Winners and Losers in the Mobility of Teachers in the Pacific Region: Issues and Policy Debates

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Abstract

The focus of much high skilled migration research has tended to be on health and IT professionals. This chapter addresses the mobility of school teachers in a geographic region that has received little attention, the Pacific. Unlike the Caribbean Islands and South Africa, the Pacific has not been the focus of much research into the demographic, economic and geographic factors impacting mobility, nor into the social, economic and demographic consequences of mobility.

Given the teacher shortages that are occurring in many industrialised countries on the Pacific Rim, (including Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the US) and the tailoring of immigration and long term visitor policies to attract highly skilled workers in areas of shortage, the Pacific could be affected. The article demonstrates that of three countries studied as part of a comparative project, only Fiji has been losing teachers to an extent that has been harmful to the country's education system. Most mobility has been related to political events but, nevertheless, the negative consequences are a matter for concern. Australia has benefited from the immigration of highly skilled Fijian teachers and its aid policies could be used as one way of addressing the loss of skilled human resources from Fiji. This could alleviate some of the tension and go some way towards meeting the demands for compensation. Many of the debates surrounding skilled migration and brain drain are investigated in relation to Fiji where political instability makes this an even more interesting case to examine.

On the other hand, the Cook Islands and Vanuatu experience low levels of international teacher emigration and this situation will remain as long as many of their teachers continue to be trained to levels that are not acceptable in the labour markets of industrialised countries. This has mainly been a matter of a shortage of resources rather than a deliberate policy of 'under-training'. If an upgrading of training does occur, however, the situation could change. This introduces a dilemma for these countries as they strive to upgrade qualifications and skills, as per the Millennium Development Goals, but seek to retain their own teachers.

Key words: Australia and teacher mobility, Pacific Islands teacher mobility, brain drain and development.

I. Introduction

There is a long history of migration in the Pacific region. This has continued to the present day in many places as people relocate, both internally and internationally, for a variety of economic, social, political and environmental reasons. On the Pacific Rim, both Australia and New Zealand have been tailoring their immigration policies in recent years to attract even more high skilled migrants than before. School teachers have been in relative shortage in both Australia and New Zealand for many years and the aim is to investigate whether the Pacific has been a source of supply. Unlike medicine and nursing, the teaching profession has received little attention.

The use of immigration as a tool for filling labour market shortages has been widespread for a long time. More recently, the focus has shifted to more highly skilled migration for the following policy reasons: (1) as a means of filling cyclical or ongoing gaps, and (2) to improve the stock of human capital and/or obtain new/better expertise. The OECD lists a third policy objective for OECD countries, which is (3) to encourage the circulation of the knowledge embodied in highly skilled workers and promote innovation (OECD, 2002: 9) but the latter probably applies less in relation to teaching than it does to science and technology, medicine, IT and other professional areas.

The definition and measurement of shortages is extremely problematic and is itself the subject of much debate. It is sufficient to say here, however, that general teacher shortages have existed in Australia but have now largely been confined to specific subject areas and/or to particular geographic locations. Over time there have been both overt and covert attempts to recruit or encourage teachers to come to Australia. This paper examines the levels of recruitment and migration of teachers, especially from the Pacific. Australian immigration and census data were examined and, in 2005, and a sample of 33 Fijian teachers located in Sydney were interviewed.

Three countries were chosen for this study in the Pacific[1]: the Cook Islands, the Fiji Islands and Vanuatu. They were chosen for specific reasons to do with their level of out-migration and their historical and cultural links to metropolitan countries. Two of these three Pacific Island Countries (PICs) have experienced considerable rates of emigration. Cook Islanders are New Zealand citizens, with full work and residence rights in New Zealand and this has resulted in a situation where more Cook Islanders live in New Zealand than in their island home. Fiji has also experienced high rates of out-migration. Chandra (2003: 5) estimated that the total number of emigrants from Fiji since Independence in 1970 might be as high as 180,000 persons, which was almost 20% of Fiji's 2007 population of some 850,000. Approximately 90% of migrants are Indo-Fijians, leaving Fiji for reasons of political instability, the unresolved land issue and economic measures as a result of which they felt discriminated against. Most have resettled in the developed Pacific Rim countries. However, recent years have witnessed an increasing number of Indigenous Fijian emigrants as well (Voigt-Graf, 2006). Many have migrated to Australia and New Zealand under the skill and family reunion migration streams. Vanuatu has experienced much less out-migration. After Independence in 1980, colonial links with the United Kingdom and France did not lead to major movements to either of these countries but there has been some movement to Fiji, Australia, New Zealand and the US.

(1) Background

Skilled migration represents a rapidly growing and increasingly substantial component of global migration but there has, overall, been very little research into skilled migration in the region, with the exception of research on health worker migration (Connell, 2004, 2008). The absence of reliable statistical data on emigration and immigration by skill level, age, sex, etc, has hampered demographic analyses.

Interest in migration and development throughout the Pacific has usually focused on less skilled migration flows. Scholars (Brown, 1997; Connell and Brown, 2005), often from Pacific Rim countries, have analysed the development and other impacts of remittances in countries such as Samoa, Tonga, Kiribati, etc. and this information has been fed through to governments. Some have seen temporary migration programs, and the remittances sent, as a solution to problems of lack of employment, declining agricultural outputs, poverty and worsening environmental conditions. In fact, the MIRAB (Migration, Remittances, Aid and Bureaucracy) model that was first developed in the 1980s to 'explain economic processes in New Zealand's sphere of influence in the Pacific islands' argued that development patterns in the Pacific, based on migration generating remittances and aid financing local bureaucracies, were durable and sustainable

[1] This study was funded by the Australian Research Council from 2004 to 2007.

(Bertram and Waters, 1985). In contrast to PICs in New Zealand's sphere of influence, few migration opportunities existed for low skilled workers from other parts of the Pacific and virtually none for Melanesians.

New Zealand responded to this with the introduction of a pilot scheme for the seasonal employment of workers in the horticulture and viticulture industries from some PICs in April 2007. The "Recognized Seasonal Employer" (RSE) scheme initially allowed up to 5,000 seasonal workers to come to New Zealand per annum for a maximum of seven months per 11 month period to work in the horticulture and viticulture industries. The cap was raised to 8,000 workers in October 2008. Preference is given to workers from Pacific Island Forum countries (with the exception of Fiji), with Kiribati, Samoa, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu selected for special "kick-start" status which entailed deliberate efforts to launch the scheme and recruit in these countries. Australia followed suit and announced the Pacific Seasonal Worker Pilot Scheme (PSWPS) which commenced in November 2008 and will run for three years. The Australian Government has already signed memoranda of understanding (MOUs) with the Governments of Vanuatu, Tonga and Kiribati. The Australian pilot is structured into two main phases. Under phase one, up to 100 visas were made available for workers from Tonga, Vanuatu and Kiribati. For phase two, which began in July 2009 and finishes in June 2012, up to 2,400 visas have been made available. The scheme has not yet been reviewed for its success in aiding development at home and providing workers to Australian farms. However, only very few seasonal workers have so far arrived in Australia under the PSWPS.

In PICs, skilled migrants seem to have comprised a relatively small proportion of migration outflows. In Fiji, the country with the greatest level of emigration of skilled human resources, 8,700 of the officially recorded 75,800 emigrants (11.5%) between 1987 and 2001 were categorised as professionals (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, various years). Official data may have underestimated the full extent of highly skilled migration, but it is generally thought that the proportion of highly skilled migrants has been low in the Pacific compared to other regions, such as the Caribbean (e.g. Thomas-Hope, 2002). Data of the occupation or skill level of migrants are no longer available for Fiji and have never been available for the Cook Islands or Vanuatu.

Notwithstanding these low levels of skilled emigration, the literature on skilled migration often points to the seriousness of the loss of human resources for some source countries (Wickramasekara, 2003:1). In these instances, source countries are 'robbed' of a proportion of their most highly qualified and innovative people. This frequently leads to a reduced quality of services, including essential services of health and education. Moreover, most Governments subsidise at least part of their citizens' education, resulting in a financial loss to the source country if skilled people migrate overseas and do not return permanently, temporarily or virtually (through collaboration, etc.).

In this context, the impact of Australia's migration policies on the three selected PICs will be examined. The aim is to understand the attitudes and processes at work in order to see if there are winners and losers in the region in relation to teacher mobility.

Australian teacher mobility

B. (a) 1945 to 1992-93

From the end of World War II to 1970, 42,050 teachers (at all levels) came to settle in Australia as part of the post-war recruitment campaigns, firstly from the UK with the USA and Canada later becoming important source countries. The end of the White Australia Policy in 1966 saw the arrival of around 350 'well-qualified, non-European' teachers between 1966 and 1970. At the same time, however, many Australian teachers left to work overseas. By the mid-1970s a situation of oversupply had developed and the large-scale recruitment of teachers ceased, though some temporary recruitment continued from Japan, UK, USA and France. From the mid-1980s, however, there was a renewed influx of teachers as part of the regular permanent migration program, in spite of a general situation of oversupply. More teachers began arriving from non-English

speaking countries and by 1992-93 Non-English Speaking Background (NESB) teachers comprised 87% of teacher arrivals (Inglis and Philps, 1995: 13). Teachers increasingly came from the Asia Pacific region — Hong Kong, Malaysia, India, China and Fiji — reflecting the overall change in the immigration intake pattern. Teacher arrivals from New Zealand, on the other hand, declined during the late 1980s, which probably reflected improved opportunities for them at home.

Some teachers benefited from the selection points system that was at work in Australia by then — as they possessed tertiary qualifications and had good English skills. Points were awarded for education, qualifications, English language ability, age, etc. and only people who reached a defined score were accepted. Others entered under other migration categories, especially family reunion and humanitarian, while some 'newly important source countries … have education systems closely modelled on the British patterns followed in Australia and make extensive use of English, others, such as Egypt and Yugoslavia, do not' (Inglis and Philps, 1995: 13-14). Consequently, many teachers were unable to return to work as teachers in Australia.

(b) mid-1990s to 2005

The Australian selection points system was continually refined throughout the 1990s to attract teachers. Teachers also continued to arrive under other migration categories. After 2000, the pre-migration recognition of qualifications became mandatory, in order to gain points for a tertiary teaching qualification. Australia also experienced a significant outflow of teachers. Figure 1 shows teacher settler arrivals, the net flow of employed resident teachers from Australia and the net movement of teachers under the long-term temporary residents program.

The loss of residents employed as teachers is very dramatic and from 1998-99 to 2004-05 averaged 2,459 per year. Hugo *et al.* (2003: 35) found that Australian-born departures and long-term departures of Australian residents to the United Arab Emirates both show a female dominance

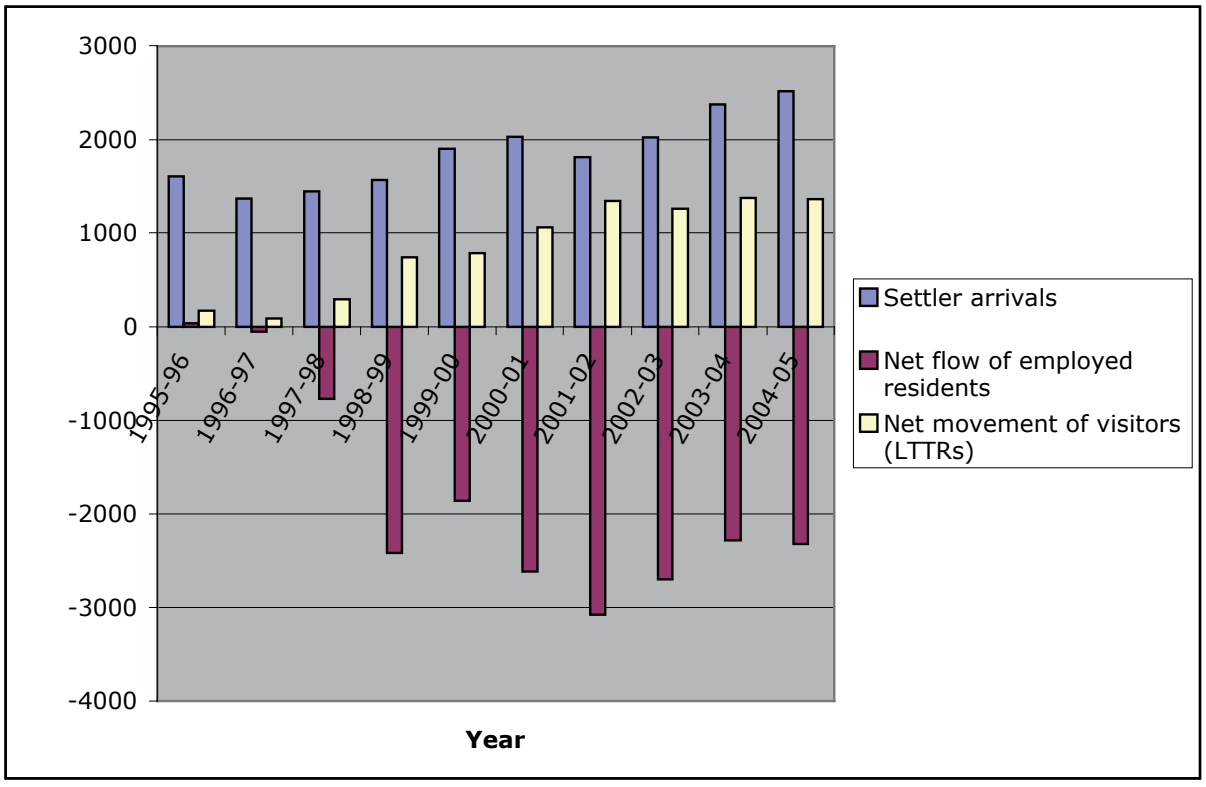

Figure 1. Teachers — settler arrivals, net flow of employed residents to and from Australia and net long-term visitor movements, 1995-96 to 2004-05

Source: Data from Birrell *et al.,* 2006, 20.

because of the flow of Australian nurses and teachers.

Coinciding with the loss of residents was an increase in the number of people issued with 457-visas under the four-year, long-term temporary resident program. Consequently, the net annual intake of teachers, including some working holiday-makers, averaged 1,281 in 2000-01. These people were sponsored by employers and did not go through the same formal pre-migration recognition processes as settler arrivals. At the end of their time in Australia, 457-visa holders could apply to convert to permanent residence, obtain another 457-visa or depart.

Clearly in 1995-96, the flows were mostly in favour of Australia but from 1997-98 Australian teachers demonstrated a net offshore flow. This reached a maximum in 2001-02 but remained over 2000 per year after 1998-99. Over the 10 years from 1995-96, there was a total net gain of 9,065 teachers to Australia from migration, i.e. 907 per year on average. In a total workforce of 305,000, this is a relatively small average net gain (0.3% of the total workforce). Vacancies continue to exist in specific areas, mostly secondary teachers in science, math, technology and social sciences.

There was a major decline in the net inflow into Australia from 1995-96 to a small net loss in 1998-99. There was some recovery in 1999-00 and 2000-01 but almost zero inflow of teachers in 2001-02. Since then, there has been a steady rise in the net inflow to 1,555 in 2004-05. Figure 2 shows the total net flow of teachers to Australia from all these components.

For the two years 2003-04 and 2004-05, Figure 3 shows the net gain of teachers from various regions of the world. Clearly S and SE Asia have become major contributors, followed by the UK, Ireland and South Africa. Figure 3 shows that the Pacific region contributed very few teachers and in fact gained teachers from Australia during this period, with the exception of Fiji. These are migration data and do not mean that these people were necessarily employed as teachers in

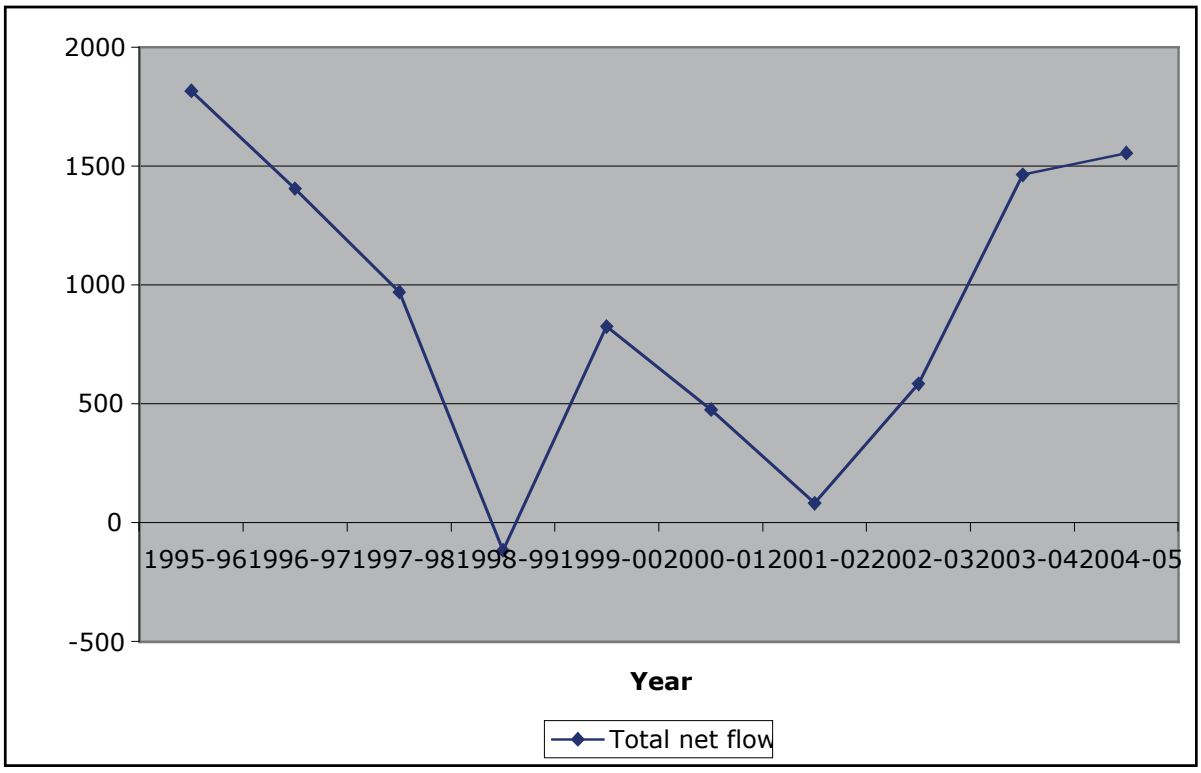

Figure 2. Net flow of all school teachers to Australia, 1995-96 to 2004-05

Source: Data from Birrell *et al.,* 2006, 20.

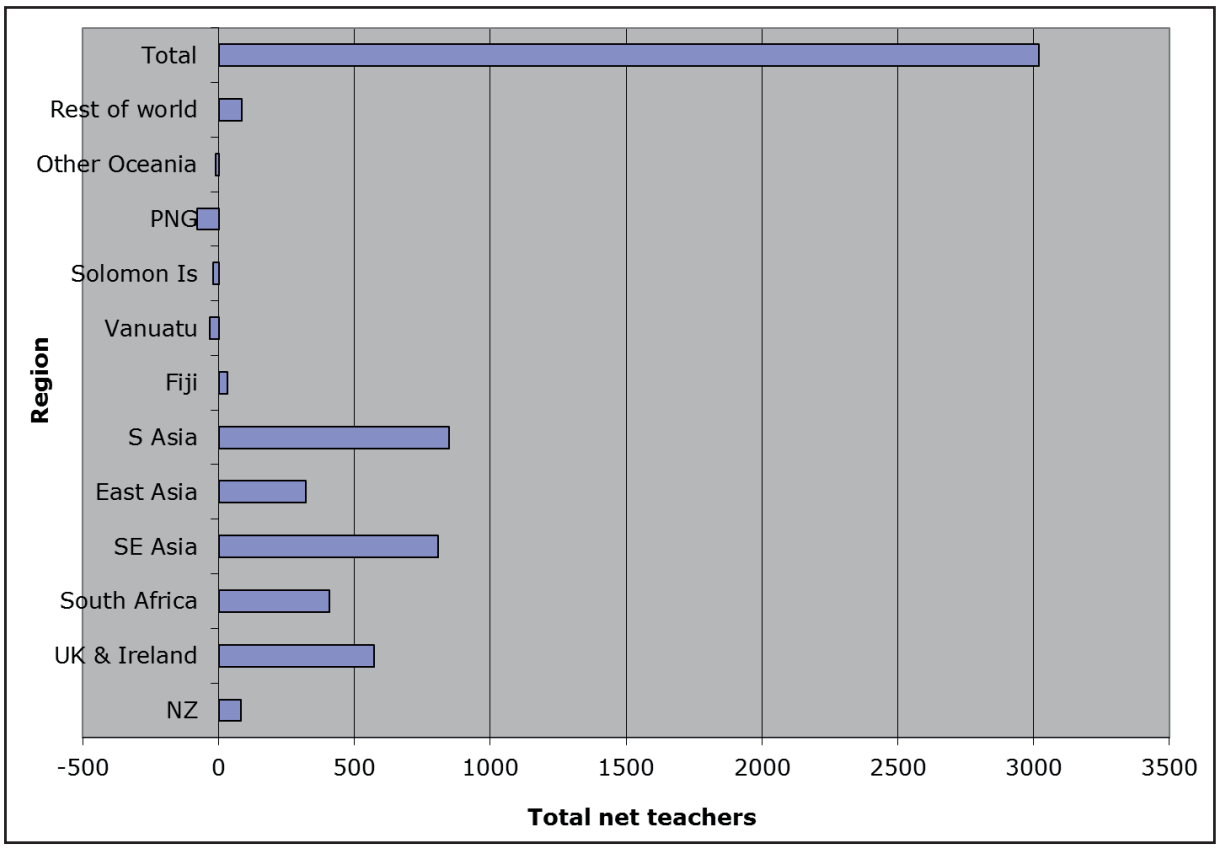

Figure 3. Net gain to Australia of all teachers by source region, 2003-05
Source: Data from Birrell *et al.,* 2004 and 2006.

Australia — they merely stated this as their occupation on the arrival card.

There is a history of Fijian teacher migration to Australia. Prior to 1971, 85 teachers were recorded as having arrived in Australia from Fiji (Inglis and Philps, 1995: 21). Numbers continued to be low in the early 1980s but there was a sharp increase from 1985 to 1988-89, over the period of Fiji's first military coup in 1987. By 1997-98, settler arrivals were only part of the intake, as Australian residents also returned and visitors arrived in Australia.

Figure 4 shows that in 1997-2000 permanent settler arrivals from Fiji were the major part of the intake of Fijian teacher arrivals in Australia. Returning Australian residents and visitor arrivals were much smaller in number. In 2000-03, the number of settler arrivals from Fiji was reduced slightly while visitor arrivals reduced dramatically. The numbers continued to drop in 2003-05, except for visitor arrivals, which increased slightly. Teachers from other parts of the world are an important component of Australia's temporary skilled migration visa, the 457-visa, but this is not the case for Fiji.[2]

Figure 4 shows that resident and visitor departures both dropped markedly in 2000-03 but increased again in 2003-05. Once the departure of residents and visitors is taken into account, the net inflow from Fiji amounted to 384: 171 for the period 1997-2000, 182 in 2000-03 and 31 in 2003-05. The volatility is more a reflection of the political situation in Fiji than Australian hiring policies.

Some of the reasons for the low level of teacher migration from PICs to Australia in the past need to be explored. Inglis and Philps (1995: 22-3) found that only half (53.2%) of the 233 Fijian teachers who arrived between 1986 and 1991 were employed as teachers at the time of

[2] The inflow of 457-visa holders has increased so that the net annual intake of teachers, including some working holiday-makers, averaged 1,281 from 2000-01.

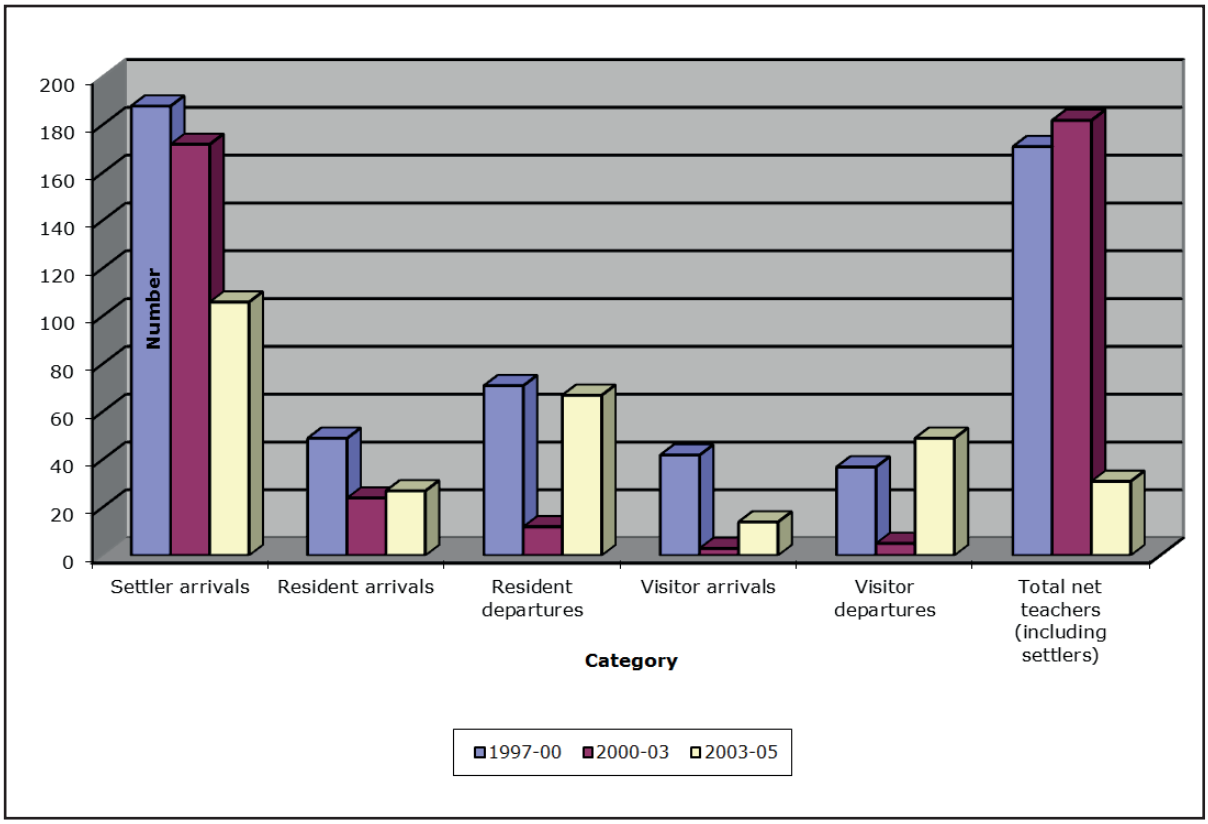

Figure 4. All Fiji teacher arrivals and departures, Australia, 1997-05
Source: Birrell et al., 2001, 2004, 2006.

the 1991 census. This rate is lower than the rate of 100% for the main English speaking (MES) countries but higher than for comparable countries where English is also widely spoken but which are defined as non-English speaking background (NESB) countries: India (34.8%), Malaysia (38.7%), Oceania (32.1%) and the Philippines (46.1%). Total NESB countries had an employment success rate of 45.9%.

According to one government key informant:

> Pacific Islander teachers face several challenges when migrating to Australia and very few of them end up in the teaching profession. Those without a University of the South Pacific qualification who only went to a teaching training college do not get their qualifications recognised. Language is another hurdle. Moreover, most migrants have to quickly find employment and start earning money to pay their bills. Hence, many take manual jobs which are easy and quick to find and get stuck there, never getting around to joining the teaching force again. (NSW Department of Education and Training, Personal Interview, 2004)

Australian Bureau of Statistics census data for 2001 were used to calculate 'rates of return to the occupation of teaching' for people born in Fiji, who arrived in Australia between 1996 and 2001 (ABS, 2005). These data show a return to teaching rate of 80%, which indicates a marked improvement over the 1991 figure. This is perhaps a reflection of the improvement in training at USP and the recent widespread acceptance of USP teaching degrees in Australia. It means that Fijians or others with USP qualifications can qualify to teach in Australia.

In order to explore the integration of teachers from Fiji in Australia further, a sample survey of 33 teachers was conducted in Sydney in 2006. All 33 were employed as secondary teachers: three Indigenous Fijian teachers were in the social sciences and all were permanent employees. Thirty Indo-Fijians were spread across English, history, science, math, social sciences, technology and applied studies, with 26 permanently and four casually employed. Most people had sought

information about jobs before they came to Australia and only four had not. The most important sources of information were friends and relatives and 12 people had made earlier trips to Australia before they migrated. Only two Indo-Fijians had been offered a job before they came—they were employer nominations (under 457-visas) and had had their fares paid. In terms of finding teaching employment once in Australia, most found their first job in Australia without the assistance of anyone else, friends and relatives helped some, 17 used newspapers to look for jobs and four approached employers directly. Only seven had had non-teaching jobs since they arrived in Australia, which indicates reasonably quick integration into the teaching workforce.

Most Fijian teachers interviewed were happy with the availability of resources and facilities; good intra-staff relationships and less hierarchy than in Fiji; good working conditions, including hours of work and pay. The overwhelming majority indicated that the availability of resources and student-based learning, the scope for professional development and greater freedom in teaching made teaching better in Australia than where they had been before. None of them intended to move to a third country but two Indo-Fijians were uncertain about whether they would return to Fiji in the future. The remaining 31 people said they would not return. When asked about the changes that would need to occur to lead them to change their minds, some said 'nothing would change their mind' whereas for most 'an improvement in the political circumstances and in racial harmony' could influence them. In response to a question about why they wanted to remain in Australia, the strongest reasons given were 'have a good job and satisfactory income', 'good health care', 'schools are good/ education availability' and 'children settled here'. In short, individual Fijian teachers and their families have been clear beneficiaries of migration to Australia and would return home only when the social and political situations improved markedly.

In order to understand this Fijian migration flow better, and why Cook Islander and Ni-Vanuatu teachers have not followed the same path, fieldwork was conducted in these three PICs. Two of the three countries currently experience low levels of international teacher mobility and the reasons for this will be explored. Fiji's recent and possible future teacher mobility trends, and skilled migration trends more generally, will be examined.

International teacher mobility in three Pacific Island Countries

For the research study on which this paper is based, the method consisted of selecting 12 schools in the Cook Islands, 28 in Fiji and 21 in Vanuatu with the assistance of Ministries of Education. Questionnaires were distributed to all teachers and completed anonymous questionnaires were dropped into a box or collected by the principals. In-depth interviews were conducted with all principals/head teachers in the selected schools, with other key informants and with recent graduates and teacher trainees. Table 1 provides a summary of the number of schools and teachers included in the three samples. Clearly the findings are only indicative, as the samples do not purport to be scientifically representative, but in the absence of any previous research the findings provide a starting point for future work.

Cook Islands

The total resident population in the Cook Islands was 18,000 in 2001 and 13,000 in 2009 (AusAID, 2009). The Cook Islands are spread over 1400 kilometres and comprise 15 islands with a total land area of 237 square kilometres. The Southern Group of these islands comprises Rarotonga (where the capital, Avarua, is located), Aitutaki, Atiu, Mangaia Ma'uke, Mitiaro, Palmerston and Takutea, most of which are high volcanic formations. The Northern Group comprises Manihiki, Nassau, Penrhyn, Pukapuka and Rakahanga; all except Nassau are low-lying coral atolls.

There were 137 primary and 122 secondary teachers in 2005. The teaching profession was heavily female (75%). In terms of ethnicity, 84% were Cook Islanders and the remainder were NZ Maori and non-Maori, other Pacific Islander and Anglo-Saxon. In government schools, 19% of teachers held university degrees compared

Country	No. of schools		No. of Teachers			
	Total	Surveyed	Total	No. of completed questionnaires	Teacher response rate in survey (%)	Sample as % of total teacher workforce
Cook Islands	33 (2005)	12	282 (2005)	94	69	36
Fiji Islands	889 (2007)	28	9960 (2007)	416	63	4.2
Vanuatu	493 (2003)	21	2288 (2003)	145	67	6.3

Table 1. Composition of samples, by number of schools and teachers

with 27% in non-government schools. Government schools had 98% certified as teachers (with a Teachers' College Certificate or Diploma) compared with 65% in non-government schools (Cook Islands Ministry of Education, 2005: 12-13). Historically, the main training ground for primary teachers in the Cook Islands has been the Cook Islands Teachers' Training College (CITTC) located in Rarotonga. Small numbers have also been trained in New Zealand and Australia. CITTC trainees typically undertook a two-year government-funded training course. In the past, the Cook Islands lost teachers to New Zealand where their teaching qualifications were often upgraded.

Almost half of the sample of 94 teachers had a two-year diploma from CITTC and university level qualifications were held by 41.5% of teachers. At the other end of the spectrum, five teachers had attained only primary or secondary schooling. A high 94.7% of the sample held teacher-training qualifications and the majority of training had been undertaken in the Cook Islands and New Zealand, though the importance of USP was also evident.

The lack of specialist-trained teachers in several areas, especially science, commerce and mathematics, has often meant that schools relied on expatriates to fill vacancies. This is a result of inadequate training numbers and people leaving for other occupations, rather than emigration. The Cook Islands Ministry of Education attempted to fill specific persistent vacancies in secondary schools by relying on overseas recruitment. Overseas recruitment was a long process and vacancies often existed for many months. Once there was a vacancy in a school there was a three-tiered hiring system of advertising locally, then in the New Zealand Gazette for a Cook Islander and then open advertising in New Zealand for anyone. This was a 'pro-Cook Islander' policy as it required a labour market test in the first stage, even when it was known that there was no suitable teacher available. The policy underwent some changes in 2007 and according to a spokesperson for the Cook Islands Ministry of Education:

> We are somehow recruiting globally unintentionally by taking advantage of the technology we have. With easy access to Internet in the outer islands, advertisements for teaching positions are placed on our education website immediately targeting mainly our teachers and others in the outer islands who do not receive the local paper where we advertise teaching vacancies. And, of course, by doing this anyone around the globe who has Internet can access this information. However, we still have the idea of considering our local resource as preference unless of course we do not have anybody suitable then consideration for others is made. (CI MoE, Personal communication, 2010)

This has had both positive and negative effects. Expatriate teachers brought valuable new skills and knowledge but their experiences were often fraught with difficulties and they were reluctant to stay for very long. Some Cook Islander teachers living offshore expressed a desire to return home to work but the wages and general conditions had not provided adequate incentive. Mechanisms for topping up returning Cook

Islanders' salaries or temporary placements of non-resident Cook Islanders at home could be negotiated between the Cook Islands administration and sending countries, according to interviewees.

The emphasis now is on upgrading and improving the conditions of teachers in the Cook Islands, hopefully so that they will remain at home. The CITTC has made its training available by distance education so that it can become more attractive to students on outer islands. In 2005, the College also began offering a secondary graduate teaching diploma, as the supply of secondary teachers was problematic. The University of the South Pacific (USP) is also important for the upgrading of diploma level primary and secondary teachers to degree level teachers and 92 were enrolled at USP in 2005.

These are important policy initiatives that fall into line with international themes. For example, the *Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol* (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2004) calls on source countries to improve the attractiveness of the teaching profession [Para 4.1]. It stresses that countries should provide their teachers with better opportunities and try to improve working conditions and remuneration but this is not easy in the context of limited resources and low budgets for education.

Migration attitudes and intentions

The intention to migrate was generally low among the 49 ethnic Cook Islanders[3] in the sample: only 12.5% of the Cook Islander teachers responded that they 'intended to live in another country permanently' (see Table 2) and 75% said that they did not intend to move to another country permanently. The remaining 12.5% were not sure. Those with middle incomes had a higher desire to migrate than those with low and high incomes. The desire for better secondary education opportunities for their own children ranked as the number one reason for wanting to migrate. Another important reason was the desire to access better health care elsewhere. Neither of these factors is associated with conditions in the teaching profession but rather with the availability of educational and other services. Smoother overseas study arrangements may encourage parents to stay and teach while their children go away to study. Overall, the level of teacher mobility in the Cook Islands is low and inhibited by the low levels of training.

Vanuatu

Vanuatu's population was 186,700 in 1999 and increased to 245,000 by 2009 (AusAID, 2009). Vanuatu is a nation of 83 islands, with a total land area of 12,190 square kilometres and a population density of 18 per square kilometre in 2006 (SPC, 2006). Most people live in rural villages and more than 75 per cent of the population is involved in agriculture. The vast majority of Vanuatu's population is made up of Ni-Vanuatu. The population growth rate was 2.6% and the median age was 19.7 in 2006 (SPC, 2006). Vanuatu thus has an extremely youthful population, which has important implications for its education system.

The overall number of teachers in Vanuatu was 2,288 in 2003: 1,621 primary teachers and 667 secondary teachers. The number of male and female teachers was almost the same with female teachers out-numbering males at primary level and the reverse at the secondary level. In 2001-02, 100% of primary teachers and 85% of secondary teachers had teacher training qualifications according to UNESCO (2006). However, the sample of 145 teachers surveyed showed that 11.5% of primary and 25.6% of secondary teachers did not have teaching qualifications. A Ministry of Education official agreed that many untrained teachers remained in the system at all levels of education, adversely affecting the quality of teaching. The sample showed that: 69.2% of primary teachers and 37.5% of secondary teachers received their highest qualification from a teacher training college, mainly in Vanuatu, and university level qualifications were held by only 9.6% of primary teachers and 42% of

[3] The sample of 94 teachers in the Cook Islands included 49 ethnic Cook Islanders (Maori). Most others were expatriate teachers. Since the experiences and aspirations of Cook Islanders differ from the others, the following analyses are limited to ethnic Cook Islanders.

	Cook Islanders (%)	Fiji (%)	Vanuatu (%)
a) Age			
Under 30	22.2	43.2	22.6
30-40	0.0	46.7	23.3
40-50	15.4	30.0	9.9
50+	9.1	25.6	16.7
b) Sex			
Female	9.1	43.3	13.8
Male	28.6	36.6	30.2
c) Highest qualification			
Prim/sec school	25.0	46.7	11.8
Teacher training college	6.4	34.3	21.1
University degree	25.0	46.3	25.0
Postgraduate degree/diploma	20.0	37.5	36.4
d) Type of school			
Primary	9.1	40.8	26.8
Secondary	21.1	40.0	17.6
e) Location of school			
Capital city	22.7	43.0	20.7
Major island easily accessible	0.0	38.6	0.0
Rural areas / Outer islands	4.2	24.0	19.1
f) Overseas connections			
Relatives living overseas	13.0	45.4	32.7
Ever travelled abroad	13.3	46.4	19.8
Ever lived abroad	22.2	42.9	23.4
Total	**12.5**	**40.2**	**17.9**

Table 2. Responses of samples who *intend* to live in another country permanently, by demographic factors and school characteristics (%)

Source: Sample surveys, 2005-06.

secondary teachers. The sample also contained 10 primary and 10 secondary teachers who had attained only primary or secondary schooling.

The main training ground for primary and junior secondary teachers is the Vanuatu Institute for Teacher Education (VITE) in Port Vila. VITE offers two-year certificates for primary teachers and two-year English and French diplomas for junior secondary teachers. Entry requirements for VITE include academic achievement as well as ensuring a geographical spread of teacher trainees to ensure staffing of outer island schools. 'Community' teachers (primary and high school graduates with teaching experience) may be recommended to undertake a VITE course, after three years of dedicated teaching. Anglophone VITE graduates can upgrade their qualifications to a USP degree, as they receive credit for courses taken at VITE.

Senior secondary teachers are either trained at the USP, the Solomon Islands College of Higher Education, the Goroka Teachers' College and the Pacific Adventist University in PNG, Fulton College in Fiji and, in the case of Francophone students, in New Caledonia. All these qualifications are recognised throughout the region but only the USP ones are recognised in Australia. Ni-Vanuatu teachers trained in Fiji, Australia or New Zealand on scholarships are required to return home or pay their bond. Thus there is no opportunity for migration immediately after the completion of studies as few can afford to repay their bond.

Since Independence, there has been a localisation of the teaching force and the number of expatriate teachers has decreased substantially. The current immigration of teachers is largely a response to shortages, especially of secondary teachers. There were only 30 expatriate teachers in 2006. Most of them were Australians and New Zealanders on local salaries, Peace Corps Volunteers, Japanese volunteers, Australian Youth Ambassadors and GAP students. No active government overseas recruitment occurs although some private schools do recruit abroad through their networks.

There is a policy of returning people to their home islands to work, to save on housing and relocation costs. It is assumed that free housing will be readily available in villages and that once there, teachers will not want to relocate—thus saving on future relocation costs. Also, newly trained teachers who cannot find a paid position often return to their home villages and do unpaid teaching work. One positive effect of the above pattern is that the staffing of schools in outer islands is generally less problematic in Vanuatu than in other PICs. One negative effect is that it may lead to stagnancy and affect the quality of teaching. Another is that given that fewer people from outer islands are trained as teachers, some outer island primary schools have inadequate numbers of teachers.

Migration attitudes and intentions

Overall, Vanuatu has a very low level of outmigration, including of teachers. This is reinforced by our sample survey, which showed that 26 (17.9%) intended to move to another country permanently, 34 (23.4%) were not sure and 66 (45.5%) did not intend to migrate (see Table 2). For the 60 in the first two categories, 'better opportunities for children elsewhere' was the most often indicated reason, followed by 'poor job, low pay, poor working conditions', 'poor promotion opportunities' and the 'high cost of living' in Vanuatu and 'better health care (elsewhere)'. For those wanting to stay, it was largely because of their personal connections in Vanuatu. By far the most important reason, given by 91.2% of respondents, was that they had close relatives and friends in Vanuatu. Other important reasons were that their children were settled in Vanuatu and the low level of crime.

Without university degrees and teacher training qualifications, Ni-Vanuatu teachers are constrained from moving elsewhere to work as teachers. Most teachers have two-year teaching certificates or diplomas and these are not accepted as adequate for teaching in Pacific Rim countries, including Australia. Those who have come to Australia do not appear to be working as teachers, according to the census and anecdotal evidence. Even in times when there has been a surplus of trained teachers relative to available paid positions in Vanuatu, there was no outmovement on either a temporary or permanent basis.

The relatively low level of teacher training has the effect of reducing the overseas professional employment options for teachers. This is the result of historical patterns and a shortage of resources, not a deliberate policy as has been proposed in South Africa.[4] Another reason for the low level of emigration is that many Ni-Vanuatu qualified teachers do not have adequate information on overseas employment opportunities. Many newly trained teachers from VITE are unable to find a paid position due to a shortage

[4] A policy of providing 'less than international standards training' or 'country-specific training' is one mechanism that South Africa has considered as a means of keeping skilled workers at home, in the face of the high rates of emigration of their skilled health workers (Dumont and Meyer, 2003: 133).

of government resources but neither they, nor the government, have investigated going elsewhere to work on a contract basis. This is rather surprising as some PICs are short of teachers and could utilise Ni-Vanuatu teachers who are unemployed. Vanuatu MoE officials suggested that the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS) organise of a scheme of teacher rotation within the PIC region. Such a rotation scheme could target teachers, school administrators and managers and could take the form of two-year attachments in another PIC. To date, no such scheme has been established.

While international migration is not creating supply or demand issues, the absence of international teacher mobility may reduce the inflow of new knowledge, ideas and methods unless other avenues are found. The advantages of localisation are clear in that workforce planning can operate in a closed system but the negative side is a tendency to inwardness and lack of innovation. The balance between these two aspects is one that could be considered in Vanuatu and other countries in similar situations.

Fiji Islands

At the time of Fiji's most recent census in September 2007, the country's population was 827,900 (Fiji Islands Bureau of Statistics, 2007). The population is largely made up of two ethnic groups, Indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians. The Indo-Fijian population has decreased recently in size relative to the Indigenous Fijian population and in 2007 the population comprised 473,983 Indigenous Fijians (57%), 311,591 Indo-Fijians (38%) and 42,326 'Others' (5%) (Fiji Islands Bureau of Statistics, 2007). The population growth rate between 2006 and 2010 was estimated at 0.7% and the median age at 23.6 (Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2006). Fiji has a youthful population but the population growth is low in comparison with many other Pacific Island countries, as a result of considerable emigration.

There were 5,131 primary teachers, 2,344 (46%) male and 2,787 (54%) female, and 4,327 secondary teachers, evenly split between male and female, in 2007 (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2008). Each of Fiji's major ethnic groups was almost equally represented with 4,700 indigenous Fijian and 4,594 Indo-Fijian teachers (Fiji Ministry of Education, 2005: 57-8).

The vast majority of primary teachers in Fiji are trained within the country at the three primary teaching colleges: the government Lautoka Teachers College; the Catholic Corpus Christi College, and the Seventh Day Adventist Fulton College. The USP also offers Bachelor of Education (primary) degrees. Secondary teachers are trained at the Fiji College of Advanced Education offering diplomas in education, at USP offering Bachelors of Education (secondary) and postgraduate certificates in education, and at the Fiji Institute of Technology offering secondary teaching certificates. According to UNESCO (2006), the proportion of trained teachers was 97% at primary level and 82% at secondary level in 2002-03. Only USP-degree holding teachers will have their qualifications accepted as adequate for teaching in the Pacific Rim countries.

Teaching is an attractive profession in Fiji and the number of people applying for places in training colleges far outweighs the number of places available. In recent years, the number of teaching vacancies advertised by the Ministry of Education has fallen far short of the expected number of new graduates from the four teaching colleges. While students from the two government teacher training colleges have guaranteed employment upon graduation, students from the private colleges and USP have had considerable difficulties finding employment. Consequently, many recent graduates have remained unemployed for considerable periods of time. The situation for new graduates has been exacerbated since 2000 with an increase in retirement age in the public service from 55 to 60. To an extent this has been normalised since 2006, as some teachers have reached the retirement age of 60.[5] The Fiji Government has been involved in discussing a potential scheme whereby Fijian teachers would temporarily fill vacancies in other PICs, including Tonga, Samoa and the Cook Islands, but nothing has come of this so far.

[5] The retirement age in the public service has been reduced again to 55 in 2009, opening up additional vacancies for new teachers.

There is a shortage, however, of qualified, experienced teachers and some subject areas (mathematics, sciences, IT, business and accounting) face considerable staff shortages at the secondary school level. Teacher shortages in these areas have been an issue since the late 1980s due to the increased migration of skilled people from Fiji. Frustration stemming from poor promotion opportunities, poor administration of schools and lack of teaching resources is very evident in Fiji. The emigration of teachers (mostly Indo-Fijian) has been much higher from Fiji than from either the Cook Islands or Vanuatu. Nearly 50% of all teacher migrants from Fiji were women (Chandra, 2003: 10) and most moved to Australia, New Zealand and the United States. Small numbers went temporarily to other PICs, e.g. Marshall Islands and Kiribati, where they were offered higher salaries in hard currencies.

Political, economic and other reasons come into migration decisions and when people are well qualified, they can look to moving elsewhere. On the other side of the coin, as already pointed out, the visa policies in the main destination countries of Australia and New Zealand emphasise skills, qualifications and work experience and only the more highly qualified and experienced teachers will be successful in their migration applications to these countries if they apply under the skilled migration, rather than the family reunion, category. Data show that between 1987-99 and 2000-04, 6,869 and 3,826 professionals, technical and related workers emigrated from Fiji, respectively. This represented over half of Fiji's stock of middle to high level workers and teachers were the most dominant professional group (Mohanty, 2005: 5).[6] Therefore some of the shortage of highly experienced secondary teachers and of those in particular subject areas has been compounded by emigration to Australia and New Zealand. The current level of international mobility of teachers is difficult to ascertain, as emigration data collected in Fiji in the form of departure cards are no longer publicly available.

There are few expatriate teachers working in Fiji, mostly in church-run schools, and the country does not benefit from donor assistance to supply expatriate teachers. Few Fijian teachers have returned to teach in Fiji after having lived and worked overseas. The serious detriment experienced by teachers who may consider returning, i.e. starting again at the bottom of the teaching scale, is unlikely to encourage return migration. As a result, Fiji's teaching force has had very little outside exposure. This could be one reason for the general lack of innovation in teaching methods that was commented on by teachers and principals.

Migration attitudes and intentions

In the sample, 40% stated that they 'intended to move to another country permanently', 36% did 'not intend to migrate' and the rest were 'not sure'. The intention to migrate was thus much higher than for the two other countries (Table 2). Indo-Fijians were more likely to want to migrate than Indigenous Fijians.[7] The percentage intending to emigrate was almost the same for primary and secondary teachers but those on outer islands were less likely to want to emigrate. Those on lower salaries were more likely to want to emigrate than teachers on higher salaries.[8] Australia and New Zealand were by far the most popular destinations.

Table 3 shows that the most common reason stated by the 251 (64%) interviewees who 'intended to migrate' or 'were not sure' was 'better opportunities for children' elsewhere. This was followed by 'better health care' overseas. Thus, the two main reasons given by teachers for wanting to emigrate were not associated with the teaching profession but rather with the availability of good education and health services. The third most important factor for both ethnic groups was 'poor job, low pay, poor working conditions' followed by 'poor promotion opportunities'. These elements are within the scope

[6] This is not altogether surprising given that they are also the largest group of professionals in the country.

[7] This association was statistically significant at the 99% level.

[8] The Chi-Square test shows that the association between teacher salary and intention to emigrate was statistically significant.

Reason	Indigenous Fijians %	Indo-Fijians %	Total %
Better opportunities for children elsewhere	76.8	81.2	**84.0**
Poor job, low pay, poor working conditions in Fiji	47.8	45.5	**47.8**
Poor promotion opportunities in Fiji	43.5	41.6	**44.2**
High cost of living in Fiji	23.2	31.7	**29.5**
Better health care elsewhere	44.9	58.4	**53.4**
Poor schools in Fiji	8.7	8.9	**8.8**
Political persecution, fear of political persecution	6.5	39.6	**20.7**
Religious persecution, fear of religious persecution	1.4	8.9	**4.8**
Family problems in Fiji	5.8	5.0	**5.2**
Spouse wants to move abroad	15.9	23.8	**19.5**
Lack of close relatives/friends in Fiji	3.6	17.8	**10.0**
Don't like climate in Fiji	2.2	5.9	**3.6**
Discrimination in Fiji	10.9	32.7	**20.7**
Don't get along with boss or co-workers	0.7	2.0	**1.2**
Poor physical environment in Fiji	2.9	19.8	**10.8**
High crime rate in Fiji	5.8	27.7	**15.9**
Other	9.4	4.0	**7.2**
Total number of people	**138.0**	**101.0**	**100.0**

Table 3. Reasons for wanting to emigrate, Fiji Islands (%)
Source: Sample survey conducted in Fiji, 2005.

of government and non-government education suppliers to address, if they have the resources. Here, we return to the issue of teaching conditions in source countries being a factor that contributes to skilled emigration when people have a choice. For Indo-Fijians, political persecution or the fear of it, discrimination, and the high crime rate were also important reasons.[9]

The 16 secondary schools included in the sample had lost a total of 76 teachers in the previous year and 20 of these teachers had left their school in order to migrate overseas. The 11 primary schools had lost a total of 24 teachers in the previous year but none went overseas. These figures show that internal transfers are a more important reason for primary and secondary teacher mobility than international migration.

The main issue of concern in Fiji appears to be the emigration of qualified and experienced secondary teachers. It is serious if children in Fiji do not have access to these teachers and the quality of their education suffers. One predominantly Indo-Fijian secondary school in Suva which had a total of 66 teachers, including 55 Indo-Fijians and 11 Indigenous Fijians, had been very adversely

[9] People could state up to three reasons and hence the total number of reasons exceeds 251.

affected by overseas migration. In 2005, four teachers migrated to Australia and one to the United Kingdom. According to the principal, the negative effects for his school depended on a number of factors:

> It is not only the fact that teachers leave for overseas. The five teachers who have left this year, have all left in the middle of the year. The only replacements I can get in the middle of the year are unemployed graduates or teachers who were kicked out of other schools … Most teachers are very secretive about their intentions. … Most teachers from this school have gone to Australia and as far as I know they have all found teaching jobs. In my view, Australia makes a lot of money by attracting skilled workers to the country. (Personal interview, 2006)

Discussion on Fiji-Australia teacher migration stream

As pointed out earlier, the structure of the Australian migration points system favours those with tertiary qualifications, experience, English language ability and an occupation that is deemed to be in shortage. It is most probable, therefore, that the more highly qualified (USP-trained, usually sponsored) and more experienced teachers will have been successful in their settler migration applications, through either family reunion, economic or humanitarian streams. Those who have been trained in government two or three-year diploma programs are unlikely to be able to migrate and gain employment in Australia as teachers (without significant upgrading). Therefore some of the shortage of highly experienced secondary teachers in Fiji has been compounded by emigration. It is not direct recruitment but indirect means of acquiring skills that are in short supply are used. The exception is through the 457 temporary visa program, which admits sponsored applicants for four years—renewable and convertible to permanent settlement.

A unique attempt has been made to quantify the economic cost to Fiji of emigration, based on all persons emigrating (5,510 per year on average) between 1987-2001 (Reddy *et al*., 2002). While a more refined analysis of only skilled emigrants would have been preferable for the purposes of skilled migration debates, it is, nevertheless, a good starting point for further analysis. The study calculated the costs of human capital in terms of a) public education and training expenses for all migrants[10], b) financial capital that left with all migrants[11], c) recruitment of expatriate professionals with high wages and all other cumulative direct and indirect costs, and d) income foregone through migration.[12] The total loss to Fiji in the short term due to migration was estimated to be F$44.5m every year or equivalent to 4.7 per cent of the government's total revenue. The loss in output was estimated at F$60.3m per year. The authors claim that the consequences of skilled emigration on civil society, the private sector and the public sector are also estimated to be major. In particular, they argue that the quality of health care has deteriorated as patient/health worker ratios increase; and the migration of teachers, nurses and engineers has severely affected educational standards, health services and public utilities. While many of the figures and statements in this paper are difficult to substantiate, the paper represents a serious attempt to quantify the 'loss', as perceived by academic researchers. The perception of 'loss' is promulgated by some governments, including Fiji and the Philippines, and calls for compensation are heard from time to time.

Who construes the debate on 'brain drain' is an important issue. Industrialised countries have tended to downplay the concept of 'brain drain' and have instead focussed on 'circulation' and the positive gains that they perceive all countries accrue if skilled personnel become mobile. This may be the case for many skilled flows but there are particular instances where 'brain drain' which is costly and brings few positive returns is still at work. In particular, much of Africa, parts of

[10] Calculated from a) annual average national per capita expenditure ($388.33) on health and education and b) an assumption that scholarships were awarded to half (264) of the 528 professionals on average who left each year.

[11] Particularly the capital and productive assets lost through business migration, an average of F$40m from 1994-2001 (figures obtained from the Reserve Bank of Fiji, quoted in Reddy et al., 2002, p. 56).

[12] Calculated from the discounted value of the output foregone over the period in which the worker is not replaced.

the Caribbean, Bangladesh and Fiji fall into this category.

It is impossible for receiving countries such as Australia to discriminate against people from specific countries in their permanent settlement selection. It has been suggested, however, that temporary recruitment could be different. Some receiving countries say they will not draw service providers from countries in great need or where there is a shortage but it is difficult to implement such a policy. Various ethical recruitment policies and guidelines have been put in place and the UK is the most fervent supporter.[13] For example, ethical recruitment guidelines state that nurses and doctors in South Africa are not to be recruited by the UK. But such policies are hard to implement, as they cannot be policed in relation to the private sector, and '[d]espite a code of ethics restricting the recruitment of nurses from certain countries, one of every four overseas nurses who were qualified in the UK in 2002-2003 were from countries on the Department of Health's proscribed list' (Redfoot and Houser, 2005: 13).

Such ethical policy guidelines are commendable but run up against arguments about individual rights. In the case of permanent migration it is difficult to define losses that are 'permanent' and that do not generate any benefits for the source country. But so much skilled migration is now temporary, but often converting later to permanent, and here the arguments become even less straight-forward. If temporary migrants return home and bring back money and ideas, this may be to the advantage of the source country. But temporary skilled workers who are recruited by one country to fill their shortages may also leave the source country in shortage. This situation is to be avoided, according to ethical recruitment policies such as the Commonwealth Teachers' Protocol which promotes organized and ethical recruitment.

The *Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol* was adopted by Commonwealth member states in 2004. Its purpose is: 'to balance the rights of teachers to migrate internationally, on a temporary or permanent basis, against the need to protect the integrity of national education systems, and to prevent the exploitation of the scarce human resources of poor countries. The Protocol also seeks to safeguard the rights of recruited teachers and the conditions relating to their service in the recruiting country' (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2004: 7, [Para 3.1]). While it is 'not enforced in international law, the document holds moral authority on the matters it addresses' (Degazon-Johnson, 2007: 97). It stands as a beacon and can be aspired to by countries, even non-signatories. The *Protocol* emanated from a request for assistance to the Commonwealth Secretariat in 2002, by the Jamaican Minister of Education, as a result of the heavy loss of teachers due to recruitment by overseas countries. This was followed by meetings of all Caribbean Ministers of Education and then of all Commonwealth Education Ministers. The *Protocol* covers the rights and responsibilities of three groups: recruiting countries, source countries and recruited teachers. The foremost responsibility of recruiting countries is to 'manage domestic teacher supply and demand in a manner that limits the need to resort to organised recruitment in order to meet the normal demand for teachers' (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2004: 9 [Para 3.1]). Second, the *Protocol* calls on source countries to improve the attractiveness of the teaching profession [Para 4.1]. Third, the *Protocol* covers the satisfactory integration of immigrant teachers into the teaching workforces of receiving countries.

Australia is not a signatory to the Protocol and is not recruiting teachers directly anywhere at the present time, except through the 457-visa temporary entry program where sponsors search for and apply to bring in a specified worker. The question of whether Fiji should or could be bypassed in the 457-visa program has not arisen but the political context makes it unlikely that this could happen. This is substantiated by the fact that the level of Fiji asylum applications has spiked recently in Australia, as people who are already onshore file applications for discrimi-

[13] See *Box III.2. Code of conduct for the recruitment of international health workers* in OECD (2007: 180), for a discussion of the UK's policies and of unsuccessful international moves to encourage ethical recruitment.

nation by the military government led by Frank Bainimarama (Mottram and Hill, 2010).

In the face of the difficulties of implementing ethical recruitment policies, Australia and other countries could ensure adequate aid to compensate for skilled immigrants who come from developing countries. The issue of compensation has been raised in much of the skilled migration literature, dating from the early 'brain drain' literature of the 1970s. While it is not mentioned in the Commonwealth Teachers' Protocol it does feature in the *Code of Conduct for the International Recruitment of Health Workers* (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2003) where the following clauses on compensation are contained in Para 21:

- programmes to reciprocate for the recruitment of a country's health workers through the transfer of technology, skills and technical and financial assistance to the country concerned;
- training programmes to enable those who return to do so with enriched value;
- arrangements to facilitate the return of recruitees (subject to application of the non-discrimination principle and to the rights of the workers concerned in accordance with immigration and other laws).

It is generally agreed that any direct compensation mechanism would be complex and difficult to manage and, as a consequence, most policy analysts who support this idea suggest some more general form of compensation when skilled human resources are gained from a country, such as giving international aid. The aid is not labeled compensation nor is it necessarily earmarked for the sectors from which skilled human resources have come. This position is reflected in the two Commonwealth codes mentioned above.

More direct systems of compensation also exist where, for example, direct payment is made by UK hospitals to pay for the training of some nurses in the Philippines. This could simply be a way of guaranteeing a steady supply of nurses but it does at least pay for their tertiary training, though with no compensation to the government for the education and health services provided till age 18. Some school principals in Fiji suggested a less direct but similar scheme in that Australia provide more scholarship money for teacher training as a form of compensation.

When looking at teacher migration according to the 'brain drain' and the 'migration-development nexus' views, Fiji experiences both negative and positive impacts. In Fiji, where most emigration has been permanent, especially among Indo-Fijians, the negative or 'brain drain' effects associated with skilled emigration are considerable. Fiji loses valuable human resources while benefiting little from an exchange of ideas or personnel — which the literature on the migration-development nexus has identified as a potentially beneficial impact of migration. However, remittances have increased in Fiji in recent years and the migration of teachers has opened up opportunities for a considerable number of unemployed new graduates.

The main issue in Fiji, therefore, is how to retain qualified and experienced teachers, in an environment of political instability. This introduces another dimension and one that takes skilled emigration out of the realm of an economically and socially driven context to one where political factors become overwhelming.

Conclusion

On the whole, teachers in the Pacific do not just appear to be moving to fill more highly paid vacancies in Australia, even though Australia has established selection policies to facilitate filling such vacancies. There is no strong desire by teachers to be internationally mobile in the Cook Islands and Vanuatu and, even if there were, the lower level of training provided for teachers precludes their entry into more industrialised labour markets. Thus, we do not see the same trend occurring in the teaching profession as is happening in the health areas where, in the three PICs studied, local workers have been replaced by Bulgarians, Filipinos and Burmese, and most recently by Cubans and Taiwanese (Connell, 2008: 24). Connell describes this as 'as part of the cascading global care chain' that has emerged around the world as highly-qualified, English-speaking health professionals have moved to work outside of the Pacific and have been replaced by arrivals from a wide range of

sources, mostly on contract. The reasons why teachers have not followed the same trend as health workers is not clear.

The complexity of skilled teacher emigration from Fiji makes it quite unique in the Pacific. Highly qualified teachers have been moving from Fiji for a wide range of reasons, especially social and political. The winners are clearly the individuals and their families who qualify to enter Australia, or elsewhere, and where they are able to return to the practice of their profession. They often find this profession more rewarding abroad than they did at home and the personal benefits they gain are considerable. The professional growth and collegiality that they experience are significant. Thus while socially and politically motivated, the freedom to move has resulted in access to a much better professional environment. Individual agency has enabled them to respond to the policies designed in Australia to encourage them to migrate abroad.

The other major winners are government education departments or private schools in Australia that are able to utilise a supply of well-trained, experienced teachers. They come at no cost to these governments (except for some bridging courses) and often fill vacancies in difficult-to-fill areas, such as math, science and computer training, and in difficult schools, such as in areas with a high proportion of pupils of non-English speaking background. Western Sydney has significant numbers of PIC teachers, especially Fijians. This, of course, has the added advantage of providing teachers who are better able to relate to the Pacific Island students in these schools.

The loser is Fiji that appears to accrue little financial or social benefit from the loss of teachers. While the benefits of skilled emigration are often touted, especially via the actual and virtual return of more experienced and networked professionals and remittances sent home, this does not appear to be the case for Fiji. The political environment in Fiji is not conducive to Indo-Fijians, and increasingly Indigenous Fijians, returning and they are disinclined to put their new knowledge or skills back into Fiji. Nevertheless, remittances do return and are used for family purposes.

The cost to the Fijian Government of professional teacher emigration is estimated to be high. The earlier figures showed that a net total of 384 Fijian teachers came to Australia from 1997 to 2005. According to the Fiji Teachers' Association, Fiji 'can no longer afford to train teachers for the Australian and New Zealand labour markets' (Anonymous, 2005). Both the Fiji Teachers' Union and academic researchers have mounted an argument that compensation should be paid by receiving countries. The reality is that many non-USP trained teachers would not have their teaching qualifications recognised in Australia and so their training would be largely squandered. This is just one of the issues that make discussions about compensation difficult.

Discussions about compensation are not popular with receiving countries but the question remains as to whether it is ethical to use the skilled human resources of struggling nations without somehow paying them back, even if the exodus has been partly politically motivated. More circuitous routes are usually used. For example, Australia has donated aid money for regional scholarships for prospective teachers to study in Australia or at USP. Further scholarships aimed at filling shortages in specific secondary subject areas may alleviate some of the tensions in the region, especially in Fiji.

The other losers are the schools and children that do not have the qualified teacher they need or who must cope with the disruption of a teacher leaving mid-year. These are domestic issues that Ministries of Education in all countries must face. They could be partially alleviated by the elimination of the 'secrecy' that often surrounds migration decisions. This is particularly the case in Fiji where people feel disadvantaged or persecuted and quietly plan how to make their departure. But it applies to other PICs as well and makes it difficult for planners and principals to provide ongoing, quality services.

In more open contexts, where migration is seen as a normal part of an increasingly globalised world, the vagaries of people coming and going become an inherent part of government planning. This is the case in Australia where the in and outflow of teachers is quite substantial but

where school systems require adequate notice of a teacher's intention to leave. Even here, though, we still hear the occasional cry of 'brain drain' as the number of skilled professionals leaving for overseas attracts attention. In Australia's case, however, it is quickly dampened by government provision of the numbers who are also arriving. It is when an outflow is not matched by a corresponding inflow, that the cry of 'brain drain' and its negative implications gain prominence.

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