken to minimise risks such as unemployment or loss of income" (Manik, 2005, p.23 citing Stark, 1991). Thus, migration can be understood at the micro level (the migrant teacher) and the meso level (households). This is particularly important for this study as some migrant teachers are migrating with their families and such a theory allows for the role of families in deciding to migrate to be considered. A criticism of New Economic theory is that it only considers the micro-level and the push factors from the sending country (Blakewell, 2010) therefore dual labour market is considered.

2.18.3 Dual Labour Market Theory

In response to the criticism of New Economics theory, this study also draws on dual labour market theory as it takes a macro-level perspective of migration and views it as being caused by pull factors (Massey et al, 1993). It attempts to understand migration from a worldwide political and economic perspective (Boyd & Grieco, 1998). It views nation states "intrinsic labour demands" as initiating migration which must be considered as individuals do not operate

in isolated worlds (Massey, Arange, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pelegrino & Taylor, 1993, p. 440). It is useful in identifying and explaining the “the structural demand for foreign labour that is inherent in advanced societies” (Manik, 2005, p.24). A criticism of this model is that it focuses solely on the pull factors in the destination country. However, the New Economics theory is able to counter this limitation as it takes into account the role of the individual and family and the push factors in the country of origin. Therefore, these theories are necessary and particularly relevant in examining the reasons, that is the push and pull factors that affect South African teachers’ decision-making in becoming migrant teachers at a micro (migrant teacher), meso (households) and macro level (government).

Chapter 3: Mapping the methodological trajectory

3.1 Introduction

This chapter commences with the aims and objectives of the present study and it provides a tabulation of the data collection plan. This is followed by a discussion concerning the selection of an interpretivist approach within a qualitative paradigm and how both these decisions influenced a consideration of the methods and tools to facilitate the research process. To this end, case study method was adopted, where participants were selected through snowball sampling and the data was generated through interviews. Online documentary analysis was also used to collect data from recruitment agencies. Some valuable thoughts around choosing guided analysis are shared as well as the need to keep a reflexive journal for ensuring reliability of the study. Whilst limitations of the methodological approach are examined, counter-strategies as a response for each are then offered.

3.2 Aims and Objectives

This sub-study was part of a major study that examined the entry and exit of teachers within the framing of South Africa. This sub-study aimed to explore migrant teachers' reasons for leaving South Africa and why they were choosing to migrate specifically to Abu Dhabi, including chronicling their intended stay abroad. The research targeted South African teachers who were migrating to Abu Dhabi. To achieve the aim of this study, there were two objectives:

1. To explore teachers' reasons for migrating from South Africa
2. To identify and understand teachers' reasons for migrating specifically to Abu Dhabi and chronicle the length of their intended stay abroad

There were other sub-studies within the major study on Teacher Migration (see the ethical clearance in the appendix for details – HSS/0013/012) that centered on the exit of SA teachers to other destinations (including other locations of the Middle East).

The critical questions that informed the objectives for the present sub-study in this report, were as follows:

1. What are teachers' reasons for migrating from South Africa?
2. Why are teachers migrating specifically to Abu Dhabi and how long do they intend being abroad?

3.3 Data Generation

The table below demonstrates how data was generated, thereafter a discussion of the choices around the research methodology follows.

Table 3.1: Data Collection Plan

Critical Questions	Reasons for data being collected	Research Strategy	Data Source	No. of source	Site of Data Source
What are teachers' reasons for migrating from South Africa?	To explore the reasons why teachers are exiting South Africa	Semi-structured interview	Migrant teachers	5	South Africa/on immediate arrival to Abu Dhabi
			Documents from 3 recruitment agencies	3	Accessed online sites and emails from the recruitment agencies
Why are teachers migrating specifically to Abu Dhabi and how long do they intend being abroad?	To understand why teachers are migrating specifically to Abu Dhabi and how long they intend being abroad	Semi-structured interviews	Migrant teachers	5	South Africa/on immediate arrival to Abu Dhabi
			Documents from 3 recruitment agencies	3	Accessed online sites and emails from the recruitment agencies

3.4 Qualitative research within an interpretive paradigm

Selecting an appropriate paradigm is essential as it encapsulates a particular world view that “has beliefs of how people define and understand the world, themselves and how they come to hold these beliefs that they view as significant” (Duffy & Chenail, 2009, p.22). To this end the interpretive paradigm is selected as it is able to draw on the understanding of the subjective world of human experience (Maree, 2007). This influenced the use of a qualitative approach within this study as it deals with the “direct experience of people in a specific context which allows social scientists to understand, explain and demystify social reality” (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000, p.25). Subsequently this study adopts and aligns itself with Yilmaz’s (2013, p. 312) view of the qualitative approach as being an “emergent, inductive, interpretative and naturalistic approach to the study of people cases, phenomena, social situations and processes in their natural settings in order to reveal in descriptive terms the meanings that people attach to their experiences of the world.” Such an approach is deemed useful in drawing out and understanding participants’ thinking within the South African context and how they construct meaning out of their direct experiences in deciding to become migrant teachers (Maree, 2007).

Furthermore, whilst decisions may be influenced by external factors, decision-making is an internal, subjective process thus the interpretive paradigm that values and supports qualitative epistemology, ontology and axiology will be most useful in examining this phenomenon. A number of studies have successfully used such an approach and paradigm to provide an understanding of teacher migration (Manik, 2005, Appleton, Morgan & Sives, 2006). Additionally, Frankel & Devers (2000, p. 254) note that qualitative researchers often research areas “where the existing theoretical and substantive literature do not adequately capture or reflect their personal experience.”

3.5 Positionality

Bourke (2014, p. 3) rightly points out that the researchers “beliefs, political stance, gender, race, class, socio-economic status and educational background” are factors that can affect the research process particularly for qualitative research. He adds that the researcher’s experiences like the participants’ experiences are framed in “socio-cultural contexts”. This was an aspect to consider especially as the researcher, like the participants within this study, is a South

African migrant teacher who is currently teaching in Abu Dhabi. The researcher embarked on this study because it was felt that previous teacher migration studies were undertaken long ago (in the early 2000's) and it did not meaningfully reflect the researcher's and perhaps other migrant teachers' perspectives who have migrated to the Middle East as a new destination. Within this context it was vital that the researcher's motivations for migration did not influence the research process. To minimise this it was deemed useful to maintain a reflexive field note journal.

3.6 Reflexive field note journal

In qualitative research “reflexivity provides transparent information about the positionality and personal bias of the researcher that could affect the data collection and analysis, this research process is deemed to be best practice” (Walker, Read & Priest, 2013, p. 38). Thus, the researcher asserted positionality within the study by using a third data instrument, namely a reflexive field note journal as reflection is a key element of all research (Rule & John, 2011). After each interview, the researcher's thoughts, feelings and general observations about the interview set-up (who, where & when), the themes that emerged during the discussion (push or pull factors) and any stand out key quotes were recorded verbatim. For example, after Linda's interview, her remark that, “*South Africa has all the gold and it has turned it into dust but Abu Dhabi has dust (desert) and the government has turned it into gold*” was recorded in the reflexive field note journal as it summed up the sentiments expressed by the other migrants. Scanning the researcher's notes in the journal, it becomes apparent that each participant expressed different emotions at different points of the interview. There was a sense of sadness expressed when disclosing their reasons for migration from South Africa, for example the researcher writes after Tammy's interview “Tammy began to cry when she spoke about her experiences of crime and her students' experiences of family dysfunction” The interview was immediately stopped and the researcher offered emotional support and in that moment acted as a counsellor given the researchers educational psychology background. This gave Tammy an opportunity to compose herself and she insisted that she felt comfortable to continue with the interview. Noting participants' emotions in the interview allowed the researcher to understand that migration is a highly emotive experience.

3.7 A Case study of South African migrant teachers in Abu Dhabi

The research questions sought to explore teachers' reasons and decisions for migrating from South Africa to Abu Dhabi, thus a case study approach was adopted as at its centre it considers the decisions made, specifically why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result (Yin, 2003). Additionally, it was also considered because it is "a research approach that is used to generate an in-depth, multi-faceted understanding of a complex issue in its real life context" (Crowe, Cresswell, Robertson, Huby, Avery & Sheikh, 2011 p.1). Yin's (2003, p. 13) definition also includes the "real life context" but emphasises that this is particularly when "the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident." Such a view is required for this study as migration studies must take into account contextual issues that arise in the source or destination country that may affect their decision-making process on migration. Teachers' reasons for migrating are multifaceted and often interrelated thus such a view will allow the migrant teachers to give voice to their real life perspectives. This study included 5 participants in line with Eisenhardt (1989) suggestion from 4 to 10 being considered ideal while others have suggested that one is acceptable (Yin, 1984; Stake, 1995).

Some critics have argued that studying a small number of cases is not adequate for establishing reliability or to make generalisations (Simons, 2009). This is not the intention of this study as decision-making in itself is a complex subjective process, a case study is able to "penetrate situations in ways that are not always susceptible to numerical analysis" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000, p.253). To this end, the researcher seeks to "give the story behind the result" thus shedding light on why teachers have migrated from South Africa to Abu Dhabi (Neale, Thapa & Boyce, 2006 p.3). Exploratory, explanatory, descriptive and multiple case studies are types of case studies that are proposed by Yin whereas Stake suggests the intrinsic, instrumental and collective (Baxter & Jack, 2008). This study is based on the explanatory method as it is explaining migration which is a phenomenon (Yin, 2003). This choice of case study design supports the phrasing of this sub-studies research questions as they are framed around "why and how questions" and is a preferred strategy when the researcher has very limited control over events (Yin, 1984, p.13; Gerring, 2006).

Given that migration entails movement, categorising the case according to spatial delimitation or location is problematic, however, in this instance Rule and John (2011) point out that a person can be the case or unit of analysis, thus migrant teachers are the case within this study.

Yazan (2015, p.8) points out that this line of thinking is supported by the work of “Merriam which views the case as a person, a program, a group, a specific policy and so on, which represents a lot more comprehensive list than Yin’s and Stake’s.” The intention was to interview teachers before departing South Africa, however, due to unforeseen circumstances, two participants were interviewed in South Africa and three of the five participants were interviewed in Abu Dhabi. These interviews were still deemed valid as teachers were interviewed on their second or third day of being in Abu Dhabi whilst their migration decision-making was ‘fresh’ in their minds. Their reasons for leaving S.A. were still uppermost in their minds and they had not entered the Abu Dhabi classroom thus their answers would not be influenced by their Abu Dhabi context. Additionally, each participant was interviewed in-person only once and it was not necessary to do a follow up for any of the five participants. However, for one participant, the interview was very brief for reasons discussed further on. The data was included in the study as it was valid but more depth could have emanated from the interview. Unfortunately, this participant was not available for a follow up interview. The details of the interviews are expanded upon in a later section (3.9).

3.8 Snowball sampling

The absence of a database monitoring teacher migration negated the use of purposive sampling, thus the technique of selection utilised was snowball sampling (Manik, 2005). It can be explained as participants within a study “providing contact information of other potential participants for the researcher to access, this process is repetitive hence the snowball effect” (Noy, 2008, p. 328). It is particularly effective in accessing hard-to-reach populations like migrant teachers (Handcock & Gile, 2011). These hidden populations require insider knowledge of people who can locate people willing to participate in the study (Lopes, Rodrigues & Sichieri, 1996).

Such a method was successfully used by Manik (2005) to locate South African migrants in the United Kingdom as she was confronted by the same problem in her study. Snowball sampling should not be viewed as a default option as its ability to draw on “existing social networks increase its contributions to the overall research process in adding thick and organic descriptions and knowledge of the case “(Noy, 2008, p.328).

The researcher met participants at the in-person recruitment interviews held in Cape Town, South Africa, where teachers were being recruited for positions in Abu Dhabi. Contact was maintained with several who secured employment and they assisted in locating other members of the population. A sample size of five teachers was purposely selected as large sample sizes in qualitative research make extracting thick, rich data very challenging (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007).

3.9 Semi- structured interviews

Interviews were chosen as the primary data collection tool as its function is underpinned by qualitative assumptions in that it “generates rich, in depth data that illuminates our understanding of complex social, behavioural and educational issues” (Reeves, Lewin, & Zwarenstein, 2006, p. 292). Its obvious links to both the interpretative paradigm and qualitative approach is very apparent however, there were two distinct methodological influences in deciding on the type of interviews to consider. The first revolved around whether to use individual or group interviews as both have its merits. Ultimately, the number of participants to include in an interview was influenced by Aborisade (2013) who advised that research topics begin to signal whether individual or group interviews are needed and suggested that individual interviews are best suited to topics concerning experience and choice. Thus individual interviews were used as this research focused not only on the experience of migrant teachers but specifically the idea of choice that is in choosing or deciding to migrate from South Africa to Abu Dhabi. Individual interviews offer more privacy which encourages participants to share and examine their perspective, particularly on sensitive subjects like migration, and participants are able to explain and elaborate on their experience (Brod, Tesler & Christensen, 2009).

Considerations were then made on whether to use, structured, semi-structured or unstructured interviews. A decision to use semi-structured interviews was chosen as they generally consist of predetermined open-ended questions and the researcher may choose to use the basic research question (Dicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). Thus, the interview schedule only consisted of the following primary research questions that were “Why are you leaving South Africa? Why are you going specifically to Abu Dhabi and how long do you intend to stay abroad?” This ensured that the research set out to answer what it intended, that is to seek answers to the big question.

However, Dilley (2004) cautions that novice researchers first interviews may not be as productive as hoped. The first interview did not generate as much data as the researcher initially hoped and a follow up interview was not possible. However the data was included within the study as it was still deemed valid. Dilley (2004) advises novice researchers to reflect on what could have been done differently and to discuss the experience with those that interview often and emphasises the need to practice interviewing. In this regard, guidance was sought from experienced academic peers and by role-playing interviews with a leading South African academic and pioneer within the teacher migration field who has extensive experience with interviewing. Subsequent interviews proved to be far more productive in collecting rich data.

3.10 Participants' professional profiles

Table 3.2 displays the professional profiles of the participants within this study. The table includes participants' pseudonyms, the positions they held in schools before migrating, their highest teaching qualification, the city that they had taught in, years of experience at the time of the interviews and the phase that they had been teaching in South Africa.

Table 3.2: Professional Profile of Participants

Participants pseudonym	Position held in the school	Highest teaching Qualification	City	Years of experience	Specialist Phase
Ronald	Teacher	B.Ed.	Johannesburg	7	Senior Intermediate
Sarah	Teacher	B.Ed.	Johannesburg	7	Early childhood & Development
Tammy	Teacher	B.Ed.	Durban	9	Senior Intermediate
Bernice	Head of Department	B.Ed. (hons)	East London	23	Senior Intermediate
Linda	Head of Department	B.Ed. (hons)	Port Elizabeth	21	Early childhood & Development

The professional profiles of the participants are discussed here whilst the biographical details are provided in the next chapter. All participants except for Ronald had been recruited from

under resourced schools in major cities within South Africa. Ronald was a South African teacher who simultaneously held a British passport that allowed him to work in the U.K. He had been teaching in the U.K. for five years when he was recruited to teach in Abu Dhabi. For purposes of this study, Ronald is still classified as a South African teacher who was recruited from South Africa to Abu Dhabi because he had applied to teach in Abu Dhabi on his South African passport, flew from the U.K. to South Africa for his in-person interviews and had listed O.R. Tambo International Airport (Johannesburg, South Africa) as the closest international airport to his home. Thus, his employer booked his flight from South Africa to Abu Dhabi, clearly mapping out the source and destination countries.

Ronald, Sarah and Tammy had less than 10 years teaching experience whilst Bernice and Linda had more than 20 years of experience. All participants had a Bachelor of Education with Linda and Bernice initially completing a four year teaching diploma and at a later stage they upgraded their qualifications to Bachelor of Education Honours degree. Ronald, Tammy and Bernice were qualified and experienced to teach in the Senior Intermediate phase whilst Linda and Sarah were qualified and experienced in the Early Childhood & Development phase.

A total of five participants were interviewed between 2014 and 2017. Since the researcher was also a migrant teacher en-route to Abu Dhabi, the interview timeline was initially impacted by the challenges of settling into a new country. Whilst there were numerous migrant teachers to interview, this study focused on pre-migrants, thus the researcher had to wait for the annual recruitment intake of South African teachers to ensure that the sample consisted of pre-migrants.

Five pre-migrant teachers were interviewed and one interview was conducted per participant. Two of the interviews were held in South Africa and the other three in Abu Dhabi. In all instances, neither of the participants had entered the classroom in Abu Dhabi at the time of the interviews. The duration of the interviews ranged between approximately 40 – 60 minutes. All participants were offered the opportunity to listen to the voice recordings before the analysis began. This would have been an opportunity for them to exclude any data that they did not want included in this study. However, none of the participants took up this option.

3.11 Transcribing the interviews

All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed to aid data analysis and to document transparency (Brod et al, 2009). How to approach the transcription process necessitated much consideration as it is a powerful “act of representation” (Oliver, Serovich & Mason, 2005 p. 1286). Naturalized transcription allowed for interviews to be transcribed verbatim which included documenting vocalisations such as breaks in speech, mumbling, crying and laughing whilst documenting non-verbal signals such as smiling or frowning as it represented a more detailed and complete picture (Mero-Jaffe, 2011). This had particular meaning for this study as migration emerged as an emotional issue which at times was evident within interviews, thus using the naturalist approach allowed for the rich detail to emerge. Additionally, the naturalised approach recognises that “language represents the *real* world” which was deemed key in the language that migrant teachers used to articulate and describe their world (Oliver, Serovich & Mason, 2005 p.1274).

3.12 Online documentary analysis of Recruitment Agencies

Online documentary analysis was used to gather the marketing and recruitment strategies of the three largest international recruitment agencies to the Emirate of Abu Dhabi as it has the potential to shed light on the phenomenon being studied (Maree, 2007). This involved analysing documents found on the recruitment agencies website and online related material because the researcher felt that teachers’ decision-making could be influenced by the information provided in the recruitment drives as attested to by Manik (2005) in her study of SA teachers leaving for the U.K. Documents analysed included one of the leading recruiters monthly magazine, entitled “Teaching in Abu Dhabi guide-frequently asked questions” which provided information about the recruitment process and the way of life in the destination country. Additionally, an employment offer letter from a large recruiter was analysed and it shed light on the economic reasons teachers are migrating specifically to Abu Dhabi. A February 2014 newsletter from one of the recruitment agencies is also analysed as it provided details on the support that recruitment agencies provide to migrant teachers. Documentary analysis is a suitable as fit for this study as it can be used in “a case study approach...or as a tool to triangulate data from interviews” (Fitzgerald, 2007, p.279).

3.13 Guided analysis

Hopwood (2004) claims that data analysis should not be seen as an isolated process occurring at only a particular junction within the research process as it begins at the data collection stage and is an ongoing process. Given the case study method adopted within this research, it was deemed appropriate that this study aligned itself with Rule and John's (2011, p.75) definition of data analysis as allowing one "to construct thick descriptions, to identify themes and to generate explanations of thought and action evident in the case..." This is particularly evident in the presentation of the analysis.

Khoza (2013, p.5) cites Samuel (2009), as viewing a priori analysis as "not flexible in terms of allowing researchers to modify principles of theories in order to accommodate important issues that emerge from the data." Guided analysis has the ability to relate theories from the literature to important issues that emanate from the data within the study, thus this study used guided analysis and identified themes that emerged from the data. (Kohlbacher, 2006). To this end, the data that emanated was coded according to two subdomains namely those that emanated from the relevant migration theories within the literature and those that did not (Brod, Tesler & Christensen, 2009).

3.14 Presenting the findings

The data as outlined in Table 3.3 represents the response to each research question, data sources and the themes that emerged. The push factors from South Africa and the pull factors to Abu Dhabi are clearly demarcated.

Table 3.3: Presentation of Findings

i) Why are teachers leaving South Africa?

a. Migrant Teachers (interviews)

- **Financial Reasons**
 - Low salary
- **Social Reasons**
 - High crime rate
 - Religious intolerance
- **Political Reasons**
 - Race-based policies- deny access to opportunities
- **Teachers Working Conditions**
 - Large class sizes and workload
 - Ineffective curriculum
 - Lack of student discipline,
 - Lack of career progress
 - Poor school leadership and management
- **Personal Relationships**
 - Strained marriages
 - Strained friendships
- **Need for personal Development**

ii) Why are teachers specifically migrating to Abu Dhabi?

a. Migrant Teachers (interviews)

- **Financial Reasons**
 - High salary
 - Financial goals
- **Social Reasons**
 - Low crime rate
 - Religious acceptance
- **Political Reasons**
 - Perceived non-race based policies – access to opportunities
- **Country’s level of economic and social development**
- **Recruitment Agency Influence**

3.15 Validity and Trustworthiness

Given that this is a qualitative study, the concept of trustworthiness as an alternative to reliability and validity is offered (Rule and John, 2011). Trustworthiness in qualitative research is concerned with credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Golafshani, 2003). Credibility refers to the extent to which a case study has recorded the fullness of the case reality, dependability focuses on methodological rigor and confirmability is concerned with addressing the researcher's influences and biases (Rule and John, 2011).

To achieve this, triangulation was established by using three data sources, namely the interviews, document analysis and the reflexive field note journal which created additional confidence in the research findings (Maree, 2007). Addressing research validity, includes a reflexive component, thus the researcher kept a reflexive journal so that others could follow the researcher's rationale particularly around data collection and analysis concerns (DeCuir-Gunby, 2008). Furthermore, the researcher invited her peers to examine the research design to ensure that there is an audit trail and justification of the data analysis which will enhance triangulation within the study (Maree, 2007).

3.16 Ethical Issues

This sub-study was part of a major study (see ethical clearance in the appendix for details - HSS/0013/012) that examined the entry and exit of teachers within the framing of South Africa. This research was conducted in an ethical manner by ensuring that the research did not harm any individual, informed consent was obtained and the participants were informed that they could withdraw at any point from the study with no penalty (English & Van Tonder, 2012). Issues of anonymity and confidentiality take on added importance as the complexity of lives are made visible in research texts (Clandinin & Huber, 2008). This was particularly important for Linda, although she spoke frankly about the reasons for her marital problems, she was clearly still very distressed and uncomfortable. A decision was taken to still include the general data surrounding her marital problems as it had, to some extent impacted her decision to migrate from South Africa to Abu Dhabi. However, the researcher ensured that her anonymity and right to confidentiality was maintained throughout the study so that she was not traceable. Given that participants' personal reasons for migrating were elicited during data gathering, all participants were given pseudonyms to protect their identity and all audio recordings and transcripts are securely stored and they will be disposed of via shredding after five years.

3.17 Anticipated Problems and Limitations

English and Van Tonder (2012) argues that no research is without its limitations and that a hallmark of sound research is one that states its limitations and counters it where possible. A limitation of qualitative research is that it does not represent the wider sample population which hinders the study's representativeness and generalizability (Gibson and Brown, 2009). However, Barbour (2008) argues that the goal of qualitative sampling is "not to produce a representative sample, rather to reflect diversity and provide as much potential for comparison as possible" amongst the participants (p. 53). Furthermore, Beach & Blackstone (2011) warn that researchers have to be careful of imposing meaning on a participant's lived experience. This has much relevance, considering that the researcher is also a teacher who has migrated to Abu Dhabi motivated by personal contextual reasons. To address this, the researcher kept a reflexive field note journal as addressed earlier to minimize any opportunity for personal bias (3.5 and 3.6).

Chapter 4: Analysing the data blueprint

4.1 Introduction

The analysis of results centred on answering the research questions. These were: ‘What are teachers’ reasons for migrating from South Africa?’ and ‘Why are teachers migrating specifically to Abu Dhabi and how long do they intend being abroad?’ The data for these questions are presented thematically and the push and pull factors which emerged from the data, are analysed. Some discussion is given to the role of spousal influence on migration decision-making, whilst it is acknowledged that it is not a reason for migration but it did influence married teachers’ decision to remain in or exit South Africa.

Table 4.1: Biographical Details of Participants

Participant	Age	Gender	Race	Marital status	No. of children	Migrating with spouse and children	Religion
Ronald	31	Male	White	Single	0	No	Christian
Sarah	30	Female	Indian	Married	0	Yes	Muslim
Tammy	33	Female	Coloured	Married	1	Yes	Muslim
Bernice	43	Female	Coloured	Married	1	Yes	Christian
Linda	45	Female	Coloured	Married	2	No	Christian

All participants were hired by the Department of Education in Abu Dhabi and would be placed in government schools. The participants interviewed were female and married, except for Ronald who was male and single. Participants’ ages ranged from 30 – 45 years of age. Although Abu Dhabi is Muslim in its religious orientation, migrant teachers who are Muslim and non-Muslim are being recruited as two participants were Muslim and three were Christian.

The Abu Dhabi employment package may be particularly attractive for married teachers with families as it is one of the few that bears the costs of the flight, visa, medical insurance and accommodation costs for the recruited teachers, the spouse and dependents. Three of the five teachers would be relocating with their spouse and/or children except for Linda as the Abu Dhabi employment package catered for dependents up to the age of 18 and both her dependents were over the age limit. Linda’s husband had opted to remain in South Africa to take care of the children who were over the age of 18 but still financially dependent on their parents.

4.2 Push factors from South Africa

Low salaries, crime and affirmative action policies emerged as powerful push factors. The frustration of large class sizes and heavy workloads, ineffective curriculums, dwindling student discipline, poor school leadership and management including a lack of career progress within the South African education system were powerfully contributing to the exodus of these teachers. Additionally, strained personal relationships with spouses or close friends played a supporting role in the decision to migrate. The need for personal development also emerged and it was found that spouses also influenced the decision-making process to migrate and in some instances, the spouse appeared to be the key decision-maker.

4.2.1 Financial Reasons

The first push factor that all teachers cited during the research interviews were their increasing inability to financially sustain themselves and their families in SA. This they directly attributed to low teacher salaries in South African public schools.

4.2.1.1 Low salaries

All participants acknowledged that finances, specifically low teacher salaries played a significant role in the decision to emigrate from South Africa. Poor salaries had a direct link on the extent to which migrant teachers could meet the rising cost of living for themselves and their families in South Africa. Sarah stated,

“From all fields, teachers have the most important jobs with the least pay, which I personally feel is unfair. Everything comes off your salary and with the rate that everything is escalating: petrol, rent, rates, food, everything is going up, teachers are not able to make it. We are the people who are getting paid the least.”

Sarah felt that teachers play a vital role in society yet they are not adequately compensated. She is particularly concerned that teachers cannot cope with the rapidly rising daily and monthly expenses. Low salaries also resulted in another participant feeling frustrated with the

seemingly endless cycle of living from pay cheque to pay cheque and lacking in adequate disposable income for recreational or leisure activities. Tammy stated,

“I don’t want to be waiting for my salary to come so that I can pay off things or so that I can get something that is needed, now I have to wait for my next salary. To be able to go out and not always be thinking we can’t go out because we don’t have the money for it.”

Tammy felt that her salary did not adequately cover her monthly needs as she ran out of funds before the month was through. In such a situation, she was unable to afford and enjoy a fair amount of leisure activities.

Bernice expressed a deep loyalty for South Africa and felt like she was being forced to exit. As a post level 1 teacher with extensive experience and an Honour’s in Education degree she felt she had not been adequately paid for her years of service or level of qualification. She stated,

“I would never want to leave but South Africa is not looking after its people, the educated people, because we are not paid sufficiently to live in South Africa. After 23 years of service, I earned about R23000 (before tax), financially I don’t have a choice but to leave.

Bernice felt that the South African government had not created conditions for the skilled population to thrive. She was frustrated with the low teacher salaries as it was disproportionate to a teacher’s years of service or qualifications. Thus low salaries could not sustain the cost of living which forced her to leave South Africa.

Low salaries also significantly restricted migrant teachers’ ability to purchase property because after all monthly payments, their disposable income was considered too low by banking institutions and ironically too high for government housing schemes. For example, Linda mentioned,

“We’re not asking for a fantastic salary, we’re asking for a living wage and it’s not happening. You are earning too much to get that low cost housing but you earn too little to qualify for a bond.”

Linda was articulating a view that she was not materialistic and not in need of an excessively high salary, she merely required a salary that would allow her to buy a home and live a decent lifestyle. Bernice shared similar sentiments, *“Many youngsters in education, that have just started out in teaching cannot afford to buy homes.”* As with most careers, newly qualified professionals cannot expect to earn a high enough salary to immediately afford to purchase a home. However, after several years of experience this would be a reasonable expectation and it is this that Linda is alluding to in her comment.

Affording a home took a different angle for Tammy, who as a Muslim was bound by religious principles. She stated that the charge of interest on any borrowed funds, including a home loan is considered unacceptable in Islam. Tammy felt her low salary thwarted her efforts to save a sufficient amount of money to purchase a house.

“Being Muslim I don’t deal with interest at all. So I could not afford a house by just paying cash for the house and I cannot apply for a loan and be able to buy a house because of my religious faith, I’m not allowed to, so I have never been able to own my own property because of the lack of income.”

Tammy wanted to maintain the Islamic principle regarding the charging of interest, meaning she does not charge nor pay interest on borrowed funds. However, earning a low salary had become frustrating as she was never in a position to save enough money to purchase a home with cash, thus owning property continued to allude her.

It was evident that low salaries was a powerful push factor from SA as these teachers were unable to meet the escalating costs of living and if they remained in SA, it increased the likelihood of them continuing to live from pay cheque to pay cheque. This inevitably reduced their purchasing power for leisure activities, it massively hindered their ability to save and denied them access to the property market. Teachers as part of the educated workforce felt that they were not adequately remunerated for their years of service, their experience and post graduate studies causing these teachers to emigrate from South Africa.

4.3 Social Reasons

Migrant teachers had also considered South Africa's social context and a high crime rate was an expected push factor (given the findings of previous teacher migration studies such as that by Manik, 2005). However, religious intolerance of Islam in South Africa emerged as an unexpected but particularly emotional push factor for one participant.

4.3.1 High crime rate

Some participants of this study had been victims of crime which became a significant push factor. Tammy shared the following traumatic experience highlighting the disbelief that crime is not considered newsworthy enough in South Africa and the extent to which it affected her sense of patriotism.

“Thieves came into our house, I was held with a knife by my neck, I was strangled not to death, but I was strangled and this is not even news any more, it's not news. It's not news! Teachers at our school (Durban, South Africa), more than five have been hijacked. I love my country but, really is it worth it? To love your country and not want to leave your country and then one day you are part of the statistics, I don't think so.”

While Tammy expresses her love and loyalty for South Africa, the traumatic events of being held at knife point, in addition to her colleagues having similar experiences of crime spurred her decision to leave South Africa. Tammy's husband's perception of crime and the emotive articulation of it was very distressing for her. Her husband, an Egyptian national, had heard many horror stories and watched gruesome acts of violent crime on the national news during his first week of stay in South Africa. This left him questioning his permanent residency in the country. Tammy stated,

“He just said did you bring me here to die? And that's very hurtful for the person that you love to say that and mean it. He was not making a joke.”

The frequency with which crime occurs led Tammy's husband to believe that he was more than likely to be a victim of crime and that it would lead to his death. At the time South Africa had also been experiencing xenophobic violence since 2008. His question “Did you bring me here to die?” implies that he thinks she holds some responsibility as she brought him to a crime

riddled country and she continues to stay. In this instance, a family member's negative experience of living in a high crime environment even if they had not directly been a victim of crime had affected the migrant's decision to exit South Africa. The idea of being a tragic victim of crime is not a foreign notion as Linda shared her personal and fatal experience of crime. She stated,

"I had tragedy in my life as well, my dad was murdered, I don't like South Africa because of that. Because if it had been in a country like this (Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates), that would have never had happened. My daddy walked to the shop and he never came home. You know, so all of those experiences makes you want to leave."

Linda's experiences of crime had spurred her decision to migrate as her father's murder had negatively altered her perception of South Africa, causing her to dislike the country. A high number of Linda's students in SA had also been victims of crime and their experiences also had an emotional effect on her, leading her to state,

"You know in my class (Durban, South Africa), I did a survey one day and my heart got so sore. You know how many of those children were exposed to violent crime, where parents were hijacked and murdered. Where they broke into the house, things like that, I mean that's not normal and it has become a normal part of South African society and I mean that to me is a push factor."

Linda's students' experiences as victims of crime had negatively affected her, she was disheartened not only by the number of criminal incidents but that it was becoming so commonplace in South Africa that it was considered normal, which spurred her decision to leave South Africa. Similarly, Bernice was no stranger to crime and she shared her experience and reaction to crime as a push factor for her migration. She stated,

Our home has been broken into twice, they have already mugged me in my car, so crime is a factor. The crime rate in the townships is terrible and there is a drug problem in South Africa amongst the young children. So you have to go out and look for something better for your family.

For Bernice, her numerous experiences of crime coupled with the increasing drug challenges in SA was motivation to leave the country for family reasons (having children). Again, Bernice like Linda and Tammy had experienced crime and had been traumatized not only by their own experiences but also those that occurred to their family, colleagues and students. They had come to the conclusion that they were being forced out of South Africa, to look for a safer environment not only for themselves but particularly for their families.

There is strong evidence that the high rate of crime in South African society and particularly the teachers' personal and at times fatal experiences undoubtedly played a significant role as a push factor to migrate. The experiences of other victims of crime, like family members or students even if not directly related to the participant had influenced their decision to leave South Africa. Interestingly, all had initially expressed a love or sense of patriotism for South Africa but this had been eroded due to the high rate of crime which subsequently became an emotive driving force out of South Africa.

4.3.2 Religious Intolerance

Religious intolerance of Islam was an unexpected push factor from SA but it had emerged as a compelling motivation for a Muslim participant. Tammy had married an Egyptian national and had converted to Islam. She had felt that with the growing terrorism acts committed around the world that it had become increasingly difficult to be accepted as a Muslim in South Africa even though it is a democratic country. Tammy stated,

“The government of South Africa allows you to be free in your religion. But I have had experiences, personal experiences where some people are not so tolerant of Muslims, being that the media portrays a minority of Muslims or people just using the banner of Islam to commit whatever atrocities. The public are misinformed, so a lot of people also don't have that tolerance for Muslims.”

As a devout Muslim woman, she chose to wear the niqab (a veil covering over the face leaving only the eyes clear) when in public. Wearing the niqab had identified her as Muslim and she shared the following experience of religious intolerance as a case in point,

“I have had experiences of being yelled at in the middle of a supermarket (Durban, South Africa) about what my people are doing to whoever. I have been be stared at you know, when I’m walking. I was sworn at in public because this (South Africa) is not a Muslim country.”

While South Africa has a large Islamic community, most Muslim females cover only their heads with a Sheila (scarf) and very few cover their face with the niqab. By covering her face with the niqab, Tammy had overtly identified herself as Muslim, an attire that the global media has commonly associated with terrorism. Thus, she had experienced religious intolerance which had resulted in her feeling as though she was not part of the South African community. This caused her to question whether she wanted to continue to live in South Africa and she clearly did not want to go on living in this way.

“I say it doesn’t bother me but sometimes you just want to be considered... that I am just a person. I am just like you, I have feelings and I have a family and I do and say general things that any normal person would do. This is not how I want to live.”

Acts of global terrorism committed by perpetrators who are Muslim, fueled some members of South African society to aggressively direct their religious intolerance of Islam towards Tammy. By virtue of her religious choice and attire she felt that she had been unfairly labelled or associated with terrorism which powerfully contributed to her decision to leave South Africa.

Religious intolerance of Islam in South Africa was a considerable push factor for Tammy as her experiences of discrimination caused her emotional distress and it culminated in her not wanting to live in such an environment, thus fueling her desire to migrate.

4.4 Political Reasons

Post-apartheid South Africa sought to redress the imbalances of the apartheid past through a policy of affirmative action meant to uplift and empower previously disadvantaged groups. In theory, such policies are meant to give preferential treatment to Black people which according to the South African classification consists of the African, Coloured and Indian racial groups. However, in practice many participants lamented that African people have obtained priority as

they secure employment and promotion first, a privilege that is extended to access to education, whilst marginalizing the Coloured and Indian community. The denial of economic and educational opportunities due to race-based policies for participants and particularly their children had been a powerful trigger to migrate.

4.4.1 Race -based policies - deny access to opportunities

While participants could empathise with the need for affirmative action policies to redress the imbalances of the Apartheid legacy, they did not see this policy as a benefit to themselves. On the contrary, they were particularly concerned about the exclusionary effect it would have on their children. Tammy a Coloured parent summed it up as,

“I am not against affirmative action, I’ve read and understood the psychology of it as I’m half black. I’m still not in the line of benefitting, my family, you know are not going to be chosen, and their opportunities are not that great.”

Tammy understood that affirmative action was meant to give black people access to opportunities. She felt that even though she considered herself as ‘half black’ neither she nor her family would be chosen for such opportunities. Although Tammy’s son is only eight years old, the perceived limiting role that it would have on her son’s future opportunities was of particular concern.

“I mean if you look at the medical schools or any of the universities the intake of non-blacks is not that great. Where does this leave my son? He may work hard and produce good results to enter a university but black students with lower results will receive university admission over my son to meet the black quota.”

Tammy uses the word ‘black’ to refer to Africans in her above example. She feels that affirmative action will result in her son as a coloured being denied access to a university education, regardless if he earned it on merit as the ‘black quota’ needs to be met first even if it means granting admission to students with lower results. Tammy’s son is eight years old and only at the primary school level of education however, the current implementation of affirmative action policies at the tertiary level does not seem as if it will advantage him in the

future as a Coloured South African, instead it is likely to exclude him from opportunities thus motivating Tammy to migrate from South Africa.

Affirmative action policies also appeared to be playing a role in diminishing employment opportunities and career growth prospects for Linda's daughter.

“Even in the industry that my daughter's working, you know it's still, can I use that word, very racist. I'm not saying its reverse racism. It was very difficult for my daughter to get her foot in the door, like she found work but it was always at a certain level.”

Linda believes that whilst there is democracy in South Africa, racism still continues as her Coloured daughter struggled to gain employment because Black Africans received preference. Even when she was able to eventually secure a job at the entry level, her professional growth was curtailed due to South Africa's affirmative action policies.

The seemingly exclusionary practices of affirmative action diminished participants' sense of belonging to South Africa that was once felt. Tammy stated,

“I'm very for the black people to own their own country but then I need to think about myself and my family. We certainly not falling into the category of people that have bigger opportunities. We have to take a step to move to a place that we can have those opportunities. That's it.”

Tammy's statement reveals that she did not feel as if South Africa was her country or that she belonged in it, her dwindling sense of patriotism fueled a desire to look for a sense of belonging elsewhere. It is apparent that being denied access to opportunities as an individual and for her family due to race-based policies had forced Tammy to exit South Africa.

Affirmative action operates on the premise of inclusion however, in practice it had manifested as exclusionary for the participants of this study and their families. While it creates opportunities for access to tertiary education, employment and career growth for some in the category of Black- namely Africans, it had simultaneously denied participants who were Coloured access to these opportunities. The negative effects of this race-based policy powerfully contributed to their decisions to leave South Africa. It appears to have weakened

participants sense of patriotism as they felt excluded, citing that South Africa was not really their country, belonging to a specific sub-category of Black people- namely Africans. Race based policies that deny access to opportunities, had operated as an emotive force in cutting ties or migrating from the ‘motherland’.

4.5 Teachers’ working conditions

The South African School context was considered by participants to be very challenging. Much frustration was expressed over large class sizes and workloads, an ineffective curriculum, poor school leadership and management, a lack of student discipline and stifled career progress.

4.5.1 Large class sizes and workloads

The vast majority of South African public school classrooms have large numbers of learners that inevitably increased teachers’ workloads and made it largely unmanageable to make a meaningful difference in teaching particularly in public schools. Sarah stated,

“The classrooms are so big, you know you cannot deal with every child, you know that individual attention that they deserve especially when you go to a government school.”

Similar sentiments were expressed by Linda, who had a love for her students but was overwhelmed by the large class sizes and workload.

“I loved the children that I taught but I had too many children. It just became too much for me. In English I had over 120 learners and I had to mark all of that. 40 in a class and then we tried splitting them into groups but it still doesn’t work as if a teacher leaves then they just put the children back into your class or if someone goes off, oh you can do it, they just load you.”

It is evident from Linda’s articulations that despite her love for her students she felt overly burdened by the large class sizes and the workload that it simultaneously generated. This was more apparent when colleagues would resign and management would resort to assigning those classes to the remaining staff instead of finding a replacement.

The large class sizes resulted in heavy workloads, leaving teachers stretched for time as they were unable to complete their work within the school day. Teachers were forced to work during the breaks and take work home. Linda noted that she felt burnt out by the high workload.

“Sometimes I don’t even take my break, we get two 15 minute breaks, and it’s like 30 minutes in a day. Half past seven to half past three, sometimes I leave school four or five o’clock depending on how much work I need to finish and I will still take work home with me. There was just not a time to pause and I felt burnt out. If I don’t do something, you know I could probably do something in the classroom that I would regret. I need to leave.”

This sense of being overworked to the point of burn out, led Linda to feel that she could behave in an inappropriate manner that puts students at risk or in harm’s way. This, heightened her sense of needing to exit the South African classroom.

Large class sizes and heavy workloads had left migrant teachers feeling frustrated, overworked and burnt out which gave rise to the growing sense of needing to leave the South African education system.

4.5.2 Ineffective Curriculum

The newly introduced CAPS curriculum had been particularly frustrating for Linda as she was part of a group of teachers who had been selected to review the CAPS document before it was finalized. She relates the following experience in response to her suggested changes:

“You don’t start out teaching children about definite and indefinite article for example or auxiliary verbs. You know what one guy said to me that was busy with that, he has got his PhD in Education but he has never taught in the classroom “How do you know until you have tried it?” I said because I am experienced in that field, I know that age group but you know what a lot of the time they don’t listen to the teachers and we the ones that’s working on the ground and that was another frustration for me.”

Linda’s years of teaching experience and constructive input had been ignored by policy makers working on the CAPS curriculum (SA’s latest curriculum) which was very frustrating as she

would be implementing this new curriculum. Likewise, Sarah had also become frustrated with the latest South African curriculum and she felt that it was not age or grade appropriate. Sarah commented,

“I mean each year they’re dropping the level of education, the standard of education and they expect the South Africans to be so proficient in their English. It doesn’t work out with the work that they give, it’s not suitable for the kids. Half the things that they do in grade one is what they should be doing in pre-school not even in grade one.”

Sarah was frustrated with the standard of education which appeared to be dropping while teachers were expected to produce students of a high academic level. Furthermore, the assessment driven nature of CAPS and its focus on quantity of work as opposed to quality was disheartening and had diminished the passion for teaching in SA. Linda stated,

“When I started teaching I loved it because we were getting more done with less, it was quality and not quantity and now I feel with CAPS it is a whole lot of unnecessary stuff. We are teaching to assess, we are not teaching so that children can learn and grow. It’s all about assessment, its assessment driven. Its’ not realistic, we not, actually feeding the whole child and that’s what makes me sad as well.”

Linda’s love for teaching had diminished over the years as the changing curriculums became more demanding of teachers and students especially assessment wise. She did not believe that it holistically developed students, rather it eroded the quality of education, therefore Linda felt very demotivated and discouraged.

The newly introduced CAPS curriculum had been a source of frustration as participants felt that their contributions to the formation of the CAPS document had been ignored. The challenges of teaching an assessment driven curriculum not deemed grade and content appropriate had seemingly dropped the standard of education and added to teacher’s already burdensome workloads leaving them feeling discouraged and demotivated.

4.5.3 Lack of student discipline

Teachers lamented about an increasing lack of discipline within the South African classroom which was a definite push factor for some participants to migrate overseas. Sarah stated,

“There is no discipline. They don’t pay any importance to discipline, morals, values, ethics. I rather want to go and try to broaden my perspective in Education overseas.”

Tammy, felt that the lack of discipline was reducing her hands on teaching and learning time as she spent a great deal of teaching time trying to improve class discipline.

“I’d say like 25% of my teaching time is spent on morals and values and even though I am teaching a content subject, I’m talking about morals, I’m talking about how to behave, to have respect.”

Whilst discussing student discipline, Tammy became very emotional as she felt that students were facing difficult household challenges which immensely contributed to the lack of discipline in the classroom and emphasized the emotional toll it was exacting on teachers. Tammy stated,

“Yes, they were raw and rude and the lack of respect was unbelievable but (sigh) they also had problems that... (She was now crying during the interview) they not supposed to be having. You know at that age, they not supposed to be going through all those things that they were going through... and so though the rudeness and the disrespect made me angry with them, through that I always tried to remember you know this child is coming from a home where he has no mother and his father is so drunk that he couldn’t care less about him. Some days he is so drunk and he just like passed out that the child has to go and beg from the neighbours for food and I mean we’re talking about an actual case.”

Tammy was teaching in an environment where there were many social challenges such as alcohol abuse by parents which led to the neglect of their children. These students acted out in disrespectful and aggressive ways and Tammy’s tears represented the great emotional distress that working in such an environment had taken on her. She emphasized that many of her students faced such challenges which negatively affected their discipline at school. She stated,

“This is more than one child, I’m talking about a girl whose mother is a prostitute and lives on the street. This girl’s aunty is trying her very best to raise her as the best that she can. Her father robs people by gun point, she has just seen so much. She is so bright and has so much opportunity but she is still doing such horrible things to her aunty who is trying her best to raise her. Even her rudeness, this is her way of dealing with all the things that she has to go through.”

Dysfunctional home backgrounds appeared to be contributing to students’ lack of discipline in schools. In trying to address root causes of poor student discipline, another participant had extended her pastoral care role which had become emotionally taxing and draining. Linda stated,

“I know that teaching is holistic you know, you’re not just a teacher, I know you’re a social worker, I know you are a mother, I know all of those other factors but we weren’t just teachers there anymore, I was run down.”

Linda acknowledges that teachers play different roles but the extent and degree to which she served in her pastoral role in a challenging socio-economic environment had left her feeling burnt out.

The lack of student discipline made managing the classroom difficult and frustrating for teachers. Valuable teaching time was diminished to deal with discipline issues and instill values in students. Teachers cited students’ dysfunctional home backgrounds as a major reason for the ill-discipline and whilst they had been supportive and sensitive to students’ needs, that in itself had been an emotionally draining experience as there were too many students facing these issues. Extending this constant type of pastoral care had left teachers feeling burnt out.

4.5.4 Poor school leadership and management

Great frustration with the leadership and management of the school was also expressed as a reason for migrating. Linda felt as though management’s treatment of teachers had become a dehumanized task. She expressed the following,

“I also found that the type of leadership and management was kind of a regimented tick sheet, you know they forgot that they are working with human beings. A leader brings out the best in their workers and I felt stifled in that way because everything was a tick sheet.”

Linda explained that managements “*tick sheet*” revolved around getting teachers to fill out unnecessary paperwork that took up teaching or planning time. For example, it was teachers instead of the school administrative support who had to fill out students’ biographical information to be sent to the Department of education for statistical purposes. The school leadership and management added such administrative tasks with tight deadlines on teachers who were already frustrated with heavy workloads.

There was also a sense of management not knowing what was required in the classroom, of being disconnected from the ground which was especially frustrating as teachers’ inputs were largely ignored. Linda related the following experience,

“We were going to meetings and they were talking a whole lot of hogwash. For example I’m an intermediate teacher but the junior phase deputy wants to tell me how to do my job but she has never taught, she doesn’t understand that phase, she doesn’t even understand the assessment criteria or anything but she is insisting and then we have to change it again. It was all those frustrations.”

The frustration of working under inexperienced leadership and management who mandated inappropriate changes that were not beneficial in the classroom culminated in adverse working conditions. This was particularly frustrating for Linda as her extensive experience within this phase was ignored.

Management’s favouritism of certain teachers also resulted in an unfair and unevenly distributed workload for staff. Linda especially felt this strain even though she was a Head of Department with additional duties, she had the same teaching load as a post level one teacher. She stated,

“I didn’t like the unfairness that I saw happening. There were some teachers who had an easy load. You know they would sit in the staffroom they were just support teachers, no classes. I had a tutor class, I had full classes, I had the same frees (non-teaching time) as everyone else

but that free would be taken up if someone was absent or someone needed to leave early. 'Oh ma'am can you just go fill in', so I was constantly taking work home.

The poor management of exiting teachers' workloads was another frustration for Linda as it created additional work for her. She related the following experience as a case in point:

"You know when our deputy left, he had Math and Science classes. The principal and the other deputy agreed in a School Management Team meeting that they would take his classes or they would arrange for it. This is how they arranged for it behind my back. They went and just announced on the Monday, Mrs. Smith will be taking his English class, so that the deputy can be free to teach those classes so that was an extra load again. To top it off all, just before I left the one teacher had to undergo an operation. She didn't tell any of them, she came back from three weeks off and she was going to be off for another six weeks. So they said 'ma'am, you have got frees, you can do it.' And, when I took over that department there was nothing, there were no files, there was nothing."

Leadership and management had not only failed to honour the decision to carry the workload of an exiting teacher but without any consultation had added it onto Linda, who already had a full teaching load and Head of Department duties. This created not only a mistrust of the Senior Leadership and Management team but it also placed Linda under further strain and stress of a very heavy workload taking her to breaking point.

Further changes in the school leadership and management at Linda's school resulted in a high turnover of staff and raised the concern of losing veteran teachers to newly qualified teachers lacking in experience. Linda explained,

"When I started teaching there, there was an established staff with more mature teachers. In the time that the new principal took over there was a turn around, if I say to you it must be about 90% of new teachers entered, the staff was replaced with new teachers, you know that you need young teachers coming into the system but you can't have all your experienced teachers leaving the system and that was what was happening."

Poor school leadership and management resulted in an exodus of seasoned teachers from Linda's school. It was interesting to note that the experienced teachers had resigned from and taken up employment in private schools or emigrated overseas. Linda stated,

"All of those teachers went to private schools or they went overseas. I was speaking to so many of my friends that I taught with, that are overseas and I mean its Australia, New Zealand, England, Canada and now us (Abu Dhabi), that's a lot of people leaving. There is something wrong with the education system (in SA) and with how they're treating teachers."

Poor leadership and management had resulted in teachers exiting the public school system with many migrating to western countries and some being recruited by private schools. It was felt that the exodus of teachers was an indicator of the woes of the education system and the mistreatment of teachers. Linda noted that Abu Dhabi had become a new destination country.

Management's continual laying the blame on teachers for the educational problems being experienced within the school also demoralized and demotivated teachers. Linda adds,

"We were just numbers and we were like donkeys, packed horses you know because you know, we like the easy way out. If something goes wrong, blame the teachers, if the children are not performing, blame the teachers, you know. Or something is not working, they don't listen to the teachers but they go and add on to your workload."

Management made teachers the scapegoat for the problems experienced within the school, providing solutions that only served to create additional work for teachers, thereby increasing their frustration as Linda vented that teachers felt like work horses.

The collective experiences left Linda feeling as if she was not leaving of her own accord. She felt that she was being pushed out of the schooling system. She stated,

"I was pushed out of my comfort zone, I reached a certain level of frustration in the school system. I didn't like where the education system was going. I didn't like how much more pressure was being placed on the teachers, how much more emphasis was being placed on the teachers' performance as opposed to the child achieving. I was pushed."

Poor school leadership and management was a strong push factor as participants felt that management had become a dehumanizing task; focused on fulfilling the requirements of tick sheets. Management appeared to make poor decisions as they were disconnected from the practicalities of the classroom which was a great source of frustration. For example, management did not have a proper grasp of the assessment criteria for the junior phase, yet they instructed teachers to change their assessment plans and ignored teachers' protests. Uneven and unfair workloads assigned by management especially when based upon favoritism had been particularly vexing for teachers already under heavy workloads. The high turnover of experienced staff due to a change in management and the influx of newly qualified teachers as replacements, had been of particular concern as there were valuable skills that were lost, especially as there were a lack of veteran teachers to mentor them. Overall, management's poor treatment of teachers had been a significant push factor as teachers sought greener pastures overseas.

4.5.5 Lack of career progress

The lack of career progress was a push factor for participants to migrate from South Africa to Abu Dhabi. Linda stated,

"I was the H.O.D and I started applying for a deputy principal's post and it's not easy to get one and that was another factor."

Linda did not receive a response for most of her applications and when she finally secured an interview, the experience put her off applying for future vacancies as she did not realise that they expected her to answer in Afrikaans as it was an English medium school.

"I first started with department posts, like deputy principal posts and you know what made me stop? I went for this interview for the deputy principal post, and there was three of us there and we were shortlisted. I knew my interview went bad because they asked me to answer in Afrikaans and when last did I speak Afrikaans and I was even nervously giggling. I was trying to think what word do you use for that and what word do you use for this? You know when I walked out of there, I was embarrassed. "

The embarrassment caused by Linda not being able to clearly express herself in Afrikaans during the interview had halted her ambitions to rise through the ranks of government schools. The question arises, why would a former model C, English medium school conduct interviews in Afrikaans? This inevitably disadvantaged second language Afrikaans speakers and would cause discomfort and embarrassment in the interview process as interviewees struggled to articulate their answers. Left with the bitter interview experience and the work pressures at Linda's school becoming unbearable and with the unlikely prospect of being promoted, she began to look at other options to exit.

Similarly, Bernice had been a post level 1 teacher for 23 years and after repeated unsuccessful applications for promotion posts concluded that,

“It's not what you know, it's who you know. Many principals or heads of departments are not there because of academic achievement or studying leadership courses. It's because of who they know, they just pull their friends up the rank and they don't acknowledge teachers that work hard. This made me look at international jobs.”

The disappointment of not being promoted whilst other teachers unfairly climbed the career ladder on the back of nepotism had caused Bernice to actively seek opportunities abroad. Additionally, the interest shown by a South African principal to work in Abu Dhabi schools had also made the idea of being promoted to a management position less desirable. Linda stated,

“When I applied for this post and I got it, the principal of the one school that I applied to, she contacted us to find out what questions could we possibly be asked because she also wanted to get out and I thought now what does that tell me? So it's not even worth it because they're not even earning that much either. Am I right? They don't earn a lot of money and plus the added responsibility of everyone else and then I just thought I really need a way out and this was just God sent, really it was. That's how I feel.”

Aspirations to be promoted in South Africa were diminished as participants observed the workloads and stresses of being a principal. Tammy commented,

“I don’t want to be a principal, I don’t want to sit behind a desk and do paperwork or manage anybody, and it just looks so stressful.”

Teachers were less likely to apply for managerial posts as they felt that the interest shown by principals to step down from their positions in South Africa to teach in Abu Dhabi suggested that they were poorly paid and frustrated by the responsibilities placed upon them.

A lack of career progress was a push factor as it was difficult to be promoted in SA. Interestingly, participants also expressed hesitation to apply for senior positions locally as current principals seemed overworked, underpaid and stressed. Applying for principal positions seemed less attractive as one South African principal had also shown an interest in Abu Dhabi teaching positions.

4.6 Personal relationships

Personal relationships were disaggregated into two categories: marital relationships and friendships. Negative experiences within these relationships had played a role in supporting the idea of a migration from South Africa.

4.6.1 Strained marriages

A migrant teacher spoke frankly about the problems that she had experienced in her marriage that had been to some extent considered during the decision-making process to migrate. Linda shared the past turbulent state of her marriage,

“I mean my relationship was wrecked I mean I... I, was just in it for the kids but I had reached a stage where I had enough, I had enough, I wanted a divorce, it was what we found in the church that helped us too mend, so when they say everybody has their test in life then I suppose a lot of women go through it but I think that was my test.”

Linda had experienced emotional turmoil due to problems in her marriage that almost resulted in divorce. The *mending* process had also been emotionally draining and while it was not a

primary motivation to leave South Africa, for Linda it had been a supporting factor in her decision making process.

“It was experiences in my personal relationship but I wouldn’t say that was the main factor because I would have left, I would have left my relationship long ago but it is a factor because like I said, I feel like I have given everything and now I need to find me.”

Past emotionally tumultuous experiences and tensions within a marriage appear not to be a primary push factor for migration but may play a secondary role in supporting the decision to migrate.

4.6.2 Strained Friendships

As mentioned, Tammy had converted from Christianity to Islam and felt that some of her friendships before she converted were at odds with her Muslim beliefs and she preferred to distance herself from the relationships that were compromising her new faith. Tammy stated,

“Being that I was Christian before and now I’m practicing Islam, some friendships are not compatible with that. Friendship is about having fun with someone, but it’s too much of a compromise with my religion so I think that one of the main reasons and honestly one of the main reasons why I’m happy to move from that environment (South Africa), it’s sad not to spend time with my friends but also to take myself out of that maybe find a new social group.”

Tammy felt conflicted by the religious compromises that she made in maintaining non-Muslim friendships. Moving to a Muslim country would allow her to find a new Muslim social group which she lacked in South Africa.

“I think this will be a good way of still loving them and still like knowing that I love you and I can assist you in anyway if you need me but then I don’t have to spend all my time with you and compromise anything, you know I don’t have to compromise anything. I can compromise with everything else except when it comes to my religion.”

Tammy felt that she needed to distance herself from such relationships and that leaving South Africa would allow her to still maintain the friendships without being exposed to their lifestyles and thus still maintain her new religious values.

The complexities of personal relationships had been considered by Tammy and Linda in their decision making process to migrate. Whilst a previously strained marriage was not a primary push factor it had certainly played a role in the decision to migrate. Friendships that had evolved over the years and were in conflict with a participant's current religious beliefs had been a factor that was considered in emigration.

4.7 Need for Personal development

Linda had dutifully fulfilled the immense demands of being a mother and wife, however at the age of 52 years, she felt she could not recognize herself outside of these roles and needed to find herself.

“You know when you reach a stage and think, you know what I need to feel, I need to find myself again, that was another factor, I felt that I was just a mother and a wife but that part of me and that sounds selfish hey. That part of me I forgot, I forgot who I am, so this is my time.”

Linda felt that she had dedicated her life and time to being a mother and wife which left Linda with very little time for her own self-development. As a result she felt that she did not really know who she was. It is apparent that she was selfless to the extent that even thinking of doing something for herself made her feel as if she was sounding *selfish*. The timing of *doing something for herself* was key as her husband often worked away from home and her children at ages 21 and 24 were independent and did not rely on her. As Linda's family grew less dependent on her it simultaneously raised her need for finding personal independence.

I have never been independent. I moved out of my mum's house when I was married, the kids came along. I did not, like many young people today, I never had a place of my own, I never had an opportunity to do things on my own. There was always someone with me, you know. So you know I think in that way I need to grow I need to be stronger so that's another factor.

Linda had never experienced being completely independent as she lived with her parents and then with her husband. As Linda is not migrating with her family, it presents her with the opportunity of living alone which she believes will help her become independent. The need for personal development in terms of gaining independence was not a primary push factor but it had played a supporting role in the decision-making process for Linda.

4.8 Spousal Influence

Spousal influence is not a reason or motivation for migration but in this study it did appear to influence participants' decision to remain or exit South Africa. As 4 of the 5 participants were married, it was expected that their spouses would be involved in the decision making to migrate to Abu Dhabi and they appeared to be in favour of the move. Tammy stated that her husband was very supportive, especially given the high rate of crime in SA. She stated,

“Definitely, he was so excited... even more than me. The way that he felt like this was a good place (UAE) to be you know and he is Arab and it's not his home this, he is Egyptian but he felt like this is somewhere in between. You know and he is very excited about it, he doesn't think that it is like the promised land or anything like that but he knows that it has its own little problems as well but he is excited about it. He is excited because of him as much as me, it's more about our son and he is a very excited that he can bring his son up hopefully and keep him away from the South African environment of crime and you know, all the things. So, no he is very happy to come over here, he was definitely for it, 100%.”

Tammy's husband is Egyptian and was very keen to migrate to the United Arab Emirates. He was supportive of the move as he felt that the UAE represented a place where he could be surrounded by an Arab culture and have the advantage of raising his son in a safe environment. Likewise Bernice's husband was also very supportive of the move as she stated,

With my husband not working, I have to earn a double income to cover our expenses. He is getting a qualification to match my income, so he fully supports the move. I could not leave everything in South Africa without his support.

Bernice's husband had resigned from his job to complete his degree, thus he supported leaving South Africa as it would allow his wife to earn a greater income to look after the family. Bernice expressed that she would not have migrated without her husband's support. On the other hand, Linda did not migrate with her family but it was also important to her that her husband supported her decision. She commented,

"It was my decision but remember I am married so I had to get his support. So yes it was my decision but he had to support that decision and you see I think the level of our relationship is such where we can do that."

Linda made the decision to migrate but being married meant that she sought and needed her husband's support. Spousal support for migration also manifested with spouses helping with the documentation required for the recruitment process. In Linda's case her husband supported her and her friend in this manner. Linda said,

"I must tell you that my husband was the one that helped me with that because you know we needed to scan and email and all of that and he did that all for me. So he helped me with the process quite a bit. My husband was very eager to get my friend to join me and he helped her with her paperwork and everything. I think because he knew or he thought it's better to have someone with me."

Linda's husband helped her and her friend with all the administrative requirements needed for the migration process. Linda's husband would not be accompanying her so he was very keen to assist Linda's friend as he felt that the friend could be a source of support for Linda once they were in Abu Dhabi. However, making the decision to migrate was more complex for Tammy due to the dynamics of power in her relationship. She stated,

"I have the traditional husband being the king of the house, I am his queen but he is essentially the decision maker. He takes my opinions and he takes my advice with many decisions that he makes but I know that essentially the decision with regard to our family is his, this is just, just the way. I know that for a lot of women this would not work, with liberalism and all that but for me I am comfortable with having my husband making the decisions in my house."

It is clear that Tammy's husband is the ultimate decision maker and authority within the household who makes the final decision on the family's behalf. While Tammy is able to share her opinions, it is her husband who has the final say, a role that she is comfortable with. However, when deciding to migrate, Tammy's husband relinquished that role and it appeared that she had to make that decision for herself to migrate and face the consequences of her migration. Tammy explained

“He actually said those words that, ‘I know that you leave me to make all the decisions when it comes to my family. I want you to go but this has to be your decision. You’re the one that’s giving up your job. You’re the one, that has to go to a new environment and work there and it’s totally up to you.’ He wants to go, he really wanted to go and encouraged me to take the decision to go but he said to me ‘At the end of the day this has to be your decision because I will not be responsible to make you lose your job and to get there and be unhappy. So you have to take that responsibility for yourself.’

In deciding to migrate Tammy's husband who is usually the decision maker within the family gave Tammy the power to make the final decision to migrate. This he felt was important as he wanted her to be accountable for her own decision if migrating turned out to be the wrong decision and resulted in her unhappiness. However, the extent of Tammy's decision making appears to be dependent on her husband's decision to migrate, because she reveals that she would not have migrated if her husband did not want to leave. Tammy stated,

“So I think it would have been a really big problem if he didn't want to go, it would have been so and I don't think that we would have come if he didn't want to.”

The above is evidence that the migrants' spouses played a key role in the decision-making process to migrate to Abu Dhabi, the extent of which appears to be dependent on the power dynamics within the relationship. What is apparent is that none of the participants would have migrated if they did not have their spouse's support so while it may not be a primary push factor per se, spousal influence can certainly halt the emigration process if spouses are not in agreement to move.

4.9 Pull factors to Abu Dhabi

The pull factors that emerged from the data revolved around especially financial, social and political motivations to migrate from South Africa to Abu Dhabi. Within these reasons it appears that the pull of earning a high salary would enable migrants to achieve their financial goals. Participants of the study were also attracted by a low crime rate and took into consideration a country's level of economic and social development. Religious acceptance in a Muslim country was a particularly emotive pull factor for one participant. The perception of there being no race based policies in Abu Dhabi was another reason to migrate as it offered the possibility of access to opportunities.

4.10 Financial Reasons

In this study, the financial pull is broken down into high salaries and the financial goals that participants felt that could be achieved by teaching in Abu Dhabi. All participants' were very candid about the financial benefits that attracted them to this particular Emirate.

4.10.1 High salary

The high salaries being offered in Abu Dhabi was a distinctive and persuasive pull factor for all participants, who acknowledged that it can lure teachers.

Sarah stated, *"The pay is better overseas it is a reality. It's definitely a draw card."*

Tammy stated, *"I don't know if I'm really going to enjoy being in Abu Dhabi and so you have to have that encouragement to actually leave. So yes the cash is like an encouragement."*

Linda stated, *"I would say it was, it was one of the main reasons, this was like a carrot was dangled in front of you and you think, all I have to do is teach there."*

Bernice expressed, *"I think I was attracted to the Abu Dhabi package because my husband and daughter would be sponsored and the amount of money I would earn."*

It is clearly evident that the participants of this study were attracted by the prospect of earning a higher salary. In all interviews the financial incentives were first cited as a motivation to migrate. In this regard, a leading international recruiter lists the financial perks of teaching in Abu Dhabi on their website and their employee offer letter. The packages offered high salaries but also bore the cost of teachers migrating with their families. Thus, the flight, visas, medical insurance and accommodation for a spouse and up to three dependents is paid by the government employer each year. Bernice compared her South African salary to the Abu Dhabi salary. She stated,

In South Africa, I earned R23000 where what I will earn in Abu Dhabi is close to R70 000 so I think that speaks for itself, I don't have to say much more.

Bernice was persuaded by the prospect of earning three times her salary. Linda related her excited reaction to hearing the salary that was offered for her years of experience and a calculation of 4 years of increases in SA determined that she would not receive such an increase in S.A. if she remained. She stated,

"You know have you watched that movie Twins with Danny de Vito and Arnold Schwarzenegger when they hear the wrong amount, did you see that part? 500 million dollars! That's what I was doing, I was repeating the amount in Rands, and then to top it all off, I was speaking to my brother, I said can you believe it in the time that I have applied till now with the rand devaluing, my salary has increased here by over 4000 rand. I said isn't that fantastic, they won't even give me that increase in four years in South Africa."

Linda expressed her disbelief when she heard the high salary she would be earning and although she had not started teaching in Abu Dhabi as yet, the declining rand against the dollar which is pegged to the dirham (UAE currency) resulted in her receiving a pay rise before she had even received her first salary. Ronald, a single, teacher had been teaching in the U.K. at the time of his recruitment had also cited a higher salary as a draw card to teach in Abu Dhabi. He stated,

My reason for going is purely financial, I don't really have any other reason than the money.

Although Ronald was already earning a higher salary in the U.K. when compared to teachers in South Africa, it appears that the packages being offered in Abu Dhabi were financially better

than what the U.K was providing. Collectively, a higher salary was a powerful pull factor to Abu Dhabi whether South African teachers were being recruited from South Arica or from the U.K. It was evident that a higher salary was a definitive lure to teach abroad.

Although all participants were keen to migrate to Abu Dhabi for the higher salary, they did not want to appear as if they were chasing money. Each time Tammy listed the financial benefits of a higher salary, she would repeat that *it's not about the money* she felt more comfortable with saying it was about *the lifestyle* that the money could buy. Tammy states,

"It's definitely not about the money though I mean it's a good salary but it's not about the money. It's more about the social life that I would like to try to surround myself with."

By social life, Tammy referred to being able to afford not only the cost of living but to have disposable income to entertain the family and enjoy leisure activities and trips. Thus the salary in Abu Dhabi allowed for more social activities. Linda also became self-conscious of how she would be perceived by others for being attracted to a higher salary. She stated,

"It sounds so materialistic, does it sound materialistic? Because I'm not a materialistic person because I can get by with less."

Linda became self-conscious at the thought of being perceived as *materialistic and* was adamant that she could live on less. Participants also used the expected salary earned in Abu Dhabi as a safety net or back up plan if they were dismissed before completing their contract. Tammy explained how she would deal with the worst case scenario, that is, being fired before completing the contract. She stated,

"So let's say they kick me out and I have one year's salary there, that means I would have had to work five years in South Africa to earn this, so that gives me four years to get another job. So you look at that incentive, I don't think it's going to get me another four years to get a job if I go back to South Africa, I mean hopefully, God willing there will be other jobs so yes that is like an encouragement to leave what is stable to come to something that is not so stable and hope that it becomes stable."

Tammy acknowledged the unknown in a foreign working environment and that there were risks associated with migration, like being fired and being left unemployed. However, her calculations of what she could save after one year of working in Abu Dhabi would allow her to live without an income in South Africa for four years in South Africa. In this instance, she was using the returns made on migration to minimize the risks associated with migration.

High salaries was undoubtedly a strong pull factor as it was a lure or encouragement to venture into unknown lands where there was some uncertainty. It must be noted that it appears that the salaries on offer are even higher than those provided by the U.K. as a South African teacher is resigning from a job in Britain to take up a position in Abu Dhabi, *purely for financial reasons*. While participants were eager and excited by the prospect of earning a higher salary, they did not want to be perceived as chasing money or being materialistic but emphasized it was about a better standard of living with social benefits. To this end, teachers felt that the financial benefit of migration outweighed any risks associated with migration.

4.10.2 Financial goals

All participants had financial goals that they wanted to achieve abroad, related to savings, purchasing property, investment and increasing their pension. For Tammy earning a good salary would allow her to plan a more financially stable future for herself and her son. She stated,

“Save some of it and maybe one day be able to own my own properties and you know or invest in something with a little extra money that can improve my life and my son’s life. An investment in property could be like to rent out and earn money while I’m earning money here.”

Linda linked her financial goals to a time line of five years in which she could pay for her daughter’s tertiary education which she was unable to do even though they were a two income family. She stated,

“My daughter wanted to study to become a pilot and that’s expensive so that’s another factor that made me look at other options and I just thought wow, look at this, this is God answering

a prayer again because how else would I afford to pay for that and that's like now on two salaries, my husband and I"

A high salary would allow Linda to afford to finance her daughter's tertiary education. It would also allow Linda to recoup part of her pension that she lost and would now be able to build it up. She stated,

"70 0000 rand, that's all I got after 10 years of teaching. Pathetic hey, so that was like, that was a major factor for me as well, I calculated and I thought you know what if I earned that then and I'm looking at earning this money here, I can build up my pension again."

Disappointed with a small pension payout, Linda felt that a higher salary would allow her to save up a decent pension which was a significant pull factor for Abu Dhabi. Bernice had calculated that earning a high salary would also allow her to achieve her financial goals.

I want to save up for my retirement and my child's education. I don't want to work until I am 60, I want to stop working at about 50 to 55 maximum. So working in Abu Dhabi will also allow me to pay off my bond.

Again, for Bernice, the opportunity to pay for her child's tertiary education, build up a pension which would allow early retirement and pay off her house were distinctive financial pull factors to Abu Dhabi.

Collectively, a higher salary was a definitive pull factor to Abu Dhabi as it would allow participants to achieve their financial goals that is to pay for their children's tertiary education, purchase or pay off property and boost their pensions or savings plan.

4.11 Social Reasons

Two social reasons emerged from the interviews, namely, Abu Dhabi's low crime rate was seen as an attractive prospect for teachers migrating to Abu Dhabi. Additionally, religious acceptance emerged as a reason to migrate to Abu Dhabi as Tammy, a Muslim participant who had experienced religious intolerance in South Africa stated, that her *primary reason for*

choosing the Middle East is because of my religion. Thus, she felt she would be accepted in a Muslim country like the U.A.E.

4.11.1 Low crime rate

Given the high crime rate in South Africa and the *traumatized* effect it had on participants in this study, the low levels of crime in Abu Dhabi was an expected pull factor. Tammy stressed the negligible level of crime as she stated,

“Crime in the UAE, I’m sure it exists but it’s such a low, low, low scale that it is unheard of.”

Likewise, Bernice also felt that the United Arab Emirates was a safe environment for her daughter, *“I think it’s a safe country for my child to get an international experience.”*

Teachers felt that Abu Dhabi represented an opportunity to live in a relatively safe country. Thus, teachers were attracted to Abu Dhabi due to its low levels of crime as it was perceived as a safe in environment for themselves and their families.

4.11.2 Religious acceptance

The United Arab Emirates which is situated in the Middle East is a Muslim country, thus providing Tammy with the Muslim culture that she actively sought as evidenced in her explanation. She stated,

“My primary reason for choosing the Middle East is because of my religion. To live in a country where a lot of my religious beliefs are upheld you know, because I’m Muslim and I’d like a Muslim background for myself and also for my family.”

Tammy felt that living in a Muslim country would be an ideal situation for a follower of Islam. She wore the niqab in South Africa which at times made her stand out in a crowd, which she believed were behind her experiences of public religious intolerance. She felt that in the UAE this is a common and acceptable attire for Muslims, particularly locals which she believed would give her a sense of belonging.

Being able to go on pilgrimage to Mecca which is considered the Holy Land was another advantage of migrating to Abu Dhabi. Tammy stated,

“I hopefully can visit there often because I’m across the border you know, okay it’s like a Durban to Cape Town trip and that’s like, nothing, we do that for a holiday so I think that I can do that for a pilgrimage opportunity.”

Living in close proximity to the Holy Land held the advantage of being able to visit it which was a requirement of all Muslims. Living in a Muslim country provided Tammy with a sense of belonging, the Islamic way of life was what she wanted for her family which was a strong pull factor. Being able to dress in the niqab as many women in Abu Dhabi do and be considered ‘normal’ was important for Tammy who had experienced religious intolerance in South Africa due to her religious attire. Close proximity to the holy land, being able to undertake religious pilgrimages to Mecca would also now be attainable and affordable due to the proximity of The UAE to Saudi Arabia.

4.12 A country’s level of economic and social development

With many countries in the Middle East recruiting foreign teachers, participants used the countries level of economic and social development to select particular countries they would work in. The UAE was specifically chosen by Tammy as it would allow her to practice her faith whilst also being able to live in a developed country. She stated,

“At the same time I am moving to the UAE because it still has all the privileges of a well-developed country.”

Abu Dhabi, being one of the seven Emirates, had a high level of development with adequate infrastructure offering easy access to supermarkets and this was a criterion that she used to exclude migrating to other Muslim countries. Tammy added,

“For example Yemen is very Islamic and it would be ideal to live in Yemen if I wanted to improve my religious life but unfortunately Yemen is also not as advanced. Coming from a

country, a developing country, where life was easy to go into a supermarket or you know to drive in the street. So I can't go to a country that is going to make my life harder, religious improvements are not more important than that, of course it is. But I also have to balance it out."

In this example, Tammy had used the national economic and social level of a country to exclude Yemen as a destination country by the same token she had used it to include the UAE as a country she would migrate to. Tammy is a devout Muslim who expressed that while her religion takes priority, her living conditions are almost as important and must be considered. Cultural norms was also a reason why Tammy was not keen to go to Saudi Arabia even when offered the same salary package as what she was being offered in Abu Dhabi as she did not agree with some of the cultural norms prevalent. She stated,

"In Saudi we know that they don't accept females to drive a car as well. That's my problem with Saudi, and I understand that this is a cultural thing, it's got nothing to do with Islam. It's a cultural practice and they have their reasons, I am sure they have their reasons why they don't allow females to drive but with all due respect, I like to drive, I really like driving."

Tammy was accustomed to driving and enjoyed the independence that it brought her. She acknowledged that this cultural norm had excluded Saudi Arabia as a Middle Eastern teaching destination for her. Islam also requires females to be accompanied by a 'magram' (trusted male escort) when out in public. However, Tammy was not keen to live in a country where this rule is strictly enforced.

"I believe in their system of having a magram which is somebody, a male who is either your husband your father, your uncle... is somebody that can protect you. It's a way of protecting her, preserving her, for she has a great status in Islam and I believe in that but being the times that it is and I don't feel that I really need to go every single place with my magram."

Tammy viewed the Islamic practice of a magram as a protective measure for women and valued it as such however, she felt that she did not constantly need a magram. The level of religious rules applied to society, social and economic development of the UAE was considered by her and they were deemed pull factors. Tied to this was also the socio-cultural and religious

development of Abu Dhabi as its attitude towards women's rights are seen as more progressive than other Middle East countries.

4.13 Political reasons

Participants had spoken at length of South African racially based political policies like affirmative action which was seen as a push factor that had forced them to exit the country. Racially based policies had denied participants and their children access to opportunities like employment, work based promotion and access to tertiary education. Thus, it was expected by participants that they would have these factors in the destination country as they held the perception that Abu Dhabi did not have race based policies. This was a perception held with no to little research, the absence of race based policies would give participants and their children access to opportunities based on merit. This was the assumption that some participants held.

4.13.1 Perceived non-race based policies - access to opportunities

Access to opportunities like tertiary education on merit was another pull factor that was considered in the decision-making process to migrate. Tammy was mindful of the educational opportunities Abu Dhabi presented for her son. She stated,

"I heard that they have great universities here. There is no racial issue, the people that were born here still own the land, I don't think there's no racial issue as in only white people can have the opportunities or only black people can have opportunities. In this country I think that depending on your results, if you have good results and if you have the money to pay for the education you can get in and it's not going to be determined by what race you are."

Based on the hearsay of others, Tammy felt that opportunities were available to all regardless of race. She believed that access to university was not based on race but rather on merit and the ability to pay the fees. However, Tammy had not done much research as to how easy or difficult it would be for her son to gain university entrance based upon the following response:

I don't actually, honestly know if it is much better with regard to tertiary education, getting into the universities here.

Tammy did not know if her son would have greater access to university education in Abu Dhabi as opposed to South Africa. Even with limited research and no guarantee, just the perception of her son not being discriminated on by virtue of race was a pull factor to Abu Dhabi. Similarly, Bernice also held university aspirations for her daughter and would be enrolling her daughter in a school that followed an international curriculum. This she felt would *open doors at universities* for her daughter. She also had not done any research but was operating on her own assumptions as she stated, *I assume so as it's a higher quality matriculation.*

Participants within this study held the view that Abu Dhabi did not have racially based policies. Such a view held a perception that there would be opportunities for all regardless of colour. Participants believed that migrating to Abu Dhabi would provide their children with greater access to tertiary education however, these perceptions were based on little to no research.

4.14 Recruitment agencies and Family Migrations

Word of mouth and online advertising resulted in teachers making contact with online recruitment agencies hiring teachers for positions in Abu Dhabi. Sarah had been attracted by an online advertisement. She stated,

“My first choice would have been maybe Australia or the UK. What happened with Abu Dhabi is I just saw the ad and we were just talking about it. If I get it, I get it, if I don't, I don't. It was just one of those things. It wasn't like I specifically applied for Abu Dhabi, it wasn't like if I have to go, I have to go here. It was just by the way, a chance that I took and I'm quite happy I did.”

Sarah had initiated contact with the recruitment agency by applying through the agency's website for positions in Abu Dhabi. Three websites of the largest recruiters for the Middle East and particularly Abu Dhabi were accessed. It showed persuasive advertisements that emphasized a *tax-free salary, annual flight ticket to country of origin, medical insurance and residency visa's for a spouse and up to three dependents.* Sarah was motivated to apply for the

position based on the perks presented on the advertisement. Although, she had particular western countries in mind that she preferred, Abu Dhabi became the destination country as this was where the demand for teachers presented itself. The recruitment agencies website presents the demand for teachers in public schools in Abu Dhabi and one goes on to confidently advertise to potential employers that they *are able to connect them to one or hundreds of teachers seeking international employment*. Recruitment agencies appear to be marketing themselves not only to teachers but also potential employers ranging from small independent schools that may require a few teachers to governments like the Emirate of Abu Dhabi that require hundreds of teachers.

Linda had heard about the recruitment drive to Abu Dhabi through a colleague who had encouraged her to apply online and she was swiftly recruited by one of the largest recruitment agencies.

“One of the younger girls at school mentioned it in a school meeting and I went to her and I said, you are so brave. She said ‘Linda why don’t you apply’ and I said ‘I’m too old’ and she said ‘nah, just try’ and then I went online and applied and here I am.”

Linda had been referred by another teacher who was about to take up the opportunity to teach in Abu Dhabi. Linda had felt that her age would discriminate against her, however this was not a barrier to her recruitment. Analysing a document entitled ‘Teaching in Abu Dhabi guide-frequently asked questions’ which is produced by a recruitment agency, reveals that *teachers up until the age of 58 are eligible for employment*. Word of mouth had also resulted in Bernice making contact with a particular employment agency which rapidly recruited her. She shared that she personally knew several South African teachers living in the Middle East but it was only recently that she had reached out to them for advice on securing an international teaching position. She stated,

For many years I had friends teaching in Kuwait and Bahrain, so they advised me to teach in Abu Dhabi because they accept people with families.

Experienced migrant teachers with knowledge of the packages available in the Middle East had referred Bernice to a particular recruitment agency, thus word of mouth had been instrumental

in making contact with the agency which quickly recruited her as part of a family migration package.

These migrant networks are also accessed by the recruitment agencies to recruit teachers. For example, in a February 2014 Newsletter produced by a recruitment agency it offers to pay migrant *teachers a referral fee* for every teacher they refer to the agency that results in a teacher being successfully recruited by an employer. In this regard, Ronald had been referred to a particular recruitment agency by a South African friend who had been recruited by the same recruitment agency. Whilst Ronald does not state nor know if his friend received a *referral fee*, it is a possibility.

Additionally, just as Bernice had reached out to migrant teachers in the Middle East, the recruitment agencies had also reached out to migrant teachers on their books to share their experiences of teaching in Abu Dhabi. The stories shared all recommended the services of this particular recruitment agency and painted a positive experience. Any sense of cautionary advice was worded as *things are different to your home country so you have to be flexible and open-minded*. A YouTube video was also created by a representative of a recruitment agency interviewing migrant teachers and Emirati students showing why teachers enjoy teaching in Abu Dhabi and why students value the expatriate teachers.

Tammy's experience of initiating contact with the recruitment agencies differed from other participant's experiences as it was not Tammy, but her husband, through online research who had contacted a recruitment agency by email making a general enquiry about teaching in the Middle East and attached Tammy's CV. He had used Tammy's email address to communicate with the recruitment agent who then contacted Tammy to find out her particular requirements as they recruit for public and private school placements in various countries in the Middle East. Tammy's criteria included:

“Well the main thing was that I'm moving with my family. You know and of course the language, you know a country where the language like English, that I speak, is spoken everywhere. Of course by my picture she could see I was Muslim as I had a scarf on. I think I mentioned Oman that I would like to find a job there or Qatar.”

Tammy was open to a country that allowed her to migrate with her family and English was a widely spoken language. Tammy suggested particular countries that were based in the Middle East but it was the agent who had excluded Tammy's choices and suggested that she apply to teach in Abu Dhabi public schools. Tammy stated,

"She said it to me that there are too many international schools that don't cater for the family so my main criteria was just that I have to move with my family. So the package in Abu Dhabi catered for family visas, flights, medical aid and accommodation. She said it would be quite difficult to get a family package elsewhere."

The agent's knowledge of international teaching packages that suited Tammy's criteria resulted in only one option being presented to her. However, an analysis of 'Teaching in Abu Dhabi guide-frequently asked questions' reveals that there are some private schools that offer *family friendly packages* even if these are limited in number. However, this was an option that the recruitment agency did not present to Tammy. She stated,

"The Abu Dhabi public interview was the first one that I got and I signed up for it and I don't think that the agent even looked further than that because she thought that it was perfect for me and that it was coming up. Also its one of the highest paid teaching jobs because my agent had said that these schools in particular cater for families, they cater for Muslim women who wear the full covering and all these things made it you know positive."

It appears that the recruitment agency influenced Tammy's decision of where to teach by highlighting Abu Dhabi as the ideal or best suited package for her as it was one of the most lucrative teaching packages that catered for teachers with families.

All except for one participant, had initiated contact with recruitment agencies to teach specifically in Abu Dhabi public schools. Other migrant teachers or the internet was used to point them in the direction of particular recruitment agencies. Word of mouth and online marketing strategies had played a significant role. However, for Tammy it was her husband who had actively searched for positions in the Middle East and had contacted an agency. She stated,

“Like I said I always just leave the decisions to him. So we spoke about moving out of the country, so I said okay, find a job and let’s see. I wrote my CV out, of course I did that and he typed it and all that. He put the application through, of course he called me to say that ‘there is this job, does it sound good’ and yes, so we put the application through for quite a few jobs.

Tammy’s husband typed her CV and selected teaching positions that he had found online to show her and then applied for those jobs on her behalf. In comparison to other spouses, it appears that Tammy’s husband played a greater role in the decision and process to migrate.

Interestingly, online research revealed that the UAE Ministry of Education recruits international teachers for 6 of the 7 emirates except Abu Dhabi. The Emirate of Abu Dhabi hires international teachers to work in public schools only in its region, relying on recruitment agencies to source candidates. The UAE Ministry of Education and the Department of education in Abu Dhabi use the same recruitment agencies to hire teachers, in essence they compete for international teachers. In theory, this competition is heightened as recruitment agency websites show many available international jobs in multiple countries. However, agencies promoted the Abu Dhabi Emirate as their first choice for teachers as Tammy stated, *I don’t think that the agent even looked further than that because she thought that it was perfect for me*, thus excluding other destinations. Where to work was influenced by recruitment agencies as Tammy’s agent stated that Abu Dhabi public schools offered *one of the highest paid teaching jobs* especially as these *schools in particular cater for families*.

In this instance, international recruitment agencies became a pull factor to Abu Dhabi as it influenced teachers’ decision to migrate to Abu Dhabi.

Word of mouth and online advertising had directed participants to particular recruitment agencies. Participants’ interest in Abu Dhabi ranged from where the opportunity presented itself to teach overseas whereas for others it was a conscious decision to migrate to the Middle East and based upon the participant’s criteria, the recruitment agent suggested Abu Dhabi as a suitable match.

4.15 To return or not to return to South Africa?

Since these teaching jobs in Abu Dhabi were based on employment contracts ranging from 2-3 years long, it implied that teachers would be returning to South Africa. However, mixed findings were revealed.

Bernice had revealed that she had tried to permanently migrate to Australia but struggled to obtain the required result in one of their mandatory English tests required for an Australian visa. She was also not eligible for a British visa due to their visa regulation. She stated,

I couldn't apply to Australia as I kept missing the IELTS exam pass by 0.5 and I did the exam three times. For Britain, you need to have a British or ancestral passport to teach there. Only if you are a math's specialist do you get in there via a sponsor.

Bernice had been excluded as a candidate for migration to these western countries as she missed the required result by a very minor margin and she did not qualify for an ancestral visa. She felt that she had no choice but to return to South Africa. She stated,

At my age I don't have the energy for the red tape of the rest of the world. So because of that I rather go back home. I think I started looking at immigration options at 37 but because of red tape I couldn't get there. So because of that I have to go back home.

The paper trail process of migration had become burdensome especially as she was repeating certain aspects of it, for example she repeated the IELTS test three times. Bernice felt exhausted and frustrated with trying to fulfill the requirements of migration. It was this process that became a setback therefore she opted to rather return to South Africa. Bernice is unable to remain in Abu Dhabi as she has a temporary work visa provided by the employer. This visa is dissolved when the employer terminates the employee's services. Thus, Bernice will be forced to return to South Africa as she will be unable to secure a permanent residency migration visa with a pathway to citizenship in Abu Dhabi.

When will Bernice return to South Africa and will she enter the classroom is yet to be determined. She stated,

My goal is to be here 6 years so that I can retire by 50 but my husband's intention is to be here long-term. If I go back to the South African system they don't acknowledge if you have 20 or 25 years' experience, they start you off on an entry level position. They will treat you as a new teacher. I don't know if I will be a teacher in South Africa.

Bernice intends to return to South Africa on the achievement of her financial goals over a 6 year period. However, due to spousal influence she may not return for many years to come. Additionally, if teachers' working conditions that forced her to migrate like low salaries are still present in South Africa then it is unlikely that she will return to the classroom, representing a loss of skills.

Similarly, Linda planned to return to South Africa after five years but at this stage, she did not know if she would return to the classroom on a full-time basis.

"In five years I would like to be in a position not to have to work. So if I am back in South Africa I would like to be in a position where I can choose where I want to teach as opposed to where I have to. I would like to be in a position where if I feel like I want to teach in a school that I really enjoy and I also don't want to set limitations on myself where I feel like I have to go there for so many years or I can just go where they need someone to fill in that type of thing."

Linda hopes that after five years in Abu Dhabi, she would have the financial freedom to decide if she would like to teach full-time, part-time or not at all. While Linda is definitely returning to South Africa it is uncertain whether she will return to the classroom. On the other hand, Tammy expressed that if her plans in Abu Dhabi did not work out, she would consider relocating to another country, suggesting that she has no plans of returning to South Africa.

"If it doesn't work out here, then you know we can look at other places, Abu Dhabi is not the only place in the world. Why not, you are already out of your country, especially because I'm saying that half of the reasons you want to leave is because S.A. is just not where I feel that I can raise my son."

Tammy felt that returning to South Africa was not an option if the push factors that motivated her initial decision to migrate were still present. She preferred to look for another destination

country where she felt comfortable raising her son. Likewise Sarah had no intentions of returning to South Africa but was open to further migration to other countries.

I have no plans of returning to South Africa, I may even decide to travel and teach in other countries.

While Sarah would not be returning to South Africa, she had the desire to use her teaching qualifications to obtain a work visa to teach in a few countries. This was a similar route that Ronald had taken as he had been recruited from the United Kingdom to work in Abu Dhabi. He stated,

I don't really want to teach in South Africa. I mean, I will visit but I want to keep doing this (teaching abroad) for as long as I can.

Neither, Ronald nor Sarah mentioned where their final destination country would be, rather they clearly articulated that it would not be in South Africa. In such a scenario it would represent a loss of skills to the South African classroom.

Three participants had no intention of returning to South Africa representing a loss of skills to the country. The other two participants planned on returning to South Africa but only after many years and were unlikely to enter the South African classroom, thus still representing a loss of skills.

Chapter 5: Navigating through a discussion of the findings - South Africa to Abu Dhabi

5.1 Introduction

This study aimed to explore migrant teachers' reasons for leaving South Africa and why they were choosing to migrate specifically to Abu Dhabi and how long they intended to stay abroad. Teachers discussed push and pull factors simultaneously, for example where the high crime rate within South Africa was a push factor, teachers referred to the low levels of crime in Abu Dhabi as a pull factor. Thus, the findings where possible, have been presented in the same manner that is, where there is a push factor in South Africa the corresponding pull factor in Abu Dhabi is discussed.

Deciding to migrate is a complex and multifaceted process as this study shows that it encompasses a broad range of push and pull factors. As expected migrant teachers considered financial, social and political reasons in their decision-making process, however religious reasons emerged unexpectedly. Other factors that were considered revolved around teachers working conditions, personal relationships, the need for personal development, spousal support, the destination countries level of economic & social development and the role of recruitment agencies in the final decision to migrate from South Africa to Abu Dhabi.

5.2 Financial Reasons

All teachers cited financial reasons for moving from South Africa to Abu Dhabi. Low salaries in South Africa was a significant push factor as teachers struggled to keep abreast of the escalating cost of living. Conversely, in Abu Dhabi, a high salary linked to the achievement of financial goals presented as a powerful pull factor.

5.2.1 Push: low salary

A study of job satisfaction amongst Tanzanian teachers illustrated that financial rewards are an important aspect related to job satisfaction, inadequate remuneration motivates teachers to leave (Lyimo, 2014). Similarly, migrant teachers within this study were very frustrated with their low salaries as they were unable to meet the rising cost of living in South Africa spurring

their decision to exit. Low salaries resulted in teachers living from pay cheque to pay cheque, unable to save or purchase a property and a lack of disposable income for leisure activities. These findings concur with Nkai (2003) who reveals that Zimbabweans migrated for similar reasons. Additionally, migrants felt that the South African government was not *looking after its educated workforce* as teachers felt that given their extensive experience and qualifications they were still not adequately remunerated.

5.2.2 Pull: higher salary linked to financial goals

A significant rise in remuneration can influence people to migrate (Ackers 2008; Lederer, 2011). This view is supported by migrants who often list higher income levels as a key pull factor (Nkai, 2003, Manik, 2005; Morgan, et al, 2005; Morgan et al, 2006, Manik, 2010, Kerr & Kerr, 2011). A higher salary was a significant pull factor to Abu Dhabi as it has the potential to economically empower teachers to purchase property, pay for their children's tertiary education, build up their pensions, save and enjoy a better quality of life. This was in line with Manik's (2005; 2010) research based on South African teachers migrating to the UK, who expressed dissatisfaction with their salaries and cited similar economic gains.

Interestingly, a South African teacher within this study was teaching in the United Kingdom when he was recruited for a position in Abu Dhabi. This particular migrant was adamant that the financial incentives of teaching in Abu Dhabi, was the main motivation to move to the Middle East. Whilst U.K. teaching salaries are higher than the South African teachers' pay (Manik, 2005), it appears that the Abu Dhabi salary package is higher and more lucrative than what is provided in the U.K. This was an understanding that was emphasised by recruitment agencies as they pointed migrant teachers to the Abu Dhabi teaching positions citing it as the most financially lucrative packages being offered to international teachers particularly for those with families.

However, Manik's (2010) research also revealed that while all participants listed the financial benefits of taking up an international teaching position, only a minority alluded to it as a primary motivation. Likewise, teachers within this study were very candid about the benefits of a higher salary and were undoubtedly attracted by it. However, they were conflicted about it being a primary motivation; some became very self-conscious of how they would be

perceived by others for being attracted to a higher salary and they did not want to be seen as materialistic. Materialism is often portrayed negatively, seen as being fueled by greed (Fellows, 2012). This may point to why teachers do not list a higher salary as a primary motivation or minimize the degree to which it influences their decision to migrate.

5.3 Social Reasons

Teachers were mindful of the social contexts within South Africa and Abu Dhabi, analyzing each in their migration decision-making. It was expected that a high crime rate in South Africa would emerge as an emotive push factor with the low crime rate in Abu Dhabi as a draw card. Surprisingly, religious intolerance of specifically Islam was a reason to migrate from South Africa with the prospect of religious acceptance found to be an attractive option in Abu Dhabi. However, a countries level of economic and social development also influenced the destination country.

5.3.1 Push: high crime rate

South Africa has a reputation of being a dangerous country with frightening crime statistics. For example, it has one of the highest car hijacking statistics across the globe (Davis, 2003). Additionally, a high rate of homicides has decreased the life expectancy rate in South Africa (Otieno, Marinad, Barnighausen & Tanser, 2015). Even when comparing South Africa to other countries in Africa who face similar socio-economic challenges, our statistics are of concern as 65% of older S.A. citizens feel unsafe on the street which is alarming when compared to 9% of Ghananians (Lloyd-Sherlock, Agrawal, & Minicuci, 2016). Thus it came as no surprise that teachers felt pushed to migrate due to South Africa's high crime rate, a desire strengthened by their firsthand experiences of violent and sometimes fatal crime. Many South Africans have emigrated to escape a high crime environment (Demombynesa & Ozler, 2003; Manik, 2005). Whilst migrant teachers' spouses and children had not been directly affected by crime, teachers were very concerned about the psychological effects that living in a high crime environment had on their family members. A study revealed that victims of crime experienced a decrease in mental well-being whilst simultaneously negatively effecting non-victims of crime (Cornaglia, Feldman, & Leigh, 2014). Thus teachers considered not only their own well-being but also

their spouses and children's safety played an active role in spurring their decision to exit South Africa.

5.3.2 Pull: low crime rate

The very low crime rate within the UAE particularly in Abu Dhabi had been an expected pull factor as teachers viewed it as a safe destination country for themselves and their families. Media reports revealed that according to an online crime index, Abu Dhabi as the capital of the United Arab Emirates is the safest city in the world (The National, 21-04-2017). Through its website the U.S. department of State- Bureau of Consular affairs assures travelers that violent crime and crime against property are quite rare. However, it also cautions its citizens to be on high alert for possible terrorist threats not particularly for Abu Dhabi as it has been able to prevent terrorist attacks but generally speaking for the Middle East region. During the course of this study, media reports revealed that an American teacher had been stabbed to death by an Arab woman in support of a call by a terrorist group to attack western expatriates in the Middle East (The Telegraph, 4-12-2014). However, the media reported that this was an isolated incident and that the perpetrator's execution sent a strong message that the U.A.E. would not tolerate acts of terrorism. (The National, 13-07- 2015).

5.3.3 Push: Religious intolerance

Religious intolerance of Islam which has been coined as Islamophobia can be defined as "indiscriminate negative attitudes or emotions directed at Islam or Muslims" (Bleich, 2011 p.1581). Although the South African constitution promotes freedom of religion, intolerance of Islam emerged as a powerfully emotive reason to exit the country. It was felt that terrorism used the banner of Islam to commit atrocities which resulted in a diminished tolerance for Muslims in South Africa. Similar findings are demonstrated in Sheridan's (2006) study as it reveals that direct and indirect levels of discrimination rose against British Muslims after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in America. Whilst two of the participants in this study were Muslim, only one had cited and emphasised religious intolerance as a reason to exit South Africa as she had experiences of being discriminated and harassed in public. This may be attributable to the participant's attire as she wears the niqab (veil covering her face leaving only the eyes visible) in public, a religious dress code that she felt had been marred by the media's

visuals of Muslim terrorists. Similarly, a study of Arab and Muslim Australians experiences of discrimination after September 11, 2001, report a higher incidence of discrimination amongst women than men, as women wore the Islamic head covering (Poynting & Noble, 2004). Thus, this participant's experience of religious intolerance became a powerfully emotionally charged reason to exit South Africa.

5.3.4 Pull: religious acceptance

Migrating to an Islamic country like the U.A.E emerged as highly desirable as the Islamic dress code would be the norm, considered acceptable and more importantly, is highly respected. "People wear the appropriate form of dress for their social communities and are guided by socially shared standards, religious beliefs and moral ideas..." (Adepoju, 2008, p.3) Thus, for a particular Muslim migrant teacher, this had attracted her to Abu Dhabi as women approvingly wear the niqab which is valued in Abu Dhabi through the Muslim culture and religious beliefs.

Culture is the highest mark of socialisation as people use it to form links and bonds which gives a sense of belonging (Baumeister, 2012). Again, seeking religious acceptance was only indicated by a one Muslim participant. Christian counterparts did not migrate for religious acceptance but were encouraged to move as they felt that there was religious tolerance and acceptance of all faiths, including Christianity. While some Middle Eastern countries persecute Christians, the U.A.E. through media reports promotes religious tolerance and freedoms for all faiths and has a number of active churches for Christian expatriates to worship at (Gulf News, 15-09-2015).

Additionally, the UAE's close proximity to Mecca, the Muslim holy land also made Hajj more affordable and participants could potentially complete it more often. The Hajj is an annual pilgrimage and is considered one of the most important that a Muslim is required to undertake, approximately 10% of sub-saharan Muslims make this journey annually (Porter, 2012). South Africa is at the bottom of Sub-Saharan Africa and far away from Mecca, thus living in the Middle East which is geographically closer to Mecca will make the Hajj significantly cheaper.

5.3.5 The country's level of economic and social development

Religious acceptance of particularly Islam as a pull factor requires further analysis for two reasons. Firstly, it is noted that another Muslim participant had not actively sought a Muslim country but had initially researched migrating to western countries. The Abu Dhabi based employer had responded quickly with an employment offer which she accepted. Secondly, it appears that there is additional criteria that is used to select the optimal Muslim country to migrate to. A quick google search reveals international teaching positions in Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait all of which are Muslim countries. By virtue of this, it is assumed that each country would provide the religious and cultural context that would enhance a Muslim expatriate's sense of belonging. However, one migrant teacher used the level of religious, economic and social development to decide which Muslim country to work in. For example, a minority of Saudi Arabian women are not prepared for a public life as social attitudes still advocate their traditional role in the home (Al Rawaf & Simmons, 1991). This participant felt that Abu Dhabi appeared to have all the amenities and facilities that afforded a better quality of life, encouraged Islamic values whilst still promoting socially progressive values for females as they encourage females to study, work and contribute to society whereas in Saudi Arabia up until recently, females were not allowed to even drive. The driving ban on women had marginalized some women from employment opportunities as they have no family relatives who have the time to ferry them to work and home (Doumato, 1999).

5.4 Political Reasons

Given South Africa's tumultuous political past and its current attempts at providing equal opportunities for all post-apartheid, it was expected that reference to the politics within the country would be mentioned. It was particularly racially based policies that denied teachers and their families' access to opportunities like employment, work based promotion and access to tertiary education that was an undeniable push factor from South Africa. Since teachers viewed Abu Dhabi as having no racially based policies, they held the perception that their children would have easy access to opportunities like tertiary education.

5.4.1 Push: Race-based policies deny access to opportunities

The intention of Affirmative Action is to promote inclusion of the previously disadvantaged under the apartheid era of which all participants of this study qualify for by virtue of their race and gender- falling into the category of female and Black-Indian or Coloured. However, Archibong & Adejumo (2013) warn that based on people's experiences it may also mean disempowerment and exclusion. It was seen to open doors for Black people and conversely, deny particularly white people access to opportunities (Amos, Scott, William & Scott, 1996). Thus post-apartheid, De Villiers (2011) notes that migration rose dramatically due to Affirmative Action policies which had become a powerful push factor. These sentiments were shared through participants' experiences, as they felt that they and their families had been denied access to employment, workplace promotion and admission to university.

Teachers within this study were concerned that their children would not gain access to university even if it is based on merit as black African quotas would exclude them. These fears were confirmed as the South African media reported that the admission policy for medical school appears to be based on race, the quota system for acceptance into medical school is "69% black African, 19% Indian, 9% Coloured, 2% white and 1% other," (News24, 30-03-2017). This has made university acceptance very competitive amongst Indians, Coloured and White South Africans resulting in some Black African students with lower grades gaining university admission over other races with higher grades (News24, 30-03-2017).

Tammy lamented that as a Coloured she was not *black enough* a reverse of their plight under the apartheid regime when they were not considered *white enough*, Linda referred to it as *reverse racism*. Similar sentiments have been echoed in a study by Adam (1997. p. 231) where it was described as "reverse discrimination". This was a particularly racially divisive push factor that eroded participants' sense of belonging, hence their level of patriotism. For example, Tammy felt that the country *belonged to the blacks* and she rationalises that they should have these opportunities, however she added that she *must leave South Africa* in search of a place where such opportunities are available to her and her family despite her falling within the category of Black, who were previously disadvantaged during apartheid in SA (she is not African and hence preference is not given to her race). Such push factors are also cited in a study of South Africans migrating to New Zealand due to equity policies (Kerr-Phillips & le Thomas, 2009). The exclusionary effect of affirmative action on participants and their

children's access to employment, workplace promotion and access to higher education eroded their sense of South African patriotism and it became an emotionally charged push factor from South Africa.

5.4.2 Pull: perceived non-race based policies - access to opportunities

On the other hand, participants felt that they would have greater access to employment opportunities, workplace promotion and their children would have a greater possibility of being accepted into tertiary institutions in Abu Dhabi as opposed to South Africa. These findings concur with Caravatti et al (2014) who reveal that the perceived educational opportunities for migrant teacher's children in the host country is an encouraging factor. Interestingly, none of the participants had researched whether there were any policies similar to affirmative action or quota systems within the U.A.E workplace or universities and appeared to be making a decision on the assumption that there was not. However, the UAE is currently promoting Emiratization which is "an affirmative action policy of the United Arab Emirates government that gives preferential hiring status to Emirati's over expatriates in order to preserve national identity, economic sustainability and political stability" (Modaress, Ansari, Lockwood, 2013, p.188). Consequently, during 2011, more than a thousand expatriate teachers in Abu Dhabi had their services terminated as part of the Department of Education's Emiratization plan (The National, 16-06-2011). The media keep abreast of the significant progress that Abu Dhabi has made in achieving its Emiratization plan within the education sector, highlighting that Emirati employment has risen to 52% within the Department of Education's workforce (The National, 01-01-2015). This may effect migrant teachers' future job stability and promotion as the government seeks to support and empower the native population. Additionally, Emiratization applies to government run universities with some only beginning to accepting expatriate students in 2008 however, they are committed to prioritizing Emirati students and keeping expatriate enrolment figures small (Khaleej Times, 15-12-2008). These small foreign student admission numbers within university may limit migrant teachers' children's ability to enter UAE government universities. Private, foreign universities are very expensive and may be unaffordable for expatriates, leaving them with limited options.

5.5 Push: Teachers' working conditions

South African teachers' working conditions caused them immense frustration. They expressed great dismay with the challenges presented by large class sizes and high workloads, lack of student discipline, poor school leadership and management, an ineffective curriculum and a lack of career progress. These collective experiences caused enormous job dissatisfaction spurring their decision to exit South Africa. Teachers' knowledge of working conditions in Abu Dhabi revolved around working hours, leave and salary which was stated in the employment offer letter. Thus, migrant teachers had virtually no knowledge about the class sizes, workloads and student discipline in Abu Dhabi schools.

5.5.1 Push: Large class sizes and workloads

Teachers expressed great dissatisfaction and frustration with the poor South African school working conditions. Similar findings were expressed by Manik et al (2006) where job dissatisfaction emerged as a key push factor. Teachers migrating to Abu Dhabi felt burdened under heavy workloads and cited South African workplace conditions as a powerful push factor. In particular, large class sizes had considerably increased their workloads resulting in overworked and exhausted teachers who expressed dismay at not being able to make a meaningful difference in the classroom. The large majority of South African teachers manage a classroom of 45 to 80 students, an alarmingly high teacher to student ratio (Case & Deaton 1999; Case & Yogo, 1999). Manik (2005) also cited increased class sizes and workloads as a prominent push factor for S.A. teachers migrating to the U.K. Another local study (in SA) revealed that teachers had "no control over students work and could not give students individual attention" due to overcrowded classrooms (Lumadi, 2008, p.32). Large classes resulted in heavy workloads forcing participants to work during breaks and at home which gave rise to an overwhelming feeling of being burnt out spurring their decision to exit South Africa.

5.5.2 Push: Lack of student discipline

Large student numbers had made classroom management more difficult creating a general lack of discipline amongst students which had been a great source of stress. A South African study of almost 1000 teachers across the country identified poor learner discipline as a current stressor for teachers (Schulze & Steyn, 2007). Participants teaching time had been considerably

reduced as teachers focused on managing discipline related problems and instilling much needed values. Teachers acknowledged dysfunctional home backgrounds as one of the root causes of ill-discipline amongst students. Such reports from South African principals and teachers led Prinsloo (2007, p. 166-167) to assert that “the disruption and disintegration of family life and the decline of values and norms in the communities had led to a total lack of respect for teachers and for school rules.” Yet, migrant teachers still tried to extend pastoral care to overcome such challenges however, the enormity and great extent of fulfilling that role had resulted in them being emotionally drained and psychologically run down. These findings were similar to another study which found that repeatedly engaging in teaching tasks that generate unpleasant emotions can lead to burnout (Chang, 2009).

5.5.3 Push: Poor school leadership and management

Manik (2005) notes that inadequate and poor school based management emerged as a push factor for teachers migrating to the U.K. Likewise, teachers moving to Abu Dhabi cited poor school leadership and management as a strong push factor. A proliferation of literature supports the notion that effective leadership is necessary for successful schools (Bush, Kiggundu & Moorosi, 2011). Therefore it stands to reason that ineffective leadership has a negative effect on schools including teachers working conditions which was the experience of some participants within this study. Linda regaled experiences of a general lack of pastoral care from leadership as they teachers were treated like *a regimented tick sheet, you know they forgot that they are working with human beings*. Managements “*tick sheet*” related to unnecessary paperwork that took up teaching or planning time. For example, teachers instead of the school administrative support had to fill out students biographical information required for the South African Department of education. The school leadership and management added such tasks with tight deadlines on teachers who were already frustrated with heavy workloads and pressed for teaching time.

Additionally, management’s favouritism towards particular teachers resulted in unfair workloads and had considerably vexed teachers. The tendency to blame teachers *if something goes wrong, blame the teachers, if the children are not performing, blame the teachers* had been a source of immense frustration and demotivation. Furthermore, the school leadership and management team’s poor understanding and implementation of the CAPS curriculum had

caused much friction in schools as teachers felt management lacked sufficient classroom experience to make informative decisions. These collective experiences with poor leadership and management had left teachers feeling as if they were being pushed out of their schools. Similar sentiments were shared by Indian teachers in South Africa who had negative experiences with their principals prompting them to migrate to the U.K. (Manik, 2010).

5.5.4 Push: Lack of career progress

A recent study showed South African teachers were very frustrated with the lack of opportunities for promotion resulting in a great deal of job dissatisfaction (Baffour & Achemfuor, 2013). In an attempt to look for greener pastures, migrant teachers had applied for management posts at other schools however, they had not secured a management position even with extensive qualifications and experience. Career progression was linked to nepotism as Bernice claimed that *it's not what you know, it's who you know* adding that school leadership and management teams *just pull their friends up the rank and they don't acknowledge teachers that work hard*. A general lack of career opportunities became a push factor which was a trend also observed in Manik's (2005) study of South African teachers migrating to the U.K.

Additionally, aspirations for a management position had been marred by poor performance in an interview as Linda was unaware that the interview would be conducted in Afrikaans given that this former model C school adheres to an English medium of instruction. This raises the question: Why would a former model C school, conduct the interview in Afrikaans when it is an English medium school? An ethnographic study of two previously Afrikaans primary schools in Johannesburg found that "school structural racism is still being perpetuated through the actions of the principal" (Marais, 2007, p.64). Media reports show that staffing numbers in former white schools in South Africa reflect very few black African, Coloured or Indian staff (Pretoria News, 9-02-2015). On the international front, linguistic and racial discrimination has been used to exclude particular teachers from jobs (Manik, 2010). Thus, language was used to racially discriminate against non-white teachers resulting in exclusion from work promotion hence career progression.

It was interesting to note that the desire to hold a management position appeared to have lost a great deal of appeal as participants noted that principals were struggling under great workloads

and stress. A South African newspaper headlined “Burn-out forces principals to leave” tells the story of two overworked and stressed out principals who resigned to teach in Abu Dhabi in the United Arab Emirates (Samodien, 2008). Aspirations to hold management positions, lost further appeal as teachers within this study noted that some principals approached them for information to work in Abu Dhabi, not necessarily as principals but as teachers. The idea that South African principals would apply for teaching posts which is essentially a demotion conveyed a powerful message to teachers that the South African education system does not look after teachers nor principals motivating them to exit.

5.5.5 Push: Ineffective Curriculum

Teachers viewed the newly introduced National Curriculum and Assessment (CAPS) curriculum as dropping the standard of education and not being age or grade appropriate. A number of curriculum concerns have been identified in S.A. including the unrealistic expectations of students, over emphasis on content rather than skills, heavily resource dependent projects in an educational context that lacks resources and gaps in the curriculum (Du Plessis & Marais, 2015). It has been argued that South African teachers should be involved in the formulation of curriculum policies since they are the implementers which would minimize stress (Adu & Ngibe, 2014) However, Linda who was invited to contribute to the formation of the CAPS curriculum had become frustrated as her suggestions and concerns had been largely ignored by higher ranking officials who had no classroom experience. UNESCO (2016, p.17) asserts that “the lack of connections between the real conditions of schooling and policy making remains one of the most fundamental weaknesses in teacher policy formation in Sub-Saharan Africa today.” Ignoring the valuable experience and suggestions of those in actual classrooms is likely to continue to result in curriculums that do not meaningfully address the challenges teachers’ face thus continuing to fuel the desire to exit the system.

Manik’s (2010) research showed similar frustrations with changing curriculums although it was in relation to Outcomes Based Education (O.B.E.curriculum that had been implemented at that time). Given the years of service of the migrants in this study, they would have served under the OBE, NCS, RNCS and CAPS curriculum presumably expanding their frustration with so many curriculum changes. At the onset of Linda’s teaching career Linda noted that she had a passion for teaching *because we were getting more done with less, it was quality and not*

quantity, now she had become demotivated by the assessment driven nature of CAPS. It only served to increase teachers already heavy workloads as Linda stated that *with CAPS it was a whole lot of unnecessary stuff* creating heavy workloads. Overall, the CAPS curriculum was considered to be ineffective for the South African schooling system which frustrated teachers and negatively affected their working conditions causing teachers to leave.

5.6 Personal Relationships

Personal relationships impacting on the migration decision were categorized as follows: strained marriages and friendships. While the migrants did not present these as primary push factors from South Africa, they certainly played a role in the decision to exit the country.

5.6.1 Push: Strained marriages

Problems experienced in personal relationships, be it marital or friendships were a factor that participants took into account in making the decision to migrate. People often experience high levels of stress in strained relationships (Umberson, Chen, House, Hopkins & Slaten, 1996). Linda had undergone much stress during turbulent times within her marriage and while it did not emerge as a primary reason to migrate it played a secondary role. The personal sacrifices she had made as she fulfilled her role as a mother and wife had minimized time for herself. Thus Linda had a strong desire for personal growth, *to do something for herself* especially as her husband often worked away from home and her children at ages 21 and 24 were gaining independence and no longer fully reliant on her. She would be moving to Abu Dhabi alone which represented an opportunity to focus on her own personal growth and development by being independent.

5.6.2 Push: Strained Friendships

Friendships that compromised religious beliefs was viewed as a primary motivation to leave South Africa by one participant. Tammy had converted to Islam and found some of her non-Muslim friends' lifestyle choices in conflict with her Islamic beliefs. Moving to Abu Dhabi, she rationalised, would create a physical distance which she hoped would create distance in such friendships. Living in a Muslim country was ideal as she hoped to make Muslim friends

creating a social setting that was aligned to the Islamic ethos. A study examining the migration patterns of seven major religious groups found that in 2010, Saudi Arabia was the top destination country for Muslim migrants and the United Arab Emirates recorded over 2 million Muslim migrants during the same time period (Pew Research Center, 2012). Even for Muslims who migrated to western countries, they still settled in largely Muslim areas as a British study noted that in comparison to other religious minority groups, Muslim migrants to the U.K. tended to settle in the same inner city areas clustering together (Casey, 2016). Thus, settling in a Muslim country presented a pull as well -the opportunity to develop friendships with other followers of Islam which was a draw card to Abu Dhabi.

5.7. Pull: Recruitment agencies

Governments have often looked to international recruitment to fill a particular skills gap within their country (McNamara, Lewis & Howson, 2007). The United Arab Emirates is no exception, as recruitment agencies websites advertise positions for public schools across the country. However, a UAE based newspaper reports that the Minister of Education had asked international teacher recruitment agencies to remove the Ministry's name from advertisements, with one agency claiming that they should not state that they were recruiting for the Ministry (The National, 12-07-2016). Why would the U.A.E. government distance itself from recruitment agencies? At this point it may be worth mentioning that a number of "for-profit international recruitment agencies have exploited international teachers" (Roth, 2014, p.82). The literature widely notes the wrong doings and human right abuses that have been committed to international teachers by teacher recruitment agencies (Caravatti *et al*, 2014; Lederer, 2011; Sinyolo, 2010; Manik, 2005; Penson *et al*, 2011). Additionally, the negative impact of teacher migration on source countries include increased costs on government teacher training programs, difficulty in replacing migrant teachers especially Mathematics and Science and the social costs it exacts as it harms the overall quality of education (Kukla-Acevedo, 2009; Morgan, Sives & Appleton 2006; De Villiers, 2007; Lederer, 2011). Manik (2005) reveals that in response to large scale recruitment of South African teachers to the U.K. the Minister of Education, Mr. Kader Asmal, accused the U.K. of raiding its resources. During his inaugural address the newly appointed president of the Jamaican Teaching Association claimed that recruitment agencies were taking advantage of Jamaican teachers' dissatisfaction with their working conditions which he believed was having a negative effect on the education system

(Jamaica's Teaching Association, 2016). Could such reasons be why the U.A.E. government would distance itself from recruitment agencies that do in fact recruit for the government schools? This is an area that should be explored.

As revealed through online analysis, the Ministry of Education governs the national education system in the U.A.E. and is responsible for 6 out of the 7 emirates whilst the Department of Education in Abu Dhabi governs its own emirate. The international recruitment agencies have advertised for both government organizations and private schools in the U.A.E. Thus, they appear to be competing for teachers within the same international labour market. At first glance it appears that teachers are choosing whether they want to work in government or private schools as the recruitment agencies website advertise all the vacancies. However, the migrant interviews revealed the influencing force that agencies are exerting on the decision-making process to migrate. For example, Tammy stated, *I don't think that the agent even looked further than that (Abu Dhabi) because she thought that it was perfect for me*, thus excluding other destinations. Where to work was influenced by recruitment agencies as Tammy's agent stated that Abu Dhabi public schools offered *one of the highest paid teaching jobs* especially as these *schools in particular cater for families*. In this instance, international recruitment agencies became a pull factor to Abu Dhabi as it influenced teachers' decision to migrate to Abu Dhabi. Similar trends were observed in South Africa as recruitment agencies persuaded teachers to migrate to the U.K. with attractive offers and high salaries (Manik, 2012; De Villiers 2011). Interestingly, the recruitment agencies website advertising the high salaries on offer, was able to lure a South African teacher working in the U.K. to teach in Abu Dhabi. This may suggest that recruitment agencies may exert some influence on the destination countries that teachers choose.

According to Manik (2012) employment packages offered to South African teachers migrating to the U.K. included high salaries, free accommodation and, free flights. Some packages have included incentives like "discount shopping cards, gift vouchers, free internet, free criminal records check, discounted insurance or free personal accident cover." (De Villiers, 2011, p.56). Similar benefits were offered to South African teachers being recruited to Abu Dhabi with a salary offers ranging from \$3500-\$5500 (approximately R50 000-R78000) per month depending on the teacher's years of experience and qualification. In addition to the salary, housing, medical insurance and flight allowances for the employee, spouse and up to three dependents are provided by the employer. Plus, one month's salary is offered as gratuity for

every year of service to be received at the end of the contract period. Previously teachers were offered two year contracts however this has recently been extended to three years and at the end of the initial contract teachers may renew on a yearly basis. In Manik's (2010) study it was noted that recruitment agencies were responsible for paying teacher's salaries. However, teachers recruited to Abu Dhabi public schools were paid by the employer and did not have to pay any recruitment or visa fee. This is in line with the UAE labour laws that no recruitment or visa fees must be paid by the employee (The National, 03-03-2017).

The internet is being used to search for new career opportunities and applications are being submitted for online vacancies (Pew Research Centre, 2015). Similar trends were demonstrated in this study as online contact with recruitment agencies had been initiated by migrant teachers. They were either referred to particular online agencies through word of mouth or google searched for teaching opportunities abroad.

Recruitment agencies appear to have the role of attracting and screening suitably qualified candidates (Cox, 2012). Online analysis of three recruitment agency websites, documents received from one agency and the interviews revealed that migrant teachers were screened through a telephonic interview by the recruitment agency. Only successful applicants were put forward for the in-person interviews where they were interviewed by educational officials from Abu Dhabi. Representatives of the recruitment agency were present at the interview only to ensure that their candidate's paperwork was in order. They did not enter the interview room and they cannot hire teachers on behalf of Abu Dhabi. If the candidate was successful in the in-person interviews, the recruitment agency was notified and it provided the teacher with an offer letter. The agency collects the teacher's documents such as copies of their qualifications, passport and criminal check which is then passed onto the employer for visa processing. All teachers must authenticate their documents in South Africa as it ensures that recruited teachers are fully qualified and licensed to teach in their home country. The authentication process requires not only the teacher's documents but also accompanying family member's documents to be authenticated which includes the marriage certificates, birth certificates and school reports. While this is the only cost that the teacher bears, it is very expensive and a family of four could expect to pay in excess of R6000.00 to be considered for teacher migration to Abu Dhabi.

5.8 Spousal influence

Spousal influence is not a reason for migration but it did influence migrant teachers' decision to remain in or exit South Africa thus warranting some discussion. Archambault (2010) notes that historically scholars have often emphasised the role of men in migration as they search for wages but women as migrators or as part of the decision making process have been largely ignored. It was assumed that spouses of migrating teachers would have a role in deciding to migrate from South Africa to Abu Dhabi. However, the degree and extent to which husbands were able to influence the final decision made it necessary to question who was influencing the decision to migrate and who in the marriage was responsible for ultimately making the decision to migrate. Thus, it was necessary to categorise the spouse's role in deciding to migrate from South Africa to Abu Dhabi into: spouse as supporter and spouse as key decision-maker.

5.8.1 Spouse as supporter

Migration decision-making cannot be devoid of an examination of the family context and the dynamics within it (Zlotnik, 1995; De Jong & Gardener, 2013). It was expected that teachers' spouses would be part of the decision-making process to migrate which emerged as a complex process that played on the gender roles and power dynamics within the marriage. Traditionally, men as bread-winners in the family have often had the role of decision-maker in the home (Yabiku, Agadjanian & Sevoyan, 2010). However a study revealed that "mothers who contribute to the provision of their families have significant influence" in the family decision-making process (Lee & Beaty, 2002 p.24).

Four of the five participants were female, married and were financial contributors who had the opportunity to massively increase their earnings thus it was a reasonable assumption that women would have a greater deal of influence during the decision to migrate to Abu Dhabi. For example, Bernice's husband had resigned from his employment to study for a degree. To financially support the family she reasoned that the high salary in Abu Dhabi would allow her *to earn a double income to cover expenses* therefore her husband *fully supported the move*. In this instance, Bernice as the sole provider for the family appears to be the final decision maker with her husband influencing her decision through his support as he would benefit from her migration. Linda also acknowledged her spouse's role in the decision-making as she acknowledged *I am married so I had to get his support*. Husbands in these examples are

reflected as being supporters and not key decision-makers presenting married women as empowered migration decision-makers but it should be noted as in Bernice's case that the husband would benefit from her migration so the migration would also work in his interests. Similar findings were revealed in a study of Zimbabwean wives who migrated to work in the U.K. felt empowered to "exercise agency in migration decision making." (Madebwe, 2014, p.2). While decision making for these Zimbabwean couples were mostly consensual, there were also examples of either the wife or the husband solely making the decision for the wife to migrate (Madebwe, 2014). Likewise, this study found that for most, the decision to migrate was consensual between spouses and that husbands had the ability to influence the decision as wives sought their support. However, as previous studies revealed, there was the exception.

5.8.2 Spouse as key decision-maker

The role of gender theory in migrating households has tended to show the husband as dominating the "migration decision even if it is not economically rational for him to do so, and even in situations where the wife has a higher income or higher earning potential (Van der Klis & Mulder, 2008, p.5). In all instances within this study, migration to Abu Dhabi was based on the wife being offered a teaching position with the prospect of a higher salary. Women as empowered migration decision-makers and the spouse being able to have a degree of influence emerged however, this was not the case for one participant. At times, how migration decisions were made had less to do with being a bread-winner and more to do with the degree to which husbands subscribed to the traditional role of men being the head of the home. For Example, Tammy who is married to an Egyptian national reveals the hierarchical structure in her marriage as she acknowledged that she has the *traditional husband being the king of the house, I am his queen but he is essentially the decision maker*. An American study showed that even in marriages where both spouses earned comparable incomes, the decision making and gender role attitudes within these dual-earning marriages were mostly premised on the traditional role of men making the larger, more important decisions (Bartley, Blanton & Gilliard, 2005). Similarly, although Tammy and her husband are both breadwinners in the family, her husband by her own account is the decision-maker and she typically is the supporter as she does note that he *takes my advice with many decisions that he makes* thus. Tammy acknowledged that decision-making in the home could be a problem for other women *with*

liberalism and all that, but for me, I am comfortable with having my husband making the decisions in my house.

However, she shared that in this particular instance her husband relinquished his role as the main decision-maker claiming that in the event she lost her job in Abu Dhabi or was unhappy he would not be responsible for that, he felt that Tammy should *take that responsibility for herself*. Under these circumstances, Tammy concludes that she made the decision to migrate and her husband played a supportive role. A comparison of ways in which husbands supported the decision to migrate may point out how decisions are made in the home when there is a family migration: who supports the decisions and who is the main decision-maker.

Migrant teachers described their husbands support as assisting with getting their qualifications authenticated in South Africa for the U.A.E visa process. This involved scanning and photocopying the required paperwork and arranging transport for the interview. However, in stark contrast, Tammy's husband had completed an online search for international teaching jobs, made contact with recruitment agencies, emailed her resume, set up the initial skype interview which he sat in on, accompanied her to the in-person interviews and asked to sit in on the in-person interview, a request which was declined by the employer. While Tammy claims that she made the decision to migrate, the lines are clearly blurred, at best it appears she contributed to the decision-making and her husband was the main decision-maker.

Antman (2014, p. 560) findings reveal that the "spouse of the head of household is more likely to be involved in making decisions when she has been employed. Similarly, the head of household is less likely to be the sole decision-maker when his spouse works." Whilst this held true for most participants as they indicated more progressive forms of joint decision-making in the marriage, husbands still powerfully influenced the decision to migrate. The presence of spousal support influenced teachers decision to migrate, conversely the absence of spousal support would have changed teacher' decisions as they would not have chosen to migrate. Teachers stated that they would not take up the opportunity to migrate if their spouses were not supportive. These were presented in teachers' statements like *he had to support it* or another who said *I could not leave everything in South Africa without his support* and finally *I don't think that we would have come if he didn't want to*. Thus, spousal influence may not necessarily be a primary motivation to exit but perhaps spousal support is required for migration amongst married teachers. Such findings are congruent with the results discussed in Gubhaju & De Jong

(2009) study which revealed that married women in South Africa decision to migrate is influenced by their role in the household which may be imposed by their spouse.

5.9 Brain drain, gain or Circulation

In trying to determine if these teachers migrating to Abu Dhabi could be part of a brain drain from SA of teachers, the assertions of Sives et al (2006, p.14) was considered as they claim that it “implies that teachers migrate and do not come back” Some participants planned not to return to South Africa as Sarah stated, *“I have no plans of returning to South Africa, I may even decide to travel and teach in other countries.”* Likewise Tammy noted that *If it doesn't work out here, then you know we can look at other places, Abu Dhabi is not the only place in the world.* She would not return to South Africa if the conditions that forced her to migrate were still present *because S.A. is just not where I feel that I can raise my son.* Another view claims brain drain “depends partly on how long immigrants plan to stay abroad” stated Morgan et al (2006, p.51). Responses of how long teachers planned to live and work in Abu Dhabi were similar in that the duration of their stay was clouded in uncertainty. Bernice remarked *I can't be sure because you don't know what could happen.*

Planning not to return to the country of origin or planning to stay in the host country for a long period of time at best can only hint at the possibility of a brain drain as these teachers are a minority and their migration plans are shrouded in uncertainty. However, they are part of a bigger SA expatriate migrant teacher group that has been leaving to the Middle East since 2008 when large scale teacher migration to the UK ended due to new visa requirements (Manik, 2015). As mentioned earlier, migration to Abu Dhabi is based on securing a temporary work visa and not permanent residency. This means that once teachers' services are terminated they have 30 days to secure new employment or they must exit Abu Dhabi. Returning to South Africa could be based on two scenarios, firstly teachers may of their own accord choose to return to the source country after they complete their contract. Alternatively, teachers may be forced to return to South Africa if the employer or employee request early termination of the employment contract and the teacher is unable to secure a new job in the host country.

The associated risk and uncertainty of migration resulted in teachers who planned on not returning to South Africa and to make contingency plans if they were forced to return. In the

event of being fired, calculations based on earning a higher salary in Abu Dhabi was considered in offsetting the risk of migration. For example, Tammy stated “*So let’s say they kick me out and I have one year’s salary there (Abu Dhabi), that means I would have had to work five years in South Africa to earn this, so that gives me four years to get another job.*” In this instance, the economic return of migration was used to minimize the risks associated with migration. However, it also reveals that if faced with no choice she would be forced to return to South Africa thereby her skills would return to South Africa.

Being forced or choosing to return to South Africa could still represent a brain drain if returning migrants do not enter the South African classroom. Bernice appears to be forced to return to South Africa as she was unable to attain the very high requirements of an English language test needed to secure an Australian permanent residency visa, nor was she eligible for a British visa due to their visa regulation. She had *started looking at immigration options at 37 but because of red tape I couldn’t get there. So because of that I have to go back home.* Spousal influence appears to play a role in extending the length of stay in the host country as she states, “*my goal is to be here 6 years so that I can retire by 50 but my husband’s intention is to be here long-term.*” Additionally, Bernice doubted that she would enter the classroom on her return to South Africa as her 20-25 years of experience would not be acknowledged with an appropriate salary thus treating her as “*...a new teacher. I don’t know if I will be a teacher in South Africa.*” Similarly, Linda had a five year plan that would see her returning to South Africa *in a position not to have to work*, she was uncertain if she would return to the classroom *maybe in a part-time post*. Likewise in the Sives et al, study (2006), most Jamaican teachers planned to work abroad for at least seven years and did not plan to teach on their return to the source country. Similar findings in Manik’s (2005) study showed that some teachers planned to return to South Africa but had no intentions of re-entering the education system. Thus, this may still represent a brain drain to the education system. It appears that the South African education system has not meaningfully benefitted from brain circulation as at best it may be a very limited “untapped resource” (Manik et al, 2006, p.28). Given the circumstances, Manik et al (2006) asserted that it is imperative that governments of source countries, particularly South Africa formulate a response for the exit of its teachers. (Manik, et al, 2006)

Chapter 6: Conclusion – Final leg of the journey

6.1 Introduction

This sub-study provided a qualitative slice into understanding the migration of five S.A. teachers to Abu Dhabi, one of the Emirates in the UAE which has been recruiting a growing number of SA teachers in recent years. This study noted the trend of teacher migration to the Middle East as part of the global migration of teachers and acknowledged that the South African education sector has experienced migration trends as teachers began exiting the country from the beginning of democracy (Manik, 2005; Morgan, Sives and Appleton, 2006; Manik 2010). Migration patterns of South African teachers to western countries had been raised as an area of growing concern, particularly as developing countries struggled to retain teachers (SACE, 2011). It has been understood that neglecting to address the exit of teachers may have detrimental consequences on the educational development of South Africa, thus further research is required into understanding teachers' motives and migration patterns (Manik, 2005).

In response to this call, this study explored migrant teachers' reasons for leaving South Africa and why they were choosing to migrate specifically to Abu Dhabi. It also garnered these migrant teachers' intentions on the length of the intended stay abroad. Hence, the research targeted South African teachers who were about to migrate to Abu Dhabi and the study was centered around two main objectives namely, to explore the reasons that impact teachers' decision-making in migrating from South Africa and to identify and understand teachers' reasons for migrating specifically to Abu Dhabi and their intentions regarding the length of their stay abroad.

The methodological approach adopted in this study sought to answer these two key research questions, namely what are teachers' reasons for migrating from South Africa, why are teachers migrating specifically to Abu Dhabi and how long do they intend being abroad? Qualitative research, underpinned by the interpretivist paradigm was deemed useful in understanding how teachers constructed meaning of their South African experiences in deciding to migrate to Abu Dhabi. Case study method placed these migrant teachers as the case to be studied. Data was elicited through semi-structured interviews with migrant teachers,

online documentary analysis gathered data on the strategies used by three of the largest international teacher recruitment agencies and a reflexive field note journal was kept to enhance the reliability and validity of this study.

6.2 Push factors from South Africa

The findings revealed the financial, religious, social and political reasons that forced teachers to exit South Africa. Firstly, teachers cited low salaries as a reason to leave South Africa as they were unable to keep up with the rising cost of living, it limited their ability to purchase a home and save for their future. This desire to leave was further fueled by a high crime rate which had emerged as an emotionally charged but expected reason to exit South Africa. Other migration studies documenting teachers migrating from South Africa to the United Kingdom had also raised the high crime environment as a reason to migrate (Manik, 2005). Teachers within this study cited traumatising and at times fatal experiences of crime as a motivation to migrate particularly as they were concerned for their family's future well-being. Thirdly, amidst some surprise, religious intolerance of Islam emerged as a motivation to leave South Africa, as a teacher shared her experiences of Islamophobia. It must be noted that two of the three Muslim migrant teachers did not cite this as a reason to move from South Africa nor did they share such experiences. However, given the global stereotypes and discriminatory practices that Muslims have experienced, this is an area that should be further examined.

Political motivations to exit South Africa could be heard in teachers' references to race based policies that a democratic South Africa had introduced to redress the past. Teachers felt that even though they were 'people of colour' (Black), they had been racially profiled as either Coloured or Indian, thus they and their families were denied access to economic and educational opportunities as they were not deemed '*black enough*' since preference was given to Africans within the category Black.

Furthermore, teachers' working conditions had resulted in much frustration as they cited large class sizes and workloads, a lack of career progress, an ineffective curriculum, lack of student discipline and poor school leadership and management as spurring their decision to exit the South African education system. Teachers complained of feeling burnt-out and mentally and

emotionally drained as they tried to overcome the mounting obstacles within the challenging S.A. educational context.

For some, there also appeared to be smaller, less dominant secondary reasons to move from South Africa. The dysfunction that existed in personal relationships had resulted in strained marriages or friendships which did not emerge as a primary motivation to migrate but had played a secondary supporting role. Teachers sought to move away from relationships that had a considerable negative emotional effect on them. It was believed that creating a physical distance would help in loosening those ties. Additionally, some teachers felt a strong desire to do something for their own personal development by gaining independence. Having dedicated themselves to other household roles, particularly as a dutiful wife and attending to motherly duties, it was evident that leaving South Africa presented an opportunity to personally develop outside of the traditional matriarchal role. Thus, female participants, perceived their migration as an opportunity to do something for themselves.

Finally, spousal influence was not a reason to migrate but it emerged as a factor in the decision-making process to move from South Africa which was expected for married participants. Four of the five migrant teachers were female, married and breadwinners who had consulted with their spouses in deciding to migrate from South Africa. They had emphasized that spousal support was a necessary component that was required to execute migration. It became necessary to categorise the spouse's role in the decision to migrate from South Africa to Abu Dhabi into: spouse as supporter of migration and spouse as a key migration decision-maker. A comparison of the ways in which husbands supported the decision to migrate pointed out who had influenced decisions in 'soft' ways and who was the main decision-maker. Teachers described their husbands support as assisting with getting their qualifications attested in South Africa for the U.A.E visa process, scanning and photocopying required paperwork and arranging transport for the interview. Such spouses had agreed with the teachers' decision to migrate and had demonstrated that support with the afore-mentioned administrative activities and as a verbal agreement. However, one particular spouse had gone a step further as he had completed an online search and made contact with recruitment agencies, he had emailed his wife's resume from her email account, set up the initial skype interview which he sat in on with his wife. All this was done online with the recruiters assuming they were corresponding directly with the teacher. This spouse accompanied his wife to the in-person interviews and requested to sit in on the in-person panel interview but this was declined by the employer. While the

teacher claims that she made the decision to migrate, it appeared that her spouse contributed substantially to the decision-making regarding their migration. Thus, the husband in this example is reflected as being the key decision-maker presenting this particular married teacher as having a limited decision-making role in the migration process.

The presence of spousal support influenced teachers' decision to migrate, conversely the absence of spousal support would have changed teachers' decisions as they would not have migrated without their husbands' approval. Teachers stated that they would not have taken up the opportunity to migrate if their spouses were not supportive. Thus, spousal influence may not necessarily be a primary motivation to exit but spousal support is required for teacher migration to occur amongst married teachers in this study.

6.3 Pull factors to Abu Dhabi

Teachers were attracted to migrate to Abu Dhabi for financial, social, religious and political reasons. Firstly, the prospect of earning a high salary would allow them to save to buy property, for their retirement and to pay for their children's tertiary education. Abu Dhabi has a very low crime rate which all teachers cited as pull factor. Since Abu Dhabi is part of an Islamic country, Muslim values and beliefs would be upheld and considered the norm, the religious Muslim attire is worn by most females thus Muslim teachers could feel a sense of belonging and acceptance. This was not a pull factor for all Muslim teachers and Christian teachers were impressed that a Muslim country allowed all religious denominations to practice their faith in their house of worship. On the political front teachers were also encouraged to migrate to Abu Dhabi as it appeared to offer access to employment and educational opportunities through perceived non-race based policies. However, these were the assumptions that teachers made with little to no research. On closer examination, they would have discovered that the United Arab Emirates which includes Abu Dhabi has policies in place which give preference to the local or native population.

Additional pull factors that influenced teachers' decision to migrate to Abu Dhabi was the receiving country's level of economic and social development. The U.A.E. economy appeared to be doing well coupled with progressive laws that favoured women which resulted in it being

an attractive option amongst other Middle Eastern countries like Saudi Arabia where women rights have been questionable or Yemen where the level of economic development is less.

Finally, it was also established that recruitment agencies played a role in steering teachers towards Abu Dhabi as a teaching destination. A review of 3 of the largest recruitment agencies websites highlighted their marketing approach which is to emphasise the financial perks of teaching in government schools in Abu Dhabi citing it as one of the most financially lucrative packages available. Private schools in the Middle East advertise positions often preferring single teachers without dependents as it keeps the recruitment and relocation costs low for the employer.

Conversely, the Abu Dhabi government packages are particularly attractive to teachers migrating with their families as the employer bears all the flight, accommodation, visa and medical insurance costs for the spouse and up to three dependents. This study argues that this should be of particular concern to the South African education system on two counts. Firstly, teachers who are married with children are more likely to fall into an older age bracket which would imply greater teaching years of service thus attracting seasoned/veteran teachers. Secondly, relocating with the immediate family may encourage teachers to emigrate, a permanent stay abroad especially if the host country offers conditions of stay that are seemingly better than the source country. Migration is shrouded in uncertainty, some teachers have intentions to migrate permanently and others plan to return to South Africa but not to the classroom, all of this is at best their intentions and may or may not materialize due to factors beyond teachers' control. Teachers migrating to Abu Dhabi could represent a possible future brain drain if SA doesn't seek to manage the outward migration of teachers in this trend. Interestingly, Abu Dhabi does not offer citizenship to foreigners so at best, migrant teachers could expect renewed contracts.

6.4 Theoretical insights from the Study

The following five valuable insights emerged from the study.

Migrant Identity as mother/ wife influencing the migration decision

It appears that how migrant teachers constructed their identities and the effects of their present day realities on their imagined future in South Africa impacted their decisions to migrate from South Africa. With the exception of one, all the migrant teachers in this study were female and

married, of whom the majority had children. This identity of wife and/or mother, took on particular meaning for how they arrived at the decision to migrate from South Africa, as it was always in reference to family members. In this study the largest driving forces for migration from South Africa were economic (low salaries) and social reasons (high crime rate and affirmative action policies) and teachers certainly discussed the negative effects on themselves as individuals, however there appeared to be greater consideration about their spouses or children's future. For example, teachers in this study had shared their experiences of crime which at times was fatal, however, no spouses nor dependents had been victims of crime. Yet migrant teachers perceived the negative effects of living in a high crime environment on their families as a powerfully emotive reason to exit South Africa.

Present Political Policies leading to Imagined Bleak Futures

This was a reality that they not only attached to present times but imagined the status quo as remaining unchanged, therefore the future they envisioned was bleak. Again, this identity of wife and/or mother in making the decision to migrate can be seen in their perception of the political policy of affirmative action. For example, even though a migrant teacher's son was only eight years old and a primary school student at the time of migration, the migrant perceived the current affirmative action policy as excluding her son from accessing his future tertiary education. Decisions to migrate were based on their current realities that were being perceived as an unchanging status quo therefore their imagined futures for themselves and more so their dependents, they were envisioning as dismal.

Exhausting Local Options Leads to International Migration

Furthermore, challenging working conditions in South African schools initially increased the need to exit the local school or education system and when this need was not satisfied within the country, it led to international migration. Female migrant teachers expressed great frustration and dissatisfaction with teaching conditions in South African schools resulting in them feeling run down and burnt out, initially it resulted in them needing to exit that particular school or even the education system. Migrant teachers in this study discussed applying to former Model C and private schools with better working conditions, whilst others applied for promotion posts before looking outside South African borders. When these local avenues are limited or denied, it then appears that migrants begin to consider options to migrate abroad.

The Push is greater than the Pull

Additionally, all female migrants emphasised push factors from South Africa significantly more than the pull factors to Abu Dhabi. This can be seen in more push factors being listed but also the great detail and emotion in which they explained their frustration with the push factors from South Africa. This suggests that the catalyst for migration may be based on current push factors in the country of origin rather than pull factors in the destination country. Regardless of the catalyzing effect on female, married migrants to set the migration decision making wheels in motion, spousal support was essential to execute emigration from South Africa. Although, migrant teachers claimed it was their decision to migrate, this may not hold true as all were adamant that they would not have exited South Africa if their spouses objected. This was regardless of whether migrant teachers were migrating with or without their spouses.

Where Opportunity opens Up to embrace Migrant Teachers

There were some limitations concerning the degree to which teachers were actively choosing Abu Dhabi as a destination country. Migrants in this study were initially interested in migrating to other countries, they had either researched migratory options or had begun the application process to their countries of interest. However, all migrant teachers moved to Abu Dhabi as this was where a favourable opportunity presented itself. As alluded to earlier it seems as if migrant teachers' decision to migrate is based on push factors in the source country. In light of this, then migrant teachers' first decision is to migrate and the second decision is where to migrate. If this is true, then pull factors may not initiate migration but rather influence the flow or direction of migration. In this instance, the destination countries pull factors are used to influence teachers to choose a particular country to settle in but it does not initiate migration from South Africa.

6.5 Recommendations

As other studies have recommended, South Africa needs to establish a database that keeps abreast of teachers' movements from South Africa to destination countries (Manik, 2005). Where teachers are migrating to, how long they are working abroad and whether they are returning to the South African classroom needs to be established and monitored. This will allow the South African government to determine the magnitude of teacher migration and its impact.

Secondly, further South African teacher migration studies need to be conducted particularly around English, Mathematics and Science teachers as these subject specialisations are sought after by Middle East governments to promote their national agendas. Conversely, losing these teachers are likely to represent a loss of the South African state's national development objectives especially as teachers are in demand in South Africa and many are subsidized for their study by government in public higher education institutions. Additionally, the government must meaningfully address the dissatisfaction and frustration of teacher' working conditions as it is cited throughout the literature and in this study it appears as a repetitive reason for teachers exiting the S.A. education system. Simply, creating bursary schemes (such as Funza Lu Shaka) to attract new recruits to the teaching fraternity will only temporarily fill a void that a migrating teacher leaves, especially if over time, there are no measures to regulate teachers' exit for the same frustrating push factors. The Commonwealth Teacher recruitment Protocol is a relevant document that can serve to inform future government initiatives to regulate teacher migration.

The migration of skills is not a new phenomenon as other countries have experienced this and migrant teachers have reaped the benefits as well as source countries. There are also examples of countries that have taken decisive action to negate the negative effects thereof and in some instances successfully persuaded people to return to the source country. For example, Korea passed the Overseas Korean Act (OKA) which successfully drew their migrants back (Cho, 2012), whilst Russia through a government funded programme supported the return of their scientists (Latova & Savinkov, 2012). South Africa needs to learn from such countries by firstly, acknowledging that the migration of skills from South Africa could be problematic and secondly exploring a range of policies and initiatives that will retain teachers and encourage those who have migrated to return to South Africa. If the current government focuses its attention and resources on the push factors that teachers face, it will draw attention to teachers' work environments and assist in addressing the migration of teachers and this could work to retain their necessary skills which are needed to achieve the ideals envisioned for a democratic South Africa.

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Appendix 1

Interview Schedule

Individual semi-structured interviews

1. Why are you leaving South Africa?
2. Why are you going specifically to Abu Dhabi and how long do you intend to stay abroad?

Appendix 2-Ethical clearance Letter



20 June 2018

Dr Sadhana Manik (12518)
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Dr Manik,

Protocol reference number: HSS/0668/018 (Linked to HSS/0029/012)

Project Title: Teacher migration in the context of South Africa at present: Accessing and analysing data on foreign teachers in South Africa and the exit and local teachers

Approval Notification – Expedited Application

In response to your application received 14 June 2018, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

.....
Dr Shamila Naidoo (Deputy Chair)

/ms

Cc Academic Leader Research: Dr SB Khoza
Cc School Administrator: Ms Tyzer Khumalo

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

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Founding Campuses

Edgewood

Howard College

Medical School

Pietermaritzburg

Westville