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Segmented Labour Markets in International Schools

Abstract

International schools and the concept of an international education are a relatively new phenomenon, but their growth is almost unparalleled by any other service industry. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the number of international schools has risen over the last forty years from less than one hundred to close to, if not exceeding, two thousand today. At the same time, organisations like the International Baccalaureate are seeing the curriculum programmes they offer, being taken up by national and international schools, as they seek to educate tomorrow's citizens in the face of ever increasing globalization.

However, the growth and increased accessibility of international schools has brought with it a more discerning customer. This study, with the use of segmentation theory, will show that international schools are fully aware of the 'wants and needs' of their 'customers' and deliberately recruit teachers who will satisfy certain predetermined criteria and, in doing so, ensure their own continued success. Using data drawn from a well established international schools' recruitment agency and supplemented by information drawn directly from a number of international schools, this study will show that the majority of international schools, whenever possible and finances allowing, look to employ Western trained, English speaking teachers who preferably have previous experience of the curricular being offered.

Segmented Labour Markets in International Schools

Chapter 1

Introduction

<u>Introduction</u>

This thesis is centred on the nature of the labour market for teachers in the fast developing international school sector. By analysing data provided by International Schools Services (ISS) over a ten year period, supplemented by information drawn directly from twenty one international schools and interviews with a number of School Heads, it is hoped to establish a prima facie case that international schools recruit teachers based on the premise that parents want English speaking, western trained teachers who will ultimately enhance their own child's chances of future academic success.

There are a number of reasons as to why an examination of the labour market for teachers within this area of education is important. Firstly, as data presented later will show, international curricula offered by organisations like the International Baccalaureate (IB) have shown a marked increase in recent years and yet it might be argued that a lack of diversity, in terms of teacher nationalities in international schools, might be in conflict with stated philosophies that aim to develop 'knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect' (www.ibo.org).

Secondly, international schools, as their name suggests, often cater to students drawn from a wide variety of international backgrounds and there are questions to be raised about whether the international nature of the student body is reflected in the teaching force. This may be considered an important issue if education is about developing a wider cultural and linguistic understanding of an increasingly globally integrated world. Hayden has suggested that 'even within the borders of a national system education is no longer straightforward. Where once the major purpose of education might have been to prepare young people for adult life in the relatively stable society of their childhood, it can no longer be assumed either that a young person will remain within that society or, indeed, that the society will be recognizable as having much in common with that of the child's parents or grandparents' (2006: 4).

However, the data analysed in this thesis also raises a further question as to how best to explain why there seems to be a bias in favour of the recruitment of English speaking, western trained teachers. Such an explanation, it is argued, will be related to the global positional competition (Brown, 2000; Lauder et al, 2006). But it is also possible that an unintended consequence of the development of international schools who offer 'blue chip' qualifications like the IB is the formation of a ruling global class or elite who are multilingual and multicultural. Lauder has suggested that 'we are witnessing the formation of a global ruling class. Clearly one condition for the creation of such a class is that the positional competition favours one group of students (that is international school students) over others' (2007: 446). Closely linked to these global elites is undoubtedly the use of language, more specifically the ability to function in English. Lauder suggests that English has 'become *the lingua franca* of globalization' (p.446) and it is estimated that by 2015 more than half the world's population will either be speaking or learning English. It may well be that what parents are seeking, and what international schools in turn respond to since the vast majority teach in English, is not so much a broad education, which may be reflected in the heterogeneity of the teaching force, but of obtaining credentials that will enable students, via top class universities, to enter the global labour market. In this case the nature of the international school workforce in terms of its international character may be less important than its ability to produce success in the credentials competition. The basic questions underlying the analysis of the labour market for international school teachers are therefore: what is the nature of the labour market for teachers in this sector and can we provide plausible candidate explanations as to why is it so? The primary focus of this thesis is on the first question but, given the conditions surrounding international education in relation to the global labour market, reasonable explanatory inferences can be drawn to explain these results.

The expansion of the international school sector and the demand for teachers

The October 2007 issue of *The International Educator* notes that:

> Having conversed with over 300 international school heads during
> August, I can report a surprising upswing in student enrolments.

With few exceptions our schools are growing in size, a fact that has

led to many plans for new school facilities and completion of those

already in the works. Most schools are also welcoming large

contingents of new teachers this year, with a larger number than

usual retaining their leadership team from last year (p.1).

Although international schools and the concept of international education have been in existence for close to four decades, it could be argued that they are still in many respects in their infancy and are seeking their own collective identity. However, as they continue to develop and grow both in numbers and in such areas as curriculum development, aspects like the role of the teacher will become increasingly scrutinised. Within this study it will be argued that despite the fact that international schools are found in almost every country in the world, and that their numbers continue to grow, schools actively recruit teachers based on nationality, prior knowledge of certain curricula and the ability to teach in English. Furthermore, it will be demonstrated that this recruitment is based on customer (parent) preferences although in many international schools the parents are drawn from a variety of cultural, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. This study will also show that not only do schools differentiate when recruiting but they also discriminate in terms of the salary and additional benefits offered, based upon where the teacher is recruited from. The data patterns in this thesis are analysed through the lens of segmented labour market theory in order to see to what extent it provides a helpful description of the processes of teacher recruitment.

The development of segmented labour market theory originated with the studies conducted by Doeringer and Piore (1971) although Becker (1971), viewing labour markets from a neoclassical perspective, had also noted the phenomena of labour market segmentation. Segmentation theory was initially advanced to address issues that were present in parts of the American manufacturing industry but has been further developed over the last thirty years and is now often used to define and identify customer potential, which, as we shall see, becomes significant in this thesis. As far as this author is aware it is the first time it has ever been applied to the 'industry' of international education.

The study has been divided into six chapters. It starts with a review of the literature surrounding international schools and international education. Although, as will be shown, both concepts are relatively new, the review offers only a snapshot and some critical reflection upon the ever-increasing literature on the subject. However, if we are to address the question of labour market segmentation theory (LMST) for the international school sector, then it is important to develop an operational definition as to what constitutes this sector – an issue that has been the subject of considerable debate. This is followed in chapter three by an exposition of segmentation theory and its role within globalisation. It will be argued that there is a plausible link between segmented labour markets and the role of international education in the development of credentials as positional goods within an increasingly global labour market. And it is this link which helps to explain the nature of segmentation in the international education labour market. Hence, this chapter will also explore the mechanisms by which teacher recruitment can be related to the formation of internal labour markets.

This is followed by a discussion of the method and methodology used throughout the study. Chapter four highlights the techniques used and some of the problems that have been encountered in conducting research on this scale. It also builds upon the method and methodology used in the original smaller study that was published in the *Journal for Research in International Education* in 2003.

The data is then presented, analysed and discussed at length. The study concludes with a reflection on the data, highlights some of the limitations of the study and suggests avenues for future research.

Chapter 2

International Schools and
International Education

International Schools and International Education

The history of our planet has been likened to a twenty-four hour clock, with earliest man arriving at approximately five minutes to midnight. If this same time scale were to be used to represent the history of formal school-based education, then the concept of international schools and international education can be said to have arrived with the first striking of the bells for midnight, but this has not been accompanied by a general awareness of the nature and significance of this new sector in education. Certainly, one area that seems to have gone almost unnoticed, in terms of research, but has a direct bearing on this thesis, is that of the 'customers' (parents) who for whatever reason have decided to enrol their children in an international school. The role and tastes of this group will assume increased significance when labour market segmentation theory is considered later in this paper, but the following section offers a short review of the current literature regarding parents in international schools. This is followed by a closer look at some of the literature surrounding international schools.

Parents in international schools

Hayden argues that 'one difficulty with the notion of parents as customers is that the concept of customer brings with it an associated implication of choice, whereas not all parents of children attending international schools have choice in any real sense' (2006: 31). Given the rapid expansion of international schools throughout all regions of the world, it might be argued that Hayden's sentiments may well be restricted to a small number of parents. Nevertheless Hayden goes on to suggest that the

> parents of children attending an international school are clearly an important
> group of stakeholders […but…] the roles they play, however, their degree of
> influence in the school, the extent of the choice they have in relation to the school
> their children attend, and the factors central to their exercising of that choice all
> vary according to the complex pattern of events that brought them to the point

where an international school education was a likelihood for their child. (2006: 21).

With the majority of international schools being private fee-paying institutions it seems almost certain that the parent body in the majority of these schools will be dominated by well-educated professionals who will either pay the school fees themselves or have them paid by the organisation they work for as part of their 'overseas' package. Research by MacDonald (2006) reinforces the notion that international schools cater to a certain 'elite' by showing that the average international school fee is between US$6429 and US$10,451 per annum, with the highest recorded being US$54,264, which is in excess of the fees charged by Eton, the most prestigious of British public schools.

Nevertheless, despite the continued debate on what constitutes an international school, what is generally agreed is that their development is a direct result of the 'steady growth in global mobility and increasingly sophisticated communication systems'. It is also seen as a 'response to a perceived need on the part of the displaced employees of multinational organisations, diplomats and aid workers' (Hayden and Thompson 1998: 551). Matthews takes this one stage further by stating: 'Post- war growth in international trade and multinationals, expatriate business, diplomatic, military and missionaries has seen a more transient foreign population' which has resulted in a 'demand for over 1000 schools which can describe themselves in some sense as "international"' (1998: 4). Jonietz reinforces these points by suggesting the growth of international schools since World War II is a direct result of expanding commercial demands, but more importantly points out that there has been a significant increase in the 'number of students living outside their home nations' (1992: 3).

What are parents actually looking for in an international school? MacKenzie et al. (2001) suggest that the overriding factor that parents consider when choosing a school is the chance for their children to study in English, 'the language of the future'. One non-native English-

speaking parent whose children attended an international school suggested that it 'will provide (my children) with wonderful opportunities later on in life' (both in Hayden 2006: 33). These sentiments are reinforced by Cambridge who suggests that the globalization of international education, especially with regard to international qualifications, allows access for 'host country clientele who have aspirations towards upward social mobility in a global context' (2002: 106). These findings are further supported by Deveney (2000), Murphy (2001) and MacKenzie (2003) through their research in Asia, the Middle East and South America. Their findings consistently showed that parents placed the highest priority on the chance to be educated in English, as it was felt this would allow greater opportunities later in life. Although other factors featured, such as access to international programmes like the International Baccalaureate, or gaining prestige in the local community, Gould (1999, cited in Hayden 2006: 35) suggests the demand for an education in English is closely linked to factors relating to globalisation including:

- The maintenance of national and ethnic cultural identity;
- The development of multiple or alternative identities;
- Education for personal survival in relation to the economic situation of developing countries;
- Global employment structures, and job opportunities in a global economy;
- The global mobility of highly skilled personnel;
- Education as the cultural capital investment of a global elite.

However, while parents clearly make assumptions about what international schools represent, the discussion over how they are to be understood or defined has remained open.

International schools

Garton suggests that 'although there is still no widely agreed definition of "international schools", there are a number of *de facto* assumptions that make it possible to use the term meaningfully for discussion purposes' (2002: 145). Indeed a number of researchers have

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taken these *de facto* assumptions one stage further and have carried out and published 'meaningful' research into international schools. However, *de facto* may mean arbitrary and in this literature review I shall provide an account of international schools which will enable an operationalisation of such schools for the purposes of this research.

In order to see why the question of how to understand international schools is complex, some history is helpful.

According to Hayden and Thompson, the first international schools were founded in Switzerland and Japan just over 80 years ago, in 1924, and were the starting point for the development of 'international schools and international education as we recognize them today' (2000: 48). Sylvester (2002) takes issue with this statement and suggests that the notion of 'international' schools might have been in existence longer than Hayden and Thompson suggest, starting in what he describes as the 'first period of globalization' from the mid nineteenth century until the late 1920s. He goes on to suggest that until recently this period of history has 'been lost to any serious consideration by researchers in international education' (2002: 3). This point is supported by Brickman (1962) who states that the International College, located at Spring Grove, London opened in 1866 and operated for 23 years before the premises upon which it operated were sold to form the Borough Road Teacher Training College. Stewart (1972, cited in Sylvester 2007: 12) asserts that the Spring Grove College was 'the singular success in international education in the nineteenth century', and furthermore that between 1855 and 1862 there were three proposals for the establishment of an international school system in Europe. Although it seems these proposals failed to bear material results, there is evidence to suggest that there were at least 33 'international' schools in existence prior to 1924, some of which include:

St Andrew's Scots School	Argentina	Founded in 1835
The American College of Sofia	Bulgaria	Founded in 1860

Pierce College	Greece	Founded in 1875
Brillantmont International College	Switzerland	Founded in 1882
St George's College	Argentina	Founded in 1898
Kodaikanal International School	India	Founded in 1901
American School in Japan	Japan	Founded in 1902
Regional International School	Holland	Founded in 1905
International School of the Sacred Heart	Japan	Founded in 1908
Seoul Foreign School	Korea	Founded in 1912
International School Manila	Philippines	Founded in 1920
Marymount School	France	Founded in 1923

(Source: *The ISS Directory of International Schools*, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006 editions)

Sylvester cites at least two more examples of schools that were opened prior to 1924 with aspirations of being 'international'. The first is the 'international experimental school in Germany known as the Odenwald School' opened in 1910 by Paul Geheeb (2007: 16). The aim of the school was to educate 'cultured, social human beings' and at least 20 per cent of the pupils were drawn from outside Germany. Unfortunately the school's philosophy clashed with the rising Nazi ideology in Germany at that time and Geheeb was forced to flee to Switzerland. Nevertheless, it seems that Geheeb stayed true to his philosophy by establishing the Ecole d'Humanité in Switzerland in 1937, where nationality was treated as 'incidental and not essential' (2007: 16). Secondly, also in 1910, the International School of Peace was established in Boston by Edwin Ginn. Its mission statement was the need to 'educate the peoples of all nations to a full knowledge of the waste and destruction of war and of preparation for war, its evil effects on present social conditions and the well-being of future

generations and promote international justice and the brotherhood of man' (Scott 1912: 380 quoted in Sylvester 2007: 16).

Although the starting point of international schools might be open to question and will undoubtedly be the focus of further discussion, one fact is certain; their growth over the last 40 to 50 years is unparalleled by any other aspect of educational development be it on a national or international scale. Hayden and Thompson suggest that, over a period of three decades, the number of international schools grew from approximately 50 in 1964 to 1000 by 1995 (2000: 2). Canterford (2003) estimated that if the present rate of growth was to continue, and all indicators seem to suggest there has not been any abatement in the opening of international schools, then by 2010 there could be as many as 2000 international schools, which would equate to approximately eight international schools for every country in the world.

It will be apparent that this history leads to a number of ways of understanding the nature of international schools. Clearly, initially, they were seen as a force for understanding between pupils and ultimately nations but this is a very general philosophy and allows for differences in matters such as aims, curriculum, pedagogy and culture. Much of the debate has been about these differences but it is also the case that, as the international school system has expanded and become more integrated into economic globalisation (Lauder 2006), the focus has moved more to questions of the degree to which these schools are oriented towards markets and accreditation. Accreditation has assumed an increasingly important role in the development of international schools because, as more parents seek an education for their children in fee-paying international schools, accreditation has gained a dual function. On the one hand, those schools that are accredited can be seen as meeting global standards, while on the other, when combined with exam results, accreditation can be seen as a form of market signal to parents.

In what follows, the debate over the definition of international schools will be reconstructed under the following broad headings: (1) varieties of international schools and the students attending them including questions of philosophy and culture, and (2) globalisation, the market, curriculum and accreditation.

Varieties of international schools and the students attending them;

Hayden and Thompson argue that 'while one cannot state with any certainty exactly how many schools exist, or what precisely their characteristics might be, what can be asserted with confidence is that the body of institutions which would describe themselves as international schools is extremely diverse' (2000: 48). Skelton has suggested that 'following Hayden and Thompson's lead almost everyone has stopped trying to define an 'international school' (2002: 40). But why has it proved to be so difficult? Given, that most educational systems are based around national schools that lack a clear definition and can take a wide variety of formats, is it any surprise that this 'new' concept of international schools has found it so difficult to find a definitive definition?

Hayden suggests that another possible reason for the confusion associated with defining an international school is 'the fact that no one organization internationally can grant the right to use of the term "international school" in a school's title' (2007: 10). She goes on to suggest that 'schools describe themselves as international schools for a variety of reasons including the nature of the student population and of the curriculum offered, marketing and competition with other schools in the area, and the school's overall ethos or mission' (2007: 10).

Broadly speaking we can categorise the debate over the nature of international schools into three camps. The first sees international schools as comprising students from different nationalities. Leach (1969) is often credited with the first serious attempt at defining international schools. With research in the field of international schools and international

education still very much in its infancy, it seems likely he based much of his findings on his own experiences of working at the International School Geneva. Initially, Leach suggested that 'it would appear to be common practice in a number of places to regard an international school as one serving or being composed of students from several nationalities' (1969: 7). Later, however, he actually rejected his own definition because he believed that any number of schools could fit into this criterion and yet not claim to be 'international' in any regard. Instead he introduced four distinct categories of international school that ranged from the 'true' international school, which offered, in more than one language, a 'true' international education leading to international qualification(s), to a multinational student body, through to 'overseas' schools, which were considered to be nothing more than national schools displaced to a foreign location. Terwilliger expands upon Leach's idea and suggests that for a school to be called 'international' it must possess an enrolment of students who are not citizens of the country in which the school is located, a multinational board of directors, multinational teachers, provision for teaching and studying in three languages, including English and the language of the host country, and a hybrid curriculum that reflects the instructional practices of many national systems (Terwilliger 1972).

Stobart (1989, cited in Hayden and Thompson 1995) takes up this point with respect to the nature and experience of international students, suggesting that the concept of 'being international' is directly related to the level of intensity of an individual's experience with living in an international setting and can be demonstrated by a series of concentric rings. The outermost ring represents those people who have a 'general awareness' of different places, cultures and nationalities through their own limited experiences, schooling or the media. The innermost ring, or international core, represents those people who 'make a more permanent move to another country for extended periods of time, being exposed to the culture, language and people in a way which engenders the ability to judge and understand others by their standards rather than their own' (p. 327).

Belle-Isle (1986) rejects Leach's categorisation of overseas schools on the grounds that despite their names and locations, they are still closely linked to their own national systems through the curriculum and programmes offered. Belle-Isle goes onto argue that 'a school cannot claim the status of an international institution simply because 70 or 80% of its clientele represent a variety of nationalities, races or cultures'. However, this argument is itself contentious. For example, as we shall see, when considering the International Baccalaureate (IB), it not only has a focus on the international despite its origins in Britain, but the IB Diploma is also seen as a key qualification globally.

Millican (2000) highlights the many differences between international schools by saying that international schools are very diverse in terms of size, curricula, examinations, facilities, entrance requirements, philosophies and mission statements, teaching staff, the remuneration packages and location. However, Millican's argument has some resonance with Belle-Isle, not with respect of nationalities but in relation to western culture. He argues that whatever the definition, be it by curriculum, philosophy or a combination of factors, 'to many of those seeking to be educated in such schools, "international" in fact means "western-orientated"' (1986: 36). Given, that in recent decades at least, economic globalisation has been led by the United States, and English is seen as the lingua franca of globalisation, such a claim should not be discounted.

Ponisch (1987) made what is probably the most ambitious attempt at overcoming these difficulties by presenting eleven different classifications of international schools. These are as follows:

i)   Schools within national systems which offer the International Baccalaureate (IB), for example, many US high schools;

ii)   Schools within national systems which offer the IB and actively encourage international students, for example Sevenoaks School, Kent, England;

iii)   National schools abroad, for example, US military schools;

iv)   Independent overseas schools aligned to a particular national system, for example, the American School of London;

v)   Company schools, established for the expatriate employees of particular companies, for example, schools operated by the multinational oil company, Shell;

vi)   International schools which combine the IB with a national curriculum, for example, Frankfurt International School;

vii)   Multinational schools with admission restricted to particular nationalities, for example, the EEC schools;

viii)   Bi- and tri-lingual schools, for example, JFK Schule;

ix)   Schools serving a voluntary mobile student body, for example, the United World Colleges;

x)   Schools which evolved from one of the above types into a 'true' international school, for example, Vienna International School; and

xi)   Schools founded as 'true' international schools, for example, Geneva International School.

There is little doubt that Ponisch's list is comprehensive, but the problem is that for many it was too comprehensive. Without too much difficulty it could be argued that nearly any school could, should it wish, qualify as being 'international' and further it glosses over some of the key issues raised above. As a result, a number of authors, including Black, Harvey, Hayden and Thompson, 'fine tuned' this list down to four categories. These are:

i)   Internationally-minded private schools seeking prestige and income by attracting foreign students;

ii)   overseas national schools providing a national curriculum for expatriates;

iii)   the European schools, established by and for the various institutions of the EEC; and

iv)   'true' international schools.

(Source: Millican 2000: 9)

However, as it stands this debate can be seen to have been separated from the particular factors that have shaped economic and cultural globalisation. The question most relevant to this thesis is whether international schools are indeed being redefined by globalisation and market forces and, in particular, in relation to their credentials and forms of accreditation.

Globalisation, the market and accreditation

It is generally agreed that international school development is a direct result of the 'steady growth in global mobility and increasingly sophisticated communication systems'. It is also seen as a 'response to a perceived need on the part of the displaced employees of multinational organisations, diplomats and aid workers' (Hayden and Thompson 1998: 551).

However, ten years earlier, Matthews was still considering the possibility that some international schools would be driven by the commitment to a philosophy or an ideology rather than the pragmatics of the market. Matthews made an ambitious attempt to reclassify international schools by approaching the subject from a different perspective. Rather than trying to provide an exhaustive list of criteria, he concentrated on classifying schools by their 'drive' and suggested that schools would be either ideologically- or market-driven. Ideologically-driven schools would have been 'founded for the express purpose of in some way furthering international understanding and cooperation' and market- driven schools would have 'founded because of some perceived needs of a particular expatriate community' (1988: 24). He further suggests that most research on international schools, until that point, had tended to concentrate on ideologically-driven schools as they 'represent the purest forms of realisation of the concept of international education' (1988: 24).

Although Hayden and Thompson recognise Matthews' distinctions, they warn that it might be 'unrealistic to separate schools into two discreet categories when many appear to encompass both' (1998: 553), a point which will be picked up shortly. More recently, Hayden has

suggested that 'the majority of international schools, meanwhile, would be likely to fall somewhere in between the two extremes, demonstrating in different proportions according to their mission statement and context the influence of both ends of the spectrum' (2007: 17). As an alternative, Hayden and Thompson suggest that schools could be classified by their 'focus' and those schools will be either ideologically or pragmatically focused. Ideologically-focused schools would in essence emphasise the tolerance of all different cultures, as well as teaching students to consider issues from more than one perspective, whereas pragmatically-focused schools would offer a curriculum designed to be international, which would in turn lead to an examination allowing university entrance in a number of countries. Indeed, it could be argued that economic and cultural globalisation can allow the possibility of both an internationally-oriented curriculum *and* qualifications that address parents' concerns about the nature of global positional competition. This point will be discussed below.

In this context, a recent development has been a move, often instigated by the schools themselves, to find some kind of common consensus which, it can be argued, directly relates to questions of benchmarking quality in relation to globalisation. For most international schools this equates to accreditation to one or more of the internationally recognised associations such as the Council of International Schools (CIS) or the Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC). Membership of these organisations allows schools to promote a number of important international 'selling points' that include 'excellence in all stages and aspects of school-based education' and an assurance that the school provides 'a quality education programme for students based upon a clearly-defined philosophy and objectives that are appropriate for the school's unique population' (Source: COIS 2008). Murphy (1998) has suggested that the process of accreditation is becoming increasingly important to parents by stating 'that more and more peripatetic parents are becoming familiar with the process of accreditation and are beginning to feel that placing their children in an unexamined school is a risk they do not wish to take'. Cambridge suggests that with parents exercising more choice when selecting a school there will inevitably be a 'shift in the institutional culture-ideology of schools away from exclusively pedagogical issues towards the espousal of market-oriented

values' (2002: 161). Indeed he goes further by stating that 'the globalizing of international education is influenced by and contributes to the global diffusion of the values of free market capitalism' (2002: 160). Cambridge argues that 'international education serves a market that requires the global certification of educational qualifications' (p. 160); a point continually reinforced by Lauder and Brown, among others. Sklair (2001) takes these sentiments one stage further and suggests that, in a wider context, globalisation has turned most 'spheres of social life into business, by making social institutions – such as schools, universities, prisons, hospitals, welfare systems – more business-like.

Such is the growth of international schools that MacDonald has estimated that the total tuition revenues collected by these schools worldwide could be in excess of US$5.3 billion per annum (2006: 198). However, despite this unprecedented growth, in the time it has taken to conduct this research and put the findings on paper the world has seen a dramatic change in fortunes. The global recession that started in the middle of 2008 has and will continue to have far-reaching consequences on nations and the commercial enterprises situated within them. The effects this will ultimately have on international schools are as yet unknown but it seems unlikely that the international school system will escape unscathed in either the number of schools or the number of pupils who attend them.

However, Cambridge's point outlined above links to one made earlier by Hayden and Thompson (1998) in that, while the credentials that international schools offer may be significant in the positional competition for credentials, these are intimately tied to the type of curriculum offered. Gellar (1981) suggested that 'the concept of international education demands a curriculum which is both concrete and specific, aimed at giving the students the skills that he/she needs to achieve the goal that they have chosen and broad enough to include subjects that enable them to see the world from a much wider perspective than is generally required in national systems' (quoted in Thompson 1998: 277). Perhaps the most widely recognised attempt by any organisation to create a curriculum which is both 'concrete and specific', and at the same time encourages students to explore internationality is that provided by the International Baccalaureate Organisation (IBO). The IBO offers three different

'packages'; the Primary Years Programme (PYP), the Middle Years Programme (MYP) and the Diploma Programme (DP). In reflecting upon the conception of the IB, Peterson wrote: 'We sought not to produce a generation of rootless "world citizens" but one of Americans, English, French, Germans, Mexicans, Russians and others who understood each other better, sought to cooperate with each other and had friends across frontiers' (quoted in Wilkinson 1987: 228).

There seems to be a coincidence or alignment between an international curriculum like the IB and its form of certification which is clearly seen as desirable in the global market place. Nevertheless, it is worth nothing that for the May 2006 diploma examinations, 65 per cent of the 53,540 candidates were from state institutions and, in October 2006, 52 per cent of the 1888 IB schools in 123 countries were state schools and received no tuition fees (Hill 2007: 32). More recent figures show that in September 2007, 26.3 per cent of the 2563 schools that now offer one or more of the IB programmes are found in North America, the majority of which are state schools. (Source: www.ibo.org). Given the rapid growth in the number of schools offering one, two or all three of the IBO programmes over the last decade, and the international recognition these programmes are now receiving, it could be suggested that many schools, particularly state schools, see the IB as an opportunity to offer an international gold- standard credential. Furthermore, in offering these programmes, arguably these schools are also looking to attract a different kind of 'customer', i.e., professional middle-class parents and students. These are points that will be considered in a wider context later in this thesis.

It is clear that, for many working within the field of education and educational research and from this discussion, an international education is based on a philosophy of tolerance and understanding. However, it will be contended here, through analysing the nationalities of teachers working in international schools, that for many parents an 'international education' is based on their children having access to an English-medium education taught by English-speaking teachers who will help pave the way to English-speaking universities, and that international tolerance and understanding are nothing more than positive by-products. In

other words, as well as having to focus on the aims of education, international schools are also deeply implicated in the global positional competition for credentials.

Chapter 3

Segmented Labour Markets for Teachers in International Education

Segmented labour markets and education within a global society

This chapter outlines a theory of labour market segmentation (LMS) with respect to international schools within the context of key elements of globalisation. It will be argued that in order to understand LMS with respect to international schools we need to situate these schools within the context of a global positional competition for credentials. I begin by providing some background to the question of globalisation.

Friedman has noted that globalisation has undergone three distinct phases. The first was from 1492, a date he picks because it coincides with the year Columbus set sail 'opening trade between the Old World and the New World' (2006: 9), until around 1800. During this time Friedman advocates that that world 'shrank', in terms of accessibility from 'a size large to a size medium'. This was followed by the second phase, which ran from 1800 until 2000, during which the world was reduced from a 'size medium to a size small' (2006: 9). The final phase of globalisation has been happening since 2000 when the world was reduced to a 'size tiny' (2006: 9). Friedman suggests that the first stage of globalisation was centred on countries globalising, the second stage was centred on companies globalising and the third stage and 'the force that gives it its unique character – is the newfound power for individuals to collaborate and compete globally' (2006: 10). In this respect this thesis can be seen as related to this latter phase because, as some labour markets have opened up to global competition, so the credentials that are required for access to these markets have assumed greater significance. As a result the competition between individuals and groups for advantage is increasingly focusing on education. This may not be exactly the new found power that Friedman, a fan of neo-liberal forms of globalisation, had in mind but his account does point to a new phenomenon.

The focus on globalisation in this thesis therefore centres on the creation of global labour markets and the credentials required by students to compete in them. In particular, this thesis

will focus on a labour market for what Reich has called symbolic analysts: highly skilled workers that make a living manipulating various forms of symbol systems. He has identified three different but related skills that symbolic analysts have:

> First are the problem solving skills required to put things together in unique ways…Next are the skills required to help customers understand their needs and how those needs can be met...Third are the skills needed to link problem-solvers and problem-identifiers…Rather than controlling organizations, founding businesses or inventing things, such people are continuously engaged in managing ideas. They play the role of strategic broker.
>
> (1991: 84-85)

While there has been criticism of Reich's account of globalisation and his particular typology of symbolic analysts, he was the first to note how the global labour market was opening up to those who were well qualified. Since then the research by Brown et al (2008), has clearly shown how, from the perspective of multinational companies, there is indeed a global labour market for highly skilled workers.

However, the opening up of labour markets to prospective entrants from many corners of the globe has raised the question of the links between culture, power and the economy in the form of the connections between education and the labour market.

The relationship between economic globalisation and international schools

Lauder has suggested that one of the features of globalisation is that multinational corporations are generating international labour markets (2007: 442).These labour markets

are in turn generating a need for internationally recognised qualifications. This point is reinforced by Brown who suggests that despite the 'competition for credentials' being organised predominately at the local or national level, there is 'some evidence of an internationalisation of higher education and the prospects of social elites opting to study for an International Baccalaureate rather than 'national' certificates' (2000: 634). Lauder has suggested that within the global labour markets 'the best students are attracted to the universities with the highest reputations that in turn attract the best academics because they can pay for them' (2007: 444). Hence it is important that international school students have access through their curricula to credentials that will gain them entry to the elite universities, which in turn opens the door to the international labour market for the well qualified.

However, it is not only the credentials that are of significance but also the question of language. To date the lingua franca of economic globalisation has been English. Further, it has been well documented that the ability to speak and write relatively fluently in English has become a form of cultural capital for non English speakers, creating in turn new forms of educational inequality based on language (Pak Sang-Lai & Byram, 2006). While there are international schools whose teaching is based on a range of languages, the majority use English as the common medium. This point is reinforced in Table 1 which shows the percentage of schools offering the IB diploma in English, Spanish and French.

Table 1: Percentage of schools following the diploma programme by working language

Language	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
English	86.72%	87.16%	87.52%	88.06%	88.35%
Spanish	11.63%	11.34%	11.11%	10.69%	10.45%
French	1.65%	1.50%	1.37%	1.25%	1.20%

(Source: www.ibo.org)

In this account, we could see international schools as one factor in the creation of a credentials ladder that allows those with the funds and cultural resources to access elite higher education institutions. In turn, the connection between education as necessary for the contemporary global economy and a hierarchy of higher education institutions is important. There is a working out in the global context of what Grubb and Lazerson (2006) call the 'education gospel': that is, the vocationalisation of education has meant that universities are now ranked in league tables in which going to the appropriate highly ranked university is crucial to students' chances in the labour market (Brown et al, 2008).

It should be noted that Strathdee (2008) has criticised this view, or at least argued that it requires qualification, in that it is not necessarily universities that are reputation holders but departments within universities. This is clearly an important point in that access to global labour markets may be segmented according to the reputation of departments and the social capital they have with corporations. However, this point qualifies the position taken by Brown and Lauder, rather than refuting it.

One test of the Brown-Lauder thesis would be whether parents of students in international schools would seek schools that retained the kinds of teachers they thought best able to promote the credentials, in English, that would give their children the chance to enter elite universities. The way to undertake such a test would be to see whether the labour market for international schools is segmented in favour of the kinds of teachers that parents thought could deliver on the promise of high quality credentials. It is, therefore, to labour market segmentation theory (LMST) that we now turn.

Labour market segmentation theory

Segmentation theory came to realisation, as a result of many labour economists being frustrated with neoclassical or conventional labour market models; they therefore 'put the policies and practices of employing organisations at the centre of the analysis of employment conditions and labour market inequality' (Rubery, 2006: 1). According to these critics, neoclassical economics fails to recognise issues of power within its theoretical parameters, except for those that emanate from market conditions such as monopoly power. However, Bosworth has suggested that many labour economists were dissatisfied with this 'orthodox approach' and that 'imperfect information, barriers to mobility, social and institutional influences render this essentially competitive model inappropriate' (1996: 330). Neoclassical economists rejected LMST because, as Kerr notes, they thought the 'institutional [LMS] approach was too messy, unscientific and required intensive contact with reality (1994: 98). However, their concern with addressing reality may be at the cost of understanding how labour markets may actually work. It has been further argued that the more traditional models of market theory ignore the 'fragmented nature of the labour market and the tendency of certain groups to be badly treated' (Kerr, 1994: 330). These neoclassical or orthodox models have their roots in the simple supply and demand framework and are based on the assumption that any disadvantages in the labour markets are to be explained by reference to individuals. For example, the problems of low pay and poor working conditions are addressed through 'effort' on the part of the worker and in the context of the rhetoric about the knowledge economy this has meant upgrading skills. This relates to the questionable proposition that neoclassical models of the labour market assume that all individual behaviour is rational and driven by rational egoism.

In contrast, heterodox or 'institutional economics', which covers a number of different theories, concentrates on understanding how things came to be, i.e. the historical and institutional processes which have occurred, rather than states of equilibrium as in neoclassical economics. Furthermore, it assumes that individuals are socially constructed

rather than that their essential nature is hard wired as rational egoists, as neoclassical economists assume, and that questions of culture and power are significant in understanding economic phenomena. Rather than seeking to deduce empirical consequences quantitatively from a set of a priori assumptions, institutional economics such as that relating to LMS emphasises historical and qualitative analyses while not eschewing, as in this study, quantitative evidence.

It is assumed by neoclassical labour market theory that profit maximisation is the underlying premise for all competitive companies and as a result workers are paid in accordance with their revenue production. Central to the theory is the concept that if one group of workers is paid less than another group for performing the same task it is because they have different levels of productivity, for example that they are less skilled.

However, for institutional economists, if workers *are* paid differently for equal productivity, then, it is argued, some form of discrimination must exist. As a result it can be stated that labour market discrimination is 'not due to the characteristics of the workers, but the characteristics of the jobs they do' (Open University Conference, 2007). At this point it is worth noting that some economists believe that labour market discrimination can only be fully understood and developed when it is considered in conjunction with other forms of discrimination and that these are closely related, for example as with race in the United States (Carnoy 1994).

Turning to the literature, the contrast between a neoclassical approach as represented by Becker (1971) and that of institutional economists such as Doeringer and Piore (1971), represents a good starting point in understanding the differences between these two theoretical approaches. What is interesting is that their key respective papers were both published in the same year!

In *The Economics of Discrimination* (1971) Becker takes a basic microeconomics theory and suggests that 'private individuals have a preference for some particular behaviour and in a market system are required to pay for that behaviour (although not the preference) via a reduction in wealth' (Brooks et al, 2004). In essence, Becker is suggesting that some workers, along with some employers and customers, do not want to come into contact with certain other workers in either the production or selling of a product. As a result these workers are required to work for a lower wage just to stay employed. If a company were forced to pay an equal salary to all groups, Becker suggests that these disadvantaged groups would be even further discriminated against as the firm or company would choose not to employ them. More recently it has been suggested that companies now face a trade-off when confronted with this form of discrimination: they can continue to employ 'acceptable' workers on higher salaries thus reducing overall profits or they can employ the lower paid workers and increase profits. Significantly, Becker does not have the theoretical resources to explain why such forms of discrimination may occur and suggests it is all a matter of 'taste'.

Thus, this form of discrimination has often been labelled the 'employers taste model' as there seems to be a 'taste' or preference against certain types of workers drawn from 'disadvantaged' groups. In his publication, Becker uses racial groups and women to illustrate how this form of discrimination works but he can only descriptively acknowledge its presence.

Perhaps the most famous example of this form of discrimination is quoted in *The Economist* (February 2006) when the Ford Motor Company used a picture taken at its Dagenham, England factory for advertising in Poland. The original picture was doctored so that five of the workers' faces and hands were 'made white' to 'suit local tastes' in Poland. It was not until the same picture was then unwittingly reused in an advertising campaign in Britain that this 'doctoring' was noticed.

Although some criticism has been levelled against Becker's theory, Brooks et al (2004) have defended the theory by suggesting that 'this criticism, however, seems motivated by his non-judgmental approach of assuming a taste for discrimination without investigating or condemning the origins of those tastes'.

In contrast to Becker's quantitative approach, most of Doeringer and Piore's research for their publication *Internal Labor Markets and Manpower Analysis* was carried out between 1964 and 1969 and was derived primarily from a series of interviews with management and union officials in more than 75 companies (1971: 8). Most of these companies were from the manufacturing sector but commercial, public, construction and service industries were also included. 'In most cases, managers from three areas – personnel, industrial engineering and operations – were interviewed at both the corporate and plant levels' and the interviews were supplemented by 'contacts with a variety of civil rights, poverty and manpower agencies' (1971: 9).

Central to Doeringer and Piore's research was the idea that market segmentation is based in the 'internal labour market' (1971: 1). Loveridge and Mok suggest that the internal labour market is a 'description of the structured processes by which companies, and other employing bodies, allocate labour and distribute rewards' (1979: 6). Further, Lazear suggests that internal labour markets are 'those where workers are hired into entry level jobs and higher levels are filled from within' and that wages 'are determined internally and may be quite free of market pressure (2003: 1). Kerr (1950) is often credited with first conceptualising the internal labour market and suggesting that its structure is governed by 'portals of entry and exit'. All internal labour markets are considered to be administrative units within which there is a clear set of rules and regulations which govern the allocation and pricing of labour.

Although often considered as separate entities by economists, Doeringer and Piore acknowledge the two markets, internal and external, are interconnected and the movement of

workers between the two occurs in certain job classifications (although they fail to say which classifications) and this movement occurs at predetermined 'ports of entry and exit to and from the internal labour market' (1971: 2). Further, Doeringer and Piore stress that those working within the internal labour market have control over these entry ports and as a result the internal labour force is protected from direct competition by workers in the external labour market. This also means that within the internal labour market vacancies and promotions are normally filled by those already placed within the internal labour market. Lazear (2003) supports Doeringer and Piore by suggesting there are three important factors that shape internal labour markets: ports of entry, promotion and wage setting. These ideas are not new and have been labelled by the likes of Ross (1958) and Meyers (1964) as 'industrial feudalism' and 'the balkanisation of labour markets'.

The concepts of ports of entry, promotion and wage setting will now be considered within the international school setting.

Ports of entry

Within the international school setting it might be argued that there are a number of ports of entry and these help to 'filter out' 'unsuitable' candidates. Perhaps the most notable of these are the recruitment fairs. This point is emphasised by McKay (1999) who suggests that one 'advantage' of the job fair is that 'an international school Head can screen and select from hundreds of candidates, all of whom have a minimum of two years previous experience in the subject areas they are applying for, current teaching certification and three highly supportive references (cited by Garton, 2000: 91). What McKay fails to acknowledge is that even before attending the job fair all candidates have been pre-screened by the organisation hosting the fair to ensure their suitability. As one of the agencies states on its website:

> Search Associates serves international schools by providing strong
> candidates who have exceptional academic skills, a wide range of
> experience, as well as the motivation and personal characteristics to

serve as role models in gradesK-12. Candidates are rigorously

screened. Once a candidate's application has been accepted,

Search works with the candidate to secure a placement. This

includes a special invitation to one of the Recruitment Fairs.

(www.search-associates.com)

This process of screening for 'suitable candidates' is mentioned by another agency, CIS, who

suggest on their website that their Teacher Placement Service (TPS) 'incorporates the latest

advances in candidate screening technology'.

It can be further argued that recruitment fairs are prohibitive to many because they require

considerable investment in terms of time (most fairs run for three or four days) and money

(airfares and hotels). Hayden (2008) also suggests that recruitment fairs require 'a certain

amount of understanding of and confidence in the 'system' which may only come from having

already been in it'.

In addition to recruitment fairs, teaching posts in international schools are often advertised in

publications like *The Times Educational Supplement* (TES) and *The International Educator*.

Although these publications are readily available to all teachers, either in 'hard' copy or

through the web, it could be argued that they help to create ports of entry simply because

they are printed in English and are aimed at the native Anglophone world. Indeed, the TES is

a publication that predominately deals with matters in the British education system and has a

relatively small section, under 'jobs', that advertises international posts.

Finally in this context, we need to consider the possibility that the School Heads, when

recruiting, actively recruit in favour of those for whom English is their mother tongue. If such

evidence could be gained from heads through interviews then it would constitute the most direct and powerful form of evidence for LMS in international schools.

Promotion

Lazear suggests that if an internal labour market exists, 'then there must be some jobs, presumably at high levels, that are filled almost exclusively through internal promotion' (2003: 3). Within international schools an 'internal promotion' might be classified in two ways. The first would be where a promotion takes place within any given school, for which there are any number of examples that might include a teacher being promoted to Head of Department, a Head of Department taking a middle management position, such as IB Coordinator, or a middle manager being promoted to senior management such as Head of Section (Primary or Secondary) or even Head of School. However, given that schools are fairly small employer units, the notion of 'internal promotion' could be considered in a wider context and would deal with the movement of individuals within the international school framework. Hayden (2008) has suggested anecdotally that the international school circuit might have the feeling of an 'old boys' network', that it is not particularly inviting to new members and does not make much effort to make it clear how 'new boys' might join. Hall (1996) has also suggested that these 'old boy' networks have traditionally excluded woman. This point is reinforced by Thearle who suggests that the 'statement that women are under-represented in senior management positions in international schools is rarely greeted with surprise' (2000: 112).

Wage setting

Lazear states that:

> If all markets are external labour markets, then all wages should
> move together once job and skill have been sufficiently well defined.
> A change in the market wage should be reflected in a complete and
> parallel change in the wage of the workers at any given firm. Thus,

by examining the sensitivity of wages to the 'benchmark' spot wage,

it is possible to assess whether firms' behaviour is consistent with

spot or internal labour markets. (2003: 3)

In contrast to this neoclassical account of wage setting, if the concept of 'wage' is considered in the broader context of a 'package' in the wider international school setting, to include 'perks' such as gratuities, accommodation, flights, private medical care and free education for children, it might be concluded that the 'wage' offered in the international school setting (internal market) is at a differential level from those in other schools (external market). However, it should be remembered that drawing absolute parallels might be difficult given that international schools are to be found in more than 125 countries and each and every one of those countries will have its own 'wage' system. Nevertheless, adverts placed by international schools along the lines of 'British salary plus 30%' would certainly seem to indicate that a discrepancy does exist in favour of international school teachers, which is why the question of discrimination in recruitment is germane. Indeed, the additional 'perks' identified above suggest the presence of an expatriate community.

As an analytical concept the internal labour market is not dependent upon the existence of a set of administrative rules but instead depends on 'the *rigidity* of the rules which define the boundaries of internal markets and which govern pricing and allocation of them' (Doeringer and Piore 1971: 5). Doeringer and Piore suggest that this rigidity is predetermined by a number of factors. The first is that the rules and regulations pertaining to internal wage allocation have been, in many cases, in place for extended periods of time. Doeringer and Piore accept that longevity does not equal rigidity but argue that 'the period over which internal markets have survived is long enough to create a strong presumption of variation in the underlying economic and technical contexts' (1971: 6). Secondly, it is stated that comments made by the labour force and management point to a degree of rigidity of the rules governing the internal labour markets. Both of these groups indicated that there were certain rules and regulations beyond their control, i.e. in the external labour markets, that they found

'not only undesirable but sometimes even beyond the control of the parties to renegotiate them' (1971: 6).

Another factor given to show the rigidity of the internal labour market is areas such as investments in enterprise-specific human capital, on-the-job training and the role of labour as a fixed or quasi-fixed factor of production. These areas have become increasingly popular as topics of research by economists and as such are seen to reduce the assumption of a competitive model and 'appear to be highly consistent with the postulates of the internal labour market model' (Doeringer and Piore 1971: 6).

The final indicator given is connected with the psychological behaviour of work groups and the subsequent customs which are formed in the workplace. Doeringer and Piore suggest that through interaction certain traditions are formed and these will have a significant impact on wage structures, promotion within a given unit and the rules agreed and acted upon by the workers. Given the centrality of these rules in labour markets, some like Rubery have concluded that these 'strategies pursued at the firm or organisation level led to the persistence or persistent recreation of labour market segments, with no tendency for the capitalist system over time to erode divisions or upgrade employment for all groups' (2006: 2).

As already stated, central to the idea of market segmentation is the idea of discrimination. More recently the concept of discrimination has been revisited and expanded upon and now certain groups can be seen to be disadvantaged against as well as discriminated against.

Within Doeringer and Piore's work the first form of discrimination encountered was that known as pre- and post-market discrimination. Pre-market discrimination considers the conditions that exist (or in some cases do not exist) prior to the worker entering the labour market. This

type of discrimination also considers the access to (or lack of) such areas as training and professional development.

Most studies of pre-market discrimination have tended to concentrate on either the disparity in income between the sexes or different racial groups. Examples of these studies include the works by Lang and Manove (2003) and Carneiro et al (2005). Without doubt, the overriding factor cited in most works on pre-market discrimination is the access to education, be it at the secondary or tertiary levels or the access to educational training, i.e. on-the-job training. It has been suggested that 'the educational and training opportunities available to some groups in society may themselves reflect discrimination. As a result labour market outcomes, which may or may not be discriminatory, may arise from discrimination that exists outside the labour market' (Open University, 2007: 9).

In this study it has been assumed that all teachers have had access to some form of secondary and tertiary education, although no judgement is made as to the standard of that education and therefore very little attention will be given to pre-market discrimination.

Post-market discrimination considers prejudice in a number of different forms, including customer, wage (income), age, geographical and employment and occupational discrimination. The issue of customer (e.g. parent) discrimination is significant for this study and therefore will be discussed in more detail.

Market segmentation and customer discrimination

In many product markets, who produces the goods may be of little relevance; however, in education, the issue may be different because parents as customers may link a desirable education to the qualifications and cultural capital of teachers. In turn this may create a situation where those employing the teachers will 'segment' the market in favour of those considered to have the most credentials and cultural capital.

Dibb and Simkin suggest that:

> The underlying premise of market segmentation is that not all customers have the same product or service needs. For this reason it is rarely appropriate to use a single sales and marketing programme to attract all potential customers. True mass marketing, it seems, is at an end and companies must respect the variety of needs which customers display and reflect this in their marketplace offerings. Equally, with a few exceptions, it is unrealistic for companies to customize their marketing programmes for individual customers. Markets segmentation allows a balance to be struck between the heterogeneity of customers on one side and the limited resources of suppliers on the other (1996: 1).

Jobber suggests that market segmentation can be defined as the 'identification of individuals or organizations with similar characteristics that have significant implications for the determination of marketing strategy' and that 'grouping together with similar needs, provides a commercially viable method of serving these customers' (2004: 210). Replace 'customers' with students and/or parents, companies with schools and where appropriate 'marketing' with education and it becomes clear how it is possible to apply this model to modern day education, not necessarily just international education, and how it can be used within this study.

Within this study each of the different forms of discrimination will be considered separately, although it should be noted that there are many instances where there is more than one form of discrimination present and one maybe a factor of another.

Customer Discrimination: In essence, customer discrimination is based on Becker's notions of preference and choice. It has been recognised that there is a close link between customer discrimination and wage discrimination. Bosworth et al describe customer discrimination as follows:

> If customers prefer to be 'served' by type *A* rather than type *B*
> workers, then type *B* individuals may accept lower wages to
> become attractive to employers. Firms catering for the
> discriminatory customers will hire *A* workers, pay higher wages and
> charge higher prices than firms that employ *B* workers. (1996: 333)

Crofton (2003) reinforces this point by suggesting that when customers discriminate against employees, higher prices will be charged by establishments to cater for these discriminatory customers. With this study it will be proposed that within the international school setting the 'customer' would be the parent who will discriminate against type *A* and *B* workers (teachers) in that they would prefer certain types of teachers, i.e. certain nationalities teaching their children. From the initial starting point of customer discrimination, other forms of discrimination and segmentation follow.

Wage (Income) Discrimination: Wage discrimination is traditionally defined to be when one group is paid less than another despite equal productivity, hence the close link to customer

discrimination. Most studies into wage discrimination are usually centred on either the low salaries of male workers in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations or the disadvantages female workers seem to face when entering into management positions. Crofton (2003) has suggested that an employee will be paid equivalent to the additional income generated for the employer by the employee. For a large percentage of international schools the contract offered is made up only in part by the financial aspect and may include some, or all, of the following:

- Tax free salaries

- Payment in 'hard' currency (usually US dollars or pounds sterling)

- Accommodation or an accommodation allowance

- Medical insurance

- Annual or bi-annual flight to home country or point of recruitment (or cash equivalent)

- Professional development funding

- Free education for dependents

- Beginning and end of contract baggage/freight allowance

- Contract renewal bonus

- End of contract gratuity

As a result, within this study the idea of 'being paid' will need to be considered in a much wider and more flexible spectrum.

Employment and Occupational Discrimination: Traditional economists usually define employment discrimination as being when one group bears a disproportionate burden of unemployment. There is a host of literature to support this form of discrimination and most of it concentrates on any given ethnic minority having higher rates of unemployment in any given city, usually in Europe or North America. Within the parameters of this study, it has proved extremely difficult to demonstrate whether this traditional definition holds true; however, the

most direct evidence would be evidence from Head Teachers as to whether they discriminate in favour of teachers for whom English is their first language – as suggested above. The difficulty is that it is highly likely that few Heads would acknowledge such discrimination. There are a number of reasons for this which will be discussed later in the thesis, but for the purpose of this study employment discrimination will be considered in reverse and be accepted as when one group or groups bears a disproportionate success in gaining employment.

Closely linked to employment discrimination is that of occupation discrimination. This is defined as when one group is restricted from entering certain occupations and/or crowded into other occupations despite equal qualifications and capabilities.

A model of labour market segmentation has been sketched which, when placed in the context of the work of Brown and Lauder and others on education and the global labour market, provides an explanatory context for this study. Further, an account has been given of the mechanisms that may be used in LMST to recruit in favour of one group of teachers over others. This explanation takes the form of linking the recruitment of teachers in international schools to the demands and market behaviour of parents which, it could be hypothesised, is driven by a global positional competition for credentials that will enable students to enter elite universities. Two research questions follow from this discussion:

1. Is there prima facie evidence that the labour market for teachers in international schools is segmented?

2. To what extent is the global positional competition for credentials a plausible explanation for these data patterns?

Chapter 4

Research Methods

This chapter develops the methodology to be applied in order to examine the claim that there is a prima facie case of segmented labour market for teachers in international schools. The strengths and limitations of the methodology are also considered.

Lankshear and Knobel suggest that research by educationalists about schools and teachers can be 'done in classrooms, libraries, homes, communities and anywhere else where one can obtain, analyse and interpret information' and it may involve 'empirical observations of classrooms or close engagement with theoretical or conceptual texts'. They also advocate that the research can 'use people, policy texts, web-based materials…. and that it can be grounded in data coming from the present or the past and even in data concerned with the future. Its potential scope and variety are enormous' (2004: 9).

These sentiments are undoubtedly true when conducting educational research on a national scale but fail to recognise some of the extended problems facing researchers who undertake educational research on an international scale. Cambridge argues that 'research enquires in international education are frequently comparative studies because they either compare the outcomes of contrasting programmes of study or make comparisons between classes of subjects assigned to contrasting categories' (2007: 413). If Cambridge's suggestion is correct then it is almost certain that the majority of these studies rely on secondary sources of information. There can be little doubt that one of the major difficulties, and perhaps one of the reasons that most research in international education and international schools, thus far, has been of a comparative nature, is economies of scale.

Although international schools have experienced unprecedented expansion in the last two decades and their number must now run close to two thousand, they still only represent a small proportion of schools worldwide. As a result the problem facing any researcher who

decides to conduct a study into international schools is not the number of schools, but their geographical location. This can be illustrated by looking at the number of schools and countries considered within this study. In relative terms, it could be argued that the number of schools considered is relatively small, ranging from 426 schools in the 2005-2006 edition of the directory to 523 in the 2002-2003 edition. By way of comparison *The Times Educational Supplement* Directory lists more than 33000 schools in the UK. However, the main difference, and perhaps a point missed by Cambridge when suggesting why most studies into international education are comparative, is that these schools are drawn from a minimum of 142 countries. It is clear that unless a researcher has a limitless budget and nearly as much time, large scale 'first-hand' studies into international schools is almost totally unpractical, and is therefore almost totally dependent on secondary resources. Perhaps one way to address this issue might be regional studies; but is this practical and would it truly reflect what is happening in international schools?

Certainly regional research would considerably reduce the elements of time and cost but would it be representative? Cohen et al have suggested that a 'sample size of thirty is held by many to be the minimum number of cases if researchers plan to use some form of statistical analysis on their data' (2003: 93). If this statement is accepted, then the figures drawn from three regions in this study – North America, Australasia and the Caribbean – all fail to provide sufficient data at any point during the study. North America had a maximum of 11 schools in the 2005-06 edition of the directory; Australasia had 5 schools (2002-03) and the Caribbean 20 schools (2002-03) – see Appendix 10 Page 6, Appendix 11 Page 6 and Appendix 12 Page 6. As a result it might be difficult to draw any conclusions from these regions about most aspects of international schools and international education. At the other end of the scale Asia and Europe more than meet the criteria suggest by Cohen et al. Throughout the period of the study both regions offered data from in excess of 100 schools, with Europe having a maximum of 161 schools and Asia having a maximum of 147 schools – both drawn from the 2002-03 directory. Combined, the two regions represented a minimum of 64 countries and a maximum of 69 countries which is between 42 and 46 percent of the total.

In a number of cases, individual countries almost provided a sufficient number of schools to satisfy Cohen et al's suggestion. In the 2002-03 edition, Japan registered 21 schools, with 8752 pupils and 1155 teachers and China had 27 schools with 11423 pupils and 1204 teachers. More recent research by MacDonald (2006) suggests these figures might be on the conservative side. Drawing statistics from the Council of International Schools (CIS) website in 2005, MacDonald showed there are at least 33 international schools in China. He also showed a number of other countries that failed to show 30 schools based in the ISS directory had more than this when considering data drawn from CIS. These included Germany with 32 schools (maximum of 14 schools in 2002-03); Italy had 32 schools (14 schools in 2002-03); Spain had 33 schools (11 in 2002-03), Switzerland had 38 schools (21 schools in 1997-98 and 2002-03) and Turkey with 33 schools compared to 8 schools in the ISS directory in 2005-06.

There are two further pieces of data from MacDonald's research that are worth considering as they help to illustrate the difficulty in collecting data on international schools, be it on a national, regional or global scale, irrespective of the methodology used. The first of these concerns is the number of schools in the United States of America (USA). As stated earlier, data drawn from ISS over the period of the study tended to suggest a maximum of 11 schools (in 2005-06) for North America, all of which came from the USA. MacDonald's research tends to suggest that there are at least 30 international schools in the USA. These figures should also be viewed in the light that more than 50% of the schools registered with the IBO are drawn from North America. The second piece of data concerns the country of Thailand. The ISS directory registered a maximum of 14 schools (in 2002-03) which was close to MacDonald's number of 21. However, as MacDonald reports 'there are reportedly close to 100 licensed international schools' in Thailand due to the fact that host nation children are allowed to attend international schools. He goes onto suggest that this 'illustrates the conservative nature of the figures presented' (2006: 200), a sentiment that is shared in this study.

There can be little doubt that this study is predominately quantitative in nature. Gage suggests quantitative research in education calls for 'procedures that use precise definitions, that use objectivity-seeking methods of data collection and analysis, that are replicable so that findings can be confirmed or disconfirmed, and that are systematic and cumulative - all resulting in knowledge useful for explaining, predicting, and controlling the effects of teaching on student outcomes' (1994: 372). It could be further suggested the study is quasi-experimental in design, since comparisons are possible 'because of naturally occurring treatment groups' which are 'fairly clear-cut, though not set up for research purposes' (Punch 1998: 74). Within this study the 'naturally occurring clear cut' groups were predetermined by ISS, since it is they, who classified teachers into 'US', 'UK', 'Host' and 'Others' within their directories.

Punch has suggested 'the matching or fit between the research questions and research methods should be as close as possible' (1998: 19). It is further suggested that by adopting a pragmatic approach one would 'start by focusing on what we are trying to find out' (1998: 7) and then fit method and methodology to match. Further, Oppenheim warns that 'too often surveys are carried out on the basis of insufficient design and planning or on the basis of no design at all' and that 'survey literature abounds with portentous conclusions based on faulty inferences from insufficient evidence misguidedly collected and wrongly assembled'(2001: 7). Mertens reinforces this point by stating that 'faulty' research 'is not only a waste of time and money but cannot be conceived of as ethical because it does not contribute to the well-being of the participants' (1998: 24).

Lankshear and Knobel suggest that:

> 'launching into an investigation without first having thought about what
> sorts of concepts, theories, methods, instruments and the like might
> best fit the questions asked, and how these can be arranged in a
> systematic way, is like waking up one morning and suddenly deciding to

build a house and starting right then and there without having given any thought to the kind of house, the plan, the materials, the tools and the options available' (2004: 2).

However, they go on to state that 'the "bottom line" requirement for research is that our inquiry be *systematic*' (2004: 20). Cohen et al concur with this point when stating:

'the setting up of research is a balancing act for it requires the harmonizing of planned possibilities with workable, coherent practice, i.e. the resolution, between idealism and reality, between what could be done and what will actually work' (2003: 73).

Before detailing the method and methodology that have been used, it is worth considering the difficulties, which have been encountered throughout the research process, as they have had a significant impact on shaping and refining the study. The difficulties of large-scale, international research are highlighted by Allan who states that:

The cultural diversity of an international school poses many methodological problems for the researcher. A lack of cross-cultural validity, for instance, precludes many of the methods commonly used in national educational research from being applied. Part of the problem is undoubtedly due to the fact international schools, with their mobile, culturally and linguistically diverse student body, are not homogeneous. The use of structural models as a way of understanding schools is thus limited by the absence of uniformity in the identification and measurement of inputs and outcomes. Scientific methodology is also prohibited by a lack of generalizability and the scale of comparative models is usually too large to be considered by most researchers' (2007: 426)

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In an effort to try and address some of the problems associated with research on an international scale, it was decided that a number of questions should be addressed throughout the research process. These were:

- Is the methodology appropriate for international research?
- Will the data be representative of the majority of international schools?
- To what degree will the results be accurate, truthful and valid?

And finally, and perhaps most importantly,

- Will the data provide evidence of segmentation in international schools?

Although Segmented Labour Markets have been an accepted concept within the field of economics for at least the last 30 years, they have been almost exclusively applied to commercial enterprises. Indeed, with the publication of *Segmented Labour Markets in International Schools* (Canterford 2003) in the *Journal for Research in International Education* (Vol 2.1), it was suggested that this was the first time that an economics model had been applied to international schools and international education.

Without doubt, one of the major difficulties – if not *the* major difficulty – in the original piece of research, the subsequent pilot study and this study, has been the ability to gather creditable data. Lankshear and Knobel suggest that 'certain procedural principals can provide helpful guidance in preparing for and conducting data collection' and these principals include 'elegance and economy', 'practicality' and 'realism' (2004: 187).

In essence, *elegance and economy* are centred on the ability to extract the maximum amount of high quality information with the minimum use of resources. Lankshear and Knobel also suggest that this is best achieved by 'thinking carefully about the kind of data that will be both necessary and sufficient for addressing the question, and looking for patterns and combinations that will allow "more to be done more easily with less"' (2004: 187).

Practicality and realism are 'about aligning what one plans to do in the way of data collection with the resources and opportunities that are actually available or likely to be available' (Lankshear and Knobel 2004: 187). It is suggested that unless sufficient thought is given to the groups from which the data is to be collected, the likelihood of these groups being willing to participate in the research and the time needed to analyse any data collected, may cause the research to falter before it has begun. It is further advised that

> 'it is equally bad research practice to rush into data collection without reading, discussing and finding out as comprehensively as possible from knowledgeable sources what the chances are of successfully collecting the data one envisages collecting and whether all of it is necessary in the first place. Invariably, time spent thinking about procedural principals in the company of informed sources will prove to be time well spent.'
>
> (Lankshear and Knobel 2004: 187).

It is within this framework and this advice that the collection of data was undertaken and should be subsequently viewed.

The original concept for the study was to incorporate in the region of 250 international schools in a longitudinal study to be conducted over a period of three to five years. However, upon reflection, this idea was rejected as it became clear that such large-scale, individual research was impractical both in terms of personal finance and time. Cohen et al suggest that time is a crucial factor in any research, stating:

> 'The researcher has to decide what an appropriate length of time is; too short a time and respondents may remember what they said and did the first test situation, too long a time and there may be

extraneous effects operating to distort the data…. A researcher seeking to demonstrate this type of reliability will have to choose an appropriate timescale between test and retest' (2003: 117).

Further reservations were brought to the fore regarding the direct incorporation of international schools into the study. Research by Hawley (1994) suggests that the average contract period of a Principal/CEO/Headmaster/Director is less than three years; and since they were most likely to be the source for some of the key data required, depending on the design, there could be no guarantees that the point of contact, and subsequently the school, would stay in the study for the entire period.

As an alternative, a more stable source of information was considered, in the shape of The Council of International Schools (CIS), along with Search Associates (Search) and International School Services (ISS), which all specialise in teacher recruitment.

CIS is the largest of the three organisations and offers a variety of services to schools including accreditation and recruitment, both at senior management and teacher level. Each year, the organisation holds a number of teacher recruitment fairs throughout the world, from January to June. The two largest fairs are held in London and Boston each February, with the London fair usually attracting more than 150 schools and in excess of 1000 teachers. For this study, initial contact was made by telephoning the head office located in the UK. Although CIS claimed to keep no formal record of nationalities, relating to the teachers who apply to use their services, or have any records of the nationalities of teachers working in CIS-accredited schools, they did indicate that large amounts of information about individual schools – including location, syllabus, name of Headmaster/Principal, pupil enrolment and the ratio of male to female teachers – could be found on their website. Initial visits to the original website (www.ecis.org which later became www.cois.org) did show a space for schools to list the

nationalities of the staff at the school. A random check of more than 200 schools showed that not one had completed this section. However, it is accepted this random check may not fully represent all schools on the COIS website. The initial visit to the website was conducted in 2001 and a more recent visit has shown that the section on staff nationalities has been replaced with each school just giving the number of different nationalities represented at the school. There is no indication of what these nationalities are or what percentage they represent in the composition of the staff.

Search Associates (Search), founded in 1992, is a predominately American-based organisation that claims to place more than 1000 teachers and administrators each year through its extensive network of job fairs, which literally span the globe. The first of the fairs usually takes place in Australia or New Zealand each December and finishes in June of the following year in the USA. Teachers applying to use the services of Search are assigned an 'associate', usually based on their nationality and location, who then becomes their point of contact for advice on applications, attendance at recruitment fairs and placement in schools. Upon successful placement, the hiring school and teacher are charged a fee, which goes directly to the associate. In the initial stages of the research, contact was made with a number of the associates and, although none claimed to keep statistics on the nationalities who used their services (despite the fact that teachers are identified on location and nationality), a number provided anecdotal evidence to suggest that as many as 75% of the teachers, applying to attend the fairs in London and Boston, were either British, American or Canadian.

International School Services (ISS) was founded as a not-for-profit organisation to promote and support services to American and international schools (1997: VI) and 'since 1995, ISS has placed well over 12,000 teachers and administrators in international schools' (1997: VII). As with the two previous organisations, direct contact with ISS failed to produce any noteworthy data. However, their directory, published annually, provided important information upon which the foundation of this study has been based. Although the directory has changed format (and name) since the data collection began in 1997–1998, it continued to provide details in the following areas:

- Number of pupils in the school

- Number of teachers in the school

- The number of teachers who work full-time

- The number of teachers who work part-time

- The nationalities of the teachers working in the school.

At this point it should be noted that the numbers quoted in the directory are supplied directly by the schools and are accepted on face value by ISS and therefore represent a secondary source of data. Although Best (1970) has suggested that secondary sources of data have limited worth, because of the errors that may occur when information is passed from one source to another, Punch states that 'there are some clear advantages to working with an existing body of data', which include cost, time and perhaps, most importantly, quality, because 'an existing data bank is likely to have higher-quality data than the lone, inexperienced researcher can hope to obtain' (1998: 107).

Lankshear and Knobel contend that 'researchers in quantitative studies are concerned with using data collection tools that are both reliable and valid' (2004: 161) and suggest that within quantitative research, there are two types of study validity: internal and external. Internal validity is 'the extent to which the study and its findings are "accurate" and "truthful"' and based on valid or invalid comparisons. Cohen et al suggest that external validity 'refers to the degree to which the results can be generalised to the wider population, cases or situations' (2003: 109).

Although it is accepted that the data presented represents, perhaps at best, 25% of the total number of international schools worldwide and in some regions, e.g., Australasia, the number of schools represented is very small, it can be argued that the secondary data, presented in this study, is both reliable and valid (internally and externally) and can be used to draw meaningful conclusions for a number of reasons. Firstly, and perhaps most importantly, the

data is provided by the schools themselves and the ISS is acting as nothing more than a 'middle man' who reproduces the figures in its annual directory. Indeed, for some schools, ISS clearly states that the figures presented are from the previous academic year. Secondly, it must be assumed that each school receives, or at least sees, a copy of the directory and, since a large number of schools continue to pay to be included in the directory, they must be satisfied with the data that is published about them. If a school were to be continually misrepresented, it is fair to assume they would withdraw from being included in the directory. Finally, it should be remembered that this data has been drawn over a period of 10 years. Although a large number of schools show an increase in their pupil enrolment, and subsequently the number of teachers employed, it is clear that by studying the results, there is a degree of consistency in trends, which run throughout the period of the study.

Nevertheless, it is recognised and accepted that the data drawn from the ISS directories has some limitations. As stated earlier, the highest number of schools in any given edition was 523 (2002–2003), which, at best, may only represent a quarter of the total number of international schools worldwide. Of those 523 schools, 47.5% had the word 'international' in their name. A further 9.9% preceded the word international with either the word American or British, implying a bias towards a certain curriculum choice. Only 15.1% of the schools classified themselves as a purely American School. Furthermore, it is noted that these 523 schools, offered more than 65 different curriculum choices. However, and in keeping with the hypothesis of this thesis, it is worth noting that over the period of the study, the number of schools offering the International Baccalaureate (in any one of its three forms) increased from 15.50% in 1997–1998 to 27.70% by 2005–2006. Over the same period, schools offering an American curriculum dropped by 13.40% from 50.70% down to 37.30%. There was also a decrease in schools offering a British or National curriculum.

Garton suggests 'for many international schools the pragmatic approach to teacher recruitment is accentuated by the widespread practice of having teaching staff that can be grouped into three distinct categories' (2000: 87). These are given as:

- host-country nationals

- locally-hired expatriates

- overseas-hired expatriates.

Matthews (1998: 61) also suggests that faculties within international schools could be identified in three separate groups and these are given as:

- spouses of diplomats, military or employers of multinationals who are only there because of the occupation of their spouse

- 'transients', who are usually young and inexperienced and are attached to the sense of adventure of working abroad. They usually provide the school with two or three years service before either returning home or moving into group three

- career internationals, who can be divided into three subgroups:

    a) local nationals

    b) those settled in a particular location

    c) those who move from one international school to another.

More recently, Hardman (2001) cited by Hayden (2006: 76) suggests a further distinction of teachers who apply to work in international schools and these are:

- Childless career professionals

- Mavericks ('free and independent spirits')

- Career professionals with families.

Within the directory, the differences highlighted by Garton (2000), Matthews (1998) and Hayden (2006) are not recognised but instead the nationalities of the teaching staff are given in four different groups: US (American), UK (British), Other (all other nationalities) and Host (teachers from the country in which the school is located). It can be argued that by differentiating between these four groups, ISS (and the schools that pay to be in the directory)

place an importance, intended or otherwise, on schools having native English speakers (Western trained) and want to advertise this fact. Furthermore, within this study, it is hypothesised that not only do schools want (and need) to publicise the types of teachers they employ – not only for their parents/customers, but to further encourage the 'right' type of teachers to apply – but, for a majority of these schools, the English-speaking teachers will dominate the percentage employed. Indeed this point was reinforced by a number of Headmasters at the International Baccalaureate Organisation (IBO) Asia Pacific in November 2008, who agreed that having the 'right' kind of teacher in the school was important for future pupil and teacher recruitment. One Head, from South Asia, went so far as to suggest that for his 'local parents', recruiting native, English-speaking, non-Asian teachers was a prerequisite for sending their child to the school.

It should also be noted that ISS also places the schools in different geographical locations and, for ease of clarification, these locations were adhered to in the study. The locations are given as: Africa, Central and South America, North America, Asia, Australasia, The Caribbean, Europe and The Middle East.

Also worth noting is that the criterion used for selecting schools to be in the study was very simple: that the school had to be able to provide the necessary data. If a school had a complete 'set' of data, they were included, irrespective of name, location, curriculum, fees charged, language spoken or date founded. The actual number of schools in the directory far exceeds the number in this study but many failed to provide all or some of the data and in doing so, they therefore excluded themselves.

By taking data from three directories, over a period of nearly a decade (versions 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006), it was possible to chart the changes that have occurred in a wide range of international schools. A summary of the data collected is as follows:

Table 2: **Data collected from the ISS directories 1997 through 2006**

	ISS Directory 1997–1998	ISS Directory 2002–2003	ISS Directory 2005–2006
Number of Countries	142	150	144
Number of Schools	457	523	426
Number of Pupils	239389	295020	253487
Number of Teachers	25943	33707	30630

Within this study, the data collected was correlated in a number of ways, as shown in the appendices. Firstly, each school was placed in one of the regions identified by the ISS and was then given a study code, which reflected the country of location. This code was introduced to allow ease of data tracking. Given the nature of this study, it was decided that the following information needed to be recorded:

- Date the School Opened – as this would allow the growth of internationals schools to be established

- Curriculum Offered – as this would help establish if the educational programmes being offered were of an international nature. This included, when stated, the qualifications available – such as the IB diploma, IGCSEs, 'A' levels and Advanced Placement (AP)

- Pupil Numbers – as this would possibly highlight the increasing number of students who are being educated within international schools

- Teacher Numbers – as this would show an increase (or decrease) in the number of teachers employed in the international sector. The number of teachers who work full- and part-time was also recorded

- Teacher Nationalities – As stated earlier, these were divided into four groups, as supplied by the ISS. The data was recorded as a number and as a percentage of the total.

Once all the schools' information had been correlated, it was represented in a number of ways. Firstly, totals for all the groups listed above were calculated for each country, then each region and finally a world summary was produced (appendices 10, 11 and 12). Next the exercise was repeated but only for those schools that appeared in all three editions.

Having recognised that all the information for the study had been drawn from secondary sources, and heeding Procter's words that 'the real challenge in secondary analysis lies in finding ways of forcing the data, collected by someone else, quite often with entirely different theoretical and analytical orientations, to answer your questions' (1996: 262), an attempt was made to address this issue. However, very little 'forcing' was needed when correlating the data provided by the ISS. It was hoped that by gathering some primary data, referred to by Cohen et al as 'the life blood of historical research' (2003: 161), the data drawn from the directories could tested.

Primary data collection was achieved by returning to a method that had initially been rejected, i.e., directly contacting international schools. As well as providing the opportunity to collect primary data, it was also hoped it would eliminate 'statistical discrimination'. Bosworth et al (1996) suggest that this form of discrimination arises from the problem of imperfect information and could explain why 'employers with no taste for discrimination might practise discrimination in favour of particular groups and against others' (1996: 35). Cohen et al (2003: 5) also warn that:

> In our endeavours to come to terms with the problems of day-to-day living, we are heavily dependent upon experience and authority and their value in this context should not be underestimated. Nor should their respective roles be overlooked in the specialist sphere of research where they provide richly fertile sources of hypotheses and questions about the world, though, of course, it must be remembered that as tools for uncovering ultimate truth they have decided limitations. The limitations of personal experience in the form of *common-sense knowing*, for instance, can quickly be exposed when compared to features of the scientific approach to problem solving.

Thus, in an effort to overcome the possibility of statistical discrimination, i.e., imperfect information, 523 international schools were contacted over a period of six months. All the schools contacted were selected from the ISS 2002–2003 directory and had already qualified for the study in that they had provided the data that was required. Contact with all the schools was made via email and was directed to the school's Head, Principal, CEO or Director. Of the 523 schools contacted, 193 (36.9%) emails were returned as 'undeliverable'. Another 274 (52.3%) schools failed to reply or indicated the request was under consideration then failed to reply at a later date. Finally, feedback was received from 56 (10.7%) schools and 37 (7.07%) indicating they would be willing to participate in completing a questionnaire on the subject of segmented labour markets in international schools. Although the number of participants was far below the estimated, and hoped for total of 100 schools, they did represent a wide variety of geographical locations, curricular and size in terms of pupils and teachers. In summary, the breakdown of participating schools (in terms of regions) was as follows:

Australasia	1 school
Caribbean	1 school
Africa	4 schools
Central and South America	5 schools
Asia	12 schools
Europe	14 schools

The next stage was to decide upon the best method of collecting the data. In essence, it was hoped that any information collected would illuminate the previously-collected data. Punch warns that 'a research project will be difficult to understand, and will lack credibility as a piece of research, without structure in its research questions' (1998: 25). Given the location of the

schools, it was decided that the quickest and easiest way to collect the required information would be via a questionnaire sent as an attachment to an email. Thought was given to composing the questionnaire using one of the many internet survey sites, such as, Survey Monkey (www.surveymonkey.com) but this was dismissed. The main reason for rejecting the collection of data in this fashion was that it was felt that since it had already proven difficult to get schools to participate in the study, the adding of another stage, i.e., the need to visit a website and log on, might discourage even more Heads and Principals. Undoubtedly, time was the overriding and constricting factor. It was felt that the longer it took to open and complete the questionnaire, the less likely schools were to respond. This point is reinforced by Cohen et al who state that 'the questionnaire will always be an intrusion into the life of the respondent, be it in terms of time taken to complete the questionnaire, the level of threat or sensitivity of the questions, or the possible invasion of privacy' (2003: 245).

Oppenheim deals with rates of response when he states 'the whole area concerning the '"best' way" to approach respondents has long been beset by myths and by controversy among practitioners. More recently these problems have been the subject of a great deal of systematic research in a number of countries' (2001: 103). He goes on to suggest that a number of factors have been found to 'increase response rates', some of which were incorporated into this study and include; *Advance Warning, Explanation of Selection, Incentives, Confidentiality, Appearance, Length* and the *Topic*.

Advance Warning: Oppenheim suggests that all participants in the study should be given advance warning; there is little doubt this occurred in this case, as the schools were invited to join the study and knew the *Topic* in advance.

Explanation of Selection: For most types of research it is suggested that the respondent is given the criteria used for selection to help explain how they were chosen to be part of the

sample. In this case it was explained to schools that they had been selected as they featured in the ISS Directory.

Confidentiality: Cohen et al suggest that in essence, confidentiality is 'the extent to which investigators keep faith with those who have helped them' and that the 'more sensitive, intimate or discrediting the information, the greater the obligation on the researcher's part to make sure that guarantees of confidentiality are carried out in spirit and letter. Promises must be taken seriously' (2003: 62). Within this research, confidentiality was made clear to schools, as illustrated in the email message: '*all information provided by schools will be treated in the strictest confidence and no individual schools will be named in the study.'*

Appearance: Cohen et al argue that 'the appearance of the questionnaire is vitally important. It must look easy, attractive and interesting rather than complicated, unclear, forbidding and boring' (2003: 258) and this point is reinforced by Bell who states that 'an excellently prepared questionnaire will lose much of its impact if it looks untidy' (1987: 64). Although it is agreed there is no standard format for the lay-out and appearance of a questionnaire, Bell (1987: 64) suggests it will benefit from following a few 'common-sense' guidelines, which include:

- The questionnaire is typed
- Instructions are clear
- Questions are evenly spaced
- Try to keep any response boxes aligned – preferably right justified
- Allow a space on the right of the questionnaire for analysis
- Be critical of the questionnaire and ask what impression would it leave if you were to receive it
- Take care in the ordering of the questions. Leave any sensitive material or complex questions until later in the questionnaire.

Topic: This is seen as a key element to the return of the questionnaire and Oppenheim suggests that the *degree of interest* or *intrinsic interest* to the respondent will determine the completion success rate. There is little doubt that having had the schools sign up to the research in advance, helped address this issue.

Cohen et al write extensively on the subject of questionnaire design and suggest that the 'process of operationalizing a questionnaire is to take a general purpose or set of purposes and turn these into concrete, researchable fields about which actual data can be gathered' (2003: 246). Within the study it was decided that almost all the questions would be closed and highly structured as 'they generate frequencies of response amenable to statistical treatment and analysis' (Cohen et al 2003: 247). Consideration was given to the *length* of the questionnaire recognising that the respondents were likely to be extremely busy (based on personal experience as a Principal in an international school) and it was decided that a lengthy questionnaire might not be completed and returned. Cohen et al (2003) suggest that satisfaction should be taken from a 50% return rate. Since all the schools who agreed to be in the study returned the questionnaire, this can be classed as a 100% return.

One important factor that was given further deliberation was the amount of detailed information each school was expected to enter into the questionnaire. Rather than asking the schools to list all the nationalities, and the percentages they represent, of their students and teachers, it was decided to restrict this to the top six. It was felt that this would be in line with the ISS directory, which often only lists four or five. In the end, the questionnaire consisted of 18 questions and these are as follows:

1. School Name.

2. The Year the School Opened.

3. Number of Students in the School.

4. Curriculum Offered – each school was given a choice of 16 to choose from and an additional space to enter any not already covered.

5. Language of Instruction.

6. Alternative Languages – offered by the school.

7. Student Nationalities – schools were asked to list the top six and the percentages they represent.

8. Higher Education – schools were asked to list the top six countries their graduating students attended and the percentages they represent.

9. Teaching Staff – schools were asked to list the total number of teachers in the school and state how many worked full- and part-time.

10. Teacher Nationalities – schools were asked to list the top six and the percentages they represent.

11. Teacher Pay Scales – schools were asked to state if they had a differential pay scale based on locally-hired and internationally-hired teachers.

12. Teacher Recruitment – schools were asked to tick which methods of recruitment they most frequently used. They were given 5 different options: Local Press, National Press, International Press, School Website and Recruitment Fairs.

13. Teacher Recruitment – schools were asked if they actively sought to recruit teachers whose first language matched that of the language of instruction.

14. Teacher Benefits – schools were asked to list the benefits, beside salary, that were offered to internationally-recruited teachers.

15. Teacher Benefits – schools were asked if these benefits were available to all teachers in the school.

16. Teacher Benefits – schools were asked if they provided incentives to internationally-recruited teachers to encourage them to stay beyond the initial contract.

17. Teacher Benefits – schools were asked if these benefits were available to all teachers in the school.

18. Teacher Continuity – schools were asked to give the average length of stay for internationally-recruited, locally-recruited 'international' and locally-recruited 'national' teachers.

The final research method used in this study was that of the interview. These were conducted at various times throughout the research and were 'non-standardized' (Fielding 1996 cited in Punch 1998: 175) or 'unstructured' in that they were often conducted in an informal setting. The main reason for using this format was that it allowed, what Douglas (1985 cited Punch 1998), calls 'creative interviewing'. Punch suggests that a successful in-depth, unstructured interview can have 'many of the characteristics of a prolonged and intimate conversation' and be a 'powerful research tool', capable of producing 'rich and valuable data' (1998: 178).

Qualitative methods and theory generation and exploration

Given the account of LMS theory and its relationship to the explanation that if there is LMS with respect to international school teachers and that it is related to the positional global competition for credentials, then ideally the link between recruitment and the positional competition could be established through interviews with those that do the recruiting, namely the Heads/CEO/Principals. Of course, it may well be the case that they would not be candid about their recruiting practices, but I thought it was worth exploring the issues with them. The relationship of quantitative to qualitative research can take the form of triangulation where the latter may be seen as a way of maximising validity (Denzin, 1978: 304) or as a way of identifying anomalies between the different data sets. However, Patton has a different view of triangulation. He argues that it is not appropriate to expect the same findings from different data sources, as different types of data may capture different types of information. Therefore, inconsistencies in findings across different types of data can be seen as helping to develop theorising about them:

Finding such inconsistencies ought not to be viewed as weakening the credibility

of results, but rather as offering opportunities for deeper insight into the

relationship between inquiry approach and the phenomenon under study

(Patton 2002: 248)

It is in this latter respect the choice of sample; in this case head of schools can be seen as theoretically defined (Silverman, 2001) because it is being used to explore a particular explanation for the quantitative data patterns. For the purposes of this thesis this data should be seen therefore as exploratory and indicative, rather than as having the qualitative equivalent of validity and reliability (Steinke, 2004).

In order to explore this explanatory hypothesis, I presented two information sessions at the IBO conference in 2008 in Beijing, in which I presented my findings as regards the data patterns identified in this thesis (see Chapter 5). At the end of each session, I approached a number of participants (total of 12 from the two sessions) to conduct informal focus group discussions to provide an initial check into the plausibility of the hypotheses. Would their responses provide weak confirmation for the link between data patterns presented and the explanations for them? My questions to the groups were open ended but remained focussed on the central theme of teacher recruitment.

It should be stressed that their responses can only be seen to provide an initial sense of the plausibility of the explanatory hypothesis and for this reason are not included in the reporting of the results. However, what they had to say was illuminating and reference is made to their views in Chapter 6, 'Discussion and Conclusion'.

One question, however, still needs to be answered. What kind of study is this? Cohen et al suggest that any research is a 'balancing act, for it requires the harmonizing of planned possibilities with workable coherent practice, i.e., the resolution of the difference between idealism and reality, between what could be done and what will actually work' (2003: 73)

Additionally, since the majority of the information was initially collected from a single source, it could be further classed as a retrospective longitudinal study. Oppenheim (2001: 33) suggests that in longitudinal studies 'we take repeated measures of the same respondents at several time intervals' but warns that studies conducted in this manner tend to be 'weaker in terms of casual attribution'. Oppenheim further argues that any research, over such an extended period, might be influenced by 'intervening variables', which can lead to the study suffering from 'case losses and consequent biases'. Within this study, it could be argued that the opposite is true. During the study, there has been an increase in the number of countries, schools, pupils and teachers engaging in 'international education', arguably resulting in 'case gains'. Secondly, since most of the data collected is purely numerical, there can be little or no bias attached; unless it is incorporated by the individual schools when submitting the data. Finally, on this point, since the information from the ISS Directory has been analysed on three separate occasions over a period of 10 years and has been supplemented by the data provided by individual schools, it can be concluded that the study is both longitudinal and cross-sectional.

Undoubtedly, one of the advantages of using this kind of research is that it will be based predominantly on quantitative methods and is more likely to fall into the category of 'theory testing' or 'theory first' (Punch 1998: 16). With 'theory first' research, as opposed to 'theory after' research, the theory already exists and is generated from that theory and an hypothesis is formulated and the methodology and methods are drawn up to test it. Punch questioned which method facilitates better research and concludes by stating:

Both are needed and both have their place. Either purpose can be appropriate in a research project and sometimes both will be appropriate. It depends on the topic, on the context and practical circumstances of the research and especially on how much prior theorizing and knowledge exist in the area (1998: 17).

Nevertheless it is generally accepted that theory-testing research is typically dominated by quantitative methodology and theory-generation research is more likely to be dependent on qualitative methodology.

Chapter 5

Data Analysis

Data Analysis

Cohen et al. suggest that data analysis is 'organizing, accounting for, and explaining the data; in short, making sense of the data in terms of the participants' definitions of the situations, noting patterns, themes categories and regularities' (2003: 147). Lankshear and Knobel suggest that once the data has been collected in any quantitative research it is necessary to 'summarize and interpret' the findings. They go on to suggest that this can be achieved by using two branches of statistics: *descriptive statistics* or *inferential statistics*. In the former the goal is to 'organize collected data so it is easier to comprehend' and in the latter 'the goal is to draw inferences about some population of interest based on a sample from the whole population' (2004: 163).

Within the study both methods have been incorporated whenever possible. Nevertheless, before considering the data, it is necessary to give some thought to the sheer amount of information that has been correlated over the period of the study. In total the three editions of the ISS directory have created more than 70 appendices. Information has been gathered from more than 140 countries, 400 schools, 200,000 pupils and 25,000 teachers. In total these figures have generated more than 250,000 pieces of usable data. To analyse every piece of data generated would be way beyond the remit of this study and therefore, for ease of comprehension and comparison, the analysis has been broken down into a number of sections and within each section there will be a number of subdivisions. Wherever possible the information salient to this chapter has been brought to the fore (with appendix number noted) and the changes over time discussed.

The first section of the analysis considers the results from all the schools in all three directories, irrespective of whether they appear in the directory once, twice or all three times. This will form the *descriptive* part of the analysis. This will then be compared to the results obtained from those schools that appear in all three editions of the directory; the *inferential* part of the analysis. Undoubtedly the information gathered from the schools that appear in all

three directories will constitute the majority of the analysis because with the number of countries and schools remaining constant, changes in pupil numbers, the number of teachers employed and, most importantly, the nationalities of these teachers can easily be compared. To aid and simplify the examination of the data, the results will be considered both globally and regionally. The ultimate part of the data analysis will be to correlate the information provided by those schools that agreed to participate in the questionnaire part of the study.

Results from the 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006 ISS Directories

Number of Participating Schools

It should be noted that for this section most of the information is drawn from the following appendices:

- Appendix 1. The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **World – All Schools**

- Appendix 10. The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998. **World Summary – All Countries**

- Appendix 11. The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 2002–2003. **World Summary – All Countries**

- Appendix 12. The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 2005–2006. **World Summary – All Countries**

- Appendix 13. The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **World Summary – Changes from 1997 to 2006**

- Appendix 46. The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear in All Three Editions – All Schools**

- Appendix 47. The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear in All Three Editions – World Summary**

- Appendix 48. The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear in All Three Editions – World Summary, Changes from 1997 to 2006**

The ISS Directory 1997–1998: In this edition of the directory 588 schools were listed, of which 457 (77.7%) were able to provide the necessary information for the study. These schools were drawn from 142 countries (appendix 10 page 6). If the absolute number of schools is considered, this equates to an average of 4.14 international schools per country. This figure drops to 3.22 schools per country if only the schools in the study are considered.

The region with the largest number of schools participating in the study was Europe with 154. It also had the largest number of participating countries with 43, giving an average number of international schools per country of 3.58, slightly higher than the world average. Australasia had the lowest number of participating countries (two – Australia and Fiji) and the lowest number of participating schools (two – AUS2 and FIJ1). This equates to an average of 1.00 international school per country.

North America had the highest average with 5.0 international schools per country. However, these figures should be viewed in the context that the region comprised only two participating countries (the USA and Canada) and 10 schools. Asia had the next highest average with 4.58 schools per country, having had 24 countries and 110 schools present in the directory. The figures for the remaining regions are displayed in table 3 below:

Table 3:

Region	Number of Countries in the Study	Number of Schools in the Study	Average Schools per Country
Central and South America	19	73	3.84
The Middle East	12	33	2.75
The Caribbean	8	17	2.13
Africa	32	58	1.81

The ISS Directory 2002–2003: In this edition of the directory there were 540 schools listed, a drop of 8.16% (48 schools) compared with the earlier edition. In spite of this the number of schools providing the necessary data increased to 96.9% (523 schools). Another change was that ISS introduced a number of new regions. Central and South America became Central America and South America. Europe was split into Eastern and Western and Asia became East Asia/Pacific and Near East/South Asia/Middle East. However, for ease of correlation, schools were kept in the regions listed in the 1997–1998 directory. There were also an additional eight countries represented in the study, bringing the number to 150 (appendix 11, page 6). This increase in school and country numbers is reflected in the average number of schools per country, which went up by 0.26 to 3.48. Regionally Europe once again had the greatest number of schools (161) but for the same number of countries (43), equating to an average of 3.74 schools per country – a jump of 4.35%.

North America again had the highest average number of schools per country, going from five to eight, which equates to an increase of 60%. These figures should, however, be viewed in light of the fact that the number of countries representing the region fell to one (USA), and the number of schools fell from 10 to eight. Another region for which the figures need to be viewed with some reservations is Australasia. Although the number of countries represented

stayed the same at two, Fiji was replaced by the Marshall Islands and the number of schools went from two to five. This means the average number of schools went from 1.00 to 2.50, giving a growth rate of 150% in the span of four years.

Putting the figures from North America and Australasia aside, the two regions that experienced significant growth during this time period were Asia and Central and South America. Asia saw one additional country listed in the directory (Guam, with one school) and the total number of schools go from 110 to 147. This represents a growth rate of 33.6% and means the average number of schools per country went from 4.58 to 5.88. In Central and South America the number of countries remained the same (19) but the number of schools grew to 87 (from 73), equating to an enhancement of 19.2%. This reflects in the average number of schools per country, which went from 3.84 to 4.57.

The Middle East actually had once less country (Iraq did not feature) represented in the directory, but the number of schools went from 33 to 35, a growth of 6.0%. The average number of schools per country went from 2.75 to 3.18.

Interestingly both Africa and the Caribbean saw increases in the number of countries and schools represented in the directory but decreases in the average number of schools per country. The number of African countries represented went from 32 to 37 and the school numbers increased by two to 60, but the region's average dropped from 1.81 to 1.62. The Caribbean saw the number of countries go from eight to 12 and schools from 17 to 20, but the average number of schools per country dropped considerably from 2.13 to 1.66.

The ISS Directory 2005–2006: In this edition of the directory 512 schools were listed, a drop of 5.19% compared with the 2002–2003 edition and 12.9% compared with the 1997–1998 edition (appendices 10, 11 and 12 page 6). Of the 512 schools, drawn from 144 countries,

426 (83.2%) were able to provide the necessary information for the study. Given the significant reduction in the number of schools represented it is difficult to draw any comparisons with earlier results in terms of schools per country. Nevertheless, the 2005–2006 edition of the directory is noteworthy because out of the 426 schools from which data are drawn, 305 (71.6%) are in the directory for the third consecutive time, thus allowing a more detailed comparison of the various changes seen over the nine-year period of the study.

From a global perspective it can be seen that the 305 schools that appear in all three editions of the ISS directory are drawn from 125 countries (appendix 47 page 3), giving an average of 2.44 schools per country. This figure is significantly lower than the averages taken from the 1997–1998 and 2002–2003 directories that gave 3.22 and 3.48 schools per country respectively. Despite this difference there are, however, a number of similarities that can be drawn.

Again Europe was the region with the largest number of countries (39) and schools (107), giving an average of 2.74 schools per country. In keeping with earlier results, North America had the highest average number of schools, with four schools per country, but once again these results need to be viewed in light of the fact that only one country (USA) represented the region. By the same token the results from Australasia, in terms of average number of schools per country, can be disregarded as they represent only one school (AUS2) and one country (Australia). Outside of these two regions, Asia had the largest average number of schools per country with 3.35. Although this is considerably lower than the averages of 4.58 and 5.88 given in the first two editions of the directory, it is likely to be an appreciably more accurate figure, having been drawn from 23 countries and 77 schools. All the remaining regions had lower averages when considering only those schools that appeared in all three editions. The figures for the remaining regions are displayed in table 4 below.

Table 4:

Region	Number of Countries in all Three Editions	Number of Schools in all Three Editions	Average Number of Schools per Country
Central and South America	17	54	3.18
The Middle East	9	19	2.11
The Caribbean	7	9	1.28
Africa	28	34	1.21

Number of Pupils and Teachers

It should be noted that the figures for this section are drawn from the same appendices referenced in the previous section.

With regard to changes in pupil and teacher numbers over the period of the study, they tend to indicate that both saw continued growth. This can be best illustrated by looking at the figures from those schools that appear in all three editions of the directory.

Between 1997–1998 and 2005–2006, for an equal number of schools, an additional 23,588 students worldwide were receiving their education in international schools (appendix 48 page 1). This is equivalent to a 13.8% increase and is illustrated in table 5 below.

Region	# of Pupils 1997–1998	# of Pupils 2002–2003	# of Pupils 2005–2006	Changes between 1997–1998 & 2005–2006	Approximate Percentage Change
Africa	10191	11418	11403	+1212	+11.90%
Central and South America	39743	40114	40407	+664	+1.67%
North America	3160	3570	3714	+554	+17.53%
Asia	46421	49280	54493	+8072	+17.38%
Australasia	160	400	410	+250	+156.25%
The Caribbean	4146	4633	4377	+231	+5.57%
Europe	45755	58427	59827	+14072	+30.75%
The Middle East	21511	22574	20044	-1467	-6.82%
The World	171087	190416	194675	+23588	+13.78%

In terms of sheer numbers Europe saw the greatest increase over the length of the study, with 14,072 more pupils being enrolled. This was followed by Asia with an additional 8072 pupils. The Middle East suffered a net loss of 1467 pupils over the same period. If percentage growth is considered then Australasia shows a staggering 156.25% increase. However it should be remembered that these figures represent only one country (Australia) and one school (AUS2). Disregarding the figures from Australasia, Europe shows the greatest gain, equating to a 30.75% increase. This is followed by North America (17.53%) and Asia (17.38%). However, when considering the figures from North America, it should be remembered that, as with Australasia, the sample is very small comprising only one country (USA) and four schools.

The Middle East is the only region to show a decline in growth over the length of the study, by approximately 6.82%.

When considering teachers employed in international schools over the period of the study the changes are even greater.

Table 6: **Teachers employed in international schools between 1997 and 2006**

Region	# of Teachers 1997–1998	# of Teachers 2002–2003	# of Teachers 2005–2006	Changes between 1997–1998 & 2005–2006	Approximate Percentage Change
Africa	1238	1333	1353	+115	+9.29%
Central and South America	3976	4477	4573	+597	+15.02%
North America	421	485	528	+107	+25.42%
Asia	5111	5649	6622	+1511	+29.56%
Australasia	27	44	50	+23	+85.19%
The Caribbean	423	555	568	+145	+34.28%
Europe	5235	6970	7703	+2468	+47.14%
The Middle East	2279	2344	2352	+73	+3.20%
The World	18710	21857	23749	+5039	+26.93%

As can be seen from the table above, all regions saw an increase in the number of teachers employed in international schools. Globally, there was a growth rate of 26.93%, which is almost double the percentage increase in pupil numbers. With the exception of Africa and Australasia all the regions experienced a percentage increase in teacher numbers that was

greater than the percentage increase in pupil numbers. Although Africa saw an additional 115 teachers – a gain of 9.29% – distributed throughout the 34 schools, this was slightly lower than the increase in pupil numbers of 11.90%. Although Australasia saw their teacher numbers expand by 85.19%, these numbers must be viewed again in the context of them only being drawn from one school. Central and South America and the Caribbean saw considerable differences between pupil and teacher gains. Central and South America saw a gain of 1.60% in pupil numbers but this is dwarfed by the 15.02% increase in teachers employed. In the Caribbean the difference is even larger with pupil numbers up by 5.57% but number of teachers employed up by 34.28%. Despite a reduction in the number of pupils in the Middle East, the region still experienced a 3.20% increase in the number of teachers employed.

Despite the larger number of teachers working in the international sector, the percentage who were employed full-time showed little variation. When considering all the schools the proportion of teachers who were employed full-time stood at 87.8%. By 2005–2006 this had only risen by 1.7% to 89.5%. These figures are reinforced by looking at the schools that appear in all three editions of the directory. In 1997–1998 the proportion of full-time teachers was 88.4% and by 2005–06 this had only increased by 0.5% to 88.9%.

Given that the figures show a marked increase in teacher numbers it is no surprise that over the period of the study there was a decline in teacher:pupil ratios. In 1997–1998 the information gathered from all the schools showed an average worldwide teacher:pupil ratio of 1:9.2. By 2002–2003 this figure had dropped to 1:8.8 and by 2005–2006 it had again reduced to 1:8.3.

These figures are almost mirrored by those schools that appear in all three editions of the directory. In 1997–1998 the teacher:pupil ratio stood at 1:9.1 and by 2005–2006 this had fallen to 1:8.1 (appendix 47 page 1). Regionally, with the exception of Australasia, all regions

experienced a drop in their teacher:pupil ratios. However, it should be noted that at the beginning of the study Australasia had what might be considered an extremely fortunate ratio of 1:5.9. This had increased to 1:9.1 by 2002–2003 but had declined to 1:8.2 by 2005–2006. Africa did experience an increase in teacher:pupil ratios from 1997–1998 to 2002–2003, going from 1:8.2 to 1:8.5, but this had dropped to 1:8.4 by 2005–2006.The changes for the other regions are as follows:

Table 7: **Teacher:Pupil ratios: drawn from appendix 47, Pages 1 and 2**

Region	1997–1998	2002–2003	2005–2006
Central and South America	1:9.9	1:8.9	1:8.8
The Caribbean	1:9.8	1:8.3	1:7.7
The Middle East	1:9.4	1:9.6	1:8.5
Asia	1:9.1	1:8.7	1:8.2
Europe	1:8.7	1:8.3	1:7.7
North America	1:7.5	1:7.3	1:7.0

Teacher Nationalities

It should be noted that the figures for this section are drawn from the same appendices referenced in the previous section.

There were a number of significant changes with regard to the nationalities of the teachers working in international schools over the period of the study, both in the figures drawn from all the schools and from those schools that appear in all three editions.

Without doubt the group labelled 'Others' has experienced the greatest change over the period of the study. This is confirmed by the figures drawn from all participating schools and those that appear in all three editions (appendix 13 page 1 and appendix 48 page 1). In 1997–1998 this group accounted for only 20.7% (5366) of the total (25943). By 2002–2003 this had increased to 22.3% (7520 out of 33,707) and by 2005–2006 it had risen again to 8129, or 26.5% out of a total of 30,630 teachers. This growth is substantiated by looking at the selected 'three edition' schools. In 2002–2003 'Others' represented only 19.7% of the total. By 2005–2006 the number had risen by 2447 to 6137, representing 25.8% of the total. For all the schools in the study this represents a growth of 5.8% and for the selected 'three edition' schools it shows a growth of 6.1%.

The group of teachers labelled 'Host' also saw an increase in numbers but not to the same extent. If all 457 schools in the 1997–1998 edition are considered then this group comprised 26.5% of the total – 6882 teachers out of a total of 25,943 (appendix 10, page 6). By 2005–2006 this number had risen to 8450 (out of 30,630) or 27.6% of the total, showing a growth of 1.1% (appendix 12, page 6). The selected 'three edition' schools actually show slightly greater growth. In 1997–1998 this group comprised 25.1% of the total (4690 out of 18,710) and by 2005–2006 this had increased to 28.3% (6176 out of 21,557). This represents a growth of 3.1% over the period of the study.

The results for the group labelled 'UK' teachers actually show slight contradictions. When considering all the participating schools, it can be seen there is a slight drop in the group's representation by 0.8% from the beginning to the end of the study (appendices 10 and 12, page 6). In contrast the 'three edition' schools show a slight enhancement of this group by 0.4% (appendix 48, page 1). Although the percentages show different trends in both cases the actual number of 'UK' teachers employed accumulated. For all schools in the study the

number of 'UK' teachers went from 3512 to 3877 (+365) and for the selected 'three edition' schools it went from 2195 to 2864 (+669).

The fourth group in the study, 'US' teachers, also showed a consistent change in their numbers but, unlike the other three groups, the move was not positive and there was a steady reduction in their overall influence. When the data from the 1997–1998 edition was first correlated this group dominated with a total of 39.3% of the teachers employed worldwide (10,183 out of a total of 25,943 – appendix 10, page 6). By the end of the study their overall numbers had dropped to 33.2% of the total. Indeed the group actually incurred a net loss of nine teachers over the nine-year period, which is likely to have been even greater as the figures from 2002–2003 to 2005–2006 show a reduction of 969 teachers (appendix 13, page 1). These figures are complemented by the 'three edition' results. From 1997–1998 the 'US' teachers saw their raw numbers drop from 8135 to 8056 (–79), which represents a reduction of 9.6% of the total (appendix 48, page 1). The overall changes regarding the nationalities of teachers working in international schools are illustrated by the diagrams below.

Pie Charts 1 and 2:   **Changes in the overall percentages of teachers working in**

international schools

Pie Chart 1

Percentage of Teachers in International Schools
1997 - 1998. Three Edition Schools Only

25.1%

43.5%

19.7%

11.7%

- US
- UK
- Other
- Host

Pie Chart 2

Percentage of Teachers in International Schools
2005 - 2006. Three Edition Schools Only

28.2%

33.9%

25.8%

12.1%

- US
- UK
- Other
- Host
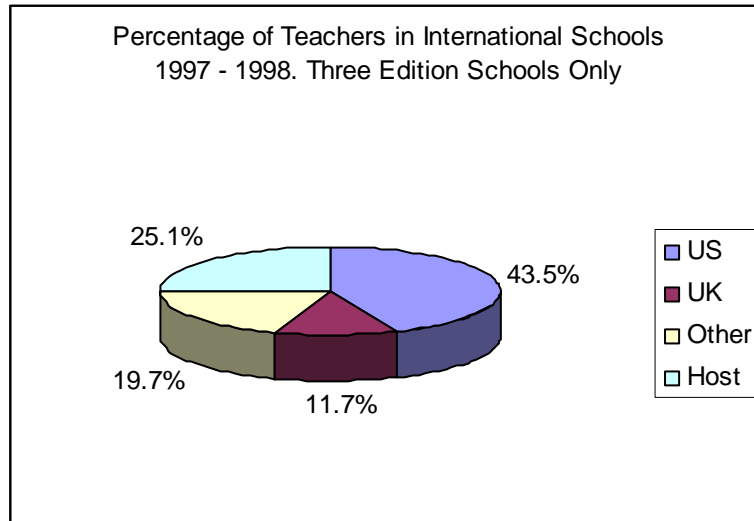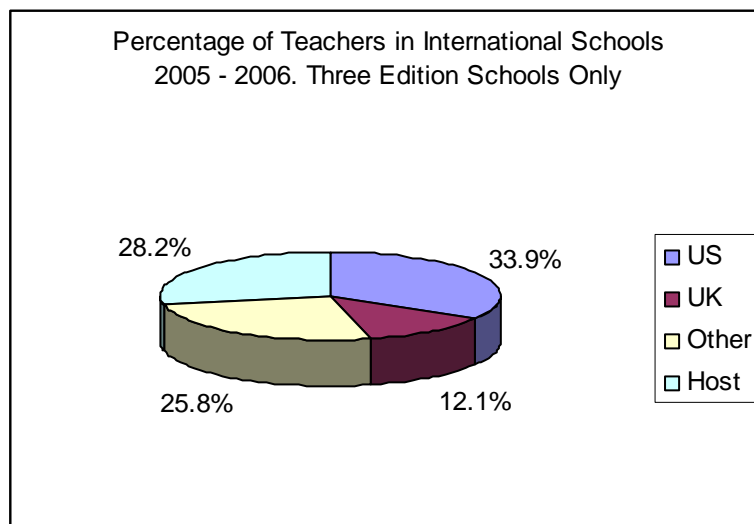
Regional Results: As stated previously the study generated an enormous amount of results, meaning it is impossible to consider them all within this chapter. However, as already shown there have been a number of regional variations and these will now be considered to highlight the prominent points.

Africa

The information for Africa will be drawn from the following appendices:

- Appendix 2: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **African Schools Only**.

- Appendix 14: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998. **African Countries Summary**

- Appendix 15: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 2002–2003. **African Countries Summary**

- Appendix 16: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 2005–2006. **African Countries Summary**

- Appendix 17: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **African Summary – Changes from 1997 to 2006**

- Appendix 49: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. African Schools Only**

- Appendix 50: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. African Countries Summary**

- Appendix 51: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. African Summary – Changes from 1997 to 2006**

Throughout the study the number of participating countries and schools for Africa varied. In the 1997–1998 edition of the directory 32 countries and 58 schools provided the necessary

data (appendix 17, page 1). By 2002–2003 this had grown to 37 countries and 60 schools with the addition of Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi, Mozambique and the Seychelles. By 2005–2006 this number had dropped back to 34 countries and 46 schools with the omission of the Gabon, Senegal, the Seychelles and Sierra Leone.

Libya joined the list with one school and 75 pupils, having been absent from the earlier two editions. Egypt and Tanzania registered the highest number of schools throughout the study with five. In the 1997–1998 directory Tanzania had all five schools listed but this had dropped to two schools (TAN1 and TAN 2) by 2005–2006. Egypt had four of its five schools in the 1997–1998 and 2002–2003 versions but this dropped to two for the 2005–2006 edition. Botswana, Morocco and Nigeria were the next highest with four schools apiece. For any individual school the highest pupil numbers recorded were in EGY2 in 2002–2003 with 1500 pupils. The smallest school with four students was TAN5 in 1997–1998.

If only those countries and schools that appear in all three editions of the directory are considered, this equates to 28 countries and 34 schools (appendix 51, page 1). This represents approximately 63% of the total number of schools from any given edition. Thus for a constant number of schools it can be seen that over the period of the study there was an 11.9% increase in pupil numbers (from 10,191 to 11,403) and a 9.3% increase in teachers employed (from 1238 to 1353). The majority (91.3%) of these additional 115 teachers were employed full-time.

With regard to the nationality distribution of the teachers employed, the figures for Africa reflect the trend for the rest of the world. The groups labelled 'Other' and 'Host' saw the biggest gains. Host nation teachers saw their numbers go from 134 to 223, representing a gain of 66.4%. This increase represents a jump from 10.9% to 16.5% of the total number of teachers employed. 'Other' teachers saw a 26.8% increase in their numbers (from 347 to 440) and their overall percentage went from 28.0% to 32.5%.

Throughout the length of the study the 'UK' teacher numbers showed some fluctuation. In 1997–1998 their number stood at 155 (12.5% of the total) and by 2002–2003 this had jumped to 194 (14.5% of the total). However, by 2005–2006, this number had reduced to 156 and shows a net gain of only one. In terms of overall percentage, the 156 teachers represent a loss of 1.0% for the length of the study.

The biggest change for Africa throughout the study is associated with 'US' teachers. In 1997–1998 this group represented 48.6% of the total – 602 out of the 1238 teachers. By 2005–2006 this number had dropped to 534 teachers, a drop of 11.3%. Over the length of the study the overall percentage of US teachers working Africa fell by 9.1% to 39.5% (appendix 50, page 4).

Central and South America

The information for Central and South America will be drawn from the following appendices:

- Appendix 3: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Central and South American Schools Only**

- Appendix 18: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998. **Central and South American Countries Summary**

- Appendix 19: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 2002–2003. **Central and South American Countries Summary**

- Appendix 20: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 2005–2006. **Central and South American Countries Summary**

- Appendix 21: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Central and South American Summary – Changes from 1997 to 2006**

- Appendix 52: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. Central and South America Schools Only**

- Appendix 53: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. Central and South American Countries Summary**

- Appendix 54: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. Central and South American Summary – Changes from 1997 to 2006**

Although there was some fluctuation in the number of participating schools during the length of the study, this region did not experience the same extremes as Africa. In both the 1997–1998 and 2002–2003 editions of the directory the number of countries remained constant at 19, but the number of schools did grow from 73 to 87. In 2005–2006 the number of countries fell by two as Guyana (one school) and Suriname (one school) both failed to provide data.

Two countries stood out as having significantly more international schools than their neighbours and these were Mexico and Brazil. Mexico registered 15 different schools throughout the study, of which 13 appeared in the 1997–1998 edition and 14 in the 2002–2003 edition. Brazil registered 13 schools, of which 12 appeared in two consecutive editions; 1997–1998 and 2002–2003. Colombia registered the third highest number of schools in 2002–2003 with 10, and this was followed by Venezuela with nine schools in the 2002–2003 edition. For any given school the highest number of pupils recorded was MEX3 with 2521 in 2002–2003. The smallest number was 33 for HON2 in 1997–1998.

When considering Central and South American countries and schools that appear in all three editions of the directory, this equates to 17 countries and 54 schools (appendix 53, page 3). This figure approximates to 72% of the total schools in any given edition.

Over the period of the study it can be seen that there was a slight rise in pupil numbers for this region. In the 1997–1998 edition, the 54 schools had a total of 39,743 pupils and by 2005–2006 this had risen to 40,407, an additional 664 students equating to an increase by 1.67%. Over the same period there were 597 more teachers employed, representing a growth of 15.0%. Interestingly with regard to teachers working either full- or part-time, there was a significant change over the nine-year period. The number of teachers working part-time dropped by 29.1% and this was offset by a 19.2% growth (699 more teachers) in teachers who were employed full-time. Unfortunately it is impossible to tell from the data if those teachers who worked part-time were offered full-time contracts, or whether they were replaced by new teachers. Nevertheless, personal experience and anecdotal evidence tends to suggest that most teachers who work part-time in international schools come from one of two groups: they are either the spouses of 'career internationalists' such as diplomats, or are drawn from the local population. Given the dramatic rise in host nation teachers working in international schools in South America – their percentage of the total went from 49.7% to 58.8% – it might be argued that the change in percentages of part-time and full-time teachers is closely connected to the increase in the employment of host nation teachers.

Unlike Africa, Central and South America saw a decline in the group of 'Other' teachers. Although this was not by a large number, a reduction of four teachers, it did mean their overall representation dropped from 11.4% to 9.8%. By contrast the 'UK' teachers saw their numbers grow by 83.3%, from 36 to 66, although their overall influence in the region stayed relatively small as they moved from 0.9% to 1.5% of the total.

In keeping with the figures for Africa and the rest of the world, 'US' teachers saw a considerable drop in numbers. In raw terms their numbers declined by 144 over the nine-year period, representing a reduction of 9.5%, and their overall representation in the region declined from 38.0% to 29.9%.

North America

The information for North America will be drawn from the following appendices:

- Appendix 4: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **North American Schools Only**

- Appendix 22: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998. **North American Countries Summary**

- Appendix 23: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 2002–2003. **North American Countries Summary**

- Appendix 24: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 2005–2006. **North American Countries Summary**

- Appendix 25: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **North American Summary – Changes from 1997 to 2006**

- Appendix 55: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. North America Schools Only**

- Appendix 56: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. North American Countries Summary**

- Appendix 57: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. North American Summary – Changes from 1997 to 2006**

Throughout the study the figures drawn from North America were viewed with a certain degree of reservation simply because the number of schools and countries involved were considerably smaller than for the other regions. This can be plainly illustrated by considering the number of countries participating in the study. In the 1997–1998 edition of the directory there were two countries (Canada and the USA) and 10 schools. In the next two editions this fell to one country – the USA. Nevertheless, the figures from this region do provide some interesting data, especially when considering only those schools that appear in all three

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editions of the directory. For this region, four schools were present in all three editions, USA1, USA6, USA7 and USA9 (appendix 55, page 1).

Although the student numbers increased by 17.5%, from 3160 to 3714, it is the changes associated with teacher nationalities that are worth closer inspection.

In 1997–1998 the teachers drawn from the 'US' dominated the schools with 47.3% of the total – 199 out of 383. However, by 2005–2006, despite an increase of five teachers in the total, their overall dominance had dropped to 38.6%. This is offset by significant growth in both 'UK' and 'Other' teachers. 'UK' teachers saw their numbers go from 36 to 53 (an increase of 47.2%) and their overall percentage go from 8.5% to 10.1%. Although 'Others' saw a slightly lower percentage increase of 45.7% – from 186 to 271 teachers – their overall representation went from 44.2% to 51.3%.

Asia

The information for Asia will be drawn from the following appendices:

- Appendix 5: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Asian Schools Only**
- Appendix 26: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998. **Asian Countries Summary**
- Appendix 27: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 2002–2003. **Asian Countries Summary**
- Appendix 28: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 2005–2006. **Asian Countries Summary**
- Appendix 29: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Asian Summary – Changes from 1997 to 2006**

- Appendix 58: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. Asian Schools Only**

- Appendix 59: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. Asian Countries Summary**

- Appendix 60: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. Asian Summary – Changes from 1997 to 2006**

Within Asia the number of schools and countries represented in the directory grew each year. In the 1997–1998 edition of the directory the 110 schools were drawn from 24 countries. The 2002–2003 edition saw one additional country registered, Guam (with one school with 515 pupils), making the total 25. By 2005–2006 this number had reached 26, although it should be noted that Guam had been replaced by Tajikistan (one school with four pupils) and Afghanistan (one school with nine pupils). Three countries stood out in the region for having some of the highest concentrations of internationals seen throughout the world. China showed considerable growth over the period of the study and in the 2002–2003 edition of the directory 27 schools were represented. This was followed by Japan with 21 (2002–2003) and Indonesia with 18 international schools (2002–2003). If only those schools that appear in all three editions are considered, then Japan and Indonesia ranked the highest with 13 and 11 respectively. For any individual school the highest pupil numbers recorded were 3119 for SIN5 in 2005–2006. The smallest school was TAJ1 with four students, also in 2005–2006. Another point worth noting is that although Singapore recorded only five schools in 1997–1998 and seven schools for the other two editions, it consistently placed second in the region for the highest number of pupils attending international schools (appendices 26, 27 and 28, page 1) with an average of 10,068 per entry of the directory or 1589 pupils per school.

When considering only those countries and schools that appear in all three editions of the ISS directory, this equates to 23 countries and 77 schools. Over the period of the study the 77

schools experienced a growth of 17.3% in pupil numbers and 29.6% in the number of teachers employed. However, unlike in Africa and Central and South America, this growth was not reflected in the employment of more 'Host' nation teachers.

Although 'Host' nation teachers did see their numbers increase from 795 to 928 – an increase of 16.7% – their overall influence in the region dropped from 15.6% down to 14.0%. Undoubtedly the biggest gain was in 'Other' teachers. In 1997–1998 this group accounted for 23.2% of the total but this had grown to 33.1% by 2005–2006. In raw terms, this meant an additional 1010 teachers, a staggering 85.3% increase.

For 'UK' teachers there was very little change over the period of the study. In 1997–1998 this group represented 13.3% of the total and by 2005–2006 this had risen by only 0.1% to 13.4%. As with all the other regions discussed thus far, the 'US' teachers saw significant losses during the same period. Although there were 166 more 'US' teachers working in Asia by the end of the study, their influence had dropped from 47.9% of the total down to 39.5%.

Australasia

The information for Australasia will be drawn from the following appendices:

- Appendix 6: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Australasian Schools Only**
- Appendix 30: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998. **Australasian Countries Summary**
- Appendix 31: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 2002–2003. **Australasian Countries Summary**
- Appendix 32: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 2005–2006. **Australasian Countries Summary**

- Appendix 33: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Australasian Summary – Changes from 1997 to 2006**

- Appendix 61: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. Australasian Schools Only**

- Appendix 62: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. Australasian Countries Summary**

- Appendix 63: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. Australasian Summary – Changes from 1997 to 2006**

Like the data drawn from the USA, the figures for Australasia need to be viewed with some caution simply because the sample is so small when compared to the other regions. This is clearly illustrated by the 2002–2003 edition of the directory where the region had its highest representation of schools, but still the total was only five. The region saw only two countries represented in any given edition, with Australia being the only constant. In the 1997–1998 edition Fiji was represented with one school but this was replaced by the Marshall Islands in the next two directories. The region only had one school (AUS2) that appeared in all three editions. Nevertheless the figures do throw up some interesting points. In keeping with the areas thus far considered, the region has experienced growth in pupil and teacher numbers. AUS2 saw a 156.3% growth in enrolment and this was supplemented by an 85.2% increase in teachers employed (appendix 61, page 1).

The Caribbean

The information for the Caribbean will be drawn from the following appendices:

- Appendix 7: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Caribbean Schools Only**

- Appendix 34: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998. **Caribbean Countries Summary**

- Appendix 35: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 2002–2003. **Caribbean Countries Summary**

- Appendix 36: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 2005–2006. **Caribbean Countries Summary**

- Appendix 37: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Caribbean Summary – Changes from 1997 to 2006**

- Appendix 64: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. Caribbean Schools Only**

- Appendix 65: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. Caribbean Countries Summary**

- Appendix 66: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. Caribbean Summary – Changes from 1997 to 2006**

Throughout the study the number of participating countries in the Caribbean continued to grow, although it should be noted that not all the same countries were present. This can be illustrated in a number of ways. In the 1997–1998 directory the region was represented by eight countries and 17 schools. By 2002–2003 this number had grown to 12 countries and 20 schools with the addition of Aruba, the Bahamas, the British Virgin Islands and Curacao. In 2005–2006 two additional countries were listed, the Cayman Islands and St. Kitts, but Jamaica failed to provide any entries so the number of countries rose by one to 13. Surprisingly, despite the 2005–2006 directory having the largest number of countries for the region, the number of schools providing the necessary data had dropped back to 17. The smallest school, in terms of pupil numbers, was TAT2 with 47 in 1997–1998, and the largest was DOR4 with 1100 in 2005–2006. The country with the most schools listed was Puerto Rico with five in 1997–1998.

When considering only those countries and schools that appear in all three editions of the directory the figures total seven countries and nine schools (appendix 65, page 1). This represents approximately 66.5% of the total schools for any given edition of the directory and therefore again it can be assumed that these figures give an accurate summation of the status of pupil and teachers in international schools in the Caribbean. Over the length of the study it can be seen that there was a 5.6% growth in student numbers (from 4146 to 4377) but a 34.3% (from 423 to 568) increase in the number of teachers employed (appendix 66, page 1). The vast majority (97.9%) of the additional teachers were employed full-time.

In terms of nationality distribution for the Caribbean, the region once again reflects the trends seen by other regions. Teachers drawn from the 'US' saw their influence in the region drop from 57.9% of the total down to 44.5%. 'Other' teachers also saw a steady decline, going from 11.8% of the total down to 9.0%. The biggest gain was made by 'Host' nation teachers who more than doubled their numbers (from 125 to 259) and saw their percentage of the total go from 29.6% to 45.6%. 'UK' teachers experienced a very small percentage growth with an additional two teachers working in the region over the length of the study, which changed their overall influence from 0.7% to 0.9%.

Europe

The information for the Europe will be drawn from the following appendices:

- Appendix 8: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **European Schools Only**
- Appendix 38: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998. **European Countries Summary**
- Appendix 39: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 2002–2003. **European Countries Summary**

- Appendix 40: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 2005–2006. **European Countries Summary**

- Appendix 41: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **European Summary – Changes from 1997 to 2006**

- Appendix 67: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. European Schools Only**

- Appendix 68: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. European Countries Summary**

- Appendix 69: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. European Summary – Changes from 1997 to 2006**

Of all the regions Europe created the most data, simply because it had the most participating countries and schools. In the 1997–1998 and 2002–2003 editions of the directory 43 countries were represented with the number of schools being 154 and 161 respectively. In the 2005–2006 edition of the directory the number of countries represented dropped to 40, with Yugoslavia, Slovakia, Malta and Croatia failing to provide any data. Serbia and Montenegro were added in the ultimate edition with two schools, 357 pupils and 45 teachers (appendix 40, page 2). As well as having the largest number of countries and schools, Europe also had the largest number of pupils (80,187) and teachers (9859) recorded in the 2002–2003 directory. Over the course of the study Switzerland registered the largest number of schools with a total of 24, of which 21 appeared in the first two editions of the directory. Italy recorded 17 schools, Spain 12, and France, Belgium and the UK had 11 each. The largest number of pupils (3534) recorded was at SWI4 in 2005–2006 edition. The smallest number was four pupils at MAC4 in 1997–1998.

If only those countries and schools that appear in all three editions are considered this equates to 39 countries and 107 schools (appendix 68, page 5). This represents

approximately 73.6% of the total number of schools in any given edition of the directory. When considering only these statistics, Switzerland once again emerges with the largest number of schools (14) followed by Italy with 10.

In terms of pupil and teacher numbers, Europe saw a considerable increase throughout the period of the study. Figures drawn from appendix 69, page 1 (European Schools in Three Editions Only) show that from 1997–1998 to 2005–2006 there was an increase of 30.7% in pupil numbers (from 45,755 to 59,827) and a 47.1% increase in teachers employed (from 5235 to 7703). As with most of the other regions, this increase in teacher numbers is dominated by those who gained full-time employment.

In terms of nationality distribution Europe is very much in keeping with all the other regions in that there was a noticeable drop in the number of 'US' teachers employed which was compensated by gains for 'Other' and 'Host' teachers. In 1997–1998, 40.3% (2110) of the total number of teachers were drawn from the 'US'. Although this group saw their numbers increase by 252 (+11.94%), there was actually a net loss of 9.6%, meaning that by 2005–2006 this group only accounted for 30.7% of the total. Although 'UK' teachers saw a 40.6% increase in their numbers to 1476 from 1050, their overall influence in the region actually dropped by 1.0% to 19.1% of the total.

The biggest gain was made by the group of teachers labelled 'Other'. In raw terms their numbers increased by almost 100% as they went from 945 (1997–1998) to 1888 (2005–2006). This means their representation in the region increased by 6.5% to 24.5% (appendix 69, page 1). There was also an enhancement for 'Host' nation teachers. Over the period of the study this group's numbers increased from 1130 to 1977 – up by 74.9%. This means their overall percentage rose from 21.6% to 25.7%.

The Middle East

The information for the Middle East will be drawn from the following appendices:

- Appendix 9: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Middle Eastern Schools Only**

- Appendix 42: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998. **Middle Eastern Countries Summary**

- Appendix 43: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 2002–2003. **Middle Eastern Countries Summary**

- Appendix 44: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 2005–2006. **Middle Eastern Countries Summary**

- Appendix 45: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Middle Eastern – Changes from 1997 to 2006**

- Appendix 70: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. Middle Eastern Schools Only**

- Appendix 71: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. Middle Eastern Countries Summary**

- Appendix 72: The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools: 1997–1998, 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. **Schools That Appear In All Three Editions. Middle Eastern Summary – Changes from 1997 to 2006**

Throughout the study the number of participating countries for the Middle East remained reasonably consistent with 12 in the 1997–1998 directory and 11 in the two subsequent editions; Iraq being the country which failed to register for the later editions. The greatest number of participating schools (35) was recorded in the 2002–2003 edition and the lowest (31) number was in the 2005–2006 edition. The greatest number of schools in any given edition was seven for the UAE in 1997–1998. The smallest and largest schools, in terms of

pupil numbers, are both found in the 1997–1998 edition of the directory, with, respectively, QAT2 having 28 pupils and SAA1 having 3711 pupils.

When considering only those countries and schools that appeared in all three editions of the directory the figures equate to nine countries and 19 schools (appendix 72, page 1) which represents approximately 58% of the total schools in any given edition.

Unlike any other region the Middle East actually saw a net loss in pupil numbers over the period of the study. In the 1997–1998 edition of the directory there were 21,511 pupils in the 19 schools but this had dropped to 20,044 by 2005–2006. This represents a 6.8% reduction in numbers. However, despite this the number of teachers employed showed a steady increase, going from 2279 (1997–1998) to 2352 (2005–2006). This represents a growth of 3.2% over the length of the study.

When considering the changes in nationality distribution of the teachers employed to work in the Middle East it can be seen there were a number of dramatic changes. The biggest change was associated with the number of 'US' teachers. In 1997–1998 this group represented 44.8% of the total with 1021 teachers, but by 2005–2006 this number had fallen to 723 teachers or 30.7% of the total. 'UK' teachers also saw a decline with their representation dropping from 10.1% to 9.5% (appendix 71, page 5)

This loss is offset almost entirely by the gain made by 'Others'. In 1997–1998 this group represented 22.5% (514 teachers) but by 2005–2006 this had grown to 34.9% (822 teachers). The remainder of the difference can be seen in the group 'Host' who saw an additional 70 teachers employed and their percentage representation increase from 22.6% to 24.9%.

Size of School

Another interesting piece of information that can be ascertained from the data in the directories is the change in the sizes of the schools over the period of the study. This figure is achieved by dividing the number of pupils by the number of schools. Although it is a crude estimation it does give some interesting results.

Although the figures in the table below present some anomalies, the general trend undoubtedly shows an increase in the size of international schools. Figures drawn from all the schools show that over the period of the study the average school size, worldwide, increased by 13.5% from 523.8 to 595.0 pupils. This increase is matched almost exactly by considering only those schools that appear in all three editions, where the increase was 13.7% – from 564.1 to 638.3 pupils.

Table 8: **Average number of pupils in international schools from 1997 to 2006**

Change in the Size of International Schools from 1997 to 2006

Region	All Schools 1997–98	**Three Edition Schools 1997–98**	All Schools 2002–03	**Three Edition Schools 2002–03**	All Schools 2005–06	**Three Edition Schools 2005–06**
Africa	296.3	**299.7**	362.9	**335.8**	341.7	**335.4**
Central & South America	719.1	**735.9**	701.3	**742.9**	710.6	**748.3**
North America	528.4	**790.0**	1107.1	**892.5**	978.0	**928.5**
Asia	557.8	**602.8**	513.5	**640.0**	609.8	**707.7**
Australasia	405.0	**160.0**	389.8	**400.0**	321.3	**410.0**
The Caribbean	444.9	**460.6**	415.1	**514.7**	383.0	**486.3**
Europe	414.5	**427.6**	498.1	**546.0**	511.4	**559.1**
The Middle East	935.5	**1132.1**	1070.2	**1188.1**	1011.2	**1054.9**
World	523.8	**560.9**	564.1	**624.3**	595.0	**638.3**

From this table it can be seen that no region saw a decrease in school size for both sets of data. Central and South America did experience a decline of 1.1% in school size when considering all the schools in that region but this is offset by a 1.6% increase when only

considering the schools that appear in all three editions. This pattern is also true for Australasia and the Caribbean. The Middle East experienced a similar phenomenon but in reverse. When considering all the schools in the region there was an 8.9% growth in the size of the schools (935.5 to 1011.2) but when taking into account only those schools that appear in all three editions it can be seen there is a drop in school size from 1132.1 to 1054.9, which equates to a 7.3% decline.

Student Nationalities

Although the ISS directories did not provide as much detail on the nationalities of the students who attend international schools, it was possible to gather some information from the 2005–2006 edition. This has been correlated and is presented in the table below. To try and maintain consistency within the study and to allow for some grounds of comparison, the student nationalities have been broken down along similar lines to those recorded for the teacher nationalities.

The total number of students for whom data were available in the 2005–2006 edition was 250,071, which represents 98.7% of the total for that edition (appendix 12, page 6). The largest group represented is 'Others', which makes up 35.1% of the total. The second-largest group is made up of students drawn from the 'USA' group.

Regionally, with the exception of the Caribbean, the largest two groups are the students drawn from the 'Host' nation or from 'Others'. In the case of the Caribbean the largest group is the 'Host' nation students, followed by students from the 'USA' group.

Region/ Nationalities	USA	British	African	C + S American	North American	Asian	Australasian	Caribbean	European	Middle Eastern	Other	Totals
Africa	2927 18.57%	993 6.30%	4521 28.68%								7323 46.45%	15764
C + S America	5807 12.59%	237 0.51%		32534 70.56%					53 0.11%		7477 16.23%	46108
North America	8860 76.60%	177 1.53%							125 1.08%		2398 20.79%	11560
Asia	17144 23.10%	6221 8.38%				15442 20.80%					35420 47.72%	74227
Australasia	51 11.54%	3 0.68%					187 42.31%				201 45.37%	442
The Caribbean	1877 30.83%	215 3.53%						2915 47.87%			1082 17.77%	6089
Europe	12925 21.46%	5424 9.00%				343 0.57%			20771 34.49%		20762 34.48%	60225
The Middle East	5645 15.83%	1092 3.06%			682 1.91%					15108 42.37%	13129 36.83%	35656
Totals	55236 22.09%	14362 5.74%	4521 1.81%	32534 13.01%	682 0.27%	15785 6.31%	187 0.07%	2915 1.17%	20949 8.38%	15108 6.04%	87792 35.11%	250071

Table 9: Percentage of students attending international schools by region

Type of Curricula Offered

All three editions of the ISS directory provided information pertaining to the types of curricula offered by each of the schools. In total 65 different curricula were listed and these were:

Code	Curriculum Offered
A	'A' Levels
AA	Anglo–American
AICE	Advanced International Certificate of Education
AM	Austrian Matura
AP	Advanced Placement
AU	Australian
B	Brazilian
BB	Bachillerato Bilingue
BBA	Bolivian Bachillerato
BGCSE	Bahamian General Certificate of Secondary Education
BI	Bilingual
C	Canadian
CB	Colombian Bachillerato
CH	Christian
CP	College Preparatory
CRB	Costa Rican Baccalaureate
D	Dutch
ESL	English as a Second Language
F	French
FB	French Baccalaureate
FIO	French International Option
G	German
GA	German Abitur
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
GHS	Greek High School

GS	German/Swiss
HSD	High School Diploma
I	International
IB	International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme
IDESC	Irish Department of Education and Science Curriculum
IM	International Medium
IMC	Italian Ministerial Curriculum
IPC	International Primary Curriculum
ISBAD	International School of the Basel Region Academic Diploma
ISCP	International Schools Curriculum Project
IT	Italian
J	Japanese
LB	Lebanese Baccalaureate
M	Montessori
MA	Modified Australian
MYP	International Baccalaureate Middle Years Programme
MU	Multicultural
MUK	Modified United Kingdom
MUS	Modified United States
N	National
NSW	New South Wales
NZ	New Zealand
O	'O' Level
OME	Ontario Ministry of Education
PO	Province of Ontario
PR	Puerto Rican
PYP	International Baccalaureate Primary Years Programme
QSIC	QSI Certificate
SA	South African
SC	Spanish Convalidation

SEP	Secretaria de Educacion Publica
SI	Swiss/Italian
SM	Swiss Maturite
SP	Spanish
SSG	Scottish Standard Grade
T	Turkish
TPYP	Turkish PYP
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
VCE	Victoria Certificate of Education

For ease of comparison with other parts of the study these curricula were then divided into five different groups: American, British, IB, Host and Other. The results from each of the three editions of the directory are given in the table below.

Table 10: **Types of curricula offered by international schools 1997 to 2006**

	American	British	IB	National	Other
1997–1998	50.7%	13.3%	15.5%	9.7%	10.8%
2002–2003	44.4%	9.1%	21.8%	10.9%	13.8%
2005–2006	37.3%	6.4%	27.7%	8.7%	19.9%

At this point it should be noted that if any school in the directory listed more than one curriculum as being offered then all of these were recorded. In the 1997–1998 edition of the directory 457 schools offered 1145 different curriculum choices. In the 2002–2003 edition the 523 schools offered 1256 curriculum choices and interestingly, despite having the smallest number of schools (426), the 2005–2006 edition had the largest number of curricula on offer with 1432 choices.

These results tend to suggest that over the period of the study there was a drop (13.4%) in the number of schools that offer an American-style curriculum. Schools offering a British-style curriculum also saw a reduction, of 6.9%. Schools offering a National curriculum saw a fluctuation throughout the study with a 1.2% increase from 1997–1998 to 2002–2003 and then a reduction of 2.2% between 2002–2003 and 2005–2006. These losses have been offset by gains in schools offering the IB and Other curricula. Schools offering the IB, be it the PYP, MYP or IBDP, increased by 12.2% and 'Other' curricula increased by 9.1%.

Analysis of the Questionnaire Results

As stated earlier in the chapter, 523 schools were contacted with a request to join the study. Although 37 schools agreed to be in the study, only 21 eventually returned the questionnaire completed. Of these 21, eight were in Europe, seven in Asia, four were in Africa and there were single representatives from Australasia and the Caribbean. The oldest of these schools claims to have opened in 1863 and the newest in 2002.

In total the 21 schools represent 11,619 students and a workforce of 1341 teachers, giving a teacher:pupil ratio of 1:8.66. The lowest teacher:pupil ratio was found in one of the schools in Europe (1:4.06) and the largest was 1:16.08, found in Asia. Three schools claim to have student numbers that exceed 1000 and therefore, not too surprisingly, they also registered the largest teaching staffs. Interestingly, however, two of these three schools had the three highest teacher:pupil rations of 1:10.93 and 1:11.09. If those regions with more than one school represented are considered, the teacher:pupil ratios are as follows: Africa, 1:7.69; Asia, 1:10.31; and Europe, 1:8.12.

Curriculum Offered

With reference to the curriculum offered, all the schools, with the exception of one, stated that they offered more than one type of curriculum and these were as follows:

International Baccalaureate Diploma (IB)	14 schools
English as a Second Language (ESL)	11 schools
International	8 schools
US – American	7 schools
IB Primary Years Programme (PYP)	6 schools
IB Middle Years Programme (MYP)	5 schools
American Placement (AP)	5 schools
International General Cert. of Sec. Education (IGCSE)	4 schools
National	4 schools
Christian	1 school
British – UK	3 schools
'A' Level	2 schools
General Cert. of Sec. Education (GCSE)	1 school
Bilingual	1 school

When considered in isolation the figures show that more than 66% of the schools surveyed offer at least one of these their programmes. This figure is certainly higher than the one derived from the ISS directories and is unlikely to be a true reflection of the curricula of all international schools.

An additional comparison with the ISS directories relates to schools offering a British-style curriculum, either 'A' level, GCSE, IGCSE or UK. These figures suggest that 14.5% of the schools offer one or more of these programmes, which is close to the figures drawn from the 1997–1998 edition of the directory that stood at 13.3%.

The figures from the questionnaire suggest that a number of schools offer 'other' curricula, and this is in keeping with the information drawn from the directories. With reference to schools offering a 'national' curriculum, the questionnaire showed that only 4.4% of schools provide this option compared to 8.7% of schools in the 2005–2006 edition of the directory.

Perhaps one of the most interesting pieces of information drawn from the questionnaire is that despite the 21 schools offering 69 different curriculum choices, all schools stated that the first language of instruction was English. Two schools stated that instruction was provided in two languages.

Information on Teachers

In terms of teacher nationalities the questionnaire was structured in such a way that schools were asked to provide the six main teacher nationalities within the school and, if possible, the appropriate percentages. All schools were able to provide this information with the exception of one that failed to provide the percentages. A number of schools (12) listed less than six nationalities and, after cross referencing this information with the ISS directories, it was concluded that in most cases these schools had fewer than six nationalities represented on their staff.

Of the 21 schools, seven (33.3%) listed American and six (28.6%) listed British as the predominant nationality of their teachers, meaning that in 61.9% of the schools in the study either British or American teachers formed the largest teacher group in the school. Only four schools did not have at

least one American teacher on staff. The school with the largest number of American teachers was found in Africa. In 13 of the 21 schools (61.9%), American teachers were among the top three nationalities employed.

Only three schools did not have any British teachers, which equates to 85.7% of the schools having at least one British teacher. The school with the highest number of British teachers was found in Asia, with 86% of all teachers being British. As with American teachers, in 13 of the 21 schools (61.9%), British teachers were among in the top three nationalities employed.

With regard to host nation teachers, only one school failed to have any in their teaching staff. Nine schools (42.8%) listed host nation teachers as the largest employed group in the school. The largest of these was in Australasia, with 90% of all teachers being from the host nation. The smallest percentage of host nation teachers stood at 4% and was found in Asia.

Apart from American, British and host nation teachers, the results from the questionnaire showed 14 other nationalities working at the 21 schools. These were: Australian, Canadian, Chinese, Dutch, French, German, Indian, Indonesian, Irish, Korean, Mauritian, New Zealander, South African and Spanish. With each school given the opportunity to list their top six most prevalent teacher nationalities, the questionnaire had the potential to produce 126 separate pieces of information on this topic. In total 101 pieces of data were generated (since some schools did not have or list six nationalities). Out of this total, the results show that 62 (61.3%) of these were teachers drawn from predominantly English speaking countries: America, Canada, the British Isles, Australia or New Zealand.

Information on Students

Unlike the ISS directories, the questionnaire allowed for some detailed information to be correlated about the student populace within international schools. Perhaps the most striking piece of information concerning the distribution of student nationalities becomes apparent when this is compared to the distribution of teacher nationalities. The figures are highlighted in table 11 below. In 31.7% of cases the dominant student nationality and the dominant teacher nationality are the same. In a further 36.5% of cases the same student and teacher nationality can both be found in the top three most prevalent nationalities in the school. Combined, these results show that in 68.3% of the cases cited the three most prevalent student nationalities in any given school are either matched or closely matched by the nationalities of the teachers employed. Indeed, from the results it can be seen that there was only one school where there seemed to be no correlation between the nationalities represented in the school by the students and those of the teachers employed.

Table 11: **Teacher and pupil nationalities**

School	# 1 Student Nationality	# 1 Teacher Nationality	# 2 Student Nationality	# 2 Teacher Nationality	# 3 Student Nationality	# 3 Teacher Nationality
# 1	American 49%	American 63%	Egyptian 14%	Egyptian 15%	Korean 5%	Canadian 12%
# 2	Nigerian 51%	American 51%	American 26%	Canadian 16%	Lebanese 5%	Nigerian 13%
# 3	Seychellois 50%	Seychellois 50%	Indian 14%	British 26%	Sri Lankan 9%	Indian 6%
# 4	S. African 25%	American 50%	American 25%	S. African 30%	Korean 5%	Canadian 10%
# 5	Japanese 25%	American 40%	Korean 25%	Canadian 30%	American 15%	Australian 15%
# 6	American 58%	American 58%	British 7%	Canadian 14%	Canadian 5%	British 13%

# 7	British	British	Malaysian	Malaysian	Australian	Australian
	34%	86%	26%	7%	11%	2%
# 8	P.N. Guinean	P.N. Guinean	Filipino	Australian	Australian	N. Zealander
	70%	65%	10%	15%	8%	6%
# 9	British	Sri Lankan	Sri Lankan	British	American	Australian
	16%	40%	14%	15%	14%	13%
# 10	Thai	Thai	American	Canadian	Chinese	Australian
	66%	23%	6%	18%	6%	15%
# 11	Korean	British	Vietnamese	N. Zealander	Malaysian	Australian
	40%	20%	12%	20%	8%	18%
# 12	Australian	Australian	Chinese	Chinese	Korean	
	40%	90%	35%	5%	5%	
# 13	American	Trinidadian	British	American	Trinidadian	British
	30%	85%	20%	5%	20%	5%
# 14	American	British	British	Belgian	Swedish	American
	33%	33%	12%	30%	8%	20%
# 15	German	American	American	German	Japanese	British
	48%	24%	12%	19%	9%	17%
# 16	Portuguese	British	British	Portuguese	Brazilian	Australian
	38%	40%	10%	20%	5%	10%
# 17	Swedish	British	American	American	British	Australian
	15%		13%		6%	
# 18	Turkish	Turkish		American		British
	100%	50%		28%		18%
# 19	American	American	British	British	Norwegian	Norwegian
	25%	35%	25%	27%	18%	15%
# 20	American	American	Canadian	British	British	Canadian
	40%	35%	6%	35%	4%	9%

# 21	Swiss	Swiss	German	German	American	American
	50%	33%	18%	30%	15%	30%

Another point worth noting is that in 71.4% of the schools, 'host' nation students ranked as either the largest or second-largest group. By way of comparison, American students ranked as the largest or second-largest group in only 52.3% of the schools and British students in 33.3% of the schools.

Eighteen of the 21 schools were able to provide information on the countries in which former students chose to study if they entered higher education. The results suggest that almost 73% of the students picked the USA as either their first or second choice destination for higher education. A further 47.6% picked the UK as either their first or second choice. In only three schools did students pick the host nation as their first choice for university, but interestingly in all three of these establishments host nation students formed the dominant group in the school.

Teacher Recruitment and Salaries

The questionnaire was also structured in such a way that it asked schools to provide information on the 'package' they provided for their staff and the methods used to recruit them.

Nineteen of the 21 schools (90.5%) stated that they actively looked to recruit teachers whose first language matched that of the language of instruction. If this was true, and given that 90.5% of the schools indicated that the main language of instruction was English (and in the remaining two the courses were taught in English and a second language), it might be argued that the majority of schools looked to employ teachers whose first language was English.

In terms of teacher recruitment, the most popular method appeared to be the use of recruitment fairs. Nineteen of the 21 schools (90.5%) said that they attended at least one job fair and 66.7% of the schools indicated they attended more than one. The Council of International Schools (CIS) seemed to be the most popular organisation with 66.7% of the respondents stating that they used its services. The American-based Search Associates was the next most popular, with 52.4% of the schools saying they attended at least one of its fairs. Advertising posts on the school website was a method used by 81.0% of the schools. Interestingly the use of local, national and international press to advertise positions proved to be the least favoured by schools. Only six of the 21 schools (28.6%) stated that they used international publications like the *Times Educational Supplement*. The local and national press seemed to do slightly better with 12 schools (57.1%) saying they advertised locally and nine schools (42.9%) stating that they advertised nationally.

Nine schools (42.9%) stated that they offered differential pay scales depending on whether a teacher was recruited locally or internationally. In addition all schools stated that they offered a variety of 'extras' to internationally recruited staff that included some of the following:

- Annual home leave
- Beginning and end of contract baggage allowance
- Car
- Contract renewal bonus
- Domestic staff
- Free (or reduced) tuition
- Health/medical cover/insurance
- Professional development allowance
- Rent free (or subsidised) furnished (or semi furnished) accommodation
- Retirement/pension contribution
- Tax free salary
- Transportation allowance
- Travel allowance

However, only four schools (19.0%) made these 'extras' available to all staff. Ten schools (47.6%) stated that they offered incentives to staff to extend at the end of each contract with the incentive ranging from any of the items listed above to pay rises.

Finally, schools were also asked to provide data on the longevity of their staff. On average it would seem that internationally-recruited staff tended to stay for a period of about 4.2 years. This increased to about 6.1 years for locally recruited international staff and was in excess of 9.0 years for locally recruited teachers.

Chapter 6

Discussion and Conclusion

Discussion

This chapter begins by revisiting the two questions posed earlier in the study:

1. Is there prima facie evidence that the labour market for teachers in international schools is segmented?

2. To what extent is the global positional competition for credentials a plausible explanation for these data patterns?

Is there prima facie evidence that the labour market for teachers in international schools is segmented?

In order to establish whether a prima facie case for understanding teacher recruitment in terms of LMS can be made, three conditions need to be satisfied. Firstly, following Lazear (2003) and Doeringer and Piore (1971), data patterns concerning teacher recruitment need to be consistent with the LMS hypothesis. Secondly, a case needs to be made that applications for internal labour market positions within international schools is in practice restricted, even if in principle it is not; this is what Lazear (2003) calls the portals of entry into internal labour market positions. Thirdly, it needs to be established that the internal labour market is associated with conditions of privilege regarding wages and work conditions, in contrast to those in the external labour market. In the following discussion the evidence for these is reviewed.

Before summarising these data it is worth noting that Matthews has pointed out that, 'in the sparse literature of international school education, little attention has been paid to the teaching staff, and yet, in the absence of any commonly defined methodology or administration system, only the shared characteristics of the faculties can give any coherence for the functioning of the disparate schools' (1988: 59).

This thesis can be seen as a contribution to understanding more about the nature of teachers in international schools and how the context of globalisation has influenced their recruitment.

So, who are the teachers in international schools, where do they come from and how are they recruited?

Data for this study was collected over a period of nearly ten years with the majority of it being drawn from the International School Services (ISS) directories. This was supplemented by questionnaires being sent to a number of international schools and interviews with a number of senior administrators at IBO schools in the Asia Pacific region.

A close analysis of the ISS directories has shown that the number of American and British teachers working in the schools considered saw a decline from 52.8% in the 1997/98 edition down to 45.9% in the 2005/06 edition. These figures suggest that over the period of the study the percentage of American and British teachers employed dropped by 6.9%. Over the same period the number of 'other' teachers employed increased by 5.8% and data drawn from the questionnaires show the majority of these teachers to be Australians, Canadians or New Zealanders. Further information drawn from the questionnaire showed that approximately 65% of the teachers working in these schools have English as their first language.

Further prima facie evidence might be found in the language of instruction offered in the schools. Information drawn from the 2005/06 edition of the directory shows that 79.6% of the schools stated that English was the only language of instruction. A further 18.7% claimed to offer bilingual instruction with English always featuring as one of the two languages. These figures are supported by the information drawn from the schools that responded to the questionnaire. Of the 21 schools, 19 (90.5%) stated that the language of instruction was English with the other two (9.5%) offering a bilingual education. Again, in both cases, English features as one of the languages. These figures are supported by interviews conducted with School Heads at the IBO Asia Pacific Conference in November 2008. All of the Heads interviewed stated they had English as the working language of the school. Some even suggested that if they were to offer the curriculum in anything other than English, the school would see an exodus of students to other schools. One Head from a school in China stated that their school survived simply because it was the only school in the town offering the children the

chance to learn English and that for most of the parents the IB programmes were a by-product; an 'add on' as they put it.

MacKenzie et al (2001) asks if 'some parents perceive an 'international education' and an English language education to be one and the same thing?' Although anecdotal evidence tends to suggest that most international schools are free to choose the language of instruction, given the figures presented it might be argued that the schools' preferred language of instruction is most likely to be chosen as a result of customer discrimination and, as a result, schools look to recruit native English speaking teachers. Garton supports this by stating that 'parental and community opinion is frequently a factor of importance here, as there is plenty of anecdotal evidence to suggest that it is often the case that a number of parents would 'prefer' their child to be taught by a native English speaking 'western trained' overseas-hire expatriate' (2000: 87). Although Gould is concentrating on an English medium education in Pakistan, his suggestion that there is a kudos associated with a 'private English-medium education' (1999: 18 cited in Hayden, 2006: 35), is undoubtedly a sentiment that is true in many other countries. This point is supported by the Head of a school in China who suggested that parents who had children who could speak English – even if they did not themselves – gained considerable 'face' (social standing). Given these considerations, we should turn to the evidence that entry to the internal labour market is restricted through portals as described by Lazear (2003).

Restricting entry to the internal labour market for international school teachers
When considering teacher recruitment, Hayden suggests that 'to anyone used to recruiting in a national system where jobs are advertised, applications are submitted, shortlisting and interviews follow and eventually a post is offered to the successful candidate, the recruitment processes followed by many international schools can at first seem unusual, if not bizarre' (2006: 78). Anecdotal evidence, supported by the findings presented in this paper and information drawn from the 'Search Associates' website, tends to suggest that one of the most popular methods of recruitment is international job fairs.

Traditionally the international school recruitment 'season' runs from January until early June, reaching a peak in February and March when the fairs run almost concurrently. Information drawn for the websites of CIS, Search and ISS showed that for the 2008 'season' these establishments ran 18 recruitment fairs (Search 11, CIS 3 and ISS 4). Out of this total, one was in Australasia (Sydney); four were in Europe, three of which were in London and one in Turkey; three were in Asia, all in Bangkok; one in the Middle East (Dubai) and the remaining nine were in North America. More recently, figures produced by Search Associates show that during the 2009 'season', 125 schools were expected to attend the recruitment fair held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, drawn from North America, South America, Europe, Asia and Africa. At the London fair, marketed by Search as 'mainly IB schools', 91 schools were expected to attend. The Bangkok fair attracted 87 schools with one school travelling from Venezuela. Figures drawn from the questionnaire show that 76.2% of the schools attend at least one of the fairs offered by these agencies and 43.8% stated they use the services of all three. Coupled with the fact that those attending these fairs are required to finance the trips themselves, the influence recruitment agencies have on teacher placement should not be underestimated. Millican (2000) has suggested that teacher recruitment fairs are held in geographically convenient locations but fails to state for whom the locations are convenient. Given the location of the majority of the fairs it might be argued that Millican was advocating that, on the whole, the fairs are conveniently located for English speaking western trained teachers.

Additionally, it might be suggested that certain elements of the recruitment fairs further enhance some forms of discrimination. This can be illustrated as follows. Firstly, all prospective candidates are required to go through a formal application process to join one of these organisations. As we have seen, Search Associates state on their website that during the application process all candidates are 'rigorously screened' and this is reinforced by CIS who state they use the 'latest advances in candidate screening technology' (taken from the CIS website). Although this may be true, no data is available on how many candidates are rejected at the application stage. Secondly, once a teacher has been accepted into one of these organisations their attendance at any given job fair is still dependent on being formally invited. Although it would be fair to argue that these invitations are usually dependent on registering for any given fair in sufficient time and matching teacher expertise with vacancies, the process of recruitment at the fairs might further enhance segmental discrimination.

Prior to any face-to-face interview between a school administrator and a teacher, the administrator does have access to all the details of those attending the fairs. This means they are able to review any given candidates' previous employment history, including the length of stay at any particular school, the curricula they have been exposed to, positions of responsibility, their nationality and their mother-tongue. Therefore, before the fair even starts school administrators are able to filter out any 'undesirable' teachers who do not fit the profile of their school. Furthermore, this process is not restricted to recruitment fairs as schools affiliated to organisations like Search and CIS are able to access candidate files via the internet. One Head Teacher suggested that prior access to the candidate files was vital during the recruitment process. He stated that, given that the fairs run for a maximum of four days and that the time usually allocated for interviews is no more than 30 minutes – unless a second longer interview is arranged – and for some posts there are often an abundance of candidates, the ability to 'zero in' on the 'right teachers' was vital.

Results from the study also showed that a high percentage (81.0%) used their own website to advertise positions. With the internet now available in almost every country in the world there can be little doubt that this method will become progressively more important as a tool for recruitment. Indeed, conversation with a number of Heads indicates that many look disparagingly on prospective candidates who fail to look at their school website before the interview begins. However, it might be argued that as schools further advertise themselves through the use of the internet, and in doing so openly advertise their educational philosophy, they might encourage further segmentation because, as Garton suggests, the school website allows the 'inappropriate candidates a chance to filter themselves out of the process' (2000: 89).

For many Heads (Directors, Principals or CEOs) the recruitment process is often a matter of realism as opposed to idealism. Garton suggests that 'teacher recruitment is probably the most important and time consuming activity that the international Head undertakes in the course of a year' (2000: 86). Millican's research tends to suggest that for a large number of schools the recruitment process is about striking a balance by hiring 'good' teachers without incurring substantial costs (2000: 13). Given this reality and the point that the majority of senior administrative posts in international schools are

held by a narrow band of selected western nationalities, it might be suggested that any form of recruitment is bound to come with some form of bias – intended or otherwise – towards the 'devil you know'. Philips suggests that if one culture dominates an organisation it may suppress others (1992: 3 cited in Millican, 2000: 10). However, if schools remain nationally or linguistically rigid in the recruitment process they are potentially excluding some exceptional teachers simply because they fail to meet the organisation's cultural norm. One British Headmaster (now retired) of a well respected IGCSE and IB school in East Africa expanded on the importance of the cultural norm when he stated in 2001 that 'there was undoubtedly the possibility of my own in-built bias. I understood the *Times Educational Supplement*, the structures of British CVs, the subtle code of English confidential references and the pecking order of universities. I developed a working knowledge of Canadian and Australian procedures, but much of the American system remained a closed book'. Although his next comment may well have been tongue-in-cheek, it again reinforces the idea of culture norms:

> Perhaps non-British candidates were deterred by the prospect of working
> with a middle-aged, sarcastic, ultra British Head in a school full of other Brits,
> whose main idea of fun was to insult each other all the time, before playing
> rugby or discussing the membership of a Premier League football team. To
> survive at the school you had to buy into this culture.

The privilege of the internal labour market: wage setting and job conditions

The concept of 'privilege' is another area which needs further consideration. As stated earlier, within international schools the concept of 'pay' has to be considered in a much wider spectrum simply because the salary is often only one part of the whole 'package'. Unlike most national systems that have rigid payment scales that are overseen by either local or national governments, international schools have no regulatory body. As a result, each school is unrestricted in the type of 'package' it chooses to offer, with the only real constraint being the ability to 'balance the books'. This in itself may be described as a basic form of wage discrimination as the 'package' offered by one school might be seen as significantly better (or worse) than another despite the fact that teachers are in theory doing the same job. This point can be best demonstrated by analysing information gathered from various recruitment fairs. In order to make their school seem more attractive to prospective teachers a

number produce 'Candidate Information Packs' that contain a whole host of information from glossy pictures of smiling children to term dates that emphasise the generous holidays. Many schools also include information about the salary 'package'. One example of wage disparity between international schools is shown by two IB diploma schools attending the same recruitment fair. One was offering a starting salary of U$15,000 while the other was offering in excess of US$60,000, dependent on 'qualifications and experience'. However, in both cases the wages are likely to be far higher than for teachers in national systems

However, for many locally recruited international or host nation teachers it is often a secondary form of wage discrimination that is more noticeable. Results from the questionnaire show that 42.9% of schools have a differentiated pay scale that distinguishes between locally hired/national teachers and internationally recruited teachers. Hayden suggests, 'it is impossible to generalize about the situation with respect to international school contracts' (2006: 81) which is undoubtedly true, given their abundance. Nevertheless, it does seem that there are some commonalities. In almost all cases expatriate teachers recruited from overseas sit at the top of the contract 'pecking order', receiving the 'complete package'. As shown earlier in the data analysis, schools made a variety of 'extras' available to staff, ranging from free accommodation to 'away from home allowance', and from annual flights to private pensions. Next on the list are expatriate teachers recruited locally. In this instance many of the fringe benefits, such as accommodation, flights and medical insurance, are removed. Nevertheless, for some national teachers, working in an international school might be considered a 'step up', despite being at the bottom of the 'package' pecking order. Hayden suggests that host nation teachers might be motivated to take positions in international schools because they 'would find an international school teaching post in their own country better remunerated than teaching within the national system, even though the salary scale is somewhat lower than the scale for expatriates teaching in the same school' (2006: 81). Personal experience as a Principal tends to suggest that Hayden's comment regarding salaries being 'somewhat lower' for locally hired staff is perhaps a little generous, when in most cases it is 'considerably lower' than their expatriate colleagues. However, it could be suggested that Hayden's recognition of differentiated pay scales reinforces the point that various forms of wage discrimination exist in some international schools.

It could be argued that the data patterns described above, including that relating to restricting access through the portals to the internal labour market and the privileges associated with the internal labour market, create a prima facie case for the LMS hypothesis. It should be stressed that this is only a prima facie case because the evidence is uneven when we consider the 'mechanisms' by which the segmented labour market might operate. These data are primarily circumstantial and anecdotal, although the evidence from the questionnaire is clearly indicative. We should now consider the explanations for such segmentation.

To what extent is the global positional competition for credentials a plausible explanation for these data patterns?

In order to establish the plausibility of this explanation, we ideally need direct evidence of the link between the recruitment of English mother tongue speakers and the positional competition for credentials. Such evidence could come from Principals/Heads that undertake recruiting; however, there may be reasons why they might be reluctant to give such information on the grounds that it might be seen as a discriminatory practice. In the event, principals at the IBO conference in 2008 in Beijing were prepared to talk about their reasons for the recruitment decisions they made and these data are consistent with the idea of a global positional competition for credentials, although it should be noted that a key factor here in the linkage between recruitment and the positional competition for credentials concerns English as the global lingua franca. It may be that while parents seek to have English as the medium of instruction because it is the language of globalisation, it does not automatically follow that the desire for teaching in English is tied to the positional competition for credentials. However, as will be seen, some of the interview evidence reported previously makes the direct link, and there is considerable secondary evidence to suggest that this is the case. Firstly we should summarise the explanatory case in relation to the global positional competition.

Although schools might be choosing the language of instruction, Brown believes that this choice is actually limited because of what he refers to as 'parentocracy', whereby 'a child's education is increasingly dependent upon the *wealth* and *wishes* of parents, rather than the *ability* and *efforts* of the pupils' (1997: 393). This point is reinforced by Lauder et al (2006) who suggest that 'parents and caregivers see education as a way for their children to improve on their own lives by building an understanding of their place in the world. It is also the principal means by which young people, by

passing exams and gaining credentials, can gain an advantage in the labour market. Education holds a unique position in modern societies because many people believe that it benefits society at the same time as meeting the aspirations of students and their parents'. Arabsheibani supports these points by suggesting that in Egypt, 'access to university places and thereby employment opportunities is linked to higher levels of academic ability associated with the purchase of educational opportunities...including the private sector, English medium schools' (1998 cited in Gould, 1999: 10). Lauder suggests that there are is a close link between the international schools systems and an 'emerging global league table of universities', which may in turn result in a 'tightening bond between 'golden standard' qualifications like the IB and access to top universities' (2007: 441): a claim which was supported by the interviews conducted with Heads at the IBO conference in Beijing.

A number of Heads interviewed at the IBO conference suggested that parents are now recognising the status given to the IB diploma by universities and the possible career pathways this will open up. One Deputy Head and IB Coordinator made the following comment:

> My school is located in a region where the British 'A' level is still 'King'. We are the only IB school in the country and have fought a constant battle for recognition amongst the local community. The best thing to happen to us was the publication of the UCAS equivalency tables in 2007. We made a big deal in the local press about how this many points were worth this many 'A' levels at A grade and since then we have been inundated with requests for places in the programme.

This general point is reinforced by Brown who suggests that the 'competition for credentials continues to be organised at the local or national level, although there some evidence of an internationalisation of higher education and the prospects of social elites opting to study for an International Baccalaureate rather than 'national' certificates' (2000: 634). Potter and Hayden, through their research in bilingual schools in Argentina, report that 'all parents...implied that choosing a bilingual (English/Spanish) education for their children was an investment that would pay off later on in the world of work' (2004: 107). Potter and Hayden's findings are supported by the figures presented in

this study that show that 57.6% of the 66 South and Central American schools in the 2005/06 edition of the ISS directory offered a bilingual education.

MacDonald (2006) has shown that international schools are capable of generating billions of dollars each year in revenue and, with many international schools, survival dependent on 'bums on seats'; there is little doubt that parentocracy, i.e. the wants, needs and wishes of the parents, plays a significant part in the recruitment of teachers and the language of instruction. Hayden suggests that 'the importance attached by parents to the use of English as a medium of instruction…may well be a dispiriting finding for those committed to the ideological notion of international education as a force for promoting global understanding' (2006: 37).

Given the suggested level of importance placed by the parents, and subsequently the schools, on operating in English, it seems likely that the recruitment of teachers who can teach in English is likely to be of equal importance. Given the figures presented in this thesis, it appears probable that the way in which international schools recruit their staff might further enhance parentocracy, and possibly with it customer discrimination, and would fall under the wider umbrella of employment discrimination.

When considering recruitment in general, Freemantle recommends 'recruiting people who customers like, not ones who fit the description' (1998: 8 cited in Millican, 2000). Within international schools, it could be suggested that schools recruit people (teachers) who the customers (parents) *will* like because they *exactly fit* the description, i.e. western trained English speaking, preferably with international examination experience. This point is reinforced by the observation that most international examination curricula are presented in English, which furthermore is the 'working' language of the increasingly popular International Baccalaureate programmes. If the IBO Director General's prediction that there could be as many as one million students in their programmes by 2014 comes to fruition, as information presented at the 2008 IBO Asia Pacific Conference tends to suggest it will, then it is not unreasonable to expect schools to be looking to recruit teachers with previous IB experience. Further, if the majority of these schools are offering the courses in English, it seems likely that schools will be targeting teachers who can operate efficiently in the language of instruction. If these points are true, then it might be suggested that some schools are operating a subtle (or perhaps

not so subtle) form of employment discrimination. Blaney has suggested that 'staff should be carefully recruited so as to represent, without an unreasonable financial burden being placed upon schools, the major cultural areas of the world and as many nationalities as feasible' (1991: 203). Interviews conducted with a number of Heads of international schools would suggest that many agree with this statement but a number would add 'as long as they can speak English'.

This point seems to be reinforced by the indicative questionnaire data from this study. Of those schools that completed the questionnaire, 90.5% stated that they actively seek teachers whose first language matches that of the language of instruction, which as stated earlier is predominately English.

These data are also reinforced by anecdotal evidence. The demand for English speaking teachers also seems to be a priority for parents. One parent, in a study by MacKenzie et al, suggested that 'the goal would be to have English native speakers from as many different countries as possible' (2001: 60). This is reinforced by this author's personal experience. While working at a large IB school in South America, I was faced with the choice of hiring an 'ordinary' biology teacher from England or an 'exceptional' Spanish speaking one. When this matter was discussed with the parents' advisory group, they voted unanimously for the English speaking teacher. Research by Pak and Byram (1997) tends to further support the importance placed by parents on having the 'right' teachers. Their research on bilingualism in Hong Kong suggested that there is a strong link between the family, school and the classroom and the 'key element in the process of social reproduction is the culture of status groups, an important element of which is language'. They go on to suggest that the acquisition of the English language in Hong Kong has been and will continue to be a 'valuable cultural capital asset of the elite social groups that parents want to transmit to their children through schooling because English will give them more symbolic capital and more economic, social and political advantages, and power in the society' (1997: 322). Evidence from this study tends to suggest that this sentiment is not restricted to Hong Kong.

Garton (2000) suggests that in some circumstances local or national legislations may leave schools with little or no choice in terms of recruitment and they may be forced to hire all or a certain percentage of host nation teachers. There are certainly examples of this kind of legislation to be found

in South America and Asia. One Head at the IBO Regional Conference suggested that although there is enormous pressure from parents for more 'English speaking teachers' he is restricted by local legislation on how many he can actually employ.

There is also anecdotal evidence to suggest that schools often have to 'prove' to the local authorities that host nation teachers are not only unable to fill the position but would be unable to 'function' within the school if they were appointed. This point is reinforced by Richard's research, which seems to suggest that locally hired teachers, especially those from less developed countries, are 'ill prepared to act as effective role models within the context of an international school' and perhaps worse that they 'have the potential to reinforce the perceived 'superiority' of methodologies and teachers with a western background' (1998: 179).

If these points are accepted then employment in international schools may be dependent on 'positional competition' where access to education, qualifications and employment is a competition for limited resources. Brown has suggested that 'credential competition reflects the 'meritocratic' character of advanced industrial societies' (2000: 635). He goes on to suggest that some 'status groups seek to monopolise requirements into a 'profession' and structure the competition so that certain groups will have a distinct advantage. Within international schools the data presented tends to suggest that any teacher who has the ability to work in the medium of English undoubtedly gains 'credentialism' and will have greater access to 'key positions in the divisions of labour'' (2000: 636).

Research by Walsh (1999), however, tends to suggest that this cultural bias does not show as a form of reverse discrimination by the teachers themselves. When questioned about the reasons why teachers decided to look for positions in international schools the chance of working with 'comrades' did not rate highly on the 'must have' list. Walsh's findings tended to suggest that teachers placed location, quality of lifestyle, generous holidays, the chance to travel and the excitement of living in a foreign country much higher on their priority list. These findings are supported by Cottrell (2002) and Hayden who suggests that:

> Perhaps they simply want to see the world, while unattached and with no
> commitments, with no thought as to what might happen later in life; perhaps

they have every intention of seeing the world for two or three years (maybe

with a partner in a similar position) before returning to 'settle down' in the

national system back home (2006: 75).

Hayden goes on to suggest that 'there will have also undoubtedly been more than one teacher whose

move has been prompted by problems – professional or personal – back home, for whom the

prospect of a fresh start with new friends and colleagues seems enticing' and likens the international

school sector to the 'French Foreign Legion of the education world' (2006: 75).

The data presented here tends to suggest that the lure of working internationally remains an attractive

proposition for many. Over the period of this study the number of teachers employed by those schools

featured in the ISS directory has increased by 18.1% as the number of schools has increased.

Interestingly, if host nation teachers are excluded from the figure the increase is slightly less at 16.4%.

Despite the changes noted above, another area that needs further consideration is the employment of

'local' or 'host' nation teachers. One of the difficulties in assessing if this group is discriminated

against is that it is unknown if 'host' nation teachers, and to a lesser extent 'other' teachers, are

unemployed as a result of not working in the international system. This seems highly unlikely, as most

would have an opportunity to work in the country's own national system. A second difficulty is that

there is no way of knowing whether either of these two groups applied, and were subsequently

rejected, for work in the international system to begin with. Doeringer and Piore suggest that internal

labour markets encourage discrimination 'by selecting workers at the ports of entry and conferring

privileges upon the internal labour force not available to those in the external labour market' (1971:

133). This raises a major difficulty in researching the LMS thesis because it is often hard to get direct

evidence of discrimination.

Data collected for this study offer some interesting and, in part, contrasting information. The results

from the ISS directories show that from 1997/98 to 2005/06 there was relatively little change in the

percentage of teachers employed from the 'host' nation, with the overall percentage going from 26.5%

to 27.6%. Exceptions to this are Africa, which saw an increase of 7.7% although it should be noted

that this group still only accounted for 20.2% of the total by 2005/06; the Caribbean, which experienced a 6.5% increase to 38.3% of the total; and South America, which saw an 8.1% increase to 60.9% of the total number of teachers employed. Although the figure for South America is considerably higher than for all other regions, a large number of schools in South America indicated that they offered a bilingual education. However, the information drawn from the questionnaire paints a slightly different picture with regards to the employment of host nation teachers. In 14 of the 21 (66.7%) schools (excluding two schools – AUS2 and UNK1 because English is the national language), host nation teachers featured in the top three nationalities employed by schools. In 11 of the 21 (again excluding AUS2 and UNK1), host nation teachers featured in the top two nationalities employed. In 7 of the schools (national language aside), host nation teachers were the highest employed group.

What these data suggest is that there may be country or regional variations in the employment of host nation teachers, as in the case of South America where many of the schools offer bilingual education. However, a further possible explanation suggested by Walsh (1999) is that parents who send their children to international schools will tolerate non-western, non-native English speaking local teachers as long as they teach 'local' subjects and/or 'local' languages.

My own international experience having worked on four continents reinforces this point. At one school, the parents were happy for 'locals' to be employed as long as they taught the local language and at another school it was accepted that the local hire teachers were the best mathematics teachers. Another example is that of a British Head at a school in Eastern Europe who has come under considerable parental pressure to have native English speakers as teachers so the children learn 'proper' English. Interestingly, the Head pointed out that her own strong Geordie accent did not seem to bother the parents.

It seems likely that very few involved in international schools and international education would argue against the idealistic philosophy and vision of international education as advocated by the likes of the IBO. However, it seems 'there may often be a tension between the educationally focused wish of at least some teachers and administrators to have as culturally diverse a teaching staff as possible (notwithstanding the challenges this may bring in terms of differences in practice and expectations)

and the more pragmatically focused desire of many parents' (Hayden, 2006: 77). This point is reinforced by Richards who suggests that 'as continuing attempts are made to create curricula to reflect global issues and to provide the emotional competency to appreciate and value cultural diversity, it seems that many clients' bodies will be receptive and appreciative provided we do not tinker too much with the fundamentals of their children's education' (1998: 181).

Consideration will now be given to two additional features of international schools, as it is contended here that both – the students who attend international schools and the types of curricula offered – have an effect on the types of teachers schools recruit.

Students in international schools

Hayden has suggested that, given the wide range of schools that label themselves as international, it 'is entirely consistent that the population of students who attend them should not be homogenous in any sense' (2006: 39). She goes on to suggest that the composition of any given student population will be dependent to a certain extent on the country in which the school is located. Perhaps one of the earliest misnomers associated with students attending international schools was that they were all expatriate children. This misunderstanding, perhaps, goes hand-in-hand with the once-held notion that only those students attending international schools can receive an international education. Data collected throughout this study tends to suggest that these assumptions are questionable.

Although all three editions of the ISS directory provided information about the nationalities of the students attending the schools, this information was not deemed sufficient or accurate enough to be presented as part of this study. The main reason for this was that although the directories did list student nationalities and the number of students in the school of each nationality, the number given did not ultimately equal the total number of students in the school. It was therefore concluded that a number of students and their nationalities had been excluded from the directories. However, within the questionnaire, schools were asked to list the top six student nationalities and the percentages they represented. The main points from the results are as follows:

- In 90.4% of the schools, host nation children featured as one of the top six nationality groups represented at the school.

- In 85.7% of the schools, host nation children featured as one of the top three nationality groups represented at the school.

- In 71.4% of the schools, host nation children featured as either the dominant or second most dominate group.

- In 52.4% of the schools, host nation children were the dominant population group. One school reported that 100% of the children were drawn from the host nation. The smallest group where the host nation was still dominant stood at 25.0%.

- In those schools where host nation students were dominant their average stood at 50.3%.

- Only two schools failed to have any host nation children at the school.

Traditionally, much of the research and literature published in relation to students who attend international schools has focused on the concept of 'global nomads' and 'third culture kids'. Although there is undoubtedly a case to be made for this research, these results tend to suggest that this might be an area that needs further investigation. Do the host nation parents of these children see a relationship between international schools and future success? Does an international school education allow improved access to university, and later the job market, that might not be obtainable through the national system?

In a study of Thai students attending international schools in Thailand, Deveney suggests that many of these students face challenges that are different to expatriate children settling into a new school because these schools are not part of their own national system and are 'not a foreign system in a foreign land and not an international school abroad, but an international school in their home country which does not represent their native culture and beliefs' (2005: 161). These sentiments are reinforced by Langford et al who suggest that many 'may feel isolated and different, living on the local economy rather than enjoying the many benefits shared by their expatriate classmates' (2002: 48 cited in Hayden, 2006: 40).

If Langford et al and Deveney are correct and some host nation students do struggle to come to terms with the obvious conflict between, on the one hand, the child's own traditional culture and beliefs and, on the other, 'tomorrow and beyond', it might be prudent to question why these children are being sent to be educated in international schools.

Lowe (cited in Hayden, 2006) suggests that many host nation parents see the enrolment of their child in an international school as an investment and an opportunity to access international qualifications. IIon (cited in Hayden) goes onto suggest that it is also a 'response by local elites to a stiffening of the local positional competition on the one hand and a globalisation of that competition on the other' and further it is 'hoped that these international qualifications will give access to a labour market that is becoming increasingly globalised' (2006: 40). Lauder supports this point by suggesting that rapid globalisation has increased the demand for 'global workers' by multinational corporations (MNCs) and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and suggests that there might be a 'tightening bond between 'gold standard' qualifications like the IB and access to the top universities' (2007: 441). Lauder also suggests that students who are denied access to the 'appropriate international education' could, in theory, miss ports of entry to international labour markets.

It may well be that part of the answer is linked to the point made by Brown earlier and reinforced by Lauder who suggests that 'we need to consider the rise of international schools within the context of the globalization of higher education' (2007: 444). Lauder et al (2006) suggest that, today, entry to higher education is often considered the 'norm' for middle class families and as a result the demand for 'knowledge workers' has failed to keep pace with the rapid increase in the supply of university graduates. This has led to increasing labour market congestion as university graduates struggle to distinguish themselves from other job seekers with the same credentials. This in turn has resulted in credential inflation, making it more difficult to 'cash in' on education success. In an effort to address this 'credential inflation' Lauder et al (2006) go on to suggest that wealthier parents may use their financial privilege to gain advantage for their children and that nation states may no longer be able to control the rules of the credential competition in the interests of social justice. This point is reinforced by Collins who suggests that the 'school is a place of struggle for class domination as education plays

an important role in political predominance, economic advantages and social prestige' (1979 cited in Pak & Byram, 1997: 319).

Although within this study it is accepted that in some countries host nation children are not allowed to attend international schools because of government legislation, these results tend to imply that for some schools host nation children are an important part of their customer base and could be vital to their economic survival. This point is supported by MacDonald who suggested that 'the line between education and business seems to be increasingly blurred' and that 'there has been a clear trend towards the marketization of education in countries around the world' (2006). At the 2008 IBO Asia Pacific Conference, one Head of a school in Asia commented that although the school he worked in had aspirations to attract more 'international students', the reality was that host nation students were 'his bread and butter'.

Few, if any, involved in international schools or international education would argue against Lauder's 'gold standard' claim. It seems that with the 'gold standard' comes the 'gold key' that seems to guarantee entry into certain 'elite' universities, which in many cases are English speaking universities. Figures published by *The Times Higher Education* tends to support this by listing 59 of the world's top 100 universities as being in either the USA or the UK. As Lauder states, 'the best students are attracted to the universities with the highest reputations that in turn attract the best academics because they can pay for them. Since so much of the research basis for the 'knowledge economy' has come from the USA and, to a lesser extent , the UK, it is not surprising that it is the leading universities in these countries that have been attracting students from overseas' (2007: 444).

Matthews studied a number of international schools looking at the percentage that went on to higher education and found the only 'consistency was the proportion of students going to college or university' (1998: 47) - which was on average 89%, with the majority going to the United States. Canterford suggests that if Matthews' figure is correct, 'this represents a remarkable figure, which most nations, certainly in Europe and North America, struggle to compete with' (2002: xxi).

Information drawn from the questionnaire tends to support the information presented above. Of the schools, 18 of the 21 respondents were able to provide information about the university destinations of their students. The main findings are as follows:

- In 94.4% of the schools the USA or the UK featured as one of the top three destinations for higher education. In only one school it did the USA not feature in the top three.
- In 83.3% of the schools the USA featured as one of the top three destinations for higher education.
- In 77.8% of the schools the UK featured as one of the top three destinations for higher education.
- In 55.6% of the schools the USA featured as the number one destination for higher education.
- In 22.2% of the schools the UK featured as the number one destination for higher education.

Another interesting point seems to be that neither the geographical location of the school, nor the dominant student population, play any part in deciding the university to be attended. For example, one school listed the six main student nationalities as Swedish (15%), American (13%), British (6%), Korean (5%), Japanese (5%) and Finnish (4%). However, the top three university destinations were the USA, UK and Switzerland in that order. Another school gave the main student nationalities as Seychellois (50%), Indian (14%), Sri Lankan (9%), South African (6%), Australian (5%) and British (5%) with the university destinations listed as Australia (55%), UK (30%), France (5%), India (5%), Germany (5%) and South Africa (5%). One final example is that of a school in Europe that lists the student populace as Swiss (50%), German (18%), American (15%), Taiwanese (4%), Japanese (3%) and Dutch (3%) but states that 95% of their students go to study in the USA.

Perhaps Matthews' statistics on higher education go some way towards explaining the potential for segmentation and discrimination in international schools. Parents (and pupils) are beginning to realise that continued globalisation is almost inevitable. However, for some it comes with a degree of economic uncertainty and, as a result, the competition for quality resources and commodities, like education, is being increasingly restricted and made more expensive. At the moment it seems that many international schools are offering a product that almost guarantees access to higher education

and this in turn is allowing access to greater 'ports of entry' with regards to future employment. Lauder has suggested that we 'are witnessing the formation of a global ruling class' and clearly 'one condition for the creation of such a class is that the positional competition favours one group of students (that is, international school students) over others' (2007: 446). However, what is also clear is that if you want to join this elite group it will come at a price; you want it – you pay for it. Clearly, as a result, schools must continue to produce 'the goods' and, to do so, it seems that some are staying with a tried and tested method of recruiting of western trained English speaking teachers.

The international school curriculum

Stobie suggests that for many 'market driven' international schools curriculum programmes like the International Baccalaureate and the IGCSE 'might be seen as a mechanism for attaining positional advantage in a globally competitive market place for graduating students' (2007: 143). It has also been suggested by the likes of Matthews that many schools expect the 'curricula used in their schools will lead to higher status employment for their children' (1989 cited in Stobie, 2007: 143).

Hayden states that within a school the curriculum is the 'means by which expectations of the various communities may be realised and to which they all relate in some way, whether by determining policy as to its nature, delivering it, experiencing it as a learner or taking it into account as a deciding factor in the choice of the school (2006: 131). Clearly the points made by Stobie and Hayden have relevance to this thesis.

Allan suggests that 'apart from research involving English as a second language, little attention has been paid to what goes on in international school classrooms. Is it different from what goes on in national schools' classrooms? If so, how?' (2007: 438). Data collected from the ISS directories tends to suggest that schools have almost unlimited choice when it comes to what to offer inside the classroom. In total the 523 schools offered 65 different curricula. This tendency for schools to offer a wide variety of programmes is supported by the information supplied by the individual schools. In total the 21 schools offered 69 curricular choices. The breakdown of these choices is represented in the pie charts below.

Pie Chart 3

Curricula offered by participating international schools

19%

28%

15%

4%

34%

- US
- UK
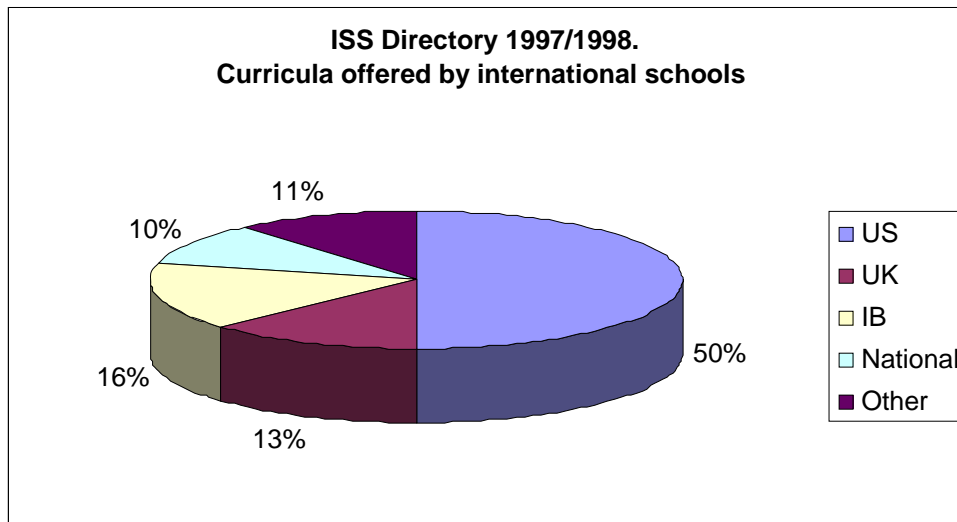- IB
- National
- Other
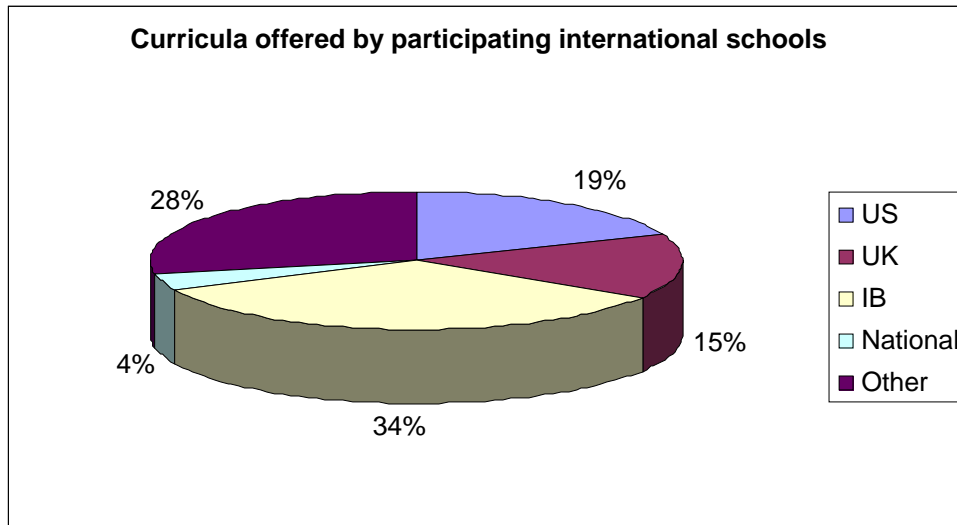
(Compiled in 2007)

Notes:

The American curriculum includes the Advanced Placement (AP)

The British curriculum includes the 'A' level, the GCSE and the IGCSE

The IB curriculum includes the Middle and Primary Years Programmes (MYP + PYP) and the Diploma
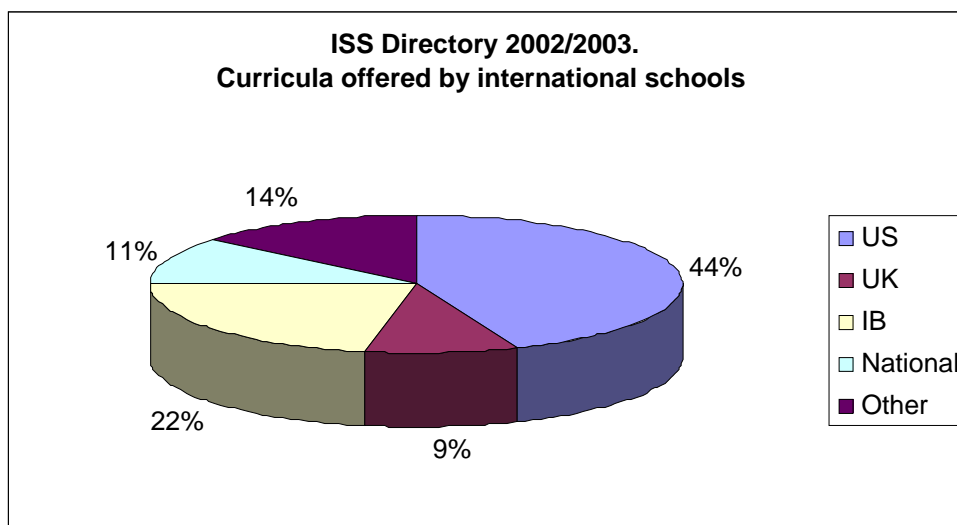
Programme

However, perhaps more pertinent than the number of choices available has been the change in preference schools have shown over the length of this study. These changes are represented in the charts below.
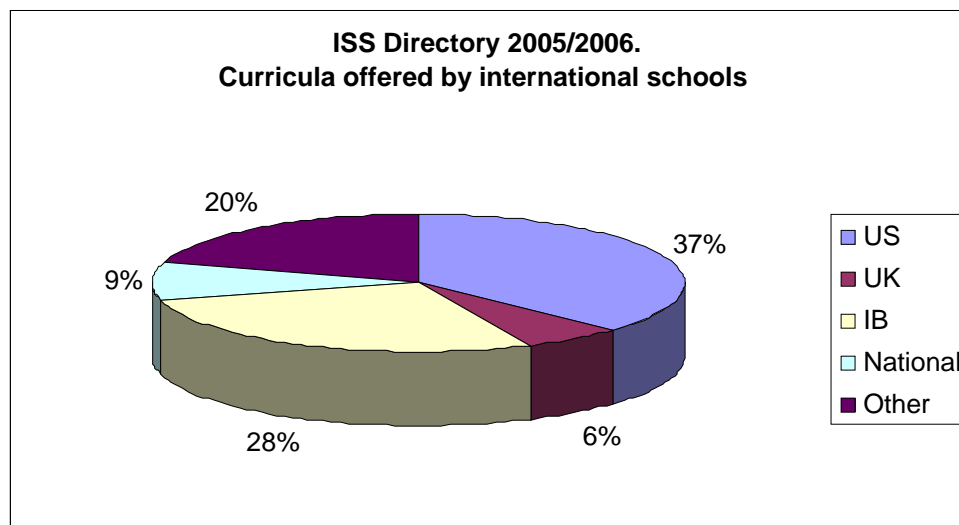
Pie Chart 4

ISS Directory 1997/1998.
Curricula offered by international schools

11%
10%
50%
16%
13%

US
UK
IB
National
Other

(Compiled using data from the ISS Directory 1997/1998)

Pie Chart 5

ISS Directory 2002/2003.
Curricula offered by international schools

14%
11%
44%
22%
9%

US
UK
IB
National
Other

(Compiled using data from the ISS Directory 2002/2003)

Pie Chart 6

**ISS Directory 2005/2006.
Curricula offered by international schools**

- US
- UK
- IB
- National
- Other

37%
20%
9%
28%
6%

(Compiled using data from the ISS Directory 2005/2006)

These figures tend to suggest that there has been a notable change in the programmes of study that schools are offering to parents and students.

Data from the 1997/98 directory shows that 50.0% of the schools offered an American-based curriculum, either singularly or in conjunction with another programme. This coupled with the fact that 13.0% of the schools offered a British-based course of study, means that programmes that originated in the USA or the UK accounted for more than 60.0% of the total. By 2002/03 the number of schools offering an American-based programme had dropped to 44.0% and those offering British-based courses had dropped to 6.0%. By 2005/06, there had been further reductions in the number of schools offering American and British courses with their overall percentages down to 37.0% and 6.0% respectively.

By way of comparison the number of schools offering one, two or all three of the IBO's programmes grew consistently throughout the study. In 1997/98 the IBO accounted for only 16.0% of the total but by 2005/06 this had grown to 26.0%. Information drawn from the questionnaire shows that 34% of the schools stated they offered at least one of the IB programmes of study. The growth of the various programmes offered by the IBO was illustrated at the 2008 IBO Asia Pacific Conference when it was stated in one of the workshops that there were more than 30 schools in the Asia Pacific region waiting

to gain diploma authorisation for a start date in August 2009. It should be further noted that all of these schools would be offering the diploma in English.

One point that seems worth noting is that the apparent changes in curricula being offered by international schools, i.e. the move away from national (American and British) programmes to international ones, seems to be reflected in the nature of the teachers being employed by international schools, with a reduction in American and British teachers and an increase in 'other' nationalities, for example, Canadians, Australians and New Zealanders. However, without further research it would be difficult to state with any authority if one is the cause and the other the effect. Nevertheless, current figures tend to suggest that the programmes offered by the IBO will continue to grow and it may well be the case that schools offering one (or all) of these programmes have been prompted to look for teachers that fit Freemantle's description, i.e. ones that the parents will like, are English speaking and have 'western' training.

Summary

This thesis set out to make a prima facie case for the presence of labour market segmentation with respect to teachers in international schools. The evidence gathered for this hypothesis has been of varying kinds and warrants. Using the ISS directories a clear data pattern, over time, was identified with respect to the teachers recruited to the internal labour market; these who spoke English as their mother tongue. However, the ISS data base represents some 25% of the total number of international schools and the question to be raised is whether the findings here can be extended to all of them. Some of the key details with respect to recruitment were developed through the questionnaire which 21 schools completed. This provided fascinating and in-depth data but, yet again, this sample cannot be seen as representative.

Once the data patterns were identified the question then turned to the mechanisms of exclusion. Here the focus was on the portals of entry and the privileges related to the wage or compensation packages that mother tongue English speakers might receive. These data were not direct but had to be inferred from various forms of evidence, such as the filtering which appeared to occur prior to and at recruitment fairs.

An attempt was made to provide a more direct link between the recruitment practices of Heads and the explanation for the recruitment patterns identified. Two forms of evidence were adduced. The first came from the questionnaire which showed that English and American universities were where many students wished to go after leaving international schools. This set up the possibility of the crucial linkage between the type of credential offered, and we have documented the rise of the IB programmes and access to university. The second type of evidence came from interviews with Head Teachers. There were only a few of these but they did appear to confirm the link between LMS and the explanation for it in terms of the global positional competition for credentials, in which English was seen as a key to success in the global labour market. The research has also been able to suggest that there is a link between the value placed on English and programmes like the IB.

It will be clear that for the reasons given above no more than a prima facie case for LMS and the explanation offered for it has been established. However, hopefully this thesis points the way for further research of both quantitative and qualitative forms to explore these issues further.

As regards the future, it would seem that within international schools there is a move away from American and British curricula and examinations towards internationally recognised ones, most predominately those offered by the IBO. This may well be as a result of the status given to these programmes by higher educational establishments as well as the internationalisation of higher education. Furthermore, it would seem that the majority of these programmes are being offered in English and as a result the demand for native English speaking teachers may well increase. The data presented tend to suggest that, although there has been a decline in the number of American and British teachers being recruited, their places are being taken by teachers from other English speaking nations such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Set against these trends, there are also those that point in the opposite direction. As the international sector expands it may be that the demand for English mother tongue speakers will not be matched by the supply; there must be a limit to well qualified speakers of this kind.

More recently, however, given the recent worldwide economic downturn, this author has collected a number of examples of international schools reducing the number of teachers employed. One school in South East Asia – which offers the IB diploma – terminated the contracts of its entire expatriate staff and replaced them with local hire teachers. Another school in Europe told all its teachers that, due to the large number of students who were leaving the school, contract renewal would be suspended until July and all teachers were free to seek alternative employment. These issues suggest that the degree of labour market segmentation that occurs will be subject to changes in the global economy.

Finally, there are the educational implications of a labour force which appears biased towards western teachers with English as their mother tongue. For many involved in international education the access to some of the world's leading universities is only a by-product, albeit a very important one. Hayden and Thompson suggest that 'international education does make a difference, not necessarily in academic achievement, but more importantly, in student attitudes toward the world and the society they live in; open-mindedness, the ability to see issues from more than one perspective and abiding interest in other cultures' (1996: 46). These sentiments are reinforced by Conn (2002) who, when writing about the programmes offered by the IBO, suggested that 'redeveloping an understanding of culture is critical to promoting an understanding of others and an ability to relate cooperatively to them. This is what each individual programme and the sequence of programmes is designed to achieve' (2002: 6).

Rasanen states that 'teachers are supposed to educate responsible citizens for increasingly globalized societies' and states this can be done through either value transmission, value clarification, moral development theories, ethics of caring or ideals of a community of ethical enquiry (2007: 60). However, if as Hayden and Thompson have shown, for some an international education equals a western orientated education, is it not prudent to ask whether, given the demand for English speaking western trained teachers, the educating of tomorrow's global citizens might inevitably come with a western bias?

Parents, as the customers, are undoubtedly willing to buy into and accept the philosophical arguments that go alongside the ideal of an 'international education' and 'internationalism' but only as long as the education delivers a 'hard currency' that will allow their children access to elite English speaking universities in Europe and North America. Purists and cynics might argue that true 'internationalism' and the educating of the global citizen should not be dependent on examination results and the issuing of certificates but on much wider levels of understanding and tolerance. Given that, for many, economic globalisation may well take precedence over educational globalisation, this might be a very difficult educational package to sell.

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