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Global Commodities or Culturally Relevant Educators?:
The Recruitment of Foreign Teachers for U.S. Urban Schools

By

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Doctor of Philosophy

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An Abstract of
A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
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in Educational Studies
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Abstract

Global Commodities or Culturally Relevant Educators?:
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Though foreign teachers have been present in U.S. schools for decades, the recruitment of foreign teachers for multicultural, urban schools as a response to the supposed teacher shortage is a relatively new phenomenon with little research to support it. Teachers recruited in this era of globalization and neoliberalism may be viewed as commodities in global markets. This study examined foreign teachers' recruitment, preparation, and pedagogy in U.S. schools, and was guided by the theoretical lenses of culturally relevant pedagogy and political spectacle.

Informed by in-depth interviews with four Indian teachers, school district administrators, recruitment agency personnel, and union representatives, as well as multiple classroom observations, this collective case study was guided by four research questions:

1. What are the similarities and differences between multicultural classrooms in the United States and foreign teachers' reports of their classrooms in their home country, and how do these influence foreign teachers' teaching practice and relationships with their students?
2. How are foreign teachers prepared to work in U.S. classrooms and utilize culturally relevant pedagogy with their multicultural students?
3. How well do foreign teachers achieve the stated goals of foreign teacher recruitment programs?
4. What other purposes are served by this recruitment, and how do these purposes either advance or undermine a progressive vision of U.S. urban education?

Findings revealed stark differences between U.S. and Indian classroom environments, which led to teachers' difficulties with classroom management; development of American allies and a foreign teacher community; and an ongoing struggle between hopelessness and resilience. The teachers exhibited behaviors of culturally relevant pedagogy that were consistent with effective teaching research; however, they were less likely to implement characteristics of culturally relevant pedagogy that required background knowledge of the cultures in which they were working. Further, the four teachers only partially fulfilled the goals of acting as cultural ambassadors and alleviating the teacher shortage because of programmatic constraints and school policies. Because foreign teachers were hired by an outside agency and not the district, they were not afforded the same rights as American teachers in the same schools. It was clear that other purposes that undermined progressive educational reform, such as saving districts money, were also being served.

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I owe a debt of gratitude to all of my participants, including the teachers, principals, and district officials of "Glendale" and the representatives from the American Federation of Teachers and the Louisiana Federation of Teachers. Most importantly, my teachers welcomed me into their classrooms and shared their stories with honesty and courage. Their hard work and resilience is a continuous inspiration.

I was able to think about my work in new ways thanks to the stories of two friends, who also happened to be international teachers. My passion for this project was confirmed when I met Sadia, a colleague from India, while I was teaching high school. On our rides to and from school each day, she shared with me the joys and challenges of teaching abroad, and her heartfelt determination provided the impetus for many of my research questions. Thanks, too, to Ana Solano-Campos, whose transition from international teacher to doctoral student surely benefited my work immensely. Many thanks to my dear friend, Heather Defoer, for her willingness to read and her careful editing prowess.

Much appreciation is also due to my Emory colleagues who have been a treasured support system through the years, especially Erica Dotson, David Morris, and Michelle Purdy. Indeed, I am only here because they first believed in me more than I believed in myself and encouraged me to continue my doctoral program with them. They acted as collaborative partners throughout the program, but more notably, as dear friends with whom to celebrate life and our journey together.

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Chapter 1:

An Introduction to the Context of Foreign Teacher Recruitment

"Teaching is a tough job in America, don't you think so?" – Samina, English teacher from India

"So many international teachers like us come to America, the land of opportunity, with these big American dreams, and then our dreams are shattered by reality."

– Shrusty, Special Education teacher from India

In India, a teacher begins thinking about the world outside her crowded village, about an opportunity to explore new horizons and, if possible, make more money in the process. Across the globe, a city administrator in the United States sifts through paperwork and tries to determine how he is going to fill next year's vacant positions, the result of high teacher turnover and stretched budgetary conditions. They both access the Internet and, within moments, appear to have found a solution: a company promising to be, at once, both an employment agency and an educational service that will bring the Indian teacher to the American school. Though this company will charge both the teacher and the administrator thousands of dollars each, they think the cost is worth it. Several months later, the teacher has secured a visa, proven her English skills and teaching experience to a panel of U.S. recruiters, and been placed in a city school the following autumn. Although they do not meet before her first day, the school's principal is assured of the teacher's competence by the administrator and the recruitment agency; not only will she fill the much-needed role of a science teacher, she will also serve as a "cultural ambassador" to his diverse student population.

The new teacher is given a teacher's edition of the state-mandated textbook and expected to plan her curriculum in the three "pre-planning" days before the students arrive. She attempts to do this, in all her "free time" between finding an apartment, learning the public transportation system because she does not have a U.S. driver's license, orienting herself to a new city far away from her family, and receiving a "crash course" in U.S. school policies. She learns about topics like high-stakes testing, classroom management, zero tolerance policies, and special education guidelines. She feels overwhelmed with the amount of information she is expected to internalize in such a short time, but thinks positively; it will get better when the students arrive and she is "in her element." She was, after all, recognized as an outstanding educator in India, and her students there cried when she told them she was leaving.

But when the students do arrive, spilling into the classroom in a commotion of bodies and laughter, it does not get better. Instead, the teacher feels more overwhelmed. The school is overcrowded, so the classroom is stuffed with 35 desks, even though it was built for 22. The students say they do not understand the teacher's accent, and they do not seem to want to sit still and raise their hands like her Indian students. She is in charge of preparing them for high-stakes exams; if they don't pass, not only will they not graduate, but it will reflect poorly on her teaching performance. There is little heat in the winter and no air-conditioning in the summer. Is this really the "American experience" that she constantly heard she would encounter? On the contrary, it is as if everything she read about "culture shock" is coming true. No one understands her but the other foreign teachers; she lives in a small apartment with three other Indian teachers, but they are all placed at different schools, so there is no one to help her during the day.

Her difficulties do not subside after a few months as her agency promised, and she is worried about approaching the principal. What if he thinks she is incompetent? She is already here on a temporary visa and doesn't want to give anyone a reason to send her home earlier than anticipated. It is especially difficult when she calls her family in India, as her six-year-old son does not understand why his mother is so far away for such a long time. The agency said it would help her bring her husband and son next year, if she could just make it through the first one alone. One day, she hopes, her son will understand that she did it for him. The salary here is five times as much as she made in India. The only problem is that she gets paid two weeks later than everyone else, because the agency receives her paycheck first and deducts all the requisite fees before sending it to her.

In February, her fellow teachers receive their contracts for the following year, but the principal tells her that she has to wait. He does not make the ultimate decision, the agency does. It is not until one week before school is finished that she is told she will not be rehired at her original school. She is given the option to move to another school in the same district, but she is too emotionally and physically overwhelmed to consider starting over again in a new place. On her last day, she thinks again about her Indian students and how they cried when she left. Here, she thinks everyone will throw a party, and she doesn't know why. She used to be a good teacher.

Though this is one unique teacher's story, the themes that emerge—a desire for an "American experience," lack of support, culture shock, classroom management challenges, and more—speak to the broader trends in the personal and professional experiences of foreign teachers who are recruited for and placed in U.S. urban schools. These teachers are promoted as "cultural ambassadors" who can better prepare American

students for an increasingly globalized world. But does being from another country automatically qualify someone to teach multicultural students? Facing a supposed teacher shortage that may require as many as two million teachers over the next ten years (National Center for Education Statistics, 2005), many administrators in urban districts have assumed that it does. As a result, corporate agencies that recruit foreign teachers for critically understaffed urban schools have proliferated, placing almost 20,000 foreign teachers per year in U.S. schools (American Federation of Teachers, 2009). Foreign teacher recruitment is literally being "sold" as both a way to reach multicultural students and a solution to the teacher shortage.

The majority of those teachers will be needed in urban areas that are traditionally hard to staff with quality educators. This perennial "teacher shortage" is better defined as a problem of teacher misdistribution, because the most highly-qualified and the greatest number of teachers are hired in suburban, well-paying districts, while most urban centers are left behind (Ingersoll, 2002; Ingersoll & Smith, 2003). Federal, state, and local governments have developed various initiatives to address teacher shortages, including easing teacher certification requirements, supporting alternative certification and financial incentive initiatives, and championing recruitment programs that strive to bring mid-career professionals, military veterans, and minorities into the classroom. The most recent strategy to alleviate the teacher shortage is the recruitment of teachers from other nations to serve as elementary, middle, and high school teachers in U.S. classrooms. External placement agencies are capitalizing on this trend, and urban school districts are dipping into their already-stretched budgets to pay thousands of dollars to agencies that find and place foreign teachers in their schools.

Although in a much different form than today, foreign teachers have been a part of U.S. classrooms for decades, as part of university faculty or teacher exchange programs like the Fulbright Teacher Exchange Program. Although some empirical research has been conducted on teacher exchange programs, this is not the case for foreign teacher recruitment. There is a scarcity of scholarly literature on this topic; instead there are personal stories and reflections in newspaper and magazine periodicals (e.g. Coates, 2005; Neufeld, 2005). This dissertation fills this void in the literature by examining foreign teachers' recruitment, experiences, and pedagogy; in particular, this research analyzes the use of culturally relevant pedagogy in foreign teachers' classrooms. It also determines why, among the myriad possibilities that exist to solve the supposed teacher shortage, foreign teacher recruitment has become one of the favored policy solutions.

Statement of the Problem

Each year, millions of teachers are needed to staff public schools around the country. Researchers have shown that, contrary to popular opinion, enough teachers *are* being prepared; rather, the shortage is a problem of teacher turnover and teacher distribution (Hansen, 2001; Ingersoll, 2002; National Education Association, 2003). This perceived lack of teachers is exacerbated by the fact that the most teachers are needed in under-resourced urban schools where students require the best teachers. In fact, in these urban public schools, the student population is expected to grow to almost 50 million by 2014, an increase of more then 20 percent since 1989 (National Center for Education Statistics, 2005). Inevitably, many more teachers will be needed to deal with this influx of new students, many of whom will be immigrants and refugees.

In the wake of the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), urban districts are in even greater need of high-quality teachers to prepare students for high-stakes testing than they were in the past. To find these high-quality teachers, federal reports are calling for fewer certification requirements and more mid-career entryways into teaching (Feistritzer, 2007). However, in their push for more teachers in the classroom, policymakers fail to recognize that the most effective teachers are the ones who have an understanding of subject matter, pedagogy, and students' cultures, especially if they are entering a school where the culture is dramatically different than their own (Ladson-Billings, 1997).

As a result of the increasing immigrant population in schools, and in response to teacher shortages, some urban school districts have turned to hiring outside agencies to recruit and place foreign teachers in their schools. Although there are some successful stories of international teachers raising their students' global awareness and cultural knowledge, there are also personal accounts of teachers who are ill-prepared to enter the classroom (e.g. Neufeld, 2005). Researchers have shown it is imperative that teachers have a thorough knowledge of their students' culture in order to effectively communicate and instruct them (Banks, 2004; Howard, 1999; Irvine, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 1997; Nieto, 1999). Though this theory of "cultural synchronization" has been used to describe the process needed for White teachers to work with Black children (Irvine, 1990), the same theory can be applied to foreign teachers who need to be prepared to instruct students of various races, ethnicities, and socio-economic backgrounds. Whether racial, ethnic, or cultural, any gap between students and teachers can result in a misunderstanding of student behavior, academic ability, and teacher expectations (Irvine, 1990). Like their U.S. counterparts, foreign teachers still need to be prepared to

understand their worldviews in relationship to those of their students. It is important that foreign educators be challenged to look at education through another cultural lens instead of being seen as already competent in multiculturalism because they themselves are from another culture (Banks, 1994; Bennett, 1990). Additionally, foreign teachers must also be educated in understanding the general school culture of American public education, especially urban school culture where students need the most support and guidance. Schools cannot rely on the faulty logic that all school cultures are the same in the United States or that U.S. school culture is the same as school cultures abroad.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to examine the recruitment, preparation, and pedagogy of foreign teachers in U.S. schools and the policy context in which such recruitment unfolds. Specifically this research addresses the following questions as they relate to urban schools:

1. What are the similarities and differences between multicultural classrooms in the United States and foreign teachers' classrooms in their home country, and how do these similarities and differences influence foreign teachers' teaching practice and relationships with their students?
2. How are foreign teachers prepared to work in U.S. classrooms and utilize culturally relevant pedagogy with their multicultural students?
3. How well do foreign teachers achieve the stated goals of foreign teacher recruitment programs?
4. What other purposes are served by this recruitment, and how do these purposes either advance or undermine a progressive vision of U.S. education?

Definition of Terms

Various researchers have defined educational terms, such as foreign teachers, urban schools, multicultural education, and neoliberalism, in different ways. It is important to clearly state how these terms are being used in this study. Two other pertinent terms, culturally relevant pedagogy and political spectacle, will be defined in the Theoretical Frameworks section.

Foreign teachers. For the purpose of this study, foreign teachers are only those who immigrate to the United States as a result of recruitment and with the specific purpose of becoming a teacher. It does not refer to legal or illegal immigrants or foreign-born U.S. citizens already living in the United States at the time they are hired. The term was originally selected because of the way the teachers defined themselves, and it may be used interchangeably with *international educators* or *teachers from abroad*.

Urban schools. This term refers to high-need schools in major cities that were the focus of the reviewed research, such as Baltimore, and the Southeastern school district in this study. Most urban schools serve a large population with high concentrations of students of color, low socio-economic status, and limited English proficiency (Weiner, 2000). The majority of districts that recruit foreign teachers are members of the Council of the Great City Schools, meaning that they are "located in cities with populations over 250,000 or student enrollment over 35,000… [or are] located in the largest city of any state" (Council of the Great City Schools, 2010).

Multicultural education. One of the qualities of successful teachers is their ability to relate to diverse students, and foreign teachers need instruction in multicultural education to achieve this cultural synchronization (Irvine, 1990). An abundance of

literature and textbooks deal with this broad topic, but Bennett's (1990) description is the preferred definition for this research because it incorporates the major themes of multicultural education. Multicultural education can be viewed as an approach to teaching and learning that is based upon democratic values and cultural pluralism and is committed to educational equality, curricula that foster understanding of ethnic groups, and combats oppressive practices inside and outside the classroom (Bennett, 1990).

Neoliberalism. A portion of this study examined the neoliberal policy context that undergirds foreign teacher recruitment and commodifies international teachers. Neoliberalism is an economic and social philosophy with political implications that favors private sectors over public and stresses free market capitalism. Neoliberal reforms have been implemented in education since the early 1980s. Apple, Au, and Gandin (2009) critique neoliberals as "generally guided by a vision of a weak state, students as human capital, and the world as a supermarket ripe for consumer (and producer) competition. In education, a neoliberal agenda manifests itself in closer linkages between schools and businesses, as well as the implementation of "free market" reforms, such as school vouchers, into education policy" (p. 10).

Theoretical Frameworks

This dissertation is guided by two theoretical frameworks. One framework is used to examine foreign teacher recruitment as a policy initiative. The other is used to study foreign teachers' pedagogy in their U.S. classrooms.

Political Spectacle Theory

Created to explain the political climate of the 1950s and '60s, Edelman's (1970) discussion of symbolic politics posited the theory of political spectacle. For Edelman,

"practically every political act that is controversial or regarded as really important is bound to serve in part as a … symbol. It evokes a quiescent or an aroused mass response because it symbolizes a threat or reassurance" (p. 7). The recruitment of foreign teachers is a response to the symbolic crisis of a teacher shortage and the looming threat (or promise) of globalization. As the literature has demonstrated, there is in fact not a teacher shortage, but rather a problem of teacher retention stemming from dysfunctional patterns of schooling. However, as Edelman (1988) states, "in a crucial sense, problems are created so that particular reasons can be offered for public acceptance… so that particular remedies can be proposed" (p. 18).

Edelman's theory of political spectacle posits that there is an "onstage" rhetoric about political reform and a "backstage" reality, which the general public may never see; often this onstage rhetoric is turned into a "spectacle" perpetuated by news media. The spectacle is a political symbol aimed at accomplishing a political goal or solving a problem that may or may not be as dire as the symbolic language makes it out to be. Further, political spectacle may provide tangible benefits to the stakeholders of the policy, but only provides symbolic benefits to the recipients or the general public (Smith, 2004). Foreign teacher recruitment as a solution may divert public attention from the more troubling issues at hand, the systemic failures of urban education in the United States. Explained by Edelman (1988):

> The emergence of any problem may divert public attention from a different one that can be more threatening. Such covert masking of ominous conditions is a property of discourse about public issues and often an explanation for the willingness of a large public to accept an issue as legitimate even if they have no

> particular interest in remedying it. That attention to a conspicuous problem may reduce interest in a more troubling one is sometimes consciously recognized but more often subconsciously sensed. (p. 27)

Smith (2004) aptly applied Edelman's theory to educational reforms. She discovered a pattern of actions in educational reforms, such as high-stakes testing and school choice, that demonstrated how the "spectators" were being misled by onstage rhetoric when there were deeper issues taking place backstage. She concluded that, however pure the stated intentions of educational reforms and political reformers, "they serve political purposes and interests" (p. 154).

Some important elements of Smith's taxonomy include symbolic language; casting political actors as leaders, enemies, and allies, and plotting their actions; and the distinction between onstage and backstage actions. In this dissertation, particularly in Chapters 5 and 6, foreign teacher recruitment is analyzed in light of each of these categories in an attempt to examine the program as yet another potentially manufactured solution to the "problem" of teacher shortages and globalization.

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

In her examination of what makes teachers successful when teaching African-American students, Ladson-Billings (1997) posited a list of characteristics common among her successful teachers, an approach that has come to be known as culturally relevant pedagogy. Scholars have referred to this skill—the ability to teach students in a way that validates their cultural identities—by many different names, including "culturally relevant, sensitive, [student] centered, congruent, reflective, mediated, contextualized, synchronized, and responsive" (Gay, 2000, p. 29). But common among

all research is the notion that students' cultures need to be validated in both what they are taught and how they are taught, combined with a wider transformative purpose to empower students. For the purposes of this study, Ladson-Billings' (1997), Gay's (2000), and Irvine and Armento's (2001) descriptions are used when assessing the pedagogical practices of the foreign teachers being studied. Culturally relevant teaching is evident in the way teachers see themselves and others, the way teachers structure their social interactions, and the way teachers view knowledge in their classrooms (Ladson-Billings, 1997, p. 28).

For the purposes of this study, however, it is important to remember that simply because a teacher is the same race or culture as her students does not mean she is automatically culturally relevant or a better teacher than someone of a different race who has been trained to use culturally relevant pedagogy. As Nieto (2003) explains:

> We cannot assume that, simply because of their marginal status in society, African American, Latino, Asian, and American Indian prospective and practicing teachers and others different from the majority can teach students from other backgrounds… It does not necessarily give them an added advantage in confronting actual differences in the classroom and helping them address these differences effectively. (p. 231)

Thus, we cannot assume that teachers from another country will be more effective at culturally relevant pedagogy, and we must investigate how, if at all, foreign teachers achieve the teacher recruitment program's stated goal of serving as "cultural ambassadors" who are able to bring their culture into the classroom and who are better

than American teachers at working with multicultural students. This framework is utilized throughout the dissertation, especially in Chapter 4.

Foreign Teachers in a Local Context

This study was conducted in a major metropolitan school district in the southeastern United States. At the time of the study, Glendale School District had approximately 140 schools and 16,000 employees, serving more than 100,000 students. The district spent approximately $8,000 per student, slightly less than the average spending in surrounding districts and states. In addition to traditional elementary, middle, and high schools, the district was also home to magnet, charter, theme, special education, Montessori, alternative, vocational, and international schools. The student population was over 70% Black and largely low-income, as determined by the over 60% of students on free-or-reduced lunch. Like many urban districts, Glendale was highly segregated. Though White students made up 10% of the population, they were clustered at only several schools in the north of the county. Glendale schools exhibited "typical" problems of urban environments, including lack of resources; bureaucratic hurdles; strict disciplinary plans and policing; high dropout rates, remediation, and school failure; student poverty; and teacher attrition (Kopetz et. al, 2005). Unique local problems also contributed to the difficulties faced by Glendale teachers and students. At the time of this study, several school-level administrators were indicted for cheating on the state examinations and district officials were in the midst of multiple lawsuits and criminal investigations. Though Glendale's website listed "a balanced budget" as one of their strengths, they were, in fact, in a deficit of more than $110 million, faced with closing schools, firing central office staff and other employees, and furloughing teachers.

The district employed between 60-100 foreign teachers each year for the last five years; in 2009-2010, there were 74 foreign teachers. Forty-nine of the teachers were recruited by the agency discussed in this study, referred to as International Recruitment, Incorporated (IRI). The remaining 25 teachers were from another regional agency. The teachers' grade levels and content areas are summarized in Table 1 below. Content areas were not specified for all teachers, only 68 of the 74.

Forty-six schools employed at least one foreign teacher, and many employed two or three teachers. To measure which of the schools can be considered "urban," I examined the free- and reduced-lunch data publically available online. Only four of 46 schools with foreign teachers have fewer than 50% students who can be classified as economically disadvantaged. Of those four schools, two are in the "Northern" section of the Glendale district. Therefore, 97.3% of foreign teachers working in Glendale in the 2009-2010 school year were placed in categorically urban schools in the "south" side of the district, which served primarily poor, African American students and traditionally had more difficulty hiring and retaining teachers. The district's four top high schools, as rated by SAT scores, and two top middle schools, all of which serve a majority of White students from the North of the district do not appear on the list because they did not employ any foreign teachers. Table 2 below shows a breakdown of each school that employs foreign teachers, the number of foreign teachers per school, and the racial and economic demographics of the student body.

Table 1
Foreign Teachers' Grade Level and Content Area Placements (2008-2009)

Grade Level and Content Area	Number of Foreign Teachers
Elementary	18
Middle	15
Secondary	40
Math	25
Special Education	23
Science	14
English	2
Spanish	1
Interrelated	3

Note: Data was not reported for all 74 teachers.

Table 2
Foreign Teachers' Schools' Demographics (2008-2009)

School	# of Foreign Teachers	% Students of Color	% Economically Disadvantaged
1. ES	1	100	71
2. ES	1	69	65
3. ES	2	99	95
4. ES	3	99	76
5. ES	1	99	75
6. ES	1	99	87
7. ES	1	92	91
8. ES	1	98	92
9. ES	2	68	49
10. ES	2	99	83
11. ES	1	97	78
12. ES	1	97	74
13. ES	2	99	85
14. ES	1	99	83
15. ES	1	97	93
16. ES Magnet	2	99	87
17. HS	1	96	76
18. HS	4	99	61
19. HS	1	97	71
20. HS	1	99	67
21. HS	2	93	87
22. HS	1	99	63
23. HS	1	54	21
24. HS	2	99	62
25. HS	2	99	54
26. HS	2	99	73
27. HS	4	99	65

28.	HS	2	99	63
29.	HS	2	99	47
30.	HS	4	99	74
31.	HS	3	99	49
32.	HS	6	99	69
33.	HS	1	84	48
34.	HS- Alternative	2	97	72
35.	MS	2	99	67
36.	MS	2	97	86
37.	MS	3	99	93
38.	MS	2	99	78
39.	MS	2	99	75
40.	MS	1	99	73
41.	MS	1	97	93
42.	MS	1	99	56
43.	MS	1	98	87
44.	MS	1	87	58
45.	Special Education Center	1	86	57
46.	Special Education Center	1	NO DATA	NO DATA
	MEAN		**94.8% students of color**	**73.2% economically disadvantaged**

The four teachers who participated in this study reflected the trend of foreign teachers being placed on Glendale's south side, as each of their south side schools served 99% students of color, and the average percentage of students on free- or reduced-lunch was 65%. Particular facts about their four schools—Douglass High, Woodson High, Tubman High, and Chisholm Middle—are discussed along with the participant profiles in the following section.

Participants

Glendale School District used two regional agencies to recruit foreign teachers. Both agencies recruited primarily from India. The four teachers in this study were from IRI. All of the teachers were from the Hyderabad area. As is typical of foreign teachers, all possessed a J-1 International Exchange visa, renewable for up to three years. All of the participants lived in the same apartment complex where they were originally placed

by IRI, or the neighboring complex. The complexes were located in the north of the district, approximately 30 minutes from each of their schools, and were primarily home to other Indian and East Asian immigrants.

Each participant is described in brief below, including her personal and educational background and teaching experience in India. Additionally, I place each participant, using pseudonyms, in her individual context by describing her principal and school community.

Shrusty

Having been in the United States for three years when I met her, Shrusty was the "mother" of a group of foreign teachers. She "knew the ropes" and had learned enough about her school and local community that she drove other teachers to and from schools nearby. Shrusty taught Special Education at Douglass High School, where she worked in a resource classroom for seven students with severe special needs. In India, she had been trained in Special Education and, with her family, operated a special education "center" for disabled students for two years before her departure. Shrusty also taught computer programming to adults in India, and had previously worked as a call center manager for a major U.S. online company.

Shrusty's principal at Douglass High School was Mr. Scott. Though he had been a principal for four years, it was his first year at Douglass, where the district had transferred him to "improve" the school. Douglass was one of the largest high schools in the district, qualified for Title I status, and had not made Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) for seven years. When asked about the school's strengths, Mr. Scott answered, "Athletics… I do not know of any others." When asked about challenges, however, he

provided an extensive list of difficulties, including academic performance; student apathy and teacher apathy stemming from a dysfunctional school culture; student misbehavior stemming from lack of parental involvement; and high teacher and administrative turnover.

Aleeza

Also in her third year at the time of this study, Aleeza was in her first year at Tubman High School, having been transferred from Douglass, where she spent two years working with Shrusty. Aleeza taught 10th and 11th graders in Physical Science and Chemistry. She had two years experience teaching middle school in India, where she received two Bachelor's degrees in Science and Education of Science, plus a Master's degree in English. She decided to switch to teaching high school in the United States because she wanted to provide more in-depth science instruction. Unique to the teachers in this study, Aleeza had traveled and lived outside India, in the Middle East and Europe, before coming to the States.

At Tubman High School, Aleeza worked under Mr. Clark, who was in his first year at the school, but had previously been her principal at Douglass. Tubman, a Title I school, had a graduation rate of approximately 70% and had difficulty making AYP each year. Mr. Clark said that Tubman's biggest strength was its students, who may not realize all they can accomplish, but who he saw as having "unlimited potential." Though others in the district may have "underestimated" Tubman, he claimed it was an "untapped gold mine." He identified the school's challenges as needing to raise test scores, improve the level of instruction for all students, and deal with discipline issues "common to all urban schools."

Faria

Mathematics teacher Faria was in her third year at Woodson High School. There, she taught Geometry, Algebra I, and Algebra II. In India, she received her Bachelor's of Education in Mathematics and Physical Science. She had seven years experience teaching similar subjects, plus Physical Science, at an Indian private school. She had never traveled outside her state or country before, but she was given the chance to teach in either the United States or Oman. She chose this country because it was "the land of opportunity."

Woodson High School was a Title I school in the south of the district. Led by Mr. Norman, in his fourth year as principal, Woodson graduated 85% of its seniors. The school frequently made AYP. Mr. Norman attributed this to the high level of teacher retention, commitment to the school, and devotion to the community. Challenges identified by Mr. Norman included the transitory nature of the community, which did not allow for a consistent student body; the need for students to contribute to their household income, which meant students were often tired or unprepared for each school day; and discipline problems common in other public schools. Woodson High School attempted to control for these challenges by offering extra tutorials and Saturday school.

Samina

Samina was in her first year at Chisholm Middle School, teaching sixth grade Language Arts. In India, she received two Bachelor's degrees, one in science and one in education, and a Master's degree in English. She taught for seven years, including sixth through ninth grades and an adult spoken English class. Though she had more experience

teaching science, she was hired to teach English at Chisholm; she was one of only several foreign teachers ever hired to teach English in the district.

Chisholm Middle School was also a Title I school and was the feeder school for Douglass High. The principal, Mr. Sutherland, was in his third year at Chisholm. He explained that the school's strengths were dedicated teachers and students who "come to school everyday and they come prepared to learn, the majority of them." The challenge, however, according to Mr. Sutherland, was that because many parents worked several jobs, it was difficult to get parents involved in school decisions and classroom life. Other students had abusive or unsupportive home situations that had "a profound impact on their lives at school because they come to school sometimes very angry. They act out because of what has happened the night before or a week before." One way the school accommodated students and families with these challenges was to make full use of the Title I Community Liaison position, filled by a school counselor, to reach out to parents and find ways to get them involved in their child's education.

District Officials

In order to better contextualize the experience of my participants, I also conducted interviews with two Glendale district administrators. Ms. Muller and Ms. Jefferson served in the Human Resources department at the district office and were involved in the foreign teacher recruitment process at varying points throughout the year. They were able to speak to the district's reasons for recruitment, overall hiring processes, and orientation and professional development programs for foreign teachers.

Agency Official

The founder and owner of IRI, Ms. Jain, agreed to be interviewed for this study. IRI places approximately 60 teachers per year in one state in the Southeast, and Ms. Jain was the sole person responsible for interviewing and hiring teachers in India; coordinating their departure, arrival, and orientation in the United States; and maintaining communication throughout their tenure in the country. Her statements about her agency and teachers are compared to the comments of teachers, principals, and district officials, and to my observations, throughout the dissertation.

Union Representatives

To contextualize the policy context in which foreign teacher recruitment exists, I interviewed three representatives from the national American Federation of Teachers (AFT). Ms. Dougherty and Mr. Adams (pseudonyms) were specifically selected because of their work on a 2009 report about foreign teachers. Mr. McNeil (real name) served as legal counsel for a lawsuit against a recruitment agency in Louisiana. They provided important facts and opinions about equitable hiring processes, fair treatment in the workplace, and the future of recruitment. Additionally, I spoke with Mr. Monaghan (real name), the President of the Louisiana Federation of Teachers, about the Louisiana lawsuit and how to best support foreign teachers. Representatives of the union with the most members in the Glendale district, however, declined to be interviewed.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of seven chapters. Now that I have contextualized the recruitment of foreign teachers, setting and participants, I summarize the relevant literature in Chapter 2. Data regarding research methods are presented in Appendix A.

Then, I explore the experiences of my participants in each thematic chapter. Chapter 3 considers the stated similarities and differences between foreign teachers' classrooms abroad and in the United States and the effects of these differences on their practice. It expands the popular literature about the benefits and challenges of recruitment and is informed by teacher interviews and classroom observations. Chapter 4 highlights the culturally relevant pedagogy of foreign teachers, as well as their relationships with students of diverse backgrounds. Data for this chapter are gleaned from teacher and principal interviews, classroom observations, and discussions with district and agency administrators. Next, Chapter 5 examines the way foreign teachers partially fulfill the goals of recruitment programs, in particular, solving the teacher shortage, acting as cultural ambassadors, and bringing high-quality education to urban students. In addition to teacher interviews and observations, this chapter is informed by discussions with principals, administrators, agency officials, and union representatives. Then, Chapter 6 evaluates the hidden purposes and unintended consequences of international recruitment, including outsourcing, attacks on teachers unions, greater control over teachers and practice, and the advancement of a political spectacle. Finally, a concluding Chapter 7 synthesizes the data and themes and makes recommendations for research, policy, and practice.

Chapter 2:

Literature Review

As far back as 25 years ago, some school district policymakers were asking how they might harness foreign teaching talent for U.S. students: "we import just about everything else—why not teaching talent as well" (Wolff & Glaser, 1986, p. 27). As urban school leaders realized that financial incentives, alternative certification, and U.S.-based recruitment programs did not fill their teacher vacancies, many turned to recruiting teachers from abroad. In fact, such recruitment became so widespread that some districts made special arrangements with Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) to have more visas allocated for incoming teachers (Bradley, 2000), and other districts hired outside firms to manage recruitment (Barber, 2003; Coates, 2005; Sack, 2001; Vaishnav, 2001). This review of the literature describes the trends, benefits, and challenges of foreign teacher recruitment in U.S. urban schools.

There were only two available national statements on trends in foreign teacher recruitment. First was Barber's (2003) report for the National Education Association, in which he used data from the INS, U.S. Labor Department, State Department, and various teacher placement agencies to estimate that around 15,000 foreign teachers were employed in U.S. schools in the 2002-2003 school year. Of these, around 10,000 were employed in public school settings. Most of the teachers were placed in states with large urban districts that were members of the Council of the Great City Schools, such as California, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, New Jersey, Ohio, and Texas.

For school districts to sponsor a foreign teacher under the J-1 Exchange Visa program, which allows one year employment, renewable up to three years, the districts

had to ensure teacher proficiency in English, a provision of medical insurance, and program orientation, both pre- and post-arrival in the United States. In addition, the districts were required to monitor teachers' welfare and progress, file an annual report with the U.S. State Department, and confirm that the teaching position was, in fact, temporary (Barber, 2003). Specific orientation information was required, including information about: life and customs in the United States; community resources, including public transportation, schools, and banks; healthcare and insurance; outlines of program rules, structure, and representatives; and official materials from the State Department (Barber, 2003). It was unclear whether the "required" information was actually distributed to international teachers.

Next, Barber's report described third-party recruitment, placement, and employment agencies for foreign teachers.[1] Most school districts paid agencies between $11,000 and $14,000 per year. Barber noted that school districts, many of which were already stretched monetarily, found ways to include this expense in their budgets because foreign teachers did not require retirement, healthcare, and Social Security benefits (because the teachers paid these costs through agency fees).

Several years later, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) expanded Barber's report, updated the number of foreign teachers in the United States to almost 20,000, and synthesized the process, perils, and international impact of foreign teacher recruitment (American Federation of Teachers, 2009). Aptly titled *Importing Educators*, the report highlights recruitment dangers such as visa fraud, indentured servitude,

[1] Selected agencies included Amity Institute; Foreign Academic and Cultural Exchange Services, Inc. (FACES); Global Teachers Research and Resources, Inc. (GTRR); Intalage, Inc.; Superior Management Group; Teachers Placement Group; Universal Placement Services, Inc; and Visiting International Faculty (VIF).

unequal benefits, culture shock, and communication barriers. Unique to this report is the discussion of the impact on foreign teachers' home countries, such as the Philippines, which are left with fewer human and economic resources as a result of the "brain drain." The report noted that, "while the hiring of overseas-trained teachers may be a Band-aid treating the symptom of the teacher shortage, it is in no way a cure for the conditions that caused the shortage in the first place" (p. 25), and then offered several suggestions for maintaining equitable hiring processes. Recommended were:

> the development, adoption and enforcement of ethical standards for the international recruitment of teachers; improved access to the government data necessary to track and study international hiring trends in education; and international cooperation to protect migrant workers and mitigate any negative impact of teacher migration in sending countries. (AFT, 2009, p. 27)

Empirical Research

Only two empirical studies could be found on foreign teacher recruitment, both of which pointed to possible issues in my study. Finney, Torres, and Jurs (2002) published a study on the South Carolina and Spain Visiting Teacher Program.[2] Begun in 1999, the program was designed to alleviate the shortage of foreign language teachers in South Carolina; provide qualified native speakers from Spain for foreign language classrooms; provide students with a rich linguistic and cultural experience; and provide knowledge of and appreciation for Spanish culture in the community. In 2001, the district hired 22 Spanish teachers on J-1 visas and placed them in nine different schools. Foreign teachers

[2] Though the authors described the program as a teacher "exchange," because no American teachers were sent to teach in Spain, the program was, in fact, more representative of foreign teacher recruitment than an exchange.

attended a three-day orientation on South Carolina culture, the educational system, administrative information, and support services. Each teacher was also assigned an experienced teacher mentor for support and common planning. The program was evaluated based on "data collected throughout the first year" (Finney at al., 2002, p. 95). The only description of those data was that teacher portfolios were used to "evaluate the experience." No other detailed methodology or data analysis were given, except in the conclusion where a brief mention was made of a questionnaire given to principals, foreign teachers, and mentors. The researchers found that foreign teachers were concerned about: too little orientation time; difficulties in classroom management and discipline; lack of awareness about school procedures and policies; lack of standards for Spanish classes; improper placement of teachers in schools with "instructional philosophies different from their own"; difficulties understanding the grading system; and not enough networking and support (p. 96).

Despite these concerns, overall, the researchers concluded that the program results were "overwhelmingly positive," and teachers, their mentors, and principals all valued having native Spanish speakers in foreign language classrooms. Though the surveyed principals said the program was helpful for students, no other mention was made of foreign teachers' effect on students' behavior, beliefs, cultural awareness, or academic achievement.

The second empirical study was Hutchinson's (2005), which outlined the need for districts to hire foreign teachers to fill teacher shortages in key areas, and which was later subsumed into his larger "cross-cultural guide for international teachers and their employers." The researcher was a foreign teacher from Ghana, and much of his research

was informed by his own self-proclaimed difficulties and inability to communicate effectively with his secondary science students. Hutchinson interviewed four international teachers at a private international school in the Southeastern United States. He found that the four foreign teachers were challenged by "pedagogical gaps," due to differences in school systems, assessment, philosophy, communication issues, and teaching methods. Foreign teachers also experienced "pedagogical shifts," which forced them to change the way they behaved and taught in U.S. schools.

Many of Hutchinson's observations and conclusions appeared to be based more on personal experience than on themes that emerged from the data. Additionally, in his attempt to provide a variety of suggestions for international teachers, he made too many overarching claims about what "American" schools look like and what "Americans" believe. In collapsing all of these notions into one belief system, for example that everyone thinks "schools should be decentralized in control and administration" (p. 34), he ignored the multiplicity of competing views that foreign teachers have to face and evaluate when they arrive. These shortcomings were especially troubling because some recruitment agencies and districts, including the district that is the focus of my study, used Hutchinson's book as a guide for their orientations.

Although the scholars' findings in the two studies I identified were supported by other anecdotal literature, the studies were limited in scope because of their participant selection. Finney, Torres, and Jurs (2002) studied only foreign language teachers, and Hutchinson's (2005) participants were all immigrants who had moved to the United States before they were employed, not recruited as in the case of the majority of international teachers today. Hutchinson's teachers were also employed in a private

school, a vastly different environment than the urban schools where most international educators are placed. The findings from these past studies could be extended and the limitations overcome in a study that examined urban teachers, newly recruited, in a variety of subjects, as was done in the research reported here.

International Teachers in the Media

Though there is a dearth of empirical literature on foreign teachers in U.S. classrooms, journalists for major city newspapers and magazines have been writing about this trend in education for at least ten years. The majority of the articles were written from 2001 to 2010, as the number of foreign teachers increased and the use of third-party recruitment agencies developed. The articles' authors primarily discussed the benefits of recruitment and briefly noted foreign teachers' personal challenges.

Several reporters stated that the greatest benefit, according to proponents of foreign teacher recruitment, was that overseas teachers fill much-needed positions in U.S. schools. Sack (2001) explained that, "where it was once uncommon to cross state lines in pursuit of new teachers, recruiters now do not blink at crossing oceans" (p. 8). Most journalists framed the issue as one of a last resort strategy that districts turned to only after local candidates did not meet requirements for employment. Other cited benefits of foreign teachers were that some districts found the teachers highly qualified and representative of the diversity of student populations. For administrators in urban schools in Baltimore, foreign teachers were "attractive candidates: they're highly educated—many have advanced degrees—they have tons of classroom experience and most are fluent in English" (Coates, 2005, p. 65). To test their English proficiency, administrators asked foreign teachers about their favorite movie or actor and gave them unexpected

questions to test how intelligible their language would be to K-12 American students. Additionally, the diversity that foreign teachers brought was appealing to some districts. The director of human resources for the Chicago Public Schools claimed that foreign teachers' diversity would bring new talents and insights for students immersed in a world moving toward a more global economy (Cook, 2000).

Benefits of foreign teacher recruitment cited also extended to the foreign teachers themselves. Monetary incentives were mentioned most often in the articles, because "teaching in the United States means a lot more than just a job" to many international educators (Graham, 2001, p. 2). As with most immigrant workers, the pay benefits were much greater in the United States than in their home countries. In the Philippines, for example, teachers made between $9,000 and $12,000 per year, whereas if they were hired in Baltimore they made $45,000 (Coates, 2005, p. 65). According to Vaishnav (2001), "a big motivation for some of the teachers [was that] they planned to send money back home" (p. 3). The teachers also came because they wanted to experience American life and culture, or because they wanted a challenge, or something out of their comfort zone (Coates, 2005; Henry, 2001; Neufield, 2005; Sack, 2001; Shapira, 2005; Vaishnav, 2001).

The challenges of foreign teacher recruitment were also noted in popular press articles, though most of the challenges were carefully balanced with positive, personal anecdotes. First, many critics of hiring foreign teachers argued that it was a short-term solution that did not address the real problems behind the teacher shortage (Henry, 2001). Mildred Hudson, of Recruiting New Teachers, Inc., stated that the trend was a "reactive and emergency measure to rectify the problem" of a teacher shortage that the government

knew was coming for 10 to 15 years but they "didn't do enough to stop it" ("School districts import teachers," 2001, p. 1). Teachers' union representatives also feared that "the availability of teachers from abroad may reduce pressure on governments to address the teacher shortage with pay increases and other benefits" (Sack, 2001, p. 8).

Second, critics maintained that hiring foreigners "could harm learning and result in wasted effort [because] educators unaccustomed to inner-city challenges… may be ineffective or get homesick and leave" (Cook, 2000, p. 18). They explained that there was not enough data to judge international teachers' classroom performance ("School districts import teachers," 2001), and that too many foreign teachers did not meet state certification requirements (Sack, 2001).

Monetary expenses were also a challenge, though more for foreign teachers than school districts themselves. Though schools often paid over $10,000 per teacher to third-party agencies, they were able to secure funds from the district and state to assuage some expenses. The foreign educators, however, paid the agencies thousands of dollars out-of-pocket. Coates (2005) reported that some teachers paid $10,000 to "secur[e] interviews with American administrators and receiv[e] help with visas and other immigration documents" (p. 65).

Challenges also extended to the foreign teachers' classrooms, especially regarding classroom discipline and teaching methods. Regardless of how experienced a teacher was in his or her own country, there was still at least a six-month adjustment period for teaching and managing U.S. students (Cook, 2000). Several authors reported the complaints of foreign teachers who found that "U.S. students are not as motivated and tend to be discipline problems" (Henry, 2001, p. 2). Coates (2005) discussed the culture

shock for people who have worked in countries where "educators are accorded great respect" (p. 65). One teacher, according to Coates, only survived because of her prayers and support from the principal. Cook (2000) summarized the story of Mexican and Filipino teachers in Dallas, who were not comfortable in the classroom with "disrespectful" American students: "They were well-qualified… but many were used to managing classrooms differently. They also had trouble passing a mandatory state test. The district would now rather spend its money to retain teachers and recruit locally" (p. 18).

One of the reasons foreign teachers in Dallas could have had trouble passing the mandatory state test was because many foreign teachers were not familiar with U.S. teaching methods and standards. Many foreign teachers failed to "understand the new focus on standards" because they always had a strict national curriculum with stringent guidelines and tests (Henry, 2001, p. 2). Furthermore, many European and Asian pedagogical cultures were based on lecture, and, as a Chicago professor explained, "our [American] kids do not want lecture" (p. 2).

The Baltimore Case

There are many urban school districts that utilize foreign teacher recruitment; their particularities were highlighted in the major newspapers of Baltimore, Chicago, New York, Atlanta, Philadelphia, and Houston. Baltimore City's program was an example of typical recruitment in an urban district. According to Coates (2005) and Neufeld (2005), full-scale foreign recruitment began in 2002 as a response to Baltimore's teacher shortage of 800 yearly vacancies. The district hired Avenida International Consultants (AIC) to recruit Filipino teachers for "the jobs they can't get enough locals to

take on" (p. 64), and since 2002, only 10% of foreign recruits left the program. By 2009, ten percent of Baltimore teachers were Filipino. Coates reported that teachers were given a four-hour workshop to "smooth the transition," though no details were given about workshop content. Baltimore teachers' unions were divided on the issue, but Coates stated that "there have not been complaints" about foreign teachers. One principal said her foreign teacher has "done a fantastic job," but gave no further explanation (p. 65).

Neufeld (2005) presented the personal story of one such Filipina teacher, Aileen Mercado, a 34-year-old special education teacher who was hired to teach language arts and mathematics in Baltimore City schools. The author explained that the Baltimore district recruited Filipino teachers in particular because of the country's surplus of qualified candidates and their large English-speaking population. The applicants were pre-screened by AIC for teaching experience and strong knowledge of mathematics and science. Selected candidates were interviewed by two Baltimore recruiters in November and January 2005, and during the interviews, "the main criterion used to weed people out was English fluency" (p. 1). The chosen teachers, who accepted the positions in the United States for various reasons, were assigned jobs in the city's most difficult schools labeled "persistently dangerous." Mercado came to the country primarily for money and a challenge. Here, her salary was $45,000, a substantial amount more than the average Filipino salary of $3,000 for public school teachers[3]. The foreign teacher also felt she "wouldn't have peace" until she discovered what about the United States made "everybody want to go there" (p. 3). Mercado left a husband and three young daughters

[3] The average Filipino salary of $3,000, according to Neufeld (2005), was different than the $9,000 to $12,000 average salary reported in Coates (2005). It was unclear what accounted for the substantial difference in reported salaries.

in the Philippines and, as part of the program, was living with four other foreign teachers in one apartment. Forty-four of the 58 newly-hired teachers lived in one apartment complex close to the subway because they did not have cars. Neufeld briefly described the orientation process for Baltimore's foreign teachers:

> The school system organized a 'cultural transition week,' during which the teachers learned about different family structures. Watching a video, they learned about families in which both parents are gay- a foreign concept in their Filipino, Roman Catholic, conservative culture. They attended a summer institute open to all 700 new city teachers, and they assisted veteran teachers in summer programs. (p. 4)

Neufeld tracked Mercado and her colleagues as part of a yearlong series in *The Baltimore Sun*, including a special report when two Filipino teachers committed suicide within six months of each other during the 2006 school year.

Visiting International Faculty

Visiting International Faculty (VIF), based in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, was the largest and most-reviewed foreign teacher recruitment program. Founded by brothers David and Alan Young in 1987, VIF was initially intended as a cultural exchange program for college faculty, but by 2005, the program had grown into the largest K-12 foreign teacher placement organization in the country (Keller, 2005). VIF claimed that, since its founding, "thousands of teachers have influenced the lives of more than half-a-million students and countless community members" (Visiting International Faculty, 2006). In 2005, around 1,900 foreign teachers were recruited for 1000 schools, and they were placed in eight different states, including Florida, Georgia, Maryland, South

Carolina, and Virginia (Peterson, 2005). VIF also recruited teachers for 79 districts in North Carolina. According to Keller (2005), one fourth of all North Carolina public schools hosted a VIF foreign teacher. The foreign teachers came from more than 40 different countries.[4] VIF recruited teachers of all subjects and grade levels, though they specialized in mathematics, science, foreign language, special education, and bilingual education.

Though VIF recruited for hard-to-staff schools, its predominant mission espoused in program materials was "to enable international teachers to serve as cultural ambassadors for students, schools, and communities worldwide" (Visiting International Faculty, 2006). Keller (2005) reported that "company leaders insist… VIF is a cultural exchange program first and a recruiting business second" (p. 8). The experience was sold as one of cultural immersion and broadened horizons:

> Imagine your students listening attentively as their South African-born teacher shares his experiences during the last days of apartheid; a German teacher discusses the fall of the Berlin Wall; or a Spanish teacher demonstrates Flamenco… to an after-school club. Extraordinary teachers sharing the world with your students- that's the essence of…VIF (Visiting International Faculty, 2006).

The Young brothers, in a Letter to the Editor of *Education Week* (2001), stated that, "instead of merely filling vacant teaching positions, properly selected teachers from other countries expose our students to the world beyond our borders, thus preparing them to

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[4] Countries included Argentina, Australia, Canada, Chile, Columbia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, England, Ireland, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Philippines, Romania, South Africa, Spain, and Venezuela.

thrive both professionally and personally in our increasingly diverse and interconnected society" (Young & Young, 2001, p. 1). VIF's basic application requirements included English language proficiency; the equivalent of a U.S. Bachelor's degree; teacher training and experience in K-12 classrooms; and a valid driver's license and driving experience. Program materials did not specify how much training and teaching experience were actually necessary to be selected by VIF. Rather, they stated that only one in ten applicants was selected "after a winnowing process that include[d] essays, interviews, recommendations, and criminal background checks" (Keller, 2005, p. 8). It was also unclear whether VIF believed these requirements were the only ones that made a teacher "highly-qualified" and why local candidates would have fallen short of these minimal prerequisites.

VIF made accommodations for foreign teachers' travel arrangements, visas, certifications, and health insurance. Other program components included pre-departure preparation and guidance; travel stipends; arrival pickup in host country; housing location assistance; professional orientation sessions; interest-free relocation loans; and automobile leasing and insurance. These components were identified in list form and thus, the pre-departure training and professional orientation sessions were not explained in detail, though Keller (2005) reported that one VIF teacher had only a three-day orientation session. Throughout the foreign teachers' tenure, VIF also provided health, disability, and life insurance; professional development; cultural-education guides and training; 24-hour emergency support; travel opportunities; support from a local advisor; and an alumni email network. Again, no specifications were given for any continued

support activities, and when I attempted to obtain materials from VIF for this research, I was told that "all materials are proprietary" and would not be released.

The success of VIF teachers was unclear and debated. VIF claimed that it had a "high rate of success," including a "95 percent success rate of VIF participants. And schools rate more than 80 percent of VIF participants as 'outstanding' or 'above average'" (Visiting International Faculty, 2006). There was no systemically collected evidence to support this assertion, however, and most of the proof given was anecdotal. Keller (2005) interviewed two principals in North Carolina public schools, one of whom said VIF teachers "filled a big void,… came with experience,… are very flexible,… and are so eager to participate in the program" (p. 8). Another principal said "the diversity of backgrounds makes her school stronger" because the student population was increasingly foreign-born. In the article, neither principal explained how she knew VIF teachers were successful with students. In a VIF press release, the company reported that an analysis by the SAS Institute, a for-profit business software developer in North Carolina, showed that "VIF teachers match U.S. teachers on student test scores" and are "equally successful… in promoting student achievement on standardized tests" (Visiting International Faculty, 2006). The only details provided about the SAS study were that the institute analyzed test scores on final tests for each grade and course in the Guilford County Schools in North Carolina. The results of VIF teachers' students were compared "anonymously by grade level and course" to the scores of U.S. teachers' students. The press release did not note if researchers controlled for prior achievement or out-of-classroom effects like gender and socio-economic status. Principals also argued, however, that "test scores have gone up,"

and foreign teachers had “dramatic positive results on student learning” (Visiting International Faculty, 2006).

Challenges of VIF teachers were not as widely discussed as VIF teachers’ benefits. VIF acknowledged that “culture shock is an almost unavoidable consequence…and a challenge every VIF teacher will experience” (Visiting International Faculty, 2006). The company outlined four stages of cultural adaptation as described by Oberg (1954), including euphoria, irritability, gradual adjustment, and adaptation. VIF also provided a list of cultural contrasts of difficulty for foreign teachers. The dichotomies between the United States culture and many other cultures included: the child as an individual versus the child as a group; independence versus affiliation and helpfulness; fostering and self-esteem versus criticism to enable positive behavior; challenging versus listening to authority; personal choice versus group consensus; and flexibility in social roles versus stability in social roles (Visiting International Faculty, 2006). There was no discussion of how to help foreign teachers overcome culture shock or the difficult balance of these seeming dichotomies.

The challenges noted by foreign teachers hired by VIF were no different than those expressed in previously discussed articles. Student discipline was stated as a main problem, and one teacher “had a miserable first year” because she was the only foreign teacher assigned to one school (Keller, 2005, p. 8). VIF teachers had to “overcome barriers in language and terminology… and make the difficult and rapid adjustment to a new curriculum and unfamiliar methods of teaching” (Basu, 2002, p. 1). A South African VIF teacher also expressed concern over the added emphasis on standardized testing, a

nonexistent or less important issue in his country and others. He was also troubled by his students' general lack of engagement in education (Basu, 2002).

Literature Summary

Overall, journalists who discussed foreign teacher recruitment did not use systematic procedures of scholarly research. All of the articles were written to tell a story to a general audience of readers and thus, academic standards of interviewing and data collection were not followed. Personal anecdotes were included more often than methodically collected interviews or narratives that supported the author's conclusions about the benefits and challenges of hiring foreign teachers. Though the majority of articles did an adequate job of presenting firsthand accounts of foreign teachers and those who hired them, the authors did not include any evidence of foreign teacher effectiveness or student outcomes. Furthermore, the articles acted mainly as a review of several third-party programs like AIC, and they did not probe administrators about in-depth issues associated with hiring or support. Programs' and districts' orientation procedures were not detailed in most articles. Descriptions of the programs were vague, and systematically collected evidence was thin.

The lack of empirical research makes it difficult to draw any conclusions about the success of foreign teacher recruitment programs or foreign teachers' classrooms and students. But across the two studies and journalists' reports, several issues have been identified in different locations that warrant systematic study. Those potential problems include teachers' challenges with classroom management, culture shock, and potential for exploitation. Popular press articles serve a basic purpose, but by not unearthing the political motivations and implications of such recruitment, the public is left in the dark

about the reality of urban education today. Perhaps the lack of scholarly research on the topic is due to other political decisions; as Smith (2004) states, "the absence of calls for research on a particular policy may indicate that the program is above scrutiny or its benefits are taken for granted" (p. 177). The benefits of foreign teachers do seem to be taken for granted, and the administrations that continue to hire third-party agencies "have no intention [of] revealing hidden assumptions and glosses" (p. 153). They assume that a teacher from a different culture knows multicultural students, that a good teacher in one context is a good teacher in another, and that the development of capitalistic, globalized students should be educators' goal. In this study, I seek to examine those assumptions by investigating foreign teachers' classrooms and contextualizing those efforts through a consideration of educational policy in an era of urban disinvestment, globalization, and neoliberal discourse.

Chapter 3

Apples to Oranges: Classrooms in the United States and Abroad

On the first day, I had three gifts for my kids, in the sense [that] I brought something for them like a candy and something like that to introduce [myself] to [the] class and then we played a game. I gave them a word on the board, and I asked them to make ten words out of the word, and I told them that whoever is going to make it first, the first three are going to get a gift. And there was a girl who made it, and I gave her a gift. She threw that candy right into the trashcan right in front of me! I never expected that! But then I was quiet and the whole class was quiet when she did that. As soon as I gave [it to] her, she just threw it in the trashcan right in front of her! … I was like okay, maybe that is the way they behave here. So that was my first experience on my first day. – Aleeza, science teacher, 2/8/10

Walking into Aleeza's classroom, one would not know immediately that she was an international teacher. The room, like others in the high school, was crowded with 35 desks, an overhead projector, a teacher's lab table and computer desk, cabinets, and a white board. On a bulletin board in the back of the classroom, there were sections for state standards, assignment rubrics, and examples of student work from her Chemistry and Physical Science classes. Colorful posters with electrons and atoms adorned the wall. On blinds (which are shuttered), big student-drawn posters said "elements and compounds", "changes in matter", and "properties of matter." On the front board, there were sections labeled for Agenda, Opening (divided into standard, essential question, and bell

ringer), Work Period and Closing. As students strolled in before the bell rang for their first period class to begin, they picked up a textbook from the tilting pile at the front of the room and a notebook from underneath the lab table. Students did not have assigned seats, as when I asked one if I was in his seat, he said, "No, I am just thinking of where I want to sit." When the bell rang at 8:10 a.m., the teacher, Aleeza, entered from the hallway and shut the door. She looked at her 17 students, though by the end of the period there would be 28. If everyone attends, she told me later, there are more students than desks available. With the exception of two students who appear to be racially mixed, all others appear to be Black. She said quietly, as the principal came over the loud speaker to read the morning announcements, "Okay, you need to start on your bell ringer." The students talked to each other and did not heed her request. She repeated herself, and then there appeared the only indication that something was different from any other urban classroom: a student called out, "Miss, I don't understand you and your accent sometimes. What did you say?"

During second period, five miles away, Faria's high school math classroom looked remarkably similar. Here, too, there were clearly demarcated sections on the board, demonstrating her compliance with the district's mandates for organizing instructional time. Her 30 students were all Black and, just as the bell rang, moved hurriedly into her classroom from the noisy hallway, which was littered with piles of trash because it was one of the school's "locker clean out" days. Students had either "missed" the trash bins, or the bins had overflowed onto the floor, as one had to wade through piles of discarded paper to enter Faria's

classroom. Students in Faria's classroom shifted around the large boxes at the back of the classroom, which had been packed for her move to a room in the newly constructed wing. As a result of the move, which she told me was already one month delayed, there was nothing on the stark white walls except for chipping paint. Faria readjusted her head scarf and tapped on the board with a marker. "Look here," she called to her students over the din, "Get started on your Do Now."

Seven miles from Faria's classroom, Samina closed the door and escorted her third period, sixth grade language arts students in from the cafeteria. Every day, she had to pick them up from lunch and walk them in a straight line back to her classroom, where they spill noisily into desks. Boys sat on one side of the room, girls on the other, all in rows. The floor was littered with tissues, pen caps, notebooks, and stray paper. One student passed out composition books to her classmates, all 28 of whom appeared Black. Samina stood at the front of the room near the white board, which like Faria and Aleeza's, was marked with standards and instructions for each section of the class period. The first one that Samina pointed to was silent reading. She tried to get students' attention by clapping her hands and walking to a milk crate filled with paperback books. "It is time for reading now," she yelled, "No talking! This is a classroom, not a zoo. Now is reading time! You know this!" Three of the 28 students reached into their backpacks and pulled out a book; two walked over the milk crate and selected a book. The rest continued talking to each other.

Just three miles up the street, Shrusty escorted her students back into their classroom from Adaptive Physical Education. She was accompanied by two male para-professionals and seven students, all Black. Three students were in wheelchairs. The four students who could do so sat in desks labeled with their names in large block letters. Shrusty rolled one student into place, and then all students faced the television on the wall. It was mounted above the teacher's desk, near the entrance to the private bathroom. The students were silent as Shrusty turned on *The Lion King*, which they had presumably begun watching earlier, as it began in the middle of the movie. One student squealed out loud as the characters began singing on screen. Shrusty moved around the classroom, tending to various tasks: putting formula into one student's feeding tube; taking one student to be changed in the bathroom; entering attendance records on the computer in the back of the classroom; adjusting one student's headphones so that he was better able to hear Brittney Spears. Their classroom was at the end of a long hallway, far removed from the center of the school; they had to be near a side entrance, Shrusty explained later, so the special school buses could pick students up at the door. It was a world that felt far removed from the bustle of school dismissal for the other 1,000 students.

These classroom portraits demonstrate that, in many ways, the classrooms in which foreign teachers worked on a daily basis were not drastically different from the classrooms of other American teachers. The students were similar, and the state standards required similar instructional strategies and structure. However, the most common theme that arose in teacher interviews was the radical

difference between U.S. and Indian schools. From their first day onward, as described in Aleeza's quotation above, the teachers were intensely aware of how students, teachers, administrators, and schools operated differently in the United States than in their home country. Teachers described how every part of their lives in the United States, including living situations, attire, cultural habits, students' knowledge and behavior, school procedures, and even food, contributed to a feeling of "foreignness." One participant, when asked about the similarities, responded, "What is that saying you people have? Apples or oranges? That is what it is like to compare [the] USA and India… like apples to oranges."

In this chapter, I present the similarities and differences revealed in interviews and observations. I begin with a brief explanation of the prior knowledge and beliefs that participants held about "American" schools and culture, in order to demonstrate the ways in which they were or were not prepared. This section includes a sub-section on the teachers' first days to contextualize the way they initially experienced the schools' similarities and differences. Then, I discuss reported similarities between Indian and U.S. classrooms, including same-age students and economic disparities. Next, I explain reported differences, which are more substantial than the similarities. Differences are categorized into seven themes, including student behavior, resources, pedagogical strategies, curriculum, lack of cultural awareness, policies of school and state, and relations with parents and families. Finally, I illuminate the ways that these similarities and differences influenced teachers' practice and relationships. In particular, the teachers formed American allies to ease their transition, developed tight-knit Indian teacher communities, held lingering views of academic apathy, shifted their pedagogy and

management to a more "American" style of teaching, and struggled between hopelessness and resilience.

Prior Knowledge of "American" Schools and Culture

As noted in Chapters 1 and 2, foreign teachers often arrive in the United States with little information or misinformation. Though it is the responsibility of the recruitment agencies and the district to provide a comprehensive orientation, the minimal—if existent—orientation does not often serve to acclimate foreign teachers to their new environment. This section presents descriptions about what the teachers were and were not told and the ways they gathered information, including media portrayals of American schools, firsthand accounts from friends, orientations, and personal research. A general lack of information often resulted in difficult first days and culture shock.

Media Portrayals

Teachers in this study learned what little they knew about American culture and students from movies and the media. For example, Shrusty listed American movies, such as *Speed*, *Anaconda*, and 101 *Dalmatians*, which helped her learn American English. Faria concurred:

> I did not know much about American schools, but I just had an impression that it is going to be a great experience when I go there and teach, and I could get an opportunity to use technology in the classrooms and to not have to use those conventional methods of teaching like I used back home. (3/2/10)

Samina, too, anticipated that American students would be "more technically advanced" and "very logical, wanting me to give reasons behind everything."

However, contrasting this optimistic vision of the great "American experience" was a media-perpetuated world of violence. Shrusty postulated that "it was not a safe place for a woman to stay alone… It was a very wild culture… and you should not be talking to any males because they may take advantage." Faria, too, "had a kind of fear in my heart… I mean like, I have heard about two or three stories about a student shooting a teacher because she did not give a good grade. I have heard about those stories." Both were relieved to learn that these rumors were false.

Friends' Accounts

Some of what the teachers learned was from other Indian teachers who had previously taught or worked in the United States. That was how many of the 70 teachers who came to the county from India learned about international teaching in the first place, from friends or acquaintances that had taught in the United States and had since returned to India. Not all of this information was reliable, however. Shrusty told the story of a male Indian colleague who was in her "batch" of teachers. Before he left India, he was told that if he was alone in a room with a high school girl and did not do what she told him to do, "like put [her] grades up or something like that, then she may just say he raped her."

Stories of foreign teachers who returned to India were included on many websites and blogs devoted to Indian culture and education. These personal anecdotes mixed stories of success with gross exaggerations about urban students and schools. For example, Thomas (2003), reported:

> Public schools in the U.S. and Britain are notorious turfs of over-aged children with serious psychological and motivation problems. Most inner-city school

> children are from broken homes and prone to chronic indiscipline and violence. Chronic indiscipline, racial abuse and aggressive behaviour… is the rule rather than exception in inner-city… Whereas in India teachers usually have to cope with two or three students per class who pose behaviour problems, in most inner-city schools abroad only a handful are likely to observe the norms of propriety and good behaviour. Metal detectors are not uncommon and students are often not allowed to take even compass boxes into their classrooms. Some Indian teachers find the experience so stressful that they quit their jobs and return home. (pg. 3)

Though it was important to present future migrant teachers with the truth about American schools, including how the environment differed from the one they were accustomed to India, the generalizations and scare tactics used in such blogs could have prejudiced teachers before they even arrived in the United States.

Orientations

In the Glendale School District, there were two orientations that teachers should have attended. First was the recruitment agency orientation, conducted by IRI. Shrusty and Faria argued this orientation, in which they were taught about American schools from their Indian employer, was slightly effective, but too brief and should have been conducted before their departure from India. They also stressed the need for "real" stories about American classrooms, in the form of teacher testimonies or videoed lessons. Two of my four participants did not even attend orientation. As Samina arrived two weeks into the school year, she was unable to attend either orientation from the agency or the district. IRI provided "personal guidance," or a brief conversation over the phone. This "orientation" included a description of "the classroom setup… the three-stage lesson

plan, like the opening period and closing, the grading system, the word wall, the rules and regulations and bulletin boards." Although these technical tenets were important to learn, they were insignificant when compared to curriculum, pedagogy, and classroom management, three important topics that teachers faced immediately.

Another teacher, Aleeza, who arrived before school began also did not receive an orientation from the agency.

> *Aleeza:* They told us we were going to have one [an orientation]. But I do not know why we did have that… We came in two batches [of teachers]. So I guess the first batch had the orientation, and we did not have a chance to have orientation.
>
> *Alyssa:* So how much time separated this first batch from the second batch? A year?
>
> *Aleeza:* [laughing] No, it was like 15 days. (3/3/10)

The second orientation was through the Glendale district. Aleeza framed her brief orientation as a list of what *not* to do: do not lecture; do not touch a student; do not "handle a student and tell them that they cannot do that, you need to report it to somebody." Others who attended did not remember anything outstanding. A more detailed discussion of orientation and orientation materials is presented in Chapter 7.

Personal Research

Aleeza conducted her own Internet research to learn more about American schools and students: "I YouTubed a lot of things… like classrooms in USA and especially… [the state] where I was coming." She said she learned interesting facts about what American students were like and what American chemistry labs looked liked. Her

research, she presumed, showed "the way I have to teach over there." The contrast between her expectations and reality is revealed in the opening quotation to this chapter.

Shrusty learned about American schools through her education coursework. Because special education "originated" in the United States, she had read "all American books, but we could not get a clear picture of what exactly was going on, but everything was like, okay this is how it works in America." All teachers indicated that no amount of personal research, even when combined with media and friends' accounts and orientations, fully prepared them for the new contexts into which they were being placed.

The Result: Difficult First Days and Culture Shock

Much of what they learned, teachers said, was absorbed "on the spot" during their first few days in the United States. In fact, when asked if they remembered their first days in the country, the four participants responded by saying, "Of course!" or "I could never forget it!" Aleeza lost her suitcase and had to learn where to buy new clothing. Faria arrived after many flight delays and was greeted by another foreign teacher at 6:30 p.m. on her first day and told that she would be picked up a mere 12 hours later for her first day at her new school. The abrupt introduction into this new culture was a demanding shock. Shrusty recalled her initial exposure:

> The [district] orientation started the day after we got here, and the thing was we had jet lag and we were trying to concentrate on what they were saying because of the accent... Then the last day [of orientation] we were told to meet the principals [at our individual schools] and the problem was we didn't have a ride; we didn't know any places. We didn't know anything and our employer just left saying to search [for] somebody who can help you go there… We had our new cell phones

> at least [to call someone to come pick us up], but we looked around, it was all a jungle. He came after two hours, so we were waiting outside for two hours. (12/10/09)

Shrusty's sentiments concretely illustrated the trend that recruitment agencies and often districts themselves did not offer enough preliminary support and preparation for teachers entering their schools. Logistically, for teachers to be left without transportation in a new place is not only insensitive but also dangerous. Compounding the problem is that the orientation itself was not enough to make teachers feel comfortable in their new places and roles. Shrusty still saw her new environment as a "jungle," both literally because the area surrounding the school was forested, but also figuratively because the environment itself seemed menacing.

Samina's first day was similar to Aleeza's, presented in the opening quotation. She arrived two weeks into the school year, when a substitute was running her classroom. She asked the substitute to stay throughout the first week, during which she observed the class and "did not say a word." Because she missed both the agency and the district orientations, she had to learn on her own through observation. As a result, "my first impression on them [the students] was not good because I did not know the rules. I was not aware of the rules and the consequences, of how to deal with them, how to talk with them."

In addition to challenging starts to their school years, the teachers also experienced culture shock in their worlds outside the classroom. Aleeza, one of a few teachers allowed to bring her family after her first year, described her culture shock through the eyes of her nine-year-old son, who was not used to seeing public displays of

affection. She tried to explain to him that one culture was not better than the other, but even she was surprised by the "indecent exposure and girls and boys mixing it up [making out]" in the hallways of her school. Other teachers agreed that they were surprised by the "amount of smooching in front of adults" and a general "lack of decency." Samina was surprised that American students "get pregnant at the age of 12, that babies were having babies" and did not know that "America is composed of so many black people; especially in the South, we have so many blacks." Shrusty noted that some culture shock was because the apartment complex where they were all placed was mostly Indians and other Asians, so they "did not get to have a real American picture" immediately upon arrival.

Faria described seeing a young man with sagging pants on her first day in the United States:

> We could see what he was wearing inside; I was shocked! But I could not even ask anyone because I was just thinking it might be a problem with that person and he is just not caring about his dress. But to my shock, when I came to [my new school] the next morning, I saw the same thing in the cafeteria… All I saw were saggy pants and huge personalities. (3/2/10)

Much of what teachers noticed, such as teenage pregnancy, a large Black population, and sagging pants, they found to be in conflict with the picture of America they had seen in movies and in the news. The "urbanness" of their context made their situations more unexpected. Though these issues were not directly related to classroom instruction, culture shock still contributed heavily to the teachers' adjustment and feelings of belonging.

Similarities between Home and Abroad

A primary assertion of recruitment agencies was that teachers who were well-educated and experienced in their home countries would be effective in the United States. This assumed that good teaching was not dependent on context, which seemed to presume that there would be similarities between the teachers' home classrooms and U.S. classrooms. Indeed, districts in Baltimore recruited specifically from the Philippines because of the city's growing Filipino population. However, according to the 2000 Census, only 0.2% of Baltimore's population was Filipino, and the similarities between the Filipino teachers and the rest of the Baltimore population—primarily African-American and low-income—were few and far between (Coates, 2005; Neufeld, 2005).

The reported similarities between Indian and American schools, as described by my participants, were also negligible. The two similarities that they observed were only noted by two of the four participants, and they were glossed over quite quickly in a rush of describing differences. However, as a means to compare the stark variation in number of similarities and number of differences, the similarities are presented here. The teachers stated that they were teaching students of the same age as they had previously. Additionally, they noted that in both settings there existed disparities in students' class and income status.

Same Age Students

Though Samina, Shrusty, and Aleeza all had experience teaching adults, they also had experience working with younger students. The grades they taught in India were not always equivalent to the grades in U.S. schools, but the general age ranges were similar. For example, Samina taught sixth through ninth grades in India, and in the United States,

she was working with sixth graders. Though Faria noted that her American students did not always use their academic skills as much as their Indian counterparts, "they are the same age and just as smart."

Shrusty found the most similarities between her Indian and U.S. contexts because she worked with special education students in both countries. Though there were more severe cases of disability in U.S. schools, possibly because of the available resources and legislation, most of her students possessed similar disabilities and behavior as she was accustomed to in India. "Autism is autism," she noted, "In India or [the] USA."

Economic Disparities between Schools and Students

Growing up in India, Shrusty recalled that she was very aware of "those who had" and "those who did not have anything." She attended a school far away from her home, where she had to walk a distance to the bus stop, take a long bus ride, and then walk farther along to her school building. If she forgot her lunch, as she said she did many days, there was no way of getting one, and many of her classmates had nothing to share with her. However, in the same city, other students attended tuition-funded private schools. Thus, from a young age, she was aware of the economic disparities among Indian students and schools.

Aleeza found a similar situation in her Glendale classroom as she found in India. There were students who could afford to buy their own supplies, and those who could not. There were students who had to work long hours after school to contribute to their families' incomes, and those who did not. Similarly, in the public school where she taught in India, there were students of different castes. What was surprising for her was

not the difference among students' economic conditions, but the differences in conditions among schools.

In India, the disparity in school funding existed between public and private schools. In the United States, the teachers discovered, the disparity also existed *among* public schools. For example, the schools in which the teachers taught were all located in the South side of the Glendale district, an area known to be underfunded and under-resourced. However, these teachers' apartments lay in the North side of the district, and thus, those teachers with elementary age children sent their children each day to schools with significantly more resources than were available in the schools where they were teaching. "We are lucky we can send the kids there [to the North side schools]," Shrusty commented, "I think it would be different if they came here [to the South side schools]."

Differences between Home and Abroad

Teachers openly discussed the many struggles they faced as newcomers and how they quickly learned to "expect the unexpected." These challenges stemmed from the intensity and variety of experiences they faced:

> There are a lot of hard parts because of a whole new culture with different people, a different way of teaching, different situations. Most importantly, there are different kids. You cannot even compare time; it is day here and night there. Dressing style is different; the way you speak and live is different. The way you express yourself is different. Nothing is similar. (Samina, 3/31/10)

Differences for these teachers can be grouped into seven categories: student behavior, resources, pedagogical strategies, curriculum, lack of cultural awareness, policies of school and state, and relations with parents and families. Table 3 includes a brief

definition of each theme and its sub-categories, which are then discussed in-depth in the subsequent sections.

Table 3
Differences between Foreign Teachers' Home Classrooms and U.S. Classrooms

Category	Definition	Sub-categories
Student behavior	The way students act in and outside the classroom in relationship to the teacher, peers, and academic content	• Lack of focus • Academic apathy • Lack of respect for school/property/self/ others • Necessary management/control techniques
Resources	Classroom materials and objects (either literally or theoretically) for educative purposes	• More materials • More money • More technology
Pedagogical strategies	Teaching techniques perceived as more appropriate for American students	• No lecture • More hands-on • Group work/discussion

Curriculum	Textbooks, lesson planning, standards, and the way standards are measured	• Scripted curriculum
		• Assessment
		  ○ Standardized tests
		  ○ Multiple choice

Lack of cultural awareness	Students lack of or misinformation about non-U.S. people and cultures	• Knowledge of world outside U.S. • Knowledge of Indian culture
Policies of school and state	Policies that are formed outside the classroom but which influence classroom dynamics	• Multiple chances and no consequences • School reform
Relations with parents and families	Dynamics between parents and students, parents and teachers, and parents and school officials that influence classroom dynamics	• Supporting versus challenging teachers' authority • Communication issues • Parents as part of the "problem"

Student Behavior

Students' actions inside and outside of class were, by far, the most frequently cited difference between U.S. and Indian schools, according to the four teachers in this study. Concurring with the anecdotal literature that international teachers had difficulty adjusting to "U.S. students [who] are not as motivated and tend to be discipline problems" (Henry, 2001, p. 2), all four of the participants stated that their biggest challenge involved a complex interaction of student behavior, classroom management, and what they viewed as academic apathy. Though they had been "warned" in brief discussions with district or agency officials that American students behaved differently than the students they were used to, they were not fully prepared for the drastic difficulties that came as a result of these different cultural expectations for student behavior. For example, Faria said,

> I did not know much about American schools. I did not know none [sic] of the problems, and I just had an impression I would just have to go there and teach and it is going to be the same math. But then I came and saw this… [*pauses*]… I saw the same problems like I used to have back home, but the discipline issues are just a little bit more. (3/2/10)

Teachers attributed these difficulties to four key components of student behavior: students' lack of focus; academic apathy; a lack of respect for school, property, self, or others; and a lack of necessary management and self-control techniques. All participants, like those interviewed for news articles (Coates, 2005; Cook, 2000; Henry, 2001), discussed U.S. student behavior in contrast to the students' attitudes and academic focus in their home country.

Lack of focus. Participants suggested that American students were not used to focusing for long periods of time and were too distracted by outside influences, thus inhibiting their academic achievement. For example, Faria said her students "have a lot of potential, a lot of abilities, but they do not utilize it… [There are] a lot of distractions, like cell phones, I-pods, and everything, so they are distracted a lot… They do not care." During one classroom observation, her students' lack of focus was evident; within one class period, at least ten students, or one third of the class, was using their cell phones for music or text messaging at any given time, a direct violation of district and school policy. Students in India, on the other hand, were more focused because of fewer distractions at home and school, she said. Faria said that it was never an issue for teachers to tell students to turn off their I-pods in India, because the cultural expectation was that *if* students had personal technology devices at all, the devices were kept at home for after-school amusement.

Another teacher lamented her American students' lack of focus was due to a school culture that did not enforce consequences for misbehavior: "Teaching is a tough job in America, don't you think so? They cannot sit still for 10 minutes. But nothing is done about it. No one cares." Whereas in India, "their future is in darkness" if they do not succeed and behave in school, the teachers saw American schools as offering too many second chances for students who misbehave or fail. This related finding will be discussed in the future section of this chapter on policies of school and state.

Academic apathy. Several participants, when asked if they believed all students wanted to learn, replied with an emphatic "no." Citing students who did not come to school, slept through class, talked during lessons, or did not turn in homework, teachers

claimed that students did not care about their education as much as their students in India. One teacher said this was due to cultural expectations. In India, there was more competition among students that encouraged them to perform academically and made them more "keen learners," according to Aleeza. Faria held that this benefited the students because "they know if they do not work hard, they cannot be in the competition. They cannot get good jobs." She elaborated,

> [Students in India] work hard because they know if they do not, they cannot get good jobs… You do not graduate to a higher class unless you pass all the subjects, but here, even if they fail, they can take some make-up classes and still catch up. Maybe that is a reason why they are so careless. I do not see but 40% of them trying to master the subject. (3/2/10)

This sentiment shows Faria's belief that students' attitudes—in this case, their apathy—were intricately related to school policies. She hypothesized that students were apathetic because the school's policy of make-up classes was enabling them to eventually succeed even if they failed the first time. This idea is elaborated in the future section in this chapter on policies of school and state.

Lack of respect. Participants argued that respect for teachers and administrators was neglected or missing from their schools. "It was not easy the first time I came into [an American] classroom," Aleeza remembered, "Because I was used to the classroom in India. Everybody was talking to each other and I was like, I am the teacher, I am standing right here and they do not even care… I did not feel they behaved like students. They behaved like, who needs you here?" Samina wished longingly for a classroom of students who would stand up and say "good morning" like her students in India had done; instead,

as I witnessed during one classroom observation, she was greeted with students who were running around the classroom, throwing pencils, and dancing in the aisles. They acknowledged that, in the United States, teachers had to "earn" students' respect, while Indian students automatically afforded their teachers respect because of their authority. This acknowledgement, however, did not make it any easier to adjust to this drastic difference.

Teachers were similarly stunned by students' lack of respect for educational resources and spoke of this respect in religious analogies. Samina said, "Teachers are like gods to us [in India]," and Shrusty elaborated, "Schools are like churches, we worship them." She was especially aghast when she saw students kicking their books and tossing their materials into lockers or onto the floor. "In India, we pray the book," she exclaimed, and demonstrated how Indian students are taught to pick up a book and touch it to their foreheads with reverence, should it fall to the floor or be touched by their shoes. Because of their cultural respect for school buildings and property, they were appalled when American students threw paper on the ground, left their materials sprawled across desks, or brought food into the classroom. Shrusty also shared a story of finding a used condom on the school steps on her second day in the United States: "Imagine my horror, on my second day! I just hoped it wasn't normal. How disrespectful."

Lack of self-control. According to the Indian teachers, students who could not or would not self-regulate proved to be a distinctly different from students in India who sat through hour-long lectures, diligently taking notes and raising their hands to ask questions only when prompted. Even when U.S. classroom lessons took the form of a group discussion, where students were free to express their opinions, Samina found it

difficult to monitor their behavior because they were not able to control themselves, thus forcing her to "control" them instead of teach them:

> The best part about being here is the group discussion. It is not like that in India; we do not go for group discussions. So that one was exciting, but at the same time, it was annoying too because it was really hard for me to just keep them under control. They do not listen. It was really difficult. (2/16/10)

Samina's middle school students offered an interesting perspective on the issue of self-control. During one observation, in which the majority of students were talking in small groups and not working on the assignment, I conversed with Stefan, a male student described as "smart, but uncontrollable."

> *Stefan:* I'm going to be honest; we give it to her bad because she's Indian.
>
> *Alyssa*: Why?
>
> *Stefan:* Why not? She doesn't control the class. She can't control us.
>
> *Alyssa*: And you think that is because she is Indian?
>
> *Stefan*: Maybe. We don't do this shit to other teachers.
>
> *Alyssa:* Is it her job to control you, as you say, or your job to control yourselves?
>
> *Stefan*: [*thinks quietly for a moment*] I guess I don't know. (4/20/10)

Stefan's collapsing of the teacher's identity as an Indian and what he sees as her inability to control the class was an important revelation. To him, only someone who controlled students was worthy of good behavior, of a "shit"- free environment. Yet, he failed to notice or chose to ignore Samina's constant pleas and management strategies. For example, during one observation, Samina moved to each student's desk individually and asked them to get back to work; she worked with small groups of students who were

fighting in a corner; and she raised her voice and spoke to the whole class in an attempt to "control" them. She did this for 45 minutes in a 55-minute period, a length of time that seemed interminable to me as an observer. It was a wonder, then, what Stefan thought "control" looked like. It was not only her *effort* to manage, but her *success* at doing so, which was closely liked to his own willingness to be "controlled."

Principals and district officials supported this finding about difficulties with managing the classroom by describing their own observations. One principal stated,

> Mainly it is not knowing how to deal with the kids, not knowing what to do when there was blatant disrespect, not knowing how to motivate a kid that is not motivated… There is chaos in the room and [the teachers] do not know how to have control. When I say chaos, I mean like [what you see on] television: the kids throwing paper, kids talking, turned away from the teacher at the board, kids on their cell phones. (2/11/10)

As Ms. Muller, a district official, stated, problems with classroom management, if perpetual, led to other difficulties: "If we do not recommend someone staying, it is usually due to some type of classroom management problem that trickles down to performance. If you can't maintain order, you can't be effective in instructing." The belief that "control" and "order" were necessary for good teaching was clearly conveyed to foreign teachers (and to students, as evidenced in Stefan's quotation above), who emphasized they did not *want* to be strict, but felt it was necessary, based on what they had seen in other classrooms and heard from the administration. One teacher spoke explicitly about the uncomfortable adversarial relationship she felt was necessary with students:

Samina: The most important issue which I have is just discipline… and fear. They do not fear me.

Alyssa: They do not fear you? Do you think they need to fear you?

Samina: At least for respect. I think they do not respect other teachers, they just fear them… "Oh, Ms. Samina? She is not going to do anything."

Alyssa: So they are scared that they are going to be punished by the other teachers and not you?

Samina: It is not just punishment. I also give them punishments. I also give them suspensions. I also give them calls to parents… I do not know, maybe [it is] because of my international status. (3/31/10)

Resources

A second major difference the teachers identified between Indian and American schools was resources. All of the teachers noted that American schools were better-funded and provided more resources than did Indian schools. They cited three different kinds of resources: materials, money, and technology. Ironically, the schools in which the teachers were placed were four schools that American teachers and administrators might consider *under*-funded. For example, the schools' textbooks were somewhat outdated; there were no full science labs; and there were no more than two computers per classroom for student use, if any. Compared to the resources available in suburban schools in the same area, these schools lacked critical assets by American standards. However, by Indian standards, a very different story emerged.

First, the teachers noted there were more materials available in schools in the United States than in India. Evoking her own educational history, Shrusty, a high school

special education teacher, remembered that "we lacked resources, like there was no copying machine in the school… and bringing a globe to the classroom was a big, big thing that the teacher would talk about for a whole month." She saw the difference most drastically in the available accommodations for her students. Not only were there no public schools for special education students in Hyderabad, but the private centers that some students attended did not often have enough facilities to support them. Resources like wheelchairs, handicap buses, and tube-feeding systems that were government-supported in the United States were new to Shrusty: "Those profound[ly disabled] students whom I see here might not even be alive in India." In India, parents had to pay for different therapies, such as physical, occupational, and speech, but U.S. schools provided these services free of charge, in addition to augmentation devices that Shrusty said were critical in enabling her non-verbal students to express themselves.

Aleeza agreed with Shrusty's assessment, but only by Indian standards. Compared to India, U.S. schools had more materials for her science projects. However, once she "learned" the American system, she realized that resources disappeared quickly and that she had to supply her own because, "if I depend on the school, it is going to take till the end of the year."

Second, the teachers stated there was more money available for U.S. schools than Indian schools. Not only were the teachers' salaries higher in the United States than in India, but the teachers were also given more discretionary funding for classroom needs. In the United States, Aleeza was given $50 at the start of the school year; in India, she said, teachers had to pay for any materials they used. This was a notable hardship for her especially because, as a high school science teacher, she had to use her own money to

buy supplies for experiments. Further, if she did pay for her own classroom resources, she ran the risk of being ostracized by other Indian teachers for being "the initiator" who forced others to start spending their own money, too. Also, her students in the United States had enough money to buy their own supplies for projects, whereas in India, she had to buy her students' supplies "because of their financial condition."

Third, the teachers cited the presences of more technology as evidence that U.S. schools had more resources than Indian schools. Though the teachers had little to no technology in their individual classrooms, other than a personal computer, they saw the technology at the school, like computer labs and a rotating projector, as impressive. Shrusty noted that, in the United States, "If I think of teaching something, we have Internet. I can go on Google, get some good pictures, good lessons, and make a good activity, where the school provides all the information technology… [In India], we do not have resources, even if we have ideas." Aleeza agreed that technology made teachers' lives easier. For example, in India, she had to do all of her grading manually, whereas computer programs in the United States saved her time and energy.

Shrusty and Aleeza, whose children were in elementary school, appreciated the fact that children that age would be able to use technology in school. "I am not saying we do not have that [computers] in India, of course we do. But at this [elementary] level of school, they are not being taught practically, they have everything in theory," explained Aleeza. Her children would have to wait until tenth grade to have technology access in India, whereas, even though limited in U.S. classrooms, computers were available at a younger age.

Pedagogical Strategies

A third difference between U.S. and Indian schools that the teachers cited were pedagogical strategies. All four participants confirmed the need to learn new ways to teach American students, who were not used to lecture-style classes, as noted in the literature (Henry, 2001; "School districts import teachers," 2001). The Indian teachers in this study had previous experience teaching in their home countries, ranging from two years to seven. Yet the methods they implemented in India were neither acceptable, because of the structure of the school day and work periods, nor effective in urban schools in the United States.

First, the teachers cited the need to move beyond lecturing. All of the participants in the study were accustomed to lecture-style instruction. In their middle and secondary schools in India, they spent alternating days lecturing. For example, they would lecture on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, for an entire period, and on Tuesday and Thursday, the students would work independently to review what they had learned on the previous days. Conversely, students in the teachers' classes in the United States did not respond well to lectures. Aleeza claimed that, "other than lecture method, anything is going to work [with U.S. students]… because they do not want to listen. They are not good listeners, except for a few. Though I have to lecture sometimes; I cannot do without lecturing." Samina elaborated on why she believed the Indian lecture method was not effective in her new country: "For these students maybe [no lecture] is the right thing… Their retaining power or the time they can sit together in one place, it is just five minutes. They can just sit in one place for five minutes. They cannot sit altogether for one hour. But in India they can, and they do it. If they do not do it, they are out of the school."

Though moving from lecture to more hands-on activities and group discussion could be a challenge, the teachers also appreciated the challenge and enjoyed learning new methods.

Next, the participants cited the need for using hands-on activities with American students. Aleeza surmised, “They [American students] are more for hands-on activities, especially for science.” In India, her students were unable to have full-scale labs because of money and resources, so learning how to plan more hands-on activities was new to her. During two observations of her high school science class, I observed students participating in a lab and a group project. Both activities were ones that Aleeza created in co-planning with her department colleagues and were not lessons she typically would have planned in India.

In addition to hands-on activities, participants in this study also mentioned the need for group work and class discussions. Samina stated that, “When we work with these kids, they have more freedom, [so] it is really very much necessary to keep them engaged.” One method the teachers employed to keep students engaged was discussion, either in small groups or as a whole class. For example, during an observation of Faria’s high school math class, students worked in pairs or groups of three to complete a worksheet on algebraic equations. After class, she reflected, “I cannot get to them all at the same time, so they can help each other. Sometimes it helps them focus.” Aleeza agreed that students in the United States were more likely to expect and respond to whole class discussion than students in India, who were accustomed to the teacher speaking most of the time.

Small groups, Samina maintained, could either aid or inhibit classroom learning. At times, students learned from each other. Other times, however, it did not work as planned:

> I always believe[d] in small groups, collaborated groups, instructions like that. Because when they sit together and they discuss it they can explain it to each other and they can have better understanding of whatever is going on. But you know, it is not so easy to put them in groups and leave them on their own to discuss it, because I am sure they are not going to discuss it. They are going to discuss something else and pretend like they are discussing it. (4/20/10)

Almost all of the small group work I observed in Samina's middle school language arts classes followed much the pattern she described above. The self-selected groups were divided by gender, with the boys choosing other boys as their partners, and the girls on the other side of the room. In one class, of the nine groups that were formed, only one group managed to stay on task and complete the assignment before the bell rang. The other groups discussed things like basketball, the daily lunch menu, the latest "couple" to break up, an upcoming family vacation, and a new student in their physical education class. Samina circulated between all the groups, encouraging them to work and directing their attention, both verbally and physically, by putting them back in their seats and tapping the worksheet in front of them, but their focus could not be regained once they had been paired with and gossiped with friends.

Curriculum

In addition to differences in *how* to teach, there were also contrasts in *what* to teach. Though Faria pointed out that math anywhere was math everywhere, other teachers

who were faced with scripted lesson plans used in the particular school district and standardized testing found the differences between U.S. and Indian curricula to be at once confusing, challenging, and frustrating.

One teacher was required to use a scripted curriculum plan for her middle school English class, which further restricted her, she said, from reaching her students. Samina explained that,

> For one persuasive essay, they are asking [us] to teach 22 lessons. It does not make any sense to me… I think 6 to 7 lessons, that would be enough. This is dragging like a rubber band. And because of that, it is really hard to me to just keep them focused… It just restricts me, ties my hands, but I try to give my own resources for them to work. (2/16/10)

The curriculum she spoke about, America's Choice, was not *actually* a choice for her at all. The district required several "failing" schools to adopt the curriculum for middle and high school Language Arts and Math classes. Like other urban teachers compelled to use scripted lessons, Samina found it difficult to integrate what she believed students need to know and useful ways for them to learn into the highly-structured curricular units. This was especially ironic because she and other foreign teachers were touted as being content-area experts, yet they were not allowed to use their content expertise to plan their own lessons.

Testing is nothing new to India. Indeed, participants spoke about the numerous exams they had to take for admission to college or their teacher preparation programs. Shrusty explained the process by which she had to be selected to even participate in taking the three-hour exam for her Bachelor's degree in Special Education:

> It was like 2,000 applications came, and they just sent an admission card for 600 people. From that 600, only 20 was [*sic*] selected [to take the exam]. So I was among those 20… So my dad said, 'Just go and write the exams,' so I wrote the entrance [examination]. (12/10/09)

The main difference in testing between India and the United States, according to the teachers, was how testing was used to make decisions and the overabundance of multiple choice questions on such examinations in the United States.

Glendale School District tested students in almost every grade, in compliance with the No Child Left Behind legislation, with end-of-course tests and with high-stakes graduation exams. The teachers in this study were most concerned with the end-of-course tests because they thought the exams were insignificant if also combined with student class work. Faria described the testing system in India, whereby students "prepare the whole year" for one final exam and "do not get a grade for their class work." As a result, they are more focused on "mastering" the content thoroughly and not just preparing to guess at multiple-choice questions.

Aleeza, too, stated that this end-of-course plus class work grade often backfired and became more burdensome for the teacher than the students.

> I am not saying you [in the U.S.] have to do exactly what we do [in India]… Some of the students are like, 'It is alright if I score a 50 on my [exam] because I am still going to pass your class. I am going to do all the work that you gave.' And if she does that, I have to pass the student. The standardized test should count something on the student… So, you know what I feel? It is more pressure on the

> teacher than on the student, for the exam. It should be the other way. We have to pressurize them. (3/3/10)

Aleeza's quotation expands on Faria's notion of competition discussed earlier. For these two teachers, competition bred success, as it forced Indian students to focus more in class and become more "keen learners." The cultural expectation for Indian students of a certain class was that they compete with each other to "get admission into a good college" and "make their career better and better." In stark contrast was the school culture in the urban American schools, where few students attended four-year colleges upon graduation.

Additionally, all four participants lamented the use of solely multiple choice exams, which was something they were never exposed to in India, either as students or as teachers. Samina explained that "here [the United States] is a little bit easier" because Indian exams require students to "write everything we know; the whole book we have to read and learn." Aleeza agreed that Indian exams, which typically consisted of "ten short answers and 30 objective, like multiple choice and [fill in the] blanks, and two or three essays," challenged students to pay more attention in class and study harder:

> [In India] they have to retain the concept because they have essay type of questions on their test… [But in the United States], like 30% of the students, because of the multiple choice questions they have, they just guess the answers and sometimes their guess is good… I feel sad about that… I do not like the way the test goes here, and students will pay more attention if you challenge their retaining power or understanding capacity. (3/3/10)

Although it was clearly possible to create higher-level thinking questions with multiple choice answers, the teachers were not exposed to these types of questions because they were only drawing from state exams and district benchmarks. Though beyond the scope of this study, the few pre-made tests that I had the opportunity to examine were, in fact, primarily composed of low-level questions that only asked students to comprehend or recall, not analyze or synthesize.

Students' Lack of Cultural Awareness

A primary purpose of foreign teacher recruitment, according to recruitment agencies, was to bring cultural knowledge and awareness to American students. This will be discussed in later chapters, but it is important to note here that the lack of cultural awareness discovered by Indian teachers in their American students was surprising and disappointing.

Teachers in this study expressed frustration and shock that their U.S. students did not possess much knowledge about the world outside their country's borders. Though they could not attribute this lack of cultural awareness to any one single factor, instead listing the responsible parties as schools, parents, and society, they said that the American students they knew were missing important pieces of information. Aleeza maintained school had failed students: "The way they talk about their own country, they really do not feel there are a lot of people outside the United States. Maybe because they are not educated in that style, I guess. But I have felt that they do not know anything about the outer world. A lot." As described by Samina, who summarized an interaction with her middle school students: "I'm sorry to say that these kids are not exposed to many things. I asked them one day how many continents are there, how many oceans, and only one or

two could tell me. In India, they would just [snaps fingers], they would know everything about the whole world."

Samina also told a story about an American student who believed that India and the United States were close enough for her teacher to travel by cruise ship. She bemoaned, "They don't even know the distance between India and America. In an atlas, I showed her where I was in India and where she was. I said, 'I had to take two flights.' She was saying, 'Really? I thought you could take a cruise.'" Students of the same age in India, she emphasized, would never make such a mistake. Aleeza concurred that, "all the Indian students in the seventh grade, they start talking about the outside world, like outside India… They know more than what these [U.S.] students know because, from that age, they are trying to know where it is possible for them to go and earn good."

The participants also found their students woefully misinformed or under-informed about Indian culture in particular. Faria believed this lack of knowledge was because "the United States is a very big country, so they do not go out of that world to know about India… it is two different corners of the world." In contrast, teachers guessed students saw India as a smaller place. Aleeza explained that "they have a lot of questions like so-and-so is living in India, he or she is my friend, do you know him? I am like, 'What do you think? India is just this much [makes finger gesturing signifying a tiny amount]? I know everybody in India?' That is the misconception they had, like most of the students have that." Some students asked about cultural habits and customs, such as arranged marriages and religions, but they believed that *all* Indian parents "forced" their children to marry someone of the parents' choice or that *all* Indians were Hindus. "They are curious to know why I don't have a red dot; I tell them I am not a Hindu, I am a

Muslim," Samina remembered, "Not everybody in India is the same. I don't think they know about any of it."

The majority of questions asked of foreign teachers were even more basic, demonstrating considerable lack of awareness about cultures outside the United States. Samina's statement that "they think America is the only world" illustrated that students' ignorance bordered on ethnocentrism. Though the Indian teachers can laugh in retrospect, they were shocked, bewildered, and sometimes offended by questions that showed students viewed all of India as a third-world country, far behind the United States in terms of technology and advancements. Participants remembered a variety of questions that students wondered aloud, sometimes in the middle of a lesson. For example, Do you have McDonald's over there? Do you have the same kind of houses that we have? Do they have cell phones and computers in your country? Do you know how to use the Internet? Do you use Facebook? Do you know Michael Jackson? And, perhaps most shockingly, a student asked her teacher if Indians still rode elephants! Even American teachers were unaware of many Indian customs. "They asked, 'you are from the land of Gandhi,'" Shrusty recalled, "So at least they know Gandhi. They know Martin Luther King [Jr.] was a follower of Gandhi."

Students themselves recognized that culture had an impact on how their peers related to the teacher. During a classroom observation in which Samina was having difficulty getting students to focus, a young girl approached me, introduced herself, and said, "It's hard to learn in here." When I asked why, she said, "Most students don't respect my teacher because she is from a different culture." This honest expression was troubling for several reasons. First, the student here, like Stefan in the previous section,

attributed a lack of respect to something that was completely beyond the teacher's control; the teacher could not change her cultural background, so how would she improve the learning environment? Second, the student believed that the teacher was at a *disadvantage* because of her different culture, whereas the district, recruitment agency, and media argued that that cultural difference was an *advantage*. They assumed that because the teachers themselves were "diverse" that they would work well with "diverse" children. Samina's principal, Mr. Sutherland, agreed with the student's assessment, noting that his students "who had never been outside these blocks" were a "mismatch" with someone from another culture.

Policies of School and State

Another difference the teachers noted between U.S. and Indian schools were policies implemented by the district, school, and state. Though education was also top-down in the teachers' home state, the teachers claimed that U.S. schools were more bureaucratic and did not implement change that helped students. Standardized testing is one such policy; others include disciplinary and academic failure policies and local reform issues.

First, the teachers did not support the county's policies to allow make up tests or repeated classes or grade levels if students failed. Aleeza stated, "I do understand it is a good thing for those students who have an excused absence… but not for everybody." Some students, she divulged, took advantage of the makeup policy by coming to tutorials after-school when they had not paid attention in class. Indeed, during one observation, I saw a student, who had slept through the whole class, wake up and turn to a friend, saying, "I'll just come after school. She explains it quicker then anyway." In India, she

explained, parents had to pay additional fees for private tutorials, so students were less likely to "abuse" classroom time. Further, the teachers argued that American students were not "pressured" enough to succeed because they had multiple opportunities to repeat classes. "If they are going to take it easy," Samina said of her Indian students, "They are going to land up somewhere [bad]. So it makes sense to keep them under pressure." According to the teachers, Indian students only had one opportunity to succeed, both academically and behaviorally, so the teachers were unfamiliar with the policy of multiple chances.

Disciplinary consequences, the teachers also noted, were nonexistent or unenforced; some asserted there were more rules and regulations for teachers than for students. Samina explained that, in India, if students "are not performing well, or if they are disrespecting a teacher, or they are involved in any kind of issue, they are not just suspended, they are rusticated [expelled], out of the school with bag and baggage." An added consequence was that "if they misbehave, or if there is bad conduct, then their future is in darkness because other schools, too, will not take that student." Their American schools' plans of verbal warnings, phone calls to parents, detentions, and in- and out-of-school suspensions were viewed by my four teachers as extremely problematic. During one observation when Samina's students were especially disruptive, she sent four young men to the principal's office; three returned before the class period was over, calling to their classmates as they came in, "We're back!" Thus, Samina had to stop instruction for an extended time: to ask students to quiet down, to ask several to leave, to refocus that class upon the boys' return, and then again to ask the class to quiet down.

Teachers also commented on school reform policies. Coming from a culture where teachers often do what they are asked to do without questioning, Aleeza's first response when asked about school reform initiatives was to say, "we have to do what we have to do, that is what I say." She said that, despite similar reforms in India, the government is more careful to think of the reforms' effects on children. Just as other teachers said that administrators did not consider the consequences of student behavior, Aleeza conjectured that officials did not always consider the consequences of reforms:

> You cannot blame the teacher if she is not able to handle 50 kids in a class [referring to the possible increase in class size]. If it is affecting their education, then see what you are going to get for America… Before making these big decisions, they really have to look at what is the outcome of that…. It is easy to cut jobs. It is easy to cut down on teachers. That is easy… What about the students? Who is thinking about the students? (3/3/10)

Relations with Parents and Families

Teachers expressed conflicting views about their interactions with parents and families. Several described trouble garnering parents' support, possibly due to communication problems. Others said they felt very supported by their students' families, which added to their general job satisfaction. This satisfaction is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Participants in this study found a difference between parents supporting versus challenging teacher's authority. Parents who defended their child if he did something wrong, or parents who went to the administration with complaints, surprised several of the teachers. This was not common in India, where parents trusted teachers and accepted

their decisions without question. When discussing this, several teachers used the example of corporal punishment, which was acceptable in India. Shrusty summarized,

> Parenting in the United States is hard… because in India, you can whip your child anywhere. In front of the teacher, and the teacher has full right… You are doing the thing for the kids' betterment. Here, there are too many laws, you cannot touch the child, you cannot do this, you cannot do that. The child has this right and that right. What about teachers' rights? (3/17/10)

Aleeza agreed that "the basic difference" was that Indian parents "will whup [children] if they come to know that we misbehaved in school for any reason, whether it be right or wrong," but that American parents often questioned teachers' disciplinary decisions. The principals confirmed a struggle between parents and teachers, noting that many parents called the administration to discuss the Indian teachers' classroom practices.

In contrast, Faria said she felt supported by school parents, several of whom attended her class after their children complained that Faria was difficult to understand. She explained, "They observed and said it is their children [who were wrong] because they said, 'The class was so wonderful and your accent was so clear for us to understand. We think they are just playing.'" Shrusty, too, reported that her special education students' parents were quite supportive of her efforts and their children, and frequently visited the school or attended class field trips.

Communication difficulties were also challenging for teachers. Though Ms. Muller, a district official, claimed that when interviewing potential candidates, "we listen a lot for fluency, if our children are going to be able to understand them," another representative, Ms. Jefferson, admitted that communication was frequently an issue. Mr.

Scott stated he had not had success with foreign teachers in the past "because of their language, just not being able to communicate to the kids, kids not being able to understand them, and written communication to the parents has been poor." Mr. Sutherland said he sympathized with students who did not understand the teachers: "I had to call a help center [in India] for my McAfee [computer virus software] the other day. And I couldn't understand a word! I was frustrated after those three minutes, so imagine 55 minutes if you don't understand?" These two principals said they frequently received calls from parents complaining that students did not understand what the teachers were saying.

Teachers themselves indicated that communication was sometimes an issue. According to Aleeza, language was "the main, topmost, important thing" and that "you basically have to learn their lingo and then you are good." For instance, Shrusty explained, "in our language we do not tend to say please every time… so we learned you have to add please because we really mean it but we do not say it." In addition to learning new slang and communicative strategies, the teachers' accent also proved to be a challenge. Faria said,

> The language was totally different from what I used to speak, so I had problems with that… In math, we usually deal with terminology, which is the same thing [in India], so it was not that bad. But still, while you are speaking, sometimes you feel embarrassed when people ask you to repeat. (3/2/10)

Samina also revealed that her accent contributed to her students' lack of respect: "They think I don't know anything because of my accent. I say, how do you tell me how to speak when you can't speak well? I tell them, do you know you are speaking to someone

with a Masters in English?" This comment, which shows teachers' frustration with students' lack of global awareness, seems to imply that the teachers have internalized the assumption that content knowledge and advanced degrees should make them effective educators, regardless of their pedagogy. This could have contributed to students' frustration and lack of respect if they did not agree with her assessment. It also, however, contributed to Samina's frustration because she did not feel parents supported her enough.

Another struggle noted by the teachers in this study was seeing parents as part of the "problem." As discussed in the previous section on parents challenging the teacher's authority versus supporting it, as the teachers reported is more common in India, teachers argued that parents often enabled or emboldened their children's misbehavior or lack of achievement. They viewed parents, and society writ large, as part of the problem. For example, Aleeza explained that, in India,

> When the teacher enters the classroom, they know they need to be quiet and listen to whatever she is teaching. Basically, that is how they are because they know if something goes wrong with them in the school then their parents are going to be upset with them. So we never had any problems with students. (1/28/10)

Thus, in the United States, where parents may not be as involved in their children's education for a variety of reasons, Aleeza said that students were more able to do something wrong because they did not fear the wrath of their parents. Further, parents were "demanding" because they felt that students who came after-school for tutorials should be given makeup work, whereas Aleeza said that paying attention during class the first time was significantly more important.

Samina discussed at length why she viewed parents as part of the problem, noting that student misbehavior was not a force of *nature*, but of *nurture*.

Samina: I really pity them. I do not know why… They are not like this by birth. Situations are making them like this.

Alyssa: What situations do you think?

Samina: Maybe their surroundings, [the way] they're brought up, their financial status, their parents and their relationships, relationship between the parents. Because we do not have one father and one mother over here; we have stepbrothers and stepfathers and all that. Maybe that is one more reason, and too much of freedom. They are not responsible for this kind of behavior. [In] some way, others are responsible, because they are not like this by birth.

Alyssa: Was that a surprise to you, or a shock, learning about the different family situations that are very different from….

Samina: That was not exactly a surprise; I was aware of it. But the extent was not known to me. I did not know that it was up to this extent that the kids are going nowhere, because of the parents and because of the financial situation.

Alyssa: The kids are going what?

Samina: The kids are going nowhere, they are all landing up in troubles, and they are landing up with no future, because [of] lack of education. (3/31/10)

Samina's belief that students are not "like this by birth" shows her willingness to consider the contextual factors in her students' lives. Though her placing blame on the parents is potentially troubling, it is more reflective of her own upbringing and not necessarily a deficit perspective.

Effects on Practice and Relationships

As with American teachers, the combination of prior knowledge, similarities with previous educational contexts, and differences between current and past environments all contributed to how teachers said they felt about their practice and their relationships. Five themes illustrate the variety of effects that similarities and differences had on these four international teachers' lives. First, they formed close friendships with other teachers, who I am calling American allies. Second, they developed tight-knit communities with other Indian teachers. Third, they held lingering views of academic apathy. Fourth, they experienced pedagogical and management shifts, or altered the way they taught (Hutchinson, 2005). Finally, they continuously struggled between hopelessness and resilience.

American Allies

All four of the teachers spoke highly of their colleagues, fellow educators who had "shown them the ropes" and helped them navigate the new culture. "I had a gala time," Aleeza noted, "Because as an outsider, I wanted acceptance, not only from my students but my coworkers. It was really lovely because the faculty was very good, very supportive." These American allies helped with planning lessons, managing classrooms, and navigating school rules. For example, Faria described a "friendly" atmosphere where everyone "was so supportive that I have never felt that I was in a different country." She was also able to get assistance with classroom management from the administration, department chair, counseling office, and school intervention officers. Aleeza, too, garnered help from her department chair, whose classroom she "floated" into to teach during her first two years. The department chair was instrumental because she heard the

way students were talking and instructed them to pay attention and watch their language when Aleeza did not yet know American slang or curses.

American allies also helped with personal adjustments and feelings of belonging. When asked if she felt part of the school community, Samina hesitated, and then answered, "Part of the community, hmm… When I deal with teachers and my colleagues, I feel like I am part of the school community." Another example is when Shrusty spoke at length about her "American family," the other special education teachers and para-professionals with whom she worked. One co-worker, her "best buddy," called parents for her if there was a problem with a student, because it was difficult for Shrusty to understand some of the parents over the telephone. Her para-professional, Mr. Woods, who she prefers to call her "co-worker" not her "assistant," gave Shrusty and three other foreign teachers rides to and from school each day. Later, when Shrusty bought a car from a terminated foreign teacher, Mr. Woods became her "car guy" who offered her driving lessons and tips on where and how to fill up her gas tank. And then, not long after Shrusty began driving herself, he became her "hero":

> I was trying to make a turn and I did not anticipate the turn, and my car was in a ditch. The only person I could call was Mr. Woods. I did not know anything about 911… He was a track coach, and there was a track meet going on, but he left everything and he came. He said, 'Don't hang up the phone, keep talking to me, here I come, don't panic, here I come.'… Then he called a tow car. He was like a hero…. He had his hands bleeding and everything. Oh my goodness. I can never forget that day. That was May 23… Mr. Woods came to my rescue, and everybody thanked him, my mom, my dad, I had to tell everybody and even my

> husband. The next day, I brought Indian food for him as a gesture of gratitude, but he didn't like it! Too spicy! [*laughs*] From that day 'til here, he never ate Indian food! (12/10/09)

This story was especially meaningful because it further demonstrated that Shrusty could trust and rely on Mr. Woods, her American ally. It solidified a working relationship of mutual trust, good will, and good humor that lasted throughout their three years together and which I witnessed during my classroom observations. Shrusty and Mr. Woods would tease each other and make jokes frequently, and Mr. Woods was eager to share with me what he viewed as Shrusty's strengths and weaknesses: "She is the nicest and most giving person I have ever met. Sometimes she is too nice. She shouldn't be so nice all the time because people walk all over her. But I am trying to get her to toughen up. I'll teach her yet!" Because of the support of colleagues, as well as the community they were able to create with other foreign teachers, the "veterans" were able to return after their first difficult year.

Foreign Teacher Community

The Indian teachers were placed as roommates or neighbors in the same apartment complex, and during their first year, frequently got together on Friday nights to watch American teen movies and learn new slang. Because the agencies did not allow them to bring their families during the first year until they received a satisfactory evaluation, the support of fellow Indian teachers was especially important for both their professional growth and their mental health.

Professionally, it was helpful for "novice" teachers to hear from "veterans." Faria described a group that formed during her first year. "We used to discuss the problems,

advise each other," she recalled, "And we used to talk to the teachers who were from last year. We used to ask them how did they overcome those problems, so they used to give some suggestions." This "generational" passing down of information from one group of teachers to the next eased their culture shock and transition to new environments.

One powerful example of generational community was the relationship that developed between "veteran" teacher, Shrusty, and "novice" teacher, Samina. When Samina arrived, the school year had already been in session for two weeks. She received no orientation other than a brief discussion with the recruitment agency administrator. Shrusty took it upon herself to become Samina's friend and confidante because "I was like the only person guiding her, and the person who was staying with her was… scaring her with stories about the kids." She provided Samina with rides to and from her school each day, and they would often talk through challenges on their drives. She also helped Samina prepare for parent-teacher conferences by making "visiting cards with her name and email ID" and even printed the cards because Samina did not know where her school's media center was located. "She didn't know the meaning of f-u-c-k," Shrusty remembered about her friend, who found the word written on classroom materials, "I said 'you better call your husband and ask.' But he didn't know what it means. So I tell her, never ever take that word in your mouth, but it was a good learning experience." For a new teacher with no orientation, no prior knowledge of American schools, who was away from her family and does not feel supported at her school, the value of community cannot be understated.

Lingering Views of Academic Apathy

Despite the teachers' interactions with some successful students, several held lingering beliefs that American students were apathetic and did not care enough about their studies. Even toward the end of her third year of teaching, Aleeza commented,

> They are not interested to learn… Maybe there are personal problems. There are a bunch of them in my third period who are not interested, whatever you do. They are not interested. I do not know the reason yet, but they are not interested. (3/3/10)

Samina's solution for academic apathy only worked some of the time. In accordance with what she had learned from other teachers, she saw for herself that "here, you have to keep reminding them that you are something." She explained that this reminder took the form of repeating "I am your teacher, I know better than you… I am not going to play with you, this is not going to work with me, I am like this, I am a strict person." Even though Samina adamantly believed that she did not *want* to be strict, she claimed that the students' careless attitude was best countered with strictness.

Shifts in Pedagogy and Management

This study confirmed Hutchinson's (2005) findings that foreign teachers experienced pedagogical shifts. That is, the teachers in this study altered the way they taught based on what they perceived their American students needed. Additionally, they also shifted their management strategies based on classroom experiences.

One example of a pedagogical shift is the movement away from lecture, as discussed in the previous section. Aleeza learned new ways to design science labs as an alternative to lectures. She stated that, "now I know like if you have enough to spend, if

you can pull some out of your income, then you can surely benefit the students with little things, doing mini-labs or something, or at least a demonstration, which would not cost you a lot. That has helped me a lot. As a teacher, I have grown, that is what I feel." Aleeza also found that, in addition to group work and discussion, it was also necessary to work with students individually for remediation:

> The [chemical] structure I talked about, I taught them two weeks ago. Yesterday, when it was one-on-one, it just took them two minutes to understand, but they did not understand it in two weeks. Though I explained it the same way I did during my lecture, I could make out they were not listening [during the initial lecture]. (3/3/10)

This one-on-one interaction between Aleeza and her students was where I saw her pedagogical skills at their best. During an observation where the majority of the class was working in small groups, she assisted several individual students at the front of the classroom. She used their notes to remind them of what she had previously discussed, but she also offered new examples and patiently answered students' questions. For instance, she explained chemical bonding to one student four times in four different ways; finally, on the fourth time, it was evident from the student's facial expression that he finally got it. "I like the light bulb moments," Aleeza said later. These personal interactions were often more satisfying for her because it was clear when students had such "light bulb moments."

The teachers learned that they could ask for help, in terms of what they were teaching, how they were teaching, and how they were managing the class. Aleeza and Faria both remembered that, when they first arrived, they assumed that sending a student

out of class for a disruption would be "a bad impression" on them. They gradually learned, however, that sending a student out was sometimes necessary for the benefit of the rest of the class and was more a "bad impression on the student" than on the teacher.

Though Samina acknowledged that she had learned some new skills, she also implied there were things that would be more difficult to teach to American students, in part because of all the differences and challenges noted above. She saw her accent and her students' frustration with it, and her students' low academic skills, as a reason to avoid certain lessons that she would otherwise like to teach:

> I would love to teach them poetry, but I do not know. It is going to be again another task for me. [sighs audibly] Because you know, again the accent [will be a problem]… When I am reading two lines from the poetry, they might think, 'okay, she is not reading it the right way,' and that is going to be again a challenge… You need a lot of thinking when you go for poetry. They are not so good at it. Imagination. You have to just figure out things in your mind when you go for poetry. It is not so easy for them. (4/20/10)

Struggle between Hopelessness and Resilience

At the time of this study, Faria, Aleeza, and Shrusty were in their third year of teaching in the United States. Although they expressed difficulty upon arrival, overall, they declared their time in this country was a success. There were times, they said, when they felt helpless, particularly at the beginning of their tenure when their families were still in India, but because of a variety of factors, including their American allies and foreign teacher community, they were resilient. Shrusty attributed her resilience to her good English skills, her camaraderie with colleagues, and her personal desire to stay in

the country for her children's education. Aleeza agreed, adding that "God wanted us to stay here."

Samina, however, was in her first year at the time of my research, was the only one in my study teaching middle school, and was struggling through feelings of hopelessness that I had not observed in the three veteran foreign teachers, most likely because they had adjusted or acclimated in the years prior to my study. During our interviews, she regularly expressed feelings of frustration, anger, confusion, and sadness. With the exception of Shrusty, her veteran companion, she did not feel supported by her agency or the administration and felt distant from the school community. She expressed unhappiness when she remembered, "When I talk to some of the good students and they really care about me and they give [a] good response, then I think 'okay, I am part of this. I am a professional in this school.' But when I am dealing with bad kids or talking back to me and all that, I feel left out."

As her students' behavior became increasingly erratic and bordered on violent as the semester went on, Samina felt further overwhelmed, both physically and emotionally exhausted. She said, "we do not have any kind of discipline problems like this [in India]… That upsets you when you do not get the due respect. You deserve that respect, and when you do not get it, you feel sad." Samina, though her days were often bleak, was resilient enough to return to school each day for the majority of the school year. This was especially difficult because her family was not allowed to come to the United States after the first semester, as the agency only allowed family members to come if the teachers received satisfactory evaluations. Because Samina was on a professional development plan in which specific areas were targeted for improvement in her practice, she remained

alone for the entire year. Her principal, Mr. Sutherland, was especially troubled when he learned about this, as he realized that teachers were more likely to be successful if they had a support system. Samina's days were filled with this inner conflict and struggle for resilience. In the end, she thought of her students and explained, "I really want to love them. But they are making me yell sometimes… I am just helpless."

This chapter has demonstrated that teachers reported substantial differences between classrooms in the United States and India. Based on their limited previous knowledge of American classrooms (gleaned from media portrayals, friends' accounts, brief orientations, and personal research) the teachers were not prepared for the reality of American schools, students, and policies. They reported experiencing difficult first days and culture shock, which led to an extended adjustment period. Participants reported only two similarities between education in their home country and the United States: they were teaching students of the same age and there existed economic disparities among schools. Differences were much more salient, the teachers reported. These differences included student behavior problems, resources, pedagogical strategies, curriculum, students' lack of cultural awareness, policies of school and state, and relationships with parents. Similarities and differences influenced teachers' practice and relationships in multiple ways, such as the development of American allies and a foreign teacher community, lingering views of students' apathy, and a struggle between hopelessness and resilience. Overall, the struggles that teachers experienced were intricately linked to their conceptions of culture. An analysis of how teachers understood and taught students of a different culture than their own is the basis of the next chapter.

Chapter 4:

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy in a Country where "Race Matters"

We had a cell phone project last semester. I gave them a project on cell phones and they had to collect data from different companies and they had to write about it. Then we did a project on solving systems of equations and they had to get their own real life problem. They had to create a problem and write the systems of equations to solve it using different methods and get the same answer by different methods. Also we did a project [where] they have to select a mathematician of their choice. I gave them a list of mathematicians, and they did that project… in pairs. And they have to do a presentation and they have to get a picture, they have to make a timeline and all kind of stuff. They had to get the history of that mathematician and the mathematical contributions… That was really wonderful, I mean like, they were really enthusiastic… It was great, I mean, it was more than what I expected… That is a motivation for my students, because when they do not see anything related to their real life, they do not feel motivated. I mean some of them they just do it because they have to do it… but most of them they want [a] connection between the subject and their real life and so I need to think about the real life situations whenever I am teaching a particular lesson. –Faria, math teacher, 3/2/10

A key argument in the recruitment of foreign teachers was that the teachers worked well with students from diverse cultures, because they themselves were from another culture. This line of reasoning appeared to make sense when the culture of the teacher matched the cultures of their students, in the case of Filipino teachers hired in Baltimore to work with an increasingly Filipino population, or Mexican teachers hired in Texas to work in immigrant-dense, Spanish-speaking communities. The hiring of Indian

teachers to work with primarily African American populations was quite different (Axtman, 2004; Neufeld, 2005). In this case, agencies mistakenly equated "diverse" and "multicultural" with "Black" and assumed that Indian teachers, because they were non-White, would implicitly understand and thus, teach well, students of color. This chapter describes participants' previous exposure to multiculturalism, including the way that Indian national policies and teacher education informed their understanding of culture in the classroom. Then, I explore the ways in which the teachers in this study partially demonstrated culturally relevant pedagogical beliefs and practices, as informed by interviews and observations. In particular, the teachers showed some evidence of effective teaching, but did not frequently demonstrate practices that required knowledge of the students' cultures and backgrounds. For these four teachers, American education's focus on race and culture was novel. As one participant recalled, unknowingly echoing the prediction of W.E.B. DuBois and the words of Cornel West, "even today, race matters here."

Multiculturalism in India

There was one crucial difference between multicultural education in India and the United States. In India, where multicultural education was "a term rarely if ever used" (Joshee & Sihra, 2009, p. 425), it meant educating students from many cultures, and did not necessarily extend to what or how to teach those cultures, as was typically the definition in the United States. Participants' understanding of multicultural education and culturally relevant pedagogy was informed by three factors: national diversity policies, teacher education, and their prior teaching experience.

National Policies

After India gained independence from Britain in 1951, when the country was divided into states based on language, the Constitution of India provided for freedom and education for all, regardless of religious, linguistic, cultural, or racial origin. The Constitution also guaranteed autonomy for diverse groups, or the "right to maintain and develop their distinct identities" (Joshee & Sihra, 2009, p. 425). National education and diversity policies purported practicing Mohandas Gandhi's ideal of participatory pluralism (Madan, 1999). Joshee and Sihra (2009) described participatory pluralism as "breaking down hierarchy and addressing social injustice… bridging the distance between groups…. celebrat[ing] identities other than one's own… recogniz[ing] that cultures are not static… and addressing inequality between and within groups" (p. 426). Because, under colonial rule, Indian society had been rigidly hierarchical and some groups like the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes had been severely disenfranchised, post-colonial policies attempted to remedy past grievances by guaranteeing these groups their equality and respect.

This national commitment to under-represented groups evolved into the "three main foci of multicultural education in India:… address the disadvantages faced by marginalized groups, encourage the valuing of diversity, and build a strong national identity" (Joshee & Sihra, 2009, p. 429). Unfortunately, much as in the United States, India's commitment to educational ideals of diversity more often represented an aspiring vision than the "current reality of life" (p. 428). As Chakravarty (2001) explained, despite these constitutional "guarantees," traditionally marginalized groups continued to lag

behind dominant groups in educational achievement. These marginalized groups included religious or linguistic minorities, women, lower castes, and indigenous tribes.

One of the major diversities in Indian classrooms is language. According to Chakravarty (2001):

> The medium of instruction beyond primary level is required to be one of the 18 regional languages… However, in a country of over 300 dialects, this means that for the children of groups that do not speak any of the 18 languages, education is an alien language that becomes virtually meaningless. (p. 64)

Many students in India are educated in three languages, including English, but the quality of English-medium instruction varies based on the quality of the school, teachers' education, and students' home lives. "For those whose home environment does not complement the English conceptual world," wrote Chakravarty (2001), "schooling prevents real learning, requiring rote learning instead… English is not merely a skill to be acquired, but rather a symbol of long-term advantages" (p. 65). Further, the inclusion of English as one of the three languages, of which the second was almost always Hindi, "reinforced the supremacy" of these two languages over the other regional languages. Teachers in this study possessed long term advantages associated with English learners because they had all grown up in English-medium instruction and, indeed, it was this proficiency that allowed them to qualify for placement in the United States, an experience they hoped would further increase their competitive advantages.

In sum, education was seen as the great equalizer and a way to address the "complex politics of diversity in India" (Public Report on Basic Education, 1999 in Chakravarty, 2001, p. 65). Especially for groups that were often "unreached," like "child

laborers, adolescent girls, tribal children, scheduled caste and scheduled tribe children, street children and children from slum colonies, children of migrant laborers, and physically and mentally handicapped children":

> The goal of multicultural education then becomes to provide high-quality education to all students, so as to equip them to function effectively both in their own "world" and in the larger multicultural world… The task, however, is herculean, the numbers formidable, and the multicultural complexity overwhelming. (Chakravarty, 2001, p. 66)

With such a "herculean" task before national policymakers and teachers themselves, it was not surprising that many schools and classrooms in India had not moved beyond the United Nation's Education for All initiative into a more meaningful implementation of participatory pluralism, or critical multicultural education. Therefore, it was also understandable why the teachers in this study conceptualized multicultural education as "treating all students equally," in the words of one participant, as this was the vision of multicultural education they learned in India.

Teacher Education in India

In 1978, the National Council of Education Research and Training (NCERT) established a national curriculum for teacher education. Since then, various initiatives have promoted continuous improvement, including a re-issuance of the curriculum framework in 1998 with a focus on "dynamic skills,… rigorous training in training institutions, in schools,… [and the] professional know-how to handle situations with care, caution, and empathy" (Rajput et. al, 2002, p. 20). Also, the National Council for Teacher Education (NCTE) was established in 1993 and served to regulate programs and ensure

standards, similar to the function of the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) in the United States.

Also much like in the United States, teacher education programs in India varied based on location, duration, and content. Indian education scholars worried that a lack of trained teachers in certain rural areas, short-length programs, and inadequate content contributed to underprepared teachers and undereducated students. According to Rajput et. al (2002), "in certain areas and regions, trained teachers are available in excess… while in others, non-trained teachers have to be appointed due to the non-availability of trained persons" (p. 6). Though the situation was worse in India, such a sentiment could also be leveled against many states and urban school districts in the United States, including Glendale, where there was an excess of teachers looking to work in North side schools, but not the South side schools. In India, teacher education programs were, most often, only two years in duration. Primary teachers were required to spend even less time than secondary teachers, earning only a certificate or diploma, as opposed to a Bachelor of Education degree. As Shrusty confirmed in her interviews, "the entire teacher education is still examination-oriented and the major focus of training is on theory papers and not on the practical aspects and practice teaching which is relegated to a secondary position and often gets ignored" (p. 12).

For the purposes of this study, the most relevant aspect of teacher education in India was a discussion of multicultural education and diverse student populations. Although Aleeza remembered two particular courses in her preparation program that discussed diversity, the other participants did not recall anything specific. Aleeza recollected,

> There was a subject called psychology for me… and culture and education… so our professor used to teach us like, you know, you cannot expect all the students to be [the] same. There are different people working differently. Some things may be right at somebody's home, in somebody's country, and the other things may not be, so you have to work according to that. (1/28/10)

In order to more fully understand what preservice teachers in India were taught, I procured and analyzed a curriculum handbook from the National Council for Teacher Education (NCTE) that was designed to "sensitize" teachers and teacher educators. This handbook, titled *Discrimination based on sex, caste, religion, and disability: Addressing through educational interventions*, was designed to prepare teachers of all levels to "get broadly familiar with the content associated with the areas of discrimination as well as possible strategies which can be kept at the back of the mind while transacting curricular and co-curricular activities" (NCTE, 2003, n.p.). The handbook was divided into modules for teacher instruction, based on type of discrimination (sex, caste, religion, and disability). Modules included objectives for learning, definitions of important terms, explanations of relevant laws related to discrimination, graphs and tables with related descriptive statistics, and questions and activities.

For example, the module on sex/gender discrimination included an activity in which teacher candidates were to complete a worksheet stating whether they agreed or disagreed with a list of statements about equal educational opportunities for boys and girls, and then discuss with the group. Sample statements for discussion included:

> Girls and boys need equal education; Both need to be given equal health care and medical attention when needed; Both can be assigned some

> duties/responsibilities; Both should be given the same freedom; Both can have similar occupations; Both have the same intelligence and abilities; Men and women should be paid equal wages for equal work; Husband and wife should take all decisions jointly; Equal share for daughters and sons in family properly [*sic*]/assets. (NCTE, 2003, p. 39)

The module then went on to ask teachers to (1) compare "traditional" male and female tasks, like sweeping the floor, grazing the cattle, and fetching water from the well; (2) compare "traditional" male and female occupations, like lawyer, doctor, tailor, pilot, cricketer, and teacher; and (3) compare "traditional" male and female characteristics, like self-reliance, flexibility, playfulness, aggressiveness, neatness, and tenderness (p. 40). These tasks led to a reflection activity in which preservice teachers were asked to consider how they planned lessons and behaved toward boys and girls in their own classrooms. Recommendations were then offered for ways to promote gender equality in the classroom. This module was particularly revealing because it highlighted a continuing aspect of Indian culture that many American schools no longer had to contend with. Though, in the United States, attention continues to be paid to the "gender gap" in math and science, and recently to the gap in graduation rates for young men, the notion that girls would be treated so differently that school may not be been an option is far from the consciousness of many American-born educators. In India, where gender equality is still an ongoing struggle, it acted as one more "hurdle" that educators had to jump through before contending with other discriminatory practices based on class or race.

Srivastava (2006) suggested a multitude of reforms for teacher education in India because of 21st century changes like technology and globalization. He noted,

> Due to modernization and globalization, tremendous changed [*sic*] has taken place is [*sic*] the society. The mode of teaching has also been modified. The duty of the teacher is to provide facilities and channelise [*sic*] the knowledge instead of teaching in the class. (p. 168)

He recommended improvements in admissions policies, curriculum, duration, academic programs, teaching methodology, integration with other disciplines, communication skills of professors, and evaluations of programs. Though the participants in my study expressed confidence in their prior education, a lack of focus on, or sometimes even a consideration of, multiculturalism left them further unprepared for urban U.S. classrooms in which multiculturalism was a salient feature. For foreign teacher recruitment agencies to be truly effective, they may need to conduct additional interventions to prepare teachers for the U.S. context. Additionally, to address needs in India, some scholars call for reforms in Indian teacher education. Indeed, as Rajput et. al (2002) argued,

> Over the last five decades efforts to indigenise the Indian teacher education system and make it responsive to the needs of communities, regions, and socio-cultural realities have either been inadequate or have remained only at the policy level. The teacher education system and the teacher preparation programmes continue to function in the same manner and with the same approach inherited at the time of Independence. (p. 1)

Teachers' Prior Multicultural Teaching Experience

All participants' prior teaching was in Indian schools with Indian students. They acknowledged that they had no experience with students from different cultures because

their previous environments had been "all Indian." Further, the English-medium schools in which they taught served primarily middle class students.

Aleeza, however, did expand upon the notion of inter-state linguistic and religious differences, as noted in the previous section on national policies. She explained that her students were "all Indians, but not from the same state." Because she lived in Hyderabad, one of the economic centers of India, there were transient students from families who were "working for government services, [and] they used to shift, have transfers." She continued,

> There is a large difference between each state because in each state they speak different languages… I myself know four languages including English; one is my state language, the other one is the national language [Hindi], and the other one is my mother tongue… But in your classroom, you can expect at least ten languages. (1/28/10)

Her experience working with students of different abilities stemmed from this linguistic diversity and internal migration. Based on their previous educational experiences and their parents' level of education, her students had varying levels of English ability when they reached her classroom. "If they have educated parents, then their English level will be good," she recalled. Similar linguistic diversity may have been apparent to Aleeza had she been placed in another of Glendale's schools, where there were large populations of Hispanic or other English-language-learners; at her school, however, it was very rare to meet a non-African American student whose first language was not English.

Aleeza also talked about religious diversity in Indian schools, which she noted had the ability to be as divisive in India as racial diversity can be in the United States, and

which the NCTE (2003) noted was "the nearest equivalent [to] the factor of race in the West" (p. 13). Hyderabad, though predominantly Hindu, was also home to the largest Muslim population in the state of Andhra Pradesh. Shrusty was Hindu; the other three teachers were Muslim. However, according to my participants, the majority of the time, religion was not an issue for either teachers or students, as long as teachers were vigilant to implement fair classroom procedures.

> Inside the classroom they [students of all religions] are sitting together… They are named differently, according to their religion, so the teacher does know to what religion they belong. So the other students know as well, but they don't care. You know, I think that comes from home, like you know, if your parents are practicing that [discrimination], then definitely the kids are going to practice that… But of course we do have different religions and the teacher needs to be on her toes… We don't want anybody to think we could do injustice to any of our students just because they are from [a] different religion. We cannot have pets [because they are the same religion]… As soon as the kid fails, the parent asks 'Is your teacher a Muslim or a Hindu?' So that is how I learned that it never gets to my religion when I am teaching. (Aleeza, 1/28/10)

The combination of national identity politics, teacher education, and previous multicultural experience with different languages and religions may have prepared my participants to work with diverse groups in India. However, the recruitment agencies' assumption that diverse groups could be instructed the same way across cultures—and Glendale's unquestioning acceptance of this assumption—left my participants unprepared for the climate of the U.S. urban schools where they were placed. Though the teachers

came with a commitment to caring for all students regardless of their backgrounds, several important considerations relevant to U.S. multicultural education were not part of their previous experience and were not discussed as part of their orientation or preparation. In the next section, I discuss the teachers' practices with respect to culturally relevant pedagogy (CRP).

Foreign Teachers' Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

Based on the culturally relevant pedagogical practices outlined by Gay (2000), Irvine and Armento (2001), and Ladson-Billings (1997), I interviewed my participants and observed their teaching to discover if and how they implemented CRP in their classrooms. The full list of practices is included in Appendix D. Though none of the teachers I interviewed had ever heard of the term "culturally relevant pedagogy" or any of its variations before, there were some culturally relevant behaviors and beliefs that they demonstrated without defining them as such. They demonstrated some evidence of effective teaching. Other times, they espoused culturally relevant beliefs, but I did not see these practices manifest themselves in classroom practice. Finally, there were multiple components of CRP that were neither espoused nor implemented in my participants' classrooms; these were the components of CRP that would have required knowledge of the students' cultures and backgrounds. Table 4 includes a summary of which culturally relevant practices were exhibited at various frequencies.

Table 4
Culturally Relevant Pedagogy as Exhibited by Four Foreign Teachers

Theme*	Frequency
Teacher is passionate about content.	Frequently exhibited
Teacher teaches necessary skills.	Frequently exhibited
Teacher makes accommodations for special learners.	Frequently exhibited
Teacher uses a variety of strategies.	Frequently exhibited
Teacher demonstrates care for her students	Frequently exhibited
Teacher encourages a community of learners.	Occasionally exhibited
Teacher encourages collaborative learning.	Occasionally exhibited
Teacher structures assessment that is ongoing and occurs in a range of contexts, with a range of materials and techniques.	Occasionally exhibited
Teacher believes all students can succeed.	Claimed, but not exhibited
Teacher-student relationship is fluid and humanely equitable.	Claimed, but not exhibited
Teacher builds bridges of meaningfulness between home and school and between academic abstractions and lived sociocultural realities.	Claimed, but not exhibited
Teacher makes connections between students' levels of identities.	Not evident
Teacher views knowledge critically.	Not evident
Teacher acknowledges students' culture and heritage as part of the curriculum.	Not evident
Teacher demonstrates a connectedness with all students.	Not evident
Teacher teaches students to know and praise their own and others' cultural heritage.	Not evident
Teacher incorporates multicultural information, resources, and materials into routinely taught skills and subjects.	Not evident
Teacher ensures that knowledge is continuously recreated, recycled, and shared by teachers and students.	Not evident
Teacher sees herself as part of the community and encourages her students to do the same.	Not evident

**Adapted from Gay (2000), Irvine & Armento (2001), and Ladson-Billings (1997)*

The four participants in this study frequently demonstrated several aspects of CRP, including a passion for content; commitment to teaching necessary skills; accommodations for special learners; and a variety of instructional strategies. Additionally, though it was not explicitly included as an aspect of CRP, the teachers demonstrated care for their students. Each aspect is further explained below, with examples from teacher or principal interviews and classroom observations.

Teachers Showed Passion for Content

All four of the teachers were interested in and excited by the subject areas they taught. They openly discussed their own education and how they entered into teaching, and each demonstrated a desire to work with children and a desire to continue learning in their content area. For example, Aleeza explained that she began tutoring other students at her home during her adolescence, especially in her favorite subject, science:

> You know in the beginning, when I was teaching when I was in the 11th [grade], that was just basically to earn something, and then when I got into it, it became my passion… When somebody is asking me some question, I want to answer, so that drove me towards this… I was always the science student, investigating things, finding out new things, especially that are connected to you as a human, so that is what makes me like science more. (1/28/10)

Samina, too, showed passion for her content when she expressed frustration over the scripted curriculum provided for her middle school language arts class in Glendale. She said she did not believe that the curriculum focused on anything more than test preparation for the high-stakes state exams, and as a result, her students were not exposed to some important parts of English. She commented, “I would love to teach them tenses,

which they are really bad at; how to use perfect tenses, how to easily identify and analyze perfect tenses and what are the easy methods to do them. Simple way to find it out… For reading, I could teach them poetry… I would love to teach them poetry."

Observations of Samina's classroom attested to her passion; despite classroom management difficulties, she often persisted in trying to teach small groups of students who would pay attention for longer than five minutes. She clearly knew the content and tried to find ways to make grammar exciting for her class. For example, with the help of the school's Language Arts coach, Samina attempted to teach her students about coordinating conjunctions. She took three sentences from age-appropriate books, wrote them on a small board at the front of the room, and then wrote, "FANBOYS" above it. "FANBOYS stands for coordinating conjunctions," she said excitedly, "It is an easy way to remember all of them. It's easy, see? What words in these example sentences do you see that are conjunctions that could be part of the FANBOYS list?" (FANBOYS was a pneumonic device commonly used to teach the coordinating conjunctions: for, and, nor, but, or, yet, so). She invited students to call out answers, but it was difficult to hear their responses because the majority of the class was talking to each other and not paying attention. Samina tried to create new sentences using the conjunctions and students' names. When she used students' names, they looked up from their side conversation for a moment, but then went back to their distractions. The activity took almost an hour, and according to the Language Arts coach, it should only have been the ten-minute lesson opener. The coach told me, "It is like this every day. They take advantage of her because she is new and because of the cultural misunderstandings. In the other room, they are

quiet as field mice." Despite these difficulties, Samina remained passionate about teaching language arts and grammar.

Similar classroom management problems occurred in Faria's high school mathematics classroom, but she, too, demonstrated that she was passionate about her content despite difficulties managing her students' behavior. For example, Faria discussed multiple ways to solve one algebraic equation and charged her students with using these multiple methods with increased frequency so that, like she had done when she was a student, "you will learn through practice." Shrusty's passion for her content—special education and life skills—was literally written all over her classroom. Colorful posters about student safety, numeracy, and public servants like policemen, firemen, and teachers lined the boards and walls, and she frequently referenced these posters when talking to her students.

Teachers Taught Necessary Skills

Principal comments provided a good gauge of how teachers taught necessary skills, as the principals were able to reflect on how prepared students were for final exams and subsequent courses. For example, Mr. Norman and Mr. Clark, who worked with Aleeza and Faria respectively, expressed confidence that their teachers were teaching important content-area knowledge and skills because their students were succeeding on end-of-course exams. Both principals reported that they saw this in practice when observing Aleeza and Faria's classrooms.

During one observation, I saw Aleeza's students reviewing for a test on types of energy. All of the questions in the discussion-based review were related to skills noted in Glendale's pacing guide and the state standards, including a focus on using formulas to

understand energy conversion and heat transfer. Faria's students also followed the pacing guide and state standards closely. During an observation of her class, students reviewed the slope-intercept formula and learned several ways to solve linear equations, including graphing by hand, all skills that would be needed on the end-of-course exam in Algebra.

Samina and Shrusty also taught the skills and content as mandated by the state standards and subject-matter benchmarks. For Samina's middle school language arts class, these skills included reading comprehension, writing in a variety of genres, and media literacy. For Shrusty's special education students, these skills included self-care and basic recognition of commands like stop, go, sit down, and please.

Teachers Made Accommodations for Special Learners

Shrusty's class provided the best example of accommodations for special learners, and not merely because she taught special education. In a class of eight students, Shrusty was responsible for learning about each students' abilities and disabilities, teaching "academic skills" as mandated by the Glendale standards, and managing personal care, such as feeding and changing, for individual students. Though she was assisted by at least one or two para-professionals, there were times during my observations when her assistants were out of the room for various other responsibilities and Shrusty herself was responsible for the very individualized needs of all her students. According to a daily schedule posted on the wall, Shrusty led her students in: daily living skills, breakfast, adaptive physical education, academics according to state standards, lunch, a second academic session, vocational skills, individual activity, leisure activity, and living skills.

Within each of these "periods," however, Shrusty made accommodations for the very specific needs of her students. For example, she knew that Julian liked to listen to

Michael Jackson on his headphones while practicing his alphabet on a worksheet. She knew that Tatiana especially liked to color with the red crayon, but she could only do so if Shrusty guided her hand. She knew that Deaunte needed extra help recognizing and "reading" key written phrases like, "Where is the bathroom?" and "Nice to meet you," but that he was very confident about "My name is Deaunte" and "Thank you very much." Shrusty acknowledged that some people who did not understand special education would not view her as a "real" teacher, but the amount of individualized and differentiated instruction that she was able to provide on a daily basis was an incredible testimony to her teaching abilities and personal dedication.

Other participants also said they provided accommodations in their regular education classrooms, as they realized that students possessed multiple intelligences and diverse abilities. Samina emphasized that "all the students are not [the] same all the time…. Their mentalities are different… You need art; you must be talented enough to deal with them." Aleeza's understanding of learning differences influenced how she structured instruction: "I really don't want to give them worksheets… I want them to talk, come out with the examples so that they understand what is the concept, and sometimes kids are good when they listen…. [Other times] some students can learn when they see it, when they visualize it, basically differentiated instruction." Samina and Faria also demonstrated a concern for special learners by paying attention to those students who benefited from individualized instruction. Though they were not able to do this as frequently as they stated they wanted to, they made consistent efforts to provide for their students' needs.

Teachers Used a Variety of Strategies

During interviews and observations, I witnessed and heard about a variety of pedagogical strategies that each teacher implemented in her classroom. Shrusty frequently used multimedia, including computer games, music, movies, and technological aids, to teach students in her special education class basic life skills. For example, during a classroom observation, one student played a computer game on the alphabet while another practiced counting with pegs and blocks.

Samina and Faria used teacher-centered and student-centered methodologies, such as mini-lectures, group work, individual reading and/or writing time, and project-based learning in language arts and mathematics. Faria described the projects she conducted with her students each semester, including one on mathematicians that required them to work with a partner, present to the class, use technology and library resources to conduct outside research, and evaluate their classmates. Aleeza used similar strategies and also added individual and group lab work in her physical science and chemistry classes.

Teachers Demonstrated Care for Their Students

Though not typically included in a list of culturally relevant pedagogical practices, researchers have found caring to be important for working with all students, especially African American students (Noddings, 2005; Roberts, 2010; Siddle Walker & Snarey, 2004). Teachers in this study saw caring about students to be as important as their content knowledge and classroom management. According to Noddings (2005a), "To care means to respond to needs, and needs do not stop (or start) at the schoolroom door" (p. xxii). Aleeza expressed a similar sentiment when describing the ways she cared for her students:

> I think some of the kids have some issues at home or some personal issues because of which they cannot concentrate. When I see that it is affecting their grade, … I go to them personally and [they] talk to me about what is going on. If they don't want to disclose anything, keep that confidential and let me know what I can do to help them get through the subject… I think the biggest thing we need is to be patient. You cannot give up with the kids… I just let them know that I will be ready for whatever they need. (2/8/10)

Students in Aleeza's class identified the ways she cared for them. "She pushes us," said one female student, "She wants us to do better because she knows we can." A male student concurred, "Yeah, she does care about us. She may not always get it 'cause she ain't from here, but she tries to get it, ya know, and she cares about us."

In most circumstances, I saw teachers connecting to and caring about students individually. For example, Aleeza spoke quietly to a student who had joined her class three days earlier. She reminded him that he needed a notebook for her class, inquired about his weekend and previous courses, and joked with him a bit. It was clear that the student and teacher were comfortable with each other, even though he was a relatively new addition to Aleeza's roster, and that she was trying to establish a rapport with him. Samina shared a story with two female students about the henna on her hands, which they thought was a tattoo. She explained that it was an ink design that did not hurt, and they eagerly asked her to draw one on their hands on the last day of school.

Noddings (2005b) wrote, "the caring relation is essential as a starting point and a continuous framework of support, but it is not enough by itself to ensure competent teaching" (p. 1). Though the teachers' care was not enough to make them entirely

effective educators of students in one American urban setting, participants frequently demonstrated some of the ways they attempted to care for their students, through use of collaboration, accommodations, and varied strategies.

There were several components of CRP found in other studies which I observed only occasionally with my four teachers, or that only one or two teachers demonstrated throughout the course of the study. These components included encouraging a community of learners and collaborative learning and using varied types of assessments. Examples of each culturally relevant practice are included below.

Teachers Encouraged a Community of Learners

All of the teachers stated that they believed establishing a community in their classroom was important, where the focus of the community was on learning. However, their success in implementing this goal varied widely. For instance, it could have been a particular challenge to initially establish a community in Shrusty's classroom. With only eight students, most of whom were non-verbal and all of whom had very different abilities and disabilities, there seemed to be little that all students had in common or that they could do together. Yet Shrusty found a way for individual students to aid others in the learning process, as when one student assisted another with counting pegs and moving the pegs between boxes, or when one student chose the appropriate crayons for another student to use when coloring a picture.

Aleeza also worked to create a community of learners through her use of science labs. During two observations of Aleeza's classroom, I saw students working together to complete a task. First, they were engaged in a lab on types of waves using springs. In small teams, students examined the coils of springs when compact and when stretched

out in order to make transverse and longitudinal waves; some springs were so long that students had to take them into the hallway for closer examination. In another observation, I saw the students completing a summative assessment on chemical bonding. Students were each creating their own poster that illustrated the chemical reaction of two assigned elements, including the elements' chemical formula and structure. Students were sharing materials, and more importantly, were sharing ideas for improving each other's poster or reminding each other of what they had learned in class. In both activities, there were students who stayed in a group with their friends, but there were others who "branched out" and worked with peers as part of the community. They were able to answer many questions within or among groups so that Aleeza was able to play a minimal supervisory role.

Samina, on the other hand, found it difficult to create a community of learners in her language arts classroom, perhaps because, as she explained, she believed that many of her students did not want to learn, and their disruptions negatively impacted the other students. She stated,

> All of them need attention; individual attention [is] impossible for me. What I think is, because of the attention we are giving to the disruptive kids, the deserving kids are not getting the attention… I feel really sorry for the kids who deserve real love and care, and they are not getting it because of the [other] kids. Whatever I can do, I always try to make them understand it. They are slowly becoming bad because of the bad kids; oh he's doing it, why can't I do it? The bad kids are motivating them. (3/31/10)

Whether it was the students' actions that caused Samina to feel this way, or Samina's feelings that further incited students to act out, it was nearly impossible to create a learning community with such feelings of disappointment and frustration from teacher and students alike.

It was difficult to determine the amount of community-building that had occurred in Faria's classroom as well. Her students worked together in pairs and small groups, but the community they developed seemed to be distinctly separate from Faria. That is, they were connecting to each other, but not to her.

Teachers Encouraged Collaborative Learning

Each of the teachers in this study stated that she believed in and encouraged students to work collaboratively. Samina stated,

> I always believe in small groups, collaborated groups… Sometimes what happens is teachers try to say something and they [students] cannot understand. They can understand the same thing when they are talking to each other. They can make it more simple… and they can resolve if they have any problems. (3/31/10)

In her class, during one observation, students were allowed to work together to complete a grammar handout. The handout they have been given is a "scramble" of transition words in different shapes and fonts. They are supposed to be classifying them based on the word's function, which Samina had labeled as: "sequence, time, contrast, adverb, and addition." After Samina distributed the handouts and read the directions aloud to the students, the collaborative groups descended into chaos. "You should be helping each other," she yelled over the din, "You can work together and help your partner on this, too." The following is an excerpt from my field notes, written during this episode:

> The young girl (who pays attention with her twin sister) has her hand raised in the front row; she appears to need help on one of the questions and wants to learn. But the teacher can't pay attention to her because she is "putting out fires." Two boys go back and forth yelling, "Shut up." She tries to intervene by yelling their names. At this point, only 2 boys (out of 10) are seated. Others are in and out of the open door. The chaos continues. One boy is kicked out after Samina threatens to call his mom. He says he'd rather be in detention than in the classroom. Three girls "sneak" out of the classroom without asking permission. One boy runs around the classroom, and she says, "This is a classroom; this is not a zoo." In order for the collaborative groups (the three that are actually working) to talk to each other now, they have to talk even louder. I am not sure how she doesn't have a headache. There is a lot of pushing, shoving, grabbing between the boys. They are very physical with each other. The boy on crutches holds it up like a gun and points it at the teacher, pretending it is an AK-47. He does it again so more boys will notice; they laugh. One says, "I wish I was in a gang so I could get a good gun." Does she notice? I don't think so because she is now helping the twin girls' collaborative group. Amazingly, as if it knew we were waiting for it, the bell rings and the students stream out. It is eerily quiet. (3/31/10)

This anecdote was typical of the daily interactions in Samina's classroom. Thus, despite Samina's encouragement of collaborative groups, their function was lost in the chaos of the lessons I observed.

Collaboration in Faria's class served both a pedagogical and logistical purpose. For instance, as students worked collaboratively in groups of two or three on a worksheet

on algebraic equations, Faria and her collaborative teacher circulated amongst the groups to provide additional support. Some groups required more assistance than others, and in our post-observation discussion, Faria revealed that collaborative activities like that one I had just witnessed allowed her to give individual attention to students who needed it most because, "I cannot get to them all at once, so pairs helps because they can help each other if I am not able to get to them fast." Collaboration was evident, too, in Aleeza and Shrusty's classrooms; students worked together to complete assigned tasks. In Aleeza's science classroom, this meant completing a project, study guide, lab assignment, or homework. In Shrusty's special education classroom, this meant students helped each other prepare to eat lunch, get ready to board the bus at the end of the day, or color a worksheet.

Teachers Structured Varied Assessments

The participants in this study occasionally used a variety of assessments. I saw evidence of multiple choice tests, essay tests, performance assessments like projects and labs, and ongoing assessment like class notebooks. Aleeza required her students to keep a class notebook in which they kept class notes, lab reports, diagrams and other pictures, questions and answers from textbook activities, and review materials. She collected this notebook every two weeks to check for completion, to ensure that students were keeping up with the subject. The notebook, then, became preparation for a final assessment and an assessment in and of itself:

> I am very particular about the notebook because especially when we are reviewing, they have something in hand and I really don't want them to give study guide-like notes. I don't believe that students read those big study guides

> that we give. I am more like, you know, draw the picture for this concept so at least when they are reviewing, they can at least look at the picture and they can figure out, okay this is what we did in class. So that is why I keep up with that notebook. (2/8/10)

Though teachers did include projects and labs, the majority of assessments in Faria, Aleeza, and Samina's classrooms were traditional pencil-and-paper assignments. I did not see evidence of any portfolio or other alternative assessments. The teachers may have felt restricted by the curriculum and/or may not have been shown how to diversify assessments while still following the state standards and county's curriculum pacing guides.

Teachers Espoused Some Beliefs That Were Not Evident in Practice

There were several culturally relevant pedagogical practices that teachers espoused, but that I did not see evident in practice during my classroom observations. These practices were part of teachers' philosophies but not their everyday practice, and included their statements that all students could succeed, that they tried to build equitable teacher-student relationships, and that they connected students' interests to school lessons.

Two teachers agreed with the statement that "all students can learn" and two teachers only partially agreed with the statement. Shrusty and Faria stated that they believed all students, regardless of previous background or ability, could succeed in some way in a classroom setting. Shrusty was especially adamant about this belief because she said that outsiders did not always see her students as successful or capable of learning; being with them on a daily basis, however, showed her the little ways that her students

learned and improved. Observations of her classroom showed that she rejoiced, and encouraged her students to rejoice, in small victories. What other teachers may not see as student success, such as when I observed a student stay on task counting pegs for three minutes, Shrusty praised as an improvement.

When asked if they believed that all students could learn and succeed, Samina replied, "Yes, but if they want to. It is a mutual thing. Someone should be ready to teach and someone should be ready to learn." Aleeza argued, " No, because their basics are not good, one. Second is because they are not interested to learn." In these two statements, the teachers were collapsing their students' *ability* to learn and their students' *desire* to learn. Samina and Aleeza said they thought the reason students were not successful was because students didn't care or were not "interested to learn." This belief was contrasted with Ladson-Billings' finding that culturally relevant teachers were those who believed all students wanted to and could learn.

Though the four teachers all verbally agreed that it was necessary for teacher-student relationships to be fluid, it appeared difficult for them to practice this belief because of their previous experiences with predominantly teacher-centered instruction in India. Aleeza commented, "For me, education is learning all the time, while you are teaching, while you are studying yourself. And be ready to learn from your students, too… [The] teacher is ever learning." When asked what they could learn from students, the teachers' said their students sometimes gave examples or answers that they had not previously imagined.

Much classroom interaction was still teacher-centered and didactic, such as reminding students of classroom rules when they were not paying attention, or leading

recitations where students raised their hands to answer teacher questions one at a time and the teacher then told them if they were correct or incorrect. It was unclear, though, how much of the teacher-centered classroom was the *choosing* of my participants and how much was a *response* to school policies that mandated strict "control" and "discipline." As I noted in Chapter 3, several principals said that teachers needed to be stringent in their classroom management in order for students to learn. For example, Mr. Sutherland encouraged his teachers to "be very stern, you have to be very, very stern and you have to say what you mean and do what you say because if you don't do what you say you are going to do, then they will take that as a weakness." Thus, the didactic, discipline- and teacher-focused classroom environment that I observed may have reflected the teachers' interpretations of administrative expectations.

Teachers expressed strong desires to connect academic learning with students' lives outside school. However, they did not make connections between home and school, as multicultural educators recommend (Gay, 2000; Irvine & Armento, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1997). As evidenced by Faria's opening vignette, she said she planned projects to draw on students' prior knowledge and interests about cell phones to make math seem applicable to real life. Aleeza concurred that real life examples were necessary to help students understand a concept and keep them interested in the subject matter, and she spoke at length about how this belief influenced her teaching practice:

> I try to give examples everybody can relate to. Today, like when I used the roller coaster [as an example for a chemistry problem]. I was sure that everybody had at least seen a roller coaster… I use lot of Internet [examples] to get students, like you know, what is interesting for them to understand and they really want to

> know. They want to relate, and science is more like, I want them to relate to it, to understand, okay this is what is going on with us, we know this already… I want to motivate the students towards learning to understand in a better way rather than just retaining the information like just to, you know, memorize the thing. I don't want them to memorize. I want them to learn the concept, understand the concept, so that is why I try my best to give real life examples to my teaching. (2/8/10)

Samina also wanted her students to be motivated writers, so she allowed them to write persuasive essays on topics of their choice, which she gleaned from a class discussion and then posted on a large paper on the classroom wall. The results of their discussion, which began with the question, "What are some issues facing our community?", included a variety of problems, from teen pregnancy and gangs to gas prices and "indiscipline [*sic*] in school." She said the lesson went "fine," and when asked what she learned about students' culture or community as a result, she remembered, "Most of the girls took teen pregnancy [for their paper topic]. It was a shock for me. That was a shock. At the age of 12 they get pregnant and they get babies; when they are a baby and they have a baby." This assignment, as well as the assignments on cell phones and roller coasters, were based on real life examples to appeal to student interest, but did not connect to students' home cultures in a meaningful way. That is, with these isolated examples, there was no attempt to bring students' values, histories, or voices into the classroom in a more extensive and comprehensive way, as was found by earlier researchers who studied CRP in African American schools.

Teachers may have felt limited by the curriculum and their own knowledge of African American communities, and because they were given no preparation or

professional development to show them how to weave students' cultures into existing curricula, they were left with seeing it as an "add on" and not a central part of the class. For example, I observed a typical sixth grade lesson in accordance with America's Choice. Samina's board exemplified the rigid structure of a prescribed lesson on transition words, including the relevant state standard, a 10-minute opening period, 30-minute work period, and 10-minute closing-period. Students were charged with brainstorming transition words as a class and then sorting the words by purpose into a chart in their notebooks. To find a way to incorporate students' home cultures into this basic lesson on transitions would have taken time and background knowledge on both students' cultures and culturally relevant pedagogy, none of which were afforded to Samina.

Behaviors Requiring Cultural Knowledge were Least Evident in Practice

These behaviors were some of the most complex, yet also, according to earlier studies conducted in African American schools, the most important for maintaining a culturally relevant classroom. As the teachers rarely, if ever, demonstrated these behaviors, it is difficult to discuss their absence because it was unclear whether: (1) teachers exhibited these behaviors on days I did not visit, but did not think to mention them in interviews, (2) they exhibited these behaviors in their home countries, (3) they would and could have demonstrated the behaviors had they been properly prepared and supported, or (4) they thought they were implementing the behaviors, but they were not evident to me. These culturally relevant pedagogical practices included: making connections between students' levels of identities; viewing knowledge critically; incorporating multicultural information, resources, and materials into routinely taught

skills and subjects; ensuring that knowledge is continuously recreated, recycled, and shared by teachers and students; and seeing herself as part of the community and encouraging her students to do the same.

In addition, several aspects of CRP were contradicted by the teachers' interviews or observations and are discussed here. This discussion of the ways my participants are not culturally relevant is not meant to indicate that they are "bad" teachers or that they did not care about their students overall, nor is it meant to indicate that they could not demonstrate these behaviors if given the proper preparation and professional development.

First, I did not see evidence that my participants taught students to know and praise their own and others' cultural heritage. Even if a teacher is not of the same culture as her students, it is possible for her to nurture in them a desire to know more about and celebrate their culture and that of others (Derman-Sparks & Ramsey, 2006). For teachers in this study, coming from a background where culture was seen as an important feature of life but one that could also create division in classrooms and society, teaching students about their culture meant that the teachers also had to learn about students' cultures. Aleeza said that she sometimes attempted to learn about her students' lives, by asking them questions like, "How do you celebrate things here? You live together, who cooks at home? And how is their relationship with their parents? Can their parents make decisions for them?" Yet, none of the teachers could articulate specific things they had learned about African American culture.

Faria seemed not to believe that learning about her African American students' culture was important or necessary because "there was not really much difference"

between their culture and her own. She continued, "We do not need to know about their personal life," because their life in the classroom was more important than their life outside the classroom. Samina, too, apparently did not learn much about her students' backgrounds and cultures, and when asked if she had learned any "positive things" about their culture, she replied:

> Unfortunately, I should say that the impact or the image of these kids was no good in my mind, because you know, how they behave and all that. So all negative things came to my mind whenever I thought of them… But all these kids are not like this by birth… Situations only can be behind this. They are not responsible for what they are now. They were not like that. God did not send them down to the earth with all these bad qualities. So as a teacher, it is my responsibility to do as far as possible, whatever is possible for them. (3/31/10)

In this sentiment, Samina collapsed students' behavior, culture, and upbringing in a way that prevented her from seeing the positive aspects of students' cultures because she was unable to get past what she saw as inappropriate classroom behavior. Though she wanted to do "whatever is possible for them," her own situation was so tenuous that she was unable to give her students what they needed, which may have been culturally relevant instruction that praised their inherent funds of knowledge.

Second, there was little evidence that teachers demonstrated a connectedness with all students. This behavior was closely related to the previous one; if teachers were unable to value and praise students' cultures, it was also difficult for them to truly connect to all students. However, recruitment agency materials touted this connection as one of the positive results of international teacher recruitment. Because foreign teachers

were from another culture, they were presumed to work well with—and thus be able to inherently connect with—students from non-White cultures in the United States. Mr. Muller of Glendale agreed: "They probably work better in those schools [with majority Black population] than those environments that are White. They seem to have less adjustment problems, not speaking of performance issues." Ms. Jefferson said the teachers were "average" when working with diverse populations.

The principals I interviewed also had varied, but strong opinions on if and how teachers connected with multicultural students. Mr. Clark agreed that they worked well with diverse students because "they do not get rattled, even when kids were being disrespectful with them, they maintain a level of professionalism… It does not matter, nationality, race, color, creed, or religion. If they can teach, I want them." Mr. Norman said, "They work well with any student. Their discipline is just different." In contrast, Mr. Scott said that, although "I do not think they come with prejudice, I will say that… "Work well with" to me would mean I could handle them, discipline-wise, I understand them, and I do not think they understand our kids." Similarly, Mr. Sutherland said, "Well, I just do not think that they understand the culture here… I mean even when we had conversations, [Samina] said 'I do not understand that culture.'" The variety of principal comments showed not only the various ways in which foreign teachers were or were not able to connect to their students, but also the difficulty of defining what exactly "connectedness" meant. In the principals' responses, it was evident that they defined a teacher-student connection in different ways.

The majority of students in Samina, Aleeza, and Faria's classes, however, did not exhibit a strong connection with their teachers. Many conversed with peers when their

teachers were talking. They did not seem bothered by or change their behavior when their teachers asked them to focus. There was not a lot of laughter or good humor between teacher and students. Unsolicited, students approached me and offered their opinions about their teachers, indicating a lack of connection between teacher and student perspectives. Some students' comments were:

> Our class is, like, really, really crazy all the time, 'cause she is Indian, ya know, so she is like, really confused by us a lot of the time. We do things and say things that she is like, what are you doing, what are you saying? And it's funny 'cause it's normal for us, but she can't connect to it. (Middle school student)
>
> She doesn't understand us at all, not just like what we *say*, but like what we *do*. I think she tries to sometimes, but it's like, it's way different and she just doesn't get it. (High school student)
>
> There's a whole bunch of Indian teachers here, did you know that? Are you writing about them, too? 'Cause that would be tight for someone to tell [the principal] about what they are like. You know, they like *want* to be good teachers and I think they are nice people. But they are like way *too* nice. They don't relate to us so much. (High school student)
>
> I think it's like, there's American kids that she thought she was going to come and teach, and then there's Black kids. And maybe she didn't know she was gonna come to teach a bunch of Black kids 'cause she still seems surprised by it, by us every day. [*laughing*] I get it though, I'd be surprised too by some of the shit that comes out of our mouths. Oops, I mean, like, she's a young teacher, and usually our younger teachers can relate to us better 'cause they remember like what it was

like to be teenagers. But she must have been a different kind of teenager. It must have been a different world. She has no idea what we're about. (High school student)

Student 1: Do you think we're like aliens or something?

Alyssa: Um, no, why would I think you are like aliens?

Student 1: [*laughing*] Sometimes I think our teacher thinks we're aliens.

Alyssa: Why?

Student 1: It's like we're both from different planets. Like nothing is the same as where she is from, so she can't connect to any of us.

Student 2: [*laughing*] Dude, we're worse than aliens. We're Black.

The comments are not included here to serve as evidence that the teachers were ineffective, but merely to raise the questions, "What would make a student say something like that?" and "Could anything have been done to help teachers and students better connect to each other?"

Next, there was no evidence that teachers in this study acknowledged students' culture and heritage as part of the curriculum. This final culturally relevant practice, which is difficult for many American-born teachers of all races to implement in the classroom, was rarely displayed in my participants' classrooms. I did not observe any discussions of race, power, privilege, or oppression, nor discussions of the different cultures that informed their subject areas. Interestingly, Faria noted her mathematician project led many students to choose Indian mathematicians to "impress her" and "get a good grade," but she did not mention any students who chose African American mathematicians.

One potential reason for a lack of students' heritage in the curriculum was because the Indian teachers had been educated in a country where, as aforementioned, cultural difference was "not an issue" in the ways it can be in U.S. classrooms. In the teachers' Indian classrooms, students had different linguistic and socioeconomic backgrounds, but these differences were not commonly made part of the standard curriculum. Teachers were taught that, to be fair, one must treat all students the same, which is a different notion of "fairness" than what is promoted by critical education scholars in the United States today. If the teachers' behaviors and comments were evaluated from a strictly U.S.-standpoint, they would be seen as "colorblind," where someone claims that they don't "see" race. Because the teachers didn't "see" race, or see it as important, it was rarely acknowledged in classroom discussions or curricula. For example, Aleeza argued, "You know actually, in India, we don't have this culture division you know… Whatever the race is, when I am in class, I am [a] teacher to everybody." She elaborated that, although she had taken time to learn about her students' cultures because she had "no idea" about their history or culture, race was not significant for how she interacted with her students or how she expected them to perform:

> *Aleeza:* All I did was, I made up my mind, "whoever they are, whatever they are, they are students, they are young kids and I have to know how to handle them."
>
> *Alyssa*: Have you learned anything about their history since you have been here?
>
> *Aleeza*: Yes, a lot of things, like what did they went through, and then how did they come up, and how did they fight for their rights… You know ups and downs that they had to go to have their rights. So I have learned a lot about those things.

> *Alyssa*: You were saying that you have learned a lot since you have been here about African-American history. How do you think that affects the way that you interact with African-American students?
>
> *Aleeza*: I do not think that there is any difference that I interact with them, different because of that. No, because some of them do have this misconception that we cannot do anything because we are Black, or you know, they give me answers like that. When I give them a low grade, they say "you are doing that to us because we are Black?" I was like, "why do you think that you will not be able to do something because you are Black? You have a Black President." And they are like "Oh, [Ms. Aleeza], you catch us like that."… I did not know how to answer that for the first time when I heard that. Then, later on, I understood they are just talking, you know how youngsters talk. They are just talking because they want to say something. (3/3/10)

Samina indicated that she had heard similar statements from her students about teachers treating them unfairly because they were Black. Like Aleeza, Samina found these comments unsettling and confusing because she did not see evidence of racism in teachers' treatment of students. Samina explained:

> They have some kind of fear, or they have some kind of insecurity, something is going on in their hearts. They call names to each other also. Like "nigger" and all that. I do not know why they want to discriminate themselves. Sometimes they call other teachers and other people racist. Why do they call them [that]?... Maybe they are brought up, I do not know, I am not aware of it. But they cannot say that to me, but say that to me "you're doing that to me because I am a Black?"

> "What? I don't have anything to do with that. "You're a human being, I am a human being." That is more important for me other than skin color… Something is going on wrong in their minds about their race. (3/31/10)

Translating Culturally Relevant Beliefs into Culturally Relevant Practice

The teachers said they believed in equity in the classroom, they wanted to make lessons important and meaningful for their students, and they cared deeply about their students' success. But their different backgrounds, both personally and professionally, made it difficult for them to translate their stated beliefs into practice in another cultural context from the one in which they were socialized. Their home culture encouraged teachers to see everyone as the same. Though this same attitude may be encouraged in popular culture in the United States, in education today, to deny a student's culture as different or unique is to ignore a central part of his or her identity. Agencies that encouraged teachers to believe that "students are students everywhere," as the owner of IRI plainly stated, further advanced a colorblind approach to multicultural education, and without the proper preparation and support, foreign teachers were left to maneuver their way through a new country's education system where "race matters." Through little to no fault of their own, participants in this study found it difficult to practice culturally relevant pedagogy because their previous education in India had prepared them for a an entirely different cultural context than the one in which they were now teaching. Additionally, their agencies and communities in the United States did not provide appropriate, contextualized, and continuous education for them.

Chapter 5:

Cultural Ambassadors?: Meeting the Goals of Foreign Teacher Recruitment

Did I meet my goals? That is hard to say. Three years is such a short time, you know? There is still so much left to do. I am glad to have been here to meet my American family, that is for sure. I am so sad to leave them. And I did make more money, and I could save money. I have changed as a person. I wasn't this patient before; this profession taught me to be patient and be organized. I see I'm more mature because of traveling, in money matters, relations with co-workers, and with other people around. So yes, my achievement goals I met because I wanted something different and I did it. But there is a lot more to do, you know? There is a lot more I have to do to for my daughter to get into a good American college. – Shrusty, special education teacher, 5/17/10

There were a multitude of stated purposes and goals for foreign teacher recruitment. First, international teachers came with personal goals, including the desire to experience the "American dream," earn more money for their families, expand their children's educational opportunities, and improve their teaching backgrounds. Second, recruitment agency officials and district administrators claimed they wanted to increase urban students' exposure to world cultures and their global competitiveness. Third, school administrators hoped to hire high-quality educators for urban schools. Finally, district leaders also hoped international recruitment would solve the problem of filling positions in urban areas. Using data from classroom observations and interviews with teachers, principals, and officials, in this chapter, I analyze how—if at all—those goals are achieved. The chapter is divided into four sections based on the stated beneficiaries of such goals: teachers; students; schools; and districts.

Meeting Teachers' Goals

Participants in the study expressed mostly positive feelings about their experience working in U.S. urban schools. Despite the challenges they faced, as explained in Chapter 3, most showed high levels of personal satisfaction when discussing their schools, students, and colleagues. The American Federation of Teachers (2009) identified multiple "pull factors" that frequently impelled teachers or other migrant workers to seek employment abroad, including higher compensation; professional development interests; better working and living conditions; family ties; more economic, political, and social stability; and a desire to see the world (p. 14). Teachers in this study expressed similar goals as the AFT report and those revealed in popular press articles, such as having an "American" experience, increasing their pedagogical knowledge, earning more money, and becoming more internationally competitive. Though they did not identify it as a primary goal upon first entering the recruitment program, all the teachers indicated that much of their satisfaction came after developing close relationships with individual students or seeing students succeed. Not all of their goals were realized, however, in part because of programmatic constraints and lack of institutional support.

In Search of the "American Dream"

According to Neufeld (2005), a Filipino teacher wanted to discover what made the United States alluring to many international citizens because she said she "wouldn't have peace" until she discovered what made "everybody want to go there" (p. 3). My participants expressed a similar desire to "live the opportunity of America," "find the American dream," and "see if the U.S. was really so special."

As Shrusty explained in the opening vignette, part of her American dream was to make it possible for her daughter to attend a "good American college," a goal she mentioned during several interviews. "Then she could really have the dream," Shrusty explained, noting that if her daughter had a college education from a U.S. university, she could go anywhere and do anything and "be too [very] successful." Shrusty did not feel that three years gave her enough time to achieve the dream, but did think her daughter had been exposed to a quality education while she was here. "Education is fun for her here," she said about her daughter, "She will miss it."

The difficulty with such high expectations was that they were often not realized. Though she felt successful and satisfied herself, Shrusty had seen several colleagues, including her own sister, who returned to India before their three-year contract was completed. She attributed this to lack of support from agency and school officials, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. She also explained that leaving before their "time was up" kept them from achieving their potential American dream. As presented at the beginning of Chapter 1, Shrusty stated, "So many international teachers like us come to America, the land of opportunity, with these big American dreams, and then our dreams are shattered by reality."

Pedagogical Knowledge

As discussed in detail in Chapter 3, the four Indian teachers were accustomed to lecture-style instruction, which was most common in their home contexts. They hoped their brief tenures in the United States would expose them to new pedagogy and technology. Aleeza, Samina, and Shrusty agreed that they learned new ways of teaching, particularly using more hands-on activities and group discussion than they had used

previously. Even more, though, they learned new classroom management techniques that they had never had to use in India. Faria, however, did not believe that her pedagogical goals were met while teaching high school mathematics:

> I will say three years was a very short period to meet the goals that I have… The first year, you are just learning things, and second year is okay with you, I mean like you [are] going. But the last year, you know that you are going back. So I would say if it would have been another two years or so, I mean like there are a lot things that I wanted to learn and I could not. I did not get a lot more exposure, especially me I would say, I did not get a lot more exposure to things that I expected. I had expected some more exposure to technology in here. I wanted to teach the gifted students before I leave, which I could not do… Now that I got certified to teach the gifted students, I am leaving. (5/18/10)

In this example, Faria referred to two factors that made her unable to achieve her goals. First, she was not exposed to a lot of technology, which she listed as one of her primary goals during our first interview. During her three years, she had no student computers available for classroom use; she shared use of a media center and computer lab; and she had no LCD projector to share videos or computer programs. In her last year, she was moved to a new classroom, though this move was delayed by months, and when she arrived, there was an open space on the wall where the Smartboard should have been placed. Thus, for the last several months of school, she had no Smartboard or even a blackboard on the wall. Second, Faria desired to teach gifted students. She participated in the certification process—at her own expense—but did not complete the certification requirements until her final year.

Monetary Incentives

The average salary for teachers in Hyderabad, India in the 2009-2010 school year was approximately 142,372 rupees, or 3,408 U.S. dollars (Payscale.com, 2010). In Glendale School District, the average salary for a new teacher was 40,000 U.S. dollars. Even though teachers had to pay for rent, agency fees, and health insurance—all of which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6— they were still *initially* making a substantial amount more than their counterparts in India.

Mitigating this monetary incentive was the much higher cost of living in the United States. In addition to the "expected" fees that were disclosed before their departure from India, such as rent and health insurance, there were also additional fees associated with the cost of living. These costs started adding up immediately upon arrival. For example, Ms. Jain, the head of IRI, claimed:

> They get free rides from the airport when they get here; we bring them to their apartment and help them get settled near an Indian grocery store and a place of worship, so they feel comfortable. And then we pay for their security deposit and their first month's rent. And we give them meals for the first three days, free of charge. (5/28/10)

The teachers, however, argued that Ms. Jain did not fulfill these promises. Upon arrival, they were picked up at the airport, but they were asked to contribute to the price of gasoline. They were also given meals for the first three days, prepared by a previous cohort of foreign teachers, but they were asked to contribute to the cost of food, as well.

The most significant personal cost that countered the monetary incentives was the cost of transportation. Upon arrival, none of the teachers had cars or American drivers'

licenses. They were not given information about public transportation, but even if they had used this option, the bus system was such that they would have spent a large amount of time switching buses and walking to their schools. Ms. Jain stated that the teachers were given free transportation for the first two weeks of the year, until they made other arrangements with American teachers. However, the teachers disputed this and said they were almost immediately left to their own devices. Thus, because they were not provided with an alternative by IRI, they paid an older Indian man to drive them to and from school each day. This was not an ideal situation, but they had no other options, Shrusty explained:

> We didn't know anybody, that was the thing. This was before we knew our American friends in school, like when we first got here and we had to be at [our schools] the next day. This old man, he made us wait for a long time and he was not on time a lot. He couldn't drive in the dark. Oh, it was scary, him jumping on the curbs! He would sometimes say he can't come today so to book a taxi. He charged us $40, but then after a month, it went to $50, $60, $75. And this was $75 *weekly*, not for a month! It was so much money! (12/10/09)

Although some teachers did manage to save some money, they were not able to save as much as they initially thought they would or were promised because of the high cost of living and other fees associated with recruitment. For several teachers, all of what they saved while in the United States would have to be used to repay their "relocation loans" or other debts to family, friends, or agencies upon their return to India.

International Competitiveness

Participants said they felt that teaching experience in the United States would make them more "hirable" in other contexts. Though all of the teachers eventually wanted to return to India, they all mentioned the possibility of teaching in other countries. They believed that their U.S. experience would make future employment in India or another foreign country more likely.

For instance, Shrusty said she would like to begin a part-time Ph.D. program in global labor issues. She anticipated that her U.S. experience would make her more likely to be accepted into this program and would also help her research, as she planned on studying teacher layoffs in countries like the United States. Both Faria and Aleeza expressed a desire to teach in Australia because they had family or business opportunities there and it was another English-speaking country. Samina claimed, "My confidence level is up here [gestures with hand near head]. I could go anywhere in the world, any country I want. If I could do this, I could do anything." Though during interviews between March and May 2010, the teachers indicated they would like to get their visas extended, they emphatically stated their desires to find another agency to sponsor them because of the numerous problems they had while in IRI's employ. However, in August 2010, Shrusty, Faria, and Aleeza returned to the United States and remained Ms. Jain's employees. This will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

Student Success Stories

These four teachers did not anticipate developing meaningful relationships with their students and did not identify any relational aspects as part of their initial goals. Upon reflection, they all shared stories of individual students who affected them and

made them feel "successful." Achieving these relationships and connections made their success, however broadly defined, more likely, even if they did not achieve other goals to their fullest extent. For example, Faria shared the story of a young woman who she taught three times in the course of her three years at Woodson High, in Geometry, Algebra II, and Algebra III.

> When I saw her [the] first time in my Geometry B class, …she did not pass most of my tests, but she was a hard worker, and I think she barely passed with a 71 or 72… When she came to my Algebra II class, I think she passed with a 77 or 78, but I still remember she ended up learning a lot of Algebra. She really tried to get the subject in Algebra, I still remember, she tried to participate every time I asked a question. She was kind of shy because she thought her answer might not be correct but she did try… She did learn, she did ask for extra help and I still remember the days when she cannot even figure out how to solve a simple linear equation, but now she is able to do [it all]. Every day I see that she is getting almost over 90% of what I am teaching. She is an A student in my [Algebra III] class right now. She does everything in the class and she is passing all my tests with an A… I really feel happy because… I saw that gradual improvement in that particular student, so that is something really that is motivating for me. (3/2/10)

Aleeza also recalled an individual student who was a senior in her science class. He had already failed the course once, and he was in danger of failing again. She was able to work with him individually to help him succeed, and as a result, felt successful herself.

> He used to keep his head down in my class, and I was like, 'See, you have to work in class. You cannot put your head down and if you keep doing that then I have to call your parents, and if that doesn't work, then I have to write you up. I have to follow up with that. So just let me know what is the reason you put your head down everyday. You don't like the subject or you want me to give you a different style of worksheet, what is it?' That boy was so straight, he said, 'See, I work whole night and I am tired and I am hungry because I don't eat my breakfast.' That disturbed me so badly… He was like, 'As soon as I get something to eat, I am fine,' and then I told him 'Okay, now I cannot do anything about your lunch. I cannot change the time for you, so just come to me two days after school every week.' He said, 'It is difficult, but I will try to.' And he did, and he passed his end-of-course test with a 90. That was big [for him to come to tutorial]…But it showed me, like you know, sometimes there are some reasons behind it which we as an individual need to understand, so I was really happy at that time… I at least achieved for one person… you know, like I could transfer my knowledge to him. (2/8/10)

Overall, participants' goals were only partially met during their stay in the United States. Though they experienced a new culture and learned new teaching techniques, thus hopefully making them more internationally competitive, they were not able to achieve the conventional "American dream." Because some of the promised monetary incentives were not fulfilled and because of the short length of their programs, the teachers all returned to India before they were able to completely fulfill all of their goals.

Meeting Goals for Students

Glendale School District's mission, as displayed on plaques in schools around the county, was to "maximize students' social and academic potential, preparing them to compete in a global society." Recruitment agencies capitalized on this desire for international competition when they realized many urban students had limited exposure to the "global society." Indeed, the schools' populations in this study were all 99% African American, and according to the principals, many of the students had never traveled internationally—or even within the United States—and had little experience with other cultures. Thus, a goal of foreign teacher recruitment for urban students was to bring cultural awareness, thus escalating their ability to "compete" in the global marketplace.

Two Neoliberal Tenets: Global Competition and Marketization

Neoliberal ideology, or a set of economic beliefs in favor of market-based competition, privatization, and globalization, developed a stronghold in political and educational discourse because many groups that would otherwise remain disparate saw it as sensible (Apple, 2001; Giroux, 2004). Because the language of neoliberalism was one of "social welfare and advancing democracy," broad ranges of individuals found its tenets appealing for their individual freedom (Robertson, 2008, p. 17). Though some scholars and educationalists recognized that neoliberal doctrines were "crafted and employed for reasons of power and profit" (Chomsky, 1999, p. 39) as opposed to the welfare of our neediest citizens, the general public—and indeed many politicians, administrators, and others with control over education—remained under the illusion that the doctrines were designed as the great equalizer in a broken educational system.

The multitude of neoliberal beliefs can best be summarized as an inherent focus on the market, or "the universalization of the enterprise ethic" (McCarthy et. al, 2007, p. 39). According to Fitzsimons (2002), "for neoliberals, it is not sufficient that there is a market; there must be nothing which is not the market" (p.2). Schools will improve too, then, according to this philosophy, if they are in competition with one another and we allow market forces to commodify education, thus as Chomsky says, valuing profit over people (Apple, 2001; Chomsky, 1999; Giroux, 2004; Saltman, 2007.) The focus on business-models and commodities has infiltrated the language of education as well, through what Saltman calls omnipresent and nebulous market terms (McCarthy et. al, 2007; Saltman, 2007). For example, in the Glendale district, teachers attended workshops on "customer service" and "efficiency," led by school principals often called CEOs, in order to better understand how to "serve their clients." Indeed, a display of neoliberalism at the highest levels of education: when I called the U.S. Department of Education, I was greeted with the automated message, "Thank you for calling the U.S. Department of Education, where we aim to serve our customers well" (3/29/10). This increasing and unexamined commodification meant "under neoliberalism, everything either is for sale or plundered for profit" (Giroux, 2004, p. xiii)… even people, like international teachers.

Neoliberals also believed in privatization of schools because of their ongoing suspicion of public services and, as a result, progressively stopped investing in public education (Giroux, 2004; Saltman, 2007). For them, public resources were at risk because the state was too large and bureaucratic, where the private sector had the freedom to be more efficient and responsive to individual needs (Saltman, 2007). Saltman (2007) offered an extensive list of the forms that privatization took in education, including:

> for-profit management of schools, performance contracting, for-profit charter schools, school vouchers, school commercialism, for-profit online education, online home-schooling, test publishing and textbook industries, electronic and computer-based software curriculum, for-profit remediation, educational contracting for food, transportation, and financial services. (p. 53)

Added to his list can be foreign teacher recruitment, whereby districts "hired out" their employment functions and outsourced their human resources role to for-profit recruitment agencies. The role of finding highly qualified teachers moved from the public sphere to the private.

Finally, the desire for a competitive advantage under the conditions of globalization, both physically and mentally, drove neoliberal reforms. What Friedman (2005) viewed as the "flattening" of the marketplace, neoliberals saw as an opportunity to restore the United States to its "rightful place" as an international leader. For neoliberals, the "rapid intensification of migration, the amplification of electronic mediation, the movement of economic and cultural capital across borders, and the deepening and stretching of interconnectivity around the world," was a political landscape ripe for the picking (McCarthy et. al, 2007, p. 39). Unsurprisingly, this "world as a supermarket ripe for consumer (and producer) competition," was appealing to parents and educators concerned for their students' success (Apple et. al, 2007, p. 10) because they saw no alternative to this hegemonic discourse that had become enormously engrained in our cultural milieu (Giroux, 2004).

What parents and educators needed to realize, however, was that students were being increasingly viewed as human capital (Apple et. al, 2007). Schools were forced to

respond to neoliberal reforms in a way that allowed their students to be successful, but the impact of vouchers, charters, and other reforms was that student identities were "constructed in and by the market" (McCarthy et. al, 2007, p. 40). Instead of developing children as thoughtful citizens or giving them access to culturally relevant pedagogical practices that researchers showed can make a difference, schooling was reduced merely to economic ends (Ladson-Billings,1997; Saltman, 2007). In the face of this pressure, when states were stepping back from their investment in public education, what was a school to do except look for a solution, for a way to legitimize itself? They sought any reform to solve the problem. Foreign teacher recruitment, which promised to prepare students for globalization, while filling empty positions, was one such reform.

Connecting the "Global Village" through "Cultural Ambassadors"

Globalization, or the theory that world economies are integrated through a flow of trade, capital, and migration (Bhagwati, 2004), was encouraged and furthered by foreign teacher recruitment agencies. They crafted slogans, missions, and materials designed to capitalize on schools' desire to prepare students for an increasingly globalized marketplace. This symbolic language of globalization was part of the political spectacle of recruitment. School districts were told that foreign teachers would bring cultural experiences and knowledge to the classrooms, which for them was an added bonus to their desperation to fill open positions. And although the teachers in the study did sometimes discuss their home culture with the students, such as describing marriage rituals, technology, and education, several stated that they did not see it as part of their jobs to teach students about their cultures and only responded when asked directly. Others said they would be willing to discuss culture, but time constraints and an intense

curricular focus did not allow time for outside discussions. Yet, the media's articles and the agencies' materials made explicit use of symbolic language, such as "globalized citizens," "multicultural awareness," and "cultural diversity."

Of the agencies highlighted in Barber's (2003) and AFT's (2009) reports, the majority linked their mission explicitly to globalization. Because school districts like Glendale were concerned with preparing their students for what they viewed as international competition in the workforce, it is no surprise, then, that the agencies' missions would have been appealing. Agencies were also able to build upon the increasing fear that the United States was falling behind other countries in international test rankings. Despite the fact that education scholars like Darling-Hammond (2010) saw this failure as an indictment of society's lack of concern for school inequalities and the perpetuation of racist educational practices, many in the general public and some school administrators claimed that incompetent teachers or poorly-structured curricula were at fault.

Samples of agency mission statements are included in Table 5 below. All of the agencies included were also studied by Barber (2003); several agencies from his list have been left off the table, however, because they did not have publicly available materials or did not include a mission statement on their website.

Table 5
Foreign Teacher Recruitment Agency Mission Statements (2010)

Agency	Mission Statement
Avenida International Consultants (AIC)	"The current demand and shortage for teachers in critical areas has resulted in alternative and aggressive recruitment programs for many school systems in the United States. The International Teacher Placement Program was designed to address this need by establishing an efficient mechanism for recruiting highly qualified teachers from the Philippines to work in various school districts in the United States, at no cost to the district" (Avenida International Consultants, 2010).
Amity Institute	"Amity Institute is a nonprofit organization dedicated to building international friendship and cultural understanding through teaching exchange. Based on the belief that cross-cultural interaction creates an effective, dynamic learning environment, Amity Institute sponsors international educators to teach in US schools. Amity provides opportunities for global educators to share their knowledge with students, schools and communities" (Amity, 2010).
Global Teacher Recruitment and Resources (GTRR)	"GTRR was founded on the vision of an individual who saw the world becoming smaller every day. She saw students around the world benefiting from a world-class education and it was her vision to see American students receive the same world-class education. In addition, in this global village, American students inculcated in the global culture will succeed immensely in their future. This requires the best teachers from around the world bringing their rich personal experiences from other cultures to America's classrooms" (Global Teachers Recruitment and Resources, 2010).
Teachers Placement Group (TPG)	"Teachers Placement Group, founded in 1999, is a leader in helping teachers from the Indian subcontinent travel to the United States to participate in cultural exchange programs… Our program will help your students receive world-class instruction from highly qualified teachers while learning about India's rich and vibrant culture… We work to help you find highly qualified and culturally curious teachers for your schools" (Teachers Placement Group, 2010).
Visiting International Faculty (VIF)	"VIF helps K-12 schools build the 21st-century skills necessary for students to succeed in the global marketplace. As J-1 exchange teachers, VIF educators are uniquely positioned to bring a global mindset to the classroom, providing meaningful and memorable international education opportunities that influence the viewpoints of generations of students at home and abroad" (Visiting International Faculty, 2010).

As the mission statements illustrate, agencies used language that reflects globalization and internationalism. Statements like VIF's "21st-century skills necessary to succeed in the global marketplace" and GTRR's "the world is growing smaller everyday" echoed Friedman's notion that the most valued skills are those that enable trans-national knowledge and people. Further, the repetition of words like "culture," "global," "world," and "world-class", while emphasizing the agencies' exchange value, also added to the sentiment that global knowledge is a desirable and achievable goal. IRI's mission was similar to those above, in both its focus and its language. Though IRI did not have a website, Ms. Jain summarized their mission during an interview:

> Our motto is that educators transcend borders, so we wanted to have, with the world becoming smaller every day, an education system that would be common throughout the countries. So if you have an educator in the United States, our idea is…that educator could go teach in India without any problems. The curriculum would not be very starkly different, so our mission, our goal is that, we have an exchange program for Indian teachers to come teach in the United States. We don't want physical borders to exist for the teachers. (5/28/10)

As described in an earlier chapter, VIF, which was previously used in Glendale, used idealistic language to describe their acculturating mission:

> Imagine your students listening attentively as their South African-born teacher shares his experiences during the last days of apartheid; a German teacher discusses the fall of the Berlin Wall; or a Spanish teacher demonstrates Flamenco… to an after- school club. Extraordinary teachers sharing the world

> with your students- that's the essence of…VIF (Visiting International Faculty, 2006).

The agency's perceptions of cultural diversity and globalization were interesting in their focus; the countries and moments that it highlighted are those of success, moments that could not reflect poorly on the United States or lead to difficult discussions in the classroom. For example, VIF stressed a South African teacher's discussion of the *end* of apartheid, *not* apartheid itself, nor the ongoing racial unrest and inequities. Noticeably absent from the VIF materials were Filipino teachers who could remember imperialism or Indian teachers who could explain the legacy of colonialism. Overall, the diversity that agencies promised to districts was superficial and based more on "heroes and holidays" and "food and festivals," or a "tourist" approach to multicultural education, than on a critical multicultural approach (Cochran-Smith, 1995; Grant & Lei, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1997; Neito, 1995).

Ms. Muller of the Glendale School District noted that the district stopped working with VIF because "cultural diversity dropped [as our priority] over the past several years; it is just no longer the focus when we really just need to find more teachers." Here, the official recognized the political spectacle and rejected it in favor of the most honest, yet still frustrating, truth that foreign teachers were used primarily to fill job openings that American teachers were not willing to take. Cultural diversity was a side note, and using agencies that were able to provide higher numbers of teachers at a cheaper price, even if they only brought teachers from one poor country, was more valuable than continuing to work with an agency that promised more nationalities. Ms. Dougherty from the American Federation of Teachers found this argument frustrating: "I am supportive of the vision of

bringing more cultural diversity, but hiring only math teachers to fill openings is not cultural diversity."

Despite Ms. Muller's indication that cultural diversity and increased global awareness was no longer the primary focus of foreign teacher recruitment, she still suggested that any tangential diversity discussions were a benefit to the students of Glendale:

> It brings cultural diversity to the school. Children need to be aware that the world is built of all types of people, and they bring strengths into the classroom that are different. That's good for children to be aware of. Overall, they serve a good purpose for providing cultural diversity in our classrooms. (2/23/10)

Yet, according to Mr. Sutherland of Chisholm Middle School, the goal of "inculcating students in the global culture" (GTRR, 2010) was far from achieved. "For my kids, who have never been outside these blocks… who don't know what a cow is… and these Indian teachers with this global knowledge, it is just a mismatch," he said, "When you have somebody with limited experience versus global experience, it just doesn't mix." He pointed to a critical disjuncture in the agencies' theories and the reality of urban schools. Simply because someone from another culture is in the classroom does not mean that she will be able to "bring a global mindset into the classroom" without appropriate preparation and support. Mr. Sutherland went even further to say that the cultural mismatch between teacher and students created a barrier, or a figurative closing, rather than an opening of borders.

Meeting Schools' Goals

The school administrators in this study were not responsible for hiring their own international teachers. Instead, Ms. Muller and Ms. Jefferson in the Glendale central office made those placement decisions. However, once the principals were notified of their new teachers, their primary goal became to provide students with high-quality education using the teachers' broad content knowledge.

According to IRI and other recruitment agencies, foreign teachers were highly qualified because they possessed broad content knowledge, often in more than one subject. For example, an Indian teacher certified in math was also typically certified in science, according to Ms. Jain of IRI. The principals in this study were equally divided on whether or not international teachers' content knowledge was effectively communicated to their urban students, though the teachers themselves were confident in their academic backgrounds. Also contentious was what "highly qualified" actually meant to the schools and agencies, and whether or not American teachers filled this profile as well as international teachers.

Content Knowledge

When asked what was foreign teachers' biggest strength, all 15 participants in this study—from the teachers themselves, principals, district officials, agency officials, and union representatives—replied that it was "content knowledge." This was predictable because agencies touted their teachers as well-educated in their subject areas, and popular press articles frequently discussed teachers' educational qualifications. For example, GTRR stated that their teachers "have an impeccable command of their subject matter" and all agencies labeled in Table 5 required teachers to have at least a Bachelor's degree

in their main content area. Indeed, Ms. Muller, a district official in Glendale, stated that, in her interactions with teachers before they were hired, she was more concerned with "fluency" because "we already know the content is there… [because] they have so many degrees and education" (2/23/10). Ms. Jefferson, the other district representative, elaborated:

> What I have noticed with the foreign teachers is that they are learned in their content areas and they have vast degrees within their content areas versus the teachers in America. If they have advanced degrees, often times they are in other areas. For example, if a science teacher has a doctorate degree here in America, it is usually in leadership. It is not in science, versus the foreign teachers that we work with often times come with two to three Masters in those specific content areas. So they come with a great bit of knowledge in the content fields that they are teaching. (2/28/10)

There was no doubt that international teachers came with impressive academic credentials. Three teachers in this study had both a Bachelor's and a Master's degree in their subject area, and several had a second degree in a related subject. What was less clear was whether teachers' content knowledge was enough to make them successful in the classroom. For example, did they also possess *pedagogical* content knowledge (Shulman, 1986), in which they knew specific methods and strategies for teaching their particular content area? This concept will be discussed in the next section.

Two principals argued that content knowledge was not only a strength promised by the agency, but one they had seen in practice. Mr. Clark said he had observed his international teachers, including Aleeza, and seen their knowledge in action, and students

had given positive feedback. He posited that Aleeza's content knowledge made her well-equipped to lead the school's after-school test preparation program, in which she offered tutoring for the state's high-stakes graduation exams in science. Mr. Norman concurred with Mr. Clark's assessment: "I have sat in on several classes and their grasp of the concepts is remarkable. A lot of the things that our [American] teachers are looking for and fussing around with books, they know" (4/13/10). He said that Faria had grown into one of his most competent teachers.

For the two other principals, content was adequate, but teachers' delivery of content was impeded by other challenges. Mr. Scott described his experience, but did not include his teacher, Shrusty, in his analysis because he did not know enough about severe disabilities to effectively judge her content knowledge as a special education teacher. For other foreign teachers that he has supervised, he asserted:

> *Mr. Scott*: I have not seen any strengths. Because I would like to say classroom content, but I have not necessarily seen that. I am not saying that it has not happened somewhere, but I have not seen it.
>
> *Alyssa*: You have not observed that?
>
> *Mr. Scott*: Not to the point where I would have seen it as a strength. I have not necessarily seen it where it was such a deficit that they could not teach. I still do not consider it a strength, though. I think, like the ones that I have had, their content was *okay*. Like if you were rating them from an A to an F, [they would be a] C-slash-B. Not seen any with an A, but the classroom management has been such an issue that I have not been able to see *anything* as a strength, because they have not been able to give that content out. (2/11/10)

Mr. Sutherland expressed similar disappointment that international teachers "know the content; however, it does no good if you know the content and you cannot have control of the classroom." Based on my classroom observations, the reality may fall in the middle of the principals' divergent assessments. Although I did not see any extraordinary content knowledge, I do not believe it is because the teachers did not possess vast knowledge about their subject. For example, I have no doubt that Faria can teach quadratic equations without the aid of a textbook or that Aleeza can explain sound waves without difficulty. However, the classes that I observed did not require as much content knowledge as the teachers possessed. That is, they were teaching low-level classes in which only basic subject matter knowledge was necessary. This is the case for many foreign teachers who, as the last ones hired with the least experience in American schools, were often placed in remedial or general level classes, while more experienced American teachers worked with advanced, gifted, or AP levels. Further, as Mr. Scott and Mr. Sutherland summarized, there were several observations where other classroom dynamics prevented me from assessing teachers' content knowledge. For instance, in Samina's class where she was supposed to teach transition words, two students got into a fight and the majority of the period was spent with Samina "putting out fires" and not actually teaching the content. Thus, it was difficult to assess the true extent of my participants' knowledge because of mitigating factors like class placement and management difficulties.

Defining "Highly Qualified"

When the term "highly qualified" gained popularity after its inclusion in the No Child Left Behind legislation in the early 2000s, states were given considerable flexibility in determining qualifications for teachers in their state. Federal guidelines required only

"1) a bachelor's degree, 2) full state certification or licensure, and 3) [proof] that they know each subject they teach" (U.S. Department of Education, 2010). Such "proof" could take the form of a state licensure exam, a graduate degree, or National Board Certification, depending on the state. Several states, like Connecticut and Massachusetts, added additional requirements, such as pedagogical preparation. In this study, the state's requirements were only those three listed above, and the proof was a passing score on the Praxis II examination. Educational scholars disputed these requirements, arguing that such negligible qualifications were, in fact, producing teachers who are only minimally qualified to teach, especially in urban schools (Berry, 2002; Darling-Hammond, 2004).

These nominal requirements were what made it easier for international teachers to be recruited for U.S. schools after 2000. Like "graduates" of other alternative recruitment programs, such as Teach for America or Troops to Teachers, international teachers did not need any U.S.-based pedagogical knowledge. Requirements for acceptance into agency programs mirrored the state requirements, with only the addition of English proficiency and 2-3 years teaching experience in their home countries. Ms. Jain of IRI maintained that these requirements were stringent enough to find the best teachers because "teachers who are successful in India are successful in the U.S.," ignoring not only the contextual factors that make one a good teacher, but also the possibility that preparation in pedagogical content knowledge, though not required by state law, would make a teacher more fully equipped to work effectively in urban schools.

According to Shulman (1986), pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) "represents the blending of content and pedagogy into an understanding of how particular topics, problems, or issues are organized, represented, and adapted to the diverse interests and

abilities of learners, and presented for instruction" (p. 8). Though research has continually shown that intelligence or education in an academic subject is not enough to make one an effective teacher, and that PCK is, in fact, a better indicator of a teacher's true abilities, states like the one in this study ignored such findings and preferred instead to retain minimum requirements (Ball, 2000; Darling-Hammond, 1990; Feiman-Nemser, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1995). Research on PCK for math and science teachers has been especially abundant and has pointed to the necessity of preparing STEM teachers to communicate their often theoretical and dense subject matter to varied ages and abilities (Neiss, 2005). Yet, foreign teacher recruitment agencies, which recruited most often for STEM subjects, did not require any PCK from their teachers. Though the teachers may have possessed PCK, because IRI and other companies did not require proof, it remained an after-thought for urban districts.

Thus, if the true goal of recruitment was to bring "high quality" teachers to U.S. schools, and "highly qualified" was defined only as someone with a major in a subject, certification, and proficiency in English, the question remained why districts could not find American teachers to do these jobs. Districts were not requiring anything more from international teachers than they required from American teachers. As with American teachers, hiring became less about finding and supporting the most well-prepared teachers—with content knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, and pedagogical content knowledge—and more about saving money.

Meeting Systems' Goals

The chief objective of foreign teacher recruitment was, for many districts, to satisfy what they viewed as a teacher shortage. Though Glendale, like many other urban

districts, had a teacher retention and misdistribution problem, not necessarily a "shortage" of qualified educators, the key administrators in charge of hiring and teacher placement were divided on whether or not the shortage was real. They said international teachers were necessary because not enough qualified American teachers were applying for positions, or because those Americans were not staying in their positions. However, schools in the Northern parts of the district consistently had more applicants than positions, even in subject areas like math, science, and special education deemed "areas of critical need." According to district representative Ms. Muller,

> We basically can find the teachers we need for the most part, so the shortage is not the problem. The problem is retaining quality teachers that we have. Basically, we still have some needs in those areas that we are able to fill quicker with international teachers. They help us to fill critical needs areas a little faster than we would ordinarily be able to do. Of course, they [open positions] wouldn't sit open all year either. (2/23/10)

The principals in this study were unaware of how many foreign teachers were hired each year and in which schools they were placed. When asked what they thought about the fact that 73 of 74 foreign teachers were placed in the south side schools, all principals smiled ruefully and shook their heads. They then had four different responses:

> "Hmmm… [*long pause*]… I probably do not need to comment on that." (4/11/10)
>
> "No, I didn't know that, but it's not a surprise to me. That's the way it works in [Glendale]. Are you surprised? I'm not." (2/11/10)
>
> "I think that's because of the lack of, uh a word that is politically correct… uh because of the lack of parent participation, the county can strategically place the

> teachers on this side of town. We know that happens, but I embrace it because they [foreign teachers] work for me… But I do know and I am friends with principals on the North end of town, and if those parents… [think the teacher has] has a language barrier, if kids do not understand a word, then that teacher is gone or transferred, not fired." (4/13/10)
>
> "Well, of course, it's all about money. The parents in the North have enough money to get the best teachers every time they need them. We do not have that ability here, so we get the teachers placed by the county, and those are sometimes foreign teachers. They have more power to make their own decisions." (4/1/10)

The principals' comments, and even the long pause of the principal who did not comment, illustrate a deeper political struggle at work behind the seemingly innocuous placement of foreign teachers. They may have been hired to satisfy the teacher shortage, according to Ms. Jefferson, or to combat the teacher retention problem, according to Ms. Muller, but there were larger issues that caused the shortage or attrition in the first place. The principals above pointed to power differences as reflected in parent involvement, incomes, and longstanding district policies that all contributed to the majority of foreign teachers working in south side urban schools, where there was less expected resistance from "consumers."

Yet, regardless of whether the issue was one of a shortage or retention, neither problem was solved by international recruitment. Foreign teachers sometimes left after their first year, and the majority of those that stayed were mandated by visa requirements to leave after their third year. Thus, recruitment was itself a stopgap measure that did

nothing to solve systemic attrition and only temporarily eased employment problems in Glendale schools.

Trouble with Teacher Retention

New international teachers, like those in this study, may experience a difficult adjustment period, similar to that for American teachers, where they struggle to learn new teaching methods, classroom management, and school procedures (Kauffman et. al, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 2001). Their struggles were frequently compounded by culture shock and lack of information about U.S. urban schools, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Ms. Jain stated that "above 98%" of her teachers returned for all three years allowed by their visa, though she did not elaborate on how her teachers were tracked. Participants and district officials disputed this statistic, stating that some teachers left during or at the end of their first year. According to Ms. Muller, there were "typically 2 to 3 per year" who did not return. This further contributed to the "revolving door" (Ingersoll, 2002) in urban schools.

Mr. Scott shared an experience of working with an international teacher who he deemed "unprepared" for his U.S. school. He stated that her English skills were not what they should be and that her lack of classroom management significantly prohibited student learning. He recalled IRI sending a support specialist to work with this teacher in her classroom, but the specialist was not there long enough to make a difference. "She [the support specialist] would have needed to be there every day, the whole time, for it to be effective," he said, "I didn't see any changes or think it made a difference." Mr. Scott acknowledged that his attempt to provide the teacher with a mentor was unsuccessful, because the mentor was consumed with planning for her own classes, and that additional

support at the school level may have helped the teacher with her transition. As a result of these difficulties, and because Mr. Scott did not recommend renewing the teacher's contract, she returned to India at the end of her first year. Therefore, he argued that foreign teachers did not combat the attrition of teachers in Glendale because they were not prepared well enough to sustain long-term employment.

Samina, the middle school language arts teacher, also left earlier than anticipated. In fact, she departed with 20 days remaining in the school year because, she said, Ms. Jain from IRI advised her to leave before the end of the year because "the year is almost over and it would be better for me to leave now instead of waiting to the end and not getting renewed." Samina did not know why her employer advised her of this, and Ms. Jain denied ever recommending that a teacher leave in the middle of the year. But other teachers suspected it was because IRI realized that, if Samina waited until the end of the year, the school would open her position for an American teacher. However, because of her early departure, Ms. Jain sent another international teacher in her place to complete the school year, perhaps in the hopes that the new teacher would be rehired the following school year, thus keeping IRI from losing money. The issue of company profit over personal support will be discussed in Chapter 6 in more detail, but it is important to recognize here that Samina's leaving was not entirely her decision. IRI, as her employer, made a number of decisions that prevented Samina from lasting through her first year and into her second. This included not providing her with an orientation, not providing continuous support or professional development, and not acting as her advocate in asking the school administration to provide more support for her at the school level on a daily

basis, though Ms. Jain maintained that her agency provided all of these things for all of their teachers all of the time (5/28/10).

Samina's views about staying wavered based on what she was told by IRI. For example, in the middle of the spring semester, Samina was feeling slightly discouraged but still maintained her desire to return the following school year:

> *Samina*: [I will come back] definitely, if I am given a chance. I would like to prove myself as a good teacher, internationally maybe, because I do not want to be called as a teacher who was not able to control her class. 'She ran away.'
>
> *Alyssa*: So you would like to prove yourself to the administration?
>
> *Samina*: To the administration, and to myself, too. That is more important than the administration. When I look in the mirror, 'Oh, what did you do in America? You came out? You couldn't finish it? You couldn't control the classroom? You couldn't change yourself? You couldn't learn anything?' Even this is a learning process… (3/31/10)

Yet, during an interview three weeks later, Samina indicated that she was more uncertain about her future than before. She said that student behavior was "getting worse" and that she did not know if she could handle another year. "I get excited to think about going into an Indian classroom again, and all the students saying, 'good morning' and being respectful," she stated, "But I am proud of myself that I made it this year. That I came back every day, that is good for me." Only one week later, after speaking with IRI again, she had decided to return to India before the end of the school year. Given her tenuous situation, it was clear that more support was necessary from the outset, if the true purpose of recruitment was to improve teacher retention.

"Temporary" by Definition

The majority of teachers hired by IRI did not leave during or immediately after their first year, according to Ms. Jain (5/28/10). They did, however, leave after three years because of the restrictions of their visas and the program constraints outlined by IRI. This leaving mirrored the typical exodus of teachers from urban schools. Research has continuously shown that around one-third of the urban teaching force leaves within three years, and over 50% leave within five years (Ingersoll, 2002; Ingersoll & Perda, 2009; Nieto, 2003). International teacher recruitment did not provide teachers for any longer than American teachers would typically stay and, in fact, contributed to earlier teacher attrition.

Visa regulations. Foreign teachers had to possess either an H1-B visa or a J-1 visa to enter the United States. Both visas, by definition, were temporary and were not intended to lead to permanent residency or citizenship. Data from the Department of State, Department of Labor, and U.S. Citizen and Immigration Services were difficult to access and were not published as frequently as mandated by law (American Federation of Teachers, 2009), but the most recent statistics available illustrated that there was an increase in foreign teacher visas in the last ten years.

H1-B visas, designed as Specialty Occupation Work visas, were valid for three years and could be renewed once, allowing the holder to remain in the United States for up to six years. Teachers had to then return to their home countries for at least one year before getting another H1-B. Several recruitment agencies, including Visiting International Faculty, supplied their teachers with H1-B visas, as the only requirement was that the holder possessed a Bachelor's degree and expertise in a "highly specialized

body of knowledge" (U.S. Department of Labor, 2010). In 2007, the last year for which data were available, there were 6,085 new H1-B teacher visas issued; data were not available, however, on how many total H1-B visas were used for teachers each year.

Another type of visa, J-1 Exchange Visitor visas, were valid for one year and could be renewed twice, allowing the holder to remain in the United States for up to three years. Teachers had to then return to their home countries for at least two years before getting another J-1. Fewer recruitment agencies used J-1 visas than H-1Bs, possibly because the requirements were slightly more rigorous. Holders of J-1 visas had to "be a primary or secondary teacher in their last legal residence; satisfy the standards of the state in which they will be working; be of good reputation and character; want to teach primary or secondary school in the United States full-time; and have a minimum of three years teaching experience" (National Archives and Record Administration, 2010). Approved sponsors provided information and orientations for each teacher; in 2008, there were 64 sponsors, including IRI, other recruitment agencies, state and local Departments of Education, intercultural non-profits, and other groups.

The problem with both H1-B and J-1 visa data was that significant amounts of necessary information were not collected, and thus, it was difficult to track the increase in foreign teacher recruitment over time. Based on the number of new visas issued each year, the AFT (2009) estimated that in five years, between 2003-2008, the number of foreign teachers working in the United States increased by at least 30%. They were unable, however, to track how long each of the teachers stayed. Did they renew their visas the maximum number of times and stay three or six years? Further, how many teachers applied for visa extensions or waivers? How many later returned on a second

visa or became permanent residents? Unless more complete and timely data are compiled by relevant governmental departments and made more accessible to the public, it will remain difficult to gauge the true impact of foreign teachers on U.S. teacher retention problems.

Program constraints. Though the visa regulations for H1-B and J-1 visas appeared strict, there were, of course, exceptions to the rule. Visa holders were allowed to apply for visa extensions, visa waivers, or transfers to other work visas, though there was no guarantee their applications would be approved. For visa extensions, teachers needed the release of their current employer, which in many cases was a for-profit recruitment agency. IRI did not commonly allow teachers to extend their stay past three years. This was not unique, as many other recruitment agencies also stated on their websites that they did not support waivers or extensions. What was unique, however, was the way my participants were treated by IRI when they requested extensions.

Three teachers in this study desired a visa extension, which would have allowed them to stay in Glendale schools and work for an additional three years. The teachers filled out their extension paperwork in March, after Ms. Jain told them she would apply for extensions on their behalf. It should be noted that Ms. Jain, in a separate interview, said that she never encouraged her teachers to apply for extensions and always told them "from the beginning that it is not possible" (5/28/10). By May 15, the teachers had not heard whether their extensions were approved, though they still had to finish the school year, sell their home furnishings, and buy plane tickets if necessary. Finally, on May 17, the teachers received an email from Ms. Jain, stating that their extensions had not been approved and they all needed to return to India by the end of May. This delay in response

prompted some of the teachers to state that they did not believe Ms. Jain had ever truly applied for their extensions at all. Instead, they suspected she preferred that they return home, so she could hire new international teachers in their place, thus procuring more finders' fees from Glendale and more placement fees from her teachers. Remarkably, the teachers' friends who decided to apply for a visa waiver, which did not require employer approval, were granted waivers and were allowed to remain in the country. Thus, according to one teacher, "Those of us who stayed with [IRI] are all leaving now; but those who said 'no, we are doing this ourselves because we don't trust you,' they get to stay. So our loyalty to our employer did not get us anything but kicked out of [the] USA" (5/17/10). However, two months later, three of my teachers were able to get their visas extended by one year; they returned from India, where they had spent the summer looking for new jobs, and were allowed to work for one more year in their American school. This will be further discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

Further prohibiting long-term employment for foreign teachers was a stipulation in the IRI – Glendale contract. Though I was not allowed to see this contract, or the contract signed by the teachers themselves because they were told not to show the contract to any Americans, it apparently contained a version of a "non-compete" clause. This clause prohibited Glendale from directly hiring or sponsoring a new visa for any foreign teacher previously employed by IRI, for one year after their visa expired. Thus, if teachers wanted to stay in the United States and find another sponsor other than IRI, as my participants' friends did, they had to find another school district to employ them. Teachers said they were told this when they first arrived, but did not remember until they

were reminded by the district officials when principals attempted to step in on their behalf and asked the district to consider keeping the teachers past their three years.

This contract stipulation was somewhat understandable, as IRI and other agencies wanted their businesses to seem like "cultural exchanges" and not as a path to citizenship. Had they not done this, they might have faced attacks, claiming the program was taking American jobs. For example, one Rightist critic argued,

> H-1B visas (especially for teaching positions) should be eliminated immediately. There are more than enough American teachers for the available positions, HIRE THEM! With American unemployment at almost 10% why are we bringing in ANY H-1B workers? (Right Side News, 2009, p. 1).

Such a sentiment ignored the larger issue that there were schools in the United States where teachers did not want to work, instead placing the blame for unemployment on districts that hire foreign teachers. This same criticism misinterpreted the 2009 AFT report's findings, saying the report found that schools are "increasingly hiring foreign teachers over Americans" and that American teachers are being "displaced" (Right Side News, 2009, p. 1). However, as explained by district officials in Glendale and in popular press articles, the teachers were working in schools where many American teachers chose to avoid or did not stay. Thus, if IRI allowed the teachers to remain in the United States with a visa waiver, it would not be "taking" an American's job, merely filling "the jobs they can't get enough locals to take on" (Coates, 2005, p. 64).

Short-Term Goals Versus Long-Term Problems

In 2003, the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future concluded, "short-term, quick-fix approaches to placing teachers in the classroom fuel high teacher

attrition rates and diminish teaching quality" (p. 14). Foreign teacher recruitment was one example of a "quick-fix" approach to larger urban problems. As a result, many goals of recruitment remained unmet. Teachers' personal goals were partially met, as in their acquiring improved pedagogical skills and developing relationships with individual American students. However, other goals such as saving money and living the "American dream" remained largely unfulfilled because of program constraints and hidden fees. The goal of bridging cultures and providing urban students with exposure to global knowledge existed primarily as a political spectacle; though discussed at length in the literature of the recruitment agencies, principals did not believe this goal was achieved. They argued that additional preparation was necessary to avoid a "cultural mismatch." Even if teachers were able to act as cultural ambassadors, their positions came at the risk of exploitation. Though hired to "create bridges of mutual understanding" (Visiting International Faculty, 2010), they inevitably became part of the "efficient mechanism" (Avenida International Consultants, 2010) of recruitment. Districts can do much to address this, and suggestions will be provided in Chapter 7.

School administrators' goals of bringing highly qualified teachers were also only partially met, according to principals' testimonies and classroom observations in this study, and it was difficult to truly assess the content knowledge of teachers because of the classes they taught and other distracting variables, like classroom management issues. Finally, the most prominent goal of the program—to fill open positions in urban schools—was not met for more than a brief period of time because, by definition, the recruitment programs were temporary. Foreign teachers were mandated to leave after three years, thus contributing heavily to the revolving door of urban teacher employment.

Instead of addressing the long-term problem of teacher retention in its urban schools, Glendale officials were primarily focused on short-term solutions that saved them money, or as Merrow (1999) noted about other alternative recruitment programs, they "diagnos[ed] the problem incorrectly and then propos[ed] inappropriate cures."

Chapter 6:

The Hidden Purposes and Unintended Consequences of International Recruitment

It's a nightmare and it's getting worse. It was a bad day… I'm trying my best. I try to help the students who are trying to learn… As the days are passing by, it is getting worse. I do not know if I will be back next year. But I am glad I made it through one year. I miss my family very much. When you have something like this, these bad days, you feel it more. But I feel lighter when I talk to you, to talk is good for me. It is stressful though. I have lost so much weight... On the weekends, we go online. I see my son playing in the house. I talk to my husband and son every day… I used to teach in my son's school before he got there. I liked the environment, you know, it's a private school. He was so young that he didn't know that I was a teacher. He was just five when I left the country and now he wants me to come back so I can be teaching in his class… I tell him I am in America now. All those words come to my mind. I just have to be patient, only a few more days.
– Samina, language arts teacher, during her last month in the United States, 4/20/10

Several weeks after making the comments above, Samina returned to her family in India, having left Chisholm Middle School 20 days before the end of the year at the behest of her employer at IRI. Her difficult experience, including her early departure, is a prime example of how recruiters' hidden purposes lead to intended or unintended consequences. These purposes and consequences are often in direct opposition to the stated goals presented in Chapter 5.

This chapter presents the hidden purposes of foreign teacher recruitment, including saving districts money, generating profit for recruitment agencies, and serving the political spectacle of urban education reform. Consequences of recruitment included

teacher exploitation, undermining the teaching profession and teacher education, controlling teachers and their practice, outsourcing, loss of human capital in source countries, and the undermining of progressive education reforms.

Hidden Purposes

As discussed in Chapter 5, there were many different purposes for international teacher recruitment. Urban school administrators and policymakers wanted to hire highly qualified educators, prepare their students for a globalized, competitive marketplace, and fill open positions. In addition to these stated goals, there were other hidden purposes that benefited not the teachers themselves, but districts, neoliberal reformers, and, most of all, recruitment agencies. This study revealed three hidden purposes: saving districts money while making money for recruitment agencies and adding to the political spectacle of urban education reform. Each hidden purpose is discussed below.

"It's All About Money": Districts and Recruitment Agencies

To an outside observer, it would not seem possible that districts could save money by hiring a for-profit recruitment agency to manage their hiring. Indeed, the Glendale School District agreed to pay $4.18 million to two recruiting agencies for the 2010-2011 school year; $2.65 million of that was going to IRI. The head of the district's Human Resources department explained that the money was for "teachers' salaries that range from $34,000 to $79,000." Yet, despite yearly administrative fees of $11,500 per teacher, districts like Glendale were still able to save money because they were not required to provide healthcare benefits (paid for by the teachers themselves), disability insurance (supposedly paid for by the agency, but more likely by the teachers' fees), Social Security, or retirement benefits (because the teachers left after three years). As a principal

noted, “it’s all about money” or else Glendale would not have continued hiring foreign teachers despite principals’ misgivings and apprehensions (4/1/10).

In a depressed economy when urban schools were already cash-strapped, policymakers in urban districts like Glendale were looking to save money. At the time of the study, Glendale had a budget deficit of over $110 million. For-profit recruitment agencies capitalized on districts’ desire to cut costs by promising quality teachers for lower prices. That purpose is evident in this excerpt from the website of one of the agencies that is similar to IRI, Global Teachers Research and Resources (listed on Table 5):

> With each passing year, the undeniable financial constraints and scarcity of reliable teachers for each school system is readily apparent. We at GTRR work with your mission in mind. GTRR teachers receive the same salary as other teachers with similar experience and equivalent degrees. Moreover, as GTRR makes benefits available for our teachers, the school is relieved of the burden of providing the same. Rather school systems pay an administration fee that is generally less than the cost of benefits. Collaborating with GTRR means quality teachers with savings to the school systems. (GTRR, 2010)

Especially revealing was the idea that benefits would be a “burden” that public school systems would have to pay, rather than a “right” for public employees. Further, GTRR only “made benefits available” to teachers, which was a diplomatic way of saying that teachers could choose to pay for their own benefits from a variety of plans offered by the agency.

Such “administration fees” quickly added up and made for-profit agencies profitable. In addition to system fees, IRI also charged teachers between $5,000 and $6,500 each for initial recruitment fees, which the recruiter Ms. Jain said included costs of applications, interviewing, miscellaneous paperwork, visas, and relocation assistance. These fees, paid before teachers left India, may have also paid for district administrators’ trips to India for interviewing. Though no one from Glendale District went to India in 2009, Ms. Muller and Ms. Jefferson had both traveled abroad—at no cost to the district—in previous years to meet a pool of applicants.

The four teachers in this study together paid Ms. Jain over $25,000, and when combined with the initial fees paid by the Glendale District for each teacher’s recruitment, IRI was paid $70,000 for the four participants. Some of the things that Ms. Jain said were covered by the teachers’ fees were not, according to the teachers; in addition to the application processing fee, teachers also had to pay for their own visa processing. Although according to the law for J-1 exchange visas, it is the responsibility of the employer to pay visa fees, according to two teachers, Ms. Jain did not tell her employees this, and instead required them to travel ten hours to Chennai (which was an additional expense) to handle the visa process themselves. An example of the extent to which agencies seemed to value profit over people was the situation in which Aleeza found herself at the end of her three-year visa.

In March, Aleeza and several other teachers told Ms. Jain they would like to extend their visas and continue teaching at their schools. In April, Aleeza gave birth to a premature baby girl. By the time Ms. Jain informed the teachers that they would not get an extension, it was May, and Aleeza’s daughter was still in the hospital. Unless Aleeza

was granted a visa extension, she would have to leave her daughter alone in the United States or stay illegally. Close to tears, she described the situation to me:

> I have to stay here because the doctor says I cannot travel for the next six months because of my baby. My baby cannot as she has breathing problem. I did send her [Ms. Jain] an email like twice to my employer requesting her to see my situation is bad, 'please do something for me.' There was no reply… She does not like to respond to people. I have three kids to take care of and then, because my husband [is a] dependent here, he is on a dependent visa of me, he cannot work too unless I get a work permission… I did e-mail her like you know 'the doctor says she can give me the hospital papers or whatever we need but I need this extension because I am not leaving my baby here and going nowhere.'… I told her that I am ready to pay whatever you are going to get if you hire a new teacher because my situation was I do not want to go back. At least not right now. (5/17/10)

Aleeza said her employer never returned her emails or her phone calls, though her extenuating circumstances required immediate attention. She also explained that she was so afraid that her employer would not pay her that she returned to work only two weeks after an emergency Cesarean section, despite a doctor's advice that she stay out of work for six weeks. Other questionable practices will be discussed in the section on the consequence of teacher exploitation, but it is important to note here that Aleeza connected all of Ms. Jain's misdeeds to her desire to hire a new teacher in Aleeza's place, thus increasing IRI's profit. Aleeza summarized, "If there are potential teachers here, then her company cannot bring any more teachers… So that is why she does not want us to stay here."

"It's All Bluster": Political Spectacle of Education Reform

There were several ways that foreign teacher recruitment and, in particular, recruitment agencies contributed to the political spectacle of urban school reform. These ways are detailed at length in other sections and chapters and are summarized in Table 6 below. Following the table is a specific instance of a school board meeting that clearly exemplifies the way that Glendale policies contributed to the political spectacle.

Table 6
Evidence of the Political Spectacle of Foreign Teacher Recruitment

Element of Political Spectacle*	Evidence from the Study
Symbolic language	Recruitment agencies used language of "cultural ambassadors," "global competitiveness," and expanding the "global village" to symbolize neoliberal globalization, as discussed in the previous section and in Chapter 5.
Casting political actors as leaders, enemies, and allies and plotting their actions	Though recruitment agencies cast themselves as districts' allies in the fight to solve the teacher shortage and prepare urban students to be "global citizens", this study did not reveal any evidence of the casting of leaders or enemies in the recruitment process.
Dramaturgy: political stages, props, and costumes	Recruitment agencies engaged in dramaturgy when they created a "narrative" (Smith, 22) of the American dream and sold this storyline to their foreign teachers. Additionally, IRI staged a "comprehensive" orientation for foreign teachers that was less than two days long.
Democratic participation as illusion	While the school board in Glendale did vote for the continued recruitment of foreign teachers, there was no democratic participation from citizens in the district. Principals acknowledged that they did not have a choice about whether to accept teachers into their schools. Additionally, the teachers themselves had no democratic voice, either in the district or in the agency.
Polling	Not observed
Illusion of rationality	Not observed
Disconnect of means	There was a substantial disconnect between the ends of foreign

and ends	teacher recruitment—filling open positions and allowing foreign teachers the freedom to migrate to the United States—and the means to get there—exploitation of teachers and a lack of cultural relevance in the classroom.
Distinction between onstage and backstage action	As discussed at length in Chapters 5 and 6, there were practices that recruitment agencies claimed to follow and practices their teachers stated were actually followed. There was also the "story" provided to me by Ms. Jain in our interview versus the lived experiences of my teachers, and the story provided by principals versus the story provided by Glendale officials, illustrating a distinction between onstage and backstage action. In addition to symbolic language, this was the most evident example of the political spectacle.

**Adapted from Edelman (1970) & Smith (2004)*

At a school board meeting in July 2010, the Director of Human Resources for the Glendale district called foreign teacher recruitment an opportunity that had served the district well in the past. In his plea to the board to renew IRI's contract for the upcoming year, he cited many reasons why the program should continue: foreign teachers brought 12-15 years of experience; they had experience teaching upper level courses and could do so in Glendale; the county educated 85% of the state's refugees, so foreign teachers made sense; and there were no other teachers willing to take the jobs (Local newspaper article, July 12, 2010). These four arguments, although potentially true in other circumstances in other districts, were part of the political spectacle of urban reform and globalization. Such statements perpetuated the rhetoric of reform while keeping the public in the dark about the true realities of foreign teacher recruitment. Data gathered in this study directly contradicted each of the Director's four reasons for continued recruitment.

First, the Director argued that foreign teachers possessed much experience, more so than the average American teacher or teacher applicant. This was not true for the four teachers in my study, only one of whom had more than four years experience with

adolescents. Further, an invoice which lists the yearly pay for each foreign teacher for the 2010-2011 school year demonstrates the situation. In Glendale, each teacher (American or foreign) was paid on an incremental and rigid scale based on years of experience. For example, $42,492 was paid to a teacher with a Master's degree with 0-4 years of experience or a teacher with a Bachelor's degree with eight years of experience. Ten teachers on IRI's invoice received this amount of $42,492, meaning that one in four IRI teachers had less than eight years of experience. This directly contradicted the director's statement that the teachers had 12-15 years experience.

Second, the district maintained that foreign teachers' experience with upper level classes would enable them to teach advanced courses, especially in math and science. Though this possibility was open, in actuality, most teachers taught lower level courses. The three teachers of core academic subjects in my study did not teach any honors, advanced, gifted, or AP courses in their three years in Glendale, and as previously noted, Faria's gifted certification was never utilized in her school and she left without having taught any higher level classes. Further, an examination of the Glendale school websites revealed that courses assigned to foreign teachers were almost always lower or general level classes. Although three teachers with doctorates were teaching advanced students, the majority of foreign teachers were not. This was not surprising, as American teachers in urban schools typically work many years before being "allowed" to teach advanced students, as in many schools it was seen as a "reward" for teachers' experience working "in the trenches." It would have been unusual for a temporary teacher to enter into an already-established culture of working one's way to the top and be automatically given higher-level courses.

Third, Glendale officials argued that, in a county that educated 85% of the state's refugees, international educators were assets. There were two key flaws to this argument. First, the teachers were not of the same ethnic background as the refugees. To be sure, there were many refugee and immigrant students in Glendale's schools, but they were from countries such as Nepal, Somalia, Iraq, and Afghanistan. Seventy-three of the 74 teachers recruited in 2009-2010 were Indian, and one was Hispanic. Second, the teachers were not placed in only the schools with high refugee populations. My four participants were placed in schools with 99% African American students, and the three schools that had the highest concentration of refugee students, according to state records, had no more than five foreign teachers combined. In fact, the school with the highest percentage of refugee students in the entire county, with students from 54 countries who spoke 48 languages, had no foreign teachers from 2008-2011.

Finally, it was presumed that no other teachers would fill the open positions. Under normal circumstances, such as when the district first began recruiting foreign teachers around 2000, this may have been true because urban schools typically have difficulty recruiting and retaining educators. However, in the midst of an economic recession and massive teacher layoffs across the country and state, this was untrue in the current year. Districts surrounding Glendale laid off over 600 teachers, and the one school board member who publicly vetoed the decision to renew contracts with IRI and another for-profit agency said it behooved the district to hire local teachers first (Local newspaper article, July 12, 2010).

All of these arguments for renewing IRI's contract were the same persuasive points that the agency used when selling districts on their services in the first place. Ms.

Jain and IRI were able to capitalize on the political spectacle, so much so that a Glendale board member, while voting to approve the contract extension, echoed Ms. Jain's words almost verbatim from what she told me during our interview. The board member stated, "We live in a global world. We can't be so parochial in providing talent for our students. This is one of the features of the [Glendale] School System that I'm very proud of. Other foreign countries hire American teachers the same way for the richness and diversity they bring" (Local newspaper article, July 12, 2010). Ms. Dougherty of the AFT concurred that the political spectacle of recruitment was taking the focus away from the true problems of urban schools: "All the focus on urban schools is just bluster if this [foreign teacher recruitment] is the solution."

Unintended Consequences

This study revealed several consequences, some of which may have been intentional and others that may have been unintentional. These consequences included the exploitation of teachers, the undermining of teacher education and the profession, an exertion of control over teachers and their practice, the outsourcing of American jobs, and the loss of human capital in source countries. These consequences led to the undermining of progressive education reform.

Exploitation

According to Tolstoy's famous work, *Anna Karenina*, "there are no conditions of life to which a man cannot get accustomed, especially if he sees them accepted by everyone around him" (Tolstoy, 1995, p. 696). Such was the case for the exploitation of foreign teachers in the school district I studied. Though the teachers I interviewed said they were unhappy with the treatment they received at the hands of IRI, they were not

comfortable discussing their problems with others in the school system, including their principals. They presumed that everyone accepted such treatment, and so they accepted it, too.

Much of this acceptance of their circumstances was a result of their fear. An examination of the contract between IRI and Glendale revealed a key reason for this fear. One provision of the contract was that teachers could be fired "with or without cause" for any reason, at any time, by either or both Glendale and IRI. If that happened, the teachers' visas would be revoked, and they would be deported. Thus, Aleeza said, many teachers were afraid to do what they had specifically been warned not to do, such as showing their contracts to Americans, asking their American principals for letters of recommendation, or discussing their situation, especially their pay, with strangers.

Questionable practices that led to the teachers being underinformed or misinformed enabled exploitation. For example, though Glendale officially provided the teachers' salaries, checks were distributed by IRI. Glendale paid the contractor IRI four times per year, and IRI distributed teachers' pay in nine monthly checks. Though Glendale's American teachers had the option to receive their pay through the summer, foreign teachers were not given this option. Also, the teachers did not receive itemized pay stubs, only one check. They were never told how much they were actually making, how much was deducted for taxes or insurance, or if any additional fees were taken. Aleeza elaborated,

> *Aleeza*: We do not know what county is paying her [IRI] and what she is paying us. We do not know about that, but she said she is equating the amount of salary

> for June and July in our previous salaries. And she is not going to pay us for summer.
>
> *Alyssa*: She is putting it into the other one, into May for example?
>
> *Aleeza*: She started from January. She distributed it from January through May. Now she never explained how the distribution goes and nobody dared to ask her because we do not want to lose our paychecks… I would like to know about it, but then you know, there are so many other things that we get deducted for, our health insurance and then our taxes. I do not know on what basis are the taxes cut, but you know at least if we have a basic idea. We know that we have to pay tax, but then you know what type of, how are we paying it? We have to know that, right? We do not know anything. (5/17/10)

An analysis of the contract between Glendale and IRI revealed that IRI had, according to the teachers in this study, breached the contract in multiple places. These breaches, which contributed to further exploitation, can be grouped into partial (or minor) breaches and fundamental (or major) breaches.

Partial breaches. The four teachers in this study provided anecdotes that did not match the contract's promises. In several instances, their anecdotes did not explicitly or directly contradict the contract, but the language of the contract concealed the reality of the teachers' circumstances. For example, the contract read that IRI "certifies that it provides and is responsible for… all recruiting and selection expenses." However, the teachers in this study each paid between $5,000 and $6,500, which they were told paid for their recruitment and selection, including the trips that U.S. administrators took to India to interview them in person. Additionally, the contract maintained that IRI was

responsible for "all benefits, including health, life, disability, and workers' compensation." Though I could not verify whether the teachers were covered by life insurance or workers' compensation, they did contribute to their own health and disability insurance. Their short-term disability, unlike that of the American teachers with state benefits, did not include provisions for paid maternity leave, or if it did include these provisions, the teachers were never informed. Aleeza found this out after she gave birth to a premature baby by emergency C-section and her doctor told her to stay out of work for six weeks. However, when she attempted to contact Ms. Jain at IRI, she realized that staying out of work was not an option for her:

> I email her [Ms. Jain of IRI] saying when do I need to go back to school, what dates, please let me know are we allowed to take this leave or we don't have this opportunity over there. Please let me know. She gave me [a] one sentence reply: 'It depends on your OB-GYN clearance. If she [your doctor] says yes, then you can go.' I was like okay. I spoke to [my doctor] and she was like 'You are supposed to stay, take rest for six weeks, stay at home.' [Then] I e-mailed [Ms. Jain] saying, 'Is this leave going to be unpaid? And if it is, please let me know.' She never got back to me. Now what should I think about that? And if it was a yes, then I would lose pay for whole of April and May… That is why I had to come back. I cannot leave my other kids starving… so I need to go back because I don't know if she is going to pay me or not because she is not replying. (5/17/10)

A third partial breach of contract was IRI's claim that they provided "assistance with procuring a visa." As previously discussed, the teachers were required to pay for their own visa and visa processing, including a ten-hour journey to another city.

Fundamental breaches. In addition to partial breaches of their contract with Glendale, IRI also explicitly violated several clauses, according to testimony from my participants. These violations, too, made the teachers susceptible to exploitation. The contract guaranteed that teachers would receive: "assistance procuring local transportation… an orientation following teacher's arrival… additional consultation and staff development, as deemed necessary… and a liaison/coordinator to assist in teachers' professional development needs and help resolve problems." For the four teachers in this study, none of these provisions were met. As described in Chapter 5, the teachers were given no transportation assistance past their first day in the United States, after which they had to rely on American colleagues or pay for their own transportation. As previously discussed in this chapter, only two of my four participants received an orientation upon arrival. One of the participants arrived with a group of 15 other foreign teachers, who she said also did not receive orientation.

Teachers and principals in this study disputed the fact that IRI provided consultation, staff development, and a coordinator to resolve problems. The principals stated they saw someone from IRI only once per year, if that, and that if problems arose, it was rare for someone to come to school. Mr. Scott stated that someone had come to work with one of his previous employees, but that this person only observed for one week and that no changes were observed as a result of the intervention. None of the teachers recalled attending staff development with IRI, and even when they said a liaison would have been helpful in communicating with their superiors, Ms. Jain was not available. For example, at her first high school in the United States, Aleeza stated that her assistant principal unfairly evaluated her. Though she repeatedly asked for Ms. Jain to assist her in

her discussions with the administration, Ms. Jain never replied and never assisted. Finally, Aleeza felt she had to "fight" for herself to ensure that she was not forced to return to India for poor performance; later, upon reflection, she wished she had been able to tell Samina the same thing before Samina left:

> I would have advised her to go on your own and fight for yourself because your employer is not going to do that for you… She is just going to blame you. You did something wrong… [She should be] coming in and saying, 'okay, if you are getting these, you know, needs improvement [marks on an evaluation], here is what I can do to help you.' I mean it does not make sense to wait until the end and say 'oh well.'… So, as an employer what did she do? Nothing, nothing. She never spoke to any principal. She did not speak to anybody. She was just waiting; if they do not give me my contract, I am gone and there is somebody else [from her company] who is going to be in my place. That's all. (5/17/10)

Attacks on Teaching Profession and Teacher Education

As a reform that fit squarely into the neoliberal agenda, foreign teacher recruitment undercut the teaching profession and teacher education. It was the latest in a long line of alternative recruitment measures that portrayed teaching as an easy career that did not require any special training about U.S. educational contexts. Alternative recruitment programs were championed by neoliberal and neoconservative policymakers and advocates because they believed that traditional teacher education programs were full of "burdensome" requirements.

Though such programs continued to bring underprepared teachers into urban classrooms, neoliberal reformers were primarily concerned that teacher candidates had a

choice about if and how to be trained. They distrusted traditional programs, which they said focused too much on pedagogy, because to them, the more important criteria for a teacher was to be knowledgeable in her content area. They argued that such academic proficiency, especially in math and science, would secure the United States' position in the global market. For example, during his tenure as Secretary of Education under President George W. Bush, Rodney Paige championed the development of alternative programs. In his 2002 report on teacher quality, Paige advocated a dismantling of certification systems that imposed "burdensome requirements" instead of focusing on high verbal ability and content knowledge, the two skills Paige viewed as most important for teacher success (pp. 8-14). In a later report, Paige stated that one of the main reasons for his push was because the "teacher shortage [was] experienced in many locations" where eased requirements could have ushered more teachers into the classroom (Paige, Rees, Petrilli, & Gore, 2004, p. 2). Paige explained that "many wonderful candidates with families and mortgages will have no choice but to say no" to teaching as a profession if they were required to undergo traditional preparation (p. *v*), and alternative programs held the promise of bringing "thousands of talented soldiers of democracy into our schools" (p. *vi*).

In addition to undercutting efforts to prepare effective teachers through teacher education programs, foreign teacher recruitment also undercut education reforms devoted to finding a long-term solution to teacher turnover in urban schools. Instead of focusing on the larger question of why teachers are dissatisfied with and disenchanted by urban schools, international recruitment agencies allowed districts to take the easy way out.

They supplied them with teachers on demand, who were willing to work in sub-standard conditions for little pay and few benefits. According to Ms. Dougherty of the AFT,

> I see it as an attack on the profession. It furthers the idea that anybody can teach and shows people are not committed to finding a long-term workforce. A lot of it is pragmatism. Where else could you find people willing to pay thousands of dollars to work in a persistently dangerous Baltimore school? What district wouldn't want that? (2/25/10)

Controlling Teachers and Practice

It appears that international recruiters in this study willfully misled foreign teachers about U.S. teaching environments. IRI never informed the teachers of the type of school or exact location of their employment before the teachers arrived in the United States, at which point it was too late to effectively prepare them for urban schools and students. Further, the orientations from the agency and the district were so general that teachers remained uninformed and underprepared until their first day and beyond. The result was that teachers did not know what they did not know. Further, because teachers were private employees, it was especially difficult for them to unionize. As a result, they were dependent on their employers like IRI.

Orientations. As discussed in Chapter 3, only two teachers in this study attended orientation with IRI, and only three with the Glendale District. The teachers' orientations, when offered, were too brief and too focused on logistics to make a difference in either their adjustment to U.S. student culture or enable them to improve their instructional practices. As previously discussed, the IRI orientation was largely a collection of "what not to do." The Glendale orientation, held in conjunction with the regularly scheduled

pre-planning for American teachers, did not substantially differ from a traditional new teacher orientation for American teachers and, as with IRI, concentrated by and large on rules and regulations. For example, with other American teachers, the teachers in this study who received a Glendale orientation learned about sexual harassment policies, special education interventions, payroll procedures, grading policies, and the current teacher evaluation system. Although these facts were important for ensuring that foreign teachers were aware of school, district, and state policies, the orientation did not help teachers understand anything new about their students or the best ways to teach them. As one international teacher, previously employed by Visiting International Faculty (VIF), explained, "International teachers were misinformed or under-informed about…the socio-cultural-racial-historical state of education in the United States" (Solano-Campos, 2010). Orientations that focused on the sociocultural context would have more adequately prepared the teachers in this study for the challenges they would face teaching in urban schools. The need to improve orientation procedures will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

Union busting. One of the ways that foreign teachers would have been able to advocate for better preparation and support was through participation in a union. However, in the case of these Glendale teachers, they were told union membership was impossible. As I was reminded multiple times by Glendale administrators when I asked how they could help my participants receive equitable treatment, the administrators said the teachers are technically not employed by Glendale. They are employees of IRI, a private company, and as such, are not eligible to participate in a union for school employees. Many of the conditions that a union would find deplorable, the county

appeared willing to condone because the teachers were their sub-contractors, not their employees.

Even if the Glendale teachers had been allowed to join the union (which Ms. Dougherty said would have been allowed by the national American Federation of Teachers), the benefits that came with union membership would not be afforded to them. For example, union members benefit from legal counsel and collective bargaining. The powerful effect of these benefits was illustrated by a landmark case in Louisiana, in which a group of Filipino teachers sued their recruitment agency for mistreatment and exploitation. Without the support of the AFT, which they were allowed to join because they were technically employees of Jefferson Parish, East Baton Rouge Parish, and the Recovery School District (which, post-Katrina, includes over 100 schools formerly part of New Orleans Public Schools), the Filipino teachers may not have been able to stand up to their recruiter or win their case.

The Louisiana case revolved around the infractions of Lulu Navarro, a Filipina woman who operated a recruitment agency in Los Angeles. She charged the teachers $15,000 in fees before they arrived, and then required them to sign new contracts upon arrival that allowed her to take 10-15% of their yearly salary for as long as they were employed in the United States. She threatened the teachers with deportation if they did not sign, withheld their passports and other legal documents, and warned them not to speak to Americans about their situation. They were also forced to live in sub-standard housing. After years of mistreatment, one Filipino teacher named Ingrid decided to join AFT. She recalled, “When I first signed up for the AFT, she [Ms. Navarro] tried to retract my membership… I said yes so she would leave me alone, but still I kept my

membership and I think that was one of the best decisions I ever made" (American Federation of Teachers, 2010). Though Ingrid had approached local and state officials with her grievances, "Only when AFT picked up our case and made formal complaints, it made things turn around." The AFT, working with the state chapter, the Louisiana Federation of Teachers, filed complaints with the Louisiana Workforce Commission and the U.S. Department of Labor.

After the case ended with a victory for the Filipino teachers, they collectively formed the Filipino Educators Federation of Louisiana, modeled after a similar coalition of Filipino teachers in Baltimore. Other Filipino teachers, filmed by the AFT, shared the importance of collective support for their cause: "It makes us a lot stronger because we know someone is there for us, willing to fight for us." Another stated, "You feel the strength that they [the AFT representatives] have, and it transfers to you during that difficult time." Many of the exploitative practices and breaches of contact that existed in Louisiana were the same ones present in Glendale and with IRI, though Louisiana teachers were employees of both the district and the agency and Glendale teachers were solely employees of IRI. Had the Glendale foreign teachers been able to collectively bargain and seek legal counsel, they may have been more successful in their fight for justice.

Dependent employees. As in the Louisiana case explained above, the foreign teachers in Glendale were dependent on their employers to such an extent that it made it possible for IRI to take advantage of them. In Louisiana, the teachers feared retaliation if they told anyone about their circumstances. Aleeza stated that IRI teachers, too, feared termination and deportation if they did not follow Ms. Jain's rules. One of the key

arguments in the LFT case, which confirmed that the Filipino teachers were forced to be dependent on their employers, was the contract language that stipulated the terms of teacher termination. The Glendale contract, obtained though an Open Records Request, contains the same stipulation. Glendale may demand removal of a teacher (1) with cause, immediately; or (2) without cause, with 30 school days' notice. IRI may terminate a teacher immediately, with cause, if "that teacher's continued employment could harm [IRI's] reputation or economy." Further, the contract gave IRI the right to "terminate Teacher's exchange visa at any time for any reason, with or without notice." If no cause was necessary for termination, the participants in my study could, feasibly, have even been terminated for speaking with me. Mr. McNeill (real name), the AFT lawyer responsible for the Filipino teachers' victory in Louisiana, noted that such a clause, while not expressly forbidding union membership, rendered union membership merely symbolic and the teachers more vulnerable.

Unfortunately for the teachers in my study, there was also a contract provision that prevented them from seeking alternative employment. Had they, for example, wanted to leave IRI's employ because of their mistreatment, but wanted to stay in their original positions in Glendale, the county itself risked breaching the contract. As such, they would not take the risk of employing a foreign teacher who had previously worked with IRI. The contract read, "At any time while this Agreement is in effect, [Glendale] shall not retain the services of any Teacher unless it is through [IRI]. Should a teacher seek to circumvent the provisions herein without [IRI's] permission, [Glendale] shall notify [IRI] in writing immediately." The purpose of creating dependent employees, to sustain IRI's profit and their dominance over the supply of foreign teachers to the county, virtually

guaranteed that the teachers themselves would have no voice in their recruitment, preparation, or professional development.

Outsourcing

One of the consequences of globalization and free trade policies is the outsourcing of American jobs to other countries; in many cases, companies pay workers less than they would pay American workers to perform the same tasks, thus decreasing their expenses. "The recruitment agencies are using TATA [Indian-based multinational company] as a model, where Indian tech workers come to the U.S.," explained Ms. Dougherty of AFT, "It is now an industry standard to save money through privatization and outsourcing." Indeed, TATA Technology had offices in 12 countries, including India, Singapore, Thailand, and Mexico, where skilled workers were often trained for work in the United States, and prided themselves on "operat[ing] where our customers need us to be, leveraging our global resources to maximize product value" (TATA Technologies, 2010). Ms. Jain explained in her interview with me that she, too, wished that IRI was able to branch out to more countries and transcend borders.

Some opponents of foreign teacher recruitment use the "outsourcing" argument to justify their opposition. For example, the one school board member who voted against re-approving IRI's contract in the Glendale district for the 2010-2011 school year did so because she wanted to "care for our own before we start going to the outside" (Local newspaper article, July 12, 2010). The President of the local chapter of the National Education Association (NEA), a teachers' union similar to the AFT, concurred that it was a "slap in the face to the tens of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands, of teachers all over this country that have been laid off" (Local newspaper article, July 12, 2010). A

concern for foreign teachers is that, if Americans see them as "taking" their jobs, the Americans will not look any further into their working conditions or care about what happens to them once they are in the United States. Thus, the outsourcing consequence is included here not to justify or assume agreement with the position that international workers "take" American jobs but to insist that all workers in the United States, whether they are American or not, deserve to be treated equitably and supported in their careers.

Loss of Human Capital

Perhaps the most hidden of the unintended consequences of foreign teacher recruitment was the impact that such recruitment had on the countries supplying the teachers. Colloquially, this loss of human capital is known as the "brain drain." The brain drain occurs with the migration of educated doctors, engineers, and technology professionals; more recently the trend extended to nursing professionals, as well. In fact, in 2009, one in three nurses in the United States was foreign born (AFT, 2009). The method for tracking foreign nurses, their participation in the national certification exam, was significantly more established than the method for tracking foreign teachers. This was a very real problem in some countries and a potential problem in the area from which Glendale teachers were recruited.

Most commonly, source countries are developing countries like the Philippines, where shortages in educated employees already existed. AFT (2009) reported that, during the last ten years when Filipino teachers have been heavily recruited for United States positions, there was a 16,000-person teacher shortage in the Philippines. A presentation (Ratteree, 2006) given at the 16th annual conference for Commonwealth Education

Ministers provided additional insight into the disturbing global effects of foreign teacher recruitment, especially the "brain drain":

> 1. To achieve UNESCO's Education for All (EFA) initiative by 2015, there will be an estimated 18 million new teachers for primary and secondary schools needed around the world.
> 2. In a recent survey, 50% of OECD countries stated they were seriously concerned about attracting and retaining high-quality teachers, especially in high-demand subject areas.
> 3. In developing countries, such as the Philippines and Barbados, college graduates are six times more likely to emigrate than those with only a secondary education.
> 4. National and international improvements need to be made in order to learn the extent and impact of teacher mobility on source countries, as there is currently no systematic way to track teacher migration patterns (Ratteree, 2006).
>
> As a developing country, Indians are acutely aware of the impact of teacher migration, and highly-skilled migration in general. In 2003, Thomas noted,
>
> Though the union ministry of human resource development is typically unconcerned, a tremor of apprehension is beginning to run through the boards and councils of management of India's… schools that a mass migration of the best and brightest teachers from these schools in particular may well be in the offing. (p. 1)

By 2006, educational scholars like Paliwal argued that India's government and schools must act to combat foreign teacher recruitment: "Globalization and commercialization of

education is becoming a reality and India being a prominent figure, in so far as the concern of human resources is concerned, cannot afford to ignore these changes" (p. 66). The teachers in this study agreed that there existed a certain expectation that the best and brightest in India, whether they be engineers or teachers, would at some point work abroad. The trend, Shrusty stated, was growing in the education sector as it had in technology earlier.

More personally, the migration of teachers meant they had to choose between raising their own children and providing for them, even if temporarily. Filmmaker Ramona Diaz, while filming Filipino teachers in Baltimore, remarked:

> In a modern-day story of immigration and globalization, these young professionals are coming West in pursuit of economic advantages. Back home a public school teacher earns $3,500 a year; a private school teacher earns slightly more. In Baltimore, they will earn as much as $45,000 a year, most of which they will send back to the Philippines to support their families and, in some cases, entire villages. The irony is inescapable. The Filipino teachers—90 percent of them women—are leaving their own children to the care and education of others in order to take jobs teaching inner-city children in schools abandoned by many of their American-born colleagues in favor of districts with better resources in the suburbs. (Quoted in Nepales, 2006)

Teachers in this study, as previously discussed, had to leave their families in India in order to seek employment in the United States. Though Shrusty and Aleeza were eventually able to bring their families with them, Samina did not get that opportunity.

Challenging the Spectacle

The question remains: if international recruitment is, in fact, about finding the best teachers, or even about preparing students for the global marketplace, why is it that only urban districts are taking advantage of this opportunity? If teachers who are intelligent can teach any student anywhere as well as those teachers with pedagogical preparation, why do wealthy suburban schools not employ hoards of foreign teachers? Why are foreign teachers only in Washington, D.C. and not Alexandria, Virginia; in downtown Chicago and not Hyde Park; and in New York City and not Long Island? The reality is that the hidden purposes are equally as alluring for urban districts as are the stated goals, and suburban districts do not need to cut expenses and fill positions that no one will take because suburban districts are better funded and positions are in high demand. Further, suburban parents and students have the social and cultural capital to ensure that their teachers are the most effective and can relate to their students.

The political spectacle of recruitment ignores the unintended and often negative consequences on teachers and students. If teachers are exploited, and in many cases live in fear, they cannot educate students as well as can teachers who are treated well and who receive proper preparation, benefits, and support. “Just like we know that kids can’t learn when they are hungry, teachers are only effective educators if they are being treated well,” summarized Ms. Dougherty of the AFT, “If they are not being threatened, not always worrying about visa status or contracts and fees. All this worry and anxiety affects the quality of services they can provide.” The AFT asserts that the public should be made aware of the employment conditions of foreign teachers and should aid them in fighting for equality of employment, in order to provide the best education for their children:

> All teachers working within one school system should have the same requirements for certification, the same performance expectations, the same benefits and the same employer. These are fundamental union principles and should also be fundamental public expectations. (American Federation of Teachers, 2009, p. 19)

Chapter 7: Conclusion

"Good intentions may do as much harm as malevolence if they lack understanding."

(Camus, 1991, p. 131)

During what she thought was her last week in the United States, Shrusty's co-workers threw her a "retirement" party, complete with cake, pizza, a gold charm bracelet with the school mascot, and American flag balloons. She took photographs with her special education students, and those who could speak said, "Goodbye, Ms. Shrusty. We love you." She invited everyone to her apartment and prepared an Indian feast. "Everybody cried," she remembered, a bittersweet note in her voice, "Even Mr. Woods! And like, Ms. H., she is my American mom, you know, she is so approachable and she helps with everything. She can't even look at me anymore, because when she looks at me, she cries." Shrusty carried a handheld video camera with her, recording messages from her co-workers and friends, and even me. "I want to show this to my dad," she said, "To show him everything I have accomplished here. And I will keep it forever to show my American experience. This is more important to me than money, this is everything."

Meanwhile, with two days left of school, Faria finished accepting the last of her students' late assignments and entered their grades into the computerized system. "They always wait to the last minute," she remarked as she collected the papers, "But what can I do? It is better to have something late than nothing at all." She said that she would describe her American experience as "a challenging, good experience." Contrary to what Shrusty said, Faria did not believe that much had changed as a result of her experience. "Nothing has really changed," she said, "I [have] been teaching the same way the whole time." As she was beckoned to the library for a teachers' meeting that was going to honor

her and other departing teachers, she recalled the struggle to get her visa extended. Though she was very excited to see her family, she wished the extensions had worked out. She stated emphatically that she would love to come back to the United States as a teacher again, but hopefully not with the same program because "things are not getting better; they are getting worse every year with [IRI]."

Aleeza's last week was filled with uncertainty and frustration. She had spent most of her time trying to find a way to get her family's visas extended so they could remain in the country until her new baby was released from the hospital and was healthy enough to travel. She was most worried about her children:

> My kids at home, they can make out that something is wrong and something is going on… Because whatever the condition is, I never stopped cooking dinner, I always cook dinner for them… When I am not cooking dinner, they know that something is majorly wrong and I am like, 'See, I have to figure out how we can stay with [the new baby] here, my little one… We need to figure out something, that is why I am not working, my mind is not working.' They are like, 'Mummy, we are praying.' (5/17/10)

Aleeza had still not heard what Ms. Jain of IRI was going to do to help her in her special situation. She argued that Ms. Jain was "mentally harassing" her by not responding to emails and phone calls, and that Ms. Jain may even have "sabotaged" the group of teachers who wanted to stay by lying about submitting their information for visa extensions. Some information, such as passport numbers, was needed to apply for the extensions, which Aleeza found out when she called the immigration office herself, and according to Aleeza, Ms. Jain did not have this information. Though Aleeza was fully

aware that her program was for only three years, she insisted that her extenuating personal circumstances should have made Ms. Jain more receptive to providing individual attention and care:

> I was prepared, like you know okay, we signed a contract for three years… That's why I was trying other options, Australia, New Zealand, but now this situation. I didn't know that my baby was going to be premature and what we are getting here. I need her to survive for me. So I don't know how people can be so insane. She [Ms. Jain] is just trying to be like you know 'okay, you already knew this.' Yes, I already knew this and I was preparing to get out. I had prepared my kids, you know like, after three years we need to go back to our country. But now here I come, I have a premature baby. I don't know what kind of facilities I have in India. (5/17/10)

In the midst of her family worries, Aleeza was trying to find a way to convince Ms. Jain to allow her to stay, not only for her family, but for her students:

> [If] I am not doing good in my job, then I would have thought of okay, I need to leave this place and go; I am not doing no [*sic*] good. But when my principal likes it, my students [like it]… They are like, 'You cannot go before my 11th grade. You cannot go before we graduate, Miss [Aleeza] because we need you here to tutor us.' (5/17/10)

On what should have been her last week in the United States, Samina was already back in Hyderabad, having been sent away 20 days earlier, as previously discussed. Though her departure had been abrupt and filled with secrecy, she let me know by email

that she was pleased to be home: “I am doing good. My family is really happy to have me back. For now, I am relaxing at home and having loads of fun.”

Unbeknownst to Shrusty, Faria, and Aleeza, their return to India would only be temporary. Shrusty sold her car, and all three teachers sold their furniture and other belongings. They purchased one-way return tickets to Hyderabad and left the United States at the end of May 2010. Two months later, in July 2010, Ms. Jain negotiated one-year visa extensions. Shrusty, Faria, and Aleeza were given the choice of returning to the United States, purchasing airline fare for themselves and their families, buying new transportation and belongings, and assuming their previous teaching positions. Despite previous statements that they did not want to continue working for Ms. Jain, the opportunity was too great for them to pass up, and all three returned to the United States for the 2010-2011 school year.

It is evident that the teachers in this study each experienced their time in different and unique ways. However, common themes ran across their narratives and clearly demonstrated the need to continue researching and helping this potentially vulnerable group of educators and the students they teach. A summary of these findings is included below.

The limitations of this study prevent me from generalizing my findings to other populations and impel the need for future research on foreign teacher recruitment. Because I studied four teachers from one city, teaching in one school district, and recruited by one company, it is possible that other researchers who study teachers from other countries hired for other districts may present different experiences and different explanations. Yet, reports from other districts indicate that my teachers’ experiences were

not unique. Additionally, even if my teachers' inadequate cultural preparation, exploitative hiring practices, and difficulty connecting with students were limited to the four teachers in this study, that is four teachers too many. Because research alone cannot solve the numerous problems identified in this project, policymakers, teacher educators, and school districts must take steps to improve the recruitment, preparation, and pedagogy of international educators.

Summary of Findings

This dissertation explored the recruitment, preparation, and pedagogy of international teachers for U.S. urban schools and the neoliberal policy context in which such recruitment unfolded. Findings related to four key areas, highlighted by the research questions: 1) similarities and differences between foreign teachers' classrooms in the United States and India, and the effect these similarities and differences had the on the teachers' relationships and practice; 2) foreign teachers' use of culturally relevant pedagogy in their urban classrooms; 3) the ways foreign teacher recruitment did or did not satisfy goals for teachers, students, schools, and systems; and 4) the hidden purposes and unintended consequences of recruitment.

Similarities and Differences

The four teachers in this study listed few similarities and many differences between their classrooms in Glendale and their classrooms in India. The teachers had little exposure to multicultural students before being recruited, and their prior knowledge of American schools was a result of media portrayals, friends' accounts, brief orientations, and personal research. Their lack of prior knowledge led to culture shock and a difficult adjustment period at the beginning of their time in the United States.

The teachers reported only two similarities between their experiences teaching in the United States and India: same age students and economic disparities between students and schools. Differences were related to: 1) student behavior, including American students' lack of focus, academic apathy, lack of respect, and lack of self-control; 2) resources, like having more materials, more money, and more technology (though this was not the case for all four teachers); 3) pedagogical strategies, where U.S. students required fewer lectures, more hands-on activities, and more group work and discussion; 4) curriculum, such as the use of scripted curriculum and assessments like standardized tests with only multiple choice questions in U.S. schools; 5) students' lack of cultural awareness, including students' misunderstandings about the world outside the United States and about India in particular; 6) policies of school and state, such as multiple chances for remediation, a lack of consequences for misbehavior and failure, and school reform initiatives; and 7) relationships with parents and families, as when American parents were viewed as part of the problem, when there were communication issues, or when American parents challenged the teachers' authority.

The multitude of differences affected teachers' practice and relationships. They sought out and formed close relationships with colleagues, or American allies, who helped them adjust to a new setting, and with other foreign teachers who could intimately empathize with their experiences. My participants experienced shifts in their pedagogy and classroom management as a response to their new students in the United States. Teachers also held lingering views of academic apathy and struggled between hopelessness and resilience. Overall, the teachers' lack of prior knowledge about American schools and students, their difficulties with classroom management and

communication as a result of differences in American and Indian school systems, and their pedagogical shifts confirmed the findings of previous literature (Finney, Torres, & Jurs, 2002; Hutchinson, 2005; Neufeld, 2005).

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

The four teachers in this study had little exposure to culturally relevant pedagogy (CRP) before or during their tenure in the United States. National diversity policies and teacher preparation in India focused on the need to educate children of all backgrounds and did not commonly extend to differentiating methods for educating diverse children. Though the teachers were familiar with educating students of many religions and languages, the concept of race in classroom discourse was uncommon. In the United States, however, teachers were immediately faced with the salience of race and culture in the classroom.

Recruitment agencies, including IRI, claimed that an effective teacher in one context was an effective teacher in all contexts. Through interviews and classroom observations, teachers revealed the ways they did and did not exhibit CRP. Some cultural practices were frequently exhibited by my participants, including making accommodations all learners using differentiated instruction and teaching necessary skills. Other practices, such as encouraging collaborative learning and structuring varied assessments, were exhibited occasionally. The majority of practices were either claimed but not exhibited, or not evident. These included believing all students could succeed, connecting students' home lives to academic material, integrating multicultural content into the curriculum, and demonstrating a connectedness to all students. Overall, findings revealed that teachers had difficulty translating theories about CRP into practice, thus

extending Hutchinson's (2005) earlier work that pedagogical shifts were necessary to work in American school environments.

Achievement of Goals

Teachers, students, schools, and districts: all of these stakeholders had vested interests in and different goals for the success of foreign teacher recruitment. Findings in this study revealed that few goals for any of the groups were fully met; the majority were only partially met or not met at all. International teachers' goals, which included achieving the "American dream", increasing pedagogical knowledge, making money, becoming more internationally competitive, and helping students, were not completely met because of the short duration of their visas and because of programmatic constraints. Goals for students, such as increasing their global awareness and making them more internationally competitive, were not met because the promise of "cultural ambassadors" was not realized. Instead of serving as ambassadors, teachers often presented a cultural mismatch because neither they nor their students and schools were fully prepared for the challenges of integrating a foreign teacher into an urban school environment without proper preparation. Schools' and systems' goals were similar. School administrators in Glendale wanted to find highly-qualified teachers with extensive content knowledge. System administrators wanted to fill open positions. However, because recruitment was, by contract, a temporary endeavor, none of these goals were met. These findings were similar to the anecdotal literature that revealed teachers' varied personal and professional goals (Coates, 2005; Henry, 2001; Keller, 2005; Neufeld, 2005; Peterson, 2005) and the reports that showed the difficulty of meeting all of the goals of recruitment, given

programmatic constraints, school systems' lacking support measures, and national politics (American Federation of Teachers, 2009, 2010; Barber, 2003; Ratteree, 2006).

Hidden Purposes and Unintended Consequences

In contrast to the stated purposes and goals of foreign teacher recruitment, there were also hidden purposes that adversely affected teachers' experiences in the United States. The most significant of these hidden purposes was the districts' desire to save money and the agencies' desire to cut costs. Because Glendale's focus was always on the bottom line, they neglected to ensure that their foreign teachers were adequately prepared, effectively supported, and properly treated. Glendale was able to say that the teachers were not "technically" their employees because the teachers were hired by IRI, thus providing revenue for a contracting agency and, at the same time, protecting Glendale from any liability. A second hidden purpose was adding to the political spectacle of education reform, whereby districts and policymakers purport to be supportive of urban education but, in reality, are satisfied with short-term, quick-fix solutions to long-term, systemic problems.

Hidden consequences uncovered in this study were 1) teacher exploitation, 2) undermining the teaching profession and teacher education; 3) controlling teachers and practice; 4) outsourcing, and 5) loss of human capital in source countries. Teachers in this study were exploited by IRI in many ways that affected not only their personal well-being, but also their classroom performance. Teachers reported being lied to, coerced, and harassed by their recruitment agency, and the agency's having breached many clauses of their contract with Glendale. Further, agencies and districts propagated the notion that teachers did not need cultural-pedagogical preparation to teach, strictly

controlled the teachers' knowledge by limiting what teachers were and were not told about their teaching placements, and instituting employment measures that made it impossible for teachers to join unions for their own protection and benefits. Also, because American teaching positions were outsourced to migrant teachers, opponents to recruitment were more focused on the fact that they were "taking" American jobs than the fact that they were not treated equitably once they arrived. Finally, source countries suffered a loss of human capital when teachers migrated to the United States and other Western countries to teach. Districts and policymakers in the United States were so focused on the potential positive influence of globalization on the teachers' ability to "transcend borders" that they neglected to consider the deleterious effects that recruitment had on the home countries of their new teachers. The Indian teachers in Glendale experienced similar mistreatment as the Filipino teachers in Louisiana and this study confirmed AFT's findings that some for-profit recruitment agencies exploited foreign employees for profit and treated them as commodities (American Federation of Teachers, 2009, 2010).

Implications for Future Research

As initially discussed in the literature review in Chapter 2, there is a severe lack of research on foreign teacher recruitment. This dissertation has demonstrated that the topic is both worthy of and necessary to research, and there are many ways to confirm, extend, and supplement the findings unearthed here. As my research was a case study in one district at one point in time, other studies are first needed which examine other districts that use other recruiting agencies and recruit from other countries. Future research needs to be longitudinal, student-based, comparative, and quasi-experimental.

Longitudinal Research

One limitation of this study was that I was unable to study three of my participants from the beginning of their time in the United States, as I began my study when they were already in their third year. My only first year participant did not return for a second year, so longitudinal tracking was not possible. However, future researchers should seek to study teachers from their first through third year (or sixth year, if the teachers are on H1-B visas). Beyond their time in the United States, research should continue once foreign teachers return to their home countries to evaluate the effects of U.S. experience on their classroom teaching. Above all, the longitudinal research should be classroom-based and should include interviews and observations.

Student-based Research

This study confirmed the need to understand the role of students in foreign teacher recruitment, particularly their perceptions and their achievement. Future researchers could examine student perceptions of foreign teachers and should focus on questions such as, How do students perceive foreign teachers' content knowledge, commitment to students, classroom management, cultural relevance, and connection to students? What is the effect of these perceptions on student performance?

Student achievement in foreign teachers' courses should also be measured in future studies. Certainly student test scores can be examined, as suggested by the local union representative cited in Chapter 6, but achievement should be also measured through a variety of other factors. If and how did students' scores on end-of-course tests increase? Were students more prepared for future courses when they had a foreign teacher than when they had an American teacher? What new critical or analytical skills

did students learn from foreign teachers, and how did these skills impact their overall school performance? If and how did students improve their global or cultural awareness? For example, did they learn more about countries outside the United States, including India? Did they learn more about their own culture as they reflected on the similarities and differences between themselves and foreign teachers?

Comparative Research

This study raised many questions about how the specific contexts of foreign teachers' placement influenced their job satisfaction, adjustment, classroom management, and teaching methods. Comparative research has the ability to answer some of these lingering questions. Researchers should investigate: the experiences of teachers from different home countries; teachers from the same country who are placed in different types of schools (urban, suburban, rural) or in different states to see the contextualized effects of race, class, and culture on teacher success and satisfaction; and teachers from different countries in the same subject area. All of these findings will help uncover if and how teachers' countries of origin and placements influence their recruitment, preparation, and pedagogy.

Other comparative research should focus on recruitment in other countries, such as England and Australia. Such research can consider the effects of the Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol, the different source countries from which teachers are drawn, and other questions similar to those suggested for U.S. comparative research. Researchers in education, political science, international studies, or economics can also study recruitment agencies to learn how they choose which countries to recruit and place

teachers, and how their practices are or are not beneficial and equitable for the teachers, host countries, and source countries.

Quasi-experimental Research

Because this research has demonstrated the importance of orientations and professional development for the success of foreign teachers, it would be unethical to conduct true experimental research where a control group did not receive orientation and an experimental group did. However, a quasi-experimental research plan, in which two groups of foreign teachers were exposed to varying levels of intervention, could yield interesting and promising results. For instance, an incoming group of foreign teachers could be divided into two groups; one group could receive the orientation currently offered by IRI and Glendale, while another group receives the recommended interventions described in the previous section. Alternatively, various groups of teachers could receive different types of professional development, designed by districts, agencies, researchers, or teachers, and the influence of the professional development on their teaching practice could be compared.

Implications for Policy

At the time of this study, there were no national or state procedures, standards, or protocols for foreign teacher recruitment. Had such policies been in place, perhaps some of the difficulties encountered by my participants could have been avoided or lessened. Based on the findings of this study, policy implications include the establishment of equitable recruitment procedures, a systematic oversight of states and districts, a renewed focus on teacher distribution and retention, and development of alternatives to neoliberal educational policies.

Equitable Recruitment Procedures

The most important change that policymakers can make for the success of foreign teacher recruitment programs is to encourage agencies and districts to adopt equitable recruitment procedures. Currently, there is no standard protocol for the way agencies should treat their employees, and as a result, teachers all over the country are at risk for exploitation and other abuses. Though not all agencies are guilty of mistreatment, as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. proclaimed, "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." For justice to be served, policymakers should collaborate with other stakeholders, such as state and district administrators, union leaders, recruitment agency representatives, and foreign teachers, to develop recruitment guidelines.

A good model for these guidelines is the Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol, developed in 2004 by 53 countries to adequately deal with their own teacher shortages and recruitment efforts (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2004). The purpose of the protocol is worth quoting at length:

> The Protocol aims to balance the rights of teachers to migrate internationally, on a temporary or permanent basis, against the need to protect the integrity of national education systems, and to prevent the exploitation of the scarce human resources of poor countries. The Protocol also seeks to safeguard the rights of recruited teachers and the conditions relating to their service in the recruiting country. In doing so, the Protocol seeks to promote the positive benefits which international teacher migration can bring and to facilitate the sharing of the common wealth of human resources that reside within the Commonwealth. (pp. 3-4)

The document then outlines the rights and responsibilities of recruiting countries, source

countries, and recruited teachers, as well as suggestions for monitoring and evaluation of recruitment processes and programs. Had such a document existed, foreign teachers in Glendale would have had an outlet for voicing their concerns and frustrations about IRI's practices. Once a similar protocol is developed in the United States, further policy action will be easier to initiate, including the oversight of states and districts.

Oversight of States and Districts

In centralized urban districts, there is no shortage of top-down policies and procedures. In Glendale, for example, curriculum standards, course pacing guides, benchmark assessments, and mandates for grading come to teachers from above, by way of state or district administrators. Yet amidst all of these policies, there are none dealing with oversight of foreign teachers.

State personnel should be aware of which districts are using foreign teachers by tracking their yearly reports and spending. A national database of foreign teachers, similar to the database established for international nurses, would help states track where teachers are placed. District policymakers should also be privy to information about foreign teachers in their community and should make certain that individual schools are properly recruiting and supporting their employees. Holding county- and school-level administrators accountable for their hiring procedures will ensure that no one is able to erroneously claim that foreign teachers are not their responsibility and that they have no control over their employment.

Focus on Teacher Distribution and Retention

Many urban districts in the United States "are continually spending human and fiscal resources on teacher recruitment when the emphasis should be on retaining those

teachers who have the skills and dispositions to teach successfully in urban schools" (Waddell, 2010, p. 70). This study illustrated the difficulty of solving teacher shortage and teacher attrition problems with a stopgap, temporary measure like foreign teacher recruitment. Because some foreign teachers left after one year and because the nature of the program was inherently temporary due to visa and contract restrictions, there was no feasible way for foreign teachers to solve the more systemic issue of teacher distribution and retention in urban schools. The Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol (2004) recognized similar issues abroad: "It is the responsibility of the authorities in recruiting countries to manage domestic teacher supply and demand in a manner that limits the need to resort to organized recruitment in order to meet the normal demand for teachers" (p. 9).

In 2010-2011, Glendale was scheduled to pay IRI $506,000 for administrative fees, in addition to the teachers' salaries. This tremendous amount, especially when combined with the fees paid to the second agency Glendale used, could be more effectively put to use in a self-study or commissioned study on teacher distribution and retention. By asking Glendale teachers and other professionals what drew them to the district, what keeps them there, or what caused them to leave, administrators would better be able to judge which interventions and resources are necessary to bring and keep quality educators in the county.

Imagine the Alternatives

For policymakers, and indeed for district and school administrators as well, the implications of this study extend beyond the factual and into the abstract. That is, for some of the problems that this study revealed, it is not enough to change the immediate

exploitative practices, but to reimagine the basic goals of education so as to avoid further problems. According to Judt (2010), this imagination is key to remaking a more progressive society:

> Why do we experience such difficulty even *imagining* a different sort of society? Why is it beyond us to conceive of a different set of arrangements to our common advantage? Are we doomed indefinitely to lurch between a dysfunctional 'free market' and the much-advertised horrors of 'socialism'? Our disability is *discursive*: we simply do not know how to talk about these things any more. (p. 34)

A more progressive and socially just education will not be achieved until policymakers' focus moves past economic goals and into interpersonal and cultural goals, until they are no longer "capable of shutting off the sun and the stars because they do not pay a dividend" (Keynes, 1933).

Implications for Practice and Teacher Education

If other studies in other districts reveal findings similar to mine, then in addition to adjustments in policy, changes also need to be made at the district and university level. Findings indicated that districts and schools need to be more involved in selecting appropriate agencies, improving orientations, and allowing for cross-cultural exchange. In cooperation with districts, teacher education programs need to improve partnerships that allow foreign teachers to pursue professional development and additional education while in the United States.

Selective Use of Agencies

It is the responsibility of each district that contracts recruitment agencies to ensure that these agencies are legitimate and honest in their hiring practices. The exploitation in Louisiana and the questionable practices in Glendale could most likely have been avoided if district officials had been more attentive to the practices of the agencies and the needs of their teachers. Whether or not a recruitment protocol is developed, districts should selectively choose and monitor agencies that commit to adequate preparation and support.

Until a protocol is established, however, districts need to select agencies that allow teachers to be employees of the school systems, not the private employer. If international teachers are public employees, they will be afforded all of the rights and benefits that American teachers are afforded, including insurance, professional development, and the right to join a union. Employees who are treated well and are not living in a constant state of fear that they will be sent home for no reason will be better teachers. Though this means that districts themselves will have to be more accountable for their international employees and those of their contractors than they currently are, it is vital that, if recruitment continues, they undertake this task in order to prove they truly care about the teachers and the students in their system.

Orientation Improvements

The four teachers in this study had several suggestions for how to improve orientations in order to better prepare future foreign teachers for U.S. urban classrooms. All suggested that orientation begin before teachers depart from their home countries. This orientation would have to be conducted by the agency's contacts in India (or other source countries), but the district should play a key role in ensuring that appropriate

topics are covered in detail. For example, all of the teachers said that learning about classroom management was important because they had no classroom management problems in India. Aleeza elaborated on how an orientation session using videos could be used to help future teachers learn classroom management strategies.

The idea of using videos was mentioned by all four participants, who stated that orientations, in addition to being too short, were not "realistic" because they did not show the true picture of U.S. urban classrooms. If the technology was available, teachers in India could also use real-time video technology, like Skype, to "look in" on real American classrooms as teachers were instructing their classes. They could virtually observe both international and American teachers in their content areas; even if their exact placements were not yet determined, showing them a video of a school with a similar student population would be an improvement over the current methods of orientation.

In addition to videos, a group of "alumni" foreign teachers and American teachers should also speak to the group before they depart. Shrusty emphasized that an orientation would best be conducted by an Indian teacher like herself who had experience in American schools, and a district official, Ms. Jefferson, argued that an American teacher would best be able to prepare a new group before their departure. Above all, a pre-departure orientation should be extensive and honest. It cannot be done in one afternoon, and it cannot concentrate solely on making travel arrangements, as it did at the time of this study. A good model for the pre-departure and on-site orientation would be the cultural training offered by the Peace Corps, especially their detailed *Culture Matters: The Peace Corps Cross-Cultural Workbook* (Peace Corps, 2010).

The same detail and honesty is necessary for the orientations once the teachers have arrived in the United States. At the time of this study, teachers were supposed to receive one day of orientation with IRI (though, as previously discussed, two of my four participants did not have such an orientation), plus a new teacher orientation with Glendale. Glendale principals acknowledged that such brevity was not useful for international teachers. Mr. Scott and Ms. Jefferson offered suggestions for a new foreign teacher orientation:

> I would talk a lot about behavior, in terms of how to respond to different types of off-task behavior. I would talk a lot about how to motivate the unmotivated, …about differentiated instruction, how to get across concepts to kids who are below the grade level, below their reading level, or deficient in their math skills. I would do a lot of talking about how to deal with that. But then just kind of talk about what is acceptable in our culture, in black culture or "teenage culture", if there is such a thing, what is acceptable, what to expect. (Mr. Scott, 2/11/10)
>
> I would stress basically the instructional curriculums and how they are set up here… I would make sure that they are aware of all of the strands and standards for their particular areas, whatever they are going to be teaching, for instructional purposes. And then I would do a very extensive training program on classroom management, expectations, discipline plans, and again the culture of the American classroom versus others. (Ms. Jefferson, 2/28/10)

Their suggestions are similar; both focus on instructional strategies and classroom management. Also, both emphasize the need to "talk" about a variety of topics. My recommendation would go far beyond simply talking about instruction and management.

For teachers to actually learn these topics, they must experience them. This experiential learning should take place in a five-week Summer Institute.

Such a program would require that teachers arrive five weeks before the beginning of the school year, as opposed to one or two days before, as was the custom at the time of my study. This would undoubtedly be more expensive, but because the agency made at least $17,000 per teacher from school district fees and teacher fees, some of this revenue could be used to help the district supplement a better orientation. Both recruitment agencies and districts would benefit from a longer orientation because the teachers would begin the year better prepared, thus increasing their effectiveness, their students' achievement, and the reputation of the agency. A well-developed Summer Institute would combine class work and practical experience. To prepare for the Summer Institute, teachers would have been given a pre-reading list and materials before their departure. Then, district and agency officials would collaborate to place foreign teachers in a summer school classroom in their content area. Though summer school is not a true duplication of a traditional classroom, it is the closest approximation available if the teachers arrive between June and August. Foreign teachers would assist an American teacher each morning for several hours, gradually assuming more responsibility for classroom activities, and then transition to a higher education setting where they would participate in seminars and workshops. Over the course of the workshops, the new teachers would learn the particulars of what Mr. Scott and Ms. Jefferson outlined, but would also delve deeper into the histories and sociocultural contexts of their future students and communities. Workshops could be co-taught by American teachers, veteran foreign teachers, and university faculty, and could include modules such as: History of

American Education; Culturally Relevant Pedagogy; Content Methods; Working with Special Needs Students; Cultural Diversity in the U.S. Classroom; Policies and Practices in Public Schools; and State and Local Policies.

Cultural Ambassadors

One of the stated goals for foreign teacher recruitment is to bring "cultural ambassadors" to urban schools. However, as discussed in Chapter 5, this goal was not realized in this study. Compared to the other recommendations offered in this section though, this goal is easily implemented. For teachers to be "ambassadors," they need to share their culture and perspectives with the community, colleagues, and students. For example, according to Ms. Dougherty of the AFT, a group of Filipino teachers began a yearly culture show in which they discuss their culture with other teachers and community members and share traditional music, food, and dance. As long as the teachers' cultural ambassadorship does not stop at this "food and festivals" approach to multicultural education, it is an easy way for a cross-cultural discussion to begin. Part of this community-building can also be the creation of a "host family" in which American students' families teach one international educator about U.S. culture and customs. The family's role would be similar to the American allies described in Chapter 2, and the foreign teachers would reciprocate by sharing their own cultural experiences with the families.

Foreign teachers could also share their culture by participating in panels or workshops on international and comparative education at nearby universities. For example, the Indian teachers in Glendale live ten minutes away from a major research university with programs in Southeast Asian studies, subaltern studies, post-colonial

studies, and comparative education. Their emic perspectives could add to the knowledge already being shared at the university level. This would also give the teachers a way to intellectually engage others in a discussion about their culture, for, as previously discussed, they were frustrated by their students' lack of knowledge about India. They would not be called upon to "speak for their race," as when one teacher was asked, "So what do Indians think about *Slumdog Millionaire*?" by an American teacher, but would be sharing their individual opinions and experiences in an intellectual fashion.

Moreover, districts, agencies, and the teachers themselves could facilitate partnerships between U.S. schools and English-medium schools in source countries. In a modern adaptation of pen pal letters, students in the United States and India could share stories by email or blogs. A concrete example of this international communication was the Freinet movement in France during the 1950s and 1960s (Dunn, 2010). Celestin Freinet, a progressive teacher and school founder, believed that student-produced narratives were more meaningful and beneficial to students than textbooks and, as such, his students wrote articles for "newspapers" that were sent amongst other Freinet teachers throughout France and the colonies, such as Algeria, Senegal, and Sudan. Students wrote individual articles about their lives, recent experiences, and educational topics of interest. For example, one newspaper might include a story about a trip to the Eiffel Tower, the ruins of a local church, or a description of a gila monster. The teachers then led their classes in a group editorial process to revise the articles for publication, and students used their own printing press to print multiple copies of the newspaper to send through the country and the world. Indeed, Freinet's students were talking about the Algerian war

before the educational establishment was, and the student-generated narratives created a "sense of the connectedness of the human family across continents" (Dunn, 2010, p. 49).

Freinet's method would be the ideal model for an intercultural exchange between American and international students. For example, in elementary, English, and Social Studies classrooms, the students could discuss culture, language, and customs with their international pen pals. In Science or Math environments, students in other countries could collect data and solve problems together. In any circumstance, the exchange could extend to the whole school community beyond the individual foreign teachers' classrooms. A program called iEARN (International Education and Resource Network) adapts Freinet's model using modern technology like word processing, emailing, blogging, and Skype to connect students, materials, and ideas across borders. An exchange like iEARN would provide a concrete way for foreign teachers to integrate their personal experiences and stories into the curriculum, and it would allow students to learn more about the world around them, thus finally achieving the goal of bringing cultural ambassadors to U.S. urban schools.

Professional Development

In addition to extensive orientations and opportunities to share their culture, foreign teachers also need ongoing and relevant professional development. During the 2008-2009 school year, Glendale's foreign teachers attended a once-a-month professional development workshop at the district office. Attendance was mandatory, and teachers were supposed to receive stipends for attending, though Shrusty recalled that she had never received hers, even after numerous inquiries. Meeting topics, according to Glendale documents were: "Coping with new cultures and behaviors; Classroom Management;

Grades, Grades, Grades; Best Practices; New Teacher Celebration; Communicating with Parents; Assessing and Evaluating Student Performance; Journal Reflections; and Closing Out the School Year." The following year, foreign teachers' professional development was subsumed into the induction program required of all new teachers to the Glendale district.

This induction program began with a New Teacher Orientation, lasting one and a half days in late July. The Orientation program involved 60-minute concurrent sessions on classroom management, co-teaching strategies, resources in the library media center, and instructional technology, plus a two-hour session with content area specialists. The induction program also involved monthly meetings on topics similar to those listed above as part of the initial foreign teacher program. Although this induction program was a start, it was not nearly enough to provide the duration and type of support needed by international teachers. Further, it should not be assumed that foreign teachers need the same type of professional support as American teachers. Just as teachers are encouraged to differentiate instruction for students with varying needs, districts should differentiate induction for teachers with different needs.

My recommendation is based on research about the most effective type of professional development: a reformed approach that is longer in duration, requires collective participation, focuses on content areas, engages teachers with active learning, and maintains coherence with school goals and standards (AERA, 2005; Birman et al., 2000; Speck, 1996). Four goals would be: 1) Familiarize foreign teachers with American school structure, students, and federal, state, and local reforms; 2) Instruct foreign teachers in culturally relevant pedagogy; 3) Utilize the personal, cultural, and academic

skills of teachers; 4) Allow foreign teachers to collaborate and share best practices. In addition to the explicit instruction in educational history, pedagogy, and policies and practice-teaching that would begin in the 5-week Summer Institute discussed earlier, a new professional development program should also include in-school mentorship, professional learning communities, and co-teaching.

Mentors were one of existing support structures provided to all new teachers, including foreign teachers, in Glendale. However, the current mentoring program was not as effective as it needed to be. For example, Samina said she had a mentor who was a librarian, as opposed to a fellow English teacher, but when her mentor went on leave, she was not given a replacement. Mr. Scott recalled providing a mentor for a previous foreign teacher, but the relationship was not effective because the mentor got "caught up in her own world; they have their classes, their issues, and they do not have the time to really devote to that individual." Ms. Jefferson acknowledged the flaws in the current way the mentoring system was designed, in that the district "asked, encouraged, stressed" principals to provide a mentor, but that she "did not know what actually happens once they get there."

This "not knowing" is simply unacceptable. If a district thinks it is necessary to assign mentors, then they should take steps to ensure that mentoring actually happens. Under the guidance of the school principal or assistant principals, and supervised by district officials in charge of hiring and professional learning, a mentor should familiarize foreign teachers with school policies and procedures; provide daily support for working with diverse students; aid in developing curriculum goals, lessons, and assessments; and ease teachers' culture shock by assisting with daily living questions and concerns. A good

mentor would, in addition to these logistical duties, also "commit to the role of mentoring… accept the beginning [foreign] teacher… be skilled at providing instructional support… be effective in different interpersonal contexts… model continuous learning and… communicate hope and optimism" (Rowley, 1999, p. 20-22). Ideally, the mentor would currently teach or have taught the classes to which the foreign teacher is assigned. In order to avoid the problem of having no time for relationship building, as Mr. Scott noted in the quotation above, principals should schedule common planning time for the foreign teacher and her mentor. The participants in my study who shared planning with their departmental colleagues argued that this extra time together strengthened the relationship and improved their pedagogy. District officials can guarantee that foreign teachers and mentors who participate in this program will receive credit in the form of continuing education or professional learning units.

Mentoring should be supplemented with professional learning communities or critical friends groups (CFGs) (Ballock, 2009; DuFour, 2004). These communities, made up of American and foreign teachers, should be unique adaptations of CFGs that "make a commitment to meet together regularly to collaboratively inquire into teaching practice" (Ballock, 2009, p. 41). Building upon the unique voices and experiences of the teachers, and utilizing the key components of trust, commitment, action, and accountability inherent in CFGs, participants should nurture cultural similarities and differences. Each CFG should intensely investigate a shared and organically-generated topic of interest, such as interdisciplinary lessons, media literacy, or performance assessments, keeping in mind what the foreign teachers want to study. Using the experiences, voices, and expertise of each group member will allow ideas and practices to evolve over time

(Duckworth, 1997; Lieberman, 1998). As in the Summer Institute, foreign teachers could receive personalized attention with any issues they are experiencing and could use micro-teaching to practice new units and methodologies.

Finally, effective professional development should also include co-teaching. Each foreign teacher could be paired with one teacher from the same content area (potentially their mentor) and one teacher from a related subject, such as English-Social Studies and Math-Science. The pairs would collaboratively plan lessons that investigate innovative topics that span both content areas. Foreign teachers would give and receive peer evaluations, constructive criticism, and lesson modeling.

The desired results of all professional development activities, including the Summer Institute, mentoring, critical friends groups, and co-teaching, are to increase the presence of foreign teachers' voices in school affairs, improve methodological proficiency and cultural relevance for foreign teachers, encourage collaboration between current and new teachers, and utilize foreign teachers' talents and global perspectives. If these results are achieved, then the most important goal of foreign teacher recruitment—to improve the achievement of urban students—will be closer to fulfillment.

Partnerships with U.S. Universities

A mutually beneficial relationship should be developed between nearby universities and the districts in which foreign teachers are placed. As previously discussed, foreign teachers can participate in panels, workshops, and seminars to share their experiences, and universities can reciprocate by offering a variety of services to the district and the teachers. For example, foreign teachers should be able to enroll in extended education courses in their content area, educational studies, or a related area of

interest. University departments of education can offer in-service workshops for foreign teachers, in conjunction with their Summer Institute and other professional development, on culturally relevant pedagogy and other areas that the teachers deem necessary. In addition, faculty in education or international studies can conduct workshops with principals and other district administrators to share research-based strategies for intercultural communication. This would help administrators better understand the experiences and cultures of their new employees.

Looking Forward

Should some of these suggestions for research, policy, and practice be implemented, there exists the possibility that foreign teacher recruitment could be a positive way to bridge cultures, giving international teachers the opportunity to explore new lands and gain valuable professional experience and allowing U.S. urban students to learn about the world from cultural insiders. As it currently exists, however, foreign teacher recruitment is inequitable and ineffective for teachers, students, schools, and systems. Despite some missed opportunities for growth and development, the four teachers in this study have shown that some things, like a teacher's passion, determination, care, and resilience, truly do transcend borders.

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Appendix A: Methodology

This study utilized qualitative case study methodology. Specifically, it was a collective case study where "each case study is instrumental in learning about [the research topic] but there will be important coordination between the individual studies" (Stake, 1995, pp. 3-4). I conducted interviews and classroom observations with foreign teachers who were recruited by a third-party agency. To provide context for the teacher interviews and observations, I also conducted interviews with organizational officials, including principals, district administrators, recruitment agency officials, and three national representatives from the American Federation of Teachers (AFT).

According to the policies of the Institutional Review Board (IRB), I adhered to the process for informed consent and informed my participants of the purposes of the research and the guidelines for their participation. Each foreign teacher, district administrator, agency official, and agency were given pseudonyms to ensure confidentiality. As the primary researcher for the study, I was solely responsible for the data collection and analysis. Throughout the collection, analysis, and transcription phases, data were secured electronically and in hard copy.

Foreign Teacher Participants

Primary participants in this study were four foreign teachers in an urban public school system in a metropolitan area in the southeastern United States. That is, they were hired by the system after the system had already entered into a contract agreement with a third-party teacher placement agency. These participants were all Indian citizens who were in the United States on a J-1 international exchange visitor visa, given for one year and renewable for up to three years.

The participants were selected after I received a list of foreign teachers through an Open Records request with the district. Based on the list, I emailed principals whose schools employed foreign teachers, and if the principals agreed to allow me to conduct research in their schools, I then sent an initial letter of inquiry to their foreign teachers. Teachers, like principals, had the option of participating in the study, and from those interested, I purposefully selected a sample to represent the diversity of the foreign teacher population, in terms of subjects taught and years of experience. It was impossible to diversify the sample by home country and first language because the two agencies contracted with the district recruited all of their teachers from the same areas of India. The final sample consisted of one middle and three high school teachers, all female. English was not their first language, but they all attended English-medium schools in their youth. The age of the participants varied, but they all had at least two years of teaching experience in India. Three of the teachers were in their third year teaching in the United States, and one was in her first year. Each teacher was given a pseudonym to maintain anonymity. Because their Indian identities were such an important part of this research, and because they preferred to be called by their first names as they are in India, Indian pseudonyms were chosen.

Organizational Participants

I also interviewed key players in the recruitment process in order to analyze multiple perspectives on the research questions. The participants in this set of interviews held offices in varying locations and with varying levels of power in the process. I interviewed four principals of the foreign teachers' schools to compare teachers' and principals' perspectives. School officials and their schools were given pseudonyms. The

schools' pseudonyms, all names of famous African American leaders, were chosen because the schools educate 99% African American students.

Interviews were also conducted with two district-level administrators who were in charge of the hiring and orientation processes. First, questions were designed to investigate the district's stated purposes for recruitment, their measures of foreign teacher success, and other relevant information. Second, questions were designed to examine the types of material that foreign teachers are expected to learn during the orientation process. I compared the data from these interviews to foreign teachers' interpretations of the hiring and orientation processes. District administrators were given pseudonyms.

Finally, I interviewed representatives of related services, including the owner of the placement agency that hired the four teachers I studied. In this interview, I investigated the agency's recruitment procedures, fees, orientation, follow-up support for teachers, and overall purposes of recruitment. Notes from this interview were compared to teachers' stated experiences. Additional interviews were conducted with three representatives from the American Federation of Teachers, which had recently published a report on foreign teacher recruitment. The interviewees were all given pseudonyms. I had hoped to interview a representative of the union that predominated in the state and school district where I conducted my research. However, their staff declined to be interviewed.

Overall, it is my hope that the discussions benefited the participants as much as the researcher, by enabling the foreign teachers to share goals, struggles, successes, and questions with a fellow educator in a way that positively impacted their classroom practice. Teachers were given a $25 gift card to support their educational efforts,

according to the guidelines of the school system, but reciprocity was offered in other non-monetary ways, as well. For example, I shared lesson plan suggestions for the following year with one participant, and I helped another teacher learn more about her daughter's future middle school. I attempted reciprocity for the principals by offering my service as a graduate student from Emory who would be able to conduct tours of campus, speak with classes or student groups about college, or conduct professional development workshops for their teachers. Though the principals initially indicated they would be interested in all of the above, none pursued the opportunity.

According to the county's research guidelines, the district received a copy of the dissertation upon completion. Additionally, I met with members of the Human Resources department—those in charge of working with IRI to place foreign teachers—to share my findings, but was told that the teachers' reported problems were the responsibility of the agency, not the district. Though I had prepared a summarized report of my findings, these representatives said they did not need it.

Data Collection

Interviews. Qualitative interviews formed the bulk and basis of this research. As stipulated by Rubin and Rubin (2005), interviews were structured as extended conversations with a responsive partner. For teachers, four or five interviews (depending on participants' availability) were conducted over the course of one school semester. Interviews were in-depth and semi-structured and lasted 45-60 minutes. The sessions were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim shortly thereafter to maintain the data's integrity. Transcriptions were shared with the participants for their review and clarification.

Interview topics were different for each participant each time, though some discussion overlapped. The interviews were structured by a conversational guide (Rubin & Rubin, 2005) and allowed for spontaneous discovery while maintaining structure (Gillham, 2005). The participants themselves generated many topics on the spot, and if the issue was of a general nature, I posed similar questions to the other participants in follow-up interviews. All interview questions were related to and developed from the research questions. My interview guide is included in Appendix B.

Interviews with organization officials were conducted once with each participant, by phone or in person. All principal interviews were conducted on school grounds during or after the school day, and AFT interviews were conducted in the AFT offices in Washington, D.C. All interviews were conducted between February and May 2010. As with the foreign teacher interviews, the officials' interviews were recorded on a digital device and transcribed. Transcripts were shared with participants as a member check, and data were stored and secured electronically. Interview questions are included in Appendix C.

Classroom observations. Three formal classroom observations of each foreign teacher were conducted in the second half of the school year, depending on the teacher's schedule and availability. I observed one participant, a special education teacher, only twice due to the sensitive nature of her classroom environment and the unique needs of her students. The formal classroom observations were designed to collect data on the learning environment and teacher's culturally relevant pedagogy, or her use of multicultural methods, work with diverse learners, and multicultural competence, as defined by Ladson-Billings (1997), Gay (2000), and Irvine and Armento (2001).

On a predetermined day and time, I arrived in the teachers' classrooms. Observations were always announced, as unannounced visits may have intimidated and unnerved the study's potentially vulnerable populations. Participants had some idea of what it meant to teach for multicultural groups based on the previous interview and from their own teaching experience. Only one of the teachers introduced me to her students; the other students asked me personally who I was or came to know me over time. During the observation, I took fieldnotes and recorded descriptions of events that took place in the participant's classroom from the beginning of each period to the end. This record included descriptions of the classroom set-up and environment, teacher instructions, student responses, and verbal and non-verbal interactions (Merriam, 1988). I also completed a checklist and evidence guide that utilized a coding system to label behaviors common in culturally relevant pedagogy. I pilot tested the observation instrument in two classrooms (taught by teachers who were not part of the study) and compared my checklist results to that of a peer, who observed and utilized the instrument at the same time. Our similar results verified that the checklist, which was based on previously researched and observable behaviors published by Ladson-Billings (1997), Gay (2000), and Irvine and Armento (2001), was accurate and reliable. The checklist is included in Appendix D. I also collected any relevant teacher-produced documents, including lesson plans, handouts, or other materials, and materials from IRI, including a contract between Glendale and IRI that was public record.

At the end of the school day, I met with the teachers for a post-observation conference. During this time, the participant shared her impressions of the class period: what went well, what needed improvement, and most importantly, how did she feel she

worked with multicultural students using culturally relevant pedagogy? I then asked clarifying questions based on my observation notes and elicited responses from the participant.

The fieldnotes discussed above incorporated the "thick description" common in ethnography. According to Emerson et. al (1995), writing fieldnotes "is not so much a matter of passively copying down 'facts' about 'what happened… [but instead] involves active processes of interpretation and sense-making" (p. 8). These descriptions and interpretations were used to inform my data analysis.

Data Analysis

I followed the recommendations of Miles and Huberman (1994) and Rubin and Rubin (2005) when analyzing data. All steps led to thematic coding, the process by which raw data are "mined" and concepts are unearthed (Corbin & Strauss, 2007, p. 66).

All interviews were transcribed from their recordings, and, along with my fieldnotes and observation guides, I wrote memos based on my findings from all of these sources. I examined each transcript individually to determine a first level of codes, or labels used to identify important themes or concepts. My theoretical frameworks and my review of the literature informed this first level of codes. Additionally, I utilized open coding to reveal any new themes that may not have emerged in previous research. This was especially necessary for my research because so little had been previously published. My highlighted, coded, and notated transcripts were then used for a second round of coding.

During this second level of coding, I systematically compared codes within and across all data sources and subjects. I determined a final list of emergent themes based on

the patterns and commonalities between my interviews and observations. Throughout the coding process, I kept track of themes as they emerged and evolved in a researcher journal. The final codes are those presented in the chapters as headings and sub-headings. A chart showing the transition from first to second level codes is included in Appendix E.

Reliability and Validity

In order to ensure reliability, each participant engaged in member checks to verify the information in his or her interview transcriptions, observation guides, and any materials collected during the interview process (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Additionally, I kept a journal to act as a research trail; in it, I tracked changes in research questions, procedures, or coding. The pilot test of my observation guide also enhanced reliability.

I used member checks and personal reflection to aid internal validity, or the study's ability to replicate the reality of the situation being studied (Court, 2006). Internal validity was also addressed when I conducted multiple observations and interviews of the teachers and their classroom practice. Further, I compared multiple data sources, including interviews, observations, and documents (Merriam, 1988). For example, I triangulated data among foreign teachers, principals, and national interviews with data collected from observations and with data from documents collected during interviews or observations. Then, I compared perspectives within each data source. Data from foreign teacher interviews were compared to organizational officials' perspectives. I attempted to control for self-reporting bias through my interviews with several key players in the recruitment process. I also compared data between foreign teachers' observations and interviews, and between literature from foreign teacher orientations and foreign teachers'

descriptions of the orientations during their interviews. A complete list of how data sources were used to answer research questions can be found in Appendix F.

Limitations and Delimitations

Several limitations exist for this study. First, as with all case study research, is the issue of generalizability. As Irvine (2003) points out, teaching is essentially "someone teaching something to some student somewhere" (p. 48). Thus, the perspectives of my foreign teacher participants may be particular to this situated time and place and may not be applicable to another context. I attempted to control for this limitation by examining a variety of materials about foreign teachers in other contexts, such as Baltimore and Louisiana, to determine how common the experiences of my subjects were when compared to foreign teachers in other contexts. I also took extensive fieldnotes and included this rich, thick description in the dissertation so that the reader or future researchers can compare settings. The study may also be limited because the participants were all from one city in India; teachers coming from other cultures whose education systems are more similar to the United States may experience teaching in American classrooms differently.

Second, my own perspective may influence the study because of my personal beliefs about teachers and education. What I view as "good" teaching and "good" education has the potential to influence the way I interpreted my data. In particular, my understanding of culturally relevant pedagogy may limit the interpretations I made. However, as discussed in the next section on researcher's perspective, I attempted to control for this through journaling and member checks.

Finally, several of my participants, specifically the district officials and the representative of the recruitment agency, may have had a vested interest in sharing more of the positive aspects of foreign teacher recruitment, thus limiting the type of information I was able to gather. It was my hope that the goals of my study—to improve support for foreign teachers and to improve the education of their students—allowed all participants to fully and freely share their honest opinions without fear of reproach or repercussion. I believe I was able to gather especially candid information from the principals and the teachers themselves because they were able to see the daily experiences in schools, and they demonstrated this by sharing both positive and negative aspects to the recruitment process.

Researcher's Perspective

As a former teacher, my role as a classroom observer was an especially difficult position in which to find myself. Because I was socialized and invested in the lives of students and teachers in my previous positions, it was often excruciating to feel as though my research would be compromised if I became too involved in classroom dynamics, especially if I thought those dynamics perpetuated injustice. This appendix is my attempt to situate myself in my study, to share the ways my story may have influenced my research and the ways my research influenced my personal story.

The most significant dilemma I faced was when to become involved in the class. Did I stop the two boys from fighting? Did I participate in class discussions if a student said, "I wonder what our visitor thinks"? What if students were working in groups, and one group needed some extra assistance? What if a student caught me noticing her on her cell phone; did I give her a "teacher look" to get her to put it away, or look the other

way? (In the first two instances, I did; in the second two, I did not.) I wondered about my participation in every aspect of the classroom, even about something as seemingly minimal as providing a student with a pencil and paper when he did not have any. When I saw a student struggling with a math problem, and then witnessed a collaborative teacher instruct him in the wrong way to solve the problem, I debated whether or not to say something to the student or the teacher. Inevitably, the problem solved itself when the student approached me and asked, "Can you help me with this? I don't think I am doing it right, and I don't think he is either." Though I am no math teacher, I remembered that topic, showed him where he made his mistake, and walked him through the correct way to solve the problem. Then, the student seated in front of me "woke up" (she'd been "sleeping" the whole class), turned around, and asked if I could help her, too. I did. Later, I spoke with my participant about my uncertainty. As much as I did not want to jeopardize my research, I was even more concerned about intruding on her class and "stepping on her toes." She assuaged some of my fears when she said, "Please help them as much as you want. They need it all and I cannot be in all places at all times."

Far surpassing my desire to help students was my desire to help teachers, my participants. Several times I was asked, "Do you think I did a good job?" or "How does this compare to what you see in American teachers' classrooms?" Often, these questions were asked after a particularly difficult class, and the teachers said they were disappointed I had to witness a "bad day." Unfortunately, as presented in the body of this work, there were manifold challenges, resulting in many bad days. Teachers said they felt helpless, discouraged, or unsure of themselves. Their difficulties made me want to help them with lesson planning, classroom management, and more. But, if I provided a teacher

with additional materials, for example, would I truly be witnessing her lived experience as a teacher? Was I unduly influencing the results of my study if I discussed culturally relevant pedagogy too much, or if I shared some new classroom management techniques with her? During one observation, I met a curriculum specialist who was modeling a lesson in one of my participant's classrooms. She asked, "Are you here to help her?" I responded, "No, are you?" She was there to help, but only minimally, as she emphasized that "there are 16 other teachers I need to help, too."

Researcher Bias

As Ladson-Billings (1997) noted about her own groundbreaking research, it is difficult to separate one's own perspective from one's work. Citing Sirotnik (1997), she explains: "no inquiry is ever without initial values, beliefs, conceptions, and driving assumptions regarding the matter under investigation" (p. 241). Thus, though it is important to examine my beliefs as a researcher, my personal investment in education does not have to be considered a limitation.

I believe that culturally relevant pedagogy is a desirable goal for all teachers in all schools, especially multicultural, urban schools, as supported by the research discussed in the Theoretical Frameworks section. I value teachers, systems, and policies that support a progressive view of education and allow students to be empowered and work for a more socially just society. But I also believe that there is no one "correct" way to teach and no one simple solution to schools' problems today. I entered into the study with an open mind and the goal to improve the education system for the desired audience of this study, including foreign teachers, school districts, policymakers, teacher educators, and recruitment agencies. As Court (2006) noted, a researcher "must be willing to externalize

and critique her intuitive understandings and to write down and study these reflections throughout the course of a research project" (p. 1). Data triangulation, member checks, and my researcher journal served as the requisite externalization.

Additionally, I had personal experience both in the district I studied and with foreign teachers. My previous employment in the Glendale School District allowed me initial access and what made several principals feel comfortable with allowing me to research in their schools. Yet this familiarity may also have biased me toward one interpretation of the district's plans for foreign teachers because I had intimate knowledge of how the district interacted with its employees in the past. Further, when I was teaching in the district, I worked with an international teacher. Though we taught different subjects, I became her default mentor because she had no one else, though I, too, was a first year teacher. She had no transportation and, as she lived in close proximity to me, I drove her to and from school every day. This experience privileged me to firsthand accounts of what it was like to be a new international teacher. I felt strongly about the way I believed she was treated unfairly, and that impelled many of my research and interview questions.

Appendix B: Teacher Interview Guide

Outline of Interview 1

Part 1: Teaching Experience and Motivations

- Explain your post-secondary education in your home country.
- Have you ever traveled outside your home country before? Please explain.
- Have you ever attended a U.S. school as a student? Please explain.
- Have you ever taught in a U.S. and/or a foreign school? Please explain.
- Explain your classroom in your home country. How many students are in a typical class? How many classes a day do you teach? What is your classroom like?
- Describe the students you teach in your home country, including age, race, ethnicity, socio-economic status, and common student behaviors.
- What experience have you had working with students from cultures different than your own? Please explain.
- What have you previously learned (either academically or experientially) about how to teach students from cultures different than your own? Please explain. If you have not learned this, please write "not learned."
- What did you know about American schools before coming to the U.S.? Please explain what you knew and how you learned about it.
- What were your primary reasons for wanting to teach in the U.S.?

Part 2: Initial impression of U.S., school, and culture

- Tell me about your first few days in the U.S. Describe your recruitment agency orientation to me.
- Do you think the recruitment agency orientation was helpful? What parts were most helpful? What information would have been helpful to receive?
- What was orientation like at the school you were placed? Did you feel you had enough orientation?
- Tell me about your first day teaching in a U.S. school. What policies or procedures were new to you? What was the easiest part? What was the hardest part?
- What were your initial impressions of your students?
- What were your initial impressions of your colleagues?
- What were your initial impressions of the administration?
- How, if at all, have any of these initial impressions changed over time?
- Describe your daily routine. How is this routine similar or different from your routine in your home country. Is it easier or harder? Why?
- What did you know about American schools before this position? Have your experiences confirmed or conflicted with these assumptions?
- Do you have any lingering questions about the policies or procedures of the school? How will you go about getting these questions answered?
- Overall, how has your experience been? Please explain.
- Any remaining comments, questions, or concerns?

Outline of Interview 2

Part 1: Culture Shock/Adaptation

- How, if at all, were you prepared for living and working in a new culture?
- Did you learn anything about culture shock or adaptation before you arrived?
- Did you experience any culture shock? Please explain. What was most "shocking" or new to you?
- How did you deal with any culture shock you experienced? Who supported you in this process?

Part 2: Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

- In your teacher training program in your home country (if you attended one), what, if anything, did you learn about working with students of different cultures? Please explain.
- In your orientation with the recruitment agency or the district, what was discussed about working with students of different cultures?
- What is it like working with students of different cultures in an American classroom and school? Please explain.
- Can you give me an example of a time when you worked with a student of a different culture? What happened?
- Do you try to make your lessons appeal to students of all cultures? Why or why not? If so, how do you do this?
- Have you heard of the term "culturally relevant pedagogy?" If so, what does it mean to you?
- [Show definition of CRP] Do you think you meet these characteristics? If so, how?

Outline of Interview 3

Part 1: Culturally Relevant Pedagogy Follow-up

- Can you give me a specific example of a lesson you have taught here that asks students to connect the topic they are learning with their lives outside of school? What motivated you to teach the lesson in this way? How did students respond? How did you know they either were or were not learning?
- Do you think all students can succeed? Is there anything you see that impedes your students' success?
- Do you think it is important to get to know students at a personal level? Why or why not? If so, how do you do this?
- What have you learned from your students?
- What types of instructional strategies did you find worked best in your home country? What strategies work best here? How are they similar or different ?
- Do you ever talk to students about their home cultures? Do you talk to them about your culture? Why and how?

Part 2: Relationships with Others/Reflection

- How would you describe your relationship with other teachers? With administration? With other foreign teachers? With the recruitment agency? With your students?

- How have your relationships changed and/or developed since you first arrived here?
- What was the easiest thing about teaching in a U.S. school? Why do you think this was easy?
- What was the hardest thing about teaching in a U.S. school? Why was this the hardest thing? What did you do about it?
- What advice would you give to your U.S. students? Administrators?
- What advice would you give to foreign teachers before they arrived? After they arrived?
- Do you believe you met your goals for this experience? Why or why not?
- Will you try to return to teach in the U.S. again? Why or why not?

Appendix C: Organizational Interview Guide

- What is your role in the foreign teacher recruitment process?
- How did you become involved in this process?
- Explain the recruitment process from your perspective. What works well and what needs improvement?
- What are your primary reasons for hiring foreign teachers?
- What do you believe foreign teachers bring to U.S. classrooms? Are these qualities unique to foreign teachers?
- How many foreign teachers have you worked with and over what period?
- What common behaviors have you noticed when observing foreign teachers in their classrooms?
- What are the benefits of foreign teachers in your school/district?
- What are the challenges of foreign teachers in your school/disctrict?
- What do you do to train or orient foreign teachers to your school/district culture? What are the strengths and weaknesses of this approach? How could this process be improved?
- What continuing education or professional development opportunities are available for foreign teachers in your school/district? Do you believe these are sufficient? How could they be improved?
- Do you provide your foreign teachers with a mentor? If so, explain the mentor's role in helping the foreign teacher adjust to U.S. classroom life.
- How do you think your foreign teachers work with diverse students? How do you know this?
- Do you believe your foreign teachers excel at working with culturally diverse students? Explain why or why not.
- Have you read any research on foreign teachers in U.S. schools? If so, what did you learn?
- Is there anything you think would improve the foreign teacher recruitment process? If so, explain.
- What other comments or concerns do you have regarding your foreign teachers or the recruitment process?

Appendix D:
Culturally Relevant Pedagogy Observation Checklist

Culturally Relevant Belief or Behavior	Evidence/Teacher Behavior
_____ Teacher sees herself as an artist.*	
_____ Teacher sees herself as part of the community and encourages students to do the same. *	
_____ Teacher believes all students can succeed. *	
_____ Teacher helps students make connections between their community, national, and global identities. *	
_____ Teacher sees "pulling knowledge out" – like "mining." *	
_____ Teacher-student relationship is fluid and humanely equitable. *	
_____ Teacher demonstrates a connectedness with all students. *	
_____ Teacher encourages a "community of learners" where students learn collaboratively and teach each other.*	
_____ Knowledge is continuously recreated, recycled, and shared by teachers and students. *	
_____ Knowledge is viewed critically. *	
_____ Teacher is passionate about content. *	
_____ Teacher helps students develop necessary skills.*	
_____ Teacher sees excellence as a complex process that may involve some postulates but takes student diversity and individual differences into account. *	
_____ Teacher acknowledges the legitimacy of different cultural heritages as part of students and part of the curriculum. **	
_____ Teacher builds bridges of meaningfulness between home and school and between academic abstractions and lived sociocultural realities. **	
_____ Teacher uses are a variety of instructional strategies that are connected to different learning styles. **	
_____ Teacher teaches students to know and praise their own and others' cultural heritage. **	
_____ Teacher incorporates multicultural information, resources, and materials into routinely taught skills and subjects. **	
_____ Teacher structures assessment that is ongoing and occurs in a range of contexts, with a range of materials and techniques. ***	
_____ Teacher makes special accommodations for special learners. ***	

* Ladson-Billings (1997)
** Gay (2000)
*** Irvine & Armento (2001)

Appendix E: Coding Chart

	First Level Codes →	Second Level Codes →	Themes
1	(CK) Content knowledge	(S-CK) Strength: Content knowledge	**Strengths of Teachers (ST)**
2	(CD) Cultural diversity	(S-CD) Strength: Cultural diversity	
3	(TS) Teacher shortage	(S-TS) Strength: Teacher shortage	
4	(CM) Classroom management	(C-CM) Challenge: Classroom management	**Challenges for Teachers (CH)**
5	(CW) Co-workers	(C-CW) Challenge: Co-workers	
6	(COMM) Communication difficulties	(C-COMM) Challenge: Communication	
7	(CUL) Cultural differences	(C-CUL) Challenge: Culture	
8	(FD) First days	(C-FD) Challenge: First days	
9	(CS) Culture shock	(C-CS) Challenge: Culture shock	
10	(IS) Instructional strategies	(C-IS) Challenge: Instructional strategies	
11	(LS) Lack of support	(C-LS) Challenge: Lack of support	
12	(RES) Lack of resources	(C-RES) Challenge: Lack of resources	
13	(LOS) Life outside school	(C-LOS) Challenge: Life outside school	
14	(SA) Student academic problems	(C-SA) Challenge: Student academics	
15	(HOPE) Hopelessness	(C-HOPE) Challenge: Hopelessness	
16	(AF) American friends	(B-AA) Benefit: American allies	**Benefits for Teachers (BE)**
17	(FTC) Foreign teacher community	(B-FTC) Benefit: Foreign teacher community	
18	(AE) American experience	(B-AE) Benefit: American Experience	
19	(FS) Friends' stories about America	(PK-F) Prior knowledge: Friends	**Teachers' Prior Knowledge (PK)**
20	(OR) Orientation	(PK-O) Prior knowledge: Orientation	
21	(IN) Internet research	(PK-R) Prior knowledge: Research	
22	(BK) Book research	(PK-R) Prior knowledge: Research	
23	(AM) American media	(PK-M) Prior knowledge: media	

24	(S-ST) Similar students in America and India	(S-ST) Similarities: Students	**Similarities between U.S. and Indian Schools (SIM)**
25	(S-EC) Similar economics in America and India	(S-EC) Similarities: Economic disparities	
26	(D-F) Differences in student focus	(D-SB) Differences: Student behavior	**Differences between U.S. and Indian Schools (DIFF)**
27	(D-A) Differences in student apathy		
28	(D-R) Differences in student respect for teachers/others		
29	(D-SC) Differences in self-control		
30	(D-MA) Differences in school materials	(D-RES) Differences: Resources	
31	(D-MO) Differences in money for teachers		
32	(D-T) Differences in technology		
33	(D-L) Differences in amount of lecturing	(D-PS) Differences: Pedagogical strategies	
34	(D-HO) Differences in # of hands-on activities		
35	(D-GW) Differences in group work		
36	(D-CR) Differences in curriculum	(D-CURR) Differences: Curriculum & Assessment	
37	(D-ST) Differences in standardized testing		
38	(D-MC) Differences in multiple choice exams		
39	(D-WK) Differences in world knowledge	(D-CA) Differences: Cultural Awareness of American students	
40	(D-IK) Differences in knowledge about India		
41	(D-CH) Differences in # of second chances	(D-PO) Differences: Policies of school and state	
42	(D-CQ) Differences in # of consequences		
43	(D-SR) Differences in school reform		
44	(D-PS) Differences in parental support	(D-PR) Differences: Parental Relationships	
45	(D-PC) Differences in parental communication		
46	(D-PP) Differences in parental problems		
47	(I-C) Indian Constitution	(I-NP) Indian national policies on multiculturalism	**Multiculturalism in India (MC-I)**

48	(I-ST) Indian state laws		
49	(I-LP) Indian language policies		
50	(I-TE) Indian teacher education	(I-TE) Indian teacher education programs	
51	(P-TE) Participants' teacher education experiences		
52	(PE) Teachers' prior experience	(I-MCE) Prior multicultural experience	
53	(PE-C) Prior experience with cultural diversity		
54	(PE-L) Prior experience with linguistic diversity		
55	(PE-R) Prior experience with religious diversity		
56	(CRP-CONCEP) Conceptions of self and others	(CRP-ART) Teacher sees herself as an artist and teaching as an art.	**Teachers' Culturally Relevant Pedagogy (CRP)**
57		(CRP-COMM) Teacher sees herself as part of the community.	
58		(CRP-SUCC) Teacher believes all students can succeed.	
59		(CRP-ID) Teacher helps students make connections between community, national, and global identities.	
60		(CRP-MINE) Teacher sees teaching as pulling knowledge out- like mining.	
61	(CRP-SOC) Social Relations	(CRP-FLU) Teacher-student relationship is fluid.	
62		(CRP-CONN) Teacher demonstrates a connectedness with all students.	
63		(CRP-CL) Teacher encourages a community of learners.	
64		(CRP-COLL) Teacher encourages students to learn collaboratively.	
65	(CRP- KNOW) Conceptions of knowledge	(CRP-REC) Knowledge is continuously recreated, recycled, and shared.	
66		(CRP-CRIT)	

		Knowledge is viewed critically.	
67		(CRP-PASS) Teacher is passionate about content.	
68		(CRP-SKILL) Teacher helps students develop necessary skills.	
69		(CRP-EXC) Teacher sees excellence as a complex standard that takes student differences into account.	
70	(CRP-CULT) Conceptions and incorporations of cultures	(CRP-HER) Teacher acknowledges the legitimacy of different cultural heritages.	
71		(CRP-MEANING) Teacher builds bridges of meaningfulness between home and school and between academic abstractions and lived sociocultural realities.	
72		(CRP-STRAT) Teacher uses a variety of instructional strategies that are connected to different learning styles.	
73		(CRP-PRAISE) Teacher teaches students to know and praise their own and others' cultural heritage.	
74		(CRP-INFO) Teacher incorporates multicultural information, resources, and materials into routinely taught skills and subjects.	
75	(CRP-ASSESS) Variety of assessments	(CRP-ASSESS)Teacher structures assessment that is ongoing and occurs in a range of contexts, with a range of materials and techniques.	
76	(AD) American dream	(G-AD) Goals:	**Teachers' Goals (G-T)**

		American dream	
77	(PK) Pedagogical knowledge	(G-PK) Goals: New pedagogy	
78	(MM) More money	(G-MO) Goals: Money	
79	(COMP-T) Competition	(G-COMP-T) Goals: International competition for teachers	
80	(SS) Student success	(G-SS) Goals: Student success	
81	(GB) Globalization	(G-GB) Goals: Globalization	**Goals for Students (G-ST)**
82	(CA) Cultural ambassadors	(G-CA) Goals: Cultural ambassadors	
83	(WK) World knowledge	(G-WK) Goals: World knowledge	
84	(COMP-S) International competition for students	(G-COMP-S) Goals: International competition for students	
85	(P-MS) Program mission statements	(P-MS) Program mission statements	
86	(P-LNG) Program language	(P-LNG) Program language	
87	(CK) Content knowledge	(G-CK) Goals: Content knowledge	**Schools' Goals (G-SC)**
88	(HQ) Highly-qualified characteristics	(G-HQ) Goals: Highly-qualified hires	
89	(TSS) Teacher shortage solution	(G-TSS) Goals: Teacher shortage solution	**Systems' Goals (G-SYS)**
90	(TA) Teacher attrition	(G-TA) Goals: Teacher attrition solution	
91	(CD) Cultural diversity	(G-CD) Goals: Cultural diversity	
92	(P-V) Program visa requirements	(P-V) Program visa requirements	
93	(P-TIME) Program timelines	(P-TIME) Program timelines	
94	(P-RR) Program rules and regulations	(P-RR) Program rules and regulations	
95	(D$) Districts save money	(HP-M) Hidden purposes: money	**Hidden Purposes of Recruitment (HP)**
96	(A$) Agencies make money		
97	(AT-PRO) Attacks on teachers' knowledge/job	(HP-AT) Hidden purposes: Attacks on profession and unions	
98	(AT-UN) Attacks on unions		
99	(AT-TE) Attacks on teacher education		
100	(T-LK) Teachers' lack of knowledge about policies	(HP-CON) Hidden purposes: Control over teachers	

101	(DW) Dependent workers		
102	(PS) Political spectacle of recruitment	(PS) Political spectacle	
103	(EX) Teacher exploitation	(HC-EX) Hidden consequences: Exploitation	**Hidden Consequences of Recruitment (HC)**
104	(OS) Outsourcing of jobs	(HC-OS) Hidden consequences: Outsourcing	
105	(BD) "Brain drain" in host countries	(HC-BD) Hidden consequences: Brain drain	
106	(JS) Job satisfaction		
107	(PH) Personal history		
108	(ME) Mentoring		
109	(PT) Path to teaching		
110	(PD) Professional development		
111	(PHIL) Philosophy of teaching		
112	(TE) Travel experiences		
113	(FP) Future plans		
114	(DISS) Dissatisfaction		
115	(IP) Interview process		
116	(SUGG) Suggestions for improvement		

Appendix F: Data Analysis Table

Research Question	Using data from…	Analyzed through…
1. What are the **similarities and differences** between multicultural classrooms in the U.S. and foreign teachers' classrooms in their home country, and how do these influence foreign teachers' teaching **practice and relationships** with their students?	- Teacher interviews - Classroom observations - Documents	- Review of literature - Culturally relevant pedagogy framework - Open coding
2. How are foreign teachers prepared to work in U.S. classrooms and utilize **culturally relevant pedagogy** with their multicultural students?	- Teacher interviews - Principal interviews - District interview - Agency interview - Classroom observations - Documents	- Review of literature - Culturally relevant pedagogy framework - Open coding - Unsolicited student comments
3. How well do foreign teachers **achieve the stated goals** of foreign teacher recruitment programs?	- Teacher interviews - Principal interviews - District interview - Agency interview - Classroom observations - Documents	- Review of literature - Political spectacle framework - Open coding - Unsolicited student comments
4. What **other purposes** are served by this recruitment, and how do these purposes either **advance or undermine a progressive vision** of U.S. urban education?	- Teacher interviews - Agency interview - AFT interview - Classroom observations	- Review of literature - Political spectacle framework - Open coding