

**MIGRATION OF HIGHLY SKILLED TANZANIANS TO THE
UK AND ITS EFFECT ON BRAIN CIRCULATION**

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ABSTRACT

The migration of highly skilled persons is not a new phenomenon in the global economy. International labour migration has significant economic, social, political, and cultural implications in both developing and developed countries. Given this context this study explores the reasons that contribute to highly skilled persons migrating abroad, using the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians to the UK as an example.

The study takes a qualitative exploratory approach that employs a subjective ontology to explore reasons that apply in Tanzania that contribute to the decision for highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate to the UK and its effect on brain circulation in Tanzania. Thematic analysis was used together with Nvivo 10 software to analyse the research findings.

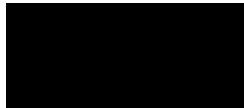
Data were collected through qualitative interviews that afforded opportunities to gain understanding from participants' views, experiences and perceptions of the reasons that contribute to migration decisions. Moreover, remittances, diasporas and return migration were major migration issues perceived by participants who discussed these influences on brain circulation. By returning home, even for a short time, highly skilled Tanzanians can impart their knowledge and experience acquired abroad to 'circulate' or mobilise the resources and activities in Tanzania so that they can be used in the most efficient way. Lee's (1966) theory was used to guide this study and the findings led to a modification of the theory that assisted in suggesting ways in which the Tanzanian government can develop policies that influence its highly skilled people to remain and work in the country, and its expatriates to return for brain circulation. Moreover, given the lack of previous qualitative research studies on the influence of migration of highly skilled Tanzanians on brain circulation, this paper contributes a qualitative method that is of value for future research.

Keywords: International migration, highly skilled Tanzanians, brain circulation

Author's declaration

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the University of Gloucestershire and is original, except where indicated by specific reference in the text. No part of this thesis has been submitted as part of any other academic award. The thesis has not been presented to any other education institution in the United Kingdom or Overseas. Any views expressed in this thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University.

Signed:



Date: 21/08/2015

Dedication

I dedicate this work and give special thanks to my loving parents, Mr. and Mrs. Peter and Mary Makakala for their prayers throughout the entire period of my doctorate study.

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I would like to thank the Business School of Administration at the University of Gloucestershire for giving me the opportunity to pursue my doctorate study and make my dream come true. Special thanks should go to Dr. Philippa Ward (Faculty Director of Research Studies) whose support has helped me to address all academic challenges. I truly thank the Ministry of Home Affairs of the government of Tanzania for granting me permission to pursue my doctorate study, in particular the heads of the Immigration Department: Mr. K.W.D. Kihomano, (former Commissioner of the Immigration Department); Mr. S. Ambokile, (current Commissioner); and Mr. P. Mgonja (Assistant Commissioner).

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1:1 Introduction

This chapter identifies and accounts for the research questions and objectives of this study in order to give an understanding of and insight into reasons that contribute to the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate to the UK. It will also identify its influence on brain circulation in Tanzania. Furthermore, it highlights the problem that led the researcher to conduct the study; it gives an overview of various theories of migration in order to provide a basis of the theoretical framework; and it explains the importance of research in this area. Lastly, the chapter presents the structure and organisation of this study. The words ‘migration decision’ will be used throughout the study to represent ‘the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate to the UK’ because it is the main subject that the thesis covers.

1:2 Background of the study

The migration of highly skilled people from developing to developed countries is not a new topic. The importance of studies on migration of highly skilled people abroad has recently gained significance for many researchers (Castle and Faini, 2007; Miller, 2009; Daugeliene, 2007; De Haas, 2007; Davis and Hart, 2010; Gupta & Tyagi, 2011; Postelnicu, 2012). Moreover, in recent years migration issues have moved closer to the top of the policy agendas of public authorities at all levels of government (Gupta & Tyagi, 2011). Migration issues have become the subject of regular debates at local, regional, national and international level and in supranational governing bodies, each of them addressing various migration issues from their own perspectives and with various concerns and interests (Sriskandarajah, 2005).

The issue of movement of people between countries or regions becomes more sensitive when it involves a high proportion of a highly educated and skilled workforce (Shah, 2011). An estimated 200 million people were living outside their home countries in 2005 (Davis and Hart, 2010). The labour force in developed countries is projected to reach about 600 million in 2050, while the labour force in less developed or developing countries is expected to increase from 2.4 billion in 2005 to 3 billion in 2020 and not less than 3.6 billion in 2040 (Postelnicu, 2012). According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) data on migration of knowledge workers, the United States (US) is the leading country in terms of attracting migrants, with over 7

million highly skilled immigrants; it is followed by the European Union (EU) with 4.7 million among them a significant proportion in the UK, and then by Canada and Australia with 2 and 1.4 million highly skilled foreign residents respectively (Daugeliene, 2007). Over half of these migrants come from outside the OECD area. It is estimated that at least 20,000 skilled Africans have left the continent each year since 1990 (Akokpari, 2005; Davies, 2007). Davies, (2007, p. 60) argues that “almost half of the highly skilled populations of Mozambique, Ghana and Tanzania leave the continent”. Based on the data from the African Caribbean and Pacific Observatory on Migration (ACP, 2010) the number of Tanzanian migrants to OECD countries was estimated to have reached 72,000, of whom 41% were highly skilled. From the migration literature, a highly skilled migrant is defined as having a university degree or professional qualification in a certain field (Iredale, 2001; Raghuram & Kofman, 2002). For the purpose of this study, they are defined in terms of level of education specifically those who hold a first degree and above (see section 2.3).

Generally, the issue of international migration is affected by many factors, such as economic, social, political, technological and environmental conditions, which motivate people to move from one place to another. The factors which motivate people to migrate might not necessarily be the same everywhere. Similarly, there are various reasons that contribute to the migration decision of highly skilled Tanzanians. Lee (1966) argues that migration is driven by ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors that play a vital role in the decision-making of a person to migrate or not. Lowell and Findlay (2001, p. 3) add that not only has the demand for skilled labour in developed countries increased, but pull factors such as “better wages and employment conditions, better information, recruitment and cheaper transportation” encourage skilled migrants to seek jobs and opportunities in developed countries. Meanwhile, the limited availability of job opportunities and economic decline in developing countries are among the push factors that make it difficult for skilled people to ignore the opportunities available in developed countries.

Furthermore, rapid globalisation processes are affecting more and more fields, generating many economic, social, cultural, and other changes all over the world. Contemporary global migration has a tendency to increase the level of migration of highly skilled people and increases the problem of brain drain (a shortage of highly skilled people in the area of origin), which affects less developed countries (Kazlauskiene & Rinkevicius, 2006). The problem becomes more serious because of the domination of one-way migratory flows from developing to developed countries, which causes an imbalance of emigrants

compared to immigrants in less developed countries. The highly skilled emigrants are not replaced by appropriate immigrants, neither in quantitative nor in qualitative terms. The sending country tends to lose people with scarce skills who are also principally in the most active age group of the population, with undesirable consequences on development in the home country (Shah, 2011).

On the other hand, there is literature (Docquier and Rapoport, 2004; Le, 2008; Castles and Miller, 2009; Musumba, Jin & Mjelde, 2011) declaring that emigration of highly skilled persons accelerates the development process in the country of origin by providing a pathway for information, technological and entrepreneurial skills and knowledge to be shared, upgrading human capital, remittances and the creation of close ties with the more developed world. However, when highly skilled and educated Tanzanians and others from less developed countries emigrate to developed countries, it normally results in decreased productivity in the areas of work those highly skilled people left (Stark, 2004). Kondoh (2007) declared that not only does skills emigration reduce the factor of endowment used in production but it also implies the loss of future growth potential. Therefore, there is a need to explore the reasons that contribute to the emigration decision of highly skilled Tanzanians and its influence on brain circulation in the country.

1:3 Statement of the problem

International labour migration has significant economic, social, political, and cultural implications in both developing and developed countries. Although labour migration has huge potential to enhance economic development, it also poses some serious challenges in both the sending and receiving countries (Geide-Stevenson & Ho, 2004; de Haas, 2005; Ruhs, 2006; Postelnicu, 2012; Tupa & Strunz, 2013).

Labour migration has become a major challenge in developing countries, including Tanzania, because it often involves the migration of a significant number of highly skilled people to developed countries, which thereby creates a problem of skills shortages in the home country. Borjas (1989) declares that a large-scale migration of highly skilled people poses a threat of 'brain drain' and 'brain waste', issues which negatively impact on economic growth and development in poor countries. This is also a serious issue in Tanzania, and one which needs further investigation, particularly since accurate data are not currently available (Shitundu, 2006; ACP, 2010). There is a perception that the number of highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad is considerable and that this therefore has a

significant effect on social and economic development. Moreover, there is a dearth of literature about the reasons that contribute to their migration decision and its influence on brain circulation. Kasnauskiene and Budvytyte (2013, p.740) describe brain circulation as “international mobility of highly skilled individuals between their home, destination and other countries”. The most important benefit of brain circulation is exchange of knowledge and experience at an international level through being part of an international network of professionals and skilled migrants who can help to bring back new ideas to their country of origin, to open their home country’s market to the opportunities that exist in the markets of the destination country and to encourage cooperation between the two countries (Gupta & Tyagi, 2011; Hugo, 2011; Harvey, 2012; Kasnauskiene & Budvytyte, 2013). This helps the highly skilled migrants to transfer knowledge and experience acquired abroad in their home country by returning home, either temporarily or permanently. However, the issue of how to encourage brain circulation in Tanzania needs to be investigated and ways need to be found in order for the government to consider policy developments that can influence highly skilled Tanzanians to return and work in the country for brain circulation.

1:4 An overview of the theoretical frameworks of this study

Massey et al. (1993) and De Haas (2008) cite a number of theories of migration which have been developed to discuss and analyse migration issues; for example, neoclassical economic theory (Lewis, 1954; Todaro 1970, 1976), the new economics of labour migration (Stark & Bloom, 1985), dual labour market theory (Piore, 1979), World System theory (Wallerstein, 1974), and the push-pull factor theory of migration (Lee, 1966), which states that economic reasons such as employment and wage difference between two geographic locations are among important reasons that contribute to the migration decision. However, Akokpari (2006) argues that there are other reasons such as social, political, technological and environmental conditions that contribute to highly skilled people making the decision to migrate internationally. Lee (1966) in his push-pull factor theory considers a range of factors that contribute to the decision of potential migrants at the individual levels, which are appropriate to the objectives of this study.

Lee (1966) revised Ravenstein’s (1889) laws on migration and proposed a new analytical framework for migration. Lee (1966) uses ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors to explain migration processes between areas of origin and destination; he also identifies intervening obstacles and personal factors to explain how migration decisions are affected at the level of individual perspectives. The theory seems attractive and able to provide a broad

opportunity for a researcher to explore migration through a range of different perspectives and investigate various reasons that contribute to the migration decision at the individual level, rather than relying on economic reasons only. It is also useful to evaluate the relevance of the theory in this study's context because the theory considers factors associated with the area of origin, factors associated with the area of destination, intervening obstacles between the area of origin and destination, and personal factors that are determinants of migration decisions. De Haas (2008) suggests that a general view of labour migration could be best achieved using a push-pull framework; these issues are further developed in chapter two.

1:5 Purpose of this study

This study explores the reasons contributing to highly skilled Tanzanians migrating abroad, using their migration to the UK as an example. The relevance of Lee's (1966) theory of migration is evaluated and revised in the light of the characteristics that exist in this study's context. The study also identifies perceptions of Tanzanian migration practitioners, those who specialise and work on migration issues, policy makers and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK about the impact of international migration on brain circulation in Tanzania. An understanding of the perceived reasons for international migration and its influence on brain circulation in Tanzania will assist in suggesting ways in which the Tanzanian government can influence and develop policies that make it more attractive for its highly skilled people to return and work in the country.

1:6 Research objectives

Specifically, the objectives are as follows:

- To explore the reasons that Tanzanian migration practitioners, policy makers, and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK perceive as contributing to highly skilled Tanzanians' decision to migrate to the UK
- To evaluate the relevance of Lee's (1966) theory of migration to an understanding of the reasons given by Tanzanian migration practitioners, policy makers, and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK on the decision to migrate to the UK
- To identify the perceptions of Tanzanian migration practitioners, policy makers and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK about the influence of the migration of highly skilled workers on brain circulation in Tanzania
- To suggest ways in which the Tanzanian government can influence its highly skilled workforce to return and work in Tanzania.

1:7 Research questions

In order to achieve the research objectives above, the study addresses the following questions:

- How can Lee's (1966) theory of migration help to understand the reasons given by Tanzanian migration practitioners, policy makers, and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK that contribute to the decision to migrate?
- What are the perceptions of Tanzanian migration practitioners, policy makers, and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK about the influence of migration of highly skilled Tanzanians on brain circulation?
- What can the government of Tanzania do to influence its highly skilled people to return to Tanzania and work for brain circulation?

1:8 Importance of the study

Quantitative methods have dominated in migration research studies; however, the use of a qualitative method in this study allows for an exploration of individuals' experiences and perceptions of migration, in the belief that greater knowledge about the way people decide to move or migrate will add or contribute to a better understanding of the reasons for the migration of highly skilled workers. The discovery of the personal perspectives of individuals requires a qualitative method (Silverman, 2010), and through the personal perspectives that will be investigated an insight into the reasons that contribute to the migration decision will be offered. Qualitative evidence is helpful for theory building and it also allows new issues to emerge that have not been previously considered.

Little attention has been paid to the effect of the emigration of highly skilled people abroad on brain circulation (Wicramasekara, 2003). Thus, there is a need to conduct this research to provide an understanding and insight of the perceived impact of the emigration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad on brain circulation in the country. The availability of highly skilled people is among the most valuable factors of production in the modern world economy, and a gap in this potential resource is considered one of the main reasons for many less developed countries, including Tanzania, lagging behind in the development of its health and education systems, in creative entrepreneurship and its rate of economic growth (Agosin & Machado, 2005). It is important for the government and all other sectors in Tanzania to understand the reasons that contribute to the migration decision in order to find possible ways that can motivate potential emigrants to return and work in the country for brain circulation. Moreover, Lee's (1966) theory of migration (push-pull factors)

provides a set of theoretical perspectives that can be applied in the context of emigration from Tanzania.

1:9 Structure and organisation of the study

This study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one provides an overview of the research questions and objectives, a background of the study, statement of the problem, describes the importance of the study and provides the structure and organization to the whole study.

Chapter two provides a review of existing literature on the migration of highly skilled people from developing to developed countries. Historical overviews of migration of skilled Tanzanians abroad, and contemporary issues in debates on the migration of highly skilled people and its influence on development such as migration and development, brain drain, brain gain, migration returnees, remittances and diasporas are also discussed. The chapter also offers a theoretical and conceptual framework of this study. Lee's (1966) theory of migration is evaluated and reviewed in order to provide an understanding of the reasons that contribute to the migration decision, and its influence on brain circulation. This allows the research to look beyond the narrow economic motivations usually advanced for migration and to invite the study's participants to explain other factors that may have contributed to their migration decision.

Chapter three describes the methodology and methods used in this study. The design of the study, methods of data collection, participants and the procedure by which they were selected, analysis methods, the researcher's positionality and ethical issues are presented in this chapter.

Chapter four presents and analyses the research findings. The findings collected from participants' views and experiences are discussed and interpreted using the literature review and theoretical concepts presented in chapter three in order to give meaning and reach conclusions based on the objectives of this study.

Finally, Chapter five draws conclusions from the research findings and provides recommendations related to the findings and the objectives of this study. The chapter also provides a summary of the main findings and contributions to knowledge in the field of international migration of highly skilled people from developing countries and its effect on brain circulation.

1:10 Summary

This chapter has highlighted the objectives and importance of this study. An overview of the theoretical framework has been provided to help understand the reasons that might contribute to the migration decision and its influence on brain circulation in Tanzania. The next chapter provides a critical review of existing literature about international migration of highly skilled people from developing to developed countries, particularly migration between Tanzania and the UK. Lee's (1966) theory of migration provides the theoretical framework to guide this study and its relevance is evaluated in order to develop concepts that will help to collect, analyse and interpret relevant data for this study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a review of literature about the migration of highly skilled people from developing countries, of which Tanzania is an example, to developed countries. The dearth of literature on the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad leads the researcher of this study to apply literature and surveys involving other developing countries, because Tanzania has a broadly similar economic and social background to them. The chapter discusses and analyses both theoretical and empirical literature from previous research. There are many factors that are considered to influence migration decisions; however, this chapter highlights factors that seem to be most significant to the study of highly skilled migrants.

Therefore, Lee's (1966) theory of migration provides the theoretical framework which provides a conceptual starting point for research into migration issues; relevance to this study will be considered. The theory is evaluated in detail to help provide an understanding of the reasons highly skilled Tanzanians migrate to the UK and its influence on brain circulation in Tanzania. The push-pull factor model is employed to explain individuals' migration decisions within the study contexts and develop concepts that enable the researcher to gather and effectively use relevant data.

2.2 Migration of highly skilled people

The term migration is so broad that it offers itself to various meanings and understandings; this variety is due to the differences in the nature, scope and purpose of the study or discussion undertaken. Lee (1966, p. 49) defines migration broadly as a "permanent or semi-permanent change of residence" and goes on to note that no matter how short or how long, how easy or how difficult, it is still migration. Different disciplines view migration from different perspectives; for example, sociologists have highlighted the social and cultural consequences of migration, geographers have emphasised the time and distance significance of migration, and economists give importance to the economic aspect of migration (Kainth, 2009). For the purpose of this study Lee's (1966) definition of migration has been adopted; it is described as an act or a process which involves origin and destination areas, an intervening set of obstacles between those two areas and personal factors for a migration decision to take place. This study focuses on voluntary migration as an individual decision for highly skilled Tanzanians to move across their national borders

for the purpose of taking up employment because highly skilled people typically retain some power to decide whether to emigrate or not (Stilwell, et al., 2003; Lakha & Aziz, 2011). In the context of labour migration, highly skilled individuals are likely to make the decision to migrate from their country of origin when there are unfavourable conditions or push factors such as lack of employment, lower wages or unfavourable working environment that negatively affect them in terms of professions and skills to the destination countries where pull factors such as scientific, technological, professional opportunities and others exist (Tyson, 2011).

2:3 Definition of highly skilled Tanzanians in this study

Highly skilled migrants are commonly defined as having a university degree or equivalent, such as a professional qualification in a given field (Iredale, 2001; Raghuram & Kofman, 2002; Borjas, 2003). However, a more cautious view is taken by Zaletel (2006, p. 616), who argues that “there is no common definition for the highly skilled migrant” and that normally, occupational or educational status is used.

For example, European Union and Eurostat have defined highly-skilled migrants from non EU/EEA nations on the basis of the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) which considers International Labour Organisation (ILO) ISCO-88 classification 1, 2 or 3 for a person to be a highly skilled worker (OECD, 1995; Auriol & Sexton, 2002). The ILO ISCO-88 classification considers highly skilled workers group one as legislators, senior officials and managers; group two consists of professionals and group three is for technicians and associate professionals including researchers. However, definitions of highly skilled workers are not fixed to ISCO-88 classification but depend on a particular situation or a number of factors from each European member state. For example, entry into the labour market of non-European nationals is mainly regulated through work and residence permits in all member states (Carrington, 2013).

Similarly, the UK uses the standard occupational classification (SOC) which is similar to ISCO-88 and an alternative classification system unique to work permits in the UK (OECD, 1995; Auriol & Sexton, 2002). Tanzania has not yet developed a comprehensive national policy framework on labour migration or universally accepted definition of highly skilled workers although there are a number of fragmented policies and legislations about labour migration (ACP, 2010). For the purpose of this study, highly skilled Tanzanians are described in terms of their education qualifications specifically those who hold a first

university degree and above, because they are more likely to be professionals or hold occupational value and be able to emigrate abroad to look for job opportunities than those with fewer education qualifications (Chiswick, 1999; Van Dalen & Henkens, 2007). Moreover, demand for their skills and knowledge in modern economies is often marketable; this increases the opportunities for them to emigrate and find jobs anywhere (Acemoglu, 1998; 2002; Lowell & Findaly, 2001).

The focus of this study is on the voluntary migration of highly skilled workers because modern economies are to a higher degree driven by innovation and knowledge; therefore, investment in people who have the potential to attain higher levels of education becomes more important than ever. The vast majority of highly skilled workers are voluntary migrants. The demand for their qualifications and skills in other destinations, mostly in developed economies, and increasingly favourable immigration policies, tends to attract them (Carrington, 2013). They are seen as crucial for the performance levels of national economies in terms of their knowledge and skills acquired, and undoubtedly their input produces higher economic growth and development (Zaletel, 2006; Kaslauskienė & Rinkevicius, 2006). Daugeliene and Marcinkeviciene (2009) argue that knowledge workers are one of the fundamental elements which show a country's ability to compete in the global market. Developing countries, including Tanzania, need this highly skilled labour force in order to improve their economic conditions. Qualified and highly skilled Tanzanians emigrating abroad thus involves the loss of important human capital required by the country to solve challenging problems and to develop new, advanced and better solutions (Bakotic, 2012). On this matter, the Tanzanian government needs to find ways to attract those living abroad to return to Tanzania in order to contribute to brain circulation.

2:4 Trends and patterns of international migration of skilled people from developing countries

International migration has increased significantly in the last decade, particularly to countries with relatively high average incomes. Castles and Miller (2009) argue that we live in the 'Age of Migration'. Moreover, Pritchett (2006 as cited in Davis and Hart, 2010) uses the phrase 'irresistible forces' for the demographic and wage differentials between high-income and low-income countries that will continue to drive international migration for a long time to come. This aspect, in which people are expected to migrate from low income to high income areas, has remained dominant, particularly when highly skilled workers are considered.

The migration of highly skilled people has also attracted interest among academics and at the level of international organisations. The World Bank (2009) declared that the vast majority of international skilled migrant flows are still between developed countries, and most international migration takes place between countries of a similar development level; evidence also indicates that countries with the lowest levels of human development have the lowest rates of emigration. On the other hand, the International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2008) declares that skilled migration from developing to developed countries represents a rising proportion of all international migration. Postelnicu (2012, p. 166) argues that “the visible economic gap between the two groups of countries contributes to channelling the main migration flows of labour force” which act as push-pull factors.

However, there are several other factors that are perceived to contribute to the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate to the UK. Although Tanzania has no accurate data on emigration, there is a perception that the number of highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad is considerable, and that this thus has a significant effect on social and economic development (Shitundu, 2006; ACP, 2010). The section below provides an overview of migration trends and patterns of highly skilled Tanzanians.

2:5 Trends and patterns of migration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad

The issue of international labour migration is currently taking on a greater significance in Tanzania, and there has been an increased level of movement of people to and from the country in the last two decades (Mwalimu, 2004; ACP, 2010). Most skilled Tanzanians migrate to developed economies such as those in Western Europe and North America. A significant number of skilled Tanzanians also move to countries within the Southern African Development Community (SADC), mainly the Republic of South Africa, Botswana, and Namibia.

Historically, there was little emigration of Tanzanians but in comparative terms, due to reasons such as economic hardship of the early 1980s and unemployment today (Mkono & Wilms, 2005), there is an indication of a sharp increase in the number of highly skilled Tanzanians who have been forced to move to other countries to look for better employment opportunities (Shitundu, 2006; ACP, 2010). The movement is also composed of legal and illegal as well as skilled and unskilled workers. The most common migratory movements are predominantly the forced migration type of population such as refugee inflows, and

internal movements of population. Over the last fifty years Tanzania has traditionally received refugees fleeing from the great lakes region from countries such as Burundi and Republic of Congo (the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2010; Garcia & Saah, 2010). Furthermore, internal migration, mainly rural-urban, occurs as circular mobility or permanent migration to commercially attractive regions such as the coastal city of Dar es Salaam (National Bureau of Statistics of Tanzania, 2006 as cited in ACP, 2010).

Tanzania's National Bureau of Statistics has no reliable data on emigration (ACP, 2010). As a result, only data and estimates from developed, migration-receiving countries and international organisations are used to overcome such gaps. Regarding other migration indicators, Tanzania had an emigration rate of 0.8 per cent for the period 2000-2002 as calculated by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP, 2009) based on data from migration (Development Research Centre [DRC], 2007 as cited in ACP, 2010) and the population prospects of the United Nations (UN) (2009 as cited in ACP, 2010) as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Emigration data of highly skilled Tanzanians by destination

Continental	Rate
Africa	67.5%
Europe	17.4%
North America	11.4%

Data from the DRC (2007 as cited in ACP, 2010).

A small quantity of emigration outflows occurred during Tanzania's early postcolonial history; this consisted of labour migration to mining areas in Zambia and South Africa and people crossing to neighbouring Kenya and Uganda in search of either wage employment or land (ACP, 2010). Moreover, the brain drain of young talent seems to constitute a great part of the migration from Tanzania to Europe (IOM, 2008b as cited in ACP, 2010). The number of highly skilled Tanzanians migrating and working abroad, particularly in the UK, is relatively small and insignificant in the context of the number of OECD migrants included in the UK labour market; however, the effect of their loss to Tanzania is much more substantial because of the relative scarcity of highly skilled workers in the country. The section below provides the theoretical and conceptual framework for an understanding of the migration decisions of highly skilled people from developing to developed countries.

2.6 General theoretical frameworks of migration in modern society

There are several theories of international migration that attempt to explain the movements of people across borders. Many studies have also been conducted to determine and analyse the causes of migration. For example, Ravenstein (1889), Ohlin (1939), Heckscher (1949), Lee (1966), Harris & Todaro (1970), Doeringer & Piore (1971), Piore (1979), Massey (1993), De Haas (2008) and many others have developed various theories of migration which have the potential to reveal the deeper reasons for migration (Kumpikaite & Zickute, 2012). However, Massey et al., (1993, p. 432) argue that many international migration scholars agree that “there is no single, coherent theory of international migration, only a fragmented set of theories that have been developed largely in isolation from one another”. Moreover, Massey et al., (1993 as cited in De Haas, 2007, p. 9 & De Haas, 2008, p. 3) state that

Popular thinking on international migration remains mired in nineteenth-century concepts, models and assumptions... a full understanding of contemporary migration processes will not be achieved by relying on the tools of one discipline alone, or by focusing on a single level of analysis. Rather, their complex, multifaceted nature requires a sophisticated theory that incorporates a variety of perspectives, levels and assumptions.

One of the possible reasons for this lack of coherence is that the study of migration has never been dominated by one of the social sciences, but has been considered within the disciplines of many (Massey et al., 1993; De Haas, 2007; 2008). Moreover, the diversity and complexity of the migration phenomenon makes it difficult to generalise about the causes and consequences of migration or about the interrelationships of migration with other political and socio-economic processes (De Haas, 2007; 2008). Therefore, this led to a “widespread controversy about the nature, causes and consequences of migration” (De Haas, 2007, p. 9 & De Haas, 2008, p 2).

However, Massey et al. (1993 cited in De Haas, 2007; 2008) suggest that it is possible to combine and integrate different theoretical perspectives on migration, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive for example macro and micro levels of migration. Findley (1987) supports this argument that migration research can be typically conducted at two levels of analysis, the individual and the aggregate, for which the analysis of the latter (micro level) may range from investigating movement from a village to a city or from one country to another. Migration research at the individual level yields findings on individual

motivations and characteristics related to migration behaviour, while analysis of census data at the aggregate level produces generalisations on the characteristics of an area most likely to send or receive migrants in a country. Findley (1987, p. 163) argues that the two levels of analysis have seldom been “combined in one model of the migration process; yet without this combined analysis, conclusions about the ways that individual and aggregate factors jointly influence migration” cannot be drawn. This is because migration characteristics of a certain place or region are defined by migration analysis at the macro level based on migration findings compiled from micro level studies. Likewise, by exploring reasons that contribute to the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians on an individual level using the push-pull factors model, an aggregate level of analysis can be obtained to explain their migration characteristics or behaviour in a broader context. This is because individual migration decisions are often constructed on the supposition of rational motivational behind the action of migration, which also contribute to conclusions around the collective migration behaviour of a certain place or region.

2:7 Migration theories at different levels of analysis related to this study

Hagen-Zanker (2008) suggests that it is possible to classify migration theories according to the level they focus on. This classification was considered after researchers recognised the complexity of causes and motives for migration. Micro-level theories emphasise the individual migration decision, whereas macro-level theories look at aggregate migration trends and explain these trends with broad explanations such as the economic, political and demographic situations pertaining to a particular country. It also includes institutional factors such as migration law, policy and global economic changes that have an influence on a particular territory. Meso-level theories are in between the micro and macro level, and focus for example on the household or community level in an attempt to account for both causes and perpetuation of migration (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). For example, in the meso-level theory, the household or local community can influence the migration decision of an individual by providing funds to support the migration process. Table 2 below shows different migration theories and levels of analysis the researcher focuses on. However, in this study, micro-level theory of migration is further discussed and analysed under Lee’s (1966) theory of migration using a push-pull factor model to explore reasons for migration decision, and provide a justification of its relevance to meeting the objectives of this study.

Table 2: Theories of migration defined by level of analysis

Macro-level	Meso-level	Micro-level
Migration cause/perpetuation: Macro-level opportunity Structure e.g. Economic structure (income and employment opportunities differentials)	Migration cause/perpetuation: Collectives/social networks e.g. social ties	Migration cause: Individual values/desires/expectancies e.g. improving survival, wealth etc.
Main theories	Main theories	Main theories
- Macro-theory of Neoclassical economic theory - Dual labour market theory - World system theory	- New economics of labour migration - Network theory	- Neoclassical micro migration theory - Lee's push/pull factors

Source: Adapted from Faist (2000 as cited in Hagen-Zanker, 2008. p. 5)

2:7:1 Brief examples of macro-level theories of migration

The English nineteenth century geographer Ernst Georg Ravenstein (1876; 1885) outlined the first systematic macro-level theory of migration (Skeldon, 1997). This scholarly contribution to migration consisted of two articles by Ravenstein (1885; 1889), in which he formulated a series of 'laws of migration' that attempted to explain migration patterns (De Haas, 2008, p 4). Two of Ravenstein's 'laws of migration' make the relationship clear that: migration increases in volume as industries and commerce develop and transport improves; and that the major causes of migration are economic (Skeldon, 1997). Ravenstein saw migration as an inseparable part of development, and he stated that the major cause of migration was economic development (Skeldon, 1997). According to his laws, migrants move from areas of low opportunity to areas of high opportunity. He hypothesised that urban residents are less migratory than rural people, and that migration accelerates with the expansion of trade and industry. For example, people move from rural towns to urban sites with the objective of obtaining employment in industrial sectors. Laws established by Ravenstein (1889) have been developed by modern migration research and analysis, and have also been expanded by many more recent researchers. The importance of the economic motive in the decision to migrate has been generally supported by empirical evidence, at least in some countries (Skeldon, 1997). Moreover, many migration models have focused on economic aspects, and explain migration in economic terms (Borjas, 1989; Massey et al., 1993; Hugo, 2003).

The macro-theory based on neoclassical economics is another long standing theory of migration, which focuses on differentials in wages and employment conditions between countries and on migration costs (Massey et al., 1993). This theory assumes that

differences in wages cause international migration; and that the elimination of wage differentials will end the movement of labour, and migration will not occur in the absence of such differentials (Massey et al., 1993; Kazlauskine & Rinkevicius, 2006; Dangelienė, 2007). However, the theory fails to consider other factors, such as: personal, family or socio-cultural factors; the political reality of multiple barriers to international movement; the varied histories of colonialism that link certain countries together and not others; and the systemic structuring of the world economy in terms of dependency and underdevelopment (Arango, 2004). These shortcomings encourage this study to focus on other theoretical frameworks.

Wallenstein's (1974) world system theory also looks at migration from a global perspective (De Haas, 2007). The theory sees migration as a natural consequence of unequal capital flows all over the world which force labour migration from low income to higher income countries. One of Wallenstein's theoretical hypotheses is that international migration has little to do with wage rates or employment differentials between countries, but that it follows from the dynamics of market creation and the structure of the global economy (Massey et al., 1993).

Similarly, Piore's (1979) dual labour market theory argues that migration from developing to developed countries is a result of a pull created by a need for labour in the developed economies; moreover, the initial dearth in available labour pushes wages up, making migration even more attractive (Massey et al., 1993). The theory assumes that international migration derives from the intrinsic labour demand of modern industrial societies; in other words developed nations have a permanent demand for migrants, especially those with skills, which is inherent in their economic structure. However, the theory fails to explain migration decisions at an individual level (Massey et al., 1993); it is of limited use in this study where one of the objectives is to examine reasons that are perceived to contribute to the decision of individual highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate to the UK, and the influence of this migration on brain circulation in Tanzania.

2:7:2 Brief examples of meso-level theories of migration

The new economics of migration researchers (Stark & Bloom, 1985; Taylor, 1987; Stark, 1991 as cited in Hagen-Zanker, 2008) criticise the macro-level theories such as neoclassical economic theory on the grounds that it is too simplistic to rely on wage differentials or individual decision making to explain all of the driving forces behind international migration. They argue that neoclassical economic theories cannot explain the current population movements; neither can they help to predict future migratory

movements. Moreover, Mendola, (2006) criticises the neo-classical framework of Todaro's model (1969) for failing to give sufficient attention to the risks inherent within migration and the empirical evidence that suggests patterns of migration do not result in the equalisation of incomes across regions that classical economic theory predicts.

The key insight of the new economics approach is that migration decisions are not made by isolated individual actors but by larger units of related people, typically families or households (Massey et al., 1998). People act collectively, not only to maximise expected income, but also to minimise risks, and to loosen constraints associated with a variety of market failures, apart from those in the labour market (Massey et al., 1993). The new economic theorists believe that "households send workers abroad not only to improve income in absolute terms, but also to increase income relative to other households, and hence to reduce their relative deprivation compared with other reference groups" (Massey et al., 1993, P 438).

Massey et al. (1993) describe migration networks or contacts as being based on interpersonal ties forged on community origins; these networks are able to connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in both the area of origin and of destination using bonds of friendship, kinship, and shared aspirations. The theory assumes that the size of the migratory flow between two countries is not affected by wage differentials or employment rates; networks in the migration process of individuals lower costs and risks of movement and maximise returns for migration (Massey et al., 1993). For example, a form of social capital can be achieved through network connections whereby people can gain access to employment abroad. This means social capital was considered as a crucial migration resource besides material and human capital such as education, skills, knowledge and others that enables and inspires people to migrate. Personal and social networks are considered to be self-evidently relational and constitute the crucial meso level between macro and micro levels of migration (King, 2012). This helps scholars to analyse migration processes beyond the micro level and connect individuals with socio-structural reasons for migrating (Faist, 2000).

Although the network theory is more realistic and useful in identifying a set of relevant reasons for migration, it is still abstract and vague when defining specific migration made by specific individual migrants or at the family level of where specifically to go. This is because a migration decision extends at the level of households to include risk and insurance considerations and to link migration causes and consequences (Hagen-Zanker, 2010). This means, there is work to be done to explain migration decisions in each specific

case. Therefore, the section below is an analysis of individual migration decisions where micro level theories of migration are further discussed.

2:7:3 Micro-level theories of migration in this study

In neoclassical micro-theory (neoclassical human capital theory), migration is understood to be an investment in human capital. This theory has been developed from the theory of the new economics of migration, in which migration decisions are made at the instigation of individuals or households. The theory assumes that individuals are rational actors and their decision to migrate is made based on cost-benefit analysis (Massey et al., 1993). Massey et al. (2005) support this argument by stating that people choose to migrate to where they can be most productive and can earn the highest wages depending on the skills they possess and the specific structure of the labour market. However, neoclassical micro-theory has been criticised for unrealistically reducing human beings to purely rational gain-maximising agents, in which migration is seen purely as an investment decision (De Haas, 2008).

Massey et al., (1993) therefore draw a distinction between neoclassical human capital theory and the new economics of migration and argue that adherence to one or the other leads to necessarily diverse conclusions about the origins and nature of international migration because both of these theories are inherently micro-level decision models. The particulars in which they differ include: they have a different view of the unit considered to make the migrant decision (individual or household); what it is migrants are attempting to maximise or minimise (income or risk); assumptions about the context in which economic decisions are being made (complete and well-functioning markets versus missing or imperfect markets), and what the social context of the migration decision is (primarily whether income is evaluated in absolute terms or relative to some reference group) (Massey et al., 1993).

The economic basis for movement remained in many subsequent interpretations of migration, even when social variables were also introduced. These could all be categorised as development variables of one type or another, which Lee (1966) explicitly attempts to elaborate through a general theory of migration that provides a schema of factors that could explain the volume of migration between any two places. Likewise, Lee transformed perceptions of push and pull factors with his model of an individual's idea of costs and benefits. The theory suggests that an individual's migration behaviour results from a rational calculation of costs and benefits in order to gain rational maximisation, in which

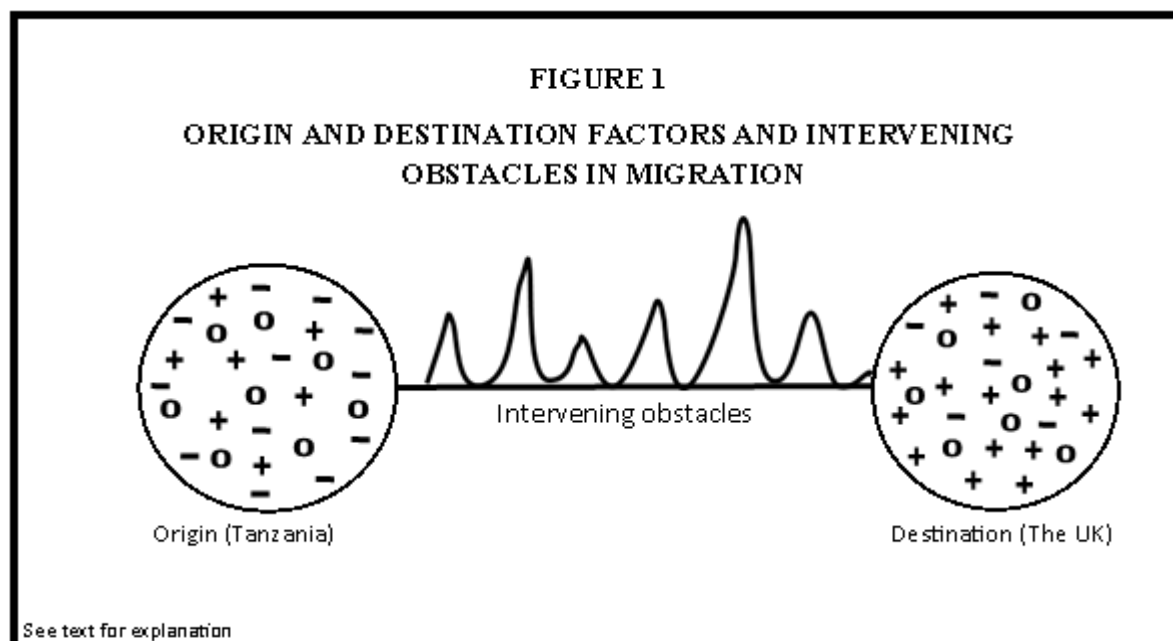
pursuing economic gain is the prime goal. Each individual migrant is regarded as a rational being who neutrally assesses the available destinations to select the optimal option with the greatest expected returns.

Although scholars have shown that economic and social relationships are among vital factors that contribute to the decision of individual migrants to move, it remains relatively unclear how important they have been for highly skilled migrants (Robinson & Carey, 2000). Lee's (1966) theory of migration is applied in this study because it is related to an individual decision making framework and allows the researcher to explore reasons which are perceived to contribute to the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate to the UK in broader perspectives, for example the socio-cultural, environmental and political aspects.

2:8 Further analysis of Lee's (1966) theory of migration - push and pull factors

Based on Ravenstein's (1889) laws of migration, Lee (1966) developed a general schematic framework for analysing the volume of migration, the development of streams and counter streams, and the characteristics of migrants. Lee (1966) explains factors which are taken into account while a decision on migration is being made; he summarised these factors under four general categories as follows: factors associated with the area of origin; factors associated with the area of destination; intervening obstacles; and personal factors.

Figure 1: Lee's (1966) Push-pull theory



Source: Lee (1966, p. 50)

Figure 1 summarises Lee's push-pull theory in graphic form which is used to represent the migration process between Tanzania and the UK in this study. In every area of the world, there are countless factors that act to hold people in their place of origin and others that repel them. These are shown in the figure as + and - signs, which indicate pull and push factors respectively, and Lee is clear that a factor is only a push or a pull from the personal characteristics of the person assessing the factor. There are other factors shown as Os; these indicate factors that some people might consider to be positive while others might consider them negative, depending on the different personal factors at play. There are however, important differences between the factors associated with the area of origin and those associated with the area of destination. Therefore, the set of pluses, zeros and minuses are particular to an individual and are subject to individual assessment, so the same factor may be defined differently at both origin and destination areas depending on the individual decision maker's personal characteristics. The jagged line between the area of origin and destination represents external intervening obstacles, such as cost of travel, distance, immigration policies, poor health and others. The push factor is generally negative and associated with the country or place of origin (for example unemployment, low pay, political instability and others) while the pull factors are positive and voluntary and associated with the country or place of destination (for example employment, political stability, career advancement, freedom, security, better standard of living).

There are many factors that influence international migration but some may be more relevant for unskilled people than for highly skilled migrants. The traditional push-pull framework identifies a number of factors affecting international migration; for example, employment opportunities and labour market related aspects are often cited in the literature as the most important push and pull factors that contribute to the migration of highly skilled people (Brown & Schulze, 2008). Moguerou (2006) argues that some specific elements for understanding the international migration of highly skilled people from a particular area to another are related to national infrastructure systems. Similarly, the researcher examines the contexts of the study in terms of areas of origin, destination, intervening obstacles and personal factors in order to explore and understand the precise reasons that contribute to the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate to the UK.

2:8:1 Factors associated with the area of origin - Tanzania

Lee (1966) emphasises that factors associated with origin area conditions are likely to be more important to a decision to migrate than those associated with destination areas. Normally, a person has a better and clearer knowledge about their place of origin, while knowledge about the place of destination often remains fairly superficial and vague. Lee elaborates that in each area there are numerous factors, both negative and positive, which act to drive away people from the area or hold them in the area. Based on this model, for this study Tanzania is the origin area, and its context is examined in this section to investigate push factors which contribute to the migration decision. Examples of the push factors typically associated with an area of origin are: an absence of social and economic opportunities such as high income level, lack of employment opportunities, and less attractive social environment and infrastructure (Brown and Schulze, 2008). The Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) (2012) shows that the unemployment estimate for the year 2011 was 10.7 per cent of the total labour force population. Furthermore, Al-Samarrai and Reilly (2008) argue that although the Tanzanian government and individuals invest heavily in education and training, little is generally known about the extent to which these investments generate rewards in the labour market. This refers particularly to individuals who fail to gain access to wage employment and are required to depend on self-employment opportunities. Wangwe, Eloff and Venter (2012) argue that income deprivation in Tanzania is partly caused by differentials in education, and these differentials in education themselves perpetuate differentials in income. These earning differentials convert to unequal access to health, good quality education, and basic living

conditions that already exist in the society. An example of this is illustrated by the Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics (2011) which shows that the national average population per doctor for the year 2009 was 64,000 persons, while the World Health Organization (WHO) recommended one doctor to serve a population of 10,000 persons. Moreover, due to the relatively low income they receive, doctors in Tanzania lose incentive and competence to provide quality care to patients and the overall quality of medical services is thus affected (Leonard, 2008; Leonard and Masatu, 2010). Thus, even for highly skilled individuals like qualified doctors, it is difficult to achieve a high income and good working conditions in Tanzania.

Meanwhile, some of the pull factors in the area of destination are identified as: ambition to work with the most highly qualified specialists, desire to use modern ICT (most important for scientists), desire to travel and work in different societies, the ambition to disseminate existing knowledge and to acquire new knowledge. However, all these pull factors can only be perceived by a person who has knowledge of the advantages and disadvantages of the area of destination (Daugeliene, 2007). Lee (1966, p. 50) argues that “persons living in an area have an immediate and often long-term acquaintance with the area and are usually able to make considered and unhurried judgements regarding them”. In general, people can only judge and evaluate factors relating to their area of origin because of knowledge acquired by individuals living in the area; therefore for some potential migrants the destination area remains mostly unfamiliar. However, this is not necessarily the case because advances in information technology and communication may provide this information to those who have access to it.

Indeed, highly skilled migrants have an advantage over lower-skilled and lower-earning migrants of being able to access and utilise information and communication technology to search for information about employment opportunities in different destinations through the internet and other means of media. Family, friends and work colleagues in the home country and those in the destination country can also be a source of information about the area of destination. In this matter, the specific characteristics of the area of origin in this study will be further examined and different factors that contribute to the decision to migrate will be analysed together with an evaluation of the impact of this decision on the domestic economy. It is possible that highly skilled workers have more options in terms of the destinations they can select for migration and access to more information; this is one of the issues explored in the interviews.

2:8:2 Factors associated with the area of destination- the UK

Lee (1966) points out that it is perceptions, not so much the actual factors at origin and destination, which result in migration. When potential migrants are weighing the perceived benefits and drawbacks of a migration decision their level of education, personal sensitivities, and the extent (and accuracy) of the information they have about conditions at potential areas of destination are factored into the consideration of conditions at the area of origin. To some extent the depth and accuracy of this information is dependent on personal contacts or sources of information that are not available to everyone (De Haas, 2008). The decision to migrate is made, or push factors come into play, when adverse conditions in the country of origin are perceived to be greater than in the destination country.

Conversely, pull factors presuppose that the positives of the country of origin are not as great as those available in the destination. In this study, the UK is the area of destination as elaborated in Lee's theory model (see Figure 1). For example, the UK is one of the countries with high levels of economic development which attract many migrants due to the living standards, education, security, health services and many more factors they can access that compare favourably to those less developed countries including Tanzania which have not yet reached a comparable economic standard (Lee, 1966). However, some people who move to an area of destination understand in retrospect that they may have created an over-evaluation of the positive elements of their new environment and an under-evaluation of its negative elements. In this manner, people who have a plan or intention to migrate might overestimate the benefits they will acquire, or they might move for a certain set of reasons and then find on migration that their priorities or needs change and that they stay for quite different reasons. However, this depends on circumstances or the life cycle of migrants. This study therefore explores perceptions of both highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK, migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania to investigate reasons that contribute to the migration decision. This is one of many important aspects included in the research.

2:8:3 Intervening obstacles between Tanzania and the UK

Lee's hypothesis states that the volume of migration within a given territory varies according to certain factors such as: diversity of people; the difficulties encountered in overcoming obstacles; fluctuations in the economic performance of different regions; and Lee concludes that the rate of migration tends to increase over time (Lee, 1966, p. 52-54). Moreover, Lee (1966) argues that a well-defined migration stream is driven by minus

factors at the origin area such as economic conditions; moreover, migration is high when times are prosperous in the destination area and low in times of depression. However, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) (1996 as cited in Sanderson and Kentor, 2009) argues that development encourages new streams of migrants and lack of development can even lead to massive, poverty-driven and often uncontrolled migration due to factors such as unemployment, low standard of living and others; for example, a large scale migration flow from developing to developed countries for the purpose of looking for employment and a better life (De Haas, 2008)

Lee's (1966) theory considers that the idea of 'intervening obstacles' interposed between the origin and destination areas is important in efforts to explain migration processes. The obstacles that intervene in a decision to migrate are known as friction in the migration process (this friction can consist of factors such as the costs of travelling, migration legislation in both areas of origin and destination, restrictions on the labour market, and relative wages, amongst others) which may have the effect of delaying or deterring migration, or in the case of legislation preventing it altogether (Brown & Schulze, 2008). In this study, the intervening obstacles are defined as a range of attributes such as migration legislation and transport costs existing between Tanzania and the UK on which migrants make judgements. However, Lee (1966) explains that intervening obstacles between the area of origin and destination are appreciated differently by individuals with different personality traits for the migration process to continue. Different people are affected in different ways by the same set of obstacles; for example, an obstacle which may be trivial to some people may be prohibitive to others. Also, immigration legislation is often favourable to skilled immigrants and likely to allow countries to benefit from a growing international pool of highly skilled immigrants. Pemberton & Stevens (2010) point out that immigration legislation remains very important in the international mobility of the highly skilled. This can be in both a positive and a negative way, although it tends often to favour highly skilled people. For example, many European countries including the UK have selectively opened their labour market to attract highly qualified migrants (Boswell & Geddes, 2010). In the case of Tanzania, since the greater part of the population cannot afford to migrate to the UK, only the higher qualified part of the population is potentially able to afford the expense of overseas migration and is likely to be able to obtain entry permission to migrate (Olesen, 2002). Generally, the literature identifies the main intervening obstacles to be: immigration legislation; other factors such as transportation costs; social, cultural and language differences; openness of communication between origin and destination; family overseas; safety; and political determinants, which

may therefore be identified as intervening factors in the choice of Tanzanian migrants to relocate (Brown & Schulze, 2008; Pemberton & Stevens, 2010; Boswell & Geddes, 2010). However, being on the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians to the UK, this study has an opportunity to identify the perceptions of actual migrants on the specific intervening obstacles that exist between these two countries.

2:8:4 Migrants' characteristics (highly skilled Tanzanians)

Lee's (1966) theory is reflected in a broad range of studies, particularly sociological studies dealing with migrant selectivity. Personal differential characteristics such as level of education, age, social class, gender and others affect how individuals interact and respond to push-pull factors (Maslauskaite & Stankuniene, 2007). Personal characteristics also shape people's ability to overcome and deal with intervening obstacles; these characteristics thus become a conceptual framework for classifying factors in migration decisions. For example, Olesen (2002) argues that migrants from developing countries tend to be much better educated than the rest of the population. He supported his statement by the fact that 60% of all migrants from Ghana, Egypt and South Africa were university graduates. Similarly, this study examines the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians to the UK since their personal characteristics enable them to overcome intervening obstacles and they are likely to be able to enter into new labour markets.

Lee (1966, p. 51) argues that "the decision to migrate is never completely rational, and for other people the rational component is much less than the irrational". The rational choice reflects that there is an advantage when a person makes the decision to migrate, such as better jobs, better pay, and better living standards; this is a form of gain maximising. Moreover, there are people who welcome change for change's sake. However, there are also personalities which are resistant to change, both of residence as well as occupation, while for others; there must be reasons for migration (Lee, 1966). This means that not all people who have the potential to maximise their benefits make the decision to migrate from their area of origin, even though they are capable of overcoming existing intervening factors.

Lee's (1966, p. 56) hypothesis on migration concerning the characteristics of migrants states that "migrants are not a random sample of the population at origin". The reason why migration is selective is that people respond differently to the sets of plus and minus factors at origin and at destination, have different abilities to overcome the intervening sets

of obstacles and differ from each other in terms of personal factors. Moreover, personal motives for migrating vary considerably between migrants of different regions (Brown & Schulze, 2008). Many European academics consider the enjoyment of being in a different culture, the chance to see more of the world, learn a new language and get to know oneself better as being the key reasons prompting migration (Brown & Schulze, 2008). On the other hand African labourers sometimes move to Europe for employment opportunities, better pay, to join family members, or with the hope of getting married (Eurostat, 2001). The above examples of different aspects of intervening obstacles related to personal factors may also affect highly skilled Tanzanians' decision to migrate. Therefore, this reinforces the need to conduct this study to examine such factors in the Tanzanian context.

The personal and behavioural interpretations of potential push and pull factors are further investigated in this study by exploring perceived reasons that contribute to the migration decision. The 'push-pull' framework, contrary to international economic literature, focuses more on personal variables (Dzvimbo, 2003); it thus moves from broad considerations of factors of production to consider that people have likes and dislikes in social interaction and that cultural preferences matter to any individual's decision to migrate (Dzvimbo, 2003).

2:9 Critiques of Lee's (1966) theory of migration in this study

De Haas (2008) argues that other scholars criticise Lee's theory on the grounds that it does not allow relative weights to be assigned to the different factors affecting migration decisions and also it does not allow for empirical tests on the role and importance of factors that have been included or excluded in the process of migration decision making. This means the analysis of push factors such as low wages, high population pressure or environmental degradation, as opposed to pull factors that explain better conditions at the destination, tends to be so general as to be more or less stating the obvious. Although the literature has identified many reasons for migration, there is an endless list of possible push and pull factors that contribute to the decision of a person to migrate or not, depending on their personal factors. This means that, there are factors that some people might consider positive while others might consider them negative, depending on their personal characteristics (Lee, 1966).

Similarly, it is logical to assume that highly skilled people from different or the same countries or even in the same community perceive factors that contribute to their migration

decision differently; this is also probably largely due to personal characteristics. In this sense, personal factors can be treated as exceptional and related to demographic, environmental, social, political and economic characteristics because of the importance of these factors to individual migrants and their major role in an individual's life. It is important to consider that there are a number of potential negative and positive values that an individual can perceive as being the factors that contribute to the decision to migrate. In most cases the only way of understanding the dynamics involved in the international migration of skilled human capital is to analyse the reasons in the context of a specific region or country; Lee's theory offers this opportunity. The theory is useful for studying reasons that contribute to the migration decision at an individual level, and to some extent, for predicting subsequent migration behaviour.

However, the theory has been criticised as being rationalist for focusing only on individual choice based on economic advantages (De Haas, 2008). Even though, the push-pull factor model assumes that people have a tendency to migrate from low to high wage areas based on a rational calculation of costs and benefits, De Haas (2008) argues that logically this is not necessarily true at the individual level. Occasionally, individual migration decisions of many people from areas of low income such as developing countries including Tanzania, are likely to include non-economic factors from a wider social context, such as family or household, as the most appropriate decision making unit. This approach incorporates collective factors other than individual income maximisation as influencing the migration decision (Brettell & Hollifield, 2008). Whether the migration decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to the UK is influenced by individual income maximisation or family and household level, this study has an opportunity to evaluate the theory in the context of this study.

In addition, De Haas (2008, p. 11) criticised this push-pull factor model for being "static" and focusing on external factors that cause migration, arguing that this makes it of limited analytical use in explaining migration as an integral part of broader transformation processes. This means, the model does not pay attention to the impact of migration and the way it may change the structural contexts both at the areas of destination and origin. However, in identifying push and pull factors between the area of origin and destination, it is possible to contribute to an understanding of the decision of people to migrate, which can help to find answers and suggestions to the questions of why some people prefer to migrate and some people prefer to stay in the same place despite their needs not being completely met. Similarly, this study has an opportunity to evaluate the relevance of Lee's

(1966) theory to an understanding of the reasons that contribute to the migration decision and its influence on brain circulation; and to use the study's findings to develop a concept (or model) that explains not only the decision to migrate, but also subsequent decisions to remain in the country of destination or return to the country of origin. The following section uses push-pull factors to analyse different reasons that might contribute to the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate abroad and the influence on brain circulation in Tanzania.

2:10 Factors that are considered to contribute to the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate to the UK

The factors influencing any decision to migrate are varied and complex. Migration is a selective process affected by individuals' economic, social, educational and demographic characteristics. The relative influence of economic and non-economic factors may vary not only between nations and regions but also within defined geographic areas and populations. The following section uses push-pull factors to analyse different reasons that might contribute to the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate abroad.

2:10:1 Economic factors

Economic factors may function to either push or pull an individual to migrate, according to Hugo (2003) who suggests that income differential determines whether economic factors are perceived as having a push or pull status. Although a number of researchers have questioned the role of economic factors in labour migration, it is well established from many African, European, North American and Asian studies that they have a significant influence (Brown & Schulze, 2008). Moreover, better employment opportunities, rapid advancement in technology, travel and communication that are more affordable and skills that are highly interchangeable are factors that encourage, and in some cases enable people with skills to move beyond their national borders (World Bank, 2003). Many skilled workers are also attracted by pull factors such as lucrative salary packages (Dzivimbo, 2003).

Oucho (2000 as cited in Brown & Schulze, 2008) studied the attitudes of skilled migrants such as engineers, lawyers, accountants, doctors and so on in Botswana towards life in the country, and their future plans, and reported their general satisfaction with socio-economic conditions as evidence for the pull effects of economic factors. Other authors have also

demonstrated the influence of income-incentive factors for migration and the fact that economic pull factors in a destination are more influential than economic push factors (Brown & Schulze, 2008).

In many developing countries, for example Tanzania, low agricultural income, unemployment and underemployment are recognised as push factors which drive migrants to move towards prosperous or dynamic areas with greater employment opportunities (Kainth, 2009). For example, Tanzanian agriculture employs about 75% of the population, although its contribution to GDP is low because of the re-allocation of capital, both human and physical (Mkapa, 2004; Tanzania Report, 2011, Newenham-Kahindi, 2011). The majority of Tanzania's largely rural population still relies on agriculture as a primary source of income. Tanzania has a population of about 43 million people and its GDP per capita in 2009 was Tanzanian shillings 693,185 or USD 522 (The Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs, 2010a as cited in Wangwe, Ellof & Venter, 2012). The Tanzanian economy expanded by 7% in the first quarter of 2010, although its growth prospects are heavily dependent on donor funding plus its fiscal and current account deficits (Tanzania National Bureau of Statistic, 2010 as cited by Emerging Market Monitor, 2010). However, the international observers cited believe the country is in a position to lessen its dependence on foreign benefactors by tapping domestic and international capital markets and reducing drag on an economy laden with obstacles such as corruption, inefficient bureaucracy, inadequate infrastructure and shortages of skilled labour in the country. Clearly, in this context the migration of highly skilled people is a crucial issue for Tanzania.

Meanwhile, the UK economy in 2013 grew on average by 0.7% per year; this compares with overall UK GDP growth of 3% per year in 2008/09, despite the onset of the financial crisis (Office for National Statistics, 2010). The UK has a total population of about 63.2 million based on the 2011 census estimate and its GDP per capita was USD 36,941 in 2009. The agriculture sector is intensive, highly mechanised and efficient by European standards, producing about 60% of food needs with less than 1.6% of the labour force. The service sector such as financial services is the dominant sector of the UK economy, and contributes 73% of GDP (Hardie and Perry, 2013). In this sense, the UK has many more economic pluses than minus factors, which consequently attracts skilled labour from other countries, including Tanzania.

People normally migrate due to persuasive circumstances which push them out of the place of origin or pull them towards the attractive conditions in the place of destination.

Moreover, Rasool, Botha and Bisschoff (2009) argue that many skilled workers migrate from developing to developed countries due to the poor state of the economy in their country; this study has an opportunity to examine whether economic factors contribute to the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate to the UK.

2:10:2 Trade liberalisation and foreign investment in Tanzania

International migration is widely recognised as an integral component of globalisation (Castles & Miller, 2003; Sassen, 2007). The rapid growth of information communication and technology, the decrease in transportation costs, the emergence of transnational networks, growth in international trade, as well as movement of capital and integrated world markets can act as push-pull factors that contribute to the increasing movement of labour, especially highly skilled workers (Sanderson & Kentor, 2008). Although it is important to understand how trade liberalisation and foreign investment affect international migration in both sending and receiving countries and the structure of the global political economic context, this section focuses only on how foreign investment and trade liberalisation form part of the globalisation process, and how this contributes to the migration decision.

The growth of foreign investment has integrated developing countries into global trade and production networks (Sanderson & Kentor, 2008). Tanzania, like other developing countries, tries to attract foreign investment based on the benefits likely to accrue from the abundance of resources that foreign investors deploy with their investment (Borensztein, Gregorio & Lee, 1998; Msuya, 2007). There is some literature on foreign investment flows to Tanzania focusing on the determinants of foreign direct investment (FDI), the impact of FDI on local firms, FDI entry modes to Tanzania, the impact of FDI on agricultural productivity and the resulting impact on poverty reduction (Ngowi, 2002; Mkenda, 2005; Msuya, 2007; Read & Parton, 2009; Newenham-Kahindi, 2011). Tanzania privatised significant elements of its economy in the mid-1980s and reformed its institutions in order to attract foreign investment, encourage the free market and liberalise trade in the country. Similarly, Portelli and Namla (2006) argue that privatisation of state-owned enterprises represents a major pull factor for foreign direct investments inflows with the aim of promoting technological development within the affiliated and through linkages with host-based firms. Therefore, the government reduced its power of control over Tanzanian's economic activities in order to open up the competitive market. As a result private investment in various sectors such as mining, tourism, fishing, banking and agriculture under foreign-owned Multinational Enterprises (MNEs) has served to promote

the country's reforms by creating employment opportunities for the local economy (Newenham-Kahindi, 2011).

Foreign firms in Tanzania tend to pay higher wages than local firms to attract more highly skilled workers (Mkenda, 2005). Based on research data collected between 1992 and 1998, Mkenda revealed that Tanzanians' wage differentials were also linked to those workers with and without a high level of education. He continued by pointing out that the potential benefits of foreign investment for the host country were not just the number of jobs created and employment for Tanzanians but also the dissemination of technology from the developed country, meaning that local organisations were able to learn from MNEs in areas such as technology and managerial practices. However, the United Nations Conference on Trade Development (UNCTAD) report (2001 as cited in Msuya, 2007) declares that natural resources alone found in developing countries are not enough to attract foreign investment, just as abundant cheap labour is not either. Skilled labour is needed in Tanzania to use their knowledge in diffusing and utilising technology introduced by foreign investors, and compete with them for economic development (Borenzstein, De Gregorio & Lee, 1998; Harris & Robinson, 2004; Msuya, 2007; Zahra & George, 2008; Newenham-Kahindi, 2011).

In general, multinational enterprises and other foreign investments in the host country are expected to reduce emigration by providing immediate employment opportunities with wages that usually exceed those found in local firms, while in the long-run foreign MNEs should promote economic growth through transfer of technology and knowledge about production processes that raise the quality of human capital in the domestic economy (Sanderson & Kentor, 2008). By promoting economic growth in developing countries, MNEs should reduce international income discrepancies, a significant impetus to international migration (Sanderson & Kentor, 2008). Postelnicu (2013) stated that the early literature proposed the view that FDI would eventually cause a decline in the emigration of skilled workers. For example, economic theory suggests that productivity levels are closely associated with wages (Borjas, 1989 as cited in Borenzstein et al., 1998). This means rising levels of labour productivity in MNEs should be associated with higher wages. Consequently the wage rise should act as a pull factor, influencing people to stay in developing countries relative to developed countries. Therefore emigration levels should decline, as the need to seek employment with higher wages is reduced.

In contrast, Stallings (2007) points out that liberalisation of capital movement, particularly foreign direct investment (FDI) which substantially increased in the early 1990s, has

become a predominant source of external finance for developing countries, and has thus also become both a push and a pull factor that motivates migration in a certain direction. Moreover, Sanderson & Kentor, (2008) argue that MNEs may act as a push-pull factor that promotes emigration from developing to developed countries by creating material and cultural–ideological linkages with the source country. Sanderson and Kentor (2009) state that the inflows of FDI can have a positive effect on migration when local employees are transferred by their foreign employer to the company headquarters, or its other company branches abroad. MNEs may trigger short-term movements in the form of business trips and temporary or permanent movements in the form of intra-corporate job transfers (Poots & Strutt, 2010). In addition, they declare that local employees’ experience of working for multinational companies can also act as a pull factor which motivates them to migrate to other countries. The presence of multinational firms in the country can encourage workers to acquire skills appropriate for the global economy; an example of this is learning foreign languages, which also facilitates their migration. This normally affects highly educated workers who possess the skills required by foreign multinational enterprises.

Moreover, fixed capital investment such as transportation and communication infrastructure developed by FDI in developing countries in order to move goods, capital and information, also acts as a positive factor which facilitates the movement of people, making emigration from developing countries more likely than would be the case in their absence (Sanderson & Kentor, 2009). International investment flows are often facilitated and followed by skilled migrant flows; since educated people are more likely to emigrate in an open economy (Freeman, 2006). Likewise, the UK knowledge based economy has been mentioned as contributing to it being an immigration destination country whose economy attracts many highly skilled immigrants from both developing and developed countries (Tan, 2012). Whether trade liberalisation and foreign investment by multinational enterprises in Tanzania contributes to the migration decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to the UK is unclear. It is one of the objectives of this study to find reasons that contribute to the migration decision.

2:10:3 International migration and labour laws

Globalisation has had important implications for international labour migration, acting as both a push and a pull factor. It has facilitated linkages between international labour markets through vast improvements in information and communication technology (Castles & Miller, 2003; Brown & Schulze, 2008). The demand for high-level technical

skills has expanded opportunities for the mobility of skilled labour. As a result, many highly skilled workers are motivated to migrate by the quest for higher wages and better opportunities available as a result of demand for their skills abroad.

In the context of workers' well-being, push factors for migration include poverty level incomes, low wages, lack of employment opportunities in poor countries; pull factors are greater job opportunities in rich countries, high wages, and quality of life. However Misra (2007) argues that other significant internationally accepted labour standards include the elimination of forced and compulsory labour, equal remuneration, in the workplace, and wage and working-hours protection; furthermore, freedom of association and collective bargaining must also be extended to all workers regardless of their nationality, or even their immigration status. If these conditions do not exist in the country of origin this represents a motive for people to migrate and work abroad. In Tanzania, despite a gradual decline of informal employment, a higher proportion of workers (approximately 90%) who benefited from security and protection remain in vulnerable and informal employment (ILO, 2010). Lack of sufficient employment opportunities for youth who have increasingly participated in the labour market further complicate the situation and create challenges. This research has an opportunity to investigate whether these factors also apply to highly skilled Tanzanians.

On the other hand, globalisation has led to widening disparities in employment opportunities, income and living standards, wealth, human rights, and security across the globe, particularly in developing countries, and these serve as push factors towards migration. While international labour migration can be a positive experience to both countries of origin and destination, many migrants from developing countries, suffer poor working and living conditions, including low wages, unsafe working environments, a vital absence of social protection, denial of freedom of association and workers' rights, discrimination and xenophobia (Wicramasekara, 2008). The protection of workers employed in a country other than their own, through the formulation of international standards for the treatment of migrant workers, has always been an important part of the activities of the International Labour Organization (ILO) (Fahat, 2009). It has adopted a number of labour standards that apply equally to foreign workers and to nationals. Becon (2010) argues that all migrant workers have basic rights as human beings and workers which cannot be traded-off.

International standards on the governance of migration and protection of migrant workers already exist; for example, the three international migrant worker conventions defining an

international charter of rights and obligations covering all stages of the migration process: the ILO Migration for Employment Convention (Revised), 1949 (No. 97); the ILO Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975, (No. 143); and the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families (ICMW) (International Migration Report, 2002). These are pieces of legislation that were developed for the purpose of protecting migrant workers in destination countries.

The UK has developed a range of laws and policies to protect the rights of workers and prevent workplace exploitation, such as the National Minimum Wage and other Employment law (Dwyer, 2010); however, migrants are one of the main groups affected by working on the fringes of low-paid employment sectors under poor conditions (Anderson & Rogaly, 2005). The opportunities available to third-country nationals (countries outside the European Union) to come, settle and work in the UK are tightly controlled and mostly offered to highly skilled migrants who fill specified gaps in the labour market by being granted entry visas.

The development benefits deriving from migration are directly related to the protection of migrant workers' rights and conditions of work, which determine their potential contributions to both countries of origin and destination (Wickramasekara, 2008). Furthermore, Somavia (2006a, p.1) states that "gains from migration and protection of migrant rights are indeed inseparable". He believes that migrant workers can contribute to their best economic and social development level in host (destination) and source (origin) country when they enjoy decent working conditions, and when their fundamental human and labour rights are respected. However, this research provides an opportunity to investigate whether international migration and labour rights contribute to the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate to the UK or not.

2:10:4 Immigration policies/migration policies

The international migration of skilled people results from a complex interaction of economic, political, environmental, social and religious factors. However, the way in which these factors are combined to produce a specific migration flow varies and it is difficult to predict because professional personality, goals, and personal history account for individual differences, as Lee (1966, p. 49) reflects by including personal characteristics as one of his 'Factors in the Act of Migration'. Lowell and Findley (2001) argue that the phenomenon of migration of highly skilled people adopts the features of a massive flow of

highly skilled labour directed to the most developed economies, facilitated by selective immigration policies. Moreover, Zimmermann (2005) argues that there is a scarcity of highly skilled migrants compared to low-skilled migrants due to the preliminary investment required for their education.

The UK demonstrates many of the general pull factors highlighted in the literature (Dzvimbo, 2003). General economic and structural change is clearly demonstrated in the UK economy with a gradual shift from large-scale manufacturing to service based employment patterns (Miles, 2000; Cooke, 2002). This structural change in employment is changing the skills demands of employers. Cheng et al. (2009 as cited in Tan, 2012) describe a knowledge-based economy as one in which the production, sharing, and application of knowledge are the main activities in the economy. Looking at the features of the economies of the UK and other EU countries, the failure to fully meet enhanced skill needs with the existing labour supply creates selective immigration policies designed to facilitate the international migration of skilled workers (Gribble, 2008).

The UK, like other developed countries such as Canada, New Zealand, Germany and the USA, has introduced immigration policies that act as a pull factor by being favourable to recruiting highly qualified foreigners to increase their own skilled labour force, especially in a globalising world economy where knowledge workers are in high demand (Dzvimbo, 2003; Carrington, 2013). Pemberton and Stevens (2010) and Hijzen and Wright (2010) argue that the new point based-system (PBS) for migration from outside into the European Union was introduced in the UK in February 2008 in order to manage migration and ensure that only those with required skills entered the UK. This policy facilitated migration for the highly skilled and at the same time limited it for the low-skilled. The system was introduced as a step towards 'managed migration', embracing the potential for skilled migrants to fill shortages in key sectors such as IT, health, medicine, business, engineering and teaching (Quresh, Varghese & Osella, 2011; Wright, 2012) In fact, this policy supports the views of Daugeliene (2007), who argues that immigration legislation remains a very important factor in the international migration of highly skilled people and is likely to allow developed countries to benefit from a growing international pool of knowledge workers.

Previously, international migration flows to the UK were dominated by people from the Commonwealth countries with a legacy of British influenced educational and training systems. This migration was facilitated and even encouraged as it was seen as mutually beneficial within the family of Commonwealth countries. The 1971 Immigration Act

abolished the voucher scheme that had been in force since 1962 whereby Commonwealth citizens could move to the UK, and replaced it with a work permit system (Raghuram & Kofman, 2002). Recently there has been a much greater variety of foreign nationals coming to the UK including former settler colonies such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Vertovec, 2007). Over the long term the most notable immigrant groups have included Jews, Irish, Afro-Caribbeans, Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, immigrants from African countries including Ghanaians, Nigerians, Kenyans and Ugandans (May et al., 2007). So, migration from Non-European countries, including Tanzania, to the UK is now dominated by a skills-based system which is favourable to highly skilled workers (Pemberton & Stevens, 2010).

In contrast to the developing migration policy in the UK, Musonda (2006) argues that Tanzania has no comprehensive policy on labour migration, although the new labour and employment law combines labour issues and those of employment into one Act (Employment and Labour Relation Act, 2004). Migration law in Tanzania mainly seeks to limit the access to employment of foreigners while promoting the employment of nationals. Foreign workers may be admitted into the country only when it is proven that there are no nationals with similar qualifications. An increasing rate of unemployment, estimated at 750,000 jobless youths annually (Musonda, 2006) is among the reasons for strict labour migration in Tanzania. Fragmented policies on migration have been developed in several uncoordinated areas in the Tanzanian government ministries which deal with some aspects of migration. Neither has the government taken any action or durable steps that would either promote or restrict emigration of either highly skilled or unskilled Tanzanians (Musonda, 2006). In fact, immigration policies are among the most important push-pull factors which motivate or discourage migration between the country of origin (Tanzania) and the destination (the UK). In this light it has become important to discuss the issues of immigration policy among reasons that are perceived to contribute to the migration decision.

2:10:5 Colonial ties, social and cultural factors

Historically, the UK had a larger number of emigrants than immigrants, many of whom migrated to the United States of America (USA) and the colonies (Geddes, 2003). However, in recent decades, this trend has reversed, with more immigration than emigration. After the Second World War policies were introduced to encourage migration into the UK and other Western European countries to help with reconstruction by taking

jobs that nationals were not willing to do for example cheap labour for bridges, railways and buildings construction (Geddes, 2003; Lahav & Messina, 2005). Many of these migrants come from former UK colonies such as India and the Caribbean (Geddes, 2003).

The study of migration from a postcolonial perspective can be useful to understand the causal processes of migration such as transnationalism; however, it does not preclude a consideration of the complex reasons that make people decide to migrate or not (Patterson, 2006). Postcolonial relations combine with many other complex issues such as transnationalism, and in order to examine the entire migration process rather than just what happens once migrants are settled it is necessary to consider colonial and cultural ties as both a push and pull factor. Blunt and Wills (2000) and Yeoh (2003) describe post colonialism broadly as the ways in which the colonisation processes have affected societies and cultures, therefore facilitating an understanding of contemporary international migration.

The movement of migrants is often based on pre-existing links between areas of origin and destination; these links may be based on factors such as a shared colonial past, political links, and the amount of trade, investment and cultural interaction (Castles, 2000). Historical ties influence migration potential; for example, they create transport and communication infrastructures, administrative links and linguistic and cultural commonalities (Morawska, 2007). Historical ties such as a colonial past may become pull factors to the citizens of many African nations, which attract or direct the migration flows to certain European nations. The common use of the former colonial powers' language and education system in the countries of departure are only two of the main cultural and structural connections between the potential migrants' countries of origin and destination (Yeoh, 2003). Khadria (2006) gives an example of the largest number of Indian diaspora formations in the UK, which are linked with colonial ties and because of war time experiences in which soldiers and seamen from India were encouraged to remain to meet the post-war labour shortage in the period after WWII.

Tanganyika (now Tanzania) became a UN trust territory under British Control after WWI until it gradually moved toward self-government and independence in 1961. In some cases, the former European imperial nations continue to foster close political and economic ties with their former colonies. For example, the Commonwealth of Nations is an organisation that promotes cooperation between and among Britain and its former colonies, the Commonwealth members. Citizens of the former colonies of Britain used to have a privileged status in some respects with regard to immigration rights, such as rights of dual

citizenship when settling in the UK (Daugeliene, 2007). A similar organisation exists for former colonies of France, the Francophone; the community of Portuguese language countries plays a similar role for former Portuguese colonies, and the Dutch Language Union is the equivalent for former colonies of the Netherlands. The United States, France, Portugal, Spain and the UK benefit from their strong colonial heritage or linguistic advantages and seem best able to attract highly skilled workers from non-OECD countries (Daugeliene, 2007).

The UK has also maintained a liberal regime towards its former colonies (Hijzen & Wright, 2010). The 1948 British Nationality Act allowed a right of entry to citizens of those countries that remained within the Commonwealth, which permitted immigration from the New Commonwealth during the 1950s and 1960s. However, the 1971 Immigration Act effectively placed Commonwealth citizens on an equal basis to other foreign nationals (Raghuram & Kofman, 2002). This has been used to argue that migration flows have much more complex colonial legacies and post-colonial histories (Yeoh, 2003); however, the fact remains that many migrants tend to move to their respective former colonial power or dominant nation within a sphere of influence, for example, British West Indies migrants to Britain, Surinam to the Netherlands, Turkish to Germany, and the Algerian migration to France (Yeoh, 2003; Hijzen & Wright, 2010).

Historical links such as common language play a role as an influencing element rather than as an absolute pull factor (Yeoh, 2003). Mastery of language of the destination country, or the capacity to be able to learn it quickly or easily is usually a condition for labour market access and thus reduces the risk of migrants' failure to find employment opportunities. It also facilitates access to important information necessary for the choice of the destination country and thus a realistic assessment of the benefits and disadvantages of migration. Within this context, people who share elements of language and culture also tend to share norms, and migration flows are affected by this social capital in both the sending and receiving countries.

However, the reality of current international migration has been a shift towards much greater regulation and restriction (Nueumayer, 2006; Li & Teixeira, 2007; Varsanyi & Nevins, 2007). In the UK, this has been noted in terms of how particular changes in immigration legislation have affected the nature of immigration flows and especially the postcolonial nature of many flows (Blunt, 2005; Hijzen & Wright, 2010). The current characteristics of migration to the UK in particular have been strongly influenced by immigration legislation designed to attract highly skilled migrants. This study investigates

reasons that contribute to the migration decision and whether the colonial legacy affects the migration decision of highly skilled professionals or not; Tanzania's historical background is an important aspect of this colonial legacy.

2:10:6 International students as potential skilled migrants

Many studies show that the experience of being a foreign student significantly increases the likelihood of being a skilled migrant at a later stage (Hugo, 2002; Gribble & Blackmore, 2012). The dramatic rise of international student mobility has been played a push and pull factor for skilled migration resulting in a growing trend for international students to remain in the country in which they study after graduation where legislation allows (Gribble, 2008). Traditionally, students who studied abroad were sponsored by aid programmes and were expected to return home to become leaders, maintaining close political, diplomatic and trade links with the countries where they studied. International education was considered an opportunity to study for public rather than individual gain. Currently, the majority of international students are self-funded (Altbach & Knight, 2007). Although some return home to make positive contribution to their countries, there are indications that many are choosing to remain in countries that offer more opportunity to use their skills (Gribble, 2008).

There are a number of push factors that have contributed to the recent growth in the number of students from developing countries, including Tanzania, studying abroad. Among reasons for students to remain in the country where they study is that the education system in the Tanzanian wage employment sector appears low in comparison to other Sub-Saharan countries (Al-Samarrai & Reilly, 2008). Moreover, under-supply of university places, emerging economies being unable to satisfy the demand for tertiary education, expectation that foreign study will confer professional and business advantages and falling costs in transportation and advances in communication technology are among the reasons that make international, including Tanzanian, students study abroad (Gribble, 2008).

The OECD estimated that the higher education market in its member states is conservatively worth some USD 40 billion annually (UNESCO PRESS, 2005) with the USA, the UK, and Australia leading the way in the provision of international education (Hatakenaka, 2004). Moreover, Lowell et al. (2004 as cited in Gribble, 2008) showed that in the United States only 50% of overseas students return home after completing their

qualification. UNESCO predicts that enrolments of international students in developed countries will grow to five million by 2020 (Saddiq, Nethercote, Lye & Baroni, 2012).

The knowledge-intensive economies of the developed countries are expanding to absorb more knowledge workers and are competing for foreign students such as scientists and engineers. This also becomes a pull factor for international students to remain after their graduation. It has been argued that academics and students are playing a great role in enhancing research and innovation and transforming that innovation into commercial ideas and products as well as motivating organisational development (Quresh et al., 2011; Wright, 2012). Hawthorne (2008) adds that international students have emerged as a priority human capital resource and one highly acceptable and attractive to the host country employers because they are young, they possess advanced host-country language ability, they have relevant professional training or experience, supported by significant acculturation, and their credentials are easy to recognise fully. Moreover, Van Dalen and Henkens (2007) and Hawthorne (2008) add that they are attractive because they have funded themselves to complete a domestic qualification in line with the human capital requirements of local employers without spending government funds.

Recently, Gribble and Blackmore (2012) pointed out that a change of migration policy in the UK has decreased the availability of the post-study work visa that entitled international students to work for up to two years after obtaining a UK degree, which often gave a route to permanent settlement for many. The government has adopted a 'managed migration' policy designed to respond to the skill needs of the UK labour market. Policy initiatives include the Science and Engineering Graduates' scheme aimed at encouraging non-European Union nationals who are graduates of science and engineering from UK Universities to pursue their careers in the United Kingdom, and the introduction of two year extensions for overseas graduates from Scottish universities, who will be permitted to work or set up a business (Gribble, 2008). However, up to 2000 international graduate students were issued with entrepreneur visas annually to create business creativity in the UK (Gribble & Blackmore, 2012). This also became a pull factor for people from developing countries with the potential to become highly skilled to remain in the UK.

The loss of students, who represent much of the potential skilled workforce, has been seen to have a detrimental impact in Tanzania by depleting an already scarce resource (Al-Samarrai & Reilly, 2008). A critical mass of highly qualified scientists, engineers, doctors and other professionals are required to attain socioeconomic progress not only for industrial growth and competitiveness but also for provision of social services such as

health, energy infrastructure, education, agriculture and others. Their skills are required for the effective functioning of public and private institutions, including governance and management. The country loses out on the investment it has made on educating and training highly skilled emigrants. This issue of subsequent migrants being international students is further examined in this study as part of the effort to understand the reasons that contribute to the migration of skilled Tanzanians to the UK.

2:11 Contemporary debate issues on migration of skilled people from developing countries and the effect on brain circulation

2:11:1 A theme of ‘Migration for Development’

During the last decade there has been increasing academic and policy interest in the relationship between migration and development (World Bank, 2006; UNDP, 2009 as cited in Hugo, 2011). Migration can have both positive and negative impacts on both origin and destination countries and it can support or undermine economic development and social change. Migration can play a positive role in origin countries when it provides scope for policy interventions that facilitate and enhance those elements of migration to have positive effects, and on the other hand can reduce those which have negative impacts. The design and operationalisation of such interventions requires a deep understanding of the complex interrelations between migration, development and poverty alleviation (Sriskandarajah, 2005). Wicramasekara (2008) argues that around the world, the main national agenda now is to integrate migration issues into national development and poverty reduction strategies. The challenge for policy is to maximise the positive aspects of migration while minimising the negative aspects.

Meanwhile, researchers, policymakers, development agencies and multilateral organisations have been trying to understand the nature of the relationship between migration and development. In particular, they try to understand what might be done to optimise the impact of migration on the prospects of the world’s poorest countries, especially when it involves massive migration of highly educated and skilled labour (Shah, 2011).

During the 1950s and 1960s development economists stressed that labour migration was an integral part of modernisation when they were looking first and foremost at the effects of development on migration (Massey et al., 1998). Skeldon (1997) argues that it is incorrect to view migration as either positive or negative for development; it can be both because it

is part of a process of change that is implied in the term development. For example, Grabel (2009) argues that remittances have become a new development idea; governments and officials believe that money sent home by migrants can be a recipe for local, regional and national development. Moreover, there has been an emerging interest towards the effect of brain gain, the role of return migrants and the role of diasporas as development agents in their origin countries (Griswold, 2003; Williams, 2006; Davis & Hart, 2010; Hugo, 2011). In addition, Heilman (2006) argues that there are strong interrelations between development and migration which are important to consider, while Williams (2006) explains that there is an emerging consensus that if migration is properly managed by both countries of origin and destination, it can have a positive developmental impact.

In contrast to the positive view of migration's effects given above, Postelnicu (2013) points out that there is no evidence available of economic outcomes that show the impact of labour migration on unemployment and skills acquisition and the transfer of knowledge and technology, due to a lack of reliable data. Naerssen (2007, p. 4) argues that the so called "migration–development nexus" is a new concept which needs further research from a broader range of case studies, especially regarding the positive economic outcomes. Newland (2007) argues that at present the evidence base for the links between migration and development is still very weak, while Massey et al. (1998) point out that there are deficiencies in both theoretical understanding and gathering of data on the relationship between migration and development. A World Bank study found that the relationship between migration and development is unsettled and unresolved (Ellerman, 2003).

Nevertheless, in the UN General Assembly the theme of migration for development has been taken into further discussion, focusing on ways to maximise the development benefits of migration and to reduce problems encountered in the area of origin such as the effects of international migration on brain drain and brain circulation that can lead to negative impacts on economic and social development. In addition to the multi-dimensional aspects of international migration and development such as remittances from area of destination to area of origin, partnership building based on migration patterns, can lead to agreements on the best levels of volumes of migration and the sharing of best practices at all levels (Tsioumani, 2006). International migration could be a positive force for development in both countries of origin and destination, provided that it was supported by the right set of policies such as an institutional framework for flow of remittances, investment, diaspora and return migration for skills transfer. However, none of this is a substitute for development, as many migrants are forced to seek work abroad due to poverty, conflict and

human rights violations in their home countries (United Nations, 2006). While Table 3 below presents a summary of the possible impacts of the migration of highly skilled people on both country of origin and destination, the following section examines the impact of highly skilled migration on brain circulation in origin countries, particularly Tanzania. Brain drain and brain gain, migrant returnees, remittances, and diasporas are examined in detail to find out how they affect domestic economic development as a result of highly skilled migration.

Table 3: Possible impacts of highly skilled migration

	Sending country	Receiving country
Positive effects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides rewarding opportunities to educated workers not available at home • Inflow of remittances and foreign exchange • Stimulus for investment in domestic education and individual human capital investments • Return of skilled persons increases local capital, transfer of skills and links to foreign networks • Technology transfer, investments and venture capital by diasporas • Integration of the global market 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased innovation capacity • Increase in stock of human capital • International dissemination of knowledge • Increased enrolment in graduate programmes
Negative effects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Net decrease in human capital stock • Reduced growth and productivity • Fiscal loss of heavy investments in subsidised education • Reduced quality of essential services in health and education • Causes increasing disparities in incomes in country of origin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decreased incentive to seek higher skills • May crowd out students from best schools • Technological transfer to hostile countries

Source: Adapted from Wickramasekara, International Labour Office (2003)

2:11:2 Brain drain and brain waste

There is no definitive conclusion about whether migration is a loss of human capital for the sending countries or a gain for the receiving ones, although logically both factors are involved. Normally the migration of highly skilled people is directly concerned with brain drain, brain gain, brain waste and brain circulation (Gupta & Tyagi, 2011). Brain drain and brain waste are negative phenomena while brain gain and brain circulation bring about

positive long-term dynamic, economic as well as social effects in the origin country (Daugeliene, 2007).

Beine, Docquier and Rapoport (2008) explain the term brain drain as the transfer of resources in the form of human capital, which mainly applies to the migration of relatively highly educated individuals from developing to developed countries. The migration of highly skilled people does not in each and every case necessarily lead to brain drain, but the emigration of a sizeable number of highly qualified people does. Mostly, the migration of highly skilled migrants is voluntary and a rational choice is made to maximise gain. The push and pull factors, both at the area of origin and destination, are considered as part of a cost-benefit analysis for the migration process to take place. Similarly, the impact of highly skilled migration on the receiving countries can be positive and therefore beneficial or negative and detrimental; this largely depends on whether migrant workers complement or compete with native workers in the labour market.

Brain waste on the other hand is described by Salt (1997) and Mattoo, Neagu and Ozden (2005) as what happens when highly skilled migrants are only able to find employment in the area of destination that is below their level of expertise or does not make use of their skills and experience gained in their former job at all. Moreover, Mattoo et al., (2005) apply the phenomenon of brain waste in their study to refer to the fact that foreign workers are often hired for jobs for which they are overqualified. Brain waste is described as a mismatch between the skills individuals possess and what is in demand in the labour market to which they migrate; for example, when a medical doctor migrant finds employment as a nurse or a driver in the destination country (Mattoo et al., 2005). Moorhouse and Cunningham (2010) argue that migration can have a negative impact on an individual's human capital development as many migrants work to survive, instead of being employed at their intellectual capacity, and thus they fail to fulfil their inherent potential.

The brain drain in this study has been considered as a serious challenge for Tanzania, where stocks of highly skilled labour are far smaller and the impact of highly skilled emigration is consequently proportionally larger. The term 'brain drain', originally coined in the 1950s to refer to the flow of scientists and technologists from developed countries such as the UK and Canada to the USA, has since come to be understood more in the context of the migration flows of highly skilled people from developing countries (Harvey, 2012).

The literature on brain drain saw an explosive growth in the 1970s and has been surveyed by, among others, Jagdish Bhagwati (1976) and Gupta and Tyagi (2011). Bhagwati (1976 as cited in Gupta and Tyagi, 2011) declares that the most educated persons from India migrate to developed countries such as the USA at their most productive age, creating an exodus of educated people. The interest in the movement of highly skilled people from less-developed to more-developed areas is by no means new, the so-called “brain drain” of highly skilled people from developing countries has been of concern for decades; however, the intensity of the interest in recent decades is unprecedented (Shah, 2011).

The emigration of well-educated and highly skilled people has negative impacts and has become an important cause of underdevelopment in Tanzania. Bhagwati and Hamada (1974; 1982 as cited in Gupta & Tyagi, 2011) declare that when highly skilled individuals leave an area of origin this can have a distorting effect on the optimisation of that area’s tax system on two levels; firstly, the highly skilled migrants tend to be better paid in the area of destination, meaning that the government in the area of origin loses tax income which in turn affects the extent to which it can redistribute its revenue. Secondly, the investment the area of origin has made in providing individual migrants with the skills and experience so in demand in their destination represents a major cost, especially for developing countries, which as a result of migration never see a return on this investment in the form of enhanced tax revenues. Thus a consistent drain of human capital in the area of origin is detrimental to development because the loss of human capital caused by the migration of highly skilled individuals is a drag on productivity and therefore per capita income (Beine, Docquier & Rapoport, 2008; Docquier & Rapoport, 2004). However, Scalera (2012) criticises Bhagwati’s ‘brain drain tax’ by pointing out that skilled migration is not necessarily detrimental for origin countries and it might even favour rather than hinder human capital accumulation. Moreover, Scalera (2012) argues that taxing the brain drain raises severe legal, administrative and practical problems.

In the 1990s the study of brain drain shifted its attention from the push factors and negative aspects of skilled migration from developing countries to the current characteristics of skilled migration, termed as ‘demand pull’ (Gupta & Tyagi, 2011). This pull was regarded as being due to the different immigration policies in the receiving countries and their matching labour market conditions and skills needs. The new theoretical literature on brain drain has emerged around the idea that migration prospects may well foster human capital formation in developing countries even after mass migration of highly trained people has happened: making brain drain a positive effect and reducing international inequalities

when infrastructures for flow of remittances, investment, diasporas and return migration are well developed (Docquier & Rapoport, 2004; Le, 2008; Musumba, Jin & Mjelde, 2011). The highly skilled migration process is not different from any other decision made by rational individuals seeking to maximise gain in allocating scarce resources. Castles and Miller (2009) argue that the migration of skilled individuals from less developed to more developed countries can potentially be a mutually beneficial exchange but only if areas of origin and destination work together to formally create the equilibrium conditions.

The migration process can be easily explained through push and pull factors, given that the wages of professionals or highly skilled people from developing countries are comparatively low relative to what could be earned abroad, which maximises an individual's economic gain. Skilled people who emigrate have incomes abroad that are higher than their incomes at home and a better quality of life, which may induce or motivate more people to stay in education to obtain more qualifications, consequently generating human capital gain (Fan & Stark, 2007). A portion of those who are induced by emigration to continue their education at home may even expand the stock of highly educated people, thus potentially enhancing productivity and subsequently economic growth in the home country (Mountford, 1997; Stark & Wang, 2002). However, Boucher et al. (2005) argue that this outcome is possible under the assumption that not all skilled individuals will actually migrate and that access to education and training is feasible.

It was suggested by Schiff (2005) that those who are induced to continue their education because of prior emigration of others may well be of lower ability and hence contribute less to domestic productivity. He also adds that even if tertiary education expands in the origin country, the rate of admission to the destination countries could decline in response, which effectively will reduce the incentive to continue education. Moreover, Fan and Stark (2007) suggest that the costs of having highly educated or over-qualified people unemployed are high, not only in economic terms but also for the individuals. In the long term this can also lead to demotivation of people who do not see the advantages of studying longer. However, the experience will vary from country to country, depending on the income level of the country and how accessible higher education is and what opportunities exist to emigrate. Whether migration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad is a brain drain or brain gain is further examined in this study to meet one of the objectives, which is to identify the perceived impact of international labour migration on Tanzania's domestic economic development.

2:11:3 Brain gain, brain circulation and migration returnees

The emigration of highly skilled persons is sometimes denounced as brain drain, harmful to the economic development of origin countries and welcomed as brain gain or brain circulation through return migration (Davis & Hart, 2010). Zaletel (2006) argues that the aggregate positive effect of highly skilled migration in the receiving country is often brain gain and the aggregate negative effect in the origin country is the brain drain; however, there may be benefits for both if there is a brain exchange or brain circulation.

Migrants who return to their home countries, temporarily or permanently, transfer knowledge and skills acquired abroad (Le, 2008; Makina, 2012). This recent literature has a more positive angle in that there is increasing recognition that skilled emigration can be considered a potential asset to the origin countries, able to act as an agent of development and to strengthen co-operation between the origin and receiving countries (Gupta & Tyagi, 2011; Shah, 2011). These aspects may help to create rational individuals capable of maximising gain, who develop and utilise social and professional networks, thereby leading to cultural and economic exchange between the destination and origin countries. Similar to this idea, some academic analyses emphasise the importance of brain circulation (Vertovec, 2002; Iredale et al., 2003; Saxenian, 2005; Harvey, 2012). For example, major development organisations such as the Asian Development Bank, the British Department for International Development, the International Labour Organization, the International Organization for Migration, the United Nations, the United States Agency for International Development and the World Bank have argued that emigration can play a positive role in facilitating economic growth, development and poverty reduction in the countries of origin if inflow of remittances, investment, transfer of skills and technology from return migrants and diaspora are considered in development plans (Hugo, 2011).

Nevertheless, understanding about how extensively highly skilled migrants travel between sending and receiving countries for business and work purposes, as well as their investment patterns, remains limited in Tanzania because of the dearth of data available (Shitundu, 2006; ACP, 2010). Green and Winters (2010) argue that evidence on return migration is more difficult as governments tend to be less concerned with counting citizens who leave the country than those who enter. Moreover, unemployment, skills mismatches or the situation of job availability in origin countries and the increasing difficulty of re-entering the destination country once migrants have left are among the reasons identified for few returning (World Bank, 2009a as cited in Green & Winters, 2010). Although migrants who migrate to an industrialised country represent a potential resource for the

socioeconomic development of their home countries, very few of them return to the country of origin bringing the skills and knowledge learned abroad (Gupta & Tyagi, 2011). However, Docquier & Rapoport (2008) argue that until now there has been no empirical data (harmonised international data) on the impact of the migration of highly skilled people contributing successfully to domestic economic development in the country of origin, therefore the debate remains exclusively theoretical. Although China and India are identified as good examples of brain exchange, there is still little in the literature on other examples (Saxenian, 2005). Therefore, this study has an opportunity to investigate the perceived impact of highly skilled migration on the influence of brain circulation in Tanzania.

2:11:4 Remittances

Remittances are described as the portion of international migrant workers' earnings sent back from the country of destination to the country of origin (Gupta & Tyagi, 2011). Remittances have primarily been studied as money flows resulting from migration from rational individuals maximising gain at the family, local, regional and national levels in terms of their impact on the economy. The exact scale of the value of remittance flows to developing countries is impossible to ascertain, but estimates indicate that it is considerably higher than the amount of Official Development Assistance (ODA) (Grabel, 2009; Benmamoun & Lehnert, 2013). Le and Bodman (2011) point out that remittances have a significant role in economic development at the macro level (through their contribution to developing countries' balance of payments) and at the micro level (by raising the standard of living of households), as well as have potential contribution to entrepreneurialism and improve the circulation of capital. An increase in foreign exchange reserves, a positive effect on savings and investment, and output growth are some of the rational maximising gains that are accrued from remittances (Ratha, 2005).

Based on the push-pull factor theory of migration, individual migrants also calculate the cost and benefits of migration as positives and negatives in their decision to migrate in order to improve their conditions. Most migrants from developing countries consider remittances to be maximising rational advantages. Luong (2004) and DeParle (2007 both as cited in Tynaliev & Maclean, 2011) support remittances that reach the poor of the world who may never receive any portion of official aid because of their corrupt and authoritarian governments. Households remain the direct beneficiaries of these resource flows (Zaman & Akbar, 2013). Most remittances are spent either on basics to improve recipients'

standard of living, such as food, medicine, education, housing, savings, household investments or on consumption goods such as televisions or clothing (Le & Bodman, 2011). While basic expenditures may help poor households, the purchase of consumption goods, it has been argued, stimulates imports and not domestic manufacturing; in this way, remittances do little to boost domestic production, employment or exports (Lowell, 2001). Rao and Hassan (2012) and Guha (2013) argue that remittances are private transfers of funds, which are normally used to fund 'conspicuous consumption' to enhance social status by demonstrating wealth through buying luxuries such as imported goods; however, the extent to which such flows can be connected to developmental purposes is limited.

In particular, Lowell (2001) argues that there is an abundant literature on the impact of remittances but some ambiguity remains about whether or not remittances boost economic development. Zaman and Akbar (2013) criticise remittances as an emerging source of development finance because these resources are not recorded in the accounting of public expenditure or private investment. Remittances can only encourage sustained economic growth if policies are put into place to encourage legal transfers and productive investment, to reduce corruption and bureaucracy, and to provide an investment-friendly infrastructure (Castles, 2008). The impact of remittances on growth in cross-country studies is inconclusive and it is difficult to gauge their aggregate effect because they are often informal and there is a decentralised decision-making process that characterises their use (Gubert, 2002). Currently, formal mechanisms for the transfer of remittances are often costly and incentivise the use of informal channels, which can make migrants vulnerable to fraud (Grabel, 2009; Watteson, 2013). Many consumers, especially immigrants, opt to send money through informal channels because they often provide excellent service, tend to be cheaper, quicker and provide greater anonymity, which sometimes makes them susceptible to abuse by criminals trying to hide drug money and other illicit funds (Watterson, 2013). For example, a survey conducted by Standish & Kendall (2013) on payment or remittance transfer in Asia in 2012 shows that most people received remittances or cash in person or sent it in some informal way which involved friends or family. In addition, Portes (2006) points out that the positive effects of remittances are deeply contingent on other factors: there is no evidence of any country achieving a route of sustained development based solely on remittances sent by expatriates. Furthermore, Postelnicu (2012) argues that remittances differ considerably according to a variety of factors: level of qualification; position held in the labour market; degree of integration into society; the policy adopted by hosting countries towards immigrants; as well as the immigrants' economic status in their

country of origin, as well as macro-economic conditions; for example, the effect of the global financial economy in the country.

There is also a need to understand the link between skill levels and the remittance-sending behaviour of migrants in their life cycle. For instance, Faini (2007) argues that evidence indicates that more highly skilled migrants are less likely to remit over time. This may be related to the tendency for skilled migrants to stay longer in the country of destination and to bring their dependents with them (Lowell & Findlay, 2001). Schmid (2006) argues that young highly skilled migrants with neither children nor spouse back home most probably remit much less. However, Bollard, McKenzie, Morten & Rapoport (2011) used a micro data survey of immigrants in eleven major destination countries to investigate the relationships between education and remitting behaviour. The survey shows that there was a positive relationship between education level and the likelihood of remitting. According to the study, the size of the income earned by migrants, rather than family characteristics, explains the size of their remittances. Moreover, Docquier, Rapoport & Salomone (2012) in their survey show that immigration policies (restrictiveness and selectivity) in destination areas determine the magnitude of the relationship between remittances and migrants' education.

Despite all these factors, for many developing countries, remittances continue to represent an important source of external financing (Gupta et al., 2007; Postelnicu, 2012). For example, by the end of 2010 remittances from migrant workers to developing countries were estimated to have reached US\$325 billion; and Sub-Saharan Africa received an officially recorded US\$21.5 billion, although the true size of these remittance flows is believed to be even larger (Davies, 2012). Moreover, larger remittance flows are welcomed by migrants' countries of origin since they represent streams of income, and are therefore regarded as maximising the gain of migration in a way that can be used for consumption and investment. However, Tanzania receives a very low amount of remittances annually compared to other Sub-Saharan Africa countries. ACP (2010) shows that only US\$14 million were received in 2007 and US\$19 million in 2008, representing 0.1 per cent of the GDP and 0.5 per cent of the ODA (World Bank 2009 and 2010). This means per capita, the amount is insignificant (equivalent to about 40 US cents in 2008). Moreover, Schmid (2006) argued that some countries value remittances over the development of human capital but are still unable to provide the necessary social services for their population. For example, Humberto, Pablo and Pablo (2007 as cited in Gupta & Tyagi, 2011) explored the impact of remittances on poverty, education, and health in eleven Latin American countries

using nationally representative household surveys. The findings of their study show that there is significant country heterogeneity in the poverty reduction impact of remittance flows. They explained that while remittances tend to have positive effects on education and health, this impact is often restricted to specific groups of the population. Similarly, it cannot be assumed that all migrants remit to the same extent or all countries benefit the same from remittances. More studies need to be conducted in order to better understand the flow of remittances or the pattern of remittances and their influence on brain circulation. The emigration of highly skilled people in exchange for desired remittances can be seen as a maximising advantage to boost the domestic economy in many developing countries. Therefore, this study will further examine the perceived impact of remittances on brain circulation related to the migration decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to the UK.

2:11:5 Diasporas

The term diaspora originally referred to the dispersal of Jews from their original homeland; it was subsequently extended to groups such as Armenian, Chinese, Greek, Indian, Kurdish, Irish, Palestinian and Sikh populations, whose experiences of expatriation, institution building, cultural continuity, and refusal to relinquish their collective identities have distinguished them from mere immigrants (Cohen, 1997; Safran, 2005; Davies, 2007). The word diaspora has come to mean a group of people united by nationality, culture or religion who were forced out of or who migrated from their historic homeland into different parts of the world. Diasporas normally establish new political communities in those places, making contact with the people of the receiving lands for various purposes, but generally remaining close together as communities, sharing religion, culture and/or welfare (Safran, 2005).

The term ‘the African diasporas’ was first used in 1965 at the International Congress of African History at the University of Dar es Salaam by George Shepperson, who drew parallels between the dispersal of Africans as a result of slavery and imperialism and the experience of the Jews (Alpers, 2001). Looking at the history of African diasporas, Davis (2007) argues that the wave of contemporary African diasporas can be categorised into three phases; (a) the diasporas of colonisation, (b) decolonisation, (c) era of structural adjustment or a globalised neoliberalism which has materialised from the disruption of colonial conquest, struggles for independence and structural adjustment programmes since the 1980s. The uneven and fractured awareness of class, racial, gender, generational, geographic, ethnic and linguistic identities which characterise these diasporas has

fluctuated considerably over time, making it complicated to map not only their changing boundaries but also their changing connections with their countries of origin, and their contribution to economic development (Davies, 2007).

The Economic Commission for Africa notes that African government responses to migration have been very limited and fragmentary (Styan, 2007). In 2003, the African Union (AU) amended Article 3 of its Constitutive Act to ‘invite and encourage the full participation of the African diaspora as an important part of the continent’ (Davis, 2007). The AU has also committed to formally recognising the African diasporas as a sixth regional bloc, alongside the economic communities of Southern, Central, West, East and Saharan regions of the continent. The African Union (AU) is the sole pan-continental organization with the aim of increasing the engagement of diasporas with various development priorities such as policy attention to help promote peace, security, development, human rights and democracy within Africa. Styan (2007) argues that many governments, in line with the AU, are showing a greater level of interest in the developmental potential of the diaspora in the continent. In addition, more governments have adopted policies specifically designed to secure investment and engagement from their diaspora migrant population as a pull factor.

It is only comparatively recently that the use of trans-national networks as a means of maximizing gain from migration/ mobilization and pressure to facilitate development has been proposed as a potential policy strategy. Previously, migration and development were treated as isolated policy fields. Historical and existing initiatives have sought to rectify the brain drain, promoting policy measures to regulate flows of skills or to reduce their damaging effects through taxation. Policy measures have also focused on the so-called ‘diasporas option’, or expatriate networking, which builds upon the relationships which already exist between expatriates and their country of origin, with the aim that these “sporadic, exceptional and limited links may now become systematic, dense and multiple” (Davies, 2007, p. 6) as well as an issue of return, repatriation and diaspora support. For instance, the wider range of diasporas’ potential development contributions such as investments, skills transfer and advocacy (institutional development, human rights, and good governance) are now more recognised and emphasized as benefits from migration (Brinkerhoff, 2011).

There is a dearth of literature about Tanzanian diasporas and development, although, the government of President J.K. Kikwete, elected in 2005, took an initiative to encourage Tanzanian diasporas to contribute to the development of their own country of origin

(Mercer et al., 2009). Tanzanian diaspora associations in the UK can also be described as constituting a form of transnational network, which is involved with development projects in the home country; however, their contributions tend to be very sporadic and relatively small (Mercer et al., 2009).

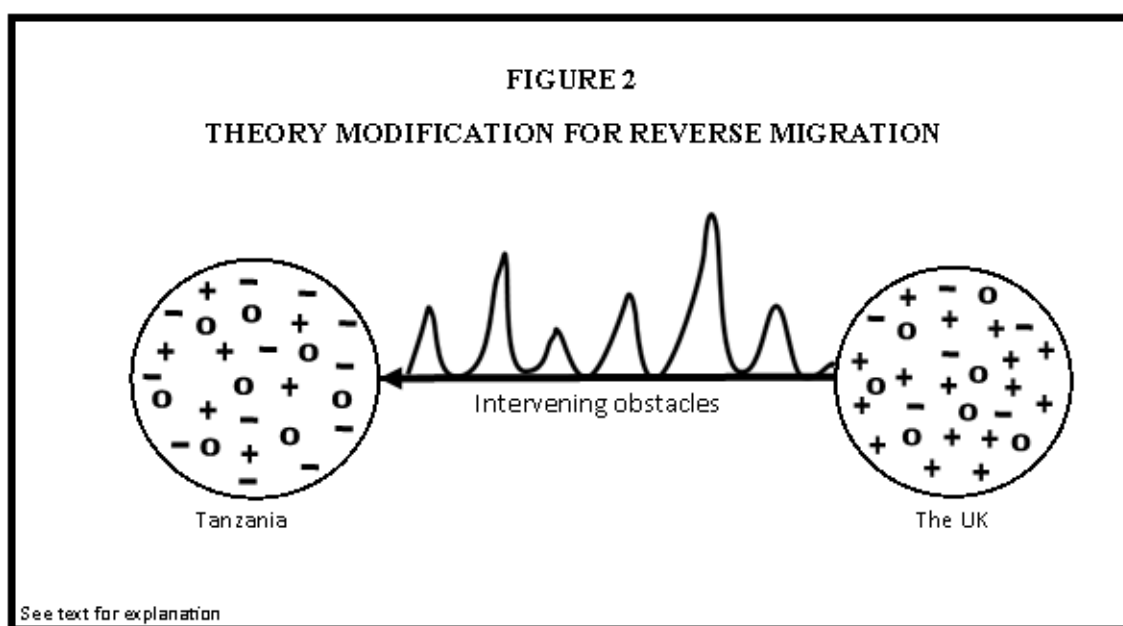
Nevertheless, in the context of diasporas, many researchers argue that diasporas maintain strong social ties not only with other expatriates and the local population, but also with family members, friends and professionals living in their home countries (Meyer, 2001; Vertovec, 2002; Hardwick, 2003; Iredale et al., 2003; Saxenian, 2006; Beaverstock, 2002 as cited in Faist, 2008). Patterson (2006) argues that the nature of the relationship between a country and its expatriate diasporas is extremely important for transforming brain drain into brain circulation as individuals rationally maximise potential gain from migration decisions. As members of the group spread outside their country, they can generate flows of knowledge, investment, goods and services to and from their origin country. There are many diaspora networks around the world that have the explicit purpose of connecting migrant entrepreneurs, professionals and students with each other and with the country of origin as well as promoting the exchange of skills and knowledge (Faist, 2008). Nijkamp, Gheasi and Rietveld (2011) argue that international trade between countries of origin and destination is encouraged because most migrants have a preference for the goods and services of their native countries. Through the transmission of information, these networks facilitate technology, trade and the transfer of knowledge, as well as promote foreign direct investment in the home country, without their physical, temporal or permanent return. However, the magnitude of these effects depends on the skill level of migrants and their duration of stay (Nijkamp et al., 2011). Developing countries need to understand the impact of diaspora on the influence of brain circulation when formulating development policies. Therefore, this study will also examine the perceived impact of migration of highly skilled Tanzanians on brain circulation within Tanzania.

2:12 Summary

There are many factors, both economic and non-economic, that contribute to the decision of highly skilled workers to migrate from developing to developed countries. This study has selected a range of push and pull factors that are considered likely to contribute to the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate to the UK. Moreover, there is much impact of highly skilled migration on brain circulation; however, only a few issues were

selected and will be further discussed in light of the findings of this study. Lee's (1966) theory of migration is applied to provide an understanding of the reasons for migration given by Tanzanian migration practitioners, policy makers, and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK. However, Lee's theory has been criticised for failing to take into account the migration decisions in the wider context such as family or households which focus on minimising risks and maximising income. The characteristics of the migration process of many people from developing countries are considered to be influenced by their wider social context. Moreover, the theory is criticised for being a static model and does not pay attention to the impact of migration both at the area of origin and destination. Therefore, looking at the objectives of this study, any barriers or impedances to reverse migration require consideration if the Tanzanian government is to facilitate return migration for the purposes of brain circulation and maximise the benefit of migration in the wider context in Tanzania (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: A proposal for reverse migration



The proposed model for reverse migration shows an arrow directing migration flows from the area of destination to area of origin necessary for brain circulation to take place. Therefore, the theory requires a modification to allow return migration. The next chapter explains the study's methodology and methods used to explore the reasons that contribute to the migration decision and its influence on brain circulation.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

3:1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological approaches and methods that were used to answer the research questions and achieve the research objectives set for this study. It explains the justification for the research philosophy of constructivism that was adopted, the methods of data collection and the data analysis employed. The focus of this study is the micro-level, where the experiences of Tanzanian migration practitioners, policy makers and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK and who were involved in the process of migration are investigated. The approach is consistent with a research philosophy of constructivism, and a qualitative methodology is considered appropriate for exploring the phenomenon under investigation to take account of underlying actions and events (Healy and Perry, 2000). The previous chapter critically analysed the literature concerned with the migration of highly skilled people from developing to developed countries and provided the theoretical framework that guided this study. The research design is intended to help to collect related data and reflect on the literature presented in previous chapters and uncover new information in order to achieve the research objectives.

RESEARCH METHODS IN PRACTICE

3:2 The qualitative methods, qualitative data and procedures

The popularity of qualitative research has increased in various fields of social science, including management studies. Strauss and Corbin (1998 as cited in Gill & Johnson, 2010, p. 148) define qualitative research as “any type of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification”. Although Gill and Johnson (2010) agree with a definition of the qualitative approach that does not involve the use of statistical procedures or testing hypothetical predictions about phenomenon, they also emphasise the issue of embracing different philosophical views of the human behaviour under study. A qualitative approach was considered relevant and applicable in this study because the research represents the human beliefs of individuals living in dynamic, complex social arrangements (Rogers, 2000). This study involves participants who have been directly and indirectly involved in the migration process. The qualitative semi-structured interview method enabled the researcher to gain valuable insights on migration issues from individual participants’ perspectives.

Merten (1998) and Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2011) describe qualitative research as a naturalistic interpretive science which can be multi-method in focus. It involves the use of methods such as case studies, in-depth interviews, focus group discussion, observation, contextual analysis, visual methods, and life histories or biographies, which provide insights into cultural aspects, organisational practices and human interactions (Creswell, 2009). However, qualitative research is much more than the application of methods as mentioned above. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) and Creswell (2009) argue that qualitative research consists of a set of interpretive material practices that make the world visible, and that it is characterised by researchers studying things in their actual environment, and attempting to make sense of, or to interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them.

This study adopted the qualitative method to explore reasons that contribute to the migration decision of highly skilled Tanzanians, and identify their perceptions about the influence of migration on brain circulation in Tanzania. The issue of migration involves people's daily life and the calculations of benefit maximisation that exist in their social action, through which decisions to migrate are made. Based on a constructivist philosophical position as a subjective ontology, this study seeks in-depth understanding of peoples' perceptions, experiences and interpretations of the migration problem by fully participating in the research process to learn more about people's life experiences, conditions and the circumstances surrounding their lives.

Therefore, the qualitative method is the most appropriate for uncovering humanistic research findings such as reasons that contribute to the migration decision because human beings have always been in interaction with their environment, which cannot be excluded from their decision to emigrate. Alvesson and Deetz (2000) support this argument by claiming that qualitative research provides possible broader and richer descriptive data which are sensitive to the ideas and meaning of the individuals concerned. The collection of this type of data helps to foster an understanding of each participant's unique experiences and perceptions through in-depth interview. As a strategy, qualitative inquiry can generate theory out of research, should place emphasis on understanding the world from the perspective of its participants and should view social life as the result of interaction and interpretations. The qualitative approach is therefore considered as an intensive method of examining the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians and their social

practices in great depth in order to understand meaning, as a valid alternative to collecting a wide range of data in statistical form.

Qualitative research is committed to viewing events, actions, and values from the perspectives of the people being studied (Bryman & Bell, 2007). Despite some studies on similar countries, there is a dearth of qualitative research on the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians and its perceived impact on brain circulation, while the studies that exist on migration decision from other developing countries are mostly quantitative in nature. The researcher therefore decided to adopt a qualitative method as a contribution to academic knowledge, and in order to study participants in their actual environment. In this way, the researcher identified how participants' experiences and behaviours were shaped by the context of their lives such as the social, economic, cultural or physical context in which they lived (Creswell, 2009). Participants were not taken into a laboratory nor were instruments used for individuals to complete in order to obtain the study's data. Instead, the study seeks to embrace and understand the contextual influences that contribute to the migration decision in an attempt to make sense of it, or interpret it in terms of the meanings participants provide (Hennink et al., 2011). Multiple meanings were also constructed in this way by interaction with participants and interpretation of participants' views, experiences and perceptions to give meaning about the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad and its perceived impact on brain circulation.

3:3 Participants and selection procedure

In any research, it is important to explain the process used to select participants. Non-probability sampling was employed in this study. In qualitative research, participants are often selected using purposive or theoretical sampling approaches on the basis of how useful they are likely to be to the aims of the inquiry, and the views of participants who are not necessarily representative of the general sample may be actively sought out (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Purposive sampling allows a researcher to choose a case because it illustrates some features or characteristics or process in which the researcher is interested (Silverman, 2010). However, Bryman (2012) argues that it is quite common for more than one sampling approach to be employed when a researcher appears to aim for an element of both purposiveness and other representatives in their approach.

In this study there were two target groups for data generation. The first group was highly skilled Tanzanians, both males and females, living in the UK (see Table 4). The second

group was migration practitioners and policy makers from the government and non-governmental sectors in Tanzania; this included individuals from the Immigration Office, the Ministry of Labour, the Prime Minister's Office, the President's Office- Management of Public Services, the University of Dar es Salaam, together with representatives of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the International Labour Organization (ILO) situated in Tanzania (see Table 5).

Although the researcher considered that purposive rather than random sampling would be an effective way of selecting participants rich in data significance to gain an understanding of the research problem (Chambliss & Schutt, 2012), a snowball sampling technique was also employed. Therefore, both purposive and snowball sampling techniques were applied in this study. The purposive sampling was applied to select participants in terms of known characteristics or criteria that allowed the research questions to be answered, while the snowball sampling technique was employed to identify more participants who had the experience or characteristics relevant to the research (Bryman, 2012). The snowball sampling technique is also known as chain referral sampling and is considered a type of purposive sampling (Johnston & Sabin, 2010). Snowball sampling is often used to identify and recruit a hidden population that is not easily accessible to researchers through other sampling strategies. In this method, participants with whom contact had already been made used their social network to refer the researcher to other people who could potentially participate in or contribute to the study.

Attempts were made to identify participants when the researcher attended a conference for the Tanzanian Diaspora Association in London, in May 2011. During the conference period, there was an opportunity to talk to many Tanzanians living in the UK and to share overall knowledge about migration and life both in Tanzania and the UK. Having developed a good idea of participants' characteristics and met a number of participants who might be able to be involved in the research, a list of contacts was developed of potential participants willing to provide information or data for the research. Therefore, the use of purposive sampling was planned and efforts were made to acquire participants with particular attributes and who were readily available to engage in the interview process and convenient to access geographically; snowballing was used to look for more participants with similar characteristics and experiences to those who had already been located. The snowball sampling technique was a necessary measure because some of the participants selected as highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK through purposive sampling were not available during the interview period. Therefore, available participants were contacted

through emails to help identify more participants who had similar characteristics in order to invite them to attend interviews.

The migration practitioners and policy makers in this study were selected based on subjective judgement (non-probability and non-random sampling) because they were key informants and considered experts in the field under investigation (Saunders et al., 2012). Their specialised expertise and experiences in the area of study were considered very important in order to answer research questions appropriately and meet the research objectives. The nature of this study is exploratory rather than hypothesis testing, which required selection of participants who would best help to understand the problem and answer research questions. The purposive method does not necessarily suggest random sampling or the selection of a large number of participants and sites, which is typically found in quantitative research (Creswell, 2003). Therefore, participants (migration practitioners and policy makers) in the second phase of data collection were selected through purposive sampling. The recruitment of participants targeted individuals who had relevant professional positions and who were working within roles concerned with migration, in the belief that they would provide information that was directly relevant to the objectives of the study. The participants were considered to hold special information because of their unique position in their organisations, which would enable data to be collected that would achieve the research objectives. At this stage, a number of organisations had already been identified from government and non-government sectors that dealt with the migration issues in Tanzania. The researcher visited these organisations to seek access and appointments for collecting data through interviews, using introduction letters from the University of Gloucestershire (see appendices 2 and 8) and the researcher's employer office in Tanzania (see appendix 7); these letters explained the purpose of the research and an approximate time that would be spent for interviews, and all other essential ethical issues.

In some cases the researcher, after submitting the letters to these organisations, was immediately given an email and/or office telephone number to contact a specific person. The appointments for interviews were often directly arranged through consensus with the participants after first contact through emails or telephone calls (see examples of appendices 3 and 9). It was often necessary to leave the choice of date, time and place for interviews to the participants. All interviews were conducted at the premises of the participants' organisations.

3:4 Research ethics in this study

Regardless of the approach to qualitative inquiry, a qualitative researcher faces many ethical issues that surface during data collection in the field and in analysis and dissemination of qualitative reports (Creswell, 2007). In this study, the general ethical issue of anonymity and confidentiality of interviewees was taken into consideration to avoid or reduce the risk of embarrassment, pain, harm or any other material disadvantage (Saunders et al., 2012). The use of information gathered was explained and participants were assured about anonymity and confidentiality. None of the participants' identities were disclosed in the report and information provided was kept secured in a cabinet. For example, numbers were used in place of participants' names, so that the semi-structured interview data from participants identified as 'highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK' are indicated using the designations HST-1; HST-2; etc. up to HST-18, because there were 18 participants in this group (see Table 4). Meanwhile, semi-structured interview findings from 'migration practitioners and policy makers' both from the government and non-governmental sectors are indicated as MPP-1; MPP-2; up to MPP-12, because there were 12 participants in this group (see Table 5). Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyvens (2003) argue that interview information, confidentiality and identities of participants are significant ethical issues in any research.

Furthermore, it was extremely important to create good rapport and gain the trust of the participants before and during the interview in order to create a close relationship between the researcher and the participants. Apart from oral explanation of informed consent, an informed consent form was used that described in detail the purpose of the research, the use of data, confidentiality and anonymity of participants' identity and information, and the freedom for participants to withdraw from the research (see appendices 2 and 8). The participants were voluntarily and willingly involved in interviews and they were free to withdraw their participation at any time (Silverman, 2010). All audio or voice recorders that used to record interviews were used with participants' permission and the data were kept secured in a locked cabinet. Moreover, the University of Gloucestershire's (2008) A Handbook of Principles and Procedures of Research Ethics guided the research, which did not involve children or biomedical and clinical intervention that needed to be considered by the University Research Ethics Sub-Committee (RESC); the research ethics were approved by the research supervisors, one of whom was the chair of the RESC.

3:5 Methods of data collection in this study

3:5:1 Semi-structured interviews for data collection

Face to face semi-structured interviews with participants using open-ended questions were employed for data collection because they provided a deeper understanding of the problem under investigation and a broader perspective (Creswell, 2009; Bryman, 2012) (see appendices 1 and 6). The semi-structured interview method was considered appropriate for data collection to explore participants' perceptions (Silverman, 2010) and their experiences about international migration issues, which have been very little researched in Tanzania. This method allowed participants to be observed and listened to, and their views understood. It also helped to uncover the reasons why highly skilled Tanzanians emigrate from their own country, and what they think the government can do to influence them to remain and work in Tanzania to promote its economic development. In addition this method helped to understand participants' perspectives on the effects of migration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad on domestic economic development. Burgess (1982 as cited in Easterby-Smith et al., 2002, p. 86) supports the approach outlined above by defining the interview as an "opportunity for the researcher to probe deeply to uncover new clues, open up new dimensions of a problem and to secure vivid, accurate inclusive accounts that are based on personal experience".

The focus of the interviews in this study was on the individual experience of the participant, which was seen as relevant for understanding the experience of highly skilled migrants. In the interviews a personal narrative of the migration experience was collected, and subsequently analysed. In this way, the interview was seen as a site for the construction of knowledge (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach & Ziber, 1998). The researcher reflected on the participants' lives and assessed this form of meaning-making to be a way of understanding the issues of migration (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002; Collin & Hussey, 2003).

Although the interviewer had a clear plan in mind regarding the focus and goal of the interviews, both the interviewee and the interviewer were able to talk about other issues that they found to be useful or relevant to the topic. Consequently, all necessary aspects of the research questions were covered and the researcher was able to explore other unexpected aspects because the interview sessions were not limited to specific questions, as they would have been in a structured interview or quantitative methodology (May, 2001).

The interviews with Tanzanian migration practitioners and policy makers were conducted after interviews had been carried out with highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK. The data collected from the migrants living in the UK were analysed and the themes identified informed the questions that were included in the interview schedule for the migration practitioners and policy makers interviewed in Tanzania. This enabled the researcher to discuss with migration practitioners and policy makers issues raised from the interviews with participants living in the UK as well as first exploring their own perceptions on migration. The issue of dual citizenship was raised by migrants living in the UK and further discussed with the migration practitioners and policy makers during interviews; furthermore, from the interviews with migrants in the UK it was clear that while many participants expressed a wish to return to Tanzania, there were barriers that made this very difficult for them, and therefore the issue of reverse migration was included as a question to be put to the migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania.

3:5:2 Instruments for data collection- interview questions

The interview questions were influenced by the literature review undertaken by the researcher and discovered in previous research findings. In gathering information on the perceptions of the interviewees, the researcher considered that the more open-ended the questioning, the better, as this enabled her to listen carefully to what participants said or did in their normal life, and it was a method appropriate for what is a little investigated topic (Creswell, 2007). Therefore, the open-ended interview question was employed to address the process of interaction among individuals, and focused on the specific contexts in which the participants lived and worked in order to understand their historical and cultural settings (see appendices 1 and 6).

English was the language of the research study, and all interview questions were formulated in English. The interviewees who were involved in data collection were highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK, for whom English had become the language in which they communicated in their daily activities. Likewise migration practitioners and policy makers used English in their office activities. Although the participants were given an opportunity to use Swahili as a vernacular language, which was in all cases spoken fluently by both the interviewer and the interviewee, all interviewees preferred to use English. For this reason, the researcher kept the interviews in their original version, thus minimising the potential issues of a change of meaning associated with translation and also saving time that would be needed to make translations; however, in a few interviews some participants

used Kiswahili terms in order to emphasise some points, and the interviewer translated these phrases in the transcripts.

Bryman and Bell (2007) urge the researcher to concentrate on what participants say and how they say it, for example particular language or words they apply in the interviews. The nuances of language will be lost if the researcher relies on notes. Therefore, audio recorders were used to record interviews with the permission of participants and notes were taken during the interviews when necessary. The researcher took notes to document the main ideas raised from interview sessions and also transcribed the interviews from the audio recordings immediately after each interview session was completed.

3:5:3 Piloting interview questions and preparing interviews

A pilot study was used to refine the research instruments such as interview questions and schedules, and to foreshadow research problems and questions concerned with data collection. The pilot study also helped to highlight gaps and wastage in data collection, and for considering broader and highly significant issues such as research validity, ethics, representation and researcher health and safety (Sampson, 2004). Piloting interviews helps in understanding oneself as a researcher (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). The pilot study helped to find ways to eliminate or minimise barriers such as resistance to use of voice recorders and mistrust of the researcher's agenda (Smith, 1998). Practice makes perfect, and the pilot study was an opportunity for the researcher to demonstrate her initial ability to manage qualitative research by describing her initial observations of the interviews. It aimed to find out whether interview questions worked or if changes needed to be made. A few migrant people working in NHS Cheltenham General hospital were employed as the sample of the pilot study. These were: one female nurse from Kenya and four males; two Polish, one Ghanaian and one Filipino from the catering department. Moreover, overseas students at the university and friends were employed as part of the pilot study to find out their opinions concerning the order of questions, types of questions, and any difficulties they experienced in understanding and answering questions. This provided an opportunity to revise the layout, question wording (to avoid ambiguous questions) and design amendments to take account of any criticisms and problems that arose. The researcher also had a chance to review the interview protocol after discussing with supervisors, and to get a time estimate for participants to answer questions during the interview. However, the time period was elastic as the open-ended questions that were employed gave respondents

a greater freedom to answer the questions, and made it possible for them to answer in a way that suited their perceptions.

3:6 Fieldwork

The fieldwork for data collection was conducted face to face, in one to one interviews that were carried out in two phases. The first phase took place in the UK in October, 2012. The researcher spent about four weeks in conducting interviews with highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK. The second phase took place in Tanzania, where interviews were conducted with migration practitioners and policy makers from the government and non-governmental sectors. The researcher spent about eight weeks from December, 2012 to January, 2013 in Tanzania preparing and applying for permission to access organisations in order to pilot questions for interview, conduct interviews with specific targeted participants, and transcribe the interviews. Particular attention and interest were placed on individual participants from both groups on how they perceived the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad and its influence on brain circulation. The emphasis was based on participants' experiences, opinions, and feelings about migration from their individual point of view. These participants' experiences were considered valuable in this study because they had been involved in the migration process.

3:6:1 Conducting interviews- First phase of data collection (in the UK)

A consent letter which explained the purpose of the research and issues of research ethics, such as the strictly anonymous and confidential nature of the data collected and its uses, was prepared to be signed by both the researcher and participant (see appendix 2). Although some participants did not want to sign the consent letter as they regarded it to be evidence for their participation in the interview, they still participated in interviews. The interviewees were assured that there were no right or wrong answers to the questions; and they were informed that they had the right not to answer any question if they did not feel happy to do so (Flick, 2007). Each interviewee was informed of the use of an audio recorder, and it was only used with the consent of the participants, although two participants refused to be recorded. Therefore, field notes were taken. The average length of the interview session was around one hour with each interviewee.

Eighteen (18) highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK were able to fully participate in face to face interview with the researcher (see Table 4 below). The interviewing process

continued until saturation was reached. It was not easy to determine saturation, but the researcher continued to conduct interviews until no new information was being gained from participants' views and essential points that reflected the research objectives were being reiterated. This was when the researcher recognised that saturation had been reached. Previously, fifteen to twenty (15-20) highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK were a target to be selected for interviews as they are known to have been involved in the migration situation and had experience about the questions under research, therefore the number of participants interviewed was within the target. Participants were contacted by the researcher through telephone and email in order to make arrangements for interviews.

The researcher was connected and interacted with specific interviewees who were experienced in the subject of migration under research. Although the researcher used a script as a starting point to guide the interviews, interviewing skills were applied the interviews; for example, techniques to encourage the interviewees to talk in more detail about their experiences of migration. Questions were clearly illustrated and repeated in different ways when an interviewee did not understand the question. This technique motivated the interviewees to explain the reality of their experiences and perspectives of migration clearly. The researcher participated actively and gained a deeper understanding of the migration experiences and explored the motivation behind participants' decision and actions to migrate. The semi-structured interviews allowed an opportunity to find out people's true feelings, experiences, perceptions and interpretation through their own words: how they thought about their migration into another country, and what meaning they gave to the issue of migration from Tanzania, and what the government should do to encourage highly skilled Tanzanians to remain and work in the country in order to develop its economy. The researcher immediately transcribed interviews after each interview session on her own and later analysed the interview more effectively at a later date (see examples of interview transcripts, appendices 5 and 11). As Mansourian (2008) observes, there are three stages within which researchers can interact with the dataset, during the interviews, while transcribing the interviews, and after transcription through reading the transcriptions and coding them.

Table 4: Profiles of highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK

Participant	Gender	Age between	Educational qualification	Previous status (status during migration)	Current employment/job status	Reasons for migration	Year of migration
HST-1	Male	50-55	Bachelor of Science	Employee	Electrical engineer	Utilizing skills experience, greener pasture, high pay, living standard, exposure,	2005
HST-2	Male	35-40	PhD-finance	Student	Finance Institution	Employment, work environment, experience	1998
HST-3	Female	35-40	MBA	Employee	Finance	Experience, working condition, high pay, life style, inspired by working in international company, bureaucracy,	2003
HST-4	Male	40-45	PhD-IT	Student	IT engineer and University lecturer	Employment, experience, life standard, high pay, utilizing skills and knowledge	1999
HST-5	Male	40-45	Bachelor Degree	Employee	Food industry	Employee security, employee protection, high pay, working environment, corruption, living abroad is an opportunity	2000
HST-6	Male	45-50	Bachelor Degree-Event Management, Hotel Industry, Pastoral	Student	Event Planner	Exposure, employment, better education, good life standard, join fiancée	1994
HST-7	Male	40-45	MBA-Finance	Student	Banker	Employment, Practice knowledge gained, get exposure and more skills.	2003
HST-8	Male	50-55	Master of Science-Drug Abuse	Employee	Medical Doctor	Medical facilities, medical standard, Anglophone language issue, high pay	1996
HST-9	Male	45-50	PhD	Employee came as a student	University lecturer	High pay, education standard, better life, experience	1996
HST	Female	40-45	MBA, PhD	Employee,	Assistant	Experience,	2008

-10			student	came as a student	researcher-University	quality of education, exposure,	
HST-11	Male	50-55	Master of Science	Employee	Medical doctor	Family relationship, better education, experience, working environment, medical facilities,	2001
HST-12	Male	30-35	Master Degree	Student	Accountant	Better education, exposure, life style, good salary	2000
HST-13	Male	35-40	Master Degree	Student	Accountant	Employment, better life, good pay, exposure, experience	2004
HST-14	Male	50-55	PhD-IT	Student	IT engineer	Better education, aspired by international bank for more experience, good pay, exposure, utilizing knowledge	1997
HST-15	Males	55-60	Masters-Sociology	Employee	Health care	Influenced by “lump sum” of money, exposure and experience, security and medical care, job recognition, appreciation, job autonomous	1991
HST-16	Male	30-35	Bachelor Degree in Banking law and Economics	Student	Tesco retail	Fear of being unemployed in Tanzania, Job opportunities	2007
HST-17	Male	25-30	Bachelor Degree in Economic Law	Student	Finance	Better education, exposure, being in developed world, life style,	2006
HST-18	Male	30-35	MBA	Student		Better education’ Job opportunity, Living standards	2008

Source: Author’s research (First group of participants who were interviewed in this study)

3:6:2 Conducting interviews - Second phase of data collection in Tanzania

At this phase of the data collection, the researcher was required to present an introduction letter from her employer (see appendix 7) and from the university (see appendix 8) to the relevant organisations in Tanzania in order to gain access for obtaining such information as was required for the research. The letter introduced the researcher; it stressed that the

purpose of the research was solely for academic use and gave the expected duration of interview sessions.

Participants were assured that interview information would be kept confidential and that protecting the identities of participants was an important ethical issue of the research (Scheyvens et al., 2003; Creswell, 2009). The important issue of a possible conflict of interest between the researcher's roles as an independent student researcher and a government official was considered, and therefore emphasis was placed on explaining the purpose of the research, and the uses to which the information collected from participants would be put in order to avoid and overcome potential confusion on the part of the targeted participants. Most importantly, the researcher ensured that the participants were treated ethically, with no harm or risk caused as a result of taking part in the research (Flick, 2007).

Furthermore, ten to fifteen (10-15) migration practitioners and policy makers were targeted for interview to provide valuable information on the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad, international migration policies and their influence on brain circulation in Tanzania. In practice twelve participants, both migration practitioners and policy makers from government and non-government sectors, participated fully in face to face interviews conducted in Tanzania (see Table 5 below).

Although the number of selected participants for interview was small, the research aimed to look for information richness rather than information volume, focusing on generating an in-depth understanding of the problem under investigation (Creswell, 2009; Saunders et al., 2012). Hamel, Dufour and Fortin (1993) argue that the nature of the small size in qualitative samples and the inductive approach causes criticism about generalisability; however, Yin (1989) emphasis that analytical generalisation in qualitative research is made possible by the strategic choice of purposive and resourceful participants relevant to the study and not merely by statistically large samples. Indeed, and particularly in theory building, May (2001, p. 95) argues that it is not always the case that generalisation from the sample to the population is required; the statistical accuracy of probability sampling is less important than the criterion of 'fit for purpose'.

The interview sessions took approximately one to two hours for each participant. All interviews were conducted in participants' offices during working hours, as arranged by

their organisations or the participants themselves. All data were recorded with an audio recorder apart from two participants who refused to be recorded. These participants felt insecure at the use of an audio recorder because they saw it as a method of evidence collection, even though confidentiality and anonymity were assured. Although this was problematic, in these cases, the researcher relied on written notes in her note book, although this reduced the opportunity to capture all information during interview. Subsequently, an email was sent to all participants after each interview to show appreciation for their time, their willingness to participate and the invaluable information they had provided for the research (see examples from appendices 4 and 10).

Table 5: Profiles of migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania

Participant	Age between	Gender	Description of position	Level of Education	Years of experience
MPP-1	35-40	Female	Imm. Office-Legal	Bachelor of Law	10 years
MPP-2	40-45	Female	Senior Imm. Officer- Legal	Master of Laws	13 year
MPP-3	55-60	Male	Senior Imm Officer- Administration	Master of Law	22 years
MPP-4	40-45	Male	Senior labour officer	Master of Law (LLM)	15
MPP-5	50-55	Male	Lecturer-UDSM	Professor of Law	21
MPP-6	40-45	Female	Lecturer-UDSM	PhD-Law	12
MPP-7	35-40	Female	Advisor-Diaspora desk	Bachelor Degree	4
MPP-8	40-45	Female	Director of HR&D	Master's Degree	15
MPP-9	50-55	Male	Senior programmer-labour migration	Master's Degree	22
MPP-10	30-35	Female	Officer-migration for development and diasporas desk	Master's Degree	4
MPP-11	40-45	Male	Officer-Diaspora desk	Degree	4
MPP-12	50-55	Male	Senior officer-Embassy	Master's Degree	20

Source: Author's research (Second group of participants who were interviewed in this study)

3:7 Method of data analysis in this study

3:7:1 Thematic Analysis

Corbin and Strauss (2008) describe qualitative data analysis as a process of examining and interpreting data in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge. Its aim is to explore the data patterns, common themes and relationships between phenomena in an on-going, cyclical process until understanding is achieved, rather than seek to test predetermined hypotheses or relationships between data.

In this study, a thematic analysis approach was employed to analyse data (Collis and Hussey, 2003; Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2003). The basic data consisted of conversations or the actual words of participants reproduced to the best of the researcher's

ability from field notes and audio recordings transcribed into text documents. The data analysis started immediately when the first data had been collected from the research field. Although transcribing the interviews was a very time-consuming and tedious job, it was a useful opportunity for the researcher to prepare and become accustomed to the data for the analysis stage.

The data from transcribed interviews were coded into categories according to the findings or data collected and related to the research objectives. From this data, original comments, experiences, and perceptions given during interviews were reconstructed to give meaning. The data were combined to fit the formulated categories and explanations; and they were constructed in a meaningful way. The interview transcripts were used as materials to develop, classify or name categories rather than using existing theory in order to construct meaning. As constructivism was the approach or nature of this study, multiple meaning from interaction between participants and the researcher was constructed. Developing themes, explanations and storylines featuring the words and experiences of participants themselves was an important element of qualitative data analysis that added richness to the findings and their meanings (Krauss, 2005).

Strauss and Corbin (1990 as cited in Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006) argue the importance of a multiplicity of perspectives and truths, and emphasise the range of theoretically sensitising concepts that must be attended to in the analysis of human action/interaction. This enables an analysis of data and a reconstruction of theory that is richer and more reflective of the context in which participants are situated (Mills et al., 2006). For example, the researcher understands and gives meaning to the perspectives and voices of the participants who were studied. This also requires researchers to maintain the originality of participants' perspectives and such a position clearly implies that these perspectives include relating participants' stories to the world in which they live.

Through this process, insight, understanding and logical meaning on why highly skilled Tanzanians migrate to the UK were developed from the way each participant in the research made sense of his/her own actions, perceptions and interpretations. Although an analysis of qualitative material is more explicitly interpretative, creative and personal than in quantitative analysis (Stenbacka, 2001), rigour in qualitative data analysis is emphasised in order to maximise the potential element of generating meaning in different aspects of daily social life (Krauss, 2005). However, the researcher was only a human being after all;

she relied on her senses and processed all information through her own mind to report how and why she did what she did. Creswell (1994) declares that the extent to which the researcher's characteristics have played a role in or influenced data analysis cannot truly be known. At this point the process of data analysis is described as 'eclectic', and there is no 'right way' of conducting it. The important thing is for the researcher to describe how participants' meanings were constructed and interpreted (Krauss, 2005).

Creswell (1994) goes on to state that there should be clear tracks indicating the attempt to show the path that the researcher has taken. Within the data analysis process, subjective understanding such as participants' perceptions and experiences about migration and its impact on economic development were expected to be reached through the exchange of ideas, interaction, and agreement between the researcher and participants. The researcher avoided imposing her views, as far as possible setting aside any preconceived knowledge, and was open, sensitive, and empathetic to the participants' responses. This was a difficult set of tasks, and as a result Nvivo software was also used to analyse the large amount of data generated from interviews and to add rigour to the data analysis processes.

3:7:2 Nvivo 10 software for data analysis in this study

Using a computer in the qualitative analysis process may add rigour to a research study, and add to the credibility and quality of the analysis (Ozkan, 2004). In this study, Nvivo software was employed to assist organise and manage data files as well as support the representation of coding in a neat manner. However, it has been highlighted that computer analysis programmes do not add rigour *per se*; rather the researcher has to handle her data using these programmes in order to make decisions for her data organisation, coding or analysis, which can then add rigour (Ozkan, 2004). The Nvivo software helped to manage the volume of data from interviews, and to increase the speed and flexibility of coding, retrieving and linking the data. Nvivo software has a particular set of tools that is ideal for analysing documents, to summarise a particular participant's argument or quotation which can be retrieved later.

The interview transcripts were imported in the Nvivo software in the form of rich text (see appendix 12). The data entry into the software required the researcher's extensive time and effort and it was necessary to make many decisions to organise data in the Nvivo document browser; this became an important part of the data analysis as well (Ozkan, 2004). At the beginning of this data analysis, a word frequency query was applied to search frequently occurring words from the transcribed interviews imported in the programme. The software

counts the number of times the word occurs within the project. This helped the researcher to make sense of words occurring many times for further exploration and interpretation. Word frequency can be shown in a tag cloud, tree map tab and cluster analysis (see appendix 13 for an example of a tag cloud)

In the process of data analysis, data were organised around the research objectives of this study. For example, objective one of this study was to explore reasons contributing to migration decisions. Participants gave different reasons for migration such as living standard, life style, employment, education, health care and others. The programme was used to gather all responses from participants to an interview question at a node. The researcher could open nodes and explore more what participants said to the interview question in order to create codes/patterns. The researcher was required to decide which code should be the major category and which one should be a sub-category known as theme and sub-themes. After reading through all the data many times, some patterns emerged based on the significance of issues rather than word frequency. Although they were not mentioned often, the researcher emphasised them and gave meaning to them when they occurred. Thus, these patterns were coded under themes and sub-themes with the goal of making clear how these codes fitted into the study and what the relationships were between them. The interview transcripts from highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK and migration practitioners in Tanzania were coded and analysed in the Nvivo program separately (See appendices 14 and 15).

Nvivo is sometimes criticised for not being able to retrieve all the useful responses in a set of data because it only takes account of the frequency of searched words but not meanings or synonyms (Ozkan, 2004). However, Welsh (2002) emphasises an important feature of Nvivo in terms of it adding rigour to qualitative studies; this is the search facility that enables researchers to interrogate their data. Therefore, it can be said that the Nvivo 10 package provided a tremendous help in the data analysis process and some facilities of the software helped increase rigour in terms of data management, although it did not guarantee the validity of the study. The researcher applied the standard 'believability of the data and conclusions' instead of 'validity and reliability' since these were not believed to be appropriate standards to apply to a qualitative research study (Saunders et al., 2012). The believability of the conclusions in this research study was reached by employing a thematic method of data analysis together with the help of Nvivo software.

3:8 The researcher's role and positionality in this study

In qualitative research, the researcher is an instrument of data collection, and consequently her/his ability to interpret data is important (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001). Qualitative data collection and analysis produce findings related to complex details where values and human experiences are required (Creswell, 1994). In order to achieve this, the researcher considered ethical issues such as maintaining confidentiality of data, anonymity of interviewees and using research for its intended purposes (Scheyvens et al., 2003). In this study, the elements of the researcher's role began immediately when steps were taken to obtain permission from institutional or research sites or seek appointments with participants, at the same time considering the ethical issues that might arise such as protecting participants' identity and the information they disclosed (Creswell, 2009).

In this study, the researcher acknowledged her position in the research process as a researcher and government official who deals with migration issues in order to avoid misconception on the part of the participants. Similarly, Hopkins (2007), Dickson-Swift et al., (2007) and Powell (2010) argues that self-disclosure enhances rapport and shows respect for the participants rather than invalidates the research as biased or contaminated by personal perspectives and social or political viewpoints.

Reflecting upon the subject under investigation, the researcher shared common characteristics such as experiences, background and identity with her participants. For example, the experience of living and working in Tanzania, as well as living and working in the UK shared by both the researcher and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK established their relations in an atmosphere of power equality. This created a feeling of empathy for participants that enabled them to open up about their personal experiences freely.

The researcher being a government official working together with migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania shared work expertise on migration matters. This created hierarchical power relations between the researcher and participants who have knowledge ownership, control public use of data and share information. This relationship is formal based on professionalism about the subject under research in this study.

Moreover, the researcher shared a cultural background with most of the participants in terms of nationality and language which brought a balanced account of events and phenomena from a wider perspective. Although this may affect the data to some degree, an

ethical consideration was taken for reflection throughout the research process (Cresswell, 2009). Thus, this relationship provided good interactions and insights into the ways in which meaning was made within the context of the study.

In contrast, positivists in quantitative research believe that it is possible to observe the social world and behaviour of people objectively without contaminating what the researcher sees, and that the researcher's own values, biases and subjective preferences have no influence over the quantitative approach (Cressell & Symon, 1994). However, in this study the researcher believes that by showing the biases and judgement of the researcher, which are stated openly in the research report, this helps to provide transparency and therefore trustworthiness. This openness is considered to be useful and positive (Silverman, 2010). The researcher considered the importance of being able to describe how she discovered her insight, and how she reflected on the issues and was able to deepen her interpretation further through associated data in order to minimise researcher' bias (Tsui et al., 2011).

Although the researcher found it easy to connect herself with the participants at the fieldwork research site for data collection, the problem of reporting data that are biased, incomplete, or compromised are legion. The researcher's role and ability was to employ multiple strategies of validity to create reader confidence in the accuracy of the findings. Moreover, the researcher employed interviewing skills in order to involve herself in effective conversation, actively and patiently listening and encouraging participants to talk more openly and fully about the question. This helped the researcher to establish and maintain good rapport and trust during the interviews and created insight and understanding on why highly skilled Tanzanians emigrate abroad.

3:9 The validity of the qualitative method in this study (establishing the quality of the research design)

Reliability and validity can reveal sufficient arguments to establish research results in quantitative research (Golafshani, 2003). Firstly, reliability reveals whether the result is replicable; and secondly, validity can reveal whether the means of measurements are accurate and whether they are actually measuring what they are intended to measure. However, the concepts of reliability and validity in qualitative research are viewed differently. The question of replicability in the result of a study of human behaviour is almost impossible; while methods may be replicated, each group of individuals has its own

particular set of perceptions. The issue of reliability concerning measurement has no relevance in qualitative research; instead, the solving of quality concepts is emphasised in order to claim a study as part of proper research (Stenbacka, 2001). The terms reliability and validity are not of primary concern from the perspective of qualitative inquiry because they relate to testing quantitative paradigms. Moreover, the terms are ambiguous and might be irrelevant to a qualitative study (Creswell, 2003; Healy & Perry, 2000). However, Patton (2002) argues that a researcher's ability and skills in qualitative research lead to reliability, which is a consequence of the validity of a study (Patton, 2002); terms such as credibility, neutrality or confirmability, consistency or dependability and applicability or transferability are essential criteria for an evaluation of quality. Other terms which are commonly used to refer to validity are as follows; quality, rigour and trustworthiness (Golafshani, 2003; Creswell, 2003). Therefore, notions of reliability and validity can be redefined qualitatively and applied in a qualitative study despite the fact that traditionally they are grounded in a quantitative paradigm. Rolfe (2006) argues that if reality is assumed to be multiple and constructed, then repeatability is not necessary. Moreover, Stenbacka (2001) seeks to clarify the issue of quality in qualitative research by arguing that the validity issue is about interaction and generating understanding between social phenomena and people and their reality based on a specified problem area.

In this study, multiple meaning was produced under a constructivist approach that allowed participants to tell their own story; this led to new findings, and provided meaning and understanding of the migration decision from a broad perspective. The interaction between the researcher and participants through in-depth face to face semi-structured interviews built an environment that improved the possibility of the researcher collecting useful data in accordance with the research purpose. Moreover, the pilot study was undertaken to ensure that participants would have no problem in understanding and answering interview questions in order to provide relevant information on the subject under investigation. In this manner, the researcher was able to explore reasons that were perceived to contribute to the migration decision, to find out what participants thought about migration in their lives and experiences, and what meaning they gave to their knowledge about migration. The researcher stayed neutral and tried to avoid influencing the research subjects. The research was conducted in an honest, open and transparent manner applicable to research ethics. The nearer the researcher got to the conditions in which she actually attributed meanings to the objects and events the more opportunity the researcher and participants had to engage in making meaning together (Krauss, 2005). This means that statements from the voluntary participants were clarified and discussed more fully from different angles (including

previous literature reviews) and this enabled the creation of validity through the interpretation of individual perspectives, as opposed to quantitative research, which is sometimes criticised for sacrificing the quality of information to standardisation (Sykes, 1991).

3:10 The reliability of the qualitative method in this study

Qualitative data are normally rich and full, which requires the researcher's knowledge and experience to interpret. However, it is important for researchers to be able to describe how they discovered their insight, how they reflected on the issue and were able to deepen it further through extended commitment with the focal participants and associated data (Tsui et al., 2011). Reliability demonstrates whether the result is replicable when the research process is repeated (Golafshani, 2003). In this study, note books, audio files and transcripts made during the data collection were kept securely and shared (in redacted form) with other researchers when necessary to maintain research honesty and ensure the high reliability of the results. Furthermore, the researcher kept participants' contacts, for example telephone numbers, emails and letter addresses in order to encourage participants to remain engaged throughout the research process, and as a safeguard to check data if necessary; however, this was not necessary. Lincoln and Guba (1985 as cited in Rolfe, 2006) argue that triangulation is a powerful strategy for enhancing the quality of research, based on the idea of convergence of multiple perspectives to achieve mutual confirmation of data to ensure that all aspects of a phenomenon have been investigated. Therefore, the use of thematic data analysis with the support of Nvivo software in this study was considered to be reliable to determine the results, which can be reproduced under a similar methodology. Moreover, discussion of research work with supervisors during the analysis stage provided further and important aspects of peer review for interpretation and helped to minimise the bias of the researcher.

However, the qualitative approach is sometimes criticised as producing knowledge that may not apply to other people or in another setting; and the results are more easily influenced by the researcher's personal biases and idiosyncrasies (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Moreover, individual perceptions may not be absolutely accurate since human beings are fallible; they may be wrong or inadequate so illusions can be unexpectedly produced (Hunt, 1990). Since the core value of constructivism is to gain knowledge of the external world through individuals' perceptions, this can weaken an inquiry and discredit it if mistakes emerge without being noticed, for example if measurement is imperfect. Therefore, Hunt (1990) states that researchers should critically

evaluate the accuracy of individual perceptions in social research. Hunt (1990, p. 9) adds that “all knowledge claims must be critically evaluated and tested to determine the extent to which they do or do not, truly represent or correspond to that world”. The researcher had an opportunity to discuss some issues in more detail with participants at the stage of checking transcripts; this assisted in confirming the interpretation of some information before data analysis continued further. The crucial issue to remember is that of sensitivity to context rather than seeking universal generalisations in qualitative research.

3:11 Research limitations

The researcher had a list of potential participants identified as highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK before the process of data collection started, but not all the potential interviewees identified participated. Some participants were not in the country at the time interviews for data collection were conducted, while others withdrew from interviews a few days before the interviews were scheduled to take place. This led the researcher to include the use of a snowball sampling technique which was not the first choice for selecting participants. The snowball sampling allowed participants to identify and direct a researcher to other participants (Creswell, 2009). Therefore, the use of a snowballing technique to select participants (highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK) in this study had its limitations on gender balance. Most participants who were willing to voluntarily participate were male professionals who were working and utilising their professional knowledge and skills (see Table 4). The researcher had no control over the selection of a gender balance of participants or professions, and this means that the imbalance between male and female participants may have led to some insights being unavailable; for example, it is possible that female participants may have regarded the relative lack of promotion prospects in Tanzania as an intervening obstacle to reverse migration.

Moreover, in this study participants provided responses that described their experiences and perceptions clearly, which enabled the researcher to understand the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians from the perspectives of participants based in both Tanzania and the UK. However, the participants’ responses to the interview questions were based on their personal perceptions at the period when this research was conducted. This means, if the same participants were asked the same interview questions at a later time, they may respond differently because they would have obtained more awareness as a result of the experiences gained from new events around them.

This study involved a small number of participants' perceptions and experiences, drawing on from both highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK and migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania. If time and resources had allowed the research could have been conducted with highly skilled Tanzanians living in other developed countries, who may have had different experiences, perceptions and views; and may have added more value in terms of analysing migration perspectives as part of a large population of participants, giving greater scope for generalisation.

In addition, despite the availability of immigration statistics in Tanzania, there is a scarcity of information about the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad, which has led many researchers to conduct research on immigration into Tanzania. The researcher found difficulty in obtaining current data on this topic, and it is therefore difficult to put the research findings into a context in terms of the scale of the migration that is happening.

3:12 Summary

This chapter discussed and analysed methods in order to clarify how the researcher discovered and validated the range of perceptions of migration of highly skilled Tanzanians to the UK that exist. The researcher gave attention to qualitative methods, which aimed to acquire an understanding of specific participants' experiences, perceptions and interpretation about the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians to the UK and its influence on brain circulation based on human perspectives. The issue of research ethics in dealing with human participants was considered in order to avoid or reduce harm to participants and also to gain pure experience from people who were involved in the migration situation.

The next chapter presents, discusses and analyses the research findings in terms of the research objectives of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4:1 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses opinions, views, experiences, and perceptions which were given by participants during face to face semi-structured interviews. The findings are discussed and analysed in detail and informed by the literature review presented in chapter two, to give an interpretation based on evaluation of the theoretical framework provided by Lee's theory in the context of this study. Participants' views are presented that are related to their individual perspectives of the decision to migrate, migration experiences and their perceptions of the impact of migration on brain circulation. The process of data presentation, analysis and discussion is guided by the research objectives of this study. Themes that are developed from the findings are analysed and informed by the literature review in order to give an insight and understanding of the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians to the UK. There are two sections in this chapter: section one provides profiles of the participants and section two presents, analyses and discusses the study findings from semi-structured interviews in order to meet the objectives of this study.

SECTION ONE – PROFILES OF PARTICIPANTS

4:2 Participants' profiles - highly skilled Tanzanians' living in the UK

4:2:1 The experience of highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK

The findings show that most participants have spent a large proportion of their working life in the UK. The shortest period for a participant living in the UK was about four years and the maximum was 21 with an average of 11 years. This showed that participants had sufficient experience of living abroad to explain and give their views on the subject matter under investigation.

4:2:2 Highly skilled Tanzanians' education qualification profile

The educational profile of all participants showed the essential skills and knowledge required for national development and brain circulation in a developing country such as Tanzania. There were five participants who held a Bachelor Degree in science, banking, economics and law; eight participants with Master's Degrees in banking, IT, education, medical science, human resource management and five participants with a PhD in

education, science, engineering, IT and finance and banking. With regard to education, most participants in this group held a Master's Degree or higher. The satisfaction of participants with their choice to migrate varied in accordance with the qualification level and education field of the participants: for example, participants with a Bachelor Degree often pointed out that the job they did in the UK was not in accordance with their speciality, while participants with a Master's Degree and above were often satisfied with their jobs.

4:2:3 Highly skilled Tanzanians' experiences of work in the UK

Most of the participants were employed and worked in industries relevant to their education, skills and knowledge acquired from school and relevant to their qualifications. Half of the participants were employed in Tanzania and had work experience relevant to their qualification before they migrated to the UK, and others came for higher education before they decided to stay longer in the UK. None of the interviewed participants were born in the UK and declared that they still kept their identity and had not changed their Tanzanian citizenship to British.

4:2:4 Highly skilled Tanzanians' status before migration

Among the 18 participants, eight participants migrated from Tanzania to the UK in order to join the labour market and ten of them had previously been students before becoming qualified and joining the labour market in the UK. Participants HST-1; HST-3; HST-5; HST-8; HST-9; HST-10; HST-11 and HST-15 were highly skilled Tanzanians who acquired their degrees in Tanzania or somewhere else before they decided to migrate to the UK. However, some of these participants declared to have attained further higher education in the UK in order to compete in the labour market. The rest of the participants came to the UK as students and decided to live and work there after their graduation.

4:2:5 Age of highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK

Most participants were aged between 35 and 45 years. They were mature participants but also at the most productive time of their life. There were other participants aged between 46-55 who had been living and working in the UK for more than 10 years. This indicated that they had spent most of their productive years working in a country other than Tanzania.

4:3 Participants' profile- migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania

4:3:1 Age, work experiences, and education qualifications of migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania

Most of the participants were aged between 40 and 55 years, and were working both in government and non-governmental sectors. Participants were mature and professionally highly qualified in subjects relevant to their jobs and responsibilities. The lowest educational qualification for this group of participants was a first university degree. They had a range of work experience that provided the researcher with in-depth data on the subject under investigation. The shortest amount of work experience was about four years and the longest was about 22 years with an average of eight years for each participant.

4:4 SECTION TWO- PRESENTATION OF SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The interview questions were not always followed in order. Each research objective had a number of related interview questions which the researcher asked the participants in order to cover the subject under investigation. The interview questions were asked following the participants' responses until a whole subject under each research objective was covered.

The semi-structured interview findings collected from participants are presented and analysed in this section in accordance with the objectives of this study, as follows;

- To explore the reasons that Tanzanian migration practitioners, policy makers, and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK perceive as contributing to highly skilled Tanzanians' decision to migrate to the UK
- To evaluate the relevance of Lee's (1966) theory of migration to an understanding of the reasons given by Tanzanian migration practitioners, policy makers, and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK on the decision to migrate to the UK
- To identify the perceptions of Tanzanian migration practitioners, policy makers and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK about the influence of the migration of highly skilled workers on brain circulation in Tanzania
- To suggest ways in which the Tanzanian government can influence its highly skilled workforce to return and work in Tanzania.

4:5 OBJECTIVE ONE

The first objective of this study is to explore the reasons that Tanzanian migration practitioners, policy makers, and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK perceive as contributing to highly skilled Tanzanians' decision to migrate to the UK.

In order to achieve this objective, a number of semi-structured interviews were used, of which the main questions were:

What are the reasons that led you to migrate to the UK as your country of destination? (This was meant for highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK)

What reasons do you think contribute to the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate and work abroad, especially in the UK? (This was meant for migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania).

The participants' responses are grouped into six different themes, which correspond to issues that have been discussed in the literature review chapter. These themes are: economic factors; trade liberalisation and foreign direct investment; international migration and labour law; immigration policies; colonial ties; and international students, which are commonly identified as the factors likely to contribute to the international migration of highly skilled people. However, in this study semi-structured interview questions were open ended and findings emerged without specific questions being asked related to these themes. As a result of the open ended nature of the questions, one further theme emerged from the data which is discussed in detail at the end of this section; the issue of 'exposure to a highly developed environment'.

4:5:1 Economic factors

4:5:1:1 Job/employment opportunities

In the literature there are many reasons for migration that have been described as economic factors. Motivations for migration given by respondents often coincided with these reasons; for example, many highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK (HST-2; HST-4; HST-7; HST-12; HST-13; HST-14; HST-15; HST-16; HST-17; HST-18) pointed out that job or employment opportunities were among the reasons that contributed to their decision to migrate abroad. Because of the unemployment situation in Tanzania, they believed that

it was difficult for a person to find a job without knowing someone in the system to help (usually known as a ‘godfather’), in this case, favouritism, nepotism and corruption exacerbates the problem of unemployment for some highly-skilled Tanzanians. They therefore tried to find job opportunities elsewhere; for example, HST-7 said that:

“I came here for studying; after my graduation, I looked for a job because I knew that it is difficult to find a job back home. If you do not have a godfather, you will never get employment, only a few lucky ones can get employment without godfathers in Tanzania”.

The unemployment reason was also identified by migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania. With no hesitation, migration practitioners and policy makers (MPP-2; MPP-1; MPP-10) declared that because of the unemployment problem, the few vacancies available are filled by candidates from families of those who are in the system already or those who know key people with connections to those employment opportunities. For example, MPP-2 said that:

“There are no employment or job opportunities here. The few employment opportunities available are given to who knows who, if you don’t know anybody in the system then it is difficult to get employment in Tanzania. Very few people have the luck to get employment without knowing anybody in connection with such employment opportunities. This sometimes contributes to our highly skilled people migrating to work for other countries”.

Some previous literature has already identified that employment or job opportunities are among the factors that contribute to the migration decision of highly skilled people. For example, the primary findings above support the World Bank (2003), Dzvimbo (2003) and Brown & Schulze (2008) who all declare that job opportunities are among factors that encourage people with skills to move beyond their national borders. Employment or job opportunities are a push factor that contributes to migration, mainly of highly skilled people and particularly in developing countries, and also it is becoming a pull factor that attracts them to the countries where employment opportunities are more available, such as developed countries.

Unemployment conditions in Tanzania are a major push factor which has been identified in developing countries in the literature and is confirmed by the findings of this study; it contributes to many highly skilled Tanzanians considering migration. Statements from both highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK and migration practitioners in Tanzania support this argument.

On the other hand, employment opportunities in the UK can be explained as a pull factor that contributes to highly skilled Tanzanians migrating there, a place where they feel they can find jobs without the influence of ‘godfathers’. Highly skilled Tanzanians perceived employment opportunities in the UK to be stronger and more equitable than in Tanzania. This has been illustrated by Lee’s theory in his model (see Figure 2.1), that people have a tendency to migrate from their origin area to a destination where they perceive there are more positive and fewer negative signs; in terms of this theme this points to employment opportunities in the UK and unemployment barriers in Tanzania.

4:5:1:2 Remuneration or reward

The economic issue was also described by many participants (HST-1; HST-9; HST-11; HST-15) in terms of high pay or ‘good money’ as a fundamental motive for their migration decision. They pointed out that the money they could earn working in the UK was substantially higher than any potential earnings they could hope to make in Tanzania. For example, HST-15 said that:

“As a teacher from Tanzania, I was so impressed with the lump sum of money I received from my part-time job when I was studying for my masters’ degree here, one week’s pay was more than the monthly salary I used to get in Tanzania. My income here enables me to send my children to the best school in Tanzania with no problem, something which I would not have done if I had to work in Tanzania as a teacher”.

The amount of pay or salary as a motivation to migrate was also supported by migration practitioners and policy makers (MPP-1: MPP-2; MPP-3; MPP-4; MPP-5; MPP-6; MPP-8; MPP-11). For example MPP-2 said that:

“Pay or salary in the government sectors is a big problem. It does not even enable an employee to afford all basic needs and survive till the next monthly salary; this motivates people to migrate somewhere else, even across the border, to look for greener pastures”.

Moreover, MPP-5 added that people expect a reward for achieving high-level qualifications by saying that:

“Most people expect good remuneration and to be rewarded accordingly after completing their studies which costs them lots of money, and not to end up with peanuts. People weigh up how much they will earn if they remain in the UK or wherever they are after their studies or how much they will earn when they return home”.

Good pay is among the reasons mentioned by most participants as contributing to the migration decision of highly skilled Tanzanians. The findings are consistent with Dzvimbo's (2003) study, which found that many skilled workers are attracted by lucrative salary packages. Many authors have also demonstrated the influence of income-incentive factors for migration and the fact that economic pull factors in a destination are more influential than economic push factors (Boyle et al., 1998; Eurostat, 2001; ILO, 2006 as cited in Brown & Schulze, 2008).

The literature supports the claim of both highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK and migration practitioners that poor pay is a push factor which drives many highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate abroad. Many skilled workers are attracted by the lucrative salary packages that are generally offered by developed countries, the UK among them. Migrants to the UK were attracted by high salary packages as a pull factor. Based on Lee's (1966) theory, it is evident that people have a tendency to give weight to positive factors when arriving at migration decision. Similarly, highly skilled Tanzanians as individual rational actors decide to migrate because a gain-maximisation calculation leads them to expect a positive net return, such as high pay.

4:5:1:3 Living standards

Living standards were identified as one of the reasons that contributed to the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians. It was mentioned by participants (HST-1; HST-4; HST-5; HST-6; HST-7; HST-8; HST-9; HST-11; HST-14; HST-15) as a reason to migrate to the UK. For example, HST-1 said that;

"I knew if I worked abroad, they would pay more money and my living standard would be different there, that was my fundamental motive".

Moreover, most of the migration practitioners and policy makers (MPP-3; MPP-4; MPP-5; MPP-6; MPP-7; MPP-9; MPP-10; MPP-11; MPP-12) declared that the economy in Tanzania was a major reason that contributed to the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate abroad because they sought better opportunities.

For example MPP-3 said that;

"Many highly skilled Tanzanians migrate abroad for economic reasons to better themselves, not like other African countries where people migrate because of fear of persecution".

This fact has been demonstrated in Oucho (2000 as cited in Brown & Schulze, 2008) who studied the attitudes of skilled migrants such as engineers, lawyers, accountants and doctors in Botswana towards life in the country, and their future plans; the study reported their general (dis)satisfaction with socio-economic conditions as evidence for the pull effects of economic factors elsewhere. Moreover, Mkapa (2004) and Kainth (2009) demonstrate economic conditions such as low average incomes, unemployment and underemployment in Tanzania, which this study recognises as push factors that drive highly skilled Tanzanians (of all skill levels) to move towards more prosperous or dynamic areas with greater employment opportunities.

The findings show that living standards in Tanzania were perceived as push factors for the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians by both groups of participants. The migration practitioners also used the term ‘greener pastures’ to define the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians as relating to economic factors because Tanzania is not like other African countries, many of which are affected by political instability. Moreover, none of the highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK mentioned instability or safety as a motive for migration. Therefore, while living standards between Tanzania and the UK might not be comparable, issues of safety and security are not generally part of an individual migrant’s calculations. However, living standards in these two countries can be measured by looking at indicators of social services such as quality in education, health and employment opportunities. For example, the education system in Tanzania has been claimed to provide insufficient places for tertiary education and to be unable to meet demand for expectations to compete in the international labour market (Al-Samarrai & Reilly, 2008). In contrast, the UK has been mentioned as one of the developed countries that attract many highly skilled migrants to seek job opportunities and enrol many foreign students for higher education (Gribble, 2008). This means that living standards, as claimed by participants and supported by the literature, are a push factor that contributes to the migration decision. This finding shows that mostly highly skilled Tanzanians migrate to the UK in expectation of a better life economically.

4:5:2 Technological advancement

Other reasons which were described as economic factors by several participants (HST-1; HST-6; HST-11; HST-14) were the opportunity to work with the latest Information and Communication Technology and modern facilities that enabled people to see and know what developments were current, and attracted people to explore opportunities that existed

in other parts of the world, and gain exposure to up-to-date technology. They also mentioned that transportation costs had decreased dramatically, meaning highly skilled migrants were able to afford to take aeroplanes and move faster to take advantage of potential gains, although migration restrictions also play a part in the relative ease of movement that less expensive transportation enables.

For example, participant HST-11 said that;

“Here there is new technology advancement and work with people of similar professions from all over the world and we can share knowledge, not like when you are in Tanzania”.

HST-7 also said that;

“My career ambition to work in developed countries and to utilise my knowledge and skills was number one. There are more professional challenges and exposure here than in Tanzania”.

Advancement of technology and practice was also identified by a number of migration practitioners and policy makers (MPP-2; MPP-3; MPP-5; MPP-6; MPP-8; MPP-9; MPP-12) as contributing to the migration decision, declaring that lack of special and modern facilities for professional workers such as doctors to perform their jobs properly leads to a lack of job satisfaction, and finally to a migration decision.

For example, participant MPP-3 said that:

“Job satisfaction for highly skilled people is important; for example, highly skilled doctors do not have working facilities and equipment such as CT scanners and others, which hinder utilisation of their expertise, while if they can move and utilise their skills and knowledge abroad, why not?”.

Much literature mentions the rapid growth of information and communication technology, the decrease in transportation costs, the emergence of transnational networks, growth in international trade, as well as movement of capital and integrated world markets as all being reasons that contribute to the increasing movement of labour, especially highly skilled workers (Kazslauskiene & Rankivicius, 2006; Sassen, 2007; Sanderson & Kentor, 2008).

The desire of highly skilled people to work in an environment of technological advancement has been defined already in Lee’s theory as among the push-pull factors that can drive people from origin to destination area, particularly highly skilled people in

periods of rapid economic development. Moreover, with regard to their personal characteristics highly skilled Tanzanians perceived and valued technological advancement in the UK as a pull factor in the sense that skills and knowledge utilisation by using modern working facilities had become very important for their job satisfaction (Castles & Miller, 2003; Rasool et al., 2012).

4:5:3 Trade liberalisation and foreign direct investment (FDI)

Trade liberalisation and FDI were considered factors that contribute to highly skilled migrants moving from developing to developed countries, although there were no specific questions about it in the interviews. The findings indicate that the migration decisions of two highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK (HST-3; HST-14) were motivated by having worked in multinational organisations in Tanzania. The MNEs began operations in Tanzania as a result of trade liberalisation and FDI after a process of privatisation of the country's economy in the mid-1980s.

For example HST-3 supported by HST-14 said that:

“I used to work in Standard Chartered Bank in Tanzania, which inspired me to come to England and experience more about it. Standard Chartered is an international bank which has a level of international organisation, not like public organisations in Tanzania where there is no accountability or responsibility and working conditions are not good, people do not care about time”.

The findings above were identified only by highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK without the support of migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania. The relationship between trade liberalisation and foreign investments on migration therefore seems to be a very indirect cause; it did not even draw the attention of migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania in this study. Stallings (2007) suggests that the liberalisation of capital movement, particularly foreign direct investment (FDI) which emerged in the early 1990s, has become a predominant source of external finance for developing countries, which also has become both a push and a pull factor that motivates migration in a certain direction. In addition, Poots and Strutt (2010), Freeman (2006) and Sanderson and Kentor (2008) declare that local employees' experience of working for multinational companies can also act as a pull factor which motivates them to migrate to other countries to gain more experience within an organisation that employs them.

Although only two highly skilled Tanzanians (HST-3 and HST-14) identified the experience of working for foreign companies in Tanzania as having inspired them to migrate to the UK, individual personal characteristics explained by Lee's theory can also be applied. People respond differently to the sets of plus and minus factors at origin and destination, therefore individual decisions to migrate or to stay in the country of origin depend on a personal interpretation of potential push and pull factors within which ambition and life goals play a part.

4:5:4 International migration and labour law

This is another theme that emerged in the literature review and that can be considered as a push factor affecting highly skilled workers wishing to migrate abroad, especially from developing countries. Working environment, security and employee protection are some of the issues considered by international labour law in terms of the rights of both foreign and local workers. The findings show that participant HST-5 migrated to the UK from Tanzania attracted by the UK working environment, security, and employee protection. In this context HST-5 said that:

"I worked in Tanzania before I moved to Dubai but I did not like it there because pay was not good, they did not care about employee security at work and, there was no employee protection; then I decided to come to the UK".

Many migrants from developing countries suffer poor working and living conditions, including low wages, unsafe working environments, a vital absence of social protection, denial of freedom of association and workers' rights, and discrimination (Wicramasekara, 2008). This can even, as the evidence above indicates, apply to highly skilled workers in some countries. Some writers argue that internationally accepted labour standards must apply equally to foreign workers and to nationals (Misra, 2007; Fahat, 2009; Becon, 2010). The issue of labour law was addressed by two migration practitioners (MPP-6; MPP-9). MPP-9 worked for a large international organisation overseeing labour law issues, and declared that it was the responsibility of national governments to ensure an equality of labour rights around the world. He added that his organisation was keen to know about the work conditions and health and safety of those people who worked abroad in order to make more money. He said that many countries with large numbers of migrants working abroad only cared about how much money their people sent back home, without thinking about the working conditions in which these people earned their money, adding:

We look at the rights approach of labour migration to ensure those migrating have the rights we expect from the process, both where they come from and where they are going.

Another migration practitioner (MPP-6) took a more theoretical approach, explaining migration as a basic human motivation and a natural phenomenon; as such it is a freedom of movement that no one should stop. She said that:

“It is freedom of movement and it is their rights; people have rights to move wherever they want as long as they don’t violate law, rules and regulations”.

The reasons identified above by HST-5 such as low pay, employee security and protection were push factors that contributed to his decision to migrate to the UK after having some negative experiences of migrant work in Dubai. This is relevant to Lee’s theory, which explains that factors associated with origin area conditions are likely to be more important to a decision to migrate than those associated with destination area. HST-5 had work experience in Tanzania where he was born and grew up; he migrated to work in Dubai with an expectation of a good job and pay. Lee’s theory explains that a person can have a clear knowledge of his area of origin where he is living, whereas knowledge of the place of destination remains fairly superficial and vague, although information and communication technology nowadays can help. Although labour law was identified and discussed as a reason that contributed to the migration of HST-5 to the UK, as a push factor it can also more or less be identified as being related to economic factors because people have a tendency to migrate from an area of origin to destination where they can improve themselves.

4:5:5 Immigration policies

Immigration policies have been discussed as pull or push factors that contribute to the migration decisions of highly skilled people from developing to developed countries. The study findings show that immigration policies also influenced some highly skilled Tanzanians (HST-1; HST-5; HST-14) to migrate to the UK. For example, HST-1 said that;

“I did not come here as a student. I came here as a graduate, a skilled worker with a work permit from Tanzania. Straightaway I went to work in the industry that I had studied to do”.

This is an illustration of the trend identified in the literature that declares that the UK, like other developed countries such as Canada, New Zealand, Germany and the USA, has

introduced immigration policies favourable to recruiting highly qualified foreigners to increase their own skilled labour force, especially in a globalising world economy where knowledge workers are in high demand (Dzvimbo, 2003; Carrington, 2013). Pemberton and Stevens (2010) and Hijzen and Wright (2010) added that the new points based-system (PBS) for migration from outside the European Union was introduced in the UK in February 2008 in order to manage migration and ensure that only those with the required skills entered the UK. Lee's theory explains intervening obstacles that cause friction or hinder migration between areas of origin and destination. In addition, migration law and policies currently are explained as the main obstacle to migration for many migrants (Gribble, 2008; Pemberton & Stevens, 2010). However, it is much less of an obstacle for highly skilled people whose personal characteristics in terms of skills and knowledge are in demand (Boswell & Gedded, 2010).

Surprisingly, migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania did not identify the immigration law and policies of developed countries as contributing to the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to move abroad. While there is much literature that argues that selective immigration law and policies in developed countries attract the best (most highly skilled people) from developing countries for contributing to economic development, Musonda (2006) declares that migration policy in Tanzania is uncoordinated and not synchronised, meaning that it can be a push factor for the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians because there is not much consideration of retaining or attracting their skills and knowledge. Meanwhile, migration policy in the UK is a pull factor that attracts selected immigrants of high skills and knowledge for a modern knowledge-based economy.

4:5:6 Colonial ties, social and cultural factors

Colonial ties and cultural issues have been identified by literature as playing a role as a push or pull factor for migration decisions. The study findings showed that at least one highly skilled Tanzanian (HST-8) was motivated by a historical background deriving from colonial links between Tanzania and the UK. He said that;

“I decided to come to England because English is easy as a means of communication. I am from an Anglophone country, I would not cope in Germany because of the language”.

Similarly, migration practitioners from Tanzania (MPP-5; MPP-12) identified the issue of belonging to the Commonwealth, and colonial ties as being a motivation for many

Tanzanians to migrate to the UK due to a measure of shared culture and the advantages of knowledge of the language in the destination country.

For example, MPP-12 said that;

“Tanzanians who hold a first degree and above can speak reasonably good English, can be employed abroad, not like Chinese workers....because of colonial legacy”

Another migration practitioner (MPP-5) added that there is a special factor that needs to be considered when discussing the migration of professional people between Tanzania and the UK. He said that;

“Certain professions, such as Tanzanian lawyers, are likely to move to Commonwealth countries where they practise an English legal system. It is not like cardiologists who can practise cardiology in China”.

The findings support previous literature which shows that historical ties, such as the colonial past of most African nations, influence migration potential, and direct the migration flows to certain European nations (Morawska, 2007). For example, the common use of the former colonial powers' language and education system in the countries of origin are only two of the main cultural and structural connections between the potential migrants' countries of origin and destination (Yeoh, 2003; Hijzen & Wright, 2010). However, in the UK this has been noted in terms of how particular changes in immigration legislation have affected the nature of immigration flows and especially the postcolonial nature of many flows (Blunt, 2005; Hijzen & Wright, 2010), with policy alternating between attracting then deterring migrants, to the current policy of attracting only the most skilled workers, especially from nations with cultural ties. The theoretical framework of Lee's theory links migration with a historical background of colonial ties and this was identified by HST-8 and supported by migration practitioners MPP-5 and MPP-12 as a pull factor that attracted highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate to the UK. However, it was not identified as a push factor that acts to drive highly skilled Tanzanians abroad. Therefore, the findings of this study suggest that (post) colonial ties are not a push factor, and act as a pull factor in the sense that it attracts highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate to the UK after the choice to migrate has already been made. It is not like other factors that act as a push factor at area of origin and pull factor at destination area, as explained by Lee's theory.

4:5:7 International students as potential skilled human capital

International students are potential skilled human capital in both the countries of origin and destination. However, this study found that most international students originally from Tanzania opted to remain in the country where they had studied for a variety of different reasons. The study findings showed that most highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK (HST-2; HST-4; HST-7; HST-12; HST-13; HST-14; HST-15; HST-16; HST-17; HST-18) were previously students. After completing their studies, they looked for jobs and settled in the UK. Hawthorne (2008) argues that international students have emerged as a priority human capital resource and one highly acceptable and attractive to the host country employers because they are young, they possess advanced host-country language ability, they have relevant professional training or experience, supported by significant acculturation, and their credentials are easy to recognise fully.

For example HST-7 said that;

“I came here to the UK for studying; after I had completed my studies, I stayed to practice my academic knowledge, to get exposure and gain more skills which I will impart to other Tanzanians when I return home”.

HST-4 said that;

“After my PhD studies, I started to work and I have been working since”.

While HST-16 said that;

“I know three Tanzanians who completed their first and second degrees here in the UK and returned home. This is the second year since they left, they haven’t got any employment. It is sad that they spent so much money to investing in their education.

This tendency for students to remain in the country that provides their advanced education has been shown by many previous studies. For example, Salt (1997), Hugo (2002) and Gribble & Blackmore (2012) show that the experience of being a foreign student significantly increases the likelihood of being a skilled migrant at a later stage. The issue of international students remaining in the countries where they study was also mentioned by migration practitioners (MPP-1; MPP-2; MPP-5; MPP-10; MPP-11) in terms of blaming the education system in Tanzania, which they claimed does not allow new graduates to be sufficiently competitive in the international labour market. For example MPP-2 said that;

“The education system in Tanzania does not allow our university graduates to compete enough with those graduates abroad. Many Tanzanians study abroad and never return after their graduation”.

The literature has already identified that education in developing countries is one of the push factors contributing to the recent growth in the number of students deciding to migrate abroad to study. For example, Al-Samarrai and Reilly (2008) in their study show that due to the inadequate education system in Tanzania, the wages in the employment sector appear low in comparison to other Sub-Saharan countries.

Moreover, MPP-5 and MPP-10 added that many students decided to stay and work in the countries where they studied for the reasons of utilisation of their skills and knowledge acquired. For example MPP-5 said that;

“Some of our students abroad acquire the kind of skills which cannot be utilised back home, such as professional scientists, engineers and medical personnel, so they fear that if they return home that will be a waste of skills and knowledge”.

Previous studies show that many international students choose to remain in countries that offer more opportunities to use their skills and knowledge acquired (Gribble, 2008). The issue of migrating to gain more experience and skills utilisation was described by highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK, whether they came to the UK as students or professionals. These reasons were also identified and emphasised by migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania.

Among the highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK who were interviewed 10 out of 18 came to the UK as international students, which offers some support for the view of De Brujin et al. (2001) that gaining access to higher education is the most important reason to migrate abroad. Although these migrants came to the UK for a better education as international students and this was a pull factor in the UK, additional reasons contributed to their decision to remain in the UK after their graduation, such as employment opportunities (for people without jobs or influential connections in Tanzania), and the prospect of skills utilisation and gaining experience, which participants mentioned as push factors in Tanzania,. This situation confirms Lee’s theory that personal factors such as better education tend to motivate people to explore more of their capabilities and they try to migrate to areas with a range of opportunities, in this case living and working in the UK. Moreover, these highly skilled Tanzanians had experienced life in the UK during their study period; their choice to remain in the UK was influenced by a number of pull factors.

The findings support Lee's theory in the sense that the decision of the migrants surveyed to stay in the UK after their graduation was based on a cost-benefit analysis of an expectation of improving their standard of life. This also supports the previous literature, which states that studying abroad is the starting point of migration and working abroad, because acquired qualifications are easily accepted in the labour market and students learn in the UK environment and are taught with a UK perspective. Therefore, they gain country specific skills that can be utilised in the labour market.

However, a recent change of migration policy in the UK has decreased the availability of the post-study work visa that entitled international students to work for up to two years after obtaining a UK degree (Gribble & Blackmore, 2012). This new change of migration policy for international students in the UK means that in future it will be more difficult for highly skilled individuals to transfer the skills and knowledge acquired from a UK education to the UK job market, which makes the findings above relevant to the participants of this study but may also affect future migration decision making. Therefore, immigration policy, which was previously selective and favourable to highly skilled individuals, may in future play the role of an intervening obstacle rather than a pull factor for migration.

4:5:8 Emergent Theme - Exposure to a highly developed environment

Exposure to a highly developed environment was identified by many participants (HST-1; HST-6; HST-10; HST-11; HST-14; HST-15; MPP-1; MPP-3; MPP-13), especially highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK, as one of the factors affecting their migration decision to move to a developed country such as the UK. This reason is not widely reported in the literature as a factor that contributes to the migration of highly skilled workers, or at least not in terms of the description 'exposure'. For example participant HST-14 said that;

“One of the reasons that made me stay on here and work in the UK, is exposure to living in a developed country, and learning so many things which cannot be understood if you have not been there. I am doing a job relevant to my profession, although many migrants here are not doing jobs relevant to their qualification”. This opinion was reiterated in particular by HST-6 and HST-10.

MPP-3 expressed the frustration of highly skilled people pursuing their careers in Tanzania, saying that

“There is no job satisfaction and reliability of work environment that allow skilled people to utilise their skills and knowledge here. Highly skilled people want recognition of their contribution in terms of their skills and knowledge, to get bonuses and be invited into symposia, and involved in research as well”.

This frustration was also shared by MPP-2; HST-11; HST-15.

The findings above showed that most participants, both migration practitioners and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK, perceived exposure in terms of living in the developed world and learning new ways of doing things as a factor that contributed to the migration decisions of many Tanzanians. In this sense, personal factors can be treated as exceptional and related to demographic, environmental, social, political and economic characteristics because of the importance of these factors to individual migrants and their major role in an individual's life.

Although the participants in this study mentioned exposure to a highly developed environment as an important reason in their decision to migrate, it may not remain important in the long-term. Participants claimed that living in the developed world allowed them to develop new ways of thinking and doing things by learning from people who have experience of working in a high technology environment. While this factor was identified by participants in this study, in terms of Lee's theory the tendency to seek exposure could be seen as evidence of the personal pull factor Lee identifies as the wish of highly skilled people to be challenged, especially by their work environment. Such people like to gain new knowledge, and a more developed environment affords this opportunity. Moreover, the level of the economy in Tanzania at the time of data collection can be seen as a push factor, because highly skilled individuals saw little prospect of a challenging environment that would develop them personally; they therefore sought to migrate to countries like the UK where such opportunities exist. This newly identified factor of 'exposure' played a strong role as a push factor in Tanzania according to the participants interviewed, and this is only likely to change over time as changes in the economy and other factors make Tanzania more attractive to its highly skilled workers.

Although the literature has identified many push and pull factors, this issue of exposure is an additional factor. There is a potentially endless list of possible push and pull factors that contribute to the decision of a person to migrate or not, depending not only on their personal factors but other factors as well; however, this factor emerged as an important one for the participants surveyed and was one that had attracted them to a more developed country in the first place and encouraged them to remain. Table 6 below gives a summary

of the reasons as perceived by participants that contributed to their migration decision: participants' views are categorised into six main themes and sub-themes.

Table 6: A summary of reasons contributing to migration decisions

Topic	Main themes	Sub-themes/categories
Reasons that contribute to the migration decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to the UK	Economic reasons	-job/employment opportunities -career ambitions/ professional utilisation -technological advancement, ICT -pay/salaries, wages, rewards, remuneration, -working facilities and equipment -work conditions/work environment -job satisfaction -living standard/greener pasture -better education -nepotism (godfathers) corruption/bribes - bureaucracy -medical / health service
	Trade liberalisation and foreign investment	-experience, commitment, deadlines, autonomous, responsibilities -inspiration of working in a multi-cultural environment -exploration
	International migration and labour law	-employee protection -employee security -freedom and rights of labour movement -working conditions
	Immigration policy in the UK	-post study work visa -entrepreneurship visa - selective work permits for skilled migrant workers
	Colonial ties, social and cultural factors	-belonging to commonwealth countries -English language -cultural, educational and legal similarities
	International students	-fear of being unemployed in Tanzania, -nepotism -education system/curriculum -experience, utilisation of knowledge and skills -acquired skills and knowledge that cannot be applied back home
	Emergent theme- 'exposure to a highly developed environment'	-learning new things from a developed and technologically advanced environment

Source: Author's research.

4:6 OBJECTIVE TWO

The second objective of this study is to evaluate the significance of Lee's (1966) theory of migration to an understanding of the reasons given by Tanzanian migration practitioners, policy makers, and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK on the decision to migrate to the UK.

The presentation and analysis of the study findings from participants' responses is divided into four themes which were developed from Lee's theory and relevance is evaluated in the context of this study. These are:

1. reasons that are associated with area of origin (Tanzania),
2. reasons that associated with area of destination (UK),
3. intervening obstacles for highly skilled Tanzanians' migration between Tanzania and the UK
4. personal factors or characteristics of highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK

4:6:1 Reasons associated with the area of origin- Tanzania

In order to achieve objective two, a number of interview questions were asked. The first research objective aims to provide a broader understanding of the areas of origin and destination, Tanzania and the UK respectively, by exploring push and pull factors that have been identified by both highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK, and migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania. In order to understand more about the issues pertaining to Tanzania directly, the following interview questions were asked:

- 1 Did you work in Tanzania before you came to the UK? (Question for highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK).
- 2 Could you please tell me your work experience you had in Tanzania compared to work experience in the UK?
- 3 What do you differentiate between the salary you earn and living expenses in Tanzania and the UK?

Most highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK had work experience in Tanzania before they came to the UK. A few of them did not have work experience in Tanzania because of unemployment conditions and others came for further study immediately after completing their 'A' level education. The following participants (HST-1; HST-3; HST-5; HST-8; HST-9; HST-10; HST-11; HST-15) explained their work experience in Tanzania negatively in terms of low pay, low job satisfaction, poor working facilities and lack of motivation.

For example HST-3, whose response was very similar to that of HST-14, said that;

“There is no accountability or responsibility and working conditions in public organisations are not good. People also do not care about time. I have got massive experience in the UK, commitment, deadlines and achievement is important. There are no excuses because resources are also there”.

Another participant HST-11 said that:

“Living expenses in Tanzania are higher than in the UK because there is no proportion between what you earn and life expenses. Many people cannot even afford their basic needs, while here in the UK everyone can afford basic needs when working”

Participant HST-9 said that:

“It is about pay, my experience in Tanzania of being a teacher is very low status, low pay and not progressive in life compared to other professionals like medical doctors and other engineers, while in the UK teachers are paid much more than in Tanzania”

Participant HST-12 said that:

“Working in the UK, you work with different people from different countries with the same profession; you gain experience and share knowledge, not like in Tanzania”.

Participant HST-15 gave the following statement, which was supported by HST-12 and MPP-3:

“There is lots of job motivation here in the UK such as good salary, job recognition and appreciation, while there are no such things in Tanzania”.

HST-10 had a different opinion and said;

“I think I am better at home. I don’t work under pressure and tension like we do here. However, we need some sort of reform on how to utilise time and skills. It is more peaceful working at home”.

The above findings were collected to explore participants’ experience and perceptions about the area of origin compared to area of destination. Although the interview questions were asked in different forms depending on the participant, the findings show that most participants identified a similar set of push factors in Tanzania that had contributed to their decision to migrate to the UK, where they perceived pull factors to be available that promised better living conditions. Lee’s theory emphasises factors associated with conditions of the area of origin that are likely to be more important to the decision to migrate than those that exist in the destination area. This is because a person has a fuller and clearer knowledge about the place of origin, while knowledge about the place of destination often remains partial and circumstantial. Therefore, migrants are more likely to make migration decisions based on the weight of the push factors that exist in the place of origin, and in the hope that the perceived pull factors that exist in the place of destination can improve their life.

4:6:2 Reasons associated with the area of destination- the UK

The UK as an area of destination was explored in order to understand migration experiences, perceptions and views of highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK. To this end the interview questions below were asked:

- What were your expectations or perceptions before you came in the UK?
- How do you feel living and working to the UK?

Several highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK (HST-3; HST-4; HST-6; HST-7; HST-18) had perceptions that life in Europe, including the UK, was easy, cheap and luxurious and that everything was available without working hard. Most participants had perceptions of a high lifestyle and good living standards. For example HST-9 said;

“It was an illusion because I had a dream if I will stay in the UK, I will get rich. I used to see English teachers from Tanzania who came to Europe for a six month programme, they returned home with expensive items such as cameras, black and white television sets, even used cars which were not affordable at that time in Tanzania. It is not true that you can find an easy life here in the UK”.

The migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania also gave their perceptions and opinions about the migration decision.

For example MPP-2 said that;

“People have a tendency or perceptions in their mind that living abroad, such as in the UK and the US, is a kind of personal development”.

Another MPP-11 commented that; *“A spirit of living abroad spreads among people”*

The study findings show that many highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK (HST-3; HST-4; HST-6; HST-7; HST-18) had a perception that living in the developed world was one step ahead in life that enabled people to learn and experience new things which could not be experienced otherwise. The data from the migration practitioners suggest that this perception becomes an ideology to highly skilled Tanzanians and becomes a push factor for their migration decision. Although highly skilled people have an advantage of utilising information and communication systems to access information about an area of destination before their migration decisions, not all highly skilled Tanzanians migrating to the UK had a realistic impression of life in the UK. Their migration decisions were strongly influenced by perceptions and expectations based on observations and cultural inputs such as TV

programmes. As Lee (1966) observed, it is sometimes perceptions, not so much the actual factors at origin and destination, which result in migration. However, there were other highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK who acknowledged that they had perceptions of life in Europe, particularly in the UK, that people had to work hard in order to achieve their expectations.

For example HST-8 said that;

“I had been living in Europe for seven years for my studies before I decided to work in England. I was fully aware about the European life style and cold weather. I knew if I worked in Europe, I would get good money and use modern work facilities in my field as a doctor compared to Tanzania”.

In relation to these findings above, Lee (1966, p. 50) argues that “persons living in an area have an immediate and often long-term acquaintance with the area and are usually able to make considered and unhurried judgements regarding them”. Although some of these highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK had clear knowledge about the UK and weighed advantages and disadvantages of both living and working in Tanzania and the UK before they made a decision to migrate, some made migration decisions based on perceptions, not so much the actual factors at the area of origin and destination. This was supported by the claim from migration practitioners and policy makers that many highly skilled Tanzanians develop a tendency to think living abroad is a kind of development they must go through and this impression spreads like a fashion to everyone. As a result their migration decision is not necessarily based on actual facts, but perceptions.

How do you feel living and working in the UK?

This question was asked with the intention of exploring participants’ feelings and opinions on how an act of migration satisfies their goals or meets their objectives.

Several highly skilled Tanzanians (HST-1; HST-3; HST-4; HST-5; HST-6; HST-9; HST-16) answered the question by explaining the advantages and disadvantages of living abroad. They explained achievements they have gained that helped them feel proud or consoled them when feeling homesick. However, they explained these achievements of living in the UK depended on the goals participants set for their migration, which might change over their lifespan. For example HST-1 said that;

“I feel blessed to work here because opportunity costs now are extended beyond myself and reach to my family members”.

This participant was expressing a feeling that the decision to migrate was having a beneficial effect not only on his own life but on those of other family members, in terms of the free education and health facilities available in return for being a tax payer. Although Lee's theory transformed perceptions of push and pull factors of an individual's idea of cost and benefit analysis, the findings showed that the migration decision of participants in this study were also determined by a larger unit of related people (family members) for the purpose of maximising migration benefits in a wider social context. For example, HST-1 identified his reasons for migration were employment and high pay as a pull factor to migrate to the UK, and this participant explored more pull factors that emerged that made it attractive for him to stay longer, such as better education and health care for his children. Moreover, the findings show that it is not necessarily pull factors which attract a person to migrate to the destination area; push factors are sometimes enough to contribute to the decision to migrate. Other pull factors emerge and are explored by migrants while living in the area, and act as reasons to remain in the area of destination.

HST-7 said that

"It is an exposure and gives me lots of confidence about myself. I have gained enough experience to work and live with other people from different countries".

This has been explained by Lee (1966) in terms of the assumptions that pull factors or the positive signs that exist at the country of origin are not as great as those available in the destination. In this study, the UK represents an area of destination, as elaborated in Lee's theory model (see Figure 2.1). For example, the UK is one of the countries with high levels of economic development which attracts many migrants, including Tanzanians, due to the perceived living standards, education, security, health services and many more factors they can access that compare favourably to those less developed countries. The findings therefore to a large extent confirm Lee's theories: Lee contends that push factors are usually most influential in the decision to migrate, and pull factors in the country of destination are more determinants of the country that is chosen for migration. Furthermore, Lee suggests that even the most careful calculation of a destination's cost benefits cannot be made until a migrant has been living there for some time, and that therefore pull factors often determine a decision to remain in a country of destination, an idea confirmed by several participants who found that the benefits of life in the UK made a decision to return to Tanzania very difficult to justify, despite an emotional pull to do so. Therefore, not every migration decision of these participants was influenced by the pull factors existing in the UK; some of these factors only became pull factors for them after living and

experiencing life in the UK. These factors were not reasons that contributed to their decision to migrate, but have become pull factors for them to remain in the UK. However, the reasons or pull factors that contribute to these participants remaining or staying longer in the UK is the benefits they perceive for their family members such as education for children. This seems to refute Lee's contention that cost and benefit analysis for migration is calculated at an individual level. In contrast, this finding shows that the migration decision can be made based on cost and benefit analysis at a larger unit such as family and households.

4:6:3 Intervening obstacles between Tanzania and the UK

The intervening obstacles to the decision to migrate between Tanzania and the UK have been identified as one of the themes in objective two in order to evaluate Lee's theory. Therefore, the following question was asked:

What are the challenges or difficulties you face working in the UK?

The question was posed to explore issues which were considered to be intervening obstacles for highly skilled Tanzanians; or obstacles which hindered highly skilled Tanzanians from achieving their expectations through migration. Many of the migrants surveyed (HST-1; HST-5; HST-6; HST-7; HST-8) explained that cultural differences such as language barriers, communication and the ways of doing things made it difficult for them to develop their careers, although English is the second language in Tanzania and its official language, which has been adopted and used since colonisation. For example, HST-8 said that;

“Culture is another aspect, a very strong aspect. It is difficult here especially when you are not born here or you come here as an adult”.

This point is illustrated by HST-1's comment that;

“I think the biggest challenge I face is like every day I go to work to prove a point about how much I know. For employers and colleagues I need to show competence beyond their capabilities”.

Another participant HST-8 said that;

“It was difficult at the beginning to work, as my career ladder started from below my position at home, I had to start to work with health authorities as a trainee, which only pays a little. I had to undergo further training to get a job within my profession”.

Lee (1966) has already explained that many migrants face difficulties associated with assimilation into a new environment, which may also create an inaccurate evaluation of the positive and negative factors at destination. Highly skilled Tanzanians explained that cultural differences in ways of doing things in their daily working life were a challenge to manage, although they appreciated and realised the improvement in their contribution to learning new skills and knowledge, and the contribution this could make to others if they were to return to Tanzania in terms of brain circulation. Other participants had to undergo further training in order to acquire a job position they had formerly held in Tanzania, which was also a challenge. Other than immigration legislation, Olesen (2002) identified many other intervening obstacles which are likely to affect migration decisions such as: transportation costs, social, cultural and language differences, openness of communication between origin and destination, family overseas, safety and political determinants. Migrants have different abilities to overcome the intervening sets of obstacles and differ from each other in terms of personal factors (Lee, 1966); the migrants surveyed did not mention all these obstacles as they had migrated to the UK at a time when immigration policies for skilled workers were not very tight and new technology advancement made transportation costs affordable.

4:6:4 Personal characteristics of highly skilled Tanzanians

Do you think you are utilising your skills and knowledge working in the UK? (Have you met your expectations)?

This question was asked to explore participants’ perceptions and opinions about whether they had achieved the expectations that led to their migration decision. Seven out of 18 interviewed participants (HST-1; HST-2; HST-4; HST-6; HST-7; HST-9; HST-14) described that their achievements in working in their professional jobs, utilising their skills and knowledge, good pay, work environment, work facilities had for the most part met their expectations. For example HST-1 said that;

“As an individual, I have achieved my expectation because I came here as a graduate and straight away entered into the labour market relevant to what I studied, and they paid me well compared to Tanzania”.

HST-4 said that;

“I am an active engineer, active university lecturer and active researcher, sometimes I do consultancy work, if my country would offer me a job and pay even half of what I am earning here I would not hesitate to take a job back home. I have not got that opportunity although I have taken many initiatives”.

Moreover, some participants (HST-3; HST-10; HST-16; HST-17) admitted that professional jobs for migrants in the UK were scarce and not all migrants worked in professional jobs relevant to their educational qualification. They said that many migrants worked in industrial positions that they were overqualified for and sometimes their work was not relevant to their professional and industrial specialisms at all.

For example, HST-16 said that;

“I have a degree in Law from a UK University, I work at Tesco retail”.

However, this phenomenon is not necessarily a problem just for Tanzanians. In fact, since the economic downturn in 2008 many British born graduates have also been affected by the unemployment problem within the UK itself (Clancy, 2009).

Similarly, Lee (1966, p. 51) argues that “the decision to migrate is never completely rational, and for other people the rational component is much less than the irrational”. This means that while some migrants benefit from their migration decisions in ways such as securing professional jobs, better pay and better living standards, others do not necessarily find a position that fulfils their potential. The rational choice reflects that there is an expectation of advantage when a person makes the decision to migrate, such as better jobs, better pay, and better living standards; this is a form of gain maximising. Although Lee’s theory uses push and pull factors including intervening obstacles to evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of the origin and destination areas, the theory does not discuss decision making around reverse migration when a migrant fails to achieve his/her gain maximisation in the area of destination. Therefore, an additional question was asked to explore migrants’ future intentions with regard to remaining in the UK or returning to Tanzania.

Do you have a plan in the future to return home permanently?

This question was asked to explore the future plans of the migrants surveyed. Many participants (HST-2; HST-3; HST-4; HST-6; HST-7; HST-8; HST-9; HST-16; HST-18) admitted that they had a future plan to return home permanently. Some of them said they had started to prepare for a new life on their return back home, meanwhile other participants said they would stay for the sake of their children until they had completed their school because they could not afford an equivalent level of education for their children in Tanzania. For example, HST-9 said that;

“I think you hit me between my head and heart. My head wishes to return home immediately, my heart is my kids. I want them to get a better education here where I have paid lots of my tax already. I will stay for the sake of my kids; I cannot afford to give them a better education in Tanzania “.

Another participant HST-16 said that;

“Absolutely yes, but I need to get prepared before I go. When I go home I must make sure I have a job or investment to keep me going with my life otherwise I might end up in the street or jobless”.

Most of the migrants showed a great wish to return home; however, they gave reasons such as employment opportunities, the education of their children, and building up capital for investment as a reason not to take immediate action. Importantly, the education of their children emerged among most of the highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK to be another pull factor, which they had not identified prior to making the decision to migrate, that contributed to their decisions to remain in the UK. This reason was identified as a pull factor only after their decision to migrate; however, Lee (1966) has already explained that in every area there are countless factors which act to hold people within the area or attract people to it, and there are others which tend to repeal them (see Figure 2.1). Therefore, a good education system was one of the main pull factors for highly skilled Tanzanians who had children while living in the UK. This also can be further explained as one of the personal characteristics of highly skilled people who migrate with their family members. Similarly, Lee (1966) assumes that migrants are not a random sample of the population at the area of origin because people respond differently to the sets of plus and minus factors at origin and at destination depending on their personal characteristics. Table 7 below provides a summary of themes developed an evaluation of Lee’s (1966) theory relevant to the contexts of this study.

Table 7: Themes developed from evaluating Lee's (1966) theory of migration

Topic	Main themes	Sub-themes/categories
To evaluate the relevance of Lee's (1966) theory of migration to an understanding of the reasons given by Tanzanian migration practitioners, policy makers, and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK on the decision to migrate to the UK	Factors associated with the area of origin	-job/employment opportunities -career ambitions/ professional utilisation -technological advancement -pay/salaries -working facilities -work conditions -job satisfaction -living standard -better education -medical/ health service -bribes/corruptions -nepotism -bureaucracy -illusion -spirit of living abroad
	Factors associated with the area of destination- the UK	-employment -good pay -experience, -exposure, - technology advancement -utilisation of professional skills and knowledge -work facilities -working conditions -living standards
	Intervening obstacles between Tanzania and the UK	-brain waste -cultural differences -work to prove ability
	Personal characteristics	-fear of being unemployed in Tanzania upon their return -better education for children -experiences -utilisation of skills and knowledge

Source: Author's research

4:7 OBJECTIVE THREE

The study's third objective is to identify the perceptions of participants in this study of the impact of the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians on brain circulation in Tanzania. Four themes emerged from the literature review and were therefore examined in the interviews in order that they could be further analysed to give interpretations and meaning. The themes were:

1. Brain drain/brain waste
2. Brain circulation/brain gain/ migration returnees
3. Remittances
4. Diasporas

In order to achieve this objective, the main interview question was;

How do you explain the impacts on domestic economic development caused by migration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad?

Participants were asked about how international migration can affect domestic economic development in Tanzania. Both negative and positive impacts were discovered. Participants' responses below are presented in terms of themes that emerged from the findings.

4:7:1 Brain drain

Most participants, both migration practitioners and highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad, admitted and sympathized with the great disadvantages the country faces from the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians. They explained the impact of skilled migration as a form of brain drain and their responses fall into different categories. The principal negative impact that the country faces is the inability of the government to provide better social services such as education, health and medical care, caused by the migration of professional people. Secondly, the government faces a huge loss on their investment in skilled manpower. Thirdly, the government incurs a massive cost in substituting skilled workers with foreign equivalents hired abroad.

For example, HST-2 said that;

“This is human capital and our government needs them [highly skilled Tanzanians], the government signs crazy contracts [with foreign skilled labour] because they lack competent people in our country”.

MPP-5 said that;

“Migration of professionals in Tanzania destroys sustainability and specialisation in certain fields such as clinical medicine. Those who remain behind lose confidence and lack knowledge on how to improve health services”.

Similarly, MPP-6 said that;

“Many professional medical doctors migrate to Botswana, RSA and Namibia and leave behind one doctor to attend thousands of patients in poor services”.

MPP-1 said that;

“Regardless of the number, we might think we lose a small number of professionals but really in a sense one professional can impart knowledge to many other Tanzanians”.

The literature has already revealed the impact of migration, indicating that developing countries tend to lose people with scarce skills and consequently, the quality of governmental services in those countries decreases (Docquier & Rapoport, 2004; Kazlauskienė & Rinkevicius, 2006; Beine, Docquier & Rapoport, 2008; Shah, 2011). In addition, the findings show that the loss of professionals in the country should not be valued in number only but also in terms of the skills and knowledge that are lost, because one professional can be valuable and impart knowledge to many other Tanzanians for brain circulation. The findings, in terms of perceptions, among both groups of participants show that there is no evidence to suggest that there is a brain gain for Tanzania, since most Tanzanians migrate, maximise gain but then stay in the country of destination. They often only return in order to retire; therefore, Tanzania does not gain much from their accrued knowledge and wealth for brain circulation. Although some participants (HST-1; HST-2; HST-4; HST-6; HST-7; HST-9; HST-14) claimed benefits from migration, it is mainly based at the individual level. The findings support some literature which declares that there is no evidence available to show the extent of the impact of labour migration on skills acquisition and transfer of knowledge and skills due to a lack of reliable data (Ellerman, 2003; Newland, 2007; Postelnicu, 2013).

Moreover, participants, both migration practitioners and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK, (HST-1; HST-2; HST-4; HST-7; HST-13; HST-15; HST-16; HST-18; MPP-1; MPP-2; MPP-3; MPP-5; MPP-6; MPP-10) admitted emigration of skilled Tanzanians was a big loss of human capital and of the resources that the government had invested in them, although there were no statistics to draw about the scale of the problem or to quantify the effect of migration on national development (Shitundu, 2006; ACP, 2010). However, it was difficult for highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK to straight forwardly admit that their migration was also a loss of human capital invested by the government; they declared that there was a general problem of the government losing skills and knowledge due to the migration of the sort of highly skilled people who would contribute to brain circulation. Based on this evidence, encouraging return migration of highly skilled Tanzanians becomes very important because these migrants have acquired useful knowledge and skills that could be imparted to others through entrepreneurship and other business activities, employment, research and many more.

For example HST-1 said that;

“For me to work here, I have created a job opportunity for other Tanzanians”

HST-15 said that;

“I would like to impart my knowledge and skills back home before my age of retirement, then I can be of use more efficiently than sending remittances, but I might not find a job to do that in Tanzania”

On the other hand, migration practitioners in Tanzania were very concerned about the loss of human capital invested in by the government. They explained this concern clearly.

For example MPP-5 said that;

“Most of this skilled migration occurs when they have obtained a first degree, as you know until recently education was obtained at the expense of the government from standard one up to university. For a poor country like Tanzania this is a huge loss of human capital investment”.

While MPP-2 gave the opinion that;

“It is a burden to the government. Many people studied at universities by using the government loans and these people have migrated abroad without paying back the loan they had for their education”.

The findings should be seen in light of the evidence presented by Bhagwati and Hamada (1974; 1982 as cited in Gupta & Tyagi, 2011) who declared that the investment in terms of education and training represents a major cost for developing countries, which do not receive benefits in return since the migration of skilled workers has taken place. The findings also suggest that new literature that has introduced the idea that the migration of highly skilled individuals might turn into brain gain in the area of origin (Castles & Miller, 2009; Gupta & Tyagi, 2011; Scalera, 2012) may not be the case unless policies to encourage these benefits are put in place. Moreover, participants, both migration practitioners in Tanzania and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK, pointed to a further cost incurred by the government, which was the need to hire foreign expatriates to work in Tanzania in vacancies which would have been filled by professional Tanzanians, who were living abroad instead.

For example HST-7 said that;

“There are many skilled Tanzanians living abroad who would like to return home, but there is no employment for them. There are many graduates from universities in Tanzania

who do not have any employment. Why does the government employ foreign expatriates instead of employing its skilled people who have acquired similar skills and knowledge as those expatriated abroad?”

The perceptions of MPP-10 took a different angle and said that;

“Migration of skilled people leaves less skilled people behind to run the country, otherwise the government has to hire foreign skilled people and train new professionals which costs lots of money and time. For example in order to get specialist medical doctors, money and time is needed to create experience for specialities”.

MPP-5 said that;

“Because of a lack of skilled workforce, the government has to import foreign expertise called technical assistance.....this assistance is not free, it involves cost packages which our future generation has to pay for”.

These findings have already been addressed in the literature, which points out the value of skilled human capital to brain circulation and development because their performances are at higher levels (Daugeliene & Marcinkeviciene, 2009; Bakotic, 2012). The findings indicate that the migration of skilled Tanzanians abroad had a much more negative than positive impact on brain circulation in Tanzania as loss of skilled workers was perceived to have left the government facing difficulties such as: providing and satisfying better social services; incurring other costs to train workers with new skills and hire foreign expatriates to fill the gap left by highly skilled migrants. However, based on an individual perspective, the migrants surveyed had acquired new knowledge, skills and experiences which they would otherwise potentially have imparted and contributed to business, investment, research activities and others in Tanzania. Although, on an individual level, these people were obviously maximising their personal gain, it was not enough to contribute to the majority for the improvement of a better life in Tanzania.

4:7:2 Brain waste

Brain waste was also identified by participants (HST-3; HST-16; MPP-2; MPP-6) as an impact of skilled migration on the domestic economic development.

For example, HST-3 said that;

“Highly skilled people perceive they can get better jobs elsewhere, better living standards because of good pay, but sometimes they end up working in unprofessional jobs”.

Another HST-16 said that;

“Some skilled Tanzanians living abroad value the strength of currency abroad and compare how much they earn rather than value utilisation of their qualifications, skills, knowledge and experiences”.

Meanwhile, MPP-6 said that;

“I am sure many professional people who move abroad end up doing unprofessional jobs, and because they have resigned in their jobs back home, they fear to return, so instead they live and work for survival. This requires more research to find out how much the government loses”.

Similarly, Mattoo, Neagu and Ozden (2005) and Moorhouse and Cunningham (2010) have declared that migration can have a negative impact on an individual’s human capital development as many migrants work to survive, instead of being employed at their intellectual capacity, and thus they fail to fulfil their inherent potential. There is some support for this view in the findings from highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK; for example HST-16, who studied for a law degree from a UK university and worked at Tesco retail in the hope that one day he would manage to secure a job of his profession. Lee’s theory explains that a person makes a decision to migrate from his/her own origin area to destination because of existing push factors, and is attracted by pull factors at the area of destination for the purpose of improving their life. However, the theory does not explain return migration when a person fails to maximise benefits expected to accrue from pull factors at the destination area. The findings show that some highly skilled Tanzanians, who made a decision to migrate for the reason of obtaining employment within their area of professionalism, and hoped for the full utilisation of their skills, high pay and good standard of life, ended up working just to survive. The pull factors that contributed to their migration decision therefore turned into push factors because they failed to meet the expectations they had for migration. In this case, the Tanzanian government should consider ways to encourage return migration or other means of brain circulation. Highly skilled migrants are required in Tanzania in order to practice their acquired knowledge and skills learnt abroad and impart onto others for brain circulation.

4:7:3 Brain gain/brain circulation and return migrants

Brain gain or brain circulation was explained as an advantage of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad by both migration practitioners in Tanzania and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK (HST-1; HTS-2; MPP-3; MPP-5 ;MPP-8; MPP-10; MPP-13). They explained that circular migration allows people to migrate from one continent to another and gives them a chance to share and exchange skills and knowledge which have socioeconomic impact in the area of origin. The participants supported the migration impact of brain gain or brain circulation by perceiving that when skilled migrants managed to return, they brought skills and knowledge with them, experiences which could be beneficial to their country.

For example HST-2 said that;

“If highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad would return home and start a business, they would create far more worth, whether direct or indirect, such as imparting knowledge to others and capital injection too. This would work much better than just sending cash”.

HST-1 said that;

“I would recommend to the government that it should be a policy to encourage individual young graduates to work abroad where they can get exposure, more work experience, and it would change the way we do things”.

HST-1 insisted that;

“When you talk as an individual impact, I believe a nation develops when individuals develop. This is additional human capital in the country”.

The views of the migrants surveyed were supported by migration practitioners in Tanzania, who confirmed that the country could benefit from brain gain in terms of experience acquired by highly skilled Tanzanians living, working and gaining experiences abroad, but only if the intervening obstacles to remigration were reduced.

For example MPP-10 said that;

“These highly skilled Tanzanians working abroad bring new skills and knowledge built by utilisation of their intellect. When they come back home, their contribution is bigger than if they had stayed here in the country, without having experienced something new”.

MPP-8 said that

“We don’t have a policy, but the government has started to take an initiative to attract professional Tanzanians within and outside the country by giving them first priority to fill professional job vacancies before considering foreign expatriates. This is one of the strategies initiated to motivate highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad to return home”.

The literature has shown that emigration of highly skilled persons can turn into a brain gain and brain circulation for the economic development of origin countries through a process of return migration (Davis & Hart, 2010). Similarly, the findings showed that most participants perceived highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad as having the potential to maximise the benefits of skills and knowledge acquisition and to transfer these skills home in order to contribute to brain circulation. However, there is a dearth of data available for understanding how extensively highly skilled Tanzanians travel between origin and destination countries for business, work purposes, or their investments (Shitundu, 2006; Green & Winters, 2010). Brain gain can be identified at the individual level by highly skilled Tanzanians living and working in the developed world where they were able to acquire new skills, knowledge and experiences; this provides a pool of talented and experienced individuals who could potentially benefit their area of origin in a number of ways. Therefore, return migration of highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK becomes crucial for brain circulation in Tanzania. Although, Lee’s theory in his push-pull model explains an act of migration from one point to another (area of origin to destination), without emphasis on return migration, the findings in this study show that the act of migration is dynamic and not static. This is due to the fact that circumstances in the life cycle of individuals change over time, thus affects their migration decision. The fact is, push factors in Tanzania that have been previously identified by participants that contribute to migration decision may change into pull factors if highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK who have acquired new knowledge and skills will return home and impart their knowledge onto many other Tanzanians. In this manner, reverse migration would help to change push factors into pull factor in Tanzania that contribute to brain circulation.

4:7:4 Remittances

Remittances have been identified by almost every participant as an impact of the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad. The debate was mainly based on how much remittances contribute to the improvement of life in the country of origin. There were participants who perceived the impact of remittances on brain circulation positively and

those who perceived it negatively, while others identified both positive and negative impacts.

There were participants who supported remittances and described their positive impact as a contribution to brain circulation as a means of development. For example, participants HST-5; HST-6; HST-7; HST-8; HST-10; MPP-11 perceived remittances as a factor or means of development in societies which helped to upgrade the spending power of people in the population for basic needs for relatives or family members back home.

For example, HST-8 said that;

“The small amount of remittances sent back home can help relatives or members of family to pay tuition fees for education, building better family houses, medical fees etc”.

The findings above support literature from Tynaliev and Maclean (2011) who declare that remittances reach the poor of the world who may never receive any portion of official aid because of their corrupt and authoritarian governments. De Haas (2005) and Zaman and Akbar (2013) also declared that households remain the direct beneficiaries of resource flows from remittances.

However, HST-10 saw migration to the UK as a prospect open only to a few Tanzanians, saying that;

“Most Tanzanians living abroad come from stable families, you cannot find people from remote areas or poor families; the majority of them originate from Dar es Salaam and their families supported them to come here”.

The above findings support research by Humberto, Pablo and Pablo (2007 as cited in Gupta & Tyagi, 2011) who explored the impact of remittances on poverty, education, and health in eleven Latin American countries using nationally representative household surveys. They explained that although remittances tend to have positive effects on education and health, this impact is often restricted to specific groups of the population. Although the findings show that a small amount of remittances can improve the well-being of relatives or members of family back home, its influence on promoting the entire development of the country is smaller than traditional growth mechanisms such as exports and foreign direct investment (Rao & Hassan, 2012; Guha, 2013).

There were participants (HST-11; HST-12; MPP-1; MPP-3; MPP-4; MPP-10; MPP-11) who perceived remittance' contributions to brain circulation as being very small and not able to make significant changes for economic improvement if further action is not taken.

They claimed that there were no reliable statistics which showed the amount of remittances collected and their impact on investments and entrepreneurships to boost development. There were not even formal and easy ways of facilitating money transfer, which can also be of help in collecting large remittances.

For example, HST-11 said that;

“People who work abroad send money back home, but those at home misuse the money. The government needs to give education on how to motivate people to use remittances for investments, and create employment for others and contribute to economic development”

Similarly MPP-1 said that;

“There is a problem of relying on remittances as a source of income, sometimes families which receive remittances from abroad do not work hard or misuse the funds for luxury goods”

The findings support Guha (2013) who argues that remittances are private transfers of funds, which are normally used to fund ‘conspicuous consumption’ to enhance social status by demonstrating wealth through buying luxuries such as imported goods; thus, the extent to which such flows can be connected to economic development is limited. Furthermore, some participants explained the impact of remittances on brain circulation was very small because there were no easy and cheap ways of transporting remittances; furthermore, there was no record of monitoring the impact of remittances on economic growth and no database of human capital abroad which shows their number, characteristics, activities and source of incomes.

Migration practitioner MPP-3 said that;

“We do not have proper ways of monitoring the impact of remittances; we also do not know how many people are living abroad and what they are doing. If our people are living a kind of subsistence life, they will not be able to send money back home. The country cannot expect to get enough remittances for economic contribution”.

The findings above support Postelnicu (2012) who argues that remittances differ considerably according to a variety of factors: level of qualification; position held in the labour market; degree of integration into society; the policy adopted by hosting countries towards immigrants; as well as the immigrants’ economic status in their country of origin, (for example, the effect of the global financial economy in the country).

Furthermore, HST-12 said that;

“The government should facilitate an easy, cheap and safe way of transferring money to Tanzania in order to encourage diasporas to send more money and help the government to acquire more foreign currencies. People sometimes use informal ways of money transfer to avoid high service charges from the Banks or Western Union”.

MPP-10 also added that;

“It is difficult to measure the positive impact of remittances in economic development because statistics are very unreliable. Other unreliable sources show the amount of remittances in Tanzania is very small compared to other countries like Rwanda, Kenya and Uganda. In this sense, Tanzania has not capitalised on this opportunity.

The previous literature, as declared by Zaman and Akbar (2013), criticises remittances that are not a source of development finance because they are not recorded in the accounting of public expenditure or private investment. It is also difficult to gauge their aggregate effect because they are often informal and there is a decentralised decision-making process that characterises their use (Gubert, 2002; Watteson, 2013; Standish & Kendall, 2013). It has also been claimed by Humberto et al. (2007 as cited in Gupta & Tyagi, 2011) that remittances generally benefit individuals in a population, such as those who receive money from relatives or members of families living abroad.

There were participants who gave the view that although remittance can contribute to development, its positive impact was very small and only serve to maximise benefits at an individual level. They identified a skilled workforce as being more important than remittances as an area that could be influenced by brain circulation. They argued that remittances can be of use if they funded school fees that enable more people in a developing society to acquire skills and knowledge in order to improve standards of life.

HST-7 said that;

“Money is not only a measurement of economic development, human capital is also important in the country. Having a large number of people who also have exposure and experiences from developed countries helps their country to move faster in domestic economic development”.

HST-6 said that;

“Skilled manpower is more productive than remittances. If a skilled person would implement his skills and knowledge it would be better for the country. But the government just wants our money back home; they do not want us to return”.

The findings from HST-6 and HST-7 stress the availability of sufficient skilled human capital to be more beneficial than depending on the amount of remittances in the country. They agreed with Schmid (2006) who argued that some countries value remittances over human capital but are still unable to provide the necessary social services for their population. Similarly, the findings show that participants, both migration practitioners in Tanzania and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK, had positive perceptions that remittances helped back home, but they thought that skilled labour was able to contribute more than remittances to brain circulation in Tanzania. As a result, return migration of highly skilled Tanzanians can contribute more to brain circulation rather than depending on remittances. The findings are contradicted in the literature, which claims that estimates of remittances in a country of origin are usually considerably higher than the amount of official development assistance and have a significant role in economic development at the macro-level (Le & Bodman, 2011). For example MPP-5 said that

“We don’t want to talk about remittances, that someone sent money to her grandmother for a Christmas present or to live hand to mouth”.

MPP-10 added that;

“I think the amount of international aid in this country cannot trump the amount of remittances. Tanzania is one of the top five countries which receives international aid including Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and... real complex countries. What I would say the government of Tanzania could do is to invest lots in using members of diasporas to encourage development”.

Interestingly, the impact of remittances on contributing to development was explained by participants from different angles. There are those who perceived its impact positively and those who viewed it negatively. There were highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK who claimed the contributions of their remittances sent back home had brought about a positive impact at the individual level such as raising the standard of living of their families back home. However, lack of proper facilitation of money transfer and dearth of statistics about how much remittance was received in the country and how it was consumed remain vague and fail to show its positive impact at a macro level. Moreover, the contribution of remittances to brain circulation within individual households was not

enough to enhance development as a whole in the country. Therefore, reverse migration of highly skilled Tanzanians is essential to brain circulation for maximising migration advantages in a wider context in the country.

4:7:5 Diasporas

When the issue of diasporas was raised and discussed in the interviews, it was viewed by most participants from two different perspectives. First, diasporas were discussed in terms of their identity and secondly, their impact on brain circulation.

The findings showed that perceptions of migration practitioners (MPP-5; MPP-7; MPP-10; MPP-13) about Tanzanian migrants acknowledged that there was an uneasy relationship between the government and highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad. They explained that many people in the country perceived diasporas as traitors who went abroad for their selfishness, and were antipathetic to them when they wished to return. They gave their view that the majority of people who have never been living abroad or have never had relatives living abroad tended to see those who support diasporas as being people who want to accommodate their own children and were very often well off. They were seen as the ones who could afford to send their children to study abroad.

For example MPP-10 said that:

“Tanzania had a traditional political history around 1960 to the 1970s when mass migration created the political feeling that people ran from their own country. I am sure you know more than I do. We need to create confidence between both sides, we need confidence building measures. Tanzanian diasporas wish to be attached to their country; however, they have feelings of being unwelcomed back home. I believe the involvement of diasporas in national development plans would contribute to cultural and economic development because they have skills, knowledge, exposure and experiences acquired from where they live abroad. The government should prepare dialogues and discussions with diasporas to create good policy for national development”.

Another (MPP-7) said that:

“Tanzanians living abroad have a tendency to think they are better than those who stayed in the country just because they are living abroad. I do agree many who have studied abroad have greater capability because of better education, experiences plus exposure. Even certain private companies employ more Tanzanians who studied abroad and pay

them well because they are confident of their performing their duties. They have enough skills and knowledge to contribute more in development. They are more confident in doing things, but I don't want to underestimate those who studied in the country".

However, HST- 4 felt that while his remittances were welcomed in Tanzania he could offer more by returning in person, saying that:

"Government motivates Tanzanians living abroad to invest back home, I do not have money to invest. I have skills and knowledge to practise for the benefits of others in the country. I need a job back home".

There is literature which emphasises the importance of the nature of the relationship between a country and its diasporic expatriates for transforming brain drain into brain circulation. As members of the group spread outside their country, they can generate flows of knowledge, investment, goods and services to and from their origin country (Patterson, 2006; Faist, 2008; Nijkamp et al., 2011). Most migrants living abroad regard themselves as legitimate members of their nation's collective identity and socio-political order even though their identities and activities tend to have differential implications for the countries of origin and destination (Cohen, 1997; Brinkerhoff, 2011). It is notable that some participants wished to return home to utilise their acquired skills and knowledge from abroad through employment opportunities rather than sending remittances. However, the findings above show that there are negative perceptions about relationships between highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK and the government in Tanzania which creates a negative impact on efforts to transform brain drain into brain circulation. The diasporas' contributions tend to be very sporadic and relatively small (Mercer et al., 2009).

Some participants (MPP-5; MPP-6; MPP-7; MPP-8; MPP-11; MPP-13) declared that just recently the government had started to realise the significant potential of diaspora as a contribution to national development, as suggested in the literature (Patterson, 2006; Faist, 2008; Mercer et al., 2009; Nijkamp et al., 2011). Despite this, MPP-7 explained that it was still difficult to plan national development activities involving diasporas because they did not know how many Tanzanians were living abroad, what they were doing there or what types of people they were.

For example MPP-8 said that:

"We don't have policy in place to motivate highly skilled Tanzanians working abroad to return. But the government has started to take action to attract professional Tanzanians living within and outside the country to fill expert jobs rather than employing foreign

expertise. There is a new diaspora department under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation introduced recently as one of the strategies to help Tanzanians living abroad to return or utilise their skills for national development”.

MPP-6 said that;

“Tanzania should learn from emigration countries like the Philippines and Sri-Lanka. Through diasporas, the government can create an environment which encourages Tanzanians living abroad to invest back home”.

Another MPP-11 said that;

“There is a special programme (special ID card, fast track visa, free air tickets) that has been established in Zanzibar to facilitate professional diasporas such as medical doctors and engineers to return home during their vacations to provide their expertise to our people in the country”.

Many African governments, in line with the emergence of diaspora engagement at African Union (AU) level have shown a greater level of interest in the developmental potential of the diaspora in the continent (Davies, 2007; Styan, 2007). Thus, more governments have started to adopt policies specifically designed to secure investment and engagement from their diaspora migrant population. However, while Tanzania has no migration policy in place, migration practitioners and policy makers declared that initiatives had begun in order to establish migration policies that could motivate the engagement of diasporas and their participation in a contribution to the domestic economic development. The issue of migration and development is a new phenomenon within national development planning which necessitated the government recently to establish the Diaspora desks at the Prime Minister’s Office and at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation to establish a link between the government and diasporas. In the light of Lee’s theoretical concept, the perceptions of some highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK of being unwelcome back home and perceptions of some migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania that highly skilled migrants were selfish has become an intervening obstacle for diaspora engagement and participation as a contribution to domestic economic development in Tanzania. As a result, the contributions of the Tanzanian diaspora to brain circulation remain influential at an individual or family level but not at a national level. In this case, Lee’s (1966) theory of migration which fails to adequately recognise reverse migration requires a modification in order to encourage return migration and reduce the intervening obstacles which were identified by participants in this study that hinder the

return of Tanzanian highly skilled migrants. Lee's theory needs to continue treat each act of migration as discrete because migrants' circumstances change over time in their life cycle such as when individual migrants acquire further education, start a family, and practise professional jobs which also affect their migration decision and contribution.

4:7:6 Dual citizenship in Tanzania (New, emergent theme)

An issue of dual citizenship emerged during interviews with the migrants surveyed, and was further discussed with migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania. Highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK perceived their citizenship to be an intervening obstacle for accessing more opportunities in the UK, while some migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania perceived dual nationality for Tanzanians living abroad to be a personal decision taken in order to improve an individual's quality of life abroad.

Tanzanian migrants in the UK raised the issue of dual citizenship in the context of stating its possibility as a wish or proposal, because the Citizenship Law in Tanzania does not recognise the possibility of holding two nationalities. Tanzanians lose their rights of citizenship once they acquire another citizenship from another country. Below is a presentation of participants' responses about dual citizenship for Tanzanians. Participants explained dual citizenship based on individual perceptions and in the context of their experiences of international migration.

According to HST-7:

"I wouldn't like to lose my citizenship by acquiring British citizenship. This is the way many Tanzanians fail to secure jobs at an international level in the European Union, because of citizenship".

HST-17 stated that;

"I am sure dual citizenship would give more chances to skilled Tanzanians to freely move with their skills and knowledge in the international labour market without conditions. This also would help our country move fast in economic development".

HST-4 said;

"We live abroad but we miss decent job opportunities because employers are not interested in employees who need a visa to travel to other countries for business".

HST-18 expressed the opinion;

“We need dual citizenship otherwise the government loses skilled human capital when they change to other citizenships. The government could benefit from these people.”

MPP-5 said;

“In the past it was sinful to go abroad. It is only recently, people’s perceptions have begun to change even though it is still considered as a traitor for a Tanzanian to apply for citizenship abroad”.

MPP-11 said that;

“Many Tanzanians who have never been living abroad think those who are living abroad want to benefit from both sides, while they cannot exercise those benefits. But they forget dual citizenship can be issued in different conditions, for example through permanent residence permits which also can be special for foreigners and those Tanzanian diasporas”.

MPP-6 went on:

“The issue of citizenship is not like a fashion to follow. We need to conduct research before we jump on the bandwagon. First, we don’t know how many Tanzanians are living abroad, and what they do in those countries. There is no migration research in Tanzania. We even don’t know the economic and social problems caused by migration”.

MPP-5 said that;

“The problem is our current citizenship Law; all kinds of citizenship (by birth, descent and naturalisation) have the same rights. Suppose the president of the country is raised from naturalisation to citizenship, why do they restrict Tanzanians having another citizenship? I think we should put some restriction, for example rights which cannot be exercised by people who hold dual citizenship”

MPP-7 said that;

“In my view, I support dual citizenship. But I suggest that people who hold dual citizenship should have certain conditions. For example, those who hold dual citizenship should not be involved in certain kinds of employments such as the army, politics, etc. It is important to add an issue of dual citizenship in our new constitution”.

There is literature that addresses issues of citizenship within international migration. For example, Escobar (2007) argues that migration changes the state’s relationship with its

citizens as receiving countries extend rights to non-citizen residents. Many developing countries encourage remittances as a source of capital for development. So they retain ties with their citizens, they also extend citizen rights to their nationals living abroad to create an impetus to feel committed and contribute more to economic activities in their origin countries. Ghorashi (2004) argues that it is simply not possible to cut migrants' roots from their origin, although the sense of common identities can change due to the influence from the host country. The issue of recognition, participation and feeling of belongingness for diasporas who have acquired a foreign citizenship other than their origin citizenship gives such migrants confidence to participate fully in the contribution to national development in the origin country (Escobar, 2007). The findings in this study show that citizenship law in Tanzania is perceived as an intervening obstacle on the contribution to brain circulation because it limits many Tanzanian migrants from accessing more opportunities in the UK and the European Union. It might also be an obstacle to return migration for those who have acquired citizenship from other countries. The issue of dual citizenship in Tanzania is currently being debated at national level, with consideration of whether it should be incorporated or not into a new national constitution. Although, the theme of dual citizenship emerged from the study's findings, an important aspect to be considered is how it affects international migration and its contribution to brain circulation in Tanzania. Table 8 below explains the impacts of the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians to the UK and its influence on brain circulation in Tanzania. Return migration, remittances, diasporas and issues of dual citizenship were identified by participants as the main impact of migration related to objective three of this study.

Table 8: Themes developed from evaluating the impact of migration of highly skilled Tanzanians on brain circulation – Tanzania

Topic	Main themes	Sub-themes/categories
To identify the perceptions of Tanzanian migration practitioners, policy makers and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK about the influence of the migration of highly skilled workers on brain circulation	Brain drain	-Losses of human capital investment -inability to improve social services back home -extra costs of hiring foreign expertise and re-training local professionals to replace -brain waste
	Brain gain/brain circulation -migrant returnees	-imparting knowledge and skills onto other Tanzanians - new investments
	Remittances	-well-being of family members -source of foreign currency - misuse of funds/demotivate people to work hard -no formal channels for money transfer -no reliable statistics of remittances -Investments
	Diasporas	-recognition of identity -new investments -brain circulation/brain gain -raise an issue of dual citizenship
	New emerged theme (Dual citizenship)	-widen free movement of labour - more job opportunities -national security -national identity/patriotism

Source: Author's research

4:8 OBJECTIVE FOUR

The fourth objective of this study was to find and suggest ways in which the Tanzanian government can influence its highly skilled workforce to remain or return and work in Tanzania to improve national development. The participants' responses were based on their perceptions and experiences about migration. Most participants' responses (HST-7; HST-9; HST-17; HST-8; MPP-1; MPP-3; MPP-4; MPP-5; MPP-7; MPP-8; MPP-10; MPP-13) focused on policies and strategies which could help:

- to retain and utilise the skills and knowledge of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad,
- to find easy, cheap and safe ways for the transfer of remittances,
- to find ways to collect a database of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad

- to improve trust and build confidence between the government and Tanzanians living abroad

The main interview question was:

What can the government do to motivate or influence highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad to return and work in the country?

4:8:1 Skills and knowledge utilisation and return schemes

Participants' responses and their suggestions are presented below.

MPP-5 said that,

“To me we can target both. To those who want to stay abroad and those who want to return, it is their choice where to live. The important thing is to think how they can contribute to socio-economic development in our country. We need to think about three measures; first, retention; secondly, return; and third, utilisation of diasporas”.

Moreover, MPP-10 said that;

“Sometimes we don't need physical migration; the government can utilise professionals abroad via technology. Professional surgeons living abroad can diagnose, discuss and operate on patients with the cooperation of professional colleagues back home without the necessity of their physical presence. The government can also facilitate easy access to work permits, mobile pension, make agreements with insurance companies in services such as housing, pension, banking, air transport for diasporas who come home for special development activities or programmes in the country. The government should also take the initiative such as giving free air tickets and avoiding bureaucracy to encourage students studying abroad to volunteer to work back home in areas such as teaching, IT, health and others during their vacations”.

This issue was also addressed by Castles and Miller (2009) who declared that we live in the Age of Migration. Moreover, irresistible forces of demography and wage differentials between high-income and low-income countries continue to drive international migration (Pritchett, 2006 as cited in Davis & Hart, 2010). However, participants declared that the utilisation of skilled migration can happen via technology without human physical presence. This means migrants living abroad can potentially also help to improve the socio-economic conditions in Tanzania. This will in turn create pull factors and make

Tanzania a better environment for more skilled migrants to return home to offer their skills and knowledge to others as a contribution to brain circulation.

MPP-3 said that;

“We don’t benefit enough from skilled Tanzanians living abroad because they work and pay tax abroad which is lost to the contribution of the country’s development. The government should establish a system or agreement with the countries of destination where our people go; they should pay us back because we trained these people. If they can pay we can produce others to replace them. Unfortunately we don’t have such a system, so it is a disadvantage”.

The findings from participant (MPP-3) supported Bhagwati and Hamada (1974; 1982 as cited in Gupta & Tyagi, 2011) who argue that destination countries should pay back tax to origin countries where skilled human capital was produced. The payback tax should play a role of rational gain maximisation of migration while compensating for the skills loss in the country of origin. However, recent literature criticises Bhagwati’s ‘brain drain tax’ by pointing out that skilled migration is not necessarily detrimental for origin countries and also taxing the brain drain raises severe legal, administrative and practical problems (Scalera, 2012). This means a brain drain tax should not be a push factor that hinders countries of origin from maximising the benefits potentially available from their skilled people living abroad. In contrast, the permanent or temporary return migration of highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad should be encouraged in order for them to invest, both their intellectual capacities and capital, and to share ideas and experiences with people in Tanzania as a means of brain circulation.

For example MPP-5 said that;

“We should create a conducive environment for diasporas to invest significantly in our country. This will enable it to be called a pull factor in Tanzania for encouraging highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad to return home as part of a brain drain solution”.

On this matter, Lee’s theory needs to be modified to allow for the return of highly skilled Tanzanians as a means of brain circulation in order to maximise the benefits of migration in the wider context such as family, households and at national level rather than at only individual level.

4:8:2 Migration policies and database of highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad

The findings revealed that, not only are there unreliable or missing statistics of Tanzanians living abroad but also there are no policies in Tanzania that aim to manage migration. The migration practitioner MPP-4 said that;

“The problem, we don’t have migration policies in place, there is no full coordination about how these migration policies will work between government sectors which deal with migration issues such as the Immigration Department, Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation/Diaspora Desk, Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC), and the President’s Office-Management of Public Services”.

Another participant in the UK (HST-7) said that;

“The government needs to have a proper database of its skilled human capital abroad which can be captured through contact emails, Facebook, website registration, its embassies and offices abroad. We are happy that the recent population census in 2012 helped to collect data of Tanzanians living abroad from each family. The government needs to recognise the potential skills and knowledge of its people living abroad. This will help the government to give first priority to skilled Tanzanians living either within or outside the country (diasporas) for job opportunities available in the country rather than hiring expensive foreign expertise.”

The findings from participants support previous research (Shitundu, 2006; ACP, 2010) that the government needs to have a reliable database of its human capital living abroad and migration policy in order to involve them in national development plans for economic development. Migration policy and reliable statistics of Tanzanians living abroad were suggested by participants as a pull factor for the government to protect its skilled workforce and encourage return migration of highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad for brain circulation and improving national development. This would also help the government to fight nepotism and ensure that employment opportunities are given to people based on the candidates’ qualifications and competencies rather than favouritism. Otherwise, highly skilled Tanzanians will continue to migrate abroad in order to maximise their rational individual gains, while causing detrimental brain drain to the country as a whole.

4:8:3 Ways of transferring remittances

There were participants who argued for an improved policy to manage the transfer of remittances. For example, MPP-1 said that;

“We need to work on policy and law levels to regulate banks in Tanzania in order to facilitate easy, safe and cheap money transfer from abroad. This can help to collect proper records of remittances and fight against money laundering before it becomes a big issue”.

The findings support the literature that has already been addressed, the issue of records and channels of remittances and how they are transported (Castles, 2008; Grabel, 2009; Standish & Kendall, 2013; Watterson, 2013). However, the findings show that participants suggested the government should go further by considering how its people living abroad earn money for remittances rather than just encouraging them to send remittances back home. Although much literature discusses remittance’ contribution to economic development, these findings suggest that more studies should be conducted to explore the working conditions, security and safety of migrant workers and how they earn their remittances abroad.

In this context, MPP-10 said:

“I think it is important or a good idea also to think about how our people make money abroad. We need to go beyond and think about work environment, health and safety of diasporas or Tanzanians living abroad as well, rather than only facilitating migration and motivating these people to send remittances home. We cannot talk about remittances without thinking about how these remittances are collected. We must value both.”

Somavia (2006a) and Wickramasekara (2008) have already stated that gains from migration cannot be separated from protection of migrant rights. Internationally accepted labour standards such as elimination of forced and compulsory labour, equal remuneration, safety and health in the workplace, and wage and working-hours protection and others must be applied to all workers regardless of their nationality (Misra, 2007; Fahat, 2009; Becon, 2010). Easy, safe and cheaper ways of transferring remittances back home is suggested to be a pull factor which will motivate Tanzanians living abroad to send more money back home maximising its benefits at the same time as encouraging brain circulation at the macro-level and accruing individual rational gain maximisation from migration.

4:8:4 Trust and confidence between the government and diasporas

Strained relationship between the government and diasporas was identified by participant MPP-8, who said that:

“I would think the government should create a good environment of trust between two parties, the government and Tanzanians living abroad. There are Tanzanians who used to work for government, because they were not happy with work environment, pay, no recognition and other reasons, they left their jobs and ran from the country or migrated to other countries for better opportunities. Due to their action of resigning from their jobs and leaving the country, many perceive them as traitors, selfish and greedy, and show a stubborn attitude in our society. Therefore the trust between these two parties must be improved for them to work together for national development.”

The literature addresses the nature of the relationship between a country and its diasporic expatriates as being extremely important for transforming brain drain into brain circulation. As members of a group spread outside their country, they can generate flows of knowledge, investment, goods and services to and from their country of origin (Faist, 2008; Patterson, 2006; Nijkamp et al., 2011). This suggests that a positive relationship between the country of origin and its diaspora can be established, which has the potential to be a pull factor that attracts highly skilled citizens living abroad to return home and contribute to domestic economic development. This also may help to create migrants who act as rational individuals capable of maximising gain from engagement with economic projects in their country of origin.

4:8:5 Bureaucracy, nepotism and corruption

Many highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK (HST-2; HST-3; HST-4; HST-6; HST-7; HST-8; HST-9; HST-16; HST-18) expressed a wish to return home. However, bureaucracy and corruption are among factors that make their return migration difficult.

For example, HST-9 expressed frustration that returning to Tanzania was made very difficult, he suggested that:

The government should fight against bureaucracy and corruption in its sectors. For example, the government encourages diasporas to invest at home, however, it is a long process to go through to get a house permit and approval to invest.

There were many participants, both migrants and migration practitioners and policy makers who suggested a need for a growing number of programmes and policies to facilitate return migration for brain circulation in Tanzania. They suggested migration programmes and policies that focused on both permanent and temporary return of highly skilled migrants to their home country. This would help make the return of highly skilled Tanzanians more likely. It is an opportunity for the country to gain from a spill-over of skills, knowledge and technologies, which will be brought by these highly skilled returnees (Le, 2008; Davis & Hart, 2010; Makina, 2012; Harvey, 2012). Therefore, reasons such as nepotism, bureaucracy and corruption which were mentioned as push factors that contribute to persuading individuals to migrate need to be managed in order to facilitate return migration of individuals settled in the UK but wishing to return to Tanzania. Table 9 below shows the themes raised by participants that they thought could be initiatives for the Tanzanian government to influence highly skilled Tanzanians to remain in the country or return from abroad for brain circulation.

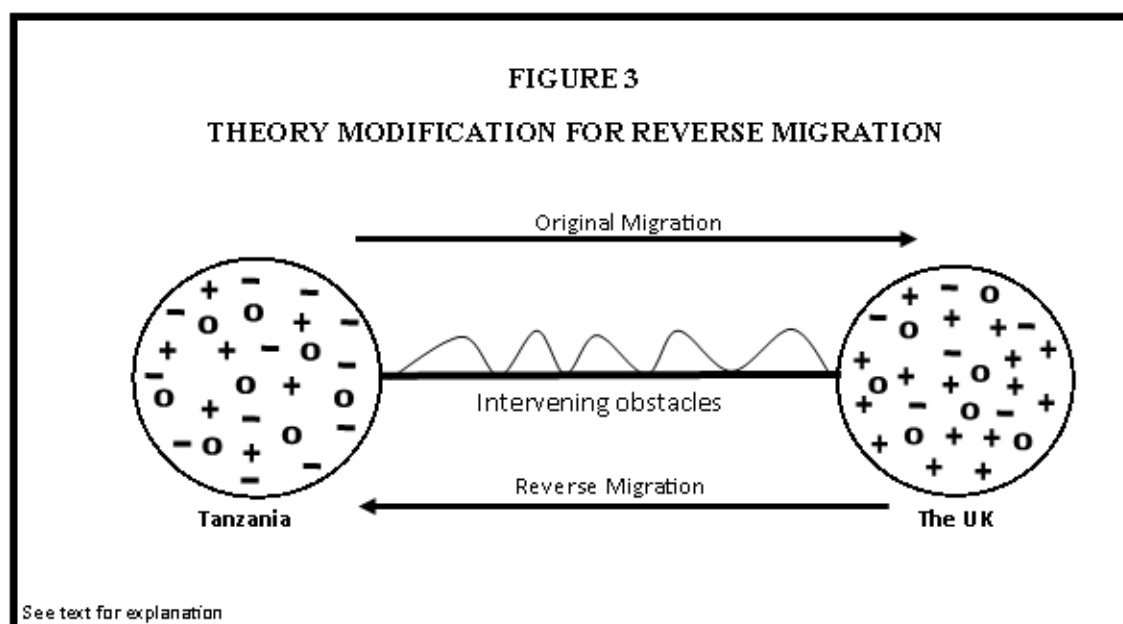
Table 9: Initiatives perceived by participants as ways that the Tanzanian government can motivate highly skilled Tanzanians to return or remain in the country

Topic	Themes	Sub-themes
Ways that the Tanzanian government can motivate highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad to return home for brain circulation	Utilisation of highly skilled Tanzanians	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Retention schemes -prepare conducive environment for investments and motivate Tanzanian diaspora to invest at home -tax payback for loss of human capital -utilising professionals' skills via technology
	Improved ways of transferring remittances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -policy and law to regulate banking in Tanzania and facilitate easy, safe and cheap money transfer from abroad -collect information on how diasporas earn their remittances (diasporas' protection, security and safety)
	Reliable databases of highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -via emails, Facebook, -website registration -national census -embassy offices abroad -dialogues
	Trust and confidence between the government and Tanzanians' diasporas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -recognition of diasporas' contributions to national development -dual citizenship -involve diasporas in national development planning -employ highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad rather than hiring foreign expatriates/avoid nepotism -dialogues -migration policies
	Facilitation of return migration of highly skilled Tanzanians (migration policies/return schemes)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -develop special programmes for skilled returnees (easy access work permits, free air tickets, insurance) -employ highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad instead of foreign expatriates -avoid bureaucracy -combat corruption -facilitate international students to offer their skills and knowledge in Tanzanian schools during their vacations -mobile pension

Source: Author's research

4.9 CONCLUSION

Figure 3: Modification of Lee's (1966) Push-pull theory



Source: Adapted by the author

In Figure 3, Lee's push-pull theory has been modified by considering how the circumstances of individuals change over time and including this into the context of this study (see figure 1); rather than seeing each migration decision as discrete, this model proposes that migration be understood within the migrants' life cycle. The modified push-pull factors (Figure 3) emphasise the importance of return migration and brain circulation in order to mitigate the brain drain that Tanzania faces. The original version of Lee's theory (Figure 1) explains an act of migration in one direction that is from an area of origin to destination without considering return migration. The theory also fails to explain the potential effects of pull factors in area of origin and push factors for the area of destination. The modified theory considers identifying potential pull factors for the area of origin as opportunities and push factors for the area of destination as weaknesses to be explored in order to motivate highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK to return home. This is due to the fact that highly skilled Tanzanians are urgently needed in the country to offer their skills and knowledge in order to contribute to domestic economic growth. For example, the emergent theme of 'exposure' declared by participants surveyed in this study had changed over time to the personal characteristics of migrants, such as new knowledge acquired from living in a developed and technological environment. In the long run, reverse migration of

highly skilled Tanzanians can change many of the push factors that exist in the origin country into pull factors as a result of brain circulation.

Moreover, the modified push-pull model assumes that the identified intervening obstacles that existed between Tanzania and the UK in the first act of migration may not necessarily be the same or play the same role in the process of reverse migration. This is due to change over time that Lee's original theory fails to consider. The zigzag line of intervening obstacles is therefore represented as being less acute than in the original migration. Corruption, nepotism and bureaucracy which were identified as push factors in Tanzania need to be managed and migration policy to be designed in order to encourage highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad to return and offer their skills and knowledge to contribute to brain circulation.

The modified push-pull factors concur with the personal factors of Lee's original theory, which explains personal differential characteristics in terms of level of education, age, gender, family/social class and other factors which can affect individuals' interaction and response to push-pull factors (Maslauskaitė & Stankuniene, 2007). Similarly, people respond differently to the sets of plus and minus factors at origin and at destination. Furthermore, motives related to personal goals or aims for migrating vary considerably between migrants of different regions (Brown & Schulze, 2008). Therefore, Lee (1966, p.5) argues that "the decision to migrate is never completely rational, and for other people the rational component is much less than the irrational". This means that a person makes a decision to migrate when there is an expectation of improving life such as better jobs, better pay, and better standards of living. However, other people decide not to migrate from their area of origin even though they have the potential to maximise their benefits from migration; this apparent irrationality is an example of personal factors particular to an individual outweighing logical assessment of relative economic benefits. Therefore, it can be assumed that the same apparent irrationality might influence the reverse migration of highly skilled migrants from the UK to Tanzania. For example, it may be difficult for migrants who have children at school to think about return migration because this is one of the reasons for them to stay on in the UK, to access a better education for their children. Therefore, reverse migration is an important process and if push factors in Tanzania such as education, employment dependent on nepotism, bureaucracy and corruption can be managed and transformed into pull factors, then reverse migration and the brain circulation that result have the potential to help fill the skills shortage gap and add advantages of new experiences and knowledge acquired by highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad in order to

contribute to national development. Highly skilled migrants may serve to stimulate trade, capital flows and technological transfer to their country of origin. The knowledge of diasporas about trade and innovation through networks, offer a potential for enhancing commerce through cultural links. Therefore, the next chapter draws a conclusion and gives recommendations for this study aimed at reducing brain drain, but also increasing return migration for brain circulation.

4:10 Summary

The chapter presented, analysed and discussed the study findings based on participants' perceptions and experiences of international migration. The participants who were involved in this research were experienced either at living abroad (such as highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK) or in practising their professional skills and knowledge as migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania.

The themes that emerged from the findings were critically discussed in relation to the previous literature from chapter two. The findings were further analysed and discussed in the context of whether they fitted with the findings reported in the literature review and the theoretical framework employed in this study in order to give them meaning. Finally, the new themes that emerged from the findings helped the researcher to identify gaps in the literature, identify areas of study for further future research and contribute new knowledge to migration study. As a conclusion to this chapter, Lee's (1966) model (see Figure 1) has been evaluated and revised in the light of the study's findings to take account not only of the migrant's reasons for migration, but also of their reasons for remaining in the country of destination or returning to their country of origin (a process known as reverse migration), In the decision to reverse migrate (or not) the migrant once again weighs up personal plus and minus factors and intervening obstacles, but crucially his or her personal characteristics will have an effect, and these will change over time as a result of life changes such as graduation, promotion, exposure to an advanced environment, marriage, children and many others. Although Lee's theory explains the migration decision based on individual perspectives by analysing cost-benefit accrued from migration, the findings reveal that some participants made the decision to migrate based on a wider context rather than at individual level. For example those highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK who have established families wished to return but they stay longer for the sake of their children to acquire a good education. Therefore, the modified model (Figure 3) represents an

illustration of an individual decision that may occur at any stage of an individual's life cycle and in the country of origin or destination.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5:1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary and draws a conclusion to this study. Based on the research objectives and questions of this study, the findings collected from participants' views, perceptions and experiences were discussed and interpreted in order to give meaning, make sense and add knowledge in the field of migration studies. Both research findings that contrast with and those that cohere to previous research or literature were identified and tested rigorously in order to draw conclusions from academic perspectives.

This chapter is divided into three sections: section one provides both theoretical and practical research contributions to knowledge (and provides the implications of the research findings to various stakeholders with an interest in migration). Section two suggests areas or topics for further research. Section three gives the recommendations of this study.

5:2 Research contributions

The main contribution of this research study is that it fills a gap in the body of knowledge on the study of international migration of highly skilled people from developing to developed countries. This study has gained its significance because it has identified important issues with respect to the topic of the international migration of highly skilled people and its influence on brain circulation in their countries of origin, in terms of how these issues apply in the context of Tanzania and the UK. Within these boundaries or contexts, the study has addressed the research questions below:

- How can Lee's (1966) theory of migration help to understand the reasons given by Tanzanian migration practitioners, policy makers, and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK that contribute to the decision to migrate?
- What are the perceptions of Tanzanian migration practitioners, policy makers, and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK about the impact of migration of highly skilled Tanzanians on brain circulation?
- What can the government of Tanzania do to influence its highly skilled people to return or remain in Tanzania and work for brain circulation?

The research questions above have been addressed, and the research contributions of this study are classified and presented in three groups in this chapter. Firstly, the theoretical contribution to both literature and theory modification in the context of this study is provided. Secondly, the possible contributions to the actions and practicalities of migration policies for different stakeholders are provided. Thirdly, methodological contributions are provided.

5:2:1 Theoretical contribution in this study

5:2:1:1 Reasons for migration -economic factors

In identifying reasons that contribute to the migration decision, Lee's theory in his push-pull factor model help to provide an understanding on how push factors drive highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate from Tanzania. On the other hand, the model indicates positive signs at the area of destination to represent factors that attract individuals to migrate; in this case highly skilled Tanzanians to the UK, where pull factors are identified to be stronger. Participants in this study identified and explained various reasons including unemployment, poor remuneration, lower living standards and lack of technological advancement as push factors that contributed to their migration decisions in Tanzania; these factors exist in the UK as pull factors. These reasons are mostly considered as economic factors because they were related to the participants' 'quality of life'. Lowell and Findlay (2001) argue that not only has the demand for skilled labour in developed countries increased, but pull factors such as better wages and employment conditions, better information, recruitment and cheaper transportation have encouraged skilled migrants to seek jobs and opportunities in developed countries. This can be confirmed by research findings from highly skilled Tanzanians who migrated to the UK and were able to secure jobs in their chosen professions, and who found that the same professions they had been doing in Tanzania were rewarded with higher wages in the UK. In this manner, they were therefore able to afford their basic needs plus extra consumption, which leads to a higher standard of living.

Other reasons such as international labour law, colonial ties, immigration policies and law and migration for education, which were identified in the literature, also emerged in the findings as reasons that contributed to migration decisions, and were also related to economic factors rather than factors of personal safety and security, because Tanzania is considered more stable politically than many other African countries. These findings fit with Lee's theory, which explains that people have a tendency to migrate from an area of origin to destination where they can improve themselves. This kind of migration is also

referred to as economic migration, which is determined by differences in economic conditions between Tanzania and the UK. Based on Lee's theoretical framework, the economic factors that contribute to the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate to the UK are characterised by the push of economic hardship in Tanzania, and the pull of economic opportunities and high standards of living in the UK. In this manner, economic factors remain a strong reason that contributes to the migration decision of highly skilled people from developing to developed countries, a finding that supports the research of Hugo (2003), Brown & Schulze (2008) and Rasool et al. (2009). The migration characteristics of highly skilled Tanzanians to the UK reflect the perpetuation of migration behaviour from the developing to developed world.

5:2:1:2 Reasons for migration – exposure to highly developed environment (emergent reason)

There are many push and pull factors that have been identified in previous studies and literature that contribute to the migration decision. This study maintains that there is an endless list of possible push and pull factors that contribute to migration decisions of highly skilled people: although Lee's theory explains that people consider their own likes and dislikes in the area of origin in order to make their migration decision, the findings show that an emergent reason, 'exposure to a highly developed environment', which can be explained in terms of living in and experiencing the developed world and learning new ways of doing things, appeared as an additional pull-push factor that contributed to the migration decision of the migrants surveyed. This identifies a gap in the literature and contributes to knowledge on migration studies. This reason is an addition to the list of push factors, and it has not been mentioned anywhere in the literature unless different terms have been used. Although the concept of exposure as a push factor applies in Tanzania, it possibly also applies in other developing countries because the migration decision is not only influenced by personal factors but also other factors such as level of economy, demographic, environmental, and political characteristics. It is likely that more factors will continue to be identified depending on the personal characteristics of migrants of certain groups within a society or environment or at certain periods of time.

5:2:1:3 Strength of Lee's (1966) push-pull factor theory in this study

In an effort to understand the complexity of international migration, scholars have endeavoured to provide general explanations for migration and this has given rise to a

variety of models, analytical and conceptual frameworks within this field (Massey et al., 1993; 1998). Moreover, Massey et al., (1993, 1998), De Haas (2008) and Tynaliev and MacLean (2011) point out that no single coherent theory of international migration has emerged, but rather a fragmented set of theories have developed, largely in isolation from each other. However, these isolated theories of migration are significant in terms of providing explanations for movements of population within their wider political, geographical and economic contexts. The push-pull factor model is one of the isolated theoretical frameworks that help to explain migration characteristics at a micro level. Individual migration models, analytical and conceptual frameworks can be regarded as restrictive in explaining and understanding the implications of social culture in the movement of people, but it provides a deep understanding and insight into migration behaviour of a particular population, in specific contexts and at a certain period of time.

Lee's theory in this study is very useful and appropriate in exploring perceived reasons that contribute to migration decisions of individuals and as a foundation for further actions. The push-pull factor model allows for a focus on the individual perspectives of participants involved in data collection in order to facilitate a deep understanding of the migration behaviour of highly skilled Tanzanians. However, it is difficult to generalise about the reasons for migration decisions identified by participants as push and pull factors to other groups of population or other countries because migrants' characteristics differ in terms of education, age, gender, social class and other factors (environmental, political, level of economy) which affect an individual's ability to respond to push and pull factors as well as to overcome intervening obstacles.

5:2:1:4 Weakness of Lee's (1966) push-pull factor theory in this study

Shortcomings of this model are accepted with regard to studying the influence of migration on brain circulation at a macro level. Lee's theory is a framework of push-pull factors on an individual level. Castles and Miller (1998) argue that migratory movement is generally as a result of macro structures such as the political economy of the world market, interstate relationships and laws, interacting with micro structures such as beliefs and networks (personal factors) which affect the individual migration decision. For this reason, it is recommended that other theories of migration (e.g. World Systems Theory, Dual Labour Market Theory, Macro-Theory of Neoclassical Economics, and New Economics of Labour Migration) be incorporated in the study of individual migration decisions because a person

reaches a decision to migrate when many factors, both macro and micro, have been incorporated and assimilated. For example, Lee's theory has been criticised as being rationalist for focusing only on individual choice based on economic advantages, while, the individual migration decisions of many people from areas of low income such as developing countries are influenced by a wider social context, such as family or household, as the most appropriate decision making unit (Brettell & Hollifield, 2008). Similarly, the study findings show that some participants claimed that it was difficult for them to make a decision to return to Tanzania because of migration advantages accrued for their children in terms of getting a better education in the UK, even though they personally wished to return home.

Moreover, this study noted that identifying push factors that exist in the area of origin (Tanzania) is a significant process to highlight problems that contribute to the migration decision. Lee's push-pull model indicates factors that some people might consider to be positive while others might consider negative, depending on the personal factors at play in reaching a decision of whether to migrate or to stay. However, the theory fails to consider in any detail the potential effects of pull factors at the area of origin and push factors at the area of destination. Similarly, much previous literature intensively discusses pull factors at the area of destination and push factors at the area of origin as contributing to migration decisions, whether an act of migration is voluntarily or not voluntarily (Lee, 1966; Massey et al., 1993; Skeldon, 1997; Brown and Schulze, 2008; Shah, 2011; Rasool et al., 2012), but do not discuss the opposite of these factors. In attempting to retain highly skilled people, developing countries should perhaps consider increasing the effect of existing pull factors at the area of origin rather than making intervening obstacles higher; at the same time, in seeking to attract migrants back home, they should be looking to exploit push factors at the area of destination and working to reduce the intervening obstacles to reverse migration. Therefore, Lee's theory needs modification or development in order to facilitate reverse migration.

5:2:1:5 Modification of Lee's (1966) push-pull factor theory in this study

In light of the preoccupation of previous literature on push and pull factors, this study explored a weakness in Lee's theory which needs modification, because the theory normally explains an act of migration in one direction. The theory assumes that a person migrates from an area of origin to an area of destination by calculating the power of push

factors at the area of origin and pull factors at the area of destination, including intervening obstacles and personal characteristics, without considering the notion of reverse migration. The push-pull model explains push factors that tend to drive a person from their area of origin or pull factors that attract that person to the area of destination with the expectation of maximising rational gains. However, Lee's theory does not explain reverse migration within his push-pull model: a decision on reverse migration may be taken when a person's expectations of maximising advantage through a migration decision have not been achieved at the area of destination or other personal circumstances have changed. For example, the findings show that there were highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK who had acquired a good education in the UK and had become professionals but do not practise their knowledge and skills at the level they expected. There were also participants who had acquired experiences, skills and knowledge in the UK who wished to return and practice their skills and knowledge in Tanzania. However, they now had to balance a new set of pull factors at their area of origin (Tanzania) and push factors at their area of destination (UK) and consider a new set of intervening obstacles between them and reverse migration. For example, lack of employment opportunities in Tanzania is considered a push factor that contributes to the migration decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to the UK. As a result, there was a strong feeling that the educational qualifications and competencies of job applicants should be considered when filling professional posts in Tanzania, rather than relying on nepotism. Meanwhile, migration policy also needs to facilitate the return migration of highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad, in order to achieve brain circulation that can benefit the country.

Lee's (1966) current theoretical framework cannot help to explain the decision making process behind reverse migration from the UK back to Tanzania unless reasons identified as push factors in the country of origin are changed for the better. However, in order to change push factors in Tanzania into pull factors, highly skilled Tanzanians first need to offer their skills and knowledge to improve the domestic economy. Although migration policies and law should be designed to reduce intervening obstacles for return migration or change migration directions (reverse migration), other factors such as levels of bureaucracy, nepotism and corruption, which were identified as push factors in Tanzania need to be further highlighted and addressed.

Moreover, the study of pull factors in the area of origin will help to identify strengths and opportunities to encourage the highly skilled to return and those at home to remain; and identifying push factors in the destination area will help to highlight the threats and

weaknesses that could encourage reverse migration. This study provides recommendations which reflect the contextual characteristics of this study at the time it was conducted in order to propose ways that push factors in the area of origin can be changed to motivate highly skilled Tanzanians to undertake reverse migration. In doing this, a modification of Lee's theory is developed that illustrates reverse migration and represents a contribution to knowledge. However, an effect of this modified push-pull factor model is that change over time needs to be considered when assessing individual circumstances, as the forces (political, economic, technological, personal) acting as both push and pull factors will change for an individual as he/she moves through his/her life cycle.

5:2:1:6 Factors identified in this study that clarify Lee's theory

The study findings show that an act of migration is not necessarily driven by push factors in the area of origin. For example, the findings show that colonial ties between Tanzania and the UK as a historical background is an intervening obstacle only when it comes to a decision of where to go, not whether to go. Moreover, this is not a push factor in Tanzania that contributes to highly skilled Tanzanians wanting to migrate, though it has an influence on the migration decision. These findings clarify Lee's model which explains that in order for a person to migrate, push factors at the area of origin drive a person to migrate to the area of destination, where he/she is attracted by pull factors. Personal life and characteristics change over time due to change of economic and personal development. Therefore, migration decision may continue to change over time.

5:2:1:7 Factors identified in this study that fit with Lee's theory

There were some findings of this study that support Lee's theory (1966, p. 50) that *"knowledge of the area of destination is seldom exact, and indeed some of the advantages and disadvantages of an area can only be perceived by living there"*. Some highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK declared that reasons such as better education and health care acted as pull factors for remaining in the UK that were identified only after living in the country and which attracted them to remain longer and work in the UK for the sake of their children. Although the first migration decision was based on other factors that were expected to accrue benefits at their individual levels, the high levels of better education and health care that migrants could secure for their children became pull factors to remain in the UK after the migrants had established families.

5:2:1:8 The influence of the emigration of highly skilled Tanzanians on brain circulation

The findings suggest that the impact of the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians on brain circulation at a macro level is significant, and many participants surveyed in this study perceived it to be a negative impact, with the loss in the form of brain drain outweighing benefits in the form of remittances, investments and brain circulation/brain gain. The highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK can therefore be explained as part of a brain drain. Their long period of stay in the UK means they spend much of their productive age, skills and knowledge contributing to economic growth in a foreign country rather than their own before retirement age. Moreover, the migrants living abroad left behind a shortage of highly skilled labour which led to the government spending more tax payers' money hiring foreign expatriates and re-training remaining workers in new skills. Although there is a body of new literature (e.g. Mountford, 1997; Stark & Wang, 2002; Fan & Stark, 2007; Castles & Millers, 2009; Gupta & Tyagi, 2011; Scarela, 2012) that claims a positive contribution for the migration of highly skilled individuals in the form of experienced returnees, brain exchange, diasporas and remittances on brain circulation of origin countries, it is clear that not all origin countries have been equally able to take advantage of the potential benefits of their highly skilled migrants. The findings of this study show that the impact of remittances, brain exchanges, and diasporas in Tanzania help a little to improve standards of living at the individual/family level but not in the sense of a transformational change that is required for the country in terms of national development. The findings show that the contribution of highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad to brain circulation through investments, remittances and knowledge exchange at the macro-level is not well known or understood due to a lack of statistics, and the conclusions of this study are therefore based on well-informed perceptions. The findings support Docquier and Rapoport (2008) who argue that until now there has been no empirical data (harmonised international data) on the impact of the migration of highly skilled people in the country of origin in terms of whether they contribute successfully to brain circulation, therefore debate remains exclusively theoretical. Although China and India are identified as good examples of countries where emigration leads to brain exchange there is still little in the literature on other examples (Saxenian, 2005).

5:2:2 Practical and methodological contributions to knowledge

There are many quantitative research studies on the impact of the migration of highly skilled people on economic development (e.g. Findley, 1977; De Jong, 2000; Tsegai, 2007). However, this is a qualitative study that aimed to explore reasons that contribute to

the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate to the UK and its perceived impact on brain circulation. The participants' experiences, views and perceptions offered new insights and understanding, including rich information about international migration within the study context (between Tanzania and the UK), which has not been undertaken before. Moreover, this study supports the argument that qualitative research increases the probabilities of developing new empirical ideas and theories that are significant and interesting to practitioners (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000). Looking at the participants' profile in this study, highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK provided valuable data through their experiences of living and working abroad, while the migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania drew upon their professional skills working in organisations related to migration issues relevant to the topic under research. Therefore, both groups of participants had experiences that were ideal for being involved in the research topic under investigation in order to contribute to knowledge, and the combination of the perceptions they had gained through their experience made for a more comprehensive consideration of the research questions.

Migration issues currently have become of great concern in many countries in everyday life. It has become a widely discussed issue and many people have a view on its merits; even politicians in many developed countries know that there are votes to be gained or lost from migration issues (Sriskandarajah, 2005; Postelnicu, 2012). Moreover, Foldvari, Van Leeuwen and Van Zanden (2013, p. 2) claim that migration is a 'hot' topic. On the other hand, in this study the findings show that there is a knowledge gap regarding migration in connection with development issues in Tanzania. There are issues concerning migration which are not adequately addressed and involved in national development planning. This is evident in the unavailability of information on migration policies and lack of statistics on Tanzanians living abroad, specifically highly skilled Tanzanians, who are among the crucial resources for social and national development. While the massive flow of intellectual human capital directed to the most developed countries is facilitated by selective immigration policies (Mahroum, 1999; Lowell & Findlay, 2001; Boswell & Gedded, 2010), developing countries such as Tanzania have not yet taken any action to retain their intellectual human resources in order to contribute to brain circulation. Although some participants (migration practitioners, policy makers and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK) declared that no one can stop migration, the findings of this study help provide awareness about the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad and its impact on brain circulation which will help in the conduct of further research designed at establishing migration policies. This is qualitative research; its findings are based on the

level of individual perceptions, therefore policy makers will require further research to be conducted at the aggregate level, where national migration policy recommendations can be proposed.

Nevertheless, the researcher still has an opportunity to publish papers which can highlight further the implications for formulation of migration policies based on the migration decisions considered. Moreover, such participation in migration forums as a researcher and migration practitioner in Tanzania also provides an opportunity to highlight the study's findings as a contribution to knowledge and to the formation of migration policies. Migration policies in Tanzania are currently not in place and need further effort to integrate migration and development at a national level. This study helps to provide the public and the government with an awareness of the impact of international migration on remittances, investments, and knowledge exchange for brain circulation. The study identifies reasons that contribute to the migration decision and its impact on brain circulation as a milestone for future actions.

5:3 Recommendations for future research

Several issues emerged from this study that have introduced new aspects to the study of migration. For example, the issue of dual citizenship emerged from the study findings. This issue appears to have an impact or effect on international migration. Although this finding adds contribution to knowledge in this study, further research into the importance of dual citizenship and the extent or significance of its impact on the international migration of highly skilled people is recommended.

The qualitative nature of this study has provided detailed information on the factors affecting migration decisions at an individual level. Crucially, it has appointed issues not normally considered in policy discussions and development, while the research design as well as the size and scope of the sample make generalisation difficult, meaning that policy decisions affecting a whole country need more data. Therefore, a migration study on a wide-scale, targeting highly-skilled Tanzanian migrants to a range of developed countries around the world is recommended for further future study, based on participants ranking their perceptions of the importance of the push and pull factors identified in this study. This would provide migration practitioners, policy makers and other stakeholders with valuable information in terms of prioritising their actions designed to retain workers, and attract migrants to return for brain circulation.

5:4 Recommendations of this study

Migration policies alone cannot create the necessary conditions for brain circulation. While acknowledging that this study's data are qualitative in nature and obtained from a small sample size, based on the findings from participants involved and previous research, this study therefore offers long and short term recommendations which can be of use to various stakeholders within the migration field, as follows:

5:4:1 Managing brain drain

Emigration of highly skilled Tanzanians has negative impacts on brain circulation in Tanzania as a large number of educated and talented workers, who are a crucial resource in terms of productivity and who can make changes to raise performance and increase economic growth, emigrate to the UK (see section 4:7:1). The country has lost many highly skilled Tanzanians who went to the UK for further studies and who decided to stay and work after their graduation. Gaps in the statistical record means that the number of return migrants cannot be identified; however, these return migrants would be expected to bring back skills, knowledge and experiences acquired in other countries and impart them to others thus boosting productivity and escalating brain circulation. China and India are examples of countries identified in the literature as beneficiaries of brain circulation (Saxenian, 2005) and this illustrates how their expatriates who have studied abroad transferred their knowledge or technology back to their countries, which increases productivity and economic growth.

Therefore, this study recommends the following:

- **Designing coherent migration policy, retention schemes and improving working conditions or environment**

The government needs to design coherent migration policies, retention schemes and improve working conditions and the environment for key skilled professionals in the country (section 4.7.3 MPP-8; section 4.7.5 MPP-8, 4.8.1 MPP-10; MPP-5 and section 4.8.2 HST-7; MPP-4). Retention schemes based on issues such as good pay, pension, skills utilisation, recognition and working conditions as identified by participants in this study, will encourage highly skilled Tanzanians to remain in the country. Migration policies such as clearly defined access to employment and investment opportunities for Tanzanian expatriates in order to utilise their skills and knowledge in the country, can help facilitate and attract highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad to return. This will also help reduce bureaucracy, nepotism and the risk of corruption which have been identified by participants in this study as push

factors that contribute to the migration decision. Furthermore, such measures will help to promote transparency in the labour market and prevent disreputable recruitment practices such as nepotism in order to create a conducive environment for highly skilled Tanzanians to find employment and make contributions to brain circulation in the country (section 4.5.1.1 HST-7; MPP-2 and section 4.8.5, HST-9).

- **Stimulating education and health sectors in the country**

There is also a need for the government to stimulate innovation in sectors vulnerable to the loss of highly skilled workers to emigration such as education and healthcare, through focused development and assistance using international support to establish centres of excellence for education and health, education reforms, increased spending on education facilities, teaching materials and scholarships (section 4.5.7 MPP-2, MPP-5, section 4.6.1 HST-9, section 4.7.1 HST-2; MPP-5; MPP-6). This can both help to retain highly skilled young professionals and attract the return of highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad, such as those who stay longer in the UK for the advantages of better education of their children (section 4.6.4 HST-9). Centres of excellence for education and healthcare will both improve social services for people and create job vacancies to motivate return migrants to impart their knowledge and skills acquired abroad onto others as a means of brain circulation (section 4.7.1 HST-7).

- **Collecting accurate data on the scale of migration**

Tanzania has no reliable database on highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad (Shitundu, 2006; ACP, 2010). The government needs to create a reliable database of highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad (section 4.8.2 HST-7). The data could be collected via national census, embassy offices abroad, dialogues and online network approaches through channels such as email, social media and website registration as suggested by participants. The detailed data on the skills and knowledge of Tanzanian migrants living abroad could be used to inform immigration policy and overcome the need to hire expatriates for highly-skilled positions. Such policies could encourage return migration for brain circulation in the country.

5:4:2 Promoting diasporas' involvement in development activities

- *Extend rights of highly skilled Tanzanians on external citizenship*

The issue of dual citizenship is identified by highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK as an obstacle for them to explore further opportunities in fully exercising their professionalism abroad. This is because the citizenship law in Tanzania does not recognise dual citizenship while some professions abroad are required to be exercised by only citizens of that country. Therefore, there is a need for the government to extend its emigrants' rights on external citizenship in order to cultivate positive diaspora attachment by restoring or allowing dual citizenship with or without conditions (Section 4.7.6 HST-4; HST-7; HST-17; HST-18 and MPP-5). This would also encourage highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad to make significant contributions through establishing businesses and investments, in their country of origin or by imparting skills and making charitable donations to Tanzania.

- **Promoting investments, business and entrepreneurship activities**

Many highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad wish to return home, however, they are concerned because of limited employment opportunities. Based on these findings (Section 4.7.5 HST-4 and 4.8.5 HST-9 and 4.8.1 MPP-5), the government is recommended to create an enabling environment such as limiting bureaucracy, combating nepotism and the risk of corruption, maintaining infrastructure and expanding expatriates' access to information about opportunities in Tanzania in order to encourage highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad to invest back home and share skills, technology and experiences by doing business with firms in their country of origin.

- **Promoting return schemes**

The government should find a way to promote opportunities for highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad to impart skills, knowledge and experiences back home. In doing this, the government needs to work with other institutions such as international aid organisations and civil society groups to facilitate return migration for those who wish to return, encouraging both temporary visits and the permanent return of skilled citizens, and developing special projects such as volunteering opportunities for skilled returnees (Section 4.8.2 MPP-5). The Tanzanian students studying abroad could also be encouraged to offer their skills and knowledge in Tanzanian schools and colleges during their vacations and return after completing their studies. Therefore, in order to achieve facilitation of return migration, facilities such as easy access work permits, free air tickets,

insurance, staff exchange, and potable pensions could be considered (Section 4.7.5 MPP-11).

5:4:3 Encouraging remittances

The study shows that misuse of funds and loss of motivation to work hard from those who receive remittances are identified by participants as some of the negative impacts of migration on brain circulation (Section 4.7.4 HST-11; MPP-1; MPP-3). Moreover, there are no reliable statistics of remittances collected in the country which would give an indication of the benefits accrued from remittances (Section 4.7.4 MPP10). The government therefore is recommended to improve technologies and infrastructure to allow for easy transferring and receiving of remittances such as credit unions, microfinance institutions, post offices, and mobile phone networks in order to improve services, reduce costs and avoid money laundering (Section 4.7.4 HST-12). These formal channels of transferring funds will help increase foreign money in the country as a source of income, improve the well-being of many family members of emigrants and make it easy to collect reliable remittance data. Moreover, the government should consider sensitisation of initiatives to encourage those who receive remittance funds to invest in developmental projects.

5:5 Summary

International migration of highly skilled people from the developing to developed world has become a serious challenge to many African countries, including Tanzania. The use of qualitative methods in this study provided an exploration of individuals' experiences and perceptions of migration. The methods provided helpful evidence that contributes to knowledge about the way people make migration decisions. The findings of this study, such as exposure by living in a developed environment and learning new ways of doing things, issue of dual citizenship in Tanzania, and migration decision of some highly skilled Tanzanians centred in a wider context rather than at the individual level as Lee's theory claimed are new discoveries that contribute to knowledge in this area. Following these discoveries, Lee's theory of migration was modified to take account of reverse migration, while migration policy and other ways to manage brain drain such as bureaucracy, nepotism and corruption were recommended as a contribution to brain circulation.

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Appendix 1 - A sample of interview questions for highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK

Interview questions	Topic for discussion
Could you please introduce yourself?	History of participant
How long have you been living and working in the UK?	Work and life experience
Did you work in Tanzania before you came to the UK? If yes, could you please tell me your work experience you had in Tanzania compared to the work experience from the UK?	Perceptions of work experiences between Tanzania and the UK
What are the reasons that led you to choose the UK as a country of your destination?	Exploring reasons that contribute to the decision to migrate to the UK (push and pull factors)
How do you differentiate between economic reward/salary and living expenses in the UK and TZ respectively?	Remittances, life standard, saving
What would you think if you were to be offered a better job in TZ?	Feeling/perceptions
How do you feel living and working in the UK? Does your job utilize your skills and knowledge?	Interpretation of migration
How do you explain your achievement working in the UK and your contribution to Tanzanian economic development?	Impact of international migration on brain circulation (remittances, skills, knowledge sharing)
Do you think you have met your expectations for migrating to the UK? Or do you think you are going to achieve your expectation?	Migrants' expectations and reality/results
Could you please tell me what are the challenges or difficulties you experience/face working in the UK?	Intervening obstacles
Do you have any plan in the future to return to Tanzania permanently? When do you expect to do so?	Understanding of return migration
In your opinion, what do you think the Tanzanian government could do to improve and motivate professional Tanzanians living abroad to go back home or utilize their professionalism for domestic economic development?	Participants' recommendations, opinions, views, suggestions
What do you understand about the impacts on domestic economy development caused by migration of highly skilled Tanzanians (both positive and negative)?	Perceptions of the impact of international migration on brain circulation in Tanzania
Would you like to suggest or add anything that you think can be helpfully discussed in this study?	Views, opinions, suggestions for further studies

Appendix 2 - A sample of the consent letter for highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK for conducting interviews

Dear Participant:

You, as an important highly skilled person living and working abroad are invited to participate in a research study entitled: An investigation into reasons that contribute to highly skilled Tanzanians migrating to the UK. The purpose of this study is to explore reasons that contribute to the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate abroad, highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK is an example. The research study will also suggest ways that the government of Tanzania can motivate and utilize highly skilled Tanzanians to work in the country for domestic economic development.

This study has been approved by the University of Gloucestershire's Postgraduate Research Centre (PRC). A face to face semi-structured interview has been designed to ask you a few questions regarding the above stipulated topic. Your knowledge, skills, experiences and opinions could be potentially beneficial for suggesting possible ways to motivate highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad to return and work for domestic economic development in Tanzania. The interview will take approximately 60 to 120 minutes to complete.

There are no identified risks from participating or providing statements in this study. Participant's anonymity and confidentiality are highly considered; no name of participants involved will be mentioned in this study or shared with anyone. Any information provided by the participant is purely for academic purposes. Moreover, participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may refuse to participate without consequence.

Thank you for your consideration. Your participation is highly appreciated.

[Your signature below indicates that you have read the above information and agree to participate in this research study].

Printed Name

Signature Date

Anna Peter Makakala

S0207629@connect.glos.ac.uk

Doctoral student of Business Administration

The University of Gloucestershire, England, the UK

Appendix 3 - A sample of emails looking for interview appointments with highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK

On Aug 12, 2012, at 10:26 PM, anna makakala <makakala@yahoo.com> wrote:

Dear Sir,

My name is Anna Makakala, I am a student of Doctorate of Business Studies at the University of Gloucestershire, in the UK. Currently, I am doing a research on international labour migration. The main purpose of my research is to explore reasons that contribute to the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate abroad; and also suggest possible ways that the government can utilize its highly skilled manpower. Highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK is an example.

As you are a highly skilled and professional Tanzanian living in the UK, you are requested to join a face to face interview to provide your experience, views and expertise regarding migration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad. Your contribution in my research is highly appreciated and will remain solely for academic purposes. No names of any participants will appear in my research work.

Could you please give an appointment at your convenient time where we can meet to talk about the topic mentioned above? Our interview will be a kind of conversation which will take approximately one hour between September and October 2012. We are all free to use English or kiswahili or both. I would also appreciate if you would help to identify other highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK who would voluntarily like to participate in a face to face interview in my research. Tanzanian participants should have a first university degree from the UK for participation. Thank you very much and looking forward to meeting you soon

Anna

[Reply](#), [Reply All](#) or [Forward](#) | [More](#)

From: ".....@hotmail.com"
To: anna makakala <makakala@yahoo.com>
Sent: Thursday, August 23, 2012 10:12 AM
Subject: Re: Appointment for research

Thank you Anna for your email. I would be happy to participate in your research when time comes. Please email me to remind when time approaching to interviews for arrangement. I have some few Tanzanians I know from London hopefully they can be of help too. I will send their contacts after I have talked to them. Wish you the best with your research study and look forward seeing you soon.

Regards.....

Appendix 4 - Sample of emails for appreciation after interviews conducted with highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK

From: anna makakala <makakala@yahoo.com>

To: "....@yahoo.co.uk"

Sent: Sunday, 14 October 2012, 14:10

Subject: Research

Dear,

Thank you so much for your time and commitment on attending my interview session.

Your contribution is very invaluable in my research achievement. Be blessed and wish you the best on your research.

Thank you

Anna

[Reply](#), [Reply All](#) or [Forward](#) | [More](#)

Appendix 5 - Sample of interview transcripts from highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK

Interview transcript from participant (HST-1) (1st Oct 2012) London

Interviewer: My name is Anna Makakala, I am a PhD student at the University of Gloucestershire. I am doing research on international human migration, and in my research I want to find out reasons that contribute to the decision of many highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate to the UK. The kind of questions in this interview will be like a conversation, I invite you into the interview session.

Participant: Thank you, thank you very much.

Interviewer: Could you please introduce yourself and tell me when you came to the UK?

Participant: My name is ... I came to the UK in 2005, I am an electrical engineer by profession, I graduated from the university of Dar as salaam in 1993.

Interviewer: Did you work in Tanzania before you came to work in the UK?

Participant: Yes, I have work experience from Tanzania.

Interviewer: Could you please tell me how your work experience in Tanzania compares to the work experience you have here in the UK?

Participant: I was working in the Ministry of Work as an electrical engineer for almost 3 years before I went to Botswana where I worked for almost 8 years, and then I came to the United Kingdom in 2005. Experience of course in any country you work there are some situations which differ from the other.. .. although the basic principle remains the same because every project you undertake depends on magnitude, in terms of how much in terms of value in the size of the project, so in the law which will determine the extent of the standard requirements, for example in Tanzania, we have British standard, of course in every day ...to implement the designed system. But when you come into the United Kingdom, they have not only minimum standards but also legislations as a basic requirement, and those legislations may meet European standards which are corporate with the environment that also make it a new experience. So you have technical expertise may be from Africa or

Tanzania but when you come here, you don't only need technical expertise, you need other requirements

Interviewer: So what do you think about the utilization of professionalism working in the UK?

Participant: In Tanzania when you set a project sometimes we don't have immediate funds to implement the project. We design today but we cannot implement immediately but in the UK when a project is designed, the timeframe is usually kept and time table is followed.

Interviewer: Can you please tell me the main reasons that made you migrate from Tanzania and come to work in the UK?

Participant: I graduated in Tanzania so my travel was to seek for greener pastures I did not know what I will face technically but I knew if I will work abroad they pay more money and my living standard will be different there, that was my fundamental motive. I also expected to get more experiences and exposure living and working in developed country where I can learn new things in life both technologies and culture.

Interviewer: How do you explain good pay in the UK and living costs compared to Tanzania?

Participant: My expectation of good pay was there even if living costs is higher than Tanzania, but as individual my life here is better than home.

Interviewer: According to your experience working in Tanzania and now working in the UK, do you have any challenges you face?

Participant: Yah! Always there are some challenges, in the place where you are not born. For example in here when you come for job interview, actually you are interviewed by directors who are vision bearers of the organization, when they make a decision to recruit you other than recruiting nationals or citizens, they have been able to determine the quality of individual to form part of their vision. However, you don't work with these directors. You work with colleagues who are your level, now they want to see you, you can deliver from day one in their own standard which you have never worked with them before, because every organization has got its own standard of deliverable. Sometimes the challenges are to test you how much you know when you

work as a team. It is like every day I go to work to prove a point about how much I know, for employers and colleagues, I need to show competence beyond their capabilities. They also create trouble in the interrelationships, but, in terms of competency it is always no question. Secondly issue of requirement of legislations, the issue of legislations which is required by the law, it is very paramount in the United Kingdom while in Africa or Tanzania the law which addresses some issues such as issues of safety, environmental issues are not part of designed itself, unless someone has got safety attitude in-built in him, but here it is a requirement by everyone tested for his implementation whether that is a key chart you know, matter of relationships with colleagues, matters to accept you when you work as a team... sometimes you don't get exactly what you anticipate.

Interviewer: So! How do you feel living and working in the UK?

Participant: Ah! I think what you achieve matters, if I can put a comparative, if I were in Tanzania working, how much they could pay me, these are what cons and pros. When you are here how much you get; pros and cons, as a social life you also have to trade the opportunity costs and the opportunity cost now are to extend beyond yourself because it reaches to family members. I have children, and there is an opportunity for them, a cost example in here, a primary school up to A' level I don't pay any school fees except the tax I pay from my salary, so when I compare here and Tanzania, I feel blessed to work here.

Interviewer: How do you explain yours achievement as a highly skilled Tanzanian working in the UK, and contributions you have made on Tanzanian economic development?

Participant: In the meantime, the direct impact is to send money to relatives to help their issues but it depends on how much money is sent and spent that is called remittance for example, the construction of your own better house, these are examples of small contributions but those are tangibles. You know a tangible, but there are also intangibles for example, ah I work here, if I were not here, I would have occupied an opportunity job for somebody else.... That is job opportunity, by leaving Tanzania I have created a job opportunity to other Tanzanians, for me by working here, and I have taken a job opportunity here, somebody lost a job here, those are things which need

to be put together in aah! In an analysis of economic contribution, however, you cannot quantify if you are to pick each position.

Interviewer: There is..., Ok! Previous researchers argue that migrants living and working in developed countries send back home remittances which are more valuable than international aid, what do you think about it? Are remittances more valuable than the skills you could use or utilize in Tanzania?

Participant: I think we have got two matters there, one is..! you treat yourself as a commodity, as a coffee exported to the UK, and there is a return which you send home now. As I mentioned earlier on, for me to work here, I also created a job opportunity for somebody else in Tanzania, it is not only money that I have sent from here, but also I created a job opportunity..... you are the commodity and some countries like Philippines they make such a policy as if they encourage sending people abroad for the purpose of sending money back home. It should be a policy to encourage young individual graduates to work abroad where they can get exposure and more work experience that will help to change the way we do things for improvement.

Interviewer: Have you achieved your expectations to come here and work or if you think not, are you looking forward to achieving your expectations, in the UK?

Participant: I think I have achieved as an individual, because I ... the word 'I' is a personal is not across the board As I said earlier, I didn't come here as a student ...I came here as a graduate, as a skilled worker, as a working visa holder, so straightaway I was in the economy, straightaway I was working in the industry I have been studied to do, so my experience to do what I was expecting was immediately felt, so I was able to stay here and also to bring my family to join me.

Interviewer: What do you think about the impact of highly skilled Tanzanians migrating to the UK on the domestic economic development?

Participants: Which economy or this economy??

Interviewer: No! The impact on the economy in Tanzania caused by emigration of highly skilled Tanzanians.

Participant: OK!

Interviewer: There are positive and negative impacts, what are they?

Participant: I agree with all notions, which comes to loose and to gain, so together, when you talk as a nation then it becomes complicated but when you talk as an individual then you analyse what is gain,, but let me say a bit more. A nation develops when individuals develop... and if me and my family work hard to develop, then each family work the same way to develop, at the end of the day it is a nation develops, so whether we live in our country or we work abroad, actually we develop the same country, although it is not direct, As the people's life. It is always advantages...

Interviewer: What do you think of the idea or notion of highly skilled people living abroad? Many academic writers say the amount of remittances is higher than that of international aid... however, these people living abroad have been sending these remittances back home for years and years, yet there is no change in economic development. What do you say about remittances as a contribution to economic development in Tanzania..?

Participant: The remittances provide foreign money, unless you sell a commodity abroad to get foreign currency, and these are the revenue the country receives or money that is received indirect instead of selling coffee. I think remittances contribute to the economy, the only thing is that you can disqualify that if the money, in terms of quantity/ how much has been sent home is small. If you go beyond that the little money/remittances they send from here, actually it is a portion of their salary that they share or save.

Interviewer: Other people have a tendency to rate economic reason as the main reason for highly skilled people to migrate from developing to developed countries, if I ask you this question how do you think, how would you rate reasons for highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate, as a highly skilled Tanzanian living abroad?. What is the main reason that made you migrate to the UK?

Participant: I said earlier, the greener the pasture, the other things are secondary. Because if you find you are able to do big project... you don't know what you going to face, but when you find you are able to face that, challenges which are not common challenges you face in Tanzania, it becomes an advantage to you, the skills you acquire by exposure of working in a different environment, different standard with strict adherences to the principles and legislations, it

changes the ways you do things, and once it changes you, I appreciate working abroad I real appreciate...

Interviewer: Do you have any opinions or suggestions to the government of Tanzania on how it can motivate its highly skilled people living abroad to return and work in Tanzania for economic development?

Participants: I think there are two ways: first; the notion to think that highly skilled Tanzanians will stay permanently or will come back to Tanzanian one day should not be the primary consideration, because once you leave Tanzania and go to live abroad with your family or with your children there, this means, they start a new way of life and getting education. Mostly, if you are a family man, the family becomes a dictator of what you can do next , and if it is about education now you don't look more about your career anymore, then you look about how your education of your children if they leave the country which they have been there may be for 10 or 14 years, and then you go back to the country where you were born, how much they going to be affected, how it could be positive to them, so this changes all the dynamics of decisions.

Other ways these people could be used to offer their professionalism in Tanzania for example, request from lawyers or sabbatical leave, skilled migrants living abroad can offer their skills and knowledge for a certain period working in Tanzania. This mode would make it possible to help to utilize skilled migrants abroad without conflict. Otherwise, if you want them permanently to return back home and they have been here for twenty years, I don't think they will get a place there to fit in. Now they are already being a foreigner on their own land, on their own country, they need to know that, they have lost all the contacts. their peers assume Tanzanians living abroad will be able to come with everything from abroad; while Tanzanians living abroad feel those labour markets they left many years ago, their colleagues now may become top members of organizations in the administration...they will feel that inferiority complex to return after they have been working abroadThat is my way, I could advise the government first to identify skills and knowledge, and second give them short contract.

Interviewer: Do you have a plan to return home permanently in the near future?

Participant: Yes, definitely. But I must make sure I have prepared good environment for me to go back home with my family. The important thing at the moment I would like to see my kids have completed their education here before we return. Thereafter, whether my kids will choose to return or to stay here, it will be their choice when they have grown up, but I will return home permanently.

Interviewer: Ok! Thank you very much Mr. It is nice to talk to you and the information you have given is very important to my research. However, do you want to say something more regarding this research, or to recommend anything else?

Participant: Mh! You know it is difficult to say something about something, I feel precious to be invited to this interview however, and I appreciate the opportunity to participate, thank you for your invitation also.

Interviewer: Ok! Thank you for your time and commitment, thank you very much,

Participant: You are welcome.

Interviewer: Thank you, bye

Participant: Bye bye.

Appendix 6 - A sample of interview questions for migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania

1 The questions in this section were designed to give an introduction and create good rapport for interviewees to fully participate in the interviews.

- Can you please introduce yourself, your job position and work experience in this organization?
- Can you tell me please your organization responsibilities or work related to international migration?
- There is a high level of migration of highly skilled people from developing to developed countries at the moment. How do you explain the magnitude of migration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad?

2 The questions in this section were designed to explore the reasons that Tanzanian migration practitioners, policy makers, perceive as contributing to highly skilled Tanzanians' decision to migrate to the UK.

- At the moment, there are a large number of professionals or highly skilled Tanzanians migrating abroad. What reasons do you think contribute to the decision of these highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate and work abroad, especially in the UK?

3 In this section the researcher attempted to evaluate the relevance of Lee's (1966) theory of migration to an understanding of the reasons given by Tanzanian migration practitioners, policy makers, and highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK on the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate to the UK.

- Unemployment, underemployment and recruitment processes are some of the reasons perceived by most highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK that contribute to their decision to migrate. How do you explain these reasons related to the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad?
- Job opportunities and high pay are reasons perceived by most of the highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK which attract them to stay. What are your opinions regarding job opportunities and pay for highly skilled people in Tanzania?
- Better education is perceived by the highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK as a reason which makes them stay for their children's education. What do you think about the education situation in Tanzania?

- Medical and health care are some of the reasons perceived by most of the highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK that make them stay in the UK, in your opinion please what do you think about medical and health conditions in Tanzania?

- Corruption is one of the reasons perceived by some highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK as to why they stay. What is your opinion about corruption in Tanzania?

4 This section sought to identify/explore the perceptions of Tanzanian migration practitioners, policy makers about the impact of international labour migration on brain circulation.

- Can you please explain the advantages of the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad related to brain circulation in Tanzania?

- Can you please explain the disadvantages of the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad related to the domestic economic development?

- What do you think about the impact of remittances sent by highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad on the domestic economic development?

- What are your views and opinions about the amount and the uses of remittances in Tanzania as a contribution to domestic economic development?

- How do you explain brain drain on the domestic economic development in Tanzania with the level or number of highly skilled Tanzanians migrating abroad increasing?

5 This section gave participants an opportunity to suggest possible ways in which the Tanzanian government could influence its highly skilled workforce to remain and work in Tanzania for domestic economic development.

- What do you think the government can do to motivate its highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad to return home and utilize them for domestic economic development rather than waiting for remittances from these skilled people abroad?

- Can you please tell me, what kinds of migration policies or infrastructure are in place in order to retain and influence highly skilled Tanzanians to remain in the country for domestic economic development?

- Can you please tell me which kinds of Human Resource Management (HRM) policies are in place which helps to retain highly skilled Tanzanians in the country or motivate them to return home?

6 This section covers other issues that arose from interviews with highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK.

- Tanzania faces the problem of data unreliability or statistics about its people living abroad. What do you think the government can do to make sure we have reliable data about our people living abroad for national development?
- Many Tanzanians living in the UK complain the diaspora department in Tanzania does not have a link or connection with them. What are the functions of the diaspora department in Tanzania related to international migration for domestic economic development? How do diasporas contribute to the domestic economic development?
- Many Tanzanians living in the UK wish to have an opportunity of dual citizenship rather than lose their Tanzanian citizenship by acquiring British nationality. What are your views about dual citizenship for Tanzanians and its impact on domestic economic development in Tanzania?

Appendix 7 - Sample of a letter from the employer introducing the researcher of this study

The Immigration Department

P.o. Box 512

Dar es Salaam

Tanzania

25th Nov 2012

Dear Madam/Sir

To whom it may concern

This letter is to confirm Anna Peter Makakala is a Senior Immigration Officer at the Immigration Department, Ministry of Home Office in Tanzania. She is currently a doctoral student of Business Administration at the University of Gloucestershire in the UK. She is conducting a research study on an investigation into the reasons that contribute to highly skilled Tanzanians migrating abroad; Tanzanians living in the UK is an example.

You are, as a migration practitioner and/or policy maker, invited to provide an understanding and insight about the migration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad and its impact on the domestic economic development in Tanzania.

Ms Makakala requests spending approximately one hour in a face to face interview with you as part of her research data collection. Your expertise, experiences and views are highly appreciated in contributing ways that the government of Tanzania can motivate and utilize its highly skilled people abroad to work for the domestic economic development in Tanzania.

We have no hesitation recommending her to you, your help and information that will be offered will remain for her academic purposes only.

Kind regards

The Principal Commissioner for Immigration

Appendix 8 – A sample of consent letter for migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania

Dear Participant:

You, as a migration practitioner or policy maker are invited to participate in a research study entitled: An investigation into reasons that contribute to highly skilled Tanzanians migrating to the UK. The purpose of this study is to explore reasons that contribute to the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate abroad, highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK is an example. The research study will also suggest ways that the government of Tanzania can motivate and utilize highly skilled Tanzanians to work in the country for domestic economic development.

This study has been approved by the University of Gloucestershire's Postgraduate Research Centre (PRC). A face to face semi-structured interview has been designed to ask you a few questions regarding the above stipulated topic. Your expertise, experiences and opinions could be potentially beneficial for suggesting possible ways to motivate highly skilled Tanzanians living abroad to return and work for domestic economic development in Tanzania. The interview will take approximately 60 to 120 minutes to complete.

There are no identified risks from participating or providing statements in this study. Participant's anonymity and confidentiality are highly considered; no name of participants involved will be mentioned in this study or shared with anyone. Any information provided by the participant is purely for academic purposes. Moreover, participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may refuse to participate without consequence.

Thank you for your consideration. Your participation is highly appreciated.

[Your signature below indicates that you have read the above information and agree to participate in this research study].

Printed Name

Signature Date

Anna Peter Makakala

S0207629@connect.glos.ac.uk

Doctoral student of Business Administration

The University of Gloucestershire, England, the UK

Appendix 9- A sample of emails to migration practitioners and policy makers asking for interview appointments

On Dec 19, 2012, at 12:46 PM, anna makakala <makakala@yahoo.com> wrote:

Dear Sir

It was nice to talk to you over the phone.

My name is Anna Makakala, an immigration officer at the Immigration department, head Office. I am currently doing a PhD research on international labour migration at the University of Gloucestershire, in the UK. The main purpose of my research is to explore reasons that contribute to the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate abroad; and also suggest possible ways that the government can utilize its highly skilled manpower. Highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK is an example.

As you are a migration practitioner and policy maker you are requested to join a face to face interview to provide your experience, views and expertise regarding migration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad, and suggest ways that the government can motivate highly skilled Tanzanians to work in the country or utilize their skills while living abroad for domestic economic development. Your contribution is highly appreciated in my research.

Could you please provide me with an appointment so we can meet to talk about the topic mentioned above? Our interview will be a kind of conversation which will take approximately one hour. We are all free to use English or kiswahili or both.

Thank you very much and looking forward to meeting you soon

Anna

[Reply](#), [Reply All](#) or [Forward](#) | [More](#)

From: ".....@yahoo.com"

To: anna makakala <makakala@yahoo.com>

Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 5:12 AM

Subject: Re: Appointment for research

Ok. If I understand you. You want to know what Tanzania as the country is doing now regarding this issue. Actually Tanzania and the Ministry of Labour in particular have just started to deal with these issues of labour migration, and may be once you come, we might share the little information I have. Is 2:30 to 3:30 Monday ok? If it is ok then call me before you come to confirm. Thanks you.

[Reply](#), [Reply All](#) or [Forward](#) | [More](#)

To@yahoo.com

Dec 20, 2012

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your positive consideration; 2.30-3.30p.m is convenient time for me as well. You have touched on the point that I was supposed to talk more about, now I don't have to. Thank you so much. I am looking forward to meeting you at noon on Monday.

Thank you

Anna

Appendix 10 –A sample of emails to migration practitioners and policy makers for appreciation after interviews have been conducted

From: anna makakala <makakala@yahoo.com>

To: ".....@....."

Sent: Monday, 21 January 2013, 11:34

Subject: Thank you

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your time, commitment and valuable information you provided for my research. It is very helpful. I do much appreciate it. The information provided will remain solely for academic only and no names of any participant will appear in my research report.

Thank you

Anna

[Reply](#), [Reply All](#) or [Forward](#) | [More](#)

From: ".....@....."

To anna makakala <makakala@yahoo.com>

Jan 21, 2013

Dear Anna,

I hope you are doing well, it has been wonderful to meet you, I wish you all the best with your research, if you need any information, please ask me any time.

Many thanks

.....

[Reply](#), [Reply All](#) or [Forward](#) | [More](#)

Appendix 11 - A sample of interview transcripts from migration practitioners and policy makers

Interview transcript from participant MPP-5 (28th December 2012)

Interviewer: My name is Anna Makakala, doctoral student of business administration at the University of Gloucestershire in the UK. I am doing research about migration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad, highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK is an example. The main purpose of my research is to find out reasons that contribute to the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate abroad and suggest possible ways that the government can motivate them to return and work in the country for domestic economic development.

As a migration practitioner and policy maker, your expertise, experience and opinions are very important. I would like to invite you to an interview session to share your experience and ideas in this research, Welcome.

Participant: First, let me start with caution, as you discuss migration of skilled labour from one country to other countries, mobility of general issues. And also when you discuss migration of Tanzania to the UK, we need to discuss as a special issue because of the historical relationship between Tanzania and the UK. As you may know up to 1953, there was no restriction of migration for employment to the UK, even though when that regulation came in, it did not affect people from common wealth countries the same way as it affected others. The restrictions between common wealth countries and the UK came much later.

Interviewer: When did that start?

Participant: I will give more information and reference about it later .

Interviewer: Thank you.

Participant: Remember, movement of people within common wealth countries or country from common wealth as Tanzania to the UK was something normal to do, not because of pull-push factor, but it was a case of belonging to the common wealth. This dimension has to be kept in perspective all ties, links, bonds, connections...

Even people who moved later after the restriction, they did so because of the ties established previously by migration wave. This is the factor.

The second factor which motivates Tanzanians to migrate to the UK is because of cultural similarities, subsistence, people come from Tanzania, those who have one degree and above can speak reasonable good English and can be employed ...not like Chinese... because of colonial legacy, one of the reasons is to learn English language ...so there was a tendency of people to move to the UK, so this is some of factors which motivate people to migrate to the UK.

There are also certain professions like Tanzanian lawyers for example; lawyers are likely to move to common wealth countries where they can practise because legal systems are the same. It is not like cardiologists who can practise cardiology in China, Mongolia or elsewhere. But for lawyers if you want to move out of Tanzania you must go to one of the countries which practise English legal systems, this is one of the special factors which need to be put in the picture when discussing migration of people between Tanzania and the UK.

Now, we have talked about preliminary factors, and then we can talk about general factors which have been advanced why people move and discuss pull-push factor theory of migration. Pull factors are attracting people to come into destination as migrants. Push factor is a concept used to connote where people are forced to migrate to other places. Otherwise people would argue that in every movement there is push and pull factor. When I decide to go to the UK in 1990 to do my masters, or when you decide to go to the UK to do you PhD is not like you cannot get what you want in Tanzania, but still your movement and my movement is called voluntary movement. So the question comes when the factor is called push or pull factor. Whether the movement was push factor or pull factor or both is on the same side of the coin that is why we call voluntary or not voluntary movement.

When we say push factor or pull factor.... initially when people go abroad as students, when they have completed their studies and have acquired skills, then to remain abroad become pull factor. Some acquire kinds of skills which cannot be utilized in the country of origin. For example professional scientists, so they fear when they return home this will be a waste of skills and knowledge because they cannot practise fully anywhere. Some acquire skills which cannot be practised in Tanzania such as medical personnel and there is

no equipment which brings lots of frustrations, job satisfaction also contributes professionals to remain in the UK or abroad.

There is a question of remuneration, most people expect good remuneration and to be rewarded accordingly after completing their studies which cost them lots of money, and not to end up with peanuts. People weigh how much they will earn if they will remain in the UK or wherever after having completed their studies or how much they will earn when they return home. This makes human rational choice to stay or return. We have to appreciate that return/remuneration.

There are also family reasons. The family reasons can be two: 1st, the migrants' families wish to have good education for their children. In this way they become migrants for educational reason. 2nd, another family reason is when people establish family relations with people abroad, such as to get married to a Briton in the UK, then they have to choose matrimonial home or not. Actually people look at what gives more advantages. When they decide to stay where they are then we call this is pull factor.

When we talk about push factors, there are two situations; first, when this is extremely a forced migration situation when people fear of persecution then we call them refugees.

But also treatment, environment treatment the way we disvalue in the country we call push factors. They are divided into economic reasons, social reasons and political reasons. When the point became political then we term it push factor. When the reason is more economical we call it voluntary migration and pull, and social stands in between.

Interviewer: Currently, there is mass migration of highly skilled people from developing to developed countries. How do you explain the magnitude of migration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad?

Participant: It is significant. Up to the late 1980s, Tanzania was not a country of major play in the sense of migration abroad, even Tanzanians studying abroad to remain. Over the years we have been witness to migration of highly skilled, even semi-skilled and unskilled labour called kupandapipa au 'kujilipua'. So how can you explain that phenomenon, it has to be explained in terms of

economics, because in the 1960s, in those years the salary in Tanzania was comparable, for experts from developed countries who came to work in the University of Dar es Salaam those salaries were the same as those in developed countries.

Salary in Tanzania in the 1970s went down almost the same as unemployment benefit in developed countries. I did the research/thesis when I was in the Queens University for my Master's degree. So this is one of the factors.

In one way or another job facilities, I am academic here, if there are no job facilities, I cannot write, then I get frustrated, so people move to places where facilities are. Now the gap between people and technology is widening and it reaches the point where there is first world and third world. There is technological stagnation here; people want to be where they can be productive, and well used. And Tanzania is not an elite country

Also another factor for migration is globalization. Globalization in the sense of movement of factors of production such as labour, capital, goods and services, but in terms of movement of people there are a number of factors contributing to migration, first of all communication and technology have enabled us to see and know what is going on elsewhere and attract people to get there and also transport; transportation costs have decreased dramatically, people can afford to take an aeroplane, and also faster, but it is not easy now to go and come back, because of migration restrictions, so because of that it became more affordable and easy for people to go and look for opportunities elsewhere. When you talk about skilled migration, the reasons are largely economical and the ability to apply their skills in order to get job satisfaction.

Interviewer: What do you think of the impact of migration of highly skilled Tanzanians on the economic development in the country, could we please start from disadvantages or negative impacts?

Participant: There are disadvantages especially when it involves our skilled migration, most of these skilled migration occur when they have obtained first degree, as you know, until recently the education was obtained at the expense of the government, from standard one to university, that is investment of human capital is lost. For a poor country like Tanzania it is a big loss. Some medical students then become doctors afterwards they disappear. Migration of

professionals in Tanzania destroys sustainability and specialization in certain fields such as clinical medical. Those who remain behind lose confidence and lack knowledge on how to improve health services. The second disadvantage is; the government has to import foreign expertise called technical assistance because of lack of enough skilled manpower, the way external expertise are far more expensive, it may be called technical assistance, but this assistance is not free, it involves cost packages which our future generation has to pay for, it is now an established fact for every dollar coming into Africa by way of technical assistance at the end of the day two dollars leave it.

But also another disadvantage is lack of services or poor services, by ratio in Tanzania, one lawyer serves 45000 people, one doctor serves 85000 individuals, from independence the ratio of doctor per population increased significantly, the statistics are extremely pathetic. So first and foremost a negative impact is the inability to satisfy our skilled labour needs, second negative impact is the loss of manpower investment we put in. The third is the cost of substituting labour which we have to get from abroad, but those are economical costs, there are social costs as well.

This migration causes destruction of families. Most of these migrants do not take with them their fathers, mothers, sometimes even wives or husbands and children. They are left behind. We rarely talk about social migrants. They destroy families; especially those illegal migrants cannot be joined by even immediate members of the families. Even when it happens that one of the members die back home, the illegal migrant from abroad cannot travel to join the family back home because of this it is destruction of social life. It is huge impact. When we talk about migration we must talk about social impact as we talk about economic issues to find some critical impact as well.

Interviewer: Thank you very much this was very interesting. You have talked about negative impacts. Is there any positive impact of migration of skilled Tanzanians on the economic development?

Participant: Of course, there are, the most and popular one is the remittance. In some countries the total value of remittance is higher than the GDP of the country, in Ghana, they receive higher total of remittances than amount of cocoa they export. In a country like Ethiopia, the country has been built by remittances,

that is why every Bank in Ethiopia there is remittances section because it is a big thing, so even in Tanzania there are many remittances

Interviewer: Do we have any proper channels for receiving or transporting remittances in Tanzania?

Participant: At the moment we don't have, that is why we try to establish Diaspora policies now. In the past it was sinful to go abroad. You were seen as a traitor, it is only recently people's perceptions have begun to change even though it still seems like a traitor for a Tanzanian to apply for citizenship abroad. In Zanzibar Diaspora issues have begun to develop, here (in mainland Tanzania) until we have formal institutions then we will not be able to trace them, it is hard to do because of financial rules and regulations under the country. Money from abroad has to be countered because of terrorism and money laundering but also to give an indication of how much enters the country, of course not that much comes through official channels. We don't want to talk about remittances that someone sent money to her grandmother for Christmas present or hand to mouth. Sometimes when you come in London someone can give you money to take to her grandmother, statistically this cannot be entered because it is not traced. That is one advantage.

Another advantage is when those migrants manage to return, they bring skills and knowledge with them, experiences which can be of benefit to the country. IOM sometimes run the programme of return skilled labour and provide support. But other communities establish strong social groups abroad and connect with the country of origin and provide continuing support such as introducing migrants' hospitals, schools. People like 'Kanu' a famous football player, living in the UK but he built a big hospital in his country. Before remittances tend to support members of the family only, but now can be investment. All migrants in USA try to do best for the benefit of their countries. But also diaspora can be a voice of the country of emigration for the benefit of country of origin.

Interviewer: There is a new diaspora desk established under the Ministry of foreign affairs and international cooperation to deal with Tanzanians living abroad for national development. But many Tanzanians living in the UK complained

about the desk in that it has no connection with them and does not help them to contribute to the domestic economic development. Do you have any experiences on how diaspora works or should work on the way forward for development?

Participant: I heard about it, I know the top management people who deal with the desk, they are visiting Tanzanians living abroad to motivate them doing investment back home. I think we don't have well-articulated and holistic ideas. They shouldn't be asked for their money to invest back home because ..., they have their rights, they must have expectations, they must have duties, they must be facilitated. I think the diaspora should work as a nation and not treat people like a private organization, the desk must have strategies and vision of what they want to achieve. This is my personal view. There are some who see diasporas as traitors. Some tend to see those who support diaspora want to accommodate their own children because they are sort of people who want their families to live in USA and are well off families, they are the ones who can afford to send their children abroad. So the majority of other people who have never been abroad say no to these Diaspora people because they think they want their children to enjoy living in the UK or USA and also here in Tanzania. The discussion is still there that the diaspora desk is established for the benefit of kids of the elite.

There is also an issue about historical background, the biggest thing is revolution in Zanzibar, when you say to establish dual citizenship in Zanzibar is like saying to invite Arab people and return their power in Zanzibar. This also became an issue when you talk about dual citizenship in Tanzania. The dual citizenship is an issue extended to the diaspora and also the intermediate and some permanent residents, and some countries like Ghana have established rights to return to something like permanent resident. In Ethiopia these rights extended to anyone originated from Ethiopia, at the lower end. And Uganda has lately set aside land for diaspora with special government apartments which encourage the diaspora to return, this is what the government of Tanzania should do.

There is about remittances, but I think we should go beyond remittances and talk about investment. Remittance to my grandmother on Christmas day is not enough to bring changes. We should create a conducive environment for

diaspora to invest, significantly in our country and allow to call it pull factor which will encourage people to come back as part of the brain drain solution. Then it remain the debate whether to motivate to come back home or to utilize them where they are. To me it is not mutual exclusive.

Interviewer: Why?

Participant: It is not either or. To me, we can target both, to those who want to stay abroad and those want to return, it is their choice where to live. The important thing is to think how they can contribute to socio-economic development in our country. We need to think about three measures. First, retention; secondly, return; and third is utilization of diaspora (skilled people). We should create conducive environment for diasporas to invest significantly in our country. This will enable it to be called a pull factor in Tanzania, which also naturally will encourage skilled Tanzanians living abroad to return home as part of solution.

Interviewer: How can we do retention?

Participant: We should create an environment which does not force skilled people to leave but to remain.

Interviewer: Do we have HRM policies or international migration policies to retain highly skilled people in Tanzania?

Participant: Retention strategies have to be on a national level. It is not on an international level. I know ...the problem of SADC citizens; migration is only within three countries, Namibia, RSA and Botswana. So they want to come up with agreement that to prevent those countries to accept people from other SADC countries. This is stupid, let's say you are coming from Kenya Labour...It is not wise to have international policies to prevent people from migration. The retention of skilled people should be based on its own nation/country. If I am a Tanzanian today and consultant in one of the ministries and pay me less money, but if someone comes to do the same job and they pay him more money because of foreign expertise, my question has always been is the remuneration based on the colour of the skin? Or geographical origin? Or the skills input? If I am working with a person in the same office, doing the same job, and they pay the expatriate ten times

more because he is an expatriate, then this is wrong. When you are an expatriate, remuneration should be based on skills and performance, at an international level a good working environment and salary should motivate people to stay in the country.

The same factors or strategies which would be used to retain highly skilled Tanzanians in the country should be also working to motivate diasporas to return. Suppose the qualified doctor could be paid 4000 USD in Tanzania and a qualified doctor could be paid 5000 USD in USA or in the UK, I believe all qualified diaspora doctors would return to work in the country and forget about extra 1000 USD which would cost them on winter weather, be far away from their own people and other living costs. This is how the African Union strategizes to link diaspora with their countries for development and migration policies, how to link African Diaspora and development, even African Diasporas are invited into AU summit.

If some people want to stay abroad for the case of marriage or otherwise the government still can utilize them and facilitate them to contribute to the development of our country, for example the government can facilitate permanent resident or dual citizenship. Science and technology can work out how to help utilize these people. For example a medical doctor from India can diagnose the patient in Tanzania through electronic equipment and because transport also is quicker and cheaper because of technology development, then the next day medicines can be transported to Tanzania for treatment. Why shouldn't we use our diaspora doctors from Manchester to diagnose and treat our people through using science and technology as Indian medical doctors do? For their contribution these doctors also can charge consultation fees for Tanzanians in Tanzania less than consultation fee charged in Manchester. You can imagine all these strategies aren't mutual exclusive, all these measures come together.

Interviewer: What do you think about dual citizenship for Tanzanians for Tanzanian national development? Many highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK complain and wish to have dual citizenship but the citizenship law in Tanzania does not allow this.

Participant: I think the problem is in our current citizenship law. The current law about citizenship is that all kinds of citizenship either by birth, descent or naturalization have the same rights. Suppose the president of the country would be raised from Naturalization citizenship, why do they restrict Tanzanians to have another citizenship? On my personal view, I support the motion of having dual citizenship. I think we should put some restrictions, for example rights which cannot be exercised by people who hold dual citizenship. In Uganda there some government offices which cannot be held by people who have dual citizenship. When you pass the law you have to identify some rights or jobs such as police, intelligence etc because we don't know where your allegiance/loyalty lies. In USA to be a president you must be a citizen of first generation otherwise you can be a governor of California or other states but not the president of the USA, such as Madeline Allbright. I think the worries we have we can manage by twisting the law, changing the law substantially for example.....if we can pass the law which can restrict dual citizenship for offspring in political or some sort likewise people who are born abroad let's say to be an MP, you must be third generation in Tanzania for example your granddad, dad and you. We could avoid those worries; we could enjoy those rights in foreign country and also retain our citizenship.

Interviewer: Do you think other policy makers and senior people in the government have knowledge or are aware of dual citizenship that can be introduced with restrictions or conditions?

Participant: I don't think so, that is why we need a strong education campaign about citizenship law in Tanzania. This year I met members of parliament in Dodoma, the committee of defence and security. I presented a paper to them on the concept of permanent residence, what it means and how it works, how to condition and revoke it. I understood from the way I explained it, they were not aware of the law, they complained that nobody had explained to them clearly how permanent residence is. So the same thing, we need to give education about dual citizenship.

Interviewer: Does reciprocal rule apply in citizenship law between countries?

Participant: Citizenship is not bilateral, it is unilateral. The granted citizenship is the sovereignty. Usually dual citizenship is granted not to a particular nationality but it is granted generally. It is not that Tanzanians apply for British citizenship then British citizens will do the same. It is not reciprocal.

Interviewer: What do you say about the notion that we do not have large numbers of Tanzanians living abroad, which means dual nationality will benefit foreigners more than Tanzanians?

Participant: I think it is a confused concept people have. I think what they talk about is free circulation of labour agreement indeed. Free circulation of labour is a disadvantage if one country's citizens do not feel like moving, the same way we discuss here in East Africa. Why Tanzanians are reluctant to allow free access to land to other East African citizens, in Kenya there is no land to access. In Rwanda and Burundi simply no land, this is not good for us because it will not work equitably, likewise freedom of movement of labour, we don't have tribalism, when you look at Kenya in Kikuyu tribe there is Kikuyu employment tribalism, that is the perception of politicians. Now, but when it comes to citizenship, this is another way to act, the fact that when we allow dual citizenship, it does not mean that everyone who automatically applies for Tanzanian citizenship will be a Tanzanian, they have to apply in accordance with the criteria set, only those who will meet the criteria will be given citizenship. Of course the UK allows citizenship from anybody from any country as long as they meet criteria.

Interviewer: What do you think the government can do to have reliable statistics of its people living abroad because the research result of IOM and ILO in East Africa in 2006 and 2008 about international labour migration shows Tanzania faces the problem of unreliable of statistics of its people living abroad?

Participant: We have a problem of migration data generally, partly because we have institutions which deal with immigration data.... We usually don't have a connected system of gathering and keeping data also as I said earlier, living abroad is seen as a sin, so people even not declare themselves as Tanzanians residing permanently abroad. So one way of increasing data keeping is to remove the stigma of people who live abroad and so increase the data

system. I don't think of how many people who live abroad comply with registering in embassy offices when they arrive, it is a problem. Some of them think they are exposing themselves. I would say each of our embassy offices should have an immigration data sheet, otherwise this means we do not take seriously the issue of migration. Each office should have an immigration officer for migration issues such as collecting and keeping data, getting in touch with migrants in that country, they could transit the data home to relevant institutions, if we have right statistics of our people abroad and then we can manage and invest better otherwise it can be useless.

Interviewer: I heard about this project called ACP (African, Caribbean and Pacific) on observatory migration. I am not really aware of it. Can you please explain to me how this project works to help migration management?

Participant: ACP is a project which has a joint programme with IOM with the aims of migration observatory in a particular region to manage migration data and migration for development. On the preliminary stage of the project the forced migration department was contacted to be one of migration observatory but when the project began, we did not know what happened, we are not active members. I think the best place for more information about it will be at the IOM office which runs the project.

Interviewer: I have made an arrangement already with IOM to meet them next week. Thank you. Do you have any comments or anything you want to talk about regarding this research area?

Participant: Oh! Yes, this is a very important area of your research; we need to come up with migration policies as Tanzania and also policies for Tanzania diasporas because it is critically important that we cannot stop migration. The way we determine whether we lose or we gain out of this phenomenon. Migration is an increasing phenomenon, every ten years the number of migrants doubles, if you have ten thousand migrants who are called tourists or temporary migrants in ten years then they are millions after ten years. Tourists now are about billions this year; people are migrating from one country to another. This is how we determine migration is an unstoppable phenomenon.

Everybody must have an appropriate quest, Tanzania we are lagging far behind.

Interviewer: Thank you very much professor for your time, commitment and valuable information you have provided for my research, I do appreciate it very much, thank you.

Participant: Thank you, you are welcome and anytime when you have more questions just contact me.

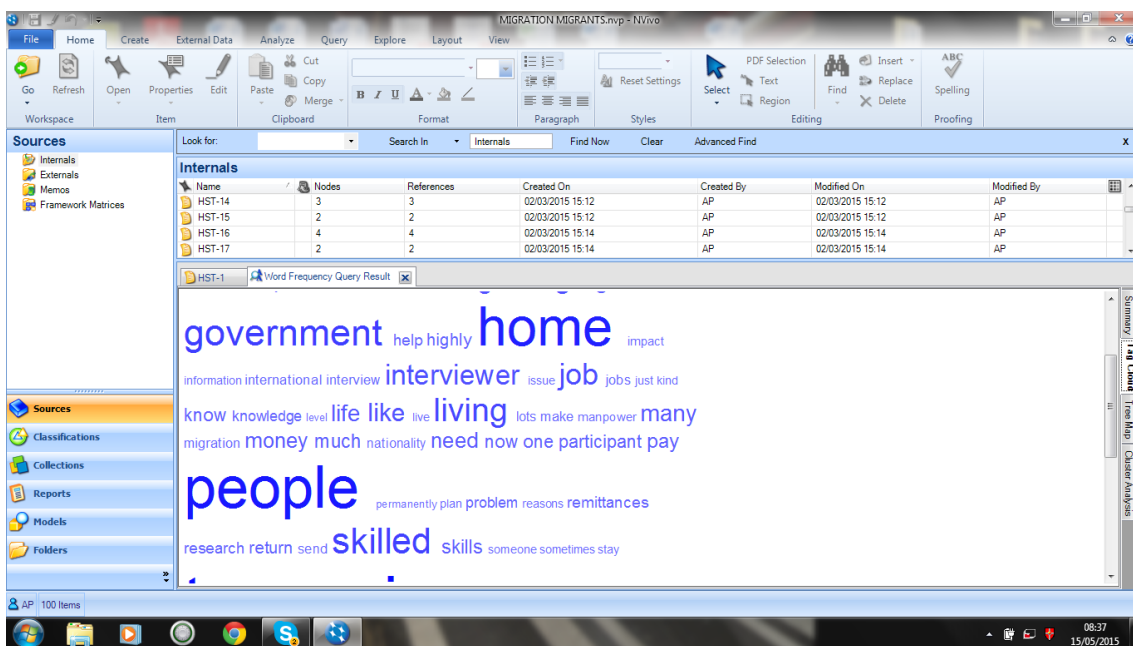
Interviewer: Thank you, I will do.

Appendix 12 – A sample of interview transcript imported into Nvivo software

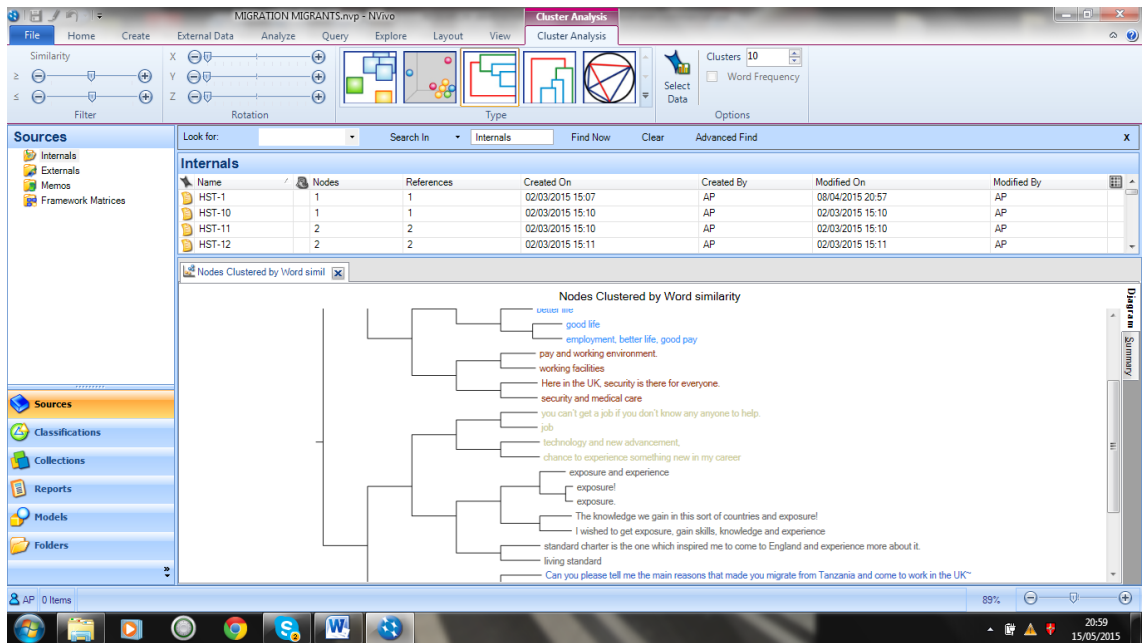
The screenshot displays the Nvivo software interface with the 'Sources' pane open. The 'Internals' folder is selected, showing a list of 12 internal sources. The table below represents the data shown in the interface:

Name	Nodes	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
MPP-1	4	4	15/02/2015 22:12	AP	15/02/2015 22:12	AP
MPP-10	3	3	15/02/2015 22:15	AP	15/02/2015 22:15	AP
MPP-11	1	1	15/02/2015 22:17	AP	15/02/2015 22:17	AP
MPP-12	1	1	15/02/2015 22:19	AP	15/02/2015 22:19	AP
MPP-2	3	3	15/02/2015 22:09	AP	15/02/2015 22:09	AP
MPP-3	7	7	15/02/2015 22:11	AP	15/02/2015 22:11	AP
MPP-4	3	3	15/02/2015 22:12	AP	15/02/2015 22:12	AP
MPP-5	8	8	15/02/2015 22:13	AP	15/02/2015 22:13	AP
MPP-6	4	4	15/02/2015 22:13	AP	15/02/2015 22:13	AP
MPP-7	2	2	15/02/2015 22:13	AP	15/02/2015 22:13	AP
MPP-8	1	1	15/02/2015 22:14	AP	15/02/2015 22:14	AP
MPP-9	4	4	15/02/2015 22:15	AP	15/02/2015 22:15	AP

Appendix 13- A sample of tag cloud in the Nvivo software showing word frequency of findings collected from highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK



Appendix 14- A sample of organised codes as part of the findings from highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK



Appendix 15- A sample of organised codes as part of the findings from migration practitioners and policy makers in Tanzania (For objective one of this study)

The screenshot displays the NVivo software interface for a project titled 'MIGRATION PRACTITIONERS.nvp'. The main window shows a list of internal nodes with the following data:

Name	Nodes	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
MPP-1	4	4	15/02/2015 22:12	AP	15/02/2015 22:12	AP
MPP-10	3	3	15/02/2015 22:15	AP	15/02/2015 22:15	AP
MPP-11	1	1	15/02/2015 22:17	AP	15/02/2015 22:17	AP
MPP-12	1	1	15/02/2015 22:19	AP	15/02/2015 22:19	AP

Below the table, a cluster diagram titled 'Nodes Clustered by Word similarity' is shown. The nodes are grouped into several clusters based on their word similarity:

- job vacancies
- educational reason
- economic reason
- green pasture, greener pasture, greener pasture
- work environment
- working conducive environment
- working good environment
- Salary scale
- pay or salary in the government sectors is a big problem.
- colonial history
- exposure
- immigration police
- reasons that contribute to the decision of highly skilled Tanzanians to migrate abroad.
- the economy is a primary factor
- utilization of their expertise.

Appendix 16- Personal reflections

This is an account of my research journey, which started in July 2010. The journey has had an effect on my personal life, and people around me, such as my employer, family and friends. It was not easy in my early days as a new researcher to accept negative feedback. I remember my first meetings with my supervisor were stressful and it was difficult to understand what I was expected to achieve during my research at the University of Gloucestershire. The discussions with my supervisors helped me to develop a broader range of thinking about how research should be done and its writing style, methodology, explaining opinions and how to discuss issues.

Moreover, during this period of academic life, I discovered that there are many ways of learning which could be fun and educational. I learnt to build a positive attitude towards myself in my doctoral role and personal life. I learnt the importance of flexibility when critical reflection was negative and required me to reframe my research work. Johns (2000, p. 34) describes critical reflection as a window through which a practitioner can view and focus themselves within the context of their own lived experience, in ways that enable them to confront, understand and work towards resolving the contradictions within practice between what is desirable and actual practice. I came to realise that learning from experience is appropriate for a student practitioner because it maximised my learning both as a student and a professional.

Personally, I prefer working alone and to discover things independently, but seminars, workshops and conferences in the university helped me explore the advantages of team work and provided me with the opportunity to discuss my topic with other researchers, share experiences and obtain valuable views that have also helped me to develop my skills and improve my research. The DBA colloquium in Berlin, Germany 2012 and doctoral presentation competition at the University of Worcester, 2012 gave me good challenges and good memories.

At the period when I was writing my literature review chapter, I was stressed by the process of reading many academic articles from many different authors to identify what had been researched and what had not been researched, in order to search for a literature gap and area of future research. In this process, I learnt that individual interpretations from previous research work bring varied insights and point out interesting knowledge that the author may not have realised. Moreover, the researcher, through reading and analysing literature and academic articles can develop the creativity which is important to individual research in order to contribute new knowledge.

Based on subjective ontology I found that qualitative data was very appropriate for my research work, which explored experiences, perceptions and opinions of individuals about why highly skilled Tanzanians migrate abroad. During the interviews with participants I realised that people have different characters, which are affected by many factors such as interpersonal relationships, demographics, culture, environment, level of economic development and so on. Even people from the same background can have different responses to interview questions, and these differences offer a greater advantage for a researcher to examine the research topic deeply and disclose hidden reasons that provide different answers to similar questions. As a result of my research journey I believe the world is socially constructed and that the researcher is part of what is being investigated. I also believe that science is driven by human interests and it is a creation of those individuals involved in the research (Crossan, 2003).

Finally, this research has provided me with many experiences acquired from different sources throughout the research journey. Comparing who I was and who I am now, I have more confidence in writing, and presenting academic arguments in conferences, workshops and seminars without fear. I have speciality knowledge in the area of my research and in addition to that, I have learnt that migration phenomena cannot be studied and described in a single way or by themselves, because they are very complex. Therefore, I have developed competence in assessing issues on migration and accept that policy making and legislation in migration issues require serious research before they are proposed to governments. I will use my research experience and findings to provide knowledge about migration of highly skilled Tanzanians abroad and its impact on domestic economic development to propose issues related to migration problems in my country through attending migration forums and conferences.