South African Journal of Education

Vol 26(1)1–13

The career plans of newly qualified South African teachers

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We report on survey data collected from 776 final-year student teachers from 11 higher education institutions in October 2004. The purpose of the survey was to find out how many newly qualified teachers were planning to teach abroad and how many were planning to teach in South Africa. Two issues formed the backdrop of the study: teacher migration and teacher shortages in South Africa. Key findings from the study showed that 27.4% of the student teachers were planning to teach abroad in 2005, 63.3% were planning to teach in South Africa, and the remainder (7.2%) were not planning to teach. However the vast majority of those planning to teach abroad indicated that they would be returning to South Africa within two years. Of the student teachers who were planning to teach in South Africa, only 33% indicated that they already had a job secured for 2005. Three-quarters of these posts were to be paid by school governing bodies in ex-Model C schools. We argue that teacher shortages are not translating into available jobs for newly qualified teachers. Issues of race cannot be ignored, in that white teachers are more likely to get posts in well-resourced schools, and are more likely to go abroad to teach.

Introduction

This article is written against the backdrop of two issues — those of migration of teachers and teacher shortages in South Africa.

Migration of professionals

That there has been migration from South Africa of skilled professionals is not questioned. However, there is no information on the exact extent of this 'brain drain'. A study by Meyer, Brown and Kaplan (2000) highlights the large discrepancy between the official figures on migration produced by Statistics South Africa (SSA) and figures based on information collected in five major receiving countries (UK, USA, Australia, New Zealand, Canada). Whilst SSA reported that 82 811 migrants had left SA between 1987 and 1997, receiving country figures indicated that 233 609 people had arrived. There are simply no reliable figures on exactly how many skilled professionals are leaving South Africa, or for how long they are staying abroad.

The Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) raises the issue of how a 'brain drain' is defined. They define a period of more than two years as a permanent move (emigration) (Crush, McDonald & Williams, 2000:19). So in fact if teachers or other professionals who leave are returning after two years, this may not constitute a brain drain, but rather a 'brain circulation'.

There has been intensive recruitment of South African teachers by recruitment agencies in the United Kingdom. In 2001, the then Minister of Education, Kader Asmal was reported to be angry at the 'poaching' of teachers (Mail and Guardian, 5 April 2001). However, it is not clear how many South African teachers are teaching abroad, or how long they are staying.

Teacher shortages in South Africa

The normal attrition rate (not taking into account mortality from AIDS-related illnesses) out

of the school teaching force is 5.5% per annum. In South Africa there are 350 000 teachers employed by the state in public schools, as well as an additional 100 000 teachers employed by school governing bodies and independent schools (Crouch & Perry, 2003). This implies that the national higher education sector should be producing between 19 250 and 24 750 newly qualified teachers per annum. Crouch (2001) suggests that some 30 000 new teachers per year would have to be trained. These figures do not take into account the impact of HIV and AIDS on the schooling system. A recent study showed that 12.7% of the 17 088 teachers who gave a specimen for HIV testing were HIV positive. And this figure is even higher in particular age and race groups, e.g. African women between the ages of 25 – 29 have a prevalence rate of 29.2% (Shisana, Peltzer, Zungu-Dirway & Louw, 2005). Therefore it is clear that teacher mortality from HIV/AIDS will soon have an impact on the schooling system.

The projected graduation rate for 2004 was about 9 000 qualified teachers, but more than half of these were part-time students who were probably already employed as teachers (Wedekind, 2004). Therefore it is clear that the system is not producing enough new teachers. However, the impact of this will probably be felt slowly, due to the still highly differentiated schooling system, in schools located in less desirable areas, such as poorly resourced and rural schools.

In this article we explore the plans of the new teachers who graduated at the end of 2004 — where they were planning to teach in 2005 and what the implications were for the education system.

Method

The questionnaire for final-year student teachers forms part of a larger study[1] which is exploring the issue of teacher mobility in the Commonwealth. The data were collected through a survey which was initially designed by the research team in Nottingham and then adapted for the South African context. The Education Dean's Forum (set up by the Ministerial Committee of Teacher Education) supported the study and requested that additional questions regarding whether teachers already had jobs secured for 2005, and where they were planning to teach in South Africa, were included.

The research team from the University of KwaZulu-Natal sent requests to all the 24 teacher education institutions in September 2004, requesting information about how many students were in their final year of teacher training, so that we could send them the appropriate number of questionnaires. Fourteen institutions responded to the request. We asked institutions to administer the questionnaire during a lecture period in order to ensure a high return rate, but this was not always possible. We received completed questionnaires from 11 institutions. Three institutions said that their students were not able to complete the questionnaires, because they were either on teaching practice, or had already left the campus to study for exams. Therefore the sample constituted less than half of all the teacher education institutions in South Africa.

A total of 1 825 questionnaires were sent out, and 776 (42.6%) were returned. Morrow (2004) estimated that there would be 4 136 teacher graduates from all the full-time contact institutions at the end of 2004, and we therefore surveyed a total of 19% of the expected graduates. An additional 5 121 graduates were expected from Unisa, but these distance-learning students were not included in the study.

The data from the questionnaires were entered into an SPSS database for analysis.

Findings

Profile of the sample by institution and province

Questionnaires were received from 11 higher education institutions. These were a university in KwaZulu-Natal; two universities in Gauteng; one university in North-West Province; three universities and one university of technology in Eastern Cape, and one university and two universities of technology in Western Cape. The graph in Figure 1 shows the percentage of the sample from each province. There were no respondents from institutions in the Free State and Northern Province (now Limpopo) and there are no teacher education institutions located in Mpumalanga and Northern Cape.

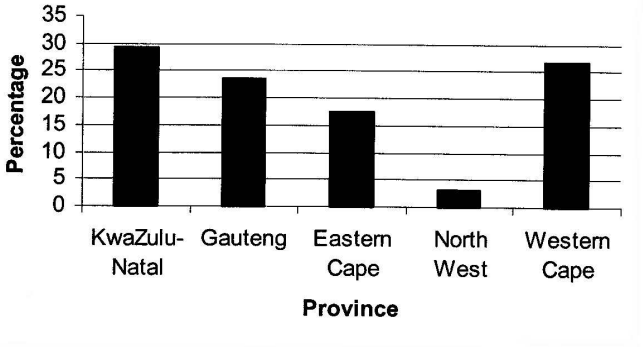

Figure 1 Percentage of respondents by province

Biographic profile of the respondents

There were 21% male and 79% female respondents. In terms of population group, there were 10.8% African students, 3.4% coloured students, 6.8% Indian students and 78% white students in the sample. There are no accurate figures of gender and ethnic composition of all student teachers, but it is estimated that about 70% of all students in initial teacher training are white and female (Wedekind, 2004). It appears that our sample was fairly representative of the group as a whole, since 66% of the sample were white women. This profile in itself is worrying, given that 80% of the South African population is African, but only 10.8% of all trainee teachers are African.

The mean age of the sample was 23.4 years with a minimum age of 20 years and a maximum age of 53 years. The overwhelming majority (91%) of students were South African, with 2.6% coming from Swaziland and 1.9% from Great Britain. Three-quarters (74.4%) of the sample completed their own schooling in an urban area, 13.9% in a peri-urban/semi-rural area, and 9.7% in a rural area.

Most of the sample (41.9%) studied towards a BEd (Foundation and/or Intermediate) degree, 26.8% towards a BEd (Senior/ FET) degree, and 28% towards a one-year post-graduate Certificate in Education (Senior/FET). Again, this profile appears to be disproportionate to the needs of the education system, where 62% of schools are primary schools (DoE, 2003). Respondents were asked to indicate what subjects or learning areas they were qualified to teach. This question was answered only by the students studying towards a Senior Phase or FET

qualification (a total of 412 respondents), as Foundation/Intermediate teachers do not specialize in particular subjects or Learning Areas. Table 1 indicates how many respondents are qualified to teach each Learning Area or subject. The total is more than the number of respondents, since each is qualified to teach at least two subjects and often three or four Learning Areas.

Table 1 Number of new teachers qualified to teach in particular Learning Areas (in the Senior Phase) or subjects (in the FET band)

Learning Area / Subject		Learning Area / Subject	
Accounting	38	Life sciences	17
Afrikaans	36	Mathematics #	111
Arts and culture	19	Mathematical Literacy	16
Economic and management sciences	62	Music/art/drama	23
Economics and business studies	53	Natural Science #	107
English #	140	Physical Education	14
French	1	Physical science	38
Geography	47	Social sciences	32
History	44	Technology #	97
Hospitality and tourism	7	Technical Drawing	1
Information Technology	8	Xhoza	8
Life Orientation #	121	Zulu	16

Note: The figures add up to more than the total sample, since all teachers are qualified to teach at least two Learning Areas or subjects

\# denotes the Learning Areas/Subjects in which the largest number of teachers qualified.

The numbers show that, in this sample, the subjects/Learning Areas that most teachers were qualified to teach were English, Mathematics, Natural Science, Life Orientation, and Technology. These numbers coincide with the subjects identified by the South African government as 'scarce' subjects, so it appears that institutions are attempting to address these needs.

Just more than a third (35.8%) of the entire sample indicated that they had received bursaries or scholarships to enable them to study. The mean amount received was R6 634. A fifth (22%) of the respondents reporting receiving a government loan in order to study. The mean loan amount was R3 618, with a minimum of R1 000 and a maximum of R92 000. In terms of nationality, six of the twenty students from Swaziland and all the students from Lesotho had received a government loan. One hundred and sixty-one (22%) of the 706 South African students had received a government loan.

Newly qualified teachers' plans for 2005

One of the key questions in the survey asked students what they planned to do in 2005. Just more than a quarter of the sample (27.4%) indicated that they would be teaching abroad, 63.3% said that they planned to teach in South Africa, and 7.2% said that they did not plan to teach at all in 2005.

We now focus on the profiles of these groups of students, first focusing on the student teachers who indicated that they would not be teaching in South Africa in 2005, and then focusing on those who indicated that they would be teaching in South Africa in 2005.

Teaching abroad: what kinds of trainee teachers are interested?

What characteristics make trainee teachers more likely to want to teach abroad rather than in South Africa? We estimated a binary logit model to see which variables were significant in determining whether a newly qualified teacher chose to teach abroad or in South Africa. The model took the form

Probability (*wish to teach abroad*) = $\exp(\beta\mathbf{X}) / [\, 1 + \exp(\beta\mathbf{X}) \,]$

where **X** is a vector of explanatory variables and ß is the associated coefficient, estimated by maximum likelihood techniques.

Table 2 indicates the estimated coefficients of the model and their *t* ratios. To quantify the effect of particular variables, Table 3 presents the implied probabilities of a student wishing to teach abroad for different values of a given explanatory variable, evaluating at the means of other explanatory variables.

Various personal characteristics of students are associated with their being more likely to want to teach abroad. Although there is not a significant gender difference, there is an inverse U-shaped relation with age — the probability of wanting to teach abroad peaks at age 30. Younger trainee teachers are less likely to report wanting to teach abroad (our sample was relatively young averaging 24 years of age). The few (3%) trainees who were married with children were much less likely to be interested in migrating, with a predicted probability of 9% compared to 26% for others. This effect was not quite significant at conventional levels, but was large and significant at the 0.11 level. Population group was significantly related with intention to migrate. Controlling for other factors, African students had a 10% probability of being interested in migrating as opposed to 29% for comparable whites. (In the raw data, the proportions interested in migrating were 13% and 30%, respectively.) Other population groups were somewhere between these extremes, with the intentions of Indian students being closer to those of whites and those of coloureds closer to those of Africans. Students who were not born in South Africa were less likely than native-born to want stay on and teach in the country. However, even for this group, less than two-fifths wanted to teach outside South Africa, *ceteris paribus*. Trainee teachers coming to South Africa from outside are thus a source of "brain gain" for the country.

Some features of the students' training and circumstances were also related to the probability of their wishing to teach abroad. Other things being equal, students who received official aid in the form of bursaries, scholarships, or loans were more likely to want to work abroad. However, as Table 3 shows, the differentials were modest. The effect of receiving an official loan was not significant, whereas bursaries had rather nuanced effects. A dummy variable for receiving a scholarship or bursary was positive and significant, but a variable for the amount of the bursary was negative and significant. The negative effect was only large enough to dominate when bursaries were very high, around R3 000 or greater, and only 18% of bursary recipients got such large awards. It may be that larger awards are more likely to have conditions that require students to work in South Africa after graduating.

Students who were training to be secondary or FET teachers were much less likely to want to teach abroad — a 19% probability against 33% for those training for primary teaching. Specialising in scarce subjects — Mathematics (including Mathematical Literacy), English, Natural Science and Technology (including IT) — did not have a significant effect. The kind of teaching qualification being studied — degree, diploma, or training certificate — had no significant effect. However, there were large differences between institutions in the migration

Table 2 A binary logit model for the probability of wanting to teach abroad

Variable	Coefficient	*t* ratio
Intercept	6.9239	2.36 **
Male	–0.1687	–0.70
Age (years)	–0.4946	–2.52 **
Age (squared)	0.00834	2.59 ***
Married with children	–1.2862	–1.63
Population group (default is white)		
African	–1.2658	–2.73 ***
Coloured	–0.9092	–1.45
Indian	–0.1826	–0.49
Born in South Africa	–0.6482	–2.02 **
Received a bursary	0.405	1.86 *
Amount of bursary (R1 000 p.a.)	–0.1357	–1.71 *
Received government loan	0.2141	0.91
Secondary or FET teacher	–0.7366	–2.67 ***
Specialised in scarce subject	0.0788	0.29
Teaching qualification (default is degree)		
Teaching diploma	–0.0601	–0.20
Teacher training certificate	–0.3965	–1.28
Teacher training institution (default is Institution 11)		
Institution 1	0.145	0.51
Institution 2	0.5338	1.20
Institution 3	0.7342	1.86 *
Institution 4	–0.5516	–0.93
Institution 5	1.1418	1.61
Institution 6	1.4192	2.20 **
Institution 7	–0.1795	–0.40
Institution 8	–0.2041	–0.34
Institution 9	0.7593	2.15 **
Institution 10	0.4322	1.46

Note: Sample size: 755, of whom 210 expressed an interest in teaching abroad
*** = significant at 0.01 level; ** = significant at 0.05 level; * = significant at 0.10 level

intentions of students, even after controlling for the aforementioned factors. Three institutions in particular had a high percentage of students who were planning to teach abroad. Two of these institutions have a student population that is virtually entirely white, though the third institution has a more diverse student body.

In summary, white and Indian teachers, primary teachers and teachers from particular institutions are more likely to choose to teach abroad. The graph in Figure 2 shows newly qualified teachers' plans for 2005 according to population group. It shows that African teachers were far less likely to choose to teach abroad than teachers of other population groups.

Reasons for teaching abroad

A total of 213 (27.4%) of the sample indicated that they were planning to teach abroad in 2005.

Table 3 Predicted probabilities of wanting to teach abroad

	Probability (%)
Baseline	26
Male	25
Female	28
Married with children	9
Not married or not with children	26
White	29
African	10
Coloured	14
Indian	25
Born in South Africa	38
Born outside South Africa	26
Received a bursary *	23
Did not receive a bursary	29
Received government loan	25
Did not receive government loan	19
Secondary or FET teacher	33
Primary or other non-secondary / FET teacher	26
Specialised in scarce subject	25
Not specialised in scarce subject	29
Teaching degree	28
Teaching diploma	22
Teacher training certificate	23
Institution 1	31
Institution 2	36
Institution 3	13
Institution 4	45
Institution 5	52
Institution 6	18
Institution 7	18
Institution 8	36
Institution 9	29
Institution 10	21

Note: Probabilities evaluated at the means of other explanatory variables
Population group, qualification and training institution each regarded as single variables
* Effect of bursary evaluated at mean of bursary for bursary recipients

The questionnaire asked students to rank the top three reasons why they were going abroad, and these are shown in Table 4.

The top ranking reasons were the opportunity to earn a higher salary and to travel, followed by professional development. It appeared that these "pull" factors (i.e. the positive aspects of teaching abroad) were playing a much stronger role than the so-called "push" factors (i.e. the negative reasons for staying in SA), such as unemployment in South Africa, the crime rate and bad working conditions. It was interesting that no student teachers ranked 'better working conditions' as a top priority, whereas this is probably likely to be a more important reason for teachers who are already in the education system.

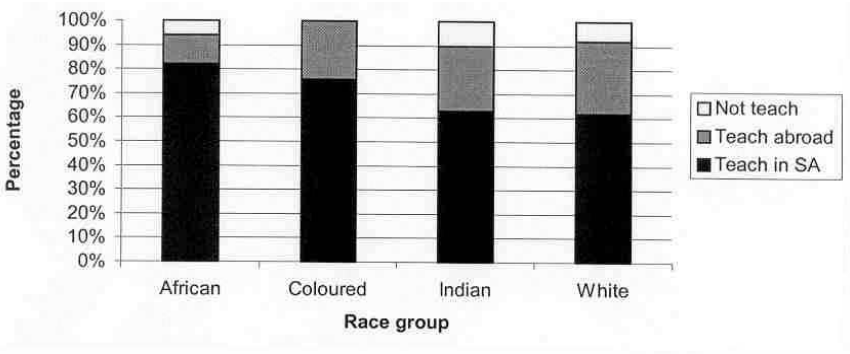

Figure 2 Newly qualified teachers' plans for 2005 according to race group

Table 4 Newly qualified teachers' reasons for teaching abroad

Reason	Ranked 1	Ranked 2	Ranked 3	Total
Higher salary	148 (69.1%)	34 (16%)	13 (7%)	195 (31.8%)
Opportunity for travel	37 (17%)	95 (46%)	25 (13%)	176 (28.7%)
Professional development	4 (1.8%)	33 (16%)	64 (33%)	101 (16.5%)
Family /friends overseas	8 (5.2%)	10 (5%)	26 (14%)	44 (7.1%)
Unemployment in S A	5 (2.3%)	8 (4%)	16 (8%)	29 (4.7%)
Safer environment	1 (0.6%)	11 (5%)	16 (8%)	28 (4.5%)
Better working conditions	0	8 (4%)	14 (7%)	22 (3.5%)
Better social services	0	6 (3%)	10 (5%)	16 (2.6%)
Other	11 (5.1%)	2 (0.9%)	6 (3.1%	19 (3.1%)
Total	214 (100%)	208 (100%)	190 (100%)	612 (100%)

Respondents were asked to give their opinion on the international recruitment of teachers, and the majority felt that it was a good thing for teachers to take the opportunity to earn more, to experience teaching in a different country and to travel. These are some typical comments:

I think it is a good thing because it gives you as a teacher some experience of other countries and their education system. Some people have to pay off their study loans and it is quicker overseas, because you earn more money.

I think that there is no harm in teaching overseas because it provides great experience, expertise and knowledge. What I think is negative is when teachers do not come back and put into this country the experiences they have built.

A minority of respondents felt that teachers should stay and teach in South Africa, but could see why others were leaving.

I want to make a difference to my own country, but I do not blame others for going for bigger salaries overseas. It is their own choice.

I think teachers should remain in South Africa and serve our country. However, with the

lack of employment, crime and pay, I can see why they want to leave.

Two-thirds (67%) of all teachers who were planning to teach abroad were planning to go to the United Kingdom. Small percentages were planning to go to Australia (9.7%), Canada (2.7%), New Zealand (6.4%), Taiwan (5.5%) and the United States (3%). Forty percent of teachers indicated that the possibility of working overseas was an incentive to study to become a teacher. Only 83 students answered the question on the entry requirements they were using to go abroad. Of these, two-thirds (66%) were using a working holiday visa, 9.6% had an ancestral visa, and 2% had a European passport.

Whilst only 94 teachers (of a total of 213) answered this question, the majority of teachers (89%) said that they were planning to return to South Africa. Most of these (57.4%) indicated that they would be returning to South Africa after 1–2 years abroad, 13.8% said that they planned to stay 2–3 years, 9.5% planned to stay for 3–4 years and 9.5% said that they were planning to stay for more than 4 years. So it did appear that student teachers do not represent a significant brain drain from the country, since the majority were planning to come back home. This corroborates the fact that two-thirds of newly qualified teachers are going abroad on a working holiday visa, which expires after two years. However, simply because student teachers said that they would be returning to South Africa, it does not mean that they will do so, as personal circumstances may change.

Focus on the teachers who are teaching in South Africa

Sixty-three percent (488 students) of the sample indicated that they planned to teach in South Africa in 2005. Of the 469 respondents who answered the question about whether they had a job secured for 2005, 33% indicated that they did have a job. Using the chi-square test, population group was a significant variable in having secured a job, whereas the type of qualification obtained was not significant. Of the respondents who answered the question about whether they had a job, 16% of African trainees, 13% of coloured trainees, 27% of Indian trainees, and 37% of white trainees indicated that they did have a job (see Figure 3). Therefore it appears significantly easier for white and Indian newly qualified teachers to secure a post.

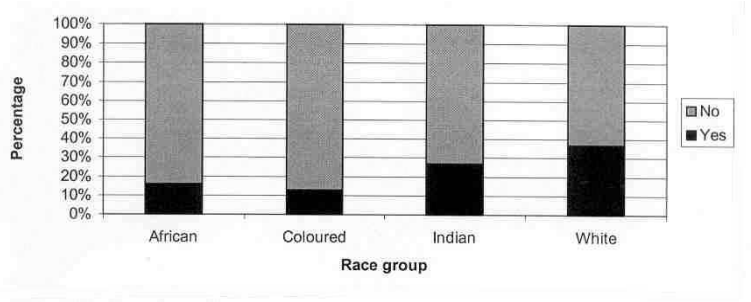

Figure 3 Do you have a post secured for 2005?

Almost all the respondents who had found a post were going to teach in a school located in an urban area. Just more than a third (35%), of those who had secured a post, indicated that

they had a post at an independent school, and 65% said that they had a job at a government school. However, 73% of those who had secured a post said that their salaries would be paid by the school governing body (SGB). This means that they had posts in government schools that charge high school fees. These school fees are used to employ teachers additional to those provided for by the state's Post Provisioning Norm (PPN) funding formula which allocates a number of teachers to a school based on learner enrolment and the type of subjects taught. Thus almost three-quarters of teachers, who had posts for 2005, had got contract posts in ex-Model C government schools where their salaries are paid by an SGB. Of the 81 teachers who reported having found posts paid by SGBs, 72 were white. This echoes Crouch (2001) who found that nationally 70% of all SGB-employed teachers are white. These SGB teachers do not form part of the national teacher cohort; they are in fact 'invisible' to the official system.

Only 37% of new teachers who had secured a post for 2005 had a permanent post. This seems to point to some difficulties that newly qualified teachers have in entering the government-paid schooling system. Due to the Government's rationalization and redeployment policy, the majority of teaching posts are advertised on "closed vacancy" lists which means that only teachers who are currently in the education system, and who have a Persal number, are able to apply. This makes it difficult for newly qualified teachers to apply. The high number of newly qualified teachers in contract SGB posts is obviously also linked to the fact that most newly qualified teachers are white and would choose to work in well-resourced, urban schools.

The lack of government-paid posts open to new teachers can lead to exploitation of teachers, as anecdotal evidence suggests that some schools pay SGB teachers as little as R1 500 or R2 000 per month. Whilst many schools match the salaries of government-paid teachers, contract teachers seldom enjoy benefits such as pension, medical aid, or paid maternity leave.

Newly qualified teachers who were not teaching

Seven percent of the respondents indicated that they were not planning to teach in 2005. The two most common reasons for this was pursuing a different career path (because teaching salaries were not high enough or because they had discovered that they did not like teaching) and studying further. Some of these respondents indicated that they were first going to travel or *au pair* before they started teaching.

Discussion

The study raises questions about the extent and nature of the shortage of teachers in South Africa. Although a number of studies (Crouch 2001, Crouch & Perry 2003, Badcock-Walters *et al.,* 2003) predict that there will be teacher shortages, these shortages do not seem to be translating into posts for newly qualified educators. Indeed, only one-third of the respondents, who indicated that they were planning to teach in South Africa in 2005, said that they already had a post secured. However, others may have secured a post between November 2004 and the start of the new school year in January 2005. Almost three-quarters of the respondents who had secured a post, indicated that they had posts that would be paid by school governing bodies. This seems to indicate that, whatever teacher shortages are being experienced, posts are not being filled by newly qualified teachers.

One of the reasons for this may be that posts are advertised as "closed vacancy" posts which can only be filled by educators who are already in the system. Another possible reason is that newly qualified teachers (mostly white) are not seeking jobs in schools which are pro-

bably experiencing the greatest shortages, i.e. in under-resourced schools or rural schools.

It is becoming clear that teacher shortages will be experienced differently in different geographical regions and in different kinds of schools. A recent study (Balkaran & Sookrajh, 2004) in KwaZulu-Natal shows that there is very little change in the racial diversity of staff rooms and that, for the most part, white teachers continue to teach in ex-House of Assembly (HoA) schools, Indian teachers continue to teach in ex-House of Delegates (HoD) schools and black African teachers continue to teach in ex-Department of Education and Training (DET) schools (see also Soudien, 2004). Thus white teachers (who make up 78% of the sample of newly qualified teachers) are choosing to teach in well-resourced, urban schools, and the majority of posts available in these ex-Model C government schools are SGB posts.

It would seem that issues of race are key in the debate around teacher mobility and teacher shortages. Approximately three-quarters of the students in initial teacher training are white. The data from this study show that newly qualified white teachers are more likely to teach abroad than African teachers, that newly qualified white teachers are more likely to find a teaching post than African teachers, and that this post is likely to be in a well-resourced 'privatised' (ex-Model C) government school.

Ten years after democracy, the hierarchy of schools established in the apartheid decades still seems to be intact. It seems that well-qualified teachers from ex-DET, ex-HOR and ex-HOD schools are moving into former white schools, leaving gaps in the poorer schools. There is some evidence that these schools 'fill the gaps' with unqualified teachers. A study of primary schools in the Western Cape in 2001 showed that the percentage of unqualified teachers in DET schools was 6.5%, in HoR schools 20.9%, in HoD schools 9.4% and in HoA schools only 0.8% (Fiske & Ladd, 2004).

Although 27% of respondents indicated that they were planning to teach abroad, the vast majority (89%) said that they would be returning to South Africa. This is supported by the reasons that they gave for leaving — higher salaries, opportunities for travel and professional development — which are "pull" rather "push" factors. If they do in fact return, it seems that these newly qualified teachers do not constitute a brain drain, but rather a brain circulation. However, if they do not return, or if only some of them return, then the country is losing a good number of well-qualified teachers who will be needed to teach in South Africa.

Just over a third of the newly qualified teachers in this study were choosing not to teach in South Africa, or not to teach at all. This is a figure that will be important for system planners to bear in mind when making projections around the number of teachers needed. We cannot rely on the fact that all student teachers who graduate will be planning to teach in South Africa.

Conclusion

The study has shown that although 27% of the sample of newly qualified teachers are choosing to teach abroad, the majority of these teachers are planning to return to South Africa within two years. If they do return, their migration may be called a "brain circulation". However, we cannot be certain that they will return, or that they will return to the teaching profession if they do.

Although there are projections of teacher shortages in South Africa, these are not currently translating into easily accessible vacant posts for newly qualified teachers. This may be because the Rationalisation and Redeployment policy demands that posts advertised are only filled by teachers currently in the system. It may also be that the teachers in the sample (who are mostly

white) are not seeking jobs in areas where shortages are most acute. Issues of race cannot be ignored when looking at the future plans of newly qualified teachers. The majority of newly qualified teachers graduating in 2004 were white, and white teachers are more likely than African teachers to choose to teach abroad. White teachers are also more likely to find a teaching post in South Africa, although that post is usually in a 'privatised' government (ex-Model C) school.

It seems clear that the state needs to work actively to recruit more Africans to study to become teachers, as well as create incentives for teachers to work in rural schools and under-resourced schools (where the teacher shortages will probably be felt most acutely).

Note

1. The project is entitled "Teacher mobility, brain drain, labour markets and educational resources in the Commonwealth". It is conducted jointly by the Centre for Comparative Education Research and the Centre for Research on Economic Development and International Trade at the University of Nottingham, England, and is funded by Department for International Development. A research team from the School of Education and Development, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritizburg facilitated the collection of data from schools and teachers in KwaZulu-Natal.

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