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Abstract:

Between 2001 and 2003, 1500 Caribbean teachers were recruited to teach in New York City's low income and primarily immigrant/student of color school districts. Using ethnographic research methods through interviews, observations, focus groups, and document analysis, this dissertation documents the narratives of 10 Afro-Caribbean Immigrant women teachers. Using feminist and critical race theory (CRT) lens', the researcher explores the experiences of Afro-Caribbean immigrant women teachers recruited to teach in New York City as an entry point to situate Black, immigrant, and professional experiences in an urban city in the United States of America. Through this research, race, gender, immigrant status and class as enacted through neoliberal hiring and professional experiences, are used as categories of analyses through the lived experiences of Afro-Caribbean immigrant women teachers. The Afro-Caribbean teachers' hypervisibility as Black people and invisibility as immigrant is central to a system of racism, white dominance and nativism masked as patriotic values. Key findings include a deep analysis of agency which is a theme throughout the dissertation, neoliberal practices employed in the U.S. by corporations or state agencies to import women of color labor to the U.S., and a nuanced and complex understanding of race from a decolonial conceptual framework.

THE TRANSNATIONAL NARRATIVES AND STRUGGLES OF AFRO-CARIBBEAN IMMIGRANT
WOMEN TEACHERS IN NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL DISTRICTS

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Dissertation

Submitted in partial fulfilment of requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Cultural Foundations of Education

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August, 2017

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influenced and informed how I live my life. Thank you for being you and for your love and support. You taught me transnational feminist politics long before I read “Under Western Eyes” (Mohanty, 1988). Thank you, dad, Donald Williams Sr. for always loving me and protecting me. You have always seen my potential, encouraged me and helped me grow. That has always meant a great deal to me. Thank you both.

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God is the author and finisher of my faith. To him, I owe all things including the strength and the intellectual wherewithal to write this dissertation while I was pregnant and after I had a baby. To God be the glory.

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-----|
| Abstract:..... | i |
| Copyright..... | iii |
| Acknowledgements | iv |
| Chapter 1 - Introduction and Statement of the Problem..... | 1 |
| Why New York City as a Site?..... | 9 |
| About Language | 12 |
| Glossary of Terms | 13 |
| Chapter 2 - Literature Review | 14 |
| Statement of the Problem and the Importance of this Dissertation | 14 |
| Relevant literature..... | 18 |
| Black Feminist Thought | 18 |
| Transnational Feminist Theory..... | 23 |
| Teacher Education Literature | 41 |
| Immigrants and Immigrant Teachers..... | 54 |
| Chapter 3 - Methodology, Procedures, and Subjectivity..... | 76 |
| Methodology..... | 76 |
| Critical Qualitative Research..... | 77 |
| Procedures | 91 |
| Participants and Research Criteria..... | 91 |
| Data collection..... | 92 |
| Analysis | 102 |
| Chapter 4 -Newest Imports: Teachers! Neoliberalism’s demand on Afro-..... | 104 |
| Caribbean Teachers | 104 |
| The Recruitment Handbook and the Recruitment Process..... | 109 |
| Letters to the Consulate and Government Agencies | 122 |
| Newspaper Articles: How do people feel in Caribbean Nations? | 124 |
| Activist Organization - The Black Institute..... | 130 |
| Chapter 5 - We had to step outside of the rules and do the work! The neoliberal project and Afro- Caribbean teachers’ enlivened subjectivities..... | 136 |
| Disposable but not Dispossessed..... | 139 |
| Stepping Outside of the Rules to Do the Work | 147 |
| Systems of Power and Collective Subjectivities | 154 |
| The Common Core | 165 |
| Conclusion..... | 168 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Chapter 6 - Race and Agency in Afro-Caribbean Teacher Experiences | 170 |
| Transnational and de-colonial feminist understandings of race | 180 |
| Connections between gender and sexuality and the education system | 181 |
| Collective Authority | 189 |
| Conclusion | 207 |
| Chapter 7 - Conclusion | 209 |
| Future Directions | 217 |
| APPENDIX A..... | 221 |
| APPENDIX B..... | 249 |
| APPENDIX C..... | 255 |
| APPENDIX D..... | 264 |
| References | 276 |
| Curriculum Vitae | 290 |

Chapter 1 - Introduction and Statement of the Problem

In 2001, the New York City board of education aggressively recruited, through the Caribbean recruitment initiative (CRI), a group of experienced Caribbean teachers and enticed them with promises of the New York teacher certification, Master's degrees, housing assistance and ultimately, a pathway to permanent residency/citizenship. Many teachers uprooted their families to come to the U.S. and unfortunately were not given many of the amenities they were promised (the Black Institute, 2005). In a report entitled, "Broken Promises" written by the Black Institute, a think tank organization operating outside of New York City, the plight of Caribbean teachers, many of whom are Black and Indo-Caribbean, who had been recruited through the department of Education was documented in detail for the first time in newspapers across the Caribbean and in New York City. Many news stories, televised and written appeared in the New York metro area and in the Caribbean countries from which these teachers hailed. What then was the problem? According to the report, the teachers were recruited under the guise that they would be employed by the department of Education and have access to continuing education opportunities, housing, and green cards. After several years, none of these promises had been fulfilled and the results were devastating in some cases for the teachers and their families. Many of the teachers have been terminated or have chosen to leave while others remain employed under working conditions they sometimes find difficult to navigate. This report and the news stories piqued my interest. These teachers, many of them, remain in the New York City school systems and because of teacher shortages, are often in low-income, low-performing schools. Their experiences with immigration have been riddled with mismanagement and high legal fees exposing them to termination and deportation in some cases. This is a story about Afro-Caribbean women teachers in New York City public schools. This dissertation argues that women teachers must become adept at navigating American notions of race (read black), immigration laws and procedures and neoliberal hiring practices in urban school districts. Some

teachers are more savvy at navigating the complexities of race, schooling, immigration and their interconnectedness while others still struggle to make sense of these complexities and their everyday realities.

Aside from the larger news stories and the discourse around Black immigrants, I was beginning to notice that my mother, who was recruited as one of these teachers, had her own narratives about principals and the school systems. In particular, she was really concerned about testing and about her own evaluation process which over time had become more stringent and punitive. She and I would discuss the newest regulations and how they were negatively affecting her sleep, her time on the weekends and in the evenings. This story had become personal. My mother was not involved in the organizing that took place in collaboration with the black institute but she was aware of it. I asked her why she didn't join in the fight through organizing. She made it clear that she didn't think her issues were being represented by those doing the organizing and that she and others had found different ways to enact their agency. She also saw some of what was being called a problem, as part of the process of a complex immigration system and as such worked within that system to obtain her green card. I began to wonder if my mom was simply ambivalent or if she was a "good" worker who understood that there would be difficulties and therefore took those issues in stride. I also wondered if she were just naïve. I learned quickly that she was not naïve and that there was a strategy to survive that she was employing. I had to look differently to see the complex ways in which teachers were resisting systems intended to oppress them and using their agency to survive. That process of looking differently included broadening my epistemic frame to include my training as a feminist scholar and the experiential knowledge I had as a Caribbean high skilled immigrant worker. It was in combining all of the ways in which I experience the world that I was able to see the women for and through their complexities. Some had chosen to join the black institute and to demonstrate

loudly and publicly. Others were resisting in classrooms through their content and still yet there were those resisting and enacting their agency through unionizing and other political organizing.

As I began to contemplate capturing the complex micro narratives of the women, while contextualizing the larger back-drop of the feminization of labor, and transnational practices of recruiting women of color from the global south to work in spaces deemed less desirable for American workers, I knew there was a powerful story to tell here. This is the story I try to tell by positioning the voices of the women as central and using the socio-political context as a backdrop to these narratives. This story is personal for all of us. Yet, it is so much bigger than any of us. It is a story about labor practices in the US, immigration, race and schooling. These larger issues are being discussed through national discourses in our political economy today and these women's stories add to this discourse.

In the methods section, I speak much more about my subjectivities and the struggles I had as I sat in community with these women and as I collected data. I chose to focus on the narratives of women because although men were recruited as part of this initiative, more women than men were recruited for the program, more women than men are teachers and more women than men were interested in this dissertation topic and volunteered to participate. I also thought that the women's stories would be fascinating to hear because in many cases (not all) these women went from two parent incomes to being the primary bread-winners, a fact that did not always sit well with husbands. I therefore wanted to know what the move to the US was like for their families. Because I was familiar with my mom's story and because I am also Afro-Caribbean, there were moments that were difficult to write about, there were moments of shared joy/pain and there

were moments when other aspects of our identities (age was the major one), made hearing each other difficult. Despite the difficult and joyous moments, the story you are reading is about a group of women, who despite the odds, have been successful at surviving in a system that was not built for their survival. Lorde says it best when she says, “So it is better to speak remembering we were never meant to survive” (Lorde, 1995). These women were never meant to survive but they did and I was granted the privilege of organizing the narratives of that survival.

This dissertation seeks to ask the following questions:

- 1) How are Black Anglo Immigrant Caribbean Women Teachers recruited between 2001 and 2003 enacting their identities and subjectivities created through the experiences they have in the schools in which they teach?
- 2) What is the relationship between neoliberal, capitalist endeavors and teacher education especially as it gets enacted through these teachers’ lives?

There are seven chapters in this dissertation. Chapter one is the introduction which sets the context for this dissertation and answers "why" I had to tell these narratives. Chapter 2 is a review of the relevant literature that helps to contextualize the work that has preceded this dissertation in the areas of immigration/migration, teacher education and critical feminist theories. It is important to understand the broader context of migration to the US and to discuss the trends and patterns over the years. That discussion is followed by a more specific discussion of Caribbean immigrants and the ways in which scholars have discussed Caribbean immigrants over time. I then turn to the literature on feminist theories and methodologies. In particular, I look at Black feminist theory which provides a great analysis of power as it relates to black women in America. I also discuss transnational feminist theories because an understanding of how women are understood

globally is important to this project. Our global understandings of women from the “third world” helps us understand why a powerful nation such as the U.S. would import these women in the numbers they did. Beyond that, transnational feminist theory also allows us to understand how the United States could import black women from the Caribbean without providing supports for them. Transnational feminist theory reminds us that neoliberal and capitalist endeavors globally, render black and brown women from the global south as disposable workers. I also use decolonial feminist theoretical frames to better understand how coloniality or the legacy of colonialism constructed women and black women in particular as invisible. Decolonial theorists argue that in regard to race, black men are visible and in regard to gender, white women are most visible as the marginal subjects. Therefore, black women are invisible because their subjectivities as women and black make them precarious and ineffable. I also include Caribbean feminist theories as another way to contextualize Caribbean women. I find Caribbean feminist theory lacking in its analysis of race and gender. I find their contributions around class and the political economy useful. Finally, I engage with the teacher education literature so as to understand how the department of education was able to make an argument for importing teachers. It is important to note that teachers were imported with the blessing of the state. This literature is focused primarily on calls from scholars and policy makers to diversify teacher education programs by recruiting and retaining more preservice teachers of color, diversifying teacher education curriculum and diversifying the teacher labor force. It is arguably true that the department of education attempted to partially address these calls by employing Afro-Caribbean women teachers. It is important then to critique why 14-16 years later, these teachers are still largely invisible from the scholarly work being done about teachers and why these teachers are never mentioned as part of the national discourse about teachers, "diverse" teachers and schooling.

Chapter 3 provides a conceptual framing of methodological theories as well as a detailed plan of how I executed data collection for this dissertation. Chapter 3 engages a conversation about what it means to conduct critical ethnographic research and documents the procedures or methods used to collect data from Afro-Caribbean women teachers. Scholars such as Denzin (2017); Denzin and Lincoln (1994); Gibson and Koyama (2011); Madison and Fine (1994); Hesse-Biber (2005) and Madison (2005) who discuss what ethnographic research entails and what it means when someone does ethnographic research from a critical theoretical and empirical perspective are used to situate my own ontological journey to this dissertation on critical methods. The methodological framing I use are familiar to those who use ethnographic research, but this dissertation engages not just feminist theories but feminist methodologies so that the participant voice and narratives are central to the process of collecting and analyzing data. I, as researcher, never assumes a neutral stance but instead am reflexive throughout the dissertation about my own positionality, and that gender, race, class and other identities explored simultaneously. Finally, this dissertation seeks to contribute to social justice frameworks enacted through data collection by examining and critiquing power structures and hierarchies. These frameworks make this a critical feminist dissertation project using situational analysis as a way to analyze the data collected.

In chapter 4, I will have five sections that will work together to provide the context for the conditions that lead to the Caribbean Recruitment Initiative (CRI) in the United States and in the Caribbean. In section I, I will describe and analyze documents that situate how recruiters from the board of education conceived of the recruitment efforts for Afro-Caribbean teachers and how they worked with consulates to gain access to teachers. In this section, I will also describe how teachers from predominantly White, European countries, were recruited and think comparatively about the differences in the process for teachers from the global north and

teachers from the global south. In section II, I will also detail through local newspaper articles how journalists in the Caribbean countries and in the United States made sense of the export/import of teachers and represented popular opinions about the recruitment initiatives. In section III, I will analyze documents from the Black Institute, a think tank out of New York City that worked with and advocated for Afro-Caribbean teachers as they sought justice for themselves and their families. Finally, in section IV, I will conclude with the implications of the discourses that situate the recruitment of Afro-Caribbean teachers. What I found in chapter four is that the discourses in the Caribbean and in the United States through newspaper articles in particular and through my work with one of the primary recruiters, Robert Antoine, demonstrate the way in which neoliberalism operates through popular discourse and is received by those it impacts. The combination of the documents provided, situate how state actors enact neoliberalism. It tells of the ways in which people affected by neoliberal practices negotiate their response to these practices.

In chapter 5, I describe the ways in which neoliberal practices are mapped onto bodies and the consequences for those that are the subjects of the neoliberal project. The teachers thought they were respected for, and hired because of their knowledge, but as it turns out, they were never considered full participants in a system that wanted to use up their labor, cheaply acquired, and then, dispose of them. Dispossession is a feature of neoliberalism and in this dissertation, I will argue that the women were disposable but not dispossessed of self. They maintained their sense of self and self-worth through coalition building, faith and community relationships. One of the ways in which the neoliberal project operates is that it does not make itself visible to those who are impacted directly by it. I found in this chapter that the women used their agency in multiple ways to resist systems of dominance and power, critique the work they were tasked to do in nuanced and sophisticated ways and finally to create sustainable

communities with and for each other.

In chapter 6, I explore the many ways in which Afro-Caribbean women teachers make sense of their race and more importantly, how they entered into political resistance against discrimination and domination by systems of power. To do this, I use a decolonial theoretical framework called the coloniality of gender by Maria Lugones (2007). Using her ambits of social existence, I demonstrate how coloniality - the legacy of colonialism, is still present in the experiences and the interpretations of the lives of these women. To be clear, these teachers understand race and racism. They know that race in America is palpable, contentious, contested and divisive. They know that as Black people, they may be discriminated against based on race. Yet, each of the teachers negotiated race in different ways, to different degrees and with different understandings of race as an institution. This chapter explores those seeming contradictions and the ways in which Afro-Caribbean women are disrupting these colonial narratives. This chapter also makes clear that the agency with which these women negotiate various aspects of their lives comes from a complex understanding of their realities in the U.S. currently and the realities of their lives (former and current) in the U.S. I also discuss Mahmoods (2001) conceptions of agency and Patel's (2015) conceptions of the decoloniality of education to continue to frame conceptually coloniality, race, gender and class as simultaneous oppressions being operated through the lives of the women.

In chapter 7, I conclude with the findings I present in chapters 4-6, and discuss the strengths of this dissertation, future directions, recommendations and limitations to this study. The chord that ties this dissertation together is the agency with which the women navigated their individual and collective experiences. Using Mahmood's (2001) definition of agency, I make the argument that the women survive because they acted with agency. The nuanced ways in which they made meaning of their experiences, the coalitions they built

with each other and the critical perspectives they have about race, gender, class and other social identities, are important to how I expand the definition of agency Mahmood uses. Another important contribution this dissertation makes is its thorough analysis of critical theories and methodologies. This dissertation relies on feminist theories (Black, decolonial and transnational) to excavate the narratives of the 10 women who participated in the dissertation. These critical theoretical and methodological perspectives contribute significantly to what we know about immigrants, Black women, Caribbean women and teachers.

Why New York City as a Site?

New York City has long been known as a haven for immigrants. In a study by Rosen, Wieler and Feirera (2005), they find that during the 1990's 1.3 million people left New York City while at the same time 1.2 million immigrants entered the city (Rosen, Wieler & Feirera, 2005). The city pre- September 2001 saw high concentrations of immigrants and growth between 1990 and 2000. New York City saw an increase in immigrant populations from 7.3 million in 2000 to 8.1 million in 2003 (Rosen, Wieler & Feirera, 2005). The immigrant growth patterns are important for understanding why New York City is an important context to study and why I chose this city that many researchers have used as a drop for research on immigrants. According to Hirschman (2005), New York City loses many of its native-born residents to the suburbs. However, immigrants arrive to the city in large numbers and therefore offset the loss experienced. Hirschman (2005) contends, "The population decline of New York was halted with the arrival of more than 400,000 immigrants in the 1980s and almost double that number in the 1990s. Fueled by a resurgence of immigration, the 2000 population of New York City rose to above its peak of several decades earlier." (p. 595). Hirschman (2005) looked at the decades between 1900 and 2000 to understand New York City's growth patterns. Post 2001, after the

terrorist attacks on New York City, Arabs and Muslims were targeted as terrorists. In many cases they were rounded up in large numbers and detained. Arab and Muslim men also experienced a decline in their wages and employment possibilities (Rabby & Rogers, 2011). Non-Arab and Muslim men of color also experienced a decline in their wage and employment possibilities because of anti-terrorism programs. In particular, Latino undocumented men who are recent immigrants have fared poorly in the New York City job market post 9-11 (Orrenius & Zavondy, 2009).

This dissertation makes explicit connections between the neoliberal state, the police state and race. At the same time that Muslim people and Muslim men in particular, were criminalized as terrorists (Hirschman, 2005), Latino undocumented men were unsuccessful in the New York City labor market ((Orrenius & Zavondy, 2009). These are not coincidences and although the dissertation does not look at Muslim or Latino men, the connection between immigrants of color criminalized and sanctioned through the police state that surveils and profiles them, is profound as I make an argument for why Black women were being imported as “good” immigrants. At the heart of neoliberalism is a capitalist agenda, so that one group of immigrants of color could be criminalized (by being locked up and deported) while another could be exploited and desired for their cheap labor. This dissertation explores the ways in which neoliberalism shapes our understandings of immigrants of color by looking explicitly at the everyday experiences of the Afro-Caribbean women teachers who were participants in this dissertation.

In her dissertation work, Panton-Squires (2008), documents that West Indian women were more likely to migrate to New York city in the 1970’s and 1980’s and work in low paying blue collar jobs because they often paid more than the jobs West Indian immigrants left at home (p. 83). Many well-documented studies, observe West Indian workers in the service industry or in low paying blue-collar jobs (Foner, 1979; Colen, 2009; Waters, 2009). Skean (2010),

however, explores the experiences of professional West Indian women workers in the United States and concludes that although West Indian women are able to become successful, they pay a high cost for this success. In particular, she found that West Indian women lost ties with family members, did not have strong connections with other West Indians and did not always stand in solidarity with African Americans because West Indians often down-play the importance of race in their experiences.

In 2001, when these teachers began to arrive, the socio-political landscape in the United States looked different than it had in the 1970's through the 1990's. The first set of recruits began their tenure when the terrorist attacks occurred on September 11, 2001. One teacher tells me that her flight was delayed as a result of the attacks and so she began working in October after the school year was well under way. This meant that she had to be a substitute all year which was against immigration regulation and which was not good for her own personal and professional growth. These teachers were entering the New York City labor market at a critical moment. Immigration regulations changed after September 11, 2001 to become more punitive for everyone but especially for certain bodies (read Muslim, Arab and Sikh). Teachers entered the U.S. at a moment when Arabs (domestic and foreign) and Muslims (domestic and foreign) became the target of hate. The Caribbean recruitment initiative continued for two years after the September 11 attacks, which is an indication that Caribbean teachers were desirable as teachers and as immigrants. So, while Muslim and Arab immigrants became less desirable, Caribbean immigrants became or remained more desirable.

These Caribbean immigrant teachers were desirable recruits because New York City boasts a large population of Caribbean immigrants and their descendants. They were also highly trained teachers with many years of experience in their home countries. This qualified them to come but I think their desirability was about access to them because the Caribbean neighbors the

US and the ability to pay them low wages for their labor. These teachers were sought after because US citizen teachers were not interested in working in the urban districts in which the teachers were placed. It is therefore not a stretch to conclude that teachers were also desirable because of their Caribbean heritage, but also because it was assumed that they were culturally and physically similar to the students they would teach. I discuss this further in chapter 6.

One of the teachers' complaints was that they were brought to the US on a J-1 visa. The J-1 visa is a non-immigrant visa used for studying or for specialized work. One cannot gain permanent residence status from a non-immigrant visa. Because the teachers were coming here to work, and were promised a path to citizenship, an H-1B visa would have been more appropriate and desirable. However, as one recruiter told me, the J-1 visa is easier to access and the recruiting was rushed for Caribbean teachers, so they did the easiest thing they could. In chapter 4, I discuss this practice in more detail when I discuss neoliberal hiring practices. Other teachers brought in from European countries such as Spain were given H1B visas, securing their paths to citizenship. This I will argue is not coincidental but deliberate and supports contemporary feminist theories about the devaluing of women's labor from the global south.

About Language

I sometimes use the words international and immigrant interchangeably. They are not the same word and they do not mean the same thing. "International teachers" is a category the teachers use to describe themselves and it is a term used by me when I quote the teachers directly or describe issues they have relayed to me. However, the teachers in my study use the word international to describe themselves. When I refer to them as international teacher's it is in the context of how they refer to themselves. I use the word immigrant to describe their legal status and which more broadly situates them politically in the United States.

Glossary of Terms

The words, phrases and concepts below will be used frequently throughout the dissertation. I have provided definitions for how I will be using them from this moment forward:

| Words | Definitions |
|----------------|---|
| Afro Caribbean | People of African descent who were born in the Caribbean |
| Indo Caribbean | People of Indian (usually south Asian) descent who were born in the Caribbean. |
| Colorism | Discrimination based on skin tone (Banks, 2000) |
| Global South | Developing countries |
| Global North | Developed countries |
| Neoliberalism | Harvey (2005) argues that neoliberalism's main achievement is a redistribution of wealth so that fewer people control the vast amount of economic resources (p. 159). Harvey contends that the main mechanism by which a redistribution of wealth was acquired, was through the rubric of accumulation by dispossession. (Harvey, 2005) |

Table 1 Glossary of frequently used terms

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

Statement of the Problem and the Importance of this Dissertation

My dissertation project is a feminist study. My feminist theoretical and methodological ontology is informed by a few feminist traditions. I pull from Black, decolonial, transnational and Caribbean feminisms to situate my project. My participants are not reducible to homogenous categories and as I collected data and thought about my theoretical orientation, I realized that all of these feminist traditions together create a fuller, more complex understanding of the issues my participants face. No one feminist theoretical frame captures the complexities of the lives of these women. I also pull from immigration theory, teacher education theory and critical race theory to contextualize and continue to make sense of the lives of the women in my study. Below is a brief exploration of the literature that has assisted me in situating the women's narratives in larger national and international contexts. Before I turn to that literature, I want to make clear why this study is important and adds to the body of work that had preceded it.

The scholarship that precedes and have informed this dissertation are limited. There are few studies that have undertaken the task of situating Afro-Caribbean women who were recruited to come to the United States to teach in New York City's urban failing schools. The studies that have done so, are mostly unpublished dissertations from which I have learned. In particular, Francis (2005), conducted a mixed methods study using a questionnaire as her primary mode for collecting data and conducting two focus group interviews. Francis (2005), targeted 149 Jamaican teachers and was successful in securing 81 respondents. She was interested in understanding how teachers related to students and found that teachers were interested in discipline, skills for employment and making certain students were college ready. She also found that teachers became more aware of race because of their work in New York City and had varying and complex views about institutional and individual forms of racism. As one of

the first studies to look at these teachers' impact on the education system in New York City, Francis' study is important to future researchers for myself for laying the ground-work and making a case for the importance of this population of teachers who were largely undertheorized. The limitation of this work is a complex understanding of how teachers were able to make sense of structural issues such as race and how they went about navigating these issues. The study builds on studies that continue to pit African American and Afro-Caribbean teachers against each other. Francis (2005) documents that many Afro-Caribbean teachers see African Americans as being responsible for their own plight (p.43) and therefore centers Afro-Caribbean people as stronger and better able to survive and thrive.

Similarly, Beck's (2010) dissertation explored the narratives of four Afro-Caribbean women from Barbados recruited to teach in the Louisville, Kentucky school district. Beck (2010) uses Womanist and immigrant incorporation theories to make her case that teachers use culturally relevant and race base pedagogies with their Black students to ensure success. Her methods were in-depth narrative interviews and observations. The limitation to this study is in its design and desire to fit Afro-Caribbean women experiences in with traditional theoretical models developed by African Americans. Whereas what the Afro-Caribbean teachers did in her study resembled the labor done by African American women before them, what could be different for these women given their upbringing and Caribbean heritage? There were nuances underexplored because of the theoretical framing that Beck uses.

Wilson's (2011) dissertation work builds on Beck's work by using narrative inquiry to do focus groups and a survey with nine women. She wanted to understand if these British West Indian teachers were able to move schools from low performing to high performing based on their pedagogical beliefs. She specifically asked questions about how their identities as teachers in the Caribbean impacted their identities in the U.S. She found that the British Caribbean

teachers she interviewed were largely successful in moving schools from ‘failing’ to ‘passing.’ The strength of the dissertation is that it asks questions about the women’s unique identities, which allowed them to foster high performing students. Where this dissertation is limited is in its ability to understand what it is that allowed the teachers to impact students and the schools they taught in in the ways they did without essentializing them.

Fitzpatrick (2014) who looked at Anglophone Caribbean teachers in New York City recruited in 2001,

focuses on the case of New York City’s Caribbean teachers and privileging their testimony about their responses to such recruitment elucidates many of the personal contours of this emerging strategy of the neoliberalized global governance of teacher labor. This project contributes new knowledge by attending to this understudied population of teachers, revealing the extraordinary flexibility demanded of their globalized labor, citizenship, and humanity (p. 4).

She used an interpretive and ethnographic approach with ten teachers to understand knowledge workers and their children. She was interested in understanding the nexus between human rights, worker’s rights and citizenship rights. She was interested in understanding how these women made sense of the neoliberal economy that demanded their labor in particular ways. The strength of this dissertation lies in its connections to globalized processes and discourses. Unlike the previous dissertations, she is interested in situating the teacher’s experiences as a part of a global understanding of labor, citizenship and humanity. The limitations to this dissertation are that it does not situate Afro-Caribbean women in their specificity as a particular group with a particular knowledge-base which is the reason for their recruitment. Although it is a strength to situate the teachers in a larger global economy, there is a deficit in this dissertations framing of human rights and citizenship rights. Given the particular population of teachers and given the

particular issues with which they grapple, the dissertation should have done more to discuss the nuances of what citizenship means and what human rights in this context means.

The work I do in my dissertation builds on the works I have described above in previous dissertations. In particular, I am not interested in understanding how teachers impacted the schools in which they taught because this work has been carefully documented (Francis, 2005; Beck, 2010 and Wilson, 2011). Instead, I am interested in understanding how they made sense of all their experiences professionally and personally. The strength of my dissertation lies in the nuances with which I explore critical feminist theories and methodologies in my interpretation and analysis of the experiences of the ten women who participated in my dissertation. The agency which women carefully navigated neoliberal recruitment and discourses is meticulously detailed. The deliberateness with which they traversed their racialized Black identities through a decolonial framework is also an important addition to the literatures in feminist theories, Immigration/migration theories, and teacher education theories.

I use Mahmood's (2001) definition of agency in this dissertation to underscore how the Afro-Caribbean participants navigate their experience. Mahmood (2001) draws distinctions between her work and the work of Judith Butler she contends, "Agency: a) more in terms of capacities and skills required to undertake particular kinds of acts (of which resistance to a particular set of relations of domination *is one kind of act*); and b) as ineluctably bound up with the historically and culturally specific disciplines through which a subject is formed" (p. 210). This quote is instructive for conversations about how Afro- Caribbean participants were able to survive a system that intended to use them and get rid of them. The everyday, mundane ways in which they enact their agency through resisting as well as using their knowledges and skills previously acquired, allows us to see the full humanity of these women without reducing their experiences. In chapter 6, I provide a fuller understanding of how agency is enacted.

I use Havey's (2005) definition of neoliberalism as a basis for understanding what I mean I say neoliberal recruiting and discourses. Harvey (2005), contends that the main mechanism by which a redistribution of wealth was acquired was through the rubric of accumulation by dispossession. Harvey argues that there are four ways in which accumulation by dispossession occurs – 1) privatization and commodification of public assets 2) predatory financialization through deregulation 3) the management and manipulation of debt that has become the fine art of redistributing wealth from rich countries to poor countries and 4) the states complicity in the redistribution of resources through pursuit of privatization schemes and cut backs in state expenditures that support the social wage (p. 159-160). Chapter 4 provides a fuller discussion about neoliberalism and the ways in which I use it to contextualize the experiences my participants had. Chapter 4 also includes the works of Lakes and carter (2011); and Davies and Bansel (2007). Throughout the text I also discuss neoliberalism and how it has been taken up and critiqued by feminists such as Mohanty (2003); Moghadam (2005) and Carty and Mohanty (2015).

Below I turn to a discussion of the literatures that have informed my theoretical orientation and framing. I begin with feminist literatures, turn to teacher education literatures, and end with literatures on immigrants and immigrant teachers.

Relevant literature

Black Feminist Thought

Lorde (1984) asserts, “We are Black women born into a society of entrenched loathing and contempt for whatever is Black and female. We are strong and enduring. We are also deeply scarred” (p. 155). I open with this quote because it is reminiscent of the struggle that Black feminists encounter as we attempt to make sense of the world we live in by way of conducting research with participants and in this regard, women, in the black community. The implications

for Lorde's theorizing are numerous and varied. If black women sit in a precarious position, the research that includes them as participants is also precarious. The ways in which we go about research in ways that do not continue to be violent to the subjectivities of Black women must be explored in more detail. Indigenous scholars such as Min-ha (1989); and Smith (2008; 1999), discuss in great detail the importance of writing about others and conducting methodological research as acts of colonization that left un-scrutinized, creates issues of continued epistemic violence experienced by many communities of color.

Hill Collins (1986), asserts that the outsider within status is one that Black women have occupied for as long as they have been in servitude to White people (p.14). Hill Collins theorizes that it is from this outsider within place that Black women have learned to theorize from the margins. Black women learned to make sense of their world through this standpoint theory. She theorizes that what we can learn from those who occupy this outsider within status has the potential to change the way we understand social issues and the way we go about conducting research. Black women have been speaking and theorizing about their social conditions and it is precisely because of their marginal locations historically, why the voices of Black women should be amplified.

Hill Collins (1990), in her work on black feminist epistemology argues that "African American women academics who persist in trying to rearticulate a black women's standpoint also face potential rejection of our knowledge claims on epistemological grounds" (p. 247). Here, Hill Collins makes the claim that Black women's knowledge and framework are often dismissed as illegitimate. But, Hill Collins insists and reminds us that, "experience as a criterion of meaning with practical images as its symbolic vehicle is a fundamental epistemological tenet in African American thought systems" (p. 250). In other words, Black women rely heavily on experiential knowledge as part of their epistemic frame.

The Combahee River Collective (1986), provided an important space from which Black women could theorize about Black women in the U.S. and their relationship to race, class and gender which at their intersection make black women invisible. At length, I quote them here to illustrate that 3 decades later, these observations are still relevant:

We believe that sexual politics under patriarchy is as pervasive in Black women's lives as are the politics of class and race. We also often find it difficult to separate race from class from sex oppression because in our lives they are most often experienced simultaneously. We know that there is such a thing as racial-sexual oppression which is neither solely racial nor solely sexual, e.g., the history of rape of Black women by white men as a weapon of political repression. Although we are feminists and lesbians, we feel solidarity with progressive Black men and do not advocate the fractionalization that white women who are separatists demand. Our situation as Black people necessitates that we have solidarity around the fact of race, which white women of course do not need to have with white men, unless it is their negative solidarity as racial oppressors. We struggle together with Black men against racism, while we also struggle with Black men about sexism. (p. 213)

The deeply profound sentiments of locating Black feminism as complex and without singularity is important because Black feminists have made clear that the social and economic fabric upon which the United States is built, has already rendered Black women as invisible and as a result, women cannot only stand in solidarity against patriarchy, given that Black men are positioned differently than White men in the patriarchal system and given that race and class are also important in the creation of a Black woman identity. Black feminists ask us to consider the simultaneity of oppression.

Carby (1996), argues that any notion of equality is immediately problematic for Black

feminists because equality is not a concept that materializes positive results in the lives of Black people and women because of the regulated subjugation Black people were forced to endure. She explains this well when she uses Sojourner Truth's words "Aint I woman?" to demonstrate that Black women were denied womanhood. Whereas White women suffered under patriarchy, and their roles as women were limited, they were categorized as women, a category Black women still fight to claim even today. We are seen as jezebels, monsters and over sexualized hussies, a construction and representation that formed during slavery and which persists and manifests in the ways we understand beauty (as Eurocentric), the products that are most readily available on the market for Black women's hair, bodies etc. and the representations of Black women in print and other media sources.

Another Black feminist scholar, bell hooks (2000), attempts to discuss how a decolonized feminist perspective would allow us to link sexist practices to women's bodies globally. Hooks claims that radical women of color must do more to understand our sisters in the global south. hooks identifies issues such as forced female circumcision, sex clubs in Thailand, and veiling as important issues that feminists with decolonized feminisms would address in a global context without western imperialism. I take issue with hooks' classification of the "issues" named as issues. She is doing what I think she is asking us to safeguard against – namely, looking through western, imperialist eyes (Mohanty, 1988). Hooks also does not think through what a global understanding of the everyday mundane lives of women are and what a transnational understanding of the mundane lives of women in nuanced and complex ways. For example, she does not ask what the mundane lives of western women would be?

Dillard (2008), makes a claim across Black diasporic identity for spirituality as an important component of how we make meaning of black or as she calls them African ascendant lives. She asserts,

Many African ascendant scholars know that even as we recognize the messiness in interpretive practices and representations of qualitative research, there is another very fundamental crisis that goes far beyond the biographical situatedness of the researcher and the research project for us. This crisis we speak of here includes the hegemonic structures that have traditionally and historically negated and impeded the intellectual, social, and cultural contributions of African (and African feminist) knowledge. These are structures that have also negated the spiritual contributions of African ascendant people. (p. 279).

Dillard's claims here are important because they assert that spirituality is an important component of the ways people of African ascent come to know and make sense of their world. Unlike Hill Collins (1990; 2000) and hooks (2000), Dillard (2008) is explicit that Collins' first edition did not address a global Black feminist thought although in the second edition she does so more explicitly. Dillard (2008) offers that the "goal of an endarkened feminist epistemology was to situate Black feminist thought in its diasporic milieu from its inception" (p. 280).

Dillard's reimagining of a Black epistemic frame that is pan-African and diasporic is important as we explore ethics and methods as they relate to participants who are not African-American but who have pan-African identities. She explores, how do we accurately interpret experience that is situated outside of a western construction of Blackness? Dillard (2008), goes on to assert that an endarkened feminist epistemological stance is a responsibility that is "answerable and obligated to the very persons and communities being engaged in inquiry" (p. 280).

Similarly, Native scholars have argued for epistemic and methodological frames that not just represent their world views and non-Western frames but epistemic and methodological frames that honor their worldview. Grande (2003), makes the claim that she does not identify as feminist but indigena. She argues that although feminisms attempt to critique the white discourse

that has permeated feminist frames through liberal, postmodern, post-structural, Marxist, critical race, socialist, lesbian, womanist, and transnational feminisms, she finds that these different feminisms are not intersectional “so that women of color tend to be the ones writing about race and feminism, lesbi-bi-transgendered women about sexuality and feminism, working class women about class and feminism and middle class heterosexual women about a depoliticized feminism” (Grande, 126). Grande’s observations of the ways in which feminisms have become pluralistic with little attempt to create intersectional understandings, is vital to an epistemic frame that claims to be influenced by transnational, post-colonial and black feminist theoretical frames and methodologies as is my project. The situatedness of Black Caribbean women is a manifestation of Grande’s frustration about feminisms inability to be an intersectional frame. What happens when women from the global south move to the global north in white collar jobs but are still only defined in regard to their Black women identities with little or no appreciation for their worldviews, professional skills or situated knowledges? This dissertation begins to excavate this question.

Transnational Feminist Theory

Transnational feminism emerged out of the discourses that excluded women from the global south broadly and third world women generally whose cultures were often seen as backward, simplistic or wrapped in tradition. Scholars such as Mohanty (1988), argue,

This average third world woman leads an essentially truncated life based on her feminine gender (read: sexually constrained) and being ‘third world’ (read: ignorant, poor uneducated, tradition bound, religious, domesticated, family-oriented, victimized etc.). This I suggest is in contrast to (the implicit), self - representation of western women as educated, modern, as having control over their own bodies and sexualities, and the

freedom to make their own decisions. (p. 65).

Transnational feminists such as Mohanty (1998) were making an intervention or disrupting western feminist thought that their ideals of feminism were more progressive than the ideals of feminism held by 'third world' women in western countries and 'third world women' situated in the global south.

In her revisited essay, "Under Western Eyes Revisited; Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggle", Mohanty (2003), addresses and clarifies some of the ways the original essay was read/misread and the ways in which Mohanty (2003) has come to recognize that one can be under and within western eyes. She theorizes that in 2003 when this article was published that an acknowledgement of indigenous peoples and their cultures was necessary and that a definition of third world and western needed to be rearticulated to include communities that are not situated neatly within those conceptualizations. She also acknowledges the global power of capitalist and neoliberal policies that have become more apparent with time and within which is situated racist, patriarchal and other marginalizing practices and ways of knowing. She claims, my focus now is on what I have chosen to call an anti-capitalist transnational feminist practice—and on the possibilities, indeed on the necessities, of cross-national feminist solidarity and organizing against capitalism. While "Under Western Eyes" was located in the context of the critique of Western humanism and Eurocentrism and of white, Western feminism, a similar essay written now would need to be located in the context of the critique of global capitalism (on anti-globalization), the naturalization of the values of capital, and the unacknowledged power of cultural relativism in cross-cultural feminist scholarship and pedagogies. (Mohanty, 2003, p. 509).

Coalition building and solidarity are important to transnational praxis. About this, Mohanty (2003), says,

The challenge is to see how differences allow us to explain the connections and border crossings better and more accurately, how specifying difference allows us to theorize universal concerns more fully. It is this intellectual move that allows for my concern for women of different communities and identities to build coalitions and solidarities across borders. (p. 510).

Mohanty's theorizing here is important to contextualize the differential experiences with blackness the Afro-Caribbean women with whom I worked, experienced in the global north. Mohanty's quote above illustrates the complexities with which I need to make this argument. Black is often situated as a monolithic concept even in Black feminist scholarship. Mohanty's theoretical frame allows me a distinct lens through which to articulate why we must think about Blackness as local and situated in its contextual and colonial histories because it gives a better understanding of the universal coalition necessary to theorize about Blackness visible in all its forms.

Mohanty (2003), argues for feminism without borders. Broadly translated, Mohanty is interested in envisioning a feminist identity that is not exclusionary or limiting to those who do not feel located within a feminist frame. Following her work, "Under Western Eyes", she asks that we envision with her, a complex feminist identity that is inclusive without being reductionist. This is an important distinction because it means that we must pay attention to women who are marginally located (read: global south) or marginally situated (within the global north). Borders are invisible and sometimes visible barriers to access. In this instance, Mohanty calls for a feminist praxis that is able to work across borders. Feminism without borders is not the same as border-enabling and she envisions a critically transnational feminist praxis that moves through these borders.

Moghadam (2005) in her book called *Globalizing Women*, like Mohanty argues that neoliberal capitalism and Islamic fundamentalism “are among the defining features and consequences of...globalization” (p. 5). Moghadam argues that it is important to understand how globalization, racism, fundamentalism, and patriarchy are bedfellows and that we cannot separate globalization, global capital and its disparate effects on women from any transnational analyses we make. It is indeed part and parcel of a transnational framework. The feminization of poverty is on the rise. The feminization of poverty is the idea that although women are entering the workforce in larger numbers, they are paid at lower wages than men and work in unsafe and non-prestigious positions. Moghadam (2005,) contends that transnational feminist networks address one irony of globalization: women’s work (as cheap labor in manufacturing and tourism) makes globalization possible but globalization has endangered the rights (social, economic) of women (p. 70). Globalization is thus “mixed” (p. 76) in its effects.

Spirituality is an important part of the lives of Afro-Caribbean women. Afro-Caribbean women discuss it as an important part of their ability to navigate the issues they confront in their personal and work lives. Alexander (2005) in her book, *Pedagogies of Crossing: Meditations on feminism, sexual politics, memory and the sacred* is instructive as she critiques the state, the state’s ownership of sexuality and spirituality as a way to theorize and as an epistemic frame. About spirituality she says, “Because the secular has been divested of the sacred and the spiritual divested of the political, this way of knowing is not generally believed to have the capacity to instruct feminism in the United States in any meaningful way, in spite of the work of feminist theologians and ethicists” (Alexander, 2005, p.301). Alexander provides us with an understanding of how spirituality can be a guide for the questions we ask through our research.

In the introduction, Alexander explains to the reader what the title of the book means and its intent to disrupt how we envision what a transnational practice embodies and what crossing borders mean. She articulates,

Pedagogies is centrally concerned with the promise that oppositional knowledges and political mobilizations hold and with the crafting of moral agency. ..Pedagogies points to the reciprocal investments we must make to cross over into a metaphysics of interdependence. In the same way in which Paula Freire narrated our ontological vocation to become more fully human, these pedagogies assemble a similar ontological imperative of making the world intelligible to ourselves is, of necessity, an enterprise that is ongoing (Alexander, 2005, p. 6).

Ontology is our way of being and how we come to make sense of the world. Alexander argues that we cannot make the world intelligible to ourselves unless we are willing to bring our full selves into all we do and unless we stand in solidarity with each other. She critiques the ways in which Caribbean and African American are oppositional to each other and this is of interest in my own work as I look to situate and understand the experiences of Afro- Caribbean women. Alexander (2005) says, “Contentious relationships between African American and Caribbean women who share a similarly fractious history of racism, but whose differential forgetting of colonization and slavery has occasioned a contemporary politics of blame” (p. 290). This blaming occurs with my Afro-Caribbean participants and Alexander allows me a frame through which to understand how this blaming comes to be, the state’s role in these constructions and our inability to build coalitions across differences. Alexander (2005) articulates, “The state has always conceived of the nation as heterosexual in that it places reproduction at the heart of its

impulse. The citizenship machinery is also located here, for the prerequisites of good citizenship and loyalty to the nation are simultaneously housed within the state apparatus.” (p.46).

Militarism and nationalism are important to a transnational feminist understanding because occupation has become dominant as a neo-colonial practice. As a result, Mama (2011) discusses the ways in which militarism, nationalism and neo-liberal practices have curtailed intellectual endeavors and enforced censorship in the African context. She also critiques the way in which development is almost always framed through economic discourses with little critique of the impact of these policies on women, universities and intellectual coalition building. Mama’s work has implications for the work I do with Afro-Caribbean teachers as I situate the knowledges of the women in the 2/3 (global south) in the environs of the 1/3 (global north) (see Mohanty, 2003).

Neoliberalism mobilizes identities in essentialist ways to serve the needs of a global economy. Moya (2007), contends that identities are complex and that they are connected to the local co-constructed meanings that take place through relationships and through the global constructions of identity. Moya contends that all knowledge is situated knowledge and as such our identities provide us with particular perspectives on shared social worlds. Our knowledge influences the research questions we deem to be interesting, the projects we judge to be important, and the metaphors we use to describe the phenomena we observe. “Research is Me Search.” Mobilizing students in the classroom serves to dually “empower students as knowledge-producers capable of evaluating and transforming their society even as it has the potential to contribute to the production of more objective, and less biased, accounts of the topics under discussion” (p. 104) Moya’s transnational feminist contributions are important because identity is an important part of how we make sense of the world as humans. As pedagogues, it is

important to convey to students the complexities of identities that are often invisible through rigid structures and ways of being. A transnational understanding of the complexities of identities is important to research and as I embark on my own exploration of Afro-Caribbean women's identities and experiences, Moya provides a frame through which I can understand the struggles women of Afro-Caribbean descent face as they work in the context of the United States.

Carty and Mohanty (2015), confront the growth and consolidation of neoliberal states and transnational processes of exploitation. In their piece, *Mapping Transnational Feminist Engagements: Neoliberalism and the Politics of Solidarity*, they survey fifty-three feminist scholar-activists from Asia, South America, the Caribbean, North Africa, Europe and North America. They do not claim that this is a representative group of feminist scholar activists but they do amplify their voices through the dialogue created from four questions asked and by discussing themes that emerged in one area; "the anatomies of dispossession and violence in the age of neoliberalism and the particular, connected challenges this poses to feminists located in various geopolitical sites around the globe" (p. 84). The work is important on multiple levels but is particularly important to me in situating neoliberalism transnationally and through demonstrating the ways in which feminists have confronted neoliberal practices as enacted through state policies that continue to enact violence against women at the state and local levels. The chapter ends with a discussion of two site-specific radical social movements that emerged around 2012 – Bekaouf Azadi (Freedom without fear for women) in India and Idle No More in Canada. The genealogies of the women with whom they situate the text is especially important in creating this critique of neoliberalism because it centers the voices of women who are committed to working against state enacted neoliberal violence and it creates a powerful genealogy for the ways in which transnational feminist scholar-activists can engage with, challenge and continue to

dismantle neoliberal practice. In particular, they situate the work of women from a variety of spaces both from the global north and the global south, some of who complicate north-south divides such as Indigenous scholar Lee Maracle from Canada. As I turn to a discussion of Caribbean feminist practice, I appreciate the inclusion of and recognition of the work of Caribbean feminists who provide an understanding of Caribbean women and the issues that have been important to them.

Caribbean Feminist Theory

Joan French and Honor Ford-Smith credit Garveyism as being a major influence on the early 20th Century women's movement in Jamaica. They note that the UNIA was the training ground for almost all the women active in feminist issues in the 1930s. From its ranks came both the feminist liberals and the women of the working classes who were active in the 1938 period. It offered a chance for both to organize in women's arms and to be in the leadership of the organization internationally and locally. It did not however, challenge the image of woman as essentially a housewife and social worker. For this reason, it did not offer a completely clear path of resistance to the colonial definition of woman (French and Ford-Smith, 1985, p. 226). This is important because Caribbean feminism must be situated in its particular colonial history and legacy. As I have done research to understand Caribbean feminism it strikes me that although Caribbean feminism claims its roots in Garveyism which was a pro-Black movement in the early 20th century, conceptions of Blackness as connected to women in the Caribbean was not explored until much later (the 1960's and 1970's). Much feminist theoretical frames have as their foundation an analyses of gender, race and class. In the Caribbean, it seems that these analyses are not done in an intersectional way and in some instances, issues of race, gender and class were absent from the analysis.

Reddock (2006), describes that shifts in economic and political orientations were

instrumental in determining how the feminist movement was received. Reddock (2006) contends,

After the renewed Black consciousness movements of the 1960s and early 1970s, there was a discernible shift in emphasis in political discourse from 'race' to 'class' by the late 1970s and 1980s. This period was one of the high points of socialist and anti-imperialist organising among the young and not so young in the region (p. 12).

Although organizing around and against imperialist influences is important especially in the global south where the effects of imperialist structures are often debilitating, it is important to be aware of and address intersecting identities especially because it is generally understood that imperialist and neoliberal practices disproportionately affect poor women in the global south. Similarly, scholars such as Baksh-Sooden (1998), also interrogates Caribbean feminism in relationship to the Euro-American experience and to challenges emerging from the Third World discourse. She argues that Caribbean feminism needs to address the needs of Indo-Caribbean women because for a long time, it has only addressed the needs of Afro-Caribbean women. Race here is being used as a category of analyses but not in an intersectional way although Baksh-Sooden argues in this piece that she is doing an analyses of race, class and gender.

Colorism which is still a dominant issue in the Caribbean emerged as a result of the societal shifts that occurred after the independence of many Caribbean nations from their colonial rulers. Altink (2006), contends

“The social hierarchy changed little after the abolition of slavery and a tripartite structure remained which was based on a closer connection between race and class. Dark-skinned Afro-Jamaicans engaged in unskilled or semi-skilled work were at the bottom of the ladder. The middle rung consisted of light-skinned Afro-Jamaicans who were small planters, professionals, or employed in clerical positions in the commercial sector. White islanders, including large numbers of colonial officials, formed the top of the hierarchy. The light-skinned middle class tried to distance itself from the dark-skinned working class by identifying more with English than Afro-Jamaican culture and by not socialising with or marrying dark-skinned Afro-Jamaicans. Its aspiration to whiteness, however, was blocked by a variety of informal practices adopted by white society to ensure its socio-economic and political dominance, such as employing only whites in the higher ranks of the colonial bureaucracy (p. 3)

There were also divides in the construction of feminism because of the Afro-Indo divides. Although Afro-Caribbean people are dominant by numbers in the region, Indo-Caribbean women and feminists have looked to situate Indo-Caribbean identities and their differential needs. Much of what I have read indicates that there is little coalition building between the groups and Reddock (2006) asserts,

feminism became constructed as part of an oppositional ‘modern’ Creole identity.

Participation in this identity differs for men and women because of the complex interplay of patriarchy, ethnicity and nationhood. While Indo-Trinidadian men are free to compete with Afro-Trinidadian men in the Creole public space, Indo-Trinidadian women are held as symbolic markers of their culture, family and tradition, and therefore have a greater responsibility to maintain ethnic and cultural purity (p. 16).

Caribbean feminists appear to be in an identity crisis. Because of their proximity to the U.S., Caribbean feminists struggle with the export of a US feminism that defines what and how feminism should look in the Caribbean. Reddock says, “The women’s movement at the same time is facing its own challenges - the influences of a US- dominated globalised media with its own representations of feminist ideas” (p. 22). Caribbean women it seems are unable to create a sense of a feminist agenda for Caribbean scholars and activists. I wonder if there is a disconnect, as there often is, between activists and academics and how Caribbean feminists might envision closing that gap.

There are several ways in which these bodies of literature are similar and connected. These literatures have in common theories about the state, complex and intersectional analyses of the politics of location of women in regard to race, class and gender and finally, a theorization about neocolonial practices and domination.

In transnational feminist theorizing, black feminism and Caribbean feminism there is an analysis of the state’s role in the continued subjugation of women. To varying degrees, each of these theoretical frames discuss the evolution of the state in regulating work, reproductive rights, sexuality and the marginalizing of other identities and issues. Particularly, transnational feminism has confronted the state and state institutions for neoliberal practices that continue to render women of color in general poor and exploited but especially women of color from the global south. Women of color from the global south are often seen as commodities whose cheap labor they can employ. The feminization of poverty that has become a global phenomenon is particularly taken up in these theories to address a capitalist framework that only benefits the economically privileged and the economically privileged from the global north. My own work with Caribbean women from the Anglo-Caribbean is situated within this neoliberal framework.

Their labor was recruited from their home countries but we cannot ignore the fact that these women are Black from economically impoverished places and that when they made it to the U.S., the exploitation of their “skilled” labor was top priority. The story is not uncomplicated however, because many of these women were socioeconomically privileged in comparison to their peers in their home countries. These women now have a precarious relationship with the state (because of visa and credentialing issues), with the schools for which they work (because of issues of competency as determined by principals and peers) and with their economic status (many teachers are now much poorer having migrated than they had been in their home countries).

Black feminists discuss these phenomena in connection to the state and to institutions. Black feminists trace historically how Black women’s knowledges have been marginal in “mainstream” movements such as the feminist movements and the civil rights movement and spaces as well as in classrooms and the academy. The state is integral in keeping marginal immigrant women and other women of color poor and resource-less through policies that date back to the Moynihan reports, the Clinton administration and other practices and legislations today that disproportionately affect women of color. Caribbean feminists theorize about the state and its function economically although I have encountered little about a feminist analysis of neoliberal policies. Certainly critiques of the IMF and the WTO are waged by Caribbean feminists as well as transnational feminists about the detrimental effects of structural adjustment loans which many Caribbean countries apply for to keep their economies afloat. In this way there is a similar critique to the critique transnational feminists make but the critique by Caribbean feminists is not always made using gender as a category of analysis and not just a biological “fact”.

All three theoretical frames also have in common a theoretical framing that places women of color from the global south within the US (Black feminism to a large extent) and at its center. Connections are made to varying degrees about how class and gender are also impacted by an analysis of race and gender. To lesser degrees, Caribbean feminists struggle to find their voices in this particular area, because their analyses rarely take this intersectional approach and when it does, it uses a US Black feminist frame to situate itself although the histories and the complexities of these societies are very different. One would imagine that Caribbean feminists would be able to identify what their own intersectional analyses would look like given the particular history of the Caribbean and its current economic conditions.

Transnational feminism theorizes less about Black women although their situatedness is part and parcel of a transnational understanding, while Black feminist theorists and Caribbean feminists center Black women. In the last two decades, Caribbean feminists have been calling for a more inclusive feminist politics that will situate Indo-Caribbean women's unique position in the various states especially in Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana where the population of Indo-Caribbean people is large. The colonial legacies of the Caribbean make it a space that is diverse in regard to its inhabitants. The large population of Black inhabitants are descendants of slaves, while Indo-Caribbean people, Sri Lankans and other people are imports as indentured laborers or as voluntary laborers from other countries in the global south. There are also White settlers who access the Caribbean through the tourism industry, through other work opportunities and are sometimes the descendants of the colonial imposition. Although I agree that a more intersectional frame is necessary in Caribbean feminist theorizing, it would be a mistake to not center Black women's identities given how Black women are almost always marginal socially and economically. Colorism and other issues that plague the Caribbean are a direct result of the

inferiority of Blackness even in spaces where people are majority Black or where there are large groups of Black people. Colonial legacies, and the relationship to power make this marginalization possible even today.

Finally, each of these theories begin or at minimum acknowledge and theorize about the colonial legacies that have informed policies and created the marginalization's at the state and the institutional levels. For example, transnational feminists discuss colonial histories and the impact of colonial legacies at the state level while including an analyses of the settler colonial state which indigenous scholars theorize about in places like the U.S., Canada and Australia. To some degree, I find it fascinating that more Caribbean feminists have not explored a similar type of analysis given that the Caribbean was inhabited prior to the arrival of its many colonial rulers. To be fair, Mohammed (1998) does some of this theorizing in her work called *Towards Indigenous Feminist Theorizing in the Caribbean*, but there is a need for more Caribbean feminist theorizing in this area. Caribbean feminists do discuss colonialism but rarely make connections to the colonial legacies that create colorism. Black feminists include colonial legacies to a lesser degree but acknowledge its direct influence over time on the racialization of bodies and the hierarchies created as a result of this racialization. In chapter six, I explore the coloniality of gender using Afro-Caribbean women as the basis on which to begin impacting Caribbean feminist theorizing through demonstrating that race, class and gender are simultaneously oppressive forces on women's lives and are a direct result of a colonial legacy.

Many differences emerge between these three theoretical frames but I will take a moment to discuss three major differences I have observed. This is not an exhaustive list of differences but I think these differences capture the landscapes of these theoretical frames. First there is an undertheorizing about the role of spirituality and spiritual practice as a site of analyses in all

three theories, globalization and its effects are theorized differentially according to each theory and the role of militarism and nationalism as sites of analyses in a feminist framework.

Few scholars, Dillard (2008), Alexander (2005), and several indigenous scholars including Ma (1989), have theorized about the importance of spirituality as a site of feminist resistance and coalition building. We should and do critique institutional religions like Christianity, Islam and Judaism, because of their colonial and imperialist legacies. However, both Dillard and Alexander point to the ways in which Black women from the global south have practiced spirituality as resistance to colonial religions and as resistance to the state. The importance of religion (mainstream and counter-mainstream) is an important place to begin to make sense of women lives, resistances and coalition building. It is an undertheorized concept in most feminist literatures.

Transnational feminism theorizes very broadly about globalization, and attempts to make connections between structures that are local and structures that are national and international. This is important because to understand women's conditions one must look at how women are being disproportionately affected globally while never losing sight of the local and particular material conditions that cause the further subjugation of women. Caribbean feminists and Black feminists do a good job of theorizing the local but fail to make larger analytic connections or do so inadequately at the global level. For example, Caribbean feminists who engage with neoliberal state practices are rarely connecting these practices to women's lives in India and elsewhere where the conditions under which the feminization of poverty has come to be are similar. Of course, there are differences of location, politics and economics but there are similarities in colonial legacies and the state of women. More theorizing should occur for Caribbean and Black feminists in this area.

Finally, Transnational feminism theorizes about nationalism and militarism which are extensions of the enforcing arm for imperialist and neocolonial states. In the era of #Blacklivesmatter, more theorizing around nationalism (who is excluded and included in the state definition of citizenship) and militarism (whose bodies are policed and incarcerated most frequently) must continue to be central to the analyses of Black feminists. We live in a time where state violence knows no limits and theorizing about the Black lives that are being incarcerated and killed is necessary to understand the historical and structural legacies of these issues. In the Caribbean feminist literature, I explored, I found little theorizing of nationalist and militaristic practices. Is it taken for granted that nationalism already includes women? Is it that the policing of certain bodies is absent in these spaces? Although I highly doubt that, I have no explanation for why this phenomenon is still not being explored at length in the Caribbean where policing in various forms, militarism and nationalism are rampant.

I have laid out the broad theoretical frames that contribute to the feminist scholarship I rely heavily on and which informs my ontological and epistemological approach to the dissertation. These three frames will help in my own theoretical framing of the work I do with Afro-Caribbean women recruited from their Caribbean homes to teach in large urban “failing” schools. The literatures overlap in particular places (named above) and although separately none of them can provide a full analysis of the complexities of my participant’s lives, together they can provide a frame that situates this complexity.

Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory allows us a better understanding of the ways in which race is experienced as an individual slight. Solórzano & Yosso (2002) along with Bell (1984) and others argue that race and racism are central to understanding how schools operate. As a result, it is

neither marginal nor coincidental to people's experiences. They also agree like Crenshaw (1989) than an analysis of race sits at the intersection of gender and class. Soloronzo & Yosso's (2002) framing of race and racism in education is important in this study because it highlights why some of the women in study struggle with making sense of race as institutional. Because these women are recruited from places where race is not a marker of difference in the ways that class is, one can argue that without specific and deliberate training about racism in America, that teachers would experience dysphoria around their own identities as Black women.

Teacher Education Literature

I turn now to the literature on teacher educators to have a better understanding of what gaps exist in what we know about teachers and to situate this dissertation as work that begins to provide us with a deeper understanding of a particular group of teachers – Afro-Caribbean women teachers. The literature on teacher education has documented thoroughly how schools have come to be "failing" and has called for teacher educators to be thought of more complexly. Below, I provide a review of that literature and ask important questions that help to get me to answer the larger questions for my dissertation. What are the factors that create a failing U.S. educational system at the K-12 grades and why might educators find it necessary to recruit their teaching labor force from outside of the U.S.? Is this an effective solution for US K-12 systems? What neoliberal implications does recruiting from the outside have for the institutions, the students and those recruited? Why were large numbers of marginalized teachers recruited from outside of the US to fill the achievement gap? What does this communicate about the quality of teachers trained in the US? What does this communicate about teachers of color who are disproportionately underrepresented in the US educational system? Is this solution a band-aid for a system that practices a deficit model style of teaching, and what are the implications for

bringing teachers from the outside into a school system that is not doing well and that is foreign to them and their ways of knowing?

Theorists such as Darling-Hammond (2010) argue for a changed educational system that acknowledges the changes in technology and that prepares students to enter a world that is vastly different than the world we know today and the world that will be in the future. The past, Darling-Hammond (2010) claims, is still dictating the present and the future which puts schools in the United States of America at a disadvantage. She argues for a purposeful, equitable education system that prepares all students for success in a knowledge-based society (Darling-Hammond, 2010, p. 2). I open with Darling-Hammond's (2010) words because she provides an analysis for the U.S. education system that critiques its dependence on old technologies in its educational systems and that lags behind many nations such as Finland, Hong Kong- China, and Canada (p. 10) on PISA tests which define literacy in mathematics, science, and reading as ways to apply what they know to new problems (p. 11).

The segregated nature of schools in the United States has produced disparity between students in suburban and rural schools. The American system of K-12 education is supported through property taxes for each school district. The richest districts support the wealthiest schools which almost always are suburban schools. Darling-Hammond (2010) asserts,

nationwide, most cities now spend far less than what their much wealthier suburban neighborhoods can spend. The fact that the suburban district of Lower Merion, Pennsylvania, can spend \$17,000 compared to Philadelphia's 9, 000, and Manhassat, New York, can spend \$22,000, compared to New York City's \$11,000, means that they can offer higher salaries and better teaching conditions to attract the best-qualified and most experienced teachers (p. 22).

The socioeconomic divide in this example is stark and is indicative of the larger societal injustices that permeate the education system and that are tied to capitalist and neo-liberal modes of operating. Of note, in what Darling-Hammond (2010), and others expose is that rural communities are often not included in these discussions. Darling-Hammond (2010), suggests reform that has worked in many places. Interestingly, this reform is mostly outside of the teacher/student binaries in schools and speaks much more broadly to societal inequities such as securing housing, food, and health care to lay the foundation for students doing well in schools (p. 26).

In the current inequitable environment, teachers are blamed for poor teaching and students are seen as not smart and only experienced from a deficit perspective. Sleeter (2001) and others have refuted this in their claim that pre-service teachers of color bring richer multicultural experiences to teacher education spaces because they have likely dealt with more experiences of discrimination while white preservice teachers tend to be more naïve about discrimination especially racism, and rarely think about change in terms of structural change (p. 95). Despite that, some schools are making structural change as described above, to combat this deficit model of thinking. Darling-Hammond (2010) suggests,

overcoming inequality will require not only equalizing tangible resources, but also dealing with educators' views and behaviors, developing environments with strong supports and high expectations, and helping students re-conceptualize their possibilities and responsibilities, so that they can commit to themselves and their learning" (p. 65).

Darling-Hammond (2010) suggests that we overhaul the system by making structural and tangible change while changing attitudes and behaviors. This, I believe, will be difficult

because the demographic of student that education most frequently fails hails from a lower socioeconomic background and is usually from a racial minority group (p. 97).

The conversations above allude to the current conversations at present that names the phenomenon being described as the achievement gap. Delpit (2012), reminds us that there is no achievement gap at birth as she relays a beautiful story about African children's development as higher in some instances and the same in other instances as white children's development despite commonly held beliefs that African children were less capable (p. 3). This story reminds the reader that the achievement gap is created through the deliberately continued and systemic subjugation of poor youth of color to an education that is inadequate in many ways for them but that now gets labeled as part of a cultural norm. Delpit's (2012) response is that this is not culture but instead a response to oppression (p. 7). I find this statement to be particularly profound because it highlights and calls into question the inherent injustice of labeling a deliberately created disparity as cultural and therefore innate in ways that are problematic and deficit in its rhetoric.

Ladson-Billings (2006), asserts that the achievement gap is one of the most discussed phenomenon's today especially as it relates to the US educational system (p. 3). The achievement gap is described as

a gap in academic achievement that persists between minority and disadvantaged students and their white counterparts" (Ladson-Billings, 2006, p. 3). Instead, Ladson-Billings argues for a new concept that adequately describes what it is that is happening in the education system. She says it is not useful to think about the achievement gap because it keeps any solutions we can make short-term and unlikely to address the long-term problems (Ladson-Billings, 2006, p. 4).

The term she extrapolates from literature on economics is ‘debt’ and she advocates for this term as a way to better situate the disparity that takes place between white students and students of color. She uses this term to describe historical, economic, sociopolitical, and moral debt and re-coins it as the ‘education debt’. Ladson-Billings (2006), argues, we do not have an achievement gap; we have an education debt” (p. 5). I find this understanding of the deficit examined in students based on testing to be useful because it takes into account the legacy of the history of an intentionally created system based on racial discrimination and socio-economic inequality as well as other types of oppressions linked in explicit and implicit ways to capitalism, patriarchy, and neoliberal practices.

The history of slavery, the history of the deliberate genocide of native people and other histories have worked together to today affect the education debt. When the analysis is done from a framework of naming the educational debt, it becomes more difficult to blame students themselves and even teachers for the disparities observed in test scores because those disparities are understood as part of a legacy that made the playing field unequal based primarily on race and socio-economic class. The quote Ladson-Billings (2006) ends the piece with is useful as she asserts, “the images should remind us that the cumulative effect of poor education, poor housing, poor healthcare and poor government services create a bifurcated society that leaves more than half its children behind” (p. 10). The quote is powerful specifically because it calls into question the educational policy advocated by the Bush administration of no child left behind. The irony is not lost that she closes the piece with the example of a shallow attempt at policy that further alienated students, teachers, administrators and other stakeholders in education. This I believe, is an example of a band-aid solution to a surgical incision. The no child left behind policy was, and still is, an ineffective policy and way of resolving a deep and historic problem. The residual

effects from which still reverberate palpably. The policy did not take into account the humans at the center of the policy. Today, under a Trump administration and having Betsy DeVos as secretary of education, the uncertainty of the education system continues to loom. It did not then and does not now, as Delpit (2012) recommends, respect that all students have the capacity to learn and that as educators we must continue to fight foolishness if we hope to achieve success implementing educational policy (p. 34). Delpit (2012), argues for a humane, positivist thinking that re-centers humanity, love, and hope. Milner (2008), also agrees that race is undertheorized in education and needs to be theorized in more strategic ways through education literature. My dissertation will add to an undertheorized phenomenon.

In their edited volume, Cochran-Smith et. al (2008), argue that teacher education continues to not recognize White European experience as a cultural experience and as a result the use of a broad 'diversity' frame can obscure the workings of oppression and hegemony (24). They argue that to continue looking at teacher education as neutral and that only people of color are racialized, is to create the structural and pedagogical issues we are currently facing in teacher education. Teacher education has been and continues to be dominated by white women and they call for a strategic plan to diversify teacher education. They build on the scholarship of Irvine (2003) that argues for recruiting and sustaining African American teachers because African American teachers and other teachers of color often enact culturally specific pedagogy, a pedagogy of cultural translation, and a pedagogy of caring, other mothering, believing, demanding, and disciplining (Irvine and Hill, 1990 p. 25).

Students have become more racially and linguistically diverse but teacher education programs have not yet diversified its workforce to reflect this change. They argue, "To this end, several scholars advocate diversifying the teaching force by recruiting more teachers of color and

by making the beliefs, ideologies, attitudes and dispositions of teacher candidates part of the screening and selection process for teacher education programs” (p. 27).

How might we achieve this? And what role might principals play in undermining racism and a white ideology? (Theoharris & Haddix, 2011). Authors such as Ladson-Billings (1995b), advocate for culturally relevant pedagogy which she describes as “Thus, culturally relevant pedagogy must provide a way for students to maintain their cultural integrity while succeeding academically” (p. 476) which includes teachers being able to connect with students through the mediums that are most familiar to them. Others such as Gay (2000) and Villedas & Lucas (2002) advocate for culturally responsive teaching. Culturally responsive teaching advocates for integrating cultural content that enhances learning for all. These contributions are important because they admonish us to think about how to connect with all students in classrooms especially those students who have been set-up to fail because of psychological, environmental or socioeconomic factors (Ladson-Billings, p. 476).

Teacher education literature has institutions for preparing teacher educators through Eurocentric lens. Scholars across the field of education have called for a more racially and linguistic diverse preservice teachers to meet the growing demand of students who are racially and linguistically diverse in schools (Darling-Hammond, 2005; Haddix, 2011). In particular, research on black preservice teachers has also been discussed throughout the literature on teachers (e.g., Cook, 2013; Kornfeld, 1999; McGee, 2014; Meacham, 2000; Petchauer, 2014; Zitlow & DeCoker, 1994). As a result of the racially and linguistically diverse student population, it is important to have diverse racial and linguistic teachers. Immigrant teachers provide this diversity and I turn now to a review of the literature on immigrant teachers.

Black Teachers and Teachers of Color

Black immigrant experiences in the classroom are rarely theorized about from the perspectives of teachers and students. Recently, there have been efforts made to include the growing number of immigrant children in U.S. classrooms who are Black and to be responsive to their needs which are different than the needs of African American children. The majority of Black immigrants come from Trinidad and Tobago, Grenada, Haiti, and Jamaica but substantial numbers of Black immigrants come from various African countries including Ethiopia, Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa (Awokoyo & Clark, 2008, p. 49). Awokoyo and Clark (2008), say that education scholars have begun to pay attention to black immigrant youth and assert three theoretical perspectives through which they make sense of the experiences of black immigrant youth – cultural ecological theory, culture-centered theory, and critical race theory (p. 51). They explain that “Cultural Ecological Theory (CET) explores how culture, identity, and societal forces impact the educational outcomes of minority groups. Culture-Centered Theory (CCT) examines the use of students’ cultural backgrounds as a point of reference for preparing those students academically and socially. Critical Race Theory (CRT) explores the sociopolitical consequences of race in educational settings from a progressive legal perspective” (p. 49). frames described in this article are limited in being able to make sense of black immigrant youth from perspectives that have been used primarily to make sense of American youth.

The authors go on to discuss the ways in which these three perspectives give us insight into the ways in which black immigrant youth are usually homogenously grouped with African Americans “and the unique experiences of their ethnic, linguistic, cultural, political and even racial differences” (p. 51). They do go on to clarify that it is not to say that African Americans and black immigrant youth do not share similar historical legacies around colonialism and colorism but that these experiences are situated differently. Awokoyo & Clark, (2008), articulate

“This is not to say that there have not been Black-White racial divisions in the histories of first generation Black immigrants, as colonialism and colorism did and continues to impact racial (Black vs. White) and, subsequently, intra-racial (Black vs. Black) relationships in many African nations and on several Caribbean islands.

Goodwin (2002), argues that teachers of color make up less than 10 % of the teaching force and that the other 90% of teachers who are white hold conservative attitudes toward students and want to teach students who are similar to them. Gordon also argues that “much of the literature on teacher education do not focus on immigrant children and the ones that do, do so exclusively around language and language issues” (p. 160). What they insinuate is that there are gaps in the literature and the theoretical framing because so little work has been done on immigrant youth and I would argue immigrant teachers. They agree that too few educators are foreign born. The author does acknowledge that foreign born students and teachers may experience cultural confusion. This cultural confusion they argue may be unrecognizable to immigrants and may cause discrimination through racialization. They assert, “whereby identity, position, and status are tied to race. They may be perceived as people of color, as other, or as minorities once, they cross U.S. borders, labels that they may not accept or assign to themselves. They will undoubtedly experience racism and discrimination, which they may or may not be able to recognize or handle. Through the acculturation process, immigrants are rendered marginal or invisible, or paradoxically too visible. As a consequence of racial classifications and racial politics, they find that they simultaneously stand out and are overlooked by U.S. society where racial boundaries erected over a hundred years ago, have become deeply embedded in the social and psychological makeup of all Americans” (p. 165).

Although some of this language takes away the agency of immigrants who I believe can and do handle transitioning to a host society such as the US well, it makes transparent the issues that need to still be addressed as we make sense of who immigrant teachers and youth are in classrooms.

Banks, (2007), asserts that we need to rethink citizenship education if we do want to prepare students for a global economy. He asserts that Apter (1977) keenly observes, the assimilationist conception (espoused by many immigration theorists is not so much wrong as it is an incomplete and inadequate explanation of ethnic realities in modernized, pluralistic, and democratic nation-states. As Apter suggests, ‘The two tendencies, toward and against[ethnicity], can go on at the same time. Indeed, the more development and growth that takes place, the more some [ethnic] groupings have to gain by their parochialism’ (p. 65). Banks’ assessment that assimilation theory is incomplete as we think about citizenship education is an important contribution to both the immigrant and the education literatures because it situates why black immigrant youth in schools are usually lumped in with African Americans and why immigrant black teachers are invisible in both sets of literatures. In our theorizations of Black immigrants, we tend to collapse the category of Black as if the experiences of those people who make up the Black diaspora are all the same.

Subedi (2008), discusses the conditions that create non-legitimate teacher identities and argues that those identities are typically non-mainstream ethnic, gender or religious identities. The article documents the experiences of two South Asian immigrant teachers as they negotiate their teacher identities. Subedi looks at a Pakistani immigrant teacher and the ways in which she was positioned as a cultural outsider and how questions of what it means to be an authentic or a legitimate teacher were shaped by discourses around body images, linguistic styles and academic

disciplinary affiliations. She also examines the experiences of an Indian immigrant teacher and the ways in which she consumed as well as contested the politics of being represented as ‘good’ as well as a ‘different teacher.’ White teachers were always constructed as the dominant identity and both teachers’ experiences were simplified, and exoticized in regard to representations of their religious, ethnic and gendered identities. Subedi (2008) contends that we have to, without simplifying, the ways in which agency is exercised in oppressive situations work through our deeply held beliefs about others and find ways to support teachers who feel further marginalized and exoticized when they come to the U.S. to teach. The author argues that “The research also sheds light on how the diverse experiences of the teachers help us critically theorize issues of diversity or differences, especially how immigrant women negotiate ‘their multiple, contradictory and shifting identities in order to make the best out of their situations’ (Subedi, 598). Considering that a number of scholars have argued for the need to recognize intersections of identity, particularly how race is connected to gender, sexuality, and ability, this research argues for the need to recognize racialized immigrant experiences as being heterogeneous and complex. Racialization impacts immigrant teachers’ experiences and identities in schools. This topic is of critical significance since discussions of anti-immigrant racism has received limited attention in educational research.

Dunn (2013), reminds us that teachers are recruited from outside of the US not because there is a true teacher shortage as is widely believed but because teacher turn over and teacher distribution are high in urban populations. The biggest shortages take place in under-funded and under resourced schools in urban areas. The urban public school student population “was expected to grow to almost 50 million by 2014, a 20% growth since 1989” (p. 5). She argues that recruitment of international teachers was capitalized on by recruitment agencies who took

advantage of “neoliberal beliefs about the importance of transcending borders and offer cheap, movable labor” (p. 5). Dunn (2013), conducted a study on four international teachers from India recruited to teach in a large Southeastern city. She also observed these teachers, and interviewed principals, board of education administrators and recruiters. She was primarily interested in how teachers were using culturally relevant pedagogy to work with their predominantly African American student populations. She also wanted to know why these teachers were recruited in this moment (2000 – 2010).

Dunn’s (2013) study is particularly important because it is one of the only book length studies that addresses the ways in which teachers of color have been recruited from countries outside of the United States to teach in mid-size or large urban areas across the US. Other scholars who have written about women of color and in particular black Caribbean women are Beck, (2010) who looked at Caribbean women teachers recruited to teach in a mid-size southern city and looked specifically at the ways in which educational policies such as teacher recruitment impact the lives of students and teachers in the classroom; Wilson (2011) who asserts,

This study was conducted in a New York City elementary school, which moved from being ranked as a lower-performing school to a higher-performing school, based on both improvement in standardized test scores and site visits from a British consultancy group who assessed how well the school was organized to educate students. The arrival of the teachers recruited from the Caribbean to teach in this school corresponded to a period of significant school improvement. This study explored the teachers' beliefs about pedagogy and how they explained their documented success as teachers in an underperforming urban school. In particular, how do they perceive their Caribbean background and unique

training as contributing, if at all, to their professional identities, orientation, and pedagogical practice? (p. 3)

Fitzpatrick (2014) who looked at Anglophone Caribbean teachers in New York City recruited in 2001,

focuses on the case of New York City's Caribbean teachers and privileging their testimony about their responses to such recruitment elucidates many of the personal contours of this emerging strategy of the neoliberalized global governance of teacher labor. This project contributes new knowledge by attending to this understudied population of teachers, revealing the extraordinary flexibility demanded of their globalized labor, citizenship, and humanity (p. 4).

These particular works provide the groundwork for the questions I propose to ask in my own dissertation work. I plan to build on the theoretical frameworks of neoliberal capitalism, and the teachers' understanding of self in relationship to their students who mostly look like them but who are culturally far removed from their lived experiences.

In the Canadian context, Phillion (2003), documents the narratives of five teachers who looked to become certified in the Ontarian school system. Phillion (2003) makes the claim that teachers of color (or minority teachers as she calls them) were not accounted for in the literature that calls for more teachers of color. In fact, she argues that for these five teachers who were Caribbean and Indian nationals, they faced structural and interpersonal obstacles as they looked to go into the work force. Many of their families were affected because their husbands were unable to work, and they too faced unemployment as they waited to be credentialed in Canada. This study has implications for my own study on Caribbean immigrant women who had much of the same types of issues as the women in this study.

Immigrants and Immigrant Teachers

To understand how immigrant teachers are situated in the teacher education and the global economy, we have to pay particular attention to the literature on immigration in general terms. I am arguing here that Afro-Caribbean immigrant teachers are missing from teacher education as well as immigration literatures, and I believe an exploration of how immigrants are perceived/theorized and experienced in the US is important to our understanding of immigrant teachers. Literature on immigration is almost always about unskilled workers and has primarily been framed as Latino, border, or Muslim issues. Black immigrants who migrated here legally, are often excluded from the immigration/migration dialogue. Similarly, the debate virtually ignores the skilled professionals actively recruited to the United States and then left in a vulnerable legal limbo (The Black Institute, 2005). This statement highlights a major gap in the academic literature on immigration and the public discourse around who gets defined as immigrant, and economically, how they are expected to contribute in American society.

Immigrants are divisive figures in the American imaginary because they are constantly constructed through a discourse that renders them 'illegal,' invisible in many cases and hypervisible in others (described as taking jobs and creating infrastructural issues etc.). Especially today, in a Donald Trump presidency, the language and rhetoric used by him and his supporters has continued to situate immigrants as villains. Granted, Black immigrants are invisible to this administration as their focus is on Muslim and Mexican immigrants in particular as if to say Black immigrants are wholly excluded from either of these two groups. For example, Model (2008), contends, "black immigrants are a significant component of America's new immigrants, but they have often been ignored in immigration debates, which typically focus on Asians and Latinos" (p. 2). This quote is significant because it signifies the genesis for this dissertation research.

Immigration is a story that is as old as the history of American society. Colonial settlers came to the US to escape hardships they were facing in Europe and as result, America is known today known as a country of immigrants (Lee & Yung, 2010). As more people came to America from different parts of the world, the need to restrict borders became a priority. Since the 1800's the immigrant story in America has been weaved in a particular narrative. Lee & Yung (2010), for example describe that

for much of its history, the United States had an open-door immigration policy. From colonial era through the mid-nineteenth century, foreign immigration was encouraged to help settle newly colonized lands in an expanding America. From that point on, (1875), the United States' open door began to close, and Congress and the executive authority over immigration as a sovereign right of the United States (p. 45).

Immigration became a tool for defining what it means to be an American. Immigrants were excluded then based on their race, gender, class, ability and in particular nationality (which varied over the course of history).

This early torrid history of immigration is a counter narrative to the Ellis Island narrative which mostly received white immigrants from European nations. Although not without controversy because many immigrants, namely the Irish and the Italians were discriminated against based on perceived differences and racialized Black. Their ushering into white America provides a different narrative than the narrative weaved through the Angel Island borders which mostly received immigrants of color from the Asian continent. Angel Island, as documented by Lee and Yung, 2010, provides a glimpse into the other experiences of immigrants of color. At the time, this designation— of color, did not yet exist but the deliberate exclusion of non-white people played into a racial system that excluded others based on stereotypes and misconceptions.

For example, Chinese and Japanese immigrants were given medical exams to determine if they were diseased while European immigrants were given entry into Angel Island with little questioning and no subjection to medical examinations. These distinctions make clear the biases with which non-White immigrants were met through the Chinese exclusionary act in 1882 and the gentleman's agreement that excluded Japanese immigrants in 1907. The Chinese were not able to protect their citizens from these discriminatory exclusionary laws and policies but the Japanese were able to negotiate with the United States government although the implemented gentleman's agreements still negatively impacted their citizens. These stories and narratives are an important part of the immigration story because they make visible a system that was built on exclusion and blatant discrimination.

It is therefore fascinating to consider that a large amount of immigration literature is dedicated to the idea of assimilation. To become American, the thought is that one must assimilate into America's mainstream. The question that readily comes to mind in light of this assumption is, what is the main stream? I am also pressed to consider how a nation of immigrants decides which immigrants are most valuable and therefore the group to aspire to be? Alba and Nee (2003), espouse a self-defined complicated view of assimilation. They argue that assimilation is not one- directional and that it is simplistic to assume that an immigrants' acculturation is one directional because in fact immigrants engage in additive practices involving purposive selection of cultural practices that are useful to the immigrant group (p. 217). They argue that "acculturation and the various other forms of assimilation, structural (or social), socio-economic, and spatial" (p. 121) are the primary ways in which immigrants experience acculturation and assimilation into the American main stream. They claim that assimilation is not about "the erasure of all signs of ethnic origins" (p. 19) but about building on the "attitudes and

memories” rather than attempting to destroy them (p. 20). Although theoretically this may be true, I struggle to understand how practically this is manifested in an American system designed to exclude?

Alba and Nee (2003), use factors such as English language proficiency, intermarriage, religious assimilation, and acculturation as positive signs that assimilation is occurring post 1965 which saw a rise in immigrants of color to the U.S. Their work builds on that of Gordon Milton’s (1964) work on assimilation and cautiously reminds the reader that assimilation is a non-linear process through which “the second generation, the children of the immigrant generation, feels impelled to assimilate by the need to demonstrate that it is truly part of the society and no longer foreign, while the third generation, in no doubt of being American, can afford to exhibit signs of ethnicity” (p.27). Alba and Nee’s (2003) work is important in so far as it attempts to demonstrate that although assimilation is still occurring in the U.S., “even the Black Americans blocked by the racism of U.S. society from full pursuit of the assimilation goal are presumed by Warner and Srole to be assimilating albeit at a glacial pace” (p. 3). What Alba and Nee miss are all the ways in which African Americans act with agency and resist systems that continue to construct them at the bottom of the racial hierarchy.

Alba and Nee’s (2003) updated work on assimilation is important because so many believe that assimilation is the way to “make it” in American society. They admit however, that for some groups who might start at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder, not being able to acquire proficiency in the English language and not being able to intermarry, assimilation may be particularly difficult. Classism and racism although not explicitly discussed in their work are

implicated as reasons why assimilation may be difficult for certain groups. The question that is not being explicitly explored through a theory of assimilation is the complicity of the U.S. government in maintaining systems of inequality for its people. Pre-1965, assimilation was possible because the U.S. government was invested in growing a white European citizenry and although there were White ethnic groups that were deliberately left out of the discourse on citizenship, the White skin privilege these groups possessed made assimilation not only possible but also desirable in a myriad of ways. For post-1965 immigrants whose demographics are less white, is it even possible to assume that one can be assimilated when by its very definition, citizenship excludes people of color? Is it possible when certain groups, especially groups of color are exploited for the cheap labor they can provide but are never seen as human and are never understood in their ability to be intelligible citizens? One example of this exploitation is Douglas Massey et. al's (2002) exploration of the U.S. Mexico relationship and the snow ball effect of labor migration when enacted poorly.

Massey et. al (2002), document the laws and policies put in place to patch a migration problem created by the U.S. government in both formal and informal ways. The tenuous relationship between the U.S. and Mexico because of the border which is the longest border shared by two countries is also a clear example that the proximity and access to cheap labor in a "third world" country from a "first world" employer is significant for the US when it is convenient to have this labor. Mexican laborers were given access to the US when there was a shortage for low skilled work. When the American public became hysteric about its borders being infiltrated by Mexican immigrants, only then did the American government seek to restrict its border. The authors call this a schizophrenic relationship of give and take between the U.S. government and the Mexican people and Mexican government.

Throughout the book, I was compelled to ask about the role of the Mexican government in protecting its people from U.S. labor exploitation. This trend of the home government not being able to protect its citizens from being demonized by the U.S. we saw earlier in the reading of Angel Island when neither China nor Japan were effective in disallowing the deliberate discrimination of their citizens. I also find this to be true largely of Caribbean governments who are unwilling (or unable) to protect their citizens. What I believe is the cause is the economic stronghold that the U.S. had over places like China and Japan in the early 19th century and the economic stronghold it still has over places like Mexico. A few angry citizens is likely a small price to pay for such countries who want to keep their foreign relations in the U.S. in good standing. Like many other governments, the Mexican government was often complicit in the fate of the Mexican people. The emergence of the Neoliberal state in Mexico through U.S. educated presidents added a layer to the already complex relationship between the two countries. Instead of using the education received to help build stronger economies, U.S. educated and non-U.S. educated presidents were selfish in their pursuits and created worst economies which added to the migration needs of the Mexican people. The propaganda that created the widely held belief that the border was “out of control” was magnificent in its representations. It begs the question of the role of discourse in politics and the ways in which politicians use certain discourse to alienate some and pull others in (Massey, Durand & Malone, 2002, p. 72). Massey et. al (2002), contend, “Having positioned drugs and immigrants as dire threats to national security, politicians created a political dynamic wherein it became difficult not to take some kind of dramatic action” (Massey, Durand & Malone, 101).

In a similar move, the U.S. has opened its borders to teachers of color. The Caribbean teachers I work with have indicated abuse and exploitation by principals, policy makers and

immigration officials. Will this situation become similar to the U.S./Mexico bracero program? What will happen to teachers of color who continue to be imported for their cheap labor when their labor is no longer necessary or the American public has a similar reaction to imported high skilled labor that it does to low skilled labor?

Formal relationships such as the Bracero program designed to attract short term workers from Mexico created “the imbalance between the structural demand for entry-level workers and the limited domestic supply of such workers has generated an underlying, long-run demand for immigrants in developed countries” (Massey et al. 2002, p. 18). This quote magnifies the need created by the U.S. for low wage workers although on the surface it would seem as if these workers randomly decided to cross the U.S. border. The formal program created an informal and a long term problem. The Bracero program ran from 1942 through 1964. The exploitation of cheap immigrant labor is not new in US history. It is also important to note that aside from the exploitation of labor those being exploited hailed from the global south and they were designated people of color. Therefore, the hysteria of the American public to “deport the illegals” was more about racial intolerance than it was about economic justice for two reasons. 1) The American public, largely uninformed did not understand the ways in which the Bracero program enabled migration that became more permanent and therefore in many cases created undocumented immigrants. 2) The second reason is that the American public were not critical of who was being hired to do work they had no interest in doing but also they did not care that the living wage was low and the living conditions deplorable. Essentially these low skilled workers from Mexico were dehumanized as people and were blamed blindly for creating an illegal problem without critically understanding the U.S. complicity in the making of the Mexican undocumented worker.

Other formal programs such as the Silva program (1977-1981) implemented for Cuban immigrants was largely not known and uncontested in its implementation. The deportations (operation wetback in 1954) and other policy “changes were enacted largely for symbolic political purposes in the United States, with little concern for the underlying realities of migration and North American economic integration” (Massey et al. 2002, p. 2). The symbolism with which these policies were enacted is ironic in a society that claims to have an undocumented problem which they unintentionally created. Massey et al. (2002) sum it up well when they agree “each act of migration alters the social context within which subsequent migration decisions are made” (p. 20). It is important to note whose migration is policed and whose is not. The visas created for the Cuban immigrants were not policed but the Mexican Bracero and other programs were policed in hyper vigilant ways. This is a significant notation in immigrant dialogues because it makes visible the privileges that some immigrant groups have over others. It is important to note that aside from differences in pay and prestige that high skilled immigrants enjoy some privileges that low skilled immigrants do not. We should not mistakenly assume that high skilled immigrants do not have their own disadvantages and do not struggle through structural issues such as race, gender, class, sexuality, ability etc.

The significance of the statement is highlighted in work by Portes & Rumbaut (2014) as they make the claim about Mexican Americans and their ability to be seamlessly incorporated in the American mainstream. They contend, “confined to an inferior socioeconomic position and continue to be racialized by a predominantly white mainstream” (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014, p. 77). Portes & Rumbaut (2014) suggest that transnationalism “ends up accelerating the political integration of immigrants in the U.S.” (p. 138). Yet that integration is not one that happens

seamlessly and without the harsh realities of an America that renders immigrants inferior based on their status as immigrants and based on their skin color.

Portes and Rumbaut (2014), however are clear that immigrants are necessary for the neoliberal and capitalist machine that is American society. They argue that immigrants serve a very specific purpose to diversify the nation and as has already been stated to do the work that many American citizens will not do for the wages that immigrants are willing to do this work for. Portes and Rumbaut (2014), go on to say that immigrants “fill the diverse labor needs of vast economy, rejuvenate the population, and add energy and diversity to the culture” (p. 46) and that immigrants will determine the economic achievement and political leadership of this country (p. 47). This contradiction is fascinating because it makes again visible the complicated relationship immigrants have always had with the United States. On the one hand, immigrants are necessary for diversity and economic stability but on the other they are hated and feared. So great is the fear of immigrants that all of America’s borders, by air, land, and sea have become overly militarized. Some bodies such as Latino-looking and Arab-looking bodies (because there is always an assumption made about someone being Arab or Muslim that precludes from being definitive) in particular become policed in ways that keep those groups and all immigrants in place because of the racialized discourses and treatments of these bodies. Portes and Rumbaut (2014), argue “nativist reactions took multiple forms, from violent attacks and lynching of foreigners to organized campaigns to Americanize them as quickly as possible” (p. 8).

The literature again points to contradictions between the rhetoric and the reality of immigrant America when Portes & Rumbaut (2014), argue that immigrants are usually “relatively secure and have reached a measure of occupational success that they can consider engaging in regular transnational activities” (p. 78). Translated, this statement reflects a certain

economic independence on the part of immigrants prior to arrival in the United States. The point Portes & Rumbaut make is that a part of the missing narrative of the American immigrant is that many of them come to America from relatively stable means in their home countries and that the reason immigrants come is not always reducible to economic push-pull factors. For example, Mattoo, Neagu & Ozden (2006), articulate that a large number of educated Latino and eastern European immigrants end up in low skill jobs despite their education and status in their home countries. The study questions whether immigrants would fare better if they stayed in their home countries instead of wasting their educational skills on the low skilled job sector they usually end up accessing in the U.S. The authors conclude that this is a hard determination to make but I include this argument here as it elucidates patterns in the U.S. job market that make it difficult for certain skilled immigrants to access the resources that are equivalent to their training.

Portes and Zhou (1993) espouse the theoretical constructs of the new second generation and the segmented assimilation it experiences as an alternative to assimilation theory as espoused by (Gordon, 1964; Alba & Nee, 2005 et. al) who assert that assimilation is a process that takes place in various ways including cultural, structural and material. Segmented assimilation is a theory that challenges the notions of assimilation theory as it relates to immigrants. Zhou (1997), define segmented assimilation “as the process by which the new second generation – the children of contemporary immigrants- becomes incorporated into the system of stratification in the host society and the different outcomes of this process” (p. 975). Portes and Zhou (1993), articulate further that segmented assimilation is divided into three categories,

One of them replicates the time-honored portrayal of growing acculturation and parallel integration into the white middle-class; a second leads straight into the opposite direction to permanent poverty and assimilation into the underclass; still a third associates rapid

economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's values and tight solidarity (Portes & Zhou, 1993, 82).

These three assertions about segmented assimilation seek to disrupt popular notions of assimilation theory that espouse that old cultural ways, language retention, and the evidence of ethnic enclaves are signs of disadvantage. Segmented assimilation attempts to complicate the landscape that is assimilation theory. They argue that second generation immigrants have different difficulties depending on the characteristics that they and their parents bring to the U.S. and also the characteristics of the social context they enter (Portes & Zhou, 1993, 75). They assert that the experiences of descendants of European immigrants were different compared to those of contemporary immigrants in that all they had to do was leave "the immigrant culture behind and embrace American ways" since they were "uniformly white" (Portes & Zhou 1993, 76).

Second generation immigrants are not assimilating into a mainstream but instead are assimilating into segments of the population precisely because post-1965, immigrants are increasingly non-white. What I appreciate about this argument is that it names what Milton & Gordon (1964), and Alba and Nee (2005) do not name which is that for some immigrants' assimilation as it occurred pre-1965, was predominantly European, is not possible for Black and Brown immigrants post 1965. What I did not appreciate was the assumption that immigrants who are poor and of color have a high chance of downward assimilation. Zhou (1997), in what she calls anomalies names that adaptations vary depending on where immigrants settle. One of the anomalies she describes is Gans' (1992) theory of the second generation decline. He makes the claim that there are three possible outcomes for today's new second generation: education-driven mobility, succession-driven mobility, and niche improvement. Gans (1992) saw much of this

mobility as dismal for dark skinned immigrants. Zhou, (1997) complicates these anomalies by claiming that another anomaly is the peculiar outcomes of immigrant adaptation in which foreign-born engineers and other highly skilled professionals disproportionately take up key technical positions (p. 979). My research adds to Zhou's immigration literature by advocating that highly skilled professionals are also entering non-technical fields and are also non-Asian in racial identity.

Luckily, authors such as Alba, Kassinitz, and Waters (2011), Neckerman, Carter and Lee (1999) and Smith (2008) agree that Portes and Zhou's (1993) analysis was not a complete picture. For example, Neckerman, Carter and Lee (1999), theorize that the segmented assimilation literature does not account for the Black middle class as a group to which immigrants aspire to assimilate in general terms. Although I am not inclined to agree whole heartedly with Neckerman, Carter and Lee (1993), because of some of their claims of where middle class minorities live, their contact with white people and that they more than poor minorities are prone to mimicking "white" speech patterns. This analysis I believe limits the agency and the possibilities for poor immigrants who may indeed understand the benefit of "white" speech and use it like Emmanuel did in Smith (2008) where appropriate in formal settings in which speaking differently is not only a benefit but also a matter of survival. Scholars have written about the ability to code-switch in places, such as school, as a means to maintain self while navigating "foreign" terrain. Immigrants of color learn quickly after migrating, or knew before coming, that the odds are stacked against them and they pass these beliefs (rightfully so) onto their children. I therefore think it's simplistic to think that poor immigrants of color who are not afforded all of the benefits of an education or access as Emanuel in (Smith, 2008) was, are without the agency to succeed and become middle class. What if their access

looks like night school to earn a law degree or a nursing degree? What if their upward mobility is not measured in regard to traditional paths to and from education? Where do they fit and how do we count them given all the structural barriers we know that exist for them?

Smith's (2008) article of Emmanuel's family story was a case study of complexities that exist in the immigrant story even in one household. Smith (2008), tells the story of Emmanuel who is the last of three children of a single mother in a large urban area. Emanuel is the only child who "makes it out" and makes it to college. Smith documents Emanuel's journey and his ability to navigate all of his worlds with the assistance of teachers, his own agency and his mother's knowledge having raised two other children who did not make it to college. The story demonstrates the complexities of what it means to assimilate when one is poor and a person of color. It highlights the strategies that may be used. I am cautioned to generalize Emanuel's story or to fail to see that the access he had and the strategies he used are not necessarily generalizable to all poor immigrant youth of color. It also demonstrates the struggle that parents face but specifically the struggle of poor immigrant parents who do not understand the formal culture of the host society which now they must navigate and who must rely on their children to navigate institutions and policies.

Alba, Kassinitz and Waters (2011), argue that to make the claim that the second generation will experience downward assimilation when the mainstream sees them as non-white is to underestimate the work of the civil rights movement of the 1960's (Alba, Kassinitz and Water, 2011, 764). They argue that it is precisely because immigrants are non-white that they have access to institutions put in place to recognize them as non-white that may allow for assimilation into black or Latino America. Although I believe these arguments must be complicated to hold the tension of a liberatory consciousness because of the civil rights and the

categories it created, one must also think critically about how institutions can still become marginal and targeted. Alba et. al (2011) also debunk some of the common notions of downward assimilation such as early childbearing and being arrested which they see as a common male occurrence in the US. They also disaggregate being arrested from going to jail which I find to be a useful distinction. The question I would however raise with them is, what may be the consequences for both groups because of a distinctly racist American society that already demonizes Black and Brown bodies? That question is necessary as sociologists explore segmented assimilation and the negative impact of race on immigrant youth of color. Alba et. al (2011) argue that in general, the second generation is doing well and are upwardly mobile.

Bennett and Lutz (2009), argue that although in national data, Blacks are more likely to attend college net of their socioeconomic family background and academic performance, they question the validity of this research when Black immigrants are disaggregated from African Americans. They use the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1998, logistical regression, and propensity score analysis to investigate whether the net Black advantage reflects the educational trajectories of immigrant rather than native Black. Bennett and Lutz (2009) describe the net Black advantage as “a long standing pattern of college attendance among Blacks and Whites and conclude that Blacks are more likely to attend College than Whites net of socioeconomic family backgrounds and academic performance” (p. 70). Bennett and Lutz (2009), pose questions about what it is that the net Black advantage measures. Is it an indicator for the Black immigrant success or is it a desire for African American education that would debunk widely held beliefs that African Americans devalue education? The research stemmed from popular declarations that more Black immigrants are enrolling in selective colleges. Bennett and Lutz (2009), explore the growing interest in Black immigrants by citing the few

studies dedicated to research on Black immigrants. The demographic breakdown suggests that there are over 1.5 million Afro-Caribbean immigrants in the U.S. and over 600 thousand African immigrants.

Bennett and Lutz (2009), found that the net black advantage was true for both African Americans as well as black immigrants. Both groups are more likely than are similar groups of whites to attend college after high school graduation net of background factors. They also found that immigrant black success was higher than native black success because immigrant Blacks were concentrated in two-parent households or other family configurations that were not single parent configurations and they are more likely to attend private versus public schools. They also conclude that the importance of oppositional culture prevalent in immigrant segmented assimilation literature is overemphasized.

Race & Immigration have been bedfellows since the formation of the United States of America. Omi & Winant (2014), argue that race is a complicated thing because although theorists have pontificated about it, it is “poorly understood and inadequately explained” (p. 4). They argue that we see glimpses of this misunderstanding in our society daily in the ways that color-blind rhetoric has become prevalent and in the invisibility of race as a concept. The authors go on to say:

Despite the enormous legacy and volume of racial theory, the concept of race remains poorly understood and inadequately explained. This is true not only in everyday life but in the social sciences, the humanities, law, medicine and the biological sciences.

Because race operates as a ‘common- sense’ concept, a basic component of social cognition, identity, and socialization, everyone considers himself/herself an expert on the subject. Race seems in some ways obvious and superficial. What is there to explain?

Race appears to be a given attribute, an ordinary ‘social fact.’ That one has a racial identity is no more problematic, no more worthy of interpretation, than that one has a head upon one’s shoulders. That’s just the way it is” (Omi & Winant, 2014, p. 4).

This extended quote describes the complicated relationship Americans have with race and as the authors above have theorized about immigration, race is rarely at the center of that analysis and when it is, it is often reductive. On the one hand we know race is used to categorize and to discriminate, yet we treat it like a mundane natural order. In their earlier work, Omi and Winant (1994), acknowledge this phenomenon to have broader implications when they assert, “Theoretical work on race has not successfully grasped the shifting nature of racial dynamics in the post war U.S., a failure which sparked important challenges as postwar racial events appeared to conflict with the predictions of theory” (p. 2). These quotes again highlight the tenuous relationships between everyday people and scholars. It is in this vein that Omi & Winant (1994), postulate that immigration theorists who argue for assimilation as a productive way of incorporating immigrants as woefully short-sighted.

Similarly, Mills (1998), in his book, *Blackness Visible*, describes the invisibility of race and the reasons race often remains invisible and unexplored especially in the discipline of philosophy an area that he claims has an oxymoronic relationship with those who identify as Black (Mills, 1998, p. 2). Mills describes the relationship that African-Americans have with their existence within the United States and describes it as such,

And those who have grown up in such a universe, asked to pretend that they are living in the other, will be cynically knowing, and exchanging glances that signify ‘there the white folks go again.’ They know that what is in the books is largely mythical as a general statement of principles, that it was never intended to be applicable to them in the first

place, but that within the structure of power relations, as part of the routine, one has to pretend that it does (Mills, 1998, p. 4).

This extended quote is important because Mills reminds us of the second class nature of Black citizenship in the U.S. His work becomes important in regard to Afro-Caribbean immigrant bodies in the U.S. It is a reminder that Afro-Caribbean bodies get read as African American which means that they come to the states at a disadvantage of which they are not always aware and in the moments when they are aware, they are not always prepared to face. I turn now to a discussion of Black Caribbean people in immigration/migration literatures.

Caribbean Immigrants

Model (2008), describes in her book, the trajectory of Caribbean Immigrants as she explores the hypothesis that Caribbean immigrants are more successful than Native Black Americans for three reasons – Selectivity, Cultural Hypotheses, and White Favoritism. She uses census data as her primary source of information to make her case and to dispute the prevailing hypotheses. Census data is unreliable because it overlooks segments of the population such as the undocumented and those on visas. The first wave of West Indian Immigrants were described as entrepreneurial although empirical data suggests that they were not more entrepreneurial than Black Americans. The first wave came prior to 1924. After 1924 but before 1967, 841,000 people came to the US. The Malcolm Warner Act of 1952 imposed a quota of 100 immigrants from each colony in the Caribbean. Britain also passed the Nationality act in 1948 so that British subjects could enter more easily. The Hart Cellar Act of 1965 made it possible for Caribbean immigrants to access the US more easily. Many immigrants accessed their kin and came in through work in nursing and domestic work. The four largest senders of English speaking immigrants are: Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados. Black women

had better luck finding jobs than Black men. Thomas Sowell espouses the theory of Cultural superiority because as slaves, Caribbean Blacks were treated favorably and allowed to plant their own food etc. Selectivity suggests that only the most ambitious and those with access become immigrants. Cultural Superiority suggests that because of the opportunities “enjoyed” by the Black immigrants such as tropical climate, an ability to fight off the White British people and fight their masters. This theory was also debunked because in some parts of the US slaves were able to plant their own food and had more freedoms etc.

All Caribbean slaves were not equal. Jamaicans were often the most rebellious and it is a mistake to think of Caribbean slaves as homogenous. White favoritism espouses that whites prefer to work with Caribbean immigrants and to select them for work because they are less difficult and more compliant than native Blacks. Caribbean immigrants also play into the fact that whites favor them and use it as an advantageous way to distance themselves from Black Americans

Caribbean immigrants began arriving in droves in 1965. West Indians complicate race relationships in the U.S. because as Black people, they sometimes have a hard time navigating and deciding where their allegiance should lie. (Model, 2008, p.2) “black immigrants are a significant component of America’s new immigrants, but they have often been ignored in immigration debates, which typically focus on Asians and Latinos” (Model, 2008, 2). With Black immigrants arriving in large numbers, blackness is being negotiated in an increasingly multi-ethnic black America. In 1970, 60% of Jamaicans said they would move abroad if they could. New York city was a major port of entry. Familial ties were important to migration and sending barrels was a way to keep kinship ties (Model, 2008, p. 7).

Phillip Kasnitz (1992) in his book chapter called “Invisible No More?: West Indian Americans in the Social Scientific Imagination”, debunks the idea of the model minority and makes the claim that a part of the West Indian identity is still rendered invisible. His quote “Today West Indians are the largest immigrant group in the nation’s largest city” (Kasnitz, 1992, p. 257), is telling of the ways in which West Indian immigrants are no longer invisible numerically although they remain invisible politically. He argues however, that the great injustice is that West Indian immigrants are often compared to African Americans and not to other immigrants and that he says renders a part of their experience invisible.

Kasnitz (1993) chronicles the Labor Day parade in New York City as a glimpse into the life of Caribbean New Yorkers. Kasnitz (1993), argues that for Caribbean immigrants in the United States, both racial and ethnic identities are clearly central in shaping their political life. (p. 6). Kasnitz describes West Indian ethnicity as something that grew in significance in the 1980s for West Indian Immigrants when, according to Kasnitz, they brought it into the public sphere. He argues that although it did not always cause division among the Black community, there were moments that it did and the Black community became more conscious of its ethnic diversity. A central question he poses is “why does an immigrant group play down its separate identity and merge itself within a larger category at one point in its American experience, only to choose to emphasize its cultural distinctiveness at another, much later point?” (Kasnitz, 1993, p. 7). He chronicles their transnational political participation and makes distinctions between how immigrants represented their identities in the US and abroad (Kasnitz, 1993, p. 10). The book thinks through public identity from two different angles and it is divided into two parts. Part 1 is ethnicity from the ground up. It chronicles the social origins of the racial and ethnic stances taken by West Indians at various historical junctures. The second half delves into ethnicity as a

public identity. The articulation of the identity constitutes a highly contested terrain in which actors exercise considerable independence in creating competing formulations. It discusses the mechanics of making ethnicity.

Waters (2009), argues that West Indian immigrants understand racial identity in three ways, the lack of an oppositional identity, the expectation of structural racism, and the low expectation of interpersonal racism. She asserts that the anthropologist Ogbu's analysis of voluntary (immigrants— those who crossed borders voluntarily) and involuntary (African Americans and Native Americans) is important in understanding the attitudes of West Indians who usually have better race relations with Whites and who acquiesce to and rationalize prejudice by saying that they are in a foreign land and have no choice but to tolerate prejudice and discrimination (Waters, 2009, p. 142). Waters (2009) interviewed two immigrant teachers in New York City and found that they saw race relations in the U.S. through rose colored glasses although race in the Caribbean was also charged in particular ways. Middle class West Indians had a more nuanced view of race and class than working class respondents she found. She also found that working class West Indians experienced more overt racism than working class West Indians.

In regard to social class, Waters (2009), traces the work of Reid (1930); Moynihan (1965); Sowell (1970); Foner (1979) and Butcher (1994) who compare Black immigrants to their African American counterparts and conclude that Black immigrants are more successful because of hard work and cultural differences. Some of these studies have been refuted and their validity questioned. I reference this profile of West Indian immigrants here because I believe it gives a glimpse into why West Indian immigrants may have been recruited in large numbers as teachers. They have been stereotyped as hard working and less oppositional than their African American

counterparts and are therefore more pliable. They, one could argue are an easier group to recruit for low wages.

I have discussed broadly some of the issues brought to light in the last twenty years that implicate teacher education, its lack of responsiveness to the growing teacher shortage for teachers of color, and the importance of having a teaching force that hires and nurtures teachers of color. I moved then into a discussion of immigrant teachers and what the various literatures imply about why they are included in a teacher labor force, why their presence and impact is undertheorized and how we might learn more about this invisible group of teachers to understand neoliberal practices in the education system.

I discuss the history of immigration broadly post 1965 and the implications for a US society that continues to have more immigrants of color crossing its borders. I end with a discussion of Caribbean immigrants and their relationships to African Americans a group with whom they are often compared because of the color of their skin. I discussed the differences around culture, socioeconomic class and why there is a perception that Caribbean immigrants fare better in the U.S. economy than African Americans. These discussions set the context for the teachers with whom I work. Very few research projects document Afro-Caribbean women teachers' experiences and when they do, they discuss them in negative ways as it relates to teaching or in oversimplified positive ways as it relates to immigration. This study, I hope will make an intervention into both sets of literatures in a nuanced and complex way. What is also missing from the immigration literature which I hope to add is a critique of gender and gender politics. It is no coincidence that many of the Afro-Caribbean teachers recruited were women. In the immigration literature, there is much focus on low skilled immigrants, and the second generation. When high skilled immigrants who perform high skilled labor are discussed, black

immigrant subjects are usually not the focus of study. My research intends to make an intervention into this body of literature.

Chapter 3 - Methodology, Procedures, and Subjectivity

Methodology

"ethnography is not a luxury, but rather a necessary and urgent form of political work that we have conceived of as being the driving force of our research questions, fieldwork engagement, and analytical writing despite the violence" (Keisha Kahn-Perry, 2012, p. 149).

Kahn-Perry's (2012), words are particularly instructive and sobering for me as I began the process of collecting data and writing this dissertation. I wanted to collect data and write responsibly while paying respect to the community of participants with whom I worked. I did so by treating them as scholars of their experiences and women who navigated the world with agency.

I begin my methods section with a conceptual framing of critical ethnographies because these theories have guided my understanding of who my participants are, how I collected data and how I went about analyzing the data.

As a Black Caribbean woman who works with other Black Caribbean women, I spend much of my time thinking methodologically about the ways in which my identities as woman, Black, Caribbean and middle class impact how I am read in the field by my participants. I think about how I read them as participants, and ask questions about what it means to have insider/outsider status in this particular community. For critical ethnographic researchers, one's positionality is important in the process of collecting data and making sense of the data. Black feminist scholars have also engaged in conversations about what it means to engage in standpoint theory which is the idea that how you come to make sense of the world is about who you are in the world and the lived experiences as well as the scholarly experiences that you take with you into research and writing. It is an acknowledgment and an affirmation that our lived experiences

shape and inform our academic analyses and contributions. They cannot and should not be separated. This scholarship is important in understanding one's identity and its impact because without understanding the histories of epistemic and physical violence, it becomes easy to reify these violences in our work and with participants with whom we work.

Native scholars have also questioned the violent ways in which research continues to marginalize Native communities and when one looks closely, all marginal communities. A transnational analysis of epistemic and methodological ways of engaging participants may also provide a frame through which to work with and make sense of participants' experiences. However, none of these frames address a diasporic black identity that is neither African American, Native, or distinctly transnational. How do I then amplify the voices of Black Caribbean women who do not always read themselves as Black although in the U.S. they are always constructed as Black? Therefore, this dissertation explores the ways in which identity is an important, yet complicated part of the research study one conducts. Making sense of the nuances of one's own identity and the identities of one's participants is important in collecting data in a socially just and culturally relevant way as well as in making sense of and interpreting the data collected. Current epistemic frames, although useful as a loose framework are not always adequate in addressing a Black diasporic identity that doesn't claim blackness in the ways the U.S. state has constructed Blackness. What are the ethical implications therefore of conducting research with Caribbean Black women? Through an exploration of the critical qualitative theories and an exploration of my subjectivity, I attempt to answer this question.

Critical Qualitative Research

The edited volume by Denzin and Lincoln (1994), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, has provided a guide for the engagement of critical ethnographic work. The volume takes a

critical look at ethnographic work through feminist, anthropological, historical and other paradigmatic lens to situate the field of critical ethnography and to provide a broad scope of the field of qualitative inquiry. Denzin and Lincoln (1994), agree

to take stock of how far it has come, to make predictions about where it will be a decade from now, to assess and present major paradigms, histories, strategies, and techniques of inquiry and analysis that qualitative researchers now use. *The Handbook of Qualitative Research* represents our attempt to address this void (p. ix).

In particular, works from Olesen (1994); Fine (1994); Guba and Lincoln (1994); Denzin (1994) and Lincoln and Denzin (1994) have shaped my understanding of how qualitative inquiry came to be and the ways in which it has emerged over time and space. Questions of researcher positionality and the interpretation of data are important areas of inquiry for qualitative researchers and issues that are raised and explored in the volume. Denzin (1994), predicts that more elaborate interpretive epistemologies based on race, class, gender and ethnicity will emerge in the future. He argues that these interpretive epistemologies will privilege the personal and the political in the qualitative text and that they will increase the importance of that work for social change (p. 481).

Gibson and Koyama (2011), in their book chapter document the contributions of anthropologists of education over the last forty years in the U.S. They discuss “new wave” immigrants who have been examined through critical race and other critical lens’. In particular, Gibson and Koyama discuss how Afro-Caribbean young women translate their responsibilities in the home and their deference to authority figures into behaviors that are rewarded in schools. Teachers interpret these behaviors as reflective of their commitment to education and so treat them favorably in comparison to their male counterparts (p. 398).

Other critical feminist scholars are important to my research method and analysis. In

particular, Intemann (2012) doing research on climate change has worked to think strategically about how to put feminist research into practice; Hesse-Bieber and Brooks (2012), remind us that women of color have long advocated for an analysis of gender that situates women as heterogeneous, diverse and multiplicitous in their experiences. These works influence how I have come to design my research and how I later analyze it. The women participants in this study are Black and hail from the global south. It would be a mistake to make claims solely on that basis. Hesse-Bieber and the feminists named above asks us to understand the women's situatedness. That is the effort I have made in this dissertation to see the women, to hear their stories and to understand them within their own contexts and realities.

When we place women at the center of methodological and procedural inquiry, we begin to make connections about how issues of race, dominance, and culture are created and passed on for generations. Feminists have long understood that locating women and exploring subjectivity are basic tenants of engaging in research. Hooks (2013), in her book *Writing Beyond Race*, describes the gendered labor that women of color provide as teachers, scholars, mothers and professionals. Hooks (2013) contends, "yet when it comes to working with race, ultimately women do much of the hands-on work, as parents, as teachers, as cultural workers... women of all races teach white supremacist thought and practice. Women teach what they know and what they have learned" (p. 39). Hooks' (2013) words remind us that we all have work to do on ourselves and in community with each other. Because the Afro-Caribbean women with whom I work are teachers who transmit information about race and culture through their course content and through their embodiments of race and culture, it is important in this dissertation to think with the teachers about their engagement with gender, race and their identities as teachers.

Lorde (1984) in her book, *Sister Outsider* argues that we must center Black people and in particular Black women issues when we conduct research. She reminds us that the bonds between

Black women should not be threatened by the ways in which Black men have historically understood Black women's power and organizing as needing to only be experienced in loyalty to them as Black men. Lorde, reminds us in this volume that Black women coming together to think critically and to work collectively has always been threatening to other Black men, and to White people. She suggests that we do more work to understand the ways in which we are all complicit in violently ignoring the issues that divide us. This dissertation answers questions of how a group of Black women from the Caribbean navigate the socio-political landscape in New York City's public schools.

Lorde (1984) asserts, "We are Black women born into a society of entrenched loathing and contempt for whatever is Black and female. We are strong and enduring. We are also deeply scarred" (p. 155). This quote is reminiscent of the struggle that Black feminists encounter as we attempt to make sense of the world we live in by way of conducting research with participants and in this regard, women, in the Black community. The implications for Lorde's theorizing are numerous and varied. If Black women sit in a precarious position, the research that includes them as participants is also precarious. Indigenous scholars such as Min-ha (1989); Smith (2008; 1999), discuss in great detail the importance of writing about others and conducting methodological research as acts of colonization that if left unscrutinized, creates issues of continued epistemic violence experienced by many communities of color.

Hill Collins (1986), asserts that the outsider within status is one that Black women have occupied for as long as they have been in servitude to White people (p. 14). Hill Collins theorizes that it is from this outsider within place that Black women have learned to theorize from the margins. Black women learned to make sense of their world through this standpoint theory. She theorizes that what we can learn from those who occupy this outsider within status has the potential to change the way we understand social issues and the way we go about

conducting research. Black women have been speaking and theorizing about their social conditions and it is precisely because of their marginal locations historically why the voices of Black women should be amplified.

Hill Collins (1990) in her work on Black feminist epistemology argues that “African American women academics who persist in trying to rearticulate a black women’s standpoint also face potential rejection of our knowledge claims on epistemological grounds” (p. 247). Here, Hill Collins makes the claim that Black women’s knowledge and framework are often dismissed as illegitimate. But Hill Collins (1990), insists and reminds us that “experience as a criterion of meaning with practical images as its symbolic vehicle is a fundamental epistemological tenet in African American thought systems” (Hill Collins, 250). In other words, Black women rely heavily on experiential knowledge as part of their epistemic frame.

bell hooks (2000), attempts to discuss how a decolonized feminist perspective would allow us to link sexist practices to women’s bodies globally. hooks (2000), claims that radical women of color must do more to understand our sisters in the global south. hooks (2000), identifies issues such as forced female circumcision, sex clubs in Thailand, and veiling as important issues that feminists with decolonized feminisms would address in a global context without western imperialism. I take issue with hooks’ (2000), classification of the “issues” named as issues. She is doing what I think she is asking us to safeguard against – namely, looking through western, imperialist eyes (Mohanty, 1988). hooks (2000) also does not think through what a global understanding of the everyday mundane lives of women are and what a transnational understanding of the mundane lives of women in nuanced, complex and not in relationship to the construction of the mundane lives of western women would be?

Dillard (2008), makes a claim across Black diasporic identity for spirituality as an important component of how we make meaning of Black or as she calls them, African ascendant lives. She asserts,

Many African ascendant scholars know that even as we recognize the messiness in interpretive practices and representations of qualitative research, there is another very fundamental crisis that goes far beyond the biographical situatedness of the researcher and the research project for us. This crisis we speak of here includes the hegemonic structures that have traditionally and historically negated and impeded the intellectual, social, and cultural contributions of African (and African feminist) knowledge. These are structures that have also negated the spiritual contributions of African ascendant people.” (p. 279).

Dillard’s claims here are important because they assert that spirituality is an important component of the ways people of African ascent come to know and make sense of their world. Unlike Hill Collins (1990; 2000) and hooks (2000), Dillard (2008) is explicit that Collins’ (1999) first edition did not address a global black feminist thought although in the second edition she does so more explicitly. Dillard (2008), offers that the “goal of an endarkened feminist epistemology was to situate Black feminist thought in its diasporic milieu from its inception” (p. 280). Dillard’s reimagining of a Black epistemic frame that is pan-African and diasporic is important as we explore ethics and methods as they relate to participants who are not African-American but who have pan-African identities. How do we accurately interpret experience that is situated outside of a western construction of Blackness? Dillard (2008), goes on to assert that an endarkened feminist epistemological stance is a responsibility that is

“answerable and obligated to the very persons and communities being engaged in inquiry” (p. 280).

Similarly, Native scholars have argued for epistemic and methodological frames that not just represent their world views and non-Western frames but epistemic and methodological frames that honor their worldview. Grande (2004), makes the claim that she does not identify as feminist but indigena. She argues that although feminisms attempt to critique the white discourse that has permeated feminist frames through liberal, postmodern, post-structural, Marxist, critical race, socialist, lesbian, womanist, and transnational feminisms, she finds that these different feminisms are not intersectional “so that women of color tend to be the ones writing about race and feminism, lesbi-bi-transgendered women about sexuality and feminism, working class women about class and feminism and middle class heterosexual women about a depoliticized feminism” (Grande, 126). Grande’s observations of the ways in which feminisms have become pluralistic with little attempt to create intersectional understandings, is vital to an epistemic frame that claims to be influenced by transnational, post-colonial and black feminist theoretical frames and methodologies as is my project. The situatedness of Black Caribbean women is a manifestation of Grande’s frustration about feminisms inability to be an intersectional frame. What happens when women from the global south move to the global north in white collar jobs but are still only defined in regard to their Black women identities with little or no appreciation for their worldviews, professional skills or situated knowledges?

Min-ha (1989), makes the claim that even the language we use in our descriptions and processes with participants might further subjugate them. She says, “Language is one of the most complex forms of subjugation” (p. 52). So even as a feminist researcher it behooves me to be vigilant about my representations of those with whom I call participants. Telling the story of the

women is to lie or to betray (p. 148-150) because the truth is not believable from women who should not know. How do I not destroy the story, and betray truths in my attempt to tell them? How does the ethical feminist researcher work through the contradictions of making visible while minimizing violence? How do I use the particular methodological and theoretical frames that are available to me to do “good” on behalf participants? She says, “feminism can be iconoclastic and all the more when it calls itself third world.” (Min-ha, 1989, p. 28).

Novak (2009), makes a compelling argument that indigenous methods and ways of knowing should be a more available option to scholars as they pursue research. She makes the claim that, “losing language endangers culture.” (Novak, 2009, p. 23). Here, Novak advocates for a greater understanding of the colonial legacy of traditional research methods and advocates for a more inclusive way of thinking about methodology especially as espoused from those who sit in marginalized communities. Her argument is that it is a disservice to academic scholarship to not include indigenous research as an option in qualitative research classes and praxis. She continues by saying, interpretive meaning-making is where qualitative data resides and it is deeply political where representation, method and meaning vie to be heard. Self-reflective narrative research process, in conjunction with a philosophy that honors multiple truths, is congruent with a research approach that seeks understanding (pg. 270). Methods that stand in as allies for indigenous methods are participatory action research (PAR), phenomenology and narrative inquiry. Novak (2009), asserts three distinct aspects of indigenous research, “three distinct aspects of indigenous research: a) the cultural knowledges that guide one’s research choices; b) the methods used in searching; and c) a way to interpret knowledge so as to give it back in a purposeful, helpful and relevant manner” (p. 44). Novak (2009) and Dillard (2008) espouse similar tenants of giving back to communities and advocating for research as a

community asset and not a deficit to communities. What they espouse therefore, is a deep engagement with the community in the areas of research where the community voice is at the forefront of inquiry, data collection and interpretation.

These authors have given me an epistemic frame to engage in critical ethnography with participants who do not fit neatly into a Western frame for research. Novak (2009); Grande (2004); Min ha (1989); Dillard (2008); hooks (2000); Hill Collins (1990) and Lorde (1984) et. al have helped me to develop an epistemic frame that is steeped in a multidimensional, multilayered and intersectional relationship of self, other and power relationships. Madison (2005), makes an argument for critical ethnography as ethical, methodological and performative. Madison (2005) asserts,

when it crosses the boundaries of its own Otherness to enter domains where it can become an active and aware subject (de Beauvoir, 1952; Sartre, 1993). The critical view understands that the Other is always already a subject in their own right, and it is the ethnographer who must cross the boundaries into the territories of Otherness in order to engage with the Other on their terms (p. 8).

The frame I have developed, as a result of reading and engaging critically with the authors listed above is allowing me to engage in a critical reflexive process that gives me insight into my own limitation as a researcher with power and privilege granted by a western university and my own subjectivity as a Caribbean woman who is neither an insider nor an outsider with the Caribbean women participants with whom I work. Although these women have allowed me access into their lives as teachers and people living in a transnational world, I am still removed from them in age, experience and by the length of time I have called the US home.

According to Madison (2005), “critical ethnography begins with an ethical responsibility to address processes of unfairness or injustice within a particular lived domain” (p. 5). This is an important definition because it separates what is done as research “on” a community and what is research done “with” a community to create social change. If the goal of research is only to collect data for the sake of telling a story without connections to the possibility of creating social change, I believe that ethnography to be uncritical in its approach. I also believe that an examination of social structures, power, self and personal power is necessary for a critical ethnographic study. If one does not ask questions about one’s self in relationship to power, and in relationship to one’s participants and the complexities of researcher/researched, insider/outsider, etc. one may not be engaged in a critical ethnographic project. Madison (2005) agrees, “The critical ethnographer also takes us beneath surface appearances, disrupts the status quo, and unsettles both neutrality and taken-for granted assumptions by bringing to light underlying and obscure operations of power and control. Therefore, the critical ethnographer resists domestication and moves from what is to what could be” (p. 5). Madison also insists that “critical ethnography must further its goals from simply politics to the politics of positionality” (p. 6).

Before Madison, Fine (1994) discussed this critical positionality in terms of working of the hyphens. Fine makes the argument that when we fail to critically examine self we get caught in the act of doing research on and not with communities. Fine (1994), argues, “By working the hyphen, I mean to suggest that researchers probe how we are in relation with the contexts we study and with our informants, understanding that we are all multiple in those relations” (p. 72). Working the hyphens is a metaphor for complicating the relationships we have with self and other. It is also important to note that not all feminist projects work the hyphen because in her

work, *A thrice told Tale*, Margery Wolf (1992), fails in her ability to work the hyphen. She fails to complicate the relationship she has with Wu Chieh who is assisting her with data collection and translation services. Wolf tells the same story from different data collection vantage points but in all of them does not do enough to situate her whiteness and as a result, her power in relationship to the space (a small Taiwanese village) and the people, people of color. So although Wolf calls this retelling of her tale a post-modern and feminist contribution, she did not work the hyphens as she should have. Having leveraged this critique at Wolf, I want to take a step back to acknowledge that Wolf was writing as the wife of an anthropologist and although my critique of her inability to work the hyphens stands, I wonder if Wolf was trying to do something that had not been done before and was therefore disrupting the status quo? According to Abu-Lughod (1990), women anthropologists (or women who wrote about women – and here she references Wolf's work called 'Guests of the Sheik') or those who stepped outside of the boundaries of an objective methodology were unrecognizable to "traditional" anthropologists. Therefore, although I still think Wolf's work did not work the hyphen or complicate her positionality, I want to acknowledge that she did not contribute to disrupting a certain status quo that existed around methodological inquiry. I still argue that this was not a work of critical ethnography.

De La Garza (2013), in her work, *The Four Seasons of Ethnography* best describes this phenomenon as a misunderstanding of the ontological frame with which research must be approached. It is not enough she claims, to conduct research without the transparency of design or a complication of one's positionality because one can dress up the most positivist research as critical by using a non-traditional textual form. She is quoted here at length to demonstrate this point:

“The results of one’s research cannot be assumed to reflect a particular ontological position, simply because of the prototypic appearance of the methods...Research by many in the social sciences has moved increasingly toward a validation of a relativist ontology, often in the guise of postmodernism, at other times simply reflecting the politics of positionality. It has been my experience in the pedagogy of qualitative research methods that recent converts and zealous students new to the freedom of applied relativism will often be drawn by the aesthetics and/or emotional appeal of the subjective methodologies, not fully understanding the ontological approach that fully supports them. An ontology involves far more than a difference of opinion; it is the basic structuring set of assumptions of what can be taken as real. It follows that then an absence of ontological awareness, comprehension or commitment can be taken in taken-for-granted claims of ontological validity which are assumed simply on the evidence of the subjective methodologies used” (De La Garza, 2013, p. 628).

Although lengthy, this quote is important for several reasons. It problematizes how we approach and not just what we see as methods. This is important because it is rarely the method itself, say interviewing, that is problematic, but it is the way we approach interviewing that often is problematic. How we situate our knowledge as all-encompassing and the knowledges of the participants with whom we work as incomplete instead of understanding that the various knowledges that we bring to the table and that our participants bring create what becomes the data. The quote and De La Garza’s work also critiques positionality and the politics of positionality which I understand to be how we position ourselves relative to participants without having a sense of our ontological ideologies.

Ontological approach is an important part of the research process and should drive data collection, methodological research design and other aspects of research. Ontology in this sense,

is not just a way of being but is also our world-view. Native scholars referenced above such as Novak (2009) and others have noted that it is from this place that acknowledges self, community and responsibility that research should be enacted? How do researchers develop an ontological stance that is not coopted but genuine and sincere in its ability to disrupt knowledges that continue to colonize? A more deliberate question is, when white people study communities of color, what is the process through which they come to develop an ontological frame? In other words, how is this ontological frame that produces ethical researchers developed over time by researchers who sit outside of communities where these frames are nurtured?

Methodologically, I will use a critical ethnographic method that will illuminate the narratives of participants in the ways the following authors have elucidated their participants' stories through the combination of the methods they used. Brown (2013), in her book *Hear Our Truths* gives me much to think about as she uses a variety of methods including photovoice, interviews, poetry, and observation to visibilize Black girls whose stories are often not told of their girlhood. If she had not used the particular combination of methods she did, what may she have missed about the lives of these girls? I argue that she would have missed crucial and critical work. Similarly, Yosso, (2006), in her work on *Critical Counterstories Along the Chicana/Chicano Educational Pipeline*, demonstrated another important methodological disruption that pulled the stories from this community in such a way that illuminated the particular uniqueness of this particular community. Johnson (2008) uses a combination of interviews and historical data to tell the stories of Black gay men in the southern United States. It was a story that had not been told in the particular ways that Johnson wanted to tell it, and the oral history tradition allowed Johnson to not just collect data but to complicate issues of insider/outsider status, issues of access to research participants and other methodological issues

that are as important as the content and analyses of the data. Performance ethnographies and bioanthologies also exemplify other critical, thoughtful and disruptive ways step outside of the research status quo.

Theoretically, I will use a combination of feminist epistemologies to situate and to better analyze the stories these women share. Specifically, I will use Caribbean feminisms, de-colonial and transnational theoretical lens. I will also use critical race theory as a way to situate race relationships in America. These lens' do not all intersect in ways that individually capture the experiences of my participants but together they begin to give a complex frame through which we can understand and make sense of the lived experiences of women who were senior teachers and middle class citizens in their home countries and who have come to a place where they have been rendered incompetent despite being recruited for their expertise and excellent teaching records. For many of the participants, they have slipped considerably in their class status despite being lured through a neoliberal rhetoric of the promises of a better life in a developed country. The feminist tradition is invested in making visible power relationships and hierarchies, theorizing about them and amplifying the voices of those who are marginalized and who usually are exposing power hierarchies through their lived experiences. What I hope is that I will be able to do this in a thoughtful and socially just way. I empathize with my participants around issues connected directly to their immigrant status and the navigation of that process socially and legally. I understand how difficult that process is from personal and familial experiences. All of these complex power relationships between my own subjectivities as an immigrant Caribbean woman researcher and the subjectivities of my participants are significant and it is my hope that I can apply my methodological approaches through an ontology that honors and respects the lived

experiences of my participants in such a way as to complicate what we know about teachers, immigrants, and Caribbean women.

Procedures

To complete the research for this dissertation I had to complete two different IRBs. I worked through Syracuse University to secure an IRB to collect dissertation research data. The second IRB, I obtained through the New York City department of education. Through both IRBs I had permission to interview participants in their homes as well as in schools. I was not interested in, nor was I given permission to interview students and children within schools. With the aid of the dissertation proposal development research fund through the social science research council, I was able to complete my research in the Summer of 2016.

I also analyzed a series of documents including newspaper articles, hire letters, reports from the New York City department of education (NYCDOE), and statistics gathered by the NYC DOE. See appendix A for the documents. See appendix B for consent forms and interview protocols.

Participants and Research Criteria

I concluded my research after interviewing and observing 12 participants. Two of the participants were men, and as a result, I decided to exclude them from my analysis. One man was the recruiter who I talk about in great detail in chapter 4 and the other man was a teacher – the only male teacher willing to agree to participate in the dissertation project. A total of 10 women were interviewed and included in the analysis. Teachers ranged in age from mid 40s to mid 60s. On average, teachers had 14 years of experience working in the U.S. Many of them had also served on average 22 years in their home countries prior to their migration to the U.S. All teachers identified as Afro-Caribbean or a mix of Afro and Indo Caribbean. At least three

teachers were mixed with Indo roots. The parameters that were used to recruit teachers included

- 1) having an afro-Caribbean heritage, 2) recruited from an anglo-Caribbean country (Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, etc.) between 2001 and 2003 and 3) Still employed by the NYC DOE. Five teachers were from Jamaica, three teachers were from Trinidad and Tobago, and one teacher was from Barbados and Guyana respectively. See table below.

Data collection:

This dissertation used a combination of individual and focus group interviews; observations; and document analysis to collect data.

There were two focus groups - (one with four participants and one with six participants) that took place in an elementary school classroom. All interviews that took place in person (8 of 10) were also observed. The researcher took detailed notes in each setting about the organization of the classroom, the resources the teachers were using, were they organized?, was it messy or clean? Were there many charts or a few? I met with two former teachers who were now principals in their offices and the other six teachers in classrooms for their individual interviews. I took detailed notes about the classroom spaces. I had skype interviews with two teachers who were unable to meet with me in person. Five of the teachers who were interviewed individually, were also a part of one of the focus groups. Three teachers were a part of both focus groups

Participant List - 2016 data

| Name/Pseudonym | Country of Origin | Years of Service in Country of Origin | Years of Service in the U.S.A. |
|----------------|-------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| Mrs. W | Jamaica | 25 | 13 |
| Mrs. J | Jamaica | 10 | 13 |
| Mrs. P | Jamaica | 20 | 15 |

| | | | |
|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Mrs. O | Barbados | 33 | 15 |
| Mrs. NW | Trinidad and Tobago | 10 | 13 |
| Mrs. N | Trinidad and Tobago | 20 | 15 |
| Mrs. M | Trinidad and Tobago | 12 | 13 |
| Mrs. R | Jamaica | 20 | 13 |
| Mrs. H | Jamaica/Canada | 15 | 15 |
| Mrs. L | Guyana | 30 | 15 |
| Mr. R | Trinidad and Tobago | 25 | 15 |
| Mr. Antoine | Grenada | N/A (recruiter) | N/A (recruiter) |

Research sites

My research began in the Fall of 2015 and continued through Summer 2016. I interviewed (focus group and individual interview) and observed teachers in the schools in which they worked - One elementary school and 2 alternative high schools. The elementary school was located in Brooklyn NY and had students from grades K-6. The teachers taught general courses in math, reading, and social studies. I only observed teachers and did not include my observations of students in my analysis and thoughts unless these observations directly impacted teacher performance. The first alternative high school was located in Brooklyn and served students who had been asked to leave “traditional” high school classrooms for a variety of reasons including issues with discipline. The second alternative high school was in Manhattan NY and served adult learners. I also interviewed teachers in their homes, in parks and through FaceTime and Skype technology when it was not possible to meet with them. One of the problems I ran into while I collected data in the summer was that teachers were at the end of their school year and they were very busy. As a result, I did not always have the best luck reaching them. I tried to anticipate this occurrence by scheduling meetings with teachers in May and June and remained open through the rest of the summer. Again, because they were wrapping up the school year, it was sometimes difficult to meet with them in person and so we met via Skype and FaceTime when an in person meeting was not possible. Earlier in the year, Fall 2015, I found that the issues I had were more around respecting my time. Sometimes teachers showed up late to interviews or wanted to leave partway through an interview although they had committed to being present for one hour. Although they were interested in helping me as I conducted research, they were all very involved with after school programs, church, and other community activities. Those activities therefore limited the time they were able to spend with

me. These are issues that researchers face in the field all the time and I relied heavily on my ability to be flexible as I worked through the process of collecting data.

Subjectivity

In a feminist methodological tradition, reflexivity is a necessary component of feminist methods. My subjectivity is so closely bound up with the subjectivities of my participants I see as sister mothers, other mothers and in fact my biological mother. This subjectivity allows me a certain clarity about the experiences of Caribbean women, while at the same time it complicates my lens in such a way that I need to be vigilant about what I take for granted as “normal” and what I interrogate as “interesting.” For all of us as researchers what we find interesting and what we dismiss as mundane is as a result of the experiences we had as we grew up, our epistemic frame and our ontological views. For me, working with these women whom I see as mother figures has been a revolutionary experience. As a researcher, I step into my site and approach my participants with very particular questions I am looking to answer. I, of course look to be careful about how closely I allow my questions to guide my insight and how I allow my questions to prevent me from experiencing the full lives of the women with whom I work.

I came to the United States as a student in 1999. I took a traditional four- year path and went directly to graduate school after college. When I graduated from graduate school in 2005, I moved to a mid-size city in the North east and took a job at a mid-size university where I worked as a student affairs professional. After 8 years, a second masters degree, and several promotions, I went back to graduate school to earn a Ph.D. at the same mid-size University where I had been working. I went back to school because I had no other option at the time. I had spent two years exploring obtaining a green card through university sponsorship. It was a futile effort. The University had been paying me less than I was worth, and as a result, we could not move forward

in the process without a commitment from them to pay me almost \$30,000.00 more than I was currently making. The university was never going to commit to that. When I went back to graduate school, I knew I wanted to understand how high skilled immigrants were faring in the U.S. sociopolitical and work environments given my own difficult experiences despite being credentialed and the experiences of others I'd met along the way. I felt underappreciated and used, because no one understood what it was like to not have autonomy over ones work and to be tied to ones employer with little negotiating power. What had that meant for me as I resisted structures of oppression and asserted my agency? On my journey as a "high skilled" worker, I met many immigrants like myself struggling to figure out the elusive green card process through employer sponsorship. Through the process of taking courses and stellar advising, I began to put together the thought that perhaps my mother's experience was similar to mine and that perhaps it would be interesting to understand her better and understand more about her experiences. So I began doing preliminary research a year into my Ph. D. program and began to learn that there were many Afro-Caribbean immigrants similar to my mother who had been recruited to the U.S. as workers. They too had many issues with accessing green cards although they were made promises that it would be a simple process. We now know that nothing about U.S. immigration is simple. Their stories had made national and international news and I wanted to learn more about what happened.

As a high skilled immigrant myself, my own personal story is different, yet similar to the stories of these women. On the surface, our stories are similar because, I like them, for a long time worked for a company that controlled my fate. I could not job search as I wished or advocate for myself because my repercussions were not only financial but also social and legal. My job determined my legal status. Job performance became a measure of citizenship. This

citizenship was legal as well as social. Feelings of belonging and outsidership were common experiences for me and common experiences I have heard from my participants. Despite this, I learned that the women like me, learned to navigate their new realities with agency. Although they are Black women, their international/immigrant status and cultural backgrounds rendered them “foreign” and sometimes “inexperienced” despite their abilities to teach and despite the expertise they bring to teaching which was the basis for their recruitment. I often felt compelled when I worked full-time to prove that I was just as qualified or worthy as any of my American counterparts and colleagues.

The construction of Blackness in the Caribbean is also tied to a colonial white supremacist past like the construction of Blackness in the United States. What is different for Afro-Caribbean people is that their relationship to the state and state managers, in their countries of origin, is one that allows them to experience their humanity fully. For example, men and women, all shades of Black, indo and euro identities can be seen at the highest levels of government. It is not to say there are not systemic forces that divide Caribbean people because there are. One such divide is socioeconomic class. However, the sense that Black identity is inhuman or inferior is less tangible for Afro-Caribbean people although it is clear to them that color and access to whiteness continues to stratify their societies. African Americans are constructed and treated as inhuman and as a result their relationship to the state and to state managers is nebulous. Although experiences for both groups are complex, the psychological boost one receives from seeing state managers who hold similar social identities should not be underscored or taken for granted. That is why in 2008, Black America was overjoyed at the prospect of a Black president. Afro-Caribbean immigrants have governed themselves since slavery ended and this allows them to experience race differently. I do not mean to reduce Afro-

Caribbean people's construction of race as "better than," more complex or less complex than African Americans construction of race, because it is not. I do believe that Afro-Caribbean's and African Americans experience race differently although all constructions of race are tied to a similar colonial past.

What makes this even more complex is that in a Black body, navigating race as an immigrant in the United States is really difficult. For many of my participants, they have not done critical self-work on race and so they are surprised about how prominent racism is in the experiences of their non-international Black colleagues. They do not understand all the cultural components of race in America and they struggle with making sense of discrimination because they are never certain if that discrimination is as a result of being Black or if it is because they are international teachers.

These struggles are the hardest for me when I work with my participants. I know that coming to racial consciousness is a process that happens over time through deliberate efforts but when I talk with the women and they describe experiences that are overtly racist without problematizing them, my interpretation of the cultural and neoliberal realities of where these women are situated must be nuanced and complex. These moments of data collection are often the most frustrating and as I move into meaning making of the data, it complicates how I must go about making sense of those experiences. For example, the women would often disagree about what racism meant for each of them. Some of them had structural definitions while others had definitions that are more individual. I navigated these tensions by consulting the feminist literatures I have found most instructive for thinking complexly about race and identities. Authors such as Hill Collins (1990), hooks (2000), Lugones (2007) helped me think in a more nuanced way about participants. I also discussed much of these issues with my advisor, with former teachers, mentors and writing peers. It was a process, that over time, through consultation

and by writing many memos became clearer for me. I had to learn to decenter my own Euro-U.S. understandings of race and my participants to understand them as the nuanced and complex individuals they are.

Some of the ways in which I have grappled with a critical reflexivity are demonstrated below in the questions I ask about naming, interpreting and labeling my participants. I have given much thought to what it means to make sense of participant experiences in ways that are not articulated by them. In her piece on Bangladeshi immigrants, Islam (2000), struggles through what it means to betray her community as someone not read fully as inside or outside of her community. The primary issues with which she struggled, reading her participants as raced and therefore having experiences that are racist, are issues with which I have often struggled with my own Afro-Caribbean immigrant participants. For example, my Black participants do not often describe the experiences with which they are confronted as racist although their descriptions of said experience describe racism.

How much autonomy do I have as a researcher to interpret what is said as racist sentiment? My participants are not homogenous and some of them understand that the discrimination they face is racist and not based solely on their status as international teachers. It becomes difficult for me as a researcher to interpret what they say in the data as connected to their international or to their Black identity and in many cases, it is connected to both. What do I do as a researcher when they do not make sense of their identities as Black women as a potential factor in any discrimination they face? How do I ask the right questions to get at the experiences that describe racist behaviors for my participants? Is this leading on my part given what I know the literature says about Black immigrant experiences? After reading Islam (2000), I am more inclined to name the experiences I hear as racist but I also wonder if, like Islam (2000), I am betraying my community? If they do not see themselves experiencing racism, what right do I

have to name the experiences they have as racist? I have come to a place where I no longer see this as a betrayal and my discomfort is diminished but I have struggled with these issues of interpretation and representation for a long time and imagine it will keep emerging through various stages of my research.

Unlike Islam, my participants are black and cannot step outside of that identity. However, in the Caribbean community, similar to the Bangladeshi community, colorism is an issue that scholars are beginning to address. Caribbean immigrants take these issues with them to the U.S. and they inform how they do or do not make sense of their experiences. Issues of identity in the U.S. are always charged and when scholars look at these issues in particular for their research, especially in a transnational context where meanings are not shared even in shared communities, it can make for a difficult process of interpretation. When a researcher is connected to participants in multiple ways including racially, culturally and linguistically, methodological issues can be compounded. I have to admit that I struggle with the notion of insider/outsider status because I do not think any of us sit neatly inside or outside of our research. The access researchers have to the academy epistemologically and ontologically, situate us differently than our participants. Therefore, to assume insider status based on race or linguistics is a misnomer.

How our participants read us is a separate issue because it is likely that they will read us as insiders and make the kinds of demands described by Islam on our research outcomes and goals but how we temper their expectation becomes really important. Do we temper expectations? Do we allow deficit language to persist? Do we allow racist language to go unchecked? How do we make nuance of what we hear and what we understand to be contextual? For example, my Caribbean participants often use what could be considered deficit language to describe their students but to listen to them speak over time and about multiple issues, I have come to understand that they care deeply about the students they teach, they try desperately to

understand the US educational system and they work long hours to do good on behalf of the students in their charge. This nuance is missing if we only code the language they use as deficit. As a researcher, it becomes my responsibility in the meaning making process to understand why what they say is deficit, where that language comes from for them, to understand what transnational issues connected to sociolinguistics may be at play and to ask questions that give full voice in nuanced and not just uncritical ways.

Nagar and Geiger's (2007), article on reflexivity and positionality in research is also an important contribution to my own work as I think about positionality and reflexivity in my research. The definition of reflexivity and the questions they pose around producing knowledges around multiple divides that do not reinscribe privilege positions is important. The production of knowledges being tied to material politics of social change favoring less privileged communities and places (p. 268) are important to consider as I make sense of my own data. I believe that phrases such as deficit discourse are founded in dominant discourses that exclude transnational communities and communities that are not steeped in Western hegemonic knowledges. So what happens when white communities use deficit language to describe students of color learning? Is this different than when communities of color from a transnational context do the same thing? Should it be understood differently? As a western trained researcher, I think I have to work hard within my own communities to create "the production of knowledges tied to material politics of social change" (268). I want to make an intervention in teacher education and immigrant literature's and I think my work is positioned to do this but I have to be careful about how I interpret using my western hegemonic frame for understanding knowledge production. What do I miss when I do not ask questions that elucidate marginal ways of knowing and understanding even when they sound like deficit discourse?

Although I have thought deeply about my own subjectivities and the work I am doing

to amplify the voices of my participants, it is important not to retreat from telling the stories of a population of people who continue to be marginalized. I also believe that as a person who is culturally similar to her participants that I have a responsibility as a subaltern subject to tell the stories of the subaltern. I feel this responsibility deeply. I empathize and connect with my Participant's deeply and as a result feel compelled to share their stories in socially responsible and just ways.

Analysis

This dissertation uses a situational analysis (SA) approach to data analysis. Situational analysis is an extension of grounded theory after the postmodern turn and critiques its positivist roots from the 1950s and 1960s. Grounded theory was first introduced by Glaser and Strauss (1967) as a response to the positivist thinking of its day.

Situational Analysis (SA): "Allows researchers to draw together studies of discourse and agency, action and structure, image, text and content, history and the present moment – to analyze complex situations of inquiry broadly conceived" (Clarke, 2005, p. XXII). SA builds on grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). I used situational analysis in this way:

- 1) Situational Maps (looked at the major human, non- human, discursive and other elements in the data I gathered
- 2) Created a social worlds/arenas map (looked at the collective actors, key human and non-human elements and the discourses in which they were engaged in ongoing negotiations and interpretations of the situations there were in
- 3) Positional Maps (looked at the major positions taken and not taken in the data in regard to difference, concern, and controversy around issues in the situation of inquiry
- 4) I looked at the relationships between each of these maps.
- 5) I wrote memos (and memos about memos) that helped me organize my thoughts about the

maps. I looked back at the feminist literatures to also help me contextualize and make sense of the data

6) Finally, I spoke with particular participants for clarity (member checks) about particular issues or questions that came up through my analysis and for a greater understanding of the data.

Chapter 4 -Newest Imports: Teachers! Neoliberalism's demand on Afro-Caribbean Teachers

“Market principles govern women’s existence even though so much of women’s lives cannot be packaged neatly for the market” (Carty & Mohanty, 86).

The quote above is pivotal to this chapter as I discuss the context within which Afro-Caribbean women teachers came to be recruited in droves from the Caribbean. Without a complex and thorough understanding of how the neoliberal market economy affects and affected these women’s lives, it may be tempting to reduce the teachers’ decisions as purely economic. As Carty and Mohanty (2015), describe, women’s lives cannot be packaged neatly for the market (p. 86). In this chapter, I will have five sections that will work together to provide the context in the United States and in the Caribbean countries within which teachers were recruited for how the Caribbean Recruitment Initiative (CRI) came to be and how it was received. In section I, I will describe and analyze documents that situate how recruiters from the board of education conceived of the recruitment efforts for Afro-Caribbean teachers and how they worked with consulates to gain access to teachers. In this section, I will also describe how teachers from predominantly white European countries were recruited and think comparatively about the differences in the process for teachers from the global north and teachers from the global south. In section II, I will also detail through local newspaper articles how journalists in the Caribbean countries and in the United States made sense of the export/import of teachers and represented popular opinions about the recruitment initiatives. In section III, I will analyze documents from the Black Institute, a think tank group out of New York City that worked with and advocated for Afro-Caribbean teachers as they sought justice for themselves and their families. Finally, in

section IV, I will conclude with the implications of the discourses that situate the recruitment of Afro-Caribbean teachers.

Before I move into the document analysis, I want to define how I am using the term 'neoliberal' and discuss the implications it has for education and finally why I think it is a model that elucidates why it was possible to import Afro-Caribbean women teachers. Harvey (2005), argues that neoliberal processes have been more than an economic system based in capitalism. Although many have argued that neoliberalism through globalization is the only alternative to the failed Keynesian economic system, Harvey (2005) argues that neoliberalism's main achievement is a redistribution of wealth so that fewer people control the vast amount of economic resources (p. 159). Harvey contends that the main mechanism by which a redistribution of wealth was acquired was through the rubric of accumulation by dispossession. Harvey argues that there are four ways in which accumulation by dispossession occurs – 1) privatization and commodification of public assets 2) predatory financialization through deregulation 3) the management and manipulation of debt that has become the fine art of redistributing wealth from rich countries to poor countries and 4) the states complicity in the redistribution of resources through pursuit of privatization schemes and cut backs in state expenditures that support the social wage (p. 159-160).

Given the ways in which neoliberalism works on the world stage through economic systems that have deadly consequences for those at the lower ends of the wage spectrum, we can assume that there is a direct impact on education systems. Lakes and Carter (2011), document that young people have to chase credentials to gain security, and educational systems have become "reterritorialized with business-driven imperatives that legitimize the symbolic capital of entrepreneurial and individualized selves" (p. 110). In other words, education and institutions are

no longer about collective well-being or learning but now a part of the market which can be commodified and traded. Davies and Bansel (2007), agree that unlike liberalism, neoliberalism is void of the value for social good. They argue, " Economic productivity is seen to come not from government investment in education, but from transforming education into a product that can be bought and sold like anything else" (p. 254).

Knowledge capitalism according to Olssen and Peters (2005), is a move away from governments feeling responsible for providing education for citizens and a rise in privatizing the means of knowledge production and experimenting with knowledge businesses and public education (p. 340). The implication here is that knowledge is a commodity that can be accessed in many ways. Although this could be a useful idea, it becomes dangerous as we think about who benefits from a privatization of knowledge and as we ask questions about teaching, teachers and the economics of knowledge. The effects of neoliberalism have created an education system that treats students and teachers as consumers, and knowledge and education as transactional.

Knowledge for learning is fast becoming obsolete and instead knowledge for credentialing and accumulation are becoming strong features of our education system. In this new system, school vouchers for private education have become more desirable because they are thought to provide access to education when in reality questions about the quality of the education and who is granted access are not pursued. Credentialing is more important than knowing.

The Afro-Caribbean women teachers with whom I work were treated as commodities in a global marketplace. The department of education bought them with ideas of (in some cases – not all) higher wages, education credit, promises of obtaining a green card and that their families would have security. Their home governments were eager to get rid of them for various reasons including thinking that exported Caribbean knowledge, talent and skills would bring prestige and

most importantly money back to their islands. I argue in chapter six, that although bought in the neoliberal marketplace, Afro-Caribbean teachers still enacted their agency. They were not passive or docile recipients but were active and thoughtful resisters, coalition builders and pedagogues. They often struggled with the transactional nature of schools and the ways in which they were asked to prepare students through rote memory for the state tests with little regard for learning foundational concepts and ideas. Their complaints are the ways in which they were asked to enact neoliberal educational practices.

In this chapter, although I will primarily do a document analysis of newspaper articles, the board of education's recruitment materials, hire letters for teachers and the data from the Black Institute, to demonstrate how neoliberal recruiting practices were normalized and predatory. I will also summarize data from Robert Antoine who was the primary recruiter for the board of education's initiative in the Caribbean. I will not directly quote Antoine because his voice should not be seen as expert in relationship to the women's voices as experiential. I have made this deliberate attempt to situate the women as experts of their experiences. Centering Antoine's voice will diminish this attempt. You will hear his narrative through my summary of it. As you will also see, the women's narratives are evidence of their agency but also evidence that they knew the practices of the department of education were problematic and not designed in their favor.

I will begin this chapter with Mr. Antoine's profile. I interviewed the teachers in this study between September 2015 and July 2016. Every teacher I spoke to, told me I had to be in touch with Robert Antoine. They all spoke very highly of him and remembered him fondly as one of the people who had their best interest at heart. Antoine was a teacher at the time of the recruitment initiative who had Caribbean roots. He was born in Grenada but moved to the

United States in his youth. He was pulled from his classroom to work on this (the Caribbean recruitment efforts) special project with the board of education. I met Robert Antoine in June 2016. At this time, he was still working for the department of education as a principal for an alternative high school in Brooklyn. I set up a meeting with Antoine who was very clear that he did not want to meet with me in person and because of his busy schedule, could only talk with me for 30 minutes. This interview opportunity came after two weeks of repeated emails and phone calls. We spoke on the phone for about an hour and at the end of the conversation he said we could meet to discuss in person the questions I had for him. I met with him in his office the next day and we spoke for about 3 hours.

We discussed in detail his perception of the recruitment efforts for Caribbean people to teach in "failing" schools in New York City. He admitted that they were unprepared for the numbers of teachers who showed up to interview and who later migrated. He said, "They were teachers so they were capable of navigating social situations", in response to the question "How did you prepare the teachers to live in the US?" They did not think it was necessary to provide housing, or to provide information about how to access housing. By the second cohort of teachers, and after complaints from the first cohort they began housing teachers for three weeks in hotels as they trained them on the curriculum they would be using in schools.

One of the most striking and vivid moments of our conversation was when he described showing up at the US embassy in Kingston, Jamaica with suitcases filled with passports from teachers that needed to be processed. He said that they were not aware of the processing time for visas or that the H1B visa¹ would require an extensive application, that there was a quota on the

¹H-1B Visa is a non-immigrant visa which allows U.S. employers to temporarily employ foreign professionals in specialty occupations for three years, extendable to six years (http://www.myvisajobs.com/H1B_Visa.aspx.)

number of visas available in the US (195, 000 in 2001. This varies by year)² and that teachers would have to start in October if given an H1B visa. Instead, they opted to go with the J1 visa³ which was more flexible, and much more easily obtained. This visa type came with a two-year residency requirement, which means that visa holders commit to going back to their home countries for a minimum of two years. This visa was a less desirable option because of the residency requirement and because it was not a direct path to the green card. However, given the time restraints (they began recruiting in May 2001 and expected teachers to onboard in August 2001), the J1 visa was the best option. He describes showing up at the embassy, pleading to have the passports processed so that teachers could go to the U.S. What is striking for me is that the U.S. embassy can be a terrifying place and it certainly is a space that is militarized and has strict rules about how the public interacts with it. The flippant way in which he, and members of his team were able to access the U.S. embassy is another way in which neoliberalism was being enacted. The bigger global power in the North could do what it will in its own embassy despite rules and laws put in place to protect the embassy.

Another, more somber moment that occurred through our conversation was the moment in which he told me about the people who have died over time as a result of the stress from the department of education. One story in particular, is of a woman who was instrumental in helping to jumpstart efforts to recruit people from the Caribbean. I remember the story vividly because he kept going back to her and saying that she died on the job and essentially that the job killed her. This story is one of many in the darker underside of the teachers who were recruited who

² <https://redbus2us.com/h1b-visa-total-cap-stats-from-1990-to-2017-trend-plot-until-2017/>

³ The Exchange Visitor (J) non-immigrant visa category is for individuals approved to participate in work-and study-based exchange visitor programs. (<https://j1visa.state.gov/basics/>)

died violent deaths, lost their jobs, became undocumented etc. In a neoliberal enterprise, people's lives mean less. Because people are disposable, they sometime pay the ultimate price – death.

On the phone, he was elusive and guarded because as he later told me he had to be careful given that he was still employed by the department of education (DOE). In person, he was forthcoming and critical of the DOE. He asked that I turn off my recorder on several occasions because he didn't want to be on the record although he didn't mind sharing his honest opinions with me. I obliged but took copious notes because I knew in those moments he would share some of the most valuable information. I told him I would still take notes and that he did not mind. All the documents I analyze in this chapter except the document from the black institute came from Mr. Antoine. He was very generous with his time and with his information. He told me it was time this story was told. He walked me through tons of data and emails he had kept over the years (I assumed as insurance) and shared with me documents that I asked for and documents he volunteered because he thought it was important. I share all of those documents in this chapter. The emails, I did not ask for and they were mostly documenting exchanges between Mr. Antoine and teachers, and Mr. Antoine and other administrators at the DOE etc.

During my analysis of this data, and the documents he provided, I reached out to Antoine to let him know that I could not write this chapter without using his name because his name was public and was attached to many of the documents to which I had access. He agreed that as long as what I shared was "public" knowledge, he was alright with the information being shared. I have tried desperately to honor him and his trust in me.

This dissertation is not the first to look at these teachers in New York City (see Beck, 2010; Wilson, 2011; and Fitzpatrick 2014), but it is the first to gain exclusive access for an extended period of time to one of the main recruiters and the person who developed this program

and the documents he was willing to share for an in-depth interview. We spoke for a total of four hours. This dissertation also stands out for other reasons, such as its feminist methodologies and understandings. Although this access provides a particular history and context, it is important not to center Mr. Antoine's voice so I will not pull from his transcripts because his role as an agent of the state through the board of education is less important to this project, than is the voices and experiences of the teachers from New York City. His contributions however, provide a context that provides insight into why this type of recruitment is an area for future research that authors like Fitzgerald (2014) have called for.

Robert Antoine was let go of his coordinating role soon after a decision was made that the 2003 cohort of teachers was the last group to be recruited en masse from the Caribbean. He was as disposable as the teachers in this study. He is a Grenadian Black man who was used for his knowledges of the Caribbean and his connections to diplomacy. His brother had a high-ranking position in the Grenadian government that positioned him, Mr. Antoine, as the perfect informant and recruiter. When I met him 13 years later, although cautious and deeply suspicious, he was ready to stop protecting the department of education and by extension the state. They had used him and then disposed of him when his services were no longer necessary. The neoliberal state will continue to use those it sees as necessary in its enterprise but it is not loyal and will quickly dispose of these agents.

The Recruitment Handbook and the Recruitment Process

The first document I analyze in this chapter is the recruitment booklet called "The Center for Recruitment and Professional Development: International Teacher Recruitment Program for the New York City Public Schools" (See appendix A) that was put together by the board of education's human resource department center for recruitment and professional development. It is a 25-page document that is bound with staples. On the front cover are the boroughs of New

York City – Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens, Staten Island and Manhattan. Surrounding those images that look like islands are the flags with the names of the countries around them – Mexico, Jamaica, Grenada, Guyana, Spain, New Zealand, Panama, Canada, Barbados, Australia, Austria and Trinidad and Tobago. It was compiled by Joyce Coppin – Chief Executive, Judith Chin – Supervising Superintendent, Brenda Steele – Deputy Superintendent and Constance Cuttle, Office of Publications and Communications. I was surprised to learn that Robert Antoine's name did not appear anywhere. But this revelation is an important reminder that Antoine was never meant to be a valuable member of the recruitment efforts. Although he was the face of the operation, and worked tirelessly traveling to recruit teachers, conducting interviews and working with embassies, his absence from the recruitment handbook is an indication of the fact that he was disposable. His termination as recruitment coordinator later also cemented this fact.

The other people, named above, worked in the central office of the department of education in various capacities providing support to the recruitment efforts broadly from behind the scenes. In this particular booklet, they were providing support for and information to all international teachers from all the countries from which the department of education recruited. It is also important to note that at the time of his departure, Antoine was the only one let go of his coordinating role. Many of the people listed above still remain at the department of education in their various roles.

The supervisor for the program in her introduction says the following of the program:

The New York City Board of Education's International Teacher Recruitment Program seeks experienced teachers to teach in the New York City public schools in the areas of secondary science and mathematics; elementary and secondary special education; bilingual special education; elementary bilingual Spanish; secondary bilingual Spanish in mathematics, science, social studies; secondary Spanish; and elementary and secondary English as a Second Language. International Teachers may enter the United States with an H1-B (temporary work)

visa depending on the policy and regulations of the teacher's home country and the regulations of the United States" (p. 2)

Here, the supervising superintendent, Judith Chin, outlines in her welcome message what is required of the teachers being recruited. They wanted experienced teachers in the areas listed and from my conversations with teachers and the recruiter, many of the teachers did not have the subject expertise listed although they had teaching experience in other areas. We are not told what "experienced" actually means or what minimally qualifies someone as "experienced." The architects of the documents probably assumed it was not necessary to specify because they would "know" the qualified by looking. Unfortunately, they did not anticipate the numbers of experienced teachers they would encounter and were unprepared to fully meet their needs or be consistent about only hiring teachers who had the subject matter experiences they required. For example, Mrs. W had taught high school and was an assistant principal at the time she migrated. Her areas of specialization were in home economics and food and nutrition. Yet, she was placed in an elementary school teaching children with special needs and general subjects such as math, reading, language arts etc. She's the teacher who had spent 25 years as a teacher in Jamaica. So, she was well experienced at teaching but did not teach any of the subjects listed by the superintendent. That however, did not deter the recruiters gaze from her as a "good" and "experienced" candidate.

On page 5 of the document, it lists the documents all teachers needed to have at the time of the interview. They were transcripts; three copies of their teaching certificate; two reference letters of good standing; three copies of the pages of their passport; three passport photographs; An original and three copies of a certificate of records from the police; three copies of social security number or a US green card if eligible; and three copies of current resume. The list of documents is long and what was required of teachers at the interview was unrealistic. Many

teachers did not tell their superiors from whom they would request reference letters that they were applying so did not have that information. Obtaining a record of good standing from the police was also a very specific document without the guarantee of hire. The teachers also told me that most of them did not have these documents at their interviews. Mrs. H explains below:

Mrs. H: My thing is a little different um I didn't know I was going to be here at all. There were a few people that went from my school and said come with me no man? And I sat down they are printing out their papers, going through their documents and what not and I sat down and Robert Anton saw me and he says, um, aren't you aren't you filling out?

Kim: Mhhmmm

Mrs. H: And I said No. I am not here to do that. He said what do you do? I said I'm a teacher. He said well fill it out! I said but I don't have anything. He says here is the piece of paper, right? And I wrote it down and he asked me for my phone number and so on and so on. And um he kept calling the house and we kept missing each other and finally, the Saturday morning he called to say they were downtown. Can't remember which one of the hotels downtown Toronto and he wanted me to you know? Come and talk to them. So I decided well.... And weh she name again? You know de woman? Assistant to the um?

Mrs. H: ahm ahm [shaking her head no]. She was doing doing the interviews and she offered me the job on the spot.

Mrs. O: Moravia Spence

Mrs. H above demonstrates that what they requested was not what they used in the decision- making process to hire teachers. Mrs. H again supports this claim when she says below,

Mrs. H: And I also know that people that come from the Caribbean in particular. Jamaica, Barbados, I don't know so much about Trinidad even in Canada they would hire you with just a letter to show that and then you could provide the documents later

The rest of the booklet outlines the H1B visa requirements, how to submit documents to the U.S. consulate and how to transition family members from home countries to the U.S. It also lists the requirements to work in New York City and at the department of education, costs for renting, taxes, payroll and retirement. This is the document that was used with all international recruits and there is a stark

difference between this booklet including data that should be true for all groups, that are different from a report to the chancellor of the department of education of the city of New York. This is the second document I analyze.

The second document is similar to the recruitment handbook except that it is not bound and its audience is unclear. The document reads as if it was written as a report documenting the history of the Caribbean recruitment initiative (CRI) as well as research data and facts and statistics about New York City, teachers and students of Caribbean descent and the details of the job – salary, orientation etc. For example, in the first paragraph of the introduction the authors say, “Though the Caribbean Recruitment Initiative (CRI) was a pilot program in 2001 it became not only the boards but also America’s most prolific international teacher recruitment effort” (Department of education of the City of New York, 2002, p. 3). This quote is an articulation of the ways in which this initiative was conceived of and documented by the department of education. The program was more successful than any of them had imagined. The program had yielded not only the highest results in New York state but in the country. So, in the second year when this report was written, it was written as a document detailing the positive aspects of the program.

The document has a biographical data sheet about the coordinator, Robert Antoine, and data about the types of schools and school districts where teachers were asked to work. Explicitly it states that New York State is interested in “meeting the needs of all students” (p. 5). The report also outlines that in the next decade, New York City will need over two million teachers to staff its schools. It cites the reasons as an inability to attract native born teachers to certain school districts and a shortage of certain subject area teachers. (see appendix A). These details are fascinating given what we know today, more than a decade later, that the program only lasted

three years. The CRI was dismantled a year later in 2003 so it begs the question, how have New York City school districts filled the teacher shortage given that their recruitment efforts from other countries was less aggressive?

The purpose of the report, according to its architects who are all the same as the architects of the booklet in addition to Robert Antoine as coordinator, was to do five things: 1) place the evolution of the initiative in focus, 2) highlight the major components of the initiative, 3) serve as a paradigm for efforts of similar focus 4) serve as a document of reference for discussion and 5) serve as flexible documents for efficient dissemination. Because of the different types of data included (listed above) - and statistics about students in the district from the English-speaking Caribbean, the document is unclear about who the audience is and what the focus is. I am certain that Antoine created the document to make himself and his efforts visible for the recruitment efforts of the CRI. For him, it was not about self-aggrandizement but it was about documenting a history he knew would be erased if not documented in the way he documented it. This act is an act of agency and political foresight.

What is clear, is that the document unofficially is in response to the issues that had come about as a result of the recruitment of the first cohort of teachers. It is written almost defensively. The most telling feature of the defensiveness is on page 31 of the 32-page document which describes the vision for CRI, and in which Robert Antoine lays claim to being responsible for naming the program and executing all the major parts of the program, despite the difficulty of the task. Antoine also makes clear in the document that the office of recruitment was created after the CRI. This is an important detail that highlights the importance of the CRI to the board of education and Antoine's agency in documenting what he knew would become erased history.

The center for recruitment and professional development was founded after recruitment efforts in Austria, Canada, Italy, Spain and the Caribbean began. In 2002, the department of education added Ireland, Panama, Guyana, Grenada, and the Dominican Republic (see Appendix A). The Caribbean recruitment initiative was the project that yielded the most number of recruits for the board of education's recruitment process. I want to be clear here, that this is not coincidental. That Black and brown teachers from the global south were imported in droves was not coincidental or a surprise. In the report, the language is thinly disguised to suggest that administrators were surprised by this response to the recruitment. When I met with the recruiter, Mr. Antoine, he indicated that he did not realize that teachers would not be able to obtain an H-1B work visa because of the quick turn-around of the recruitment efforts. He told me that they entered the Caribbean in May and expected teachers to be on-boarded in August. If the recruiters worked as much as they say they did gathering information and building relationships, then shouldn't they have known that obtaining an H-1B work visa would be impossible in the time frame they had? Given the clear guidelines for obtaining an H-1B visa and the lottery process that is an integral part of that process, recruiters should have known how involved the process would be. Is it that they did not care?

In the report, they indicate that a J-1 visa was used because it is an exchange visa that usually comes with a two-year residency requirement and a two-year work restriction. In contrast to the booklet which was created for all international recruits, an H1B is the only visa type discussed. This is not coincidental because it was easier to change the rules for teachers from the Caribbean knowing they, nor their governments, would protest and that it did not matter. So, the teachers were told, they could only work for two years in the United States and

had to return home for a minimum of two years, restrictions that were not leveraged on Austrian, Spanish, Canadian, and Italian teacher recruits.

In fact, the recruitment booklet asks for a commitment from teachers to serve for five years in New York City public schools. This observation is important because one must ask why European and Canadian teachers did not respond to the recruiters like Caribbean teachers did and why the board of education selected the most restrictive visas for these teachers? When I asked Mr. Antoine, he said that the visa types were the best they could do in the time they had. This indicates that on the surface they were unprepared to accept teachers and at deeper levels that although they knew they needed two million teachers over a ten-year period, that the access to Caribbean teachers was unlimited and easily obtained so any exploitation would go unchallenged.

Antoine also said that Canadian, Austrian, Spanish and Italian teachers had protections from their governments that prevented mass imports of teachers. In chapter 5, I highlight that teachers in the Caribbean were sent by their governments who thought the economic gain was more important than the knowledge gaps created. He also said that these governments sometimes had offices in the board of education (in the case of Spain) to regulate how their citizens were being treated by the DOE. So, although the recruiters established relationships with the Caribbean governments, teachers still did not have very many protections from their governments. Below are two diagrams that describes the numbers of teachers recruited by country.

The *Caribbean Recruitment Initiative (CRI)* was a pilot program in 2001. Over the last three years, it became not only the Department's but also America's most prolific **International Teacher Recruitment** effort. The results of the Caribbean recruitment efforts are recorded in attached table.

- Recruited from Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, Guyana, Grenada, Panama and the Dominican Republic.
- 550 Certified Teachers hired in 2001-This number represented 73% of all International Teachers recruited by the *Center for Recruitment and Professional Development (CRPD)*.
- 187 certified teachers recruited in 2002-50% of CRPD international total
- 394 certified teachers recruited in 2003 -52% of **CRPD's** International total

Caribbean Recruitment attracted quality candidates to staff our classroom thereby achieving its primary goals. Unique pedagogical, social, political, and cultural issues remain as challenges to all international cohorts

- visa adjustment, family unification, housing, certification and retention issues
- each international cohort have advocates to intercede on their behalf
- The Spaniards have an office within the Center for Recruitment, at 65 Court Street,
- Austrians have an organization and City College

The Caribbean recruits, however, do not have anyone to intercede on their behalf since those who planned and spearheaded the Caribbean recruitment program are no longer a part of the restructured recruitment program.

There should be a position for Antoine within Central, or the Regions, that will allow him to serve the Department and the Internationals, especially the Caribbean cohort.

2001-2003 Total International Recruits from Caribbean

| | GUYANA | JAMAICA | TRINIDAD | BARBADOS | PANAMA | DOM REP | OTHER | CRI TOTAL | CRPD TOTAL |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| 2001-2002 | 7 | 375 | 107 | 55 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 550 | 750 |
| 2002-2003 | 90 | 43 | 15 | 1 | 8 | 14 | 16 | 187 | 370 |
| 2003-2004 | 120 | 162 | 43 | 3 | 12 | 15 | 39 | 394 | 762 |
| TOTAL | 217 | 580 | 155 | 59 | 20 | 29 | 61 | 1131 | 1882 |

Figure 1 Total recruits from the Caribbean 2001-2003

INTERNATIONAL RECRUITS

| <u>DISTRICTS</u> | <u>TOTAL</u> | <u>AUSTRIA</u> | <u>BARBADOS</u> | <u>CANADA</u> | <u>ITALY</u> | <u>JAMAICA</u> | <u>PUERTO RICO</u> | <u>SPAIN</u> | <u>TRINIDAD</u> | <u>UNLISTE</u> |
|------------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|--------------------|--------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 1 | 3 | 1 | x | x | x | x | x | 1 | 1 | x |
| 4 | 17 | x | x | x | x | 15 | x | x | 2 | x |
| 5 | 22 | 3 | x | x | x | 17 | x | x | 2 | x |
| 6 | 12 | x | x | x | x | x | 12 | x | x | x |
| 7 | 15 | x | x | x | x | 9 | x | 4 | 2 | x |
| 8 | 3 | x | x | x | x | 2 | x | x | 1 | x |
| 9 | 11 | x | x | 7 | x | 4 | x | x | x | x |
| 10 | 22 | x | x | x | 2 | 11 | 7 | x | 1 | x |
| 11 | 40 | x | 1 | x | x | 40 | x | x | x | x |
| 12 | 23 | x | x | x | x | 20 | x | x | 3 | 1 |
| 13 | 4 | x | x | 1 | x | 3 | x | x | x | x |
| 14 | 10 | x | x | x | x | 7 | x | x | 2 | x |
| 16 | 6 | x | x | x | x | 5 | x | x | 1 | x |
| 17 | 98 | x | 16 | 2 | x | 45 | x | x | 35 | x |
| 18 | 65 | x | 22 | x | x | 17 | x | x | 26 | x |
| 19 | 17 | 1 | x | 6 | x | 6 | x | x | 4 | x |
| 23 | 36 | x | x | 3 | x | 27 | x | x | x | 6 |
| 27 | 27 | x | 1 | 1 | x | 23 | x | x | 2 | x |
| 28 | 3 | x | x | x | x | 3 | x | x | x | x |
| 29 | 13 | x | x | x | x | 13 | x | x | x | x |
| 30 | 1 | x | x | 1 | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| 32 | 32 | x | 2 | x | x | 21 | 7 | x | 2 | x |
| 71 | 35 | 16 | x | 16 | x | 3 | x | x | 1 | x |
| 72 | 25 | 3 | 1 | 11 | x | 7 | 2 | x | 1 | x |
| 73 | 42 | 12 | 2 | 9 | x | 10 | x | x | 9 | x |
| 74 | 52 | 5 | 5 | 12 | 12 | 16 | x | x | 2 | x |
| 76 | 13 | 6 | 1 | 1 | x | 4 | x | x | 1 | x |
| 77 | 9 | 2 | x | 1 | x | 5 | 1 | x | x | x |
| 79 | 1 | x | x | x | x | x | x | 1 | x | x |
| 85 | 43 | 1 | 3 | 13 | 1 | 22 | x | x | 3 | x |
| Unassigned | 37 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 3 | 20 | x | x | 6 | x |
| TOTAL | 737 | 52 | 55 | 89 | 18 | 375 | 29 | 6 | 107 | 7 |

year - 2001

Figure 2 Total recruits from all countries from which the DOE recruited - 2001

The numbers from Jamaica in particular are staggering and telling. The numbers from the European countries and Canada were much smaller. When I think about the diplomatic relations between these countries and the US, it seems that what is telling about the numbers is the story they tell about who is valued for the type of labor they produce and who is not. With Austria, Spain, Italy, and Canada being much larger countries than any of the Caribbean countries, it is fascinating that they sent so few teachers in comparison to the number of teachers sent by the Caribbean governments. Later in this chapter, there will be documents from the home governments and newspaper articles about how others in the home countries were responding to the large numbers of teachers being imported to the U.S. like cargo goods.

One of the rationales used for securing large numbers of teachers from Caribbean islands in this document is that large numbers of students were moving into the school districts from the Caribbean⁴. Although not explicitly stated, the assumption was that these districts would be a natural fit for Caribbean teachers. It is reported in the New York City independent budget office (IBO) (2015) report that 57,035 students were born in the Caribbean and that Jamaica was fourth, behind China, Bangladesh and the Dominican Republic for number of students born outside of the U.S. There was little thought given to why this may actually not be a great fit for Caribbean teachers who had very different cultural experiences and expectations and that in fact Caribbean teachers would not be able to relate to these students. One of the teachers says:

Mrs. P: Okay, the first thing I would say that was different is the mannerism of the students. For example, in Jamaica when we enter a classroom we say, "Good morning," students stand and rise and they say, "Good morning." Teachers say, "Please be seated," everybody sit

⁴Statistical data about students in NYC from the New York City independent budget office: <http://www.ibo.nyc.ny.us/iboreports/new-york-city-public-school-indicators-demographics-resources-outcomes-october-2015.pdf>

down and remain quiet until the teacher give them the directive. Here, when you walk into a classroom no students say anything to you, you try to say good morning, nobody is listening, nobody is doing anything, you're trying to talk to give them directives and nobody is listening. That piece for the first couple of months was really a culture shock. I had seen it on TV but I thought it was just a movie I didn't know it was real. That was the hardest part of me trying to get the kids to behave a certain way as I had expected in Jamaica.

The second thing, I'm coming from a system where students wear uniforms and then here the student didn't wear uniform, they wear all manner of things and it's like to see some things that they wear in school that would be something that you're going like a party, that part of it was hard. The third point I would say, teachers weren't empowered, were not as empowered as in Jamaica, where you can make a decision at the class level with a student. You're not able to do that, you have to go through the hierarchy, so you have to call a dean, you have to call a supervisor, to intervene with disciplinary issues, while in Jamaica I could make my decision right there whether students is going to get detention or a student will get a demerit. The discipline issues were dealt with at the classroom level and here it was not.

Above, the teacher discloses that she was experiencing culture shock and that she thought that specific U.S. student behavior was not real and only existed in fictional shows on television. The recruiters in this booklet and the report, had not considered that the context from which Caribbean teachers came and the context from which Caribbean identified students lived, would create differences in how they experience each other. They had not given enough thought to the specificity of differences in both cultures.

Many teachers thought student behaviors were disrespectful in the beginning and only after a period of adjustment, did they come to understand these behaviors as culturally different – not bad, just different. But why would they understand this differently when very little or no effort had been made to help teachers understand the culture they had just entered? One of the teachers went so far as to say that students were not Caribbean and that they were American. She meant that although students had Caribbean parents and perhaps were born in the Caribbean that

culturally they had adapted U.S. norms and standards. So, the attempts by recruiters to place teachers in districts where they would be culturally similar was reductive and thoughtless.

Research has shown that culturally similar teachers can be an effective strategy to empower student learning (Irvine & Hall, 1990; Irvine, 2003). These teachers, the research argues can provide culturally relevant pedagogy (Gay, 2000; and Villejas & Lucas, 2002). In particular, Black teachers are especially missing in educational settings and many researchers have advocated for their presence in schools to be able to provide students with role models who look like them and to provide pedagogy that is distinct to them (e.g., Cook, 2013; Kornfeld, 1999; McGee, 2014; Meacham, 2000; Petchauer, 2014; Zitlow & DeCoker, 1994).

Despite this research, the department of education failed in its attempt to recruit teachers from the Caribbean who were similar to the students they would serve because they did not provide structures that supported teacher success. For example, although teachers were trained on the curriculum they would use, told what and how they would be paid etc. There was no information given to them about the types of students with whom they would work. They were also not given mentors or experienced American teachers with whom to begin the transition.

Finally, they were not instructed on the differences in culture they would experience with the students for whom they were responsible. To assume that simply because you hail from the same place is enough to create a great working relationship is to woefully misunderstand what the literature has been calling for and to enact a neoliberal multicultural gaze. The neoliberal multicultural gaze is such that efforts to diversify institutions such as the department of education have become commodified and make possible the recruitment of Black and Brown bodies from the Caribbean. Atasay (2015), contends, "the discourse of neoliberal multiculturalism dictates a commercial and competitive sense of social justice which also further facilitates the repression of

political difference—particularly for populations that do not identify with neoliberal educational reforms—while administering mechanisms of social control through neoliberal processes of subjectification" (p. 171). In other words, the department of education's attempt to diversify a multicultural and culturally similar workforce, through its employment of Caribbean teachers employed a neoliberal, multicultural gage.

Letters to the Consulate and Government Agencies

It begs the question therefore, what did the Caribbean countries of origin and the consulates in the U.S. think about the recruiting efforts of the board of education? Through letters and consulate documents we can draw conclusions that the state (both the U.S. and the Caribbean states) were complicit in the import of teachers. When I met with Mr. Antoine, he told me that Maxine Henry-Wilson, lecturer at the University of the West Indies and a government official in Jamaica and Council woman Una Clarke serving in the Brooklyn district and of Jamaican descent, were instrumental in helping to craft the Caribbean Recruitment Initiative. Without their diplomatic relationships, access may have been even more difficult for the recruiters. In one instance, Antoine shares that he had to write a letter (appendix B) because the Jamaican government in particular was "being difficult" in providing access. By difficult, Antoine explained that the Jamaican government was requiring that recruiters have work permits to come into the country to recruit. Antoine and his team saw this as a naissance. Access to and open borders for countries in the global south are a key feature in the neoliberal economy. Countries in the global north, like the U.S.A., assume those countries' borders will always be open to them while of course they in turn, dramatically restrict access to their borders to people in the global south.

The letter, written to the permanent secretary, the minister of labour and social security asks for the requirements of obtaining a work permit to recruit in Jamaica. The letter is written

by Joyce Coppin, supervising superintendent, and claims in the letter that the University of the West Indies (UWI) has invited them and made accommodations for them. The recruitment efforts they say, will take place at the University by 11 Americans. I find it disturbing and fascinating that the recruiters leveraged UWI as a space that was aiding the recruiters. The literature is clear that Universities have become more neoliberal in their approach to education so I wonder what UWI would gain from this alliance? I also wonder who at UWI was helping? UWI is a large organization so why not name their sponsor (a particular academic unit or a social unit) or was it that they had no sponsor? This is the first time that we have any inkling that the Caribbean countries did not have open borders. Although there was minor restriction, it is important to note that much resistance was not leveraged at recruiters from the Caribbean governments as described in this chapter. This particular letter documents a rare occurrence for recruiters who experienced slight push back and questions about their efforts. It is also clear that the recruiters themselves expected open borders. It is not clear if recruiters went to Italy, Spain, Austria or Canada as they recruited, but I would imagine that in those countries they did not expect open borders.

The letter from the Haitian consulate (Appendix B), although not one of the countries from which my participants hail, is a great example of the Caribbean State's attempt to protect its borders by asking questions and raising concerns. The letter reads as an invite to Mr. Antoine because "During our last meeting held on Wednesday, September 26, 2001 some general issues have been raised about Caribbean teachers recruited in the United States and we, would greatly appreciate if you could provide us a brief update on this matter." The letter is signed by Marie Therese Guilloteau, who is the Consul General of Haiti. This letter documents that Caribbean people were concerned about what was happening in their countries and saw this recruitment as

dangerous. The letter also indicates that Antoine had become well known as the person to contact about Caribbean teachers. Although the recruiters jumped in and seemed to have unlimited access to teachers, the sentiment of consulates and the general public (as seen through newspaper articles later in this chapter) was one of concern for the welfare of teachers.

These documents are telling of a neoliberal assumption that countries in the global north have carte blanche access to people in the global south. The ways in which recruiters accessed the Caribbean states was an indication that there was an expectation that people from the Caribbean would simply be grateful for an opportunity to work in the United States. They also assumed that whatever laws and policies were in place in these Caribbean nations were not applicable to them. These documents also corroborate how the women perceived of the program. Many of them described the program as desperate and taking anyone even teachers who were not subject area experts (as discussed above) for the subjects for which the board needed. So, although recruiters on the surface seemed to do due diligence to secure good working relationships with the communities in which they recruited, their efforts were clearly only to acquire the cheap labor they assumed they would be acquiring in the Caribbean nations.

Newspaper Articles: How do people feel in Caribbean Nations?

Newspaper articles document the popular sentiment about the recruiting and exit of teachers from Caribbean countries through reporters and through interviews with locals. In this section, I focus on the newspaper articles and stories that were written about teachers within and outside of the Caribbean (See Appendix C). They demonstrate that teachers are an important part of the social fabric of these Caribbean nations and that their departure en masse created discomfort and discourse about the brain drain people thought was happening.

The first article is titled “NY wants more J’can teachers. Recruiters returning to island next week” It was written in the Jamaica Observer, one of the leading Jamaican newspapers, on

January 7, 2002. The author opens the article by saying “Recruiters for the New York City Board of Education, who last year poached 350 teachers from Jamaica, are returning to the island in a week’s time to attempt to lure more Jamaican teachers to the American city” The language used, “poached” and “lured” is animalistic and betrays certain knowledge or insight into the inhumane ways in which the process of recruitment and employment unfolded for teachers. These documents do not make explicit what the authors intentions are but words like “poached” and “lure” suggest that teachers were being tricked into something illegal and stripped of their dignity and humanity. Words such as “excellent” to describe benefits packages are in quotes and indicate skepticism in regard to the packages being offered.

The audience for this article is the Jamaican people and the article is intended to be informational. It lists details about where the recruitment will take place and what the recruiters have indicated they are looking for. In contrast to what the teachers participating in my dissertation tell me, the author repeats that jobs were being offered in specific areas – the sciences, math and special education. The teachers I spoke to were clear that those particular skills and content area expertise were secondary if at all in focus as they were recruited. So, although the article is short and is intended to inform, the choice of words and descriptors belie a process that was dehumanizing and that clearly was received by the Jamaican people as a gimmick. It is important to remember that Jamaica also sent the highest numbers of teachers. So it stood to lose the most in regard to knowledge and the social capital that teachers provided.

Of special interest in this article is a short quote from Paul Adams who was the president of the Jamaica Teachers Association (JTA). He said, “we want to make sure that our teachers are not short changed regarding their original terms and conditions of employment, because last year a lot of things which were promised by the board never happened.” This quote is of interest for

two reasons. The first is that it relays a sentiment that teachers who had migrated were unfairly treated. These sentiments likely were relayed by teachers to people back in Jamaica and complicates the issue of why other teachers would choose to migrate given what they had heard as horror stories. The second interesting point is that the JTA president was not outraged that recruiters were coming to take teachers, but he was concerned that they were being treated unfairly. This is telling of the sociopolitical climate in Jamaica. It indicates that teachers are not seen as problematic for going abroad en masse, but instead are encouraged to do so.

In the second article, (appendix C), for which this chapter is named, the headline reads “Newest Imports: Teachers.” This is a powerful headline. Although headlines are meant to grab one’s attention, I think the choice of words here and the discourse it creates around the teacher recruitment process are important components of a neoliberal capitalist agenda. It again demonstrates that Jamaicans understand that this process was indeed treating teachers as if they were import goods instead of as skilled workers being recruited for their knowledges and skills. A neoliberal and capitalist agenda and recruitment strategy, renders workers as goods and exploitable. The discursive strategy being used by the columnist here makes clear that the citizens who were being tricked, actually see the trick. This is an interesting moment because it begs the question, why would people still participate in a program that they know or have a sense is exploitative? The answer speaks to the knowledges, agencies and resistances that participants brought with them and as discussed in chapters 5 and 6, the multiplicity of reasons teachers decided to be recruited. The teachers were not desperate so why would they agree to be imported?

The article tells us that “Many were eager to teach in a new environment, broaden their skills and earn more than the \$400 to \$600 [USD] a month most teachers earn in Jamaica based

on their experience. In New York, they will be paid about \$32,000 to \$44, 000 [a month].”

Capital and the ability to earn in U.S. dollars were motivators for many teachers. I will demonstrate in chapters five and six that they were not the only motivators and that even those motivated by money, had complicated reasons why they chose to migrate on this program. The agency with which teachers acted to gain access into an imperfect work environment is not only impressive but telling of the resilient spirit of Jamaicans and Caribbean people. Given the scathing reports about the program and the general rhetoric that made clear that people were aware the recruitment was not a fairy tale. Teachers knew that the conditions under which they were being hired would be difficult and chose despite this, to sign up.

The next two newspaper articles were written in the United States by Afro-diasporic newspapers. The first newspaper is The New York Amsterdam News, the oldest Black newspaper in the country that offers a Black perspective in local, national and international news for the Black community. The audience has a large reach. The articles author, Vinette K. Pryce is also known as the Caribbean Insider. The name of the article is “School’s in for Caribbean teachers.” The article was written for the April 26-May 2, 2001 issue. In it, the author, who targets a Caribbean audience in the U.S., reports that the U.S. is having trouble filling a 12, 000 person void and intended to “lure” qualified teachers to the profession. That word, “lure”, again connotes a predatory recruitment process of which reporters and Caribbean citizens alike were aware.

The article quotes Antoine, and he says that the Caribbean initiative is a part of a three prong approach to fill the gaps and that Caribbean teachers are not the only targets of recruitment efforts. The article quotes the Board of Education as saying “successful candidates will benefit by getting valuable work experience in a tough training environment.” The article goes on to say

that teachers will receive visas through Brooklyn College, grants for \$3,400 and \$31,900 salary benefits for those with bachelor's degrees. Master's degree recipients will be eligible for more competitive salaries. This is the first time in all my interviews that I am made aware that Brooklyn College sponsored teachers. In my conversations with Antoine, he did say that there was a relationship that he had developed with someone from Brooklyn College. Brooklyn College he shared, would allow teachers to take courses as part of their professional development and to earn master's degrees through the college, if the teachers desired. A university is again being used as a transactional credentialing space as described by Olssen and Peters (2005).

The second newspaper is Caribbean Life and the name of the article is "Caribbean teacher recruitment for NYC schools a big success" The author is Nelson A. King and the article is written on May 8, 2001. In the article, the author describes the 11-member team that made the trip to Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago. Among the delegation were superintendents in the professional development office, superintendents at the school level, principals and district supervisors. Most of the school level officials came from Brooklyn. Antoine says of the teachers that "they were the cream of the crop" with average years of experience amounting to 20. He said that the recruiters expected to interview 50 Caribbean teachers but were surprised when about 1,000 showed up in both islands altogether. The group was on its way to Jamaica next. No potential teachers are interviewed in these newspaper articles which is another silencing mechanism of a neoliberal regime. Teachers were not able to speak for themselves and were seen as the docile, compliant workers, much akin to factory workers in other areas of the global south.

In another article written in Trinidad for the Trinidad and Tobago audience, the title of the piece is "Brain Drain, No Worry, Panday Say" I cannot locate an author or a date for the

article. The question being raised is about a brain drain in Trinidad and Tobago. The author discloses that the Trinidad and Tobagonian prime minister, Basedo Panday, is not worried about a potential brain drain because retirees are returning to take up contract jobs. These retirees, according to the prime minister, will work in the schools. This article in particular is fascinating as it highlights the government's inability or unwillingness to protect its citizens or to take a stand against a mass recruitment of its citizens. To say that retirees returning from the U.S. and Canada will work in schools, is an insult to the skills attained by teachers and an assumption at minimum that retirees are interested in working in the schools. It's as if teaching and being a nurse which are professions that require high skill can be replaced by anyone regardless of skill, training or desire. It also points to a larger narrative that knowledges are interchangeable, transactional and for sale. How does being a retiree (unless you were a teacher) prepare you to teach? The larger narrative in Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica and other sending Caribbean countries is that the knowledge gap being created by these vacancies is unimportant. Exporting talent will likely increase remittances in these countries and that message is clear about financial priorities being more important to governments than knowledge priorities. The bottom line is that, the capitalist agenda is much more important than the knowledges and skills lost through the teacher recruitment initiative.

Also in the Trinidad and Tobago article, the other advertisements that accompany the article about brain drain in Trinidad and Tobago, are important for analysis. One of them describes an invitation to a meeting about carnival for street vendors. This ad sells Trinidad and Tobago as the party capital of the Caribbean. No one in the Anglo-Caribbean does carnival quite like Trinidad and so this advertisement is a reminder that if you go abroad, come back for

Carnival! Trinidad and Tobago is reduced to its tourism of which carnival is a major attraction and places it as a commodity to be bought.

The more interesting of the two ads is the Western union advertisement which has in it two children and the slogan, “Trust western union when you send money back home. Because second best won’t do.” This ad is important because it is a reminder that remittances are an important part of the Caribbean economy. Juxtaposed next to a narrative of brain drain, I read here that it is ok if there is a brain drain in the Caribbean as long as we engage in sending money and goods back to our countries. The children in the photo are a sad reminder of a future that may be less than certain.

Activist Organization - The Black Institute

The mission of The Black Institute (BI) is to shape intellectual discourse and dialogue and impact public policy uniquely from a Black perspective (a perspective which includes all people of color in the United States and throughout the Diaspora). I include this website for analysis because it provides insight into the activists and organizers who recognized that the exploitation of Caribbean teachers’ labor was not only wrong but that it adversely affected many communities. The advocacy also highlights the fact that teachers were able to get support from outside interest groups who recognized the predatory recruiting practices and labor conditions as connected to larger patterns of neoliberal capital accumulation and exploitation.

The website indicates that the Black Institute will translate the “think” in think-tank into “action” through a head, heart and feet strategy: the head being research, data gathering, polling and academic partnerships; the heart being civic education, training and development; and the feet being on the ground organizing and issue based campaigns. The Black Institute will change

the discourse of public debate, train and educate new leadership and develop initiatives to build wealth, build power and deliver justice to Black people.⁵

The website for the BI is <http://www.theblackinstitute.org>. On the home page, they have several links. They include: “Home”, “Who we are”, “Areas of Focus”, “Get Informed” and “Get Involved”. I am most interested in their areas of focus link because under that link is where they discuss immigration reform and more specifically where they dedicate a page to the “Broken Promises Campaign”. The Broken Promises Campaign is described here:

Over a decade ago, the New York City Board of Education recruited a group of experienced teachers largely from Caribbean nations. These skilled professionals were enticed to come to the United States with the clear understanding of a number of commitments. In fact, it was the promises of New York State teacher certification, Master’s degrees, housing assistance and ultimately, a pathway to permanent United States residency for themselves and their families, which prompted them to uproot themselves and their families to teach in our public schools. These teachers have remained in our school system, teaching in license areas where there were teacher shortages, often in low-income, low-performing schools. From the moment these teachers stepped on our shores their immigrant status was set against a ticking clock and entwined in a complex bureaucratic web⁶

The broken promises report is a comprehensive document written by the Black Institute on behalf of the Association of International Educators (AIE). The Association of International Educators (AIE) launched a campaign with The Black Institute to advocate on behalf of Caribbean teachers. AIE is composed of international teachers recruited from countries

⁵ http://www.theblackinstitute.org/mission_statement.

⁶ http://www.theblackinstitute.org/broken_promises_campaign

throughout the Caribbean to work in New York City's Public Schools. The campaign's goal is to call attention to the issues concerning international teachers, and impact the public policies that dictate their fate. Some of the issues that organizers cite are the following; broken promises around green card processing and paper work, a general lack of support by the board of education and a sense that Caribbean teachers were being targeted by principals for reasons unknown to them. The Black Institute and the Association of International Educators acknowledged the following people and organizations for their contributions to the report: Brian Figeroux, Hon. Major Owens, Hon. N. Nick Perry, Hyacinth Spence, The Advance Group, The American Federation of Teachers (AFT), Churches United to Save and Heal (CUSH), and The United Federation of Teachers (UFT)"⁷ The number of groups who provided data to the report that exposed the many problems that teachers face is impressive but also telling that what was at stake was larger than a group of Caribbean teachers. It also visiblizes the agency with which teachers acted to bring their issues to organizations and groups that could provide institutional support.

The purpose of the text is to make demands of lawmakers for the rights of International teachers of Caribbean descent. It also provides a historical frame for readers unfamiliar with international teacher recruitment, the growth patterns over a number of years and the discrepancies that exist in benefits and compensation for international teachers. Other purposes that the text serves are: a) it provides testimonials from Caribbean teachers about the disparities in treatment they have received over the years and b) it highlights the broken promises with which they have had to live and work through.

⁷<http://nationbuilder.s3.amazonaws.com/theblackinstitute/pages/66/attachments/original/brokenpromises.pdf?1308529431>

The text supports what it assumes to exist through data collection in the form of census documents, federal reports, personal narratives, newspaper clippings of tragedies in the Caribbean community, and supporting legal documents indicating changes that have since taken place or recommendations for changes to take place.

There are several meanings embedded in the text. The meaning that stands out most is the community that has been formed in an effort to address the needs of Caribbean international teachers. It is clear from reading the document that the thoroughness with which it has been written, and the extent of the research done, that Caribbean international teachers found a community and advocates who understand immigration and legal issues and who have access to the resources they need to provide help. The meanings represent particular social, historical and organizational contexts because as an advocacy and educational group, the Black Institute is in a position to organize the teachers while challenging the social and political structures that constitute immigration law and the department of education.

Another of the meanings embedded in the text is the institute's mission to make visible Black immigrants who have been rendered invisible in public discourse as it relates to issues of immigration and their invisibility based on their place in the department of education as international teachers with unique cultural and personal needs.

This report is connected to the data that I have collected because many of the women described some of the situations that are narrated in the text. One teacher shared that a teacher had been killed in a murder-suicide by her husband and a newspaper clipping of the incident was included as part of the report. Broader issues of race, immigrant status, being devalued and family adjustment issues are parallel themes in the data I collected and in the document analyzed.

On the issue of race, the data collected, indicates that some teachers, were not interested in discussing structural racism. It is fascinating that the BI is the place through which some of the Caribbean Immigrant women sought refuge given the mission of the BI. It begs the question who sought whom and how involved are the teachers in the process of activism? At least one of my participants, Mrs. N was very intimately connected to this organization and to organizing. Which teachers chose to become involved in this form of resistance and activism and why? These concerns are discussed in greater detail in chapter 6.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed how neoliberal recruitment tactics were used to “lure” and “poach” teachers to teach in New York City School Districts. Using handbooks from the board of education, newspaper articles, letters to and from Caribbean consulates, governments embassies, and a report generated by the Black Institute, I have demonstrated what correspondence between nation states and the U.S. board of education entailed and how Caribbean nationals and government officials received and made sense of the recruitment of teachers through the board of education.

This is an important chapter as it takes a look at the discourse that surrounded the recruitment efforts for Afro-Caribbean teachers. The chapter raises important questions about the board of education’s intentions, the intentions and reactions of local governments, the reactions of local citizens and an in-depth view of the recruitment process.

Board of education recruiters intended to provide a model for other states so what went wrong? Why did the program suddenly stop in 2003 after reports of its success? I was not able to get straight answers about why but from my research I can speculate. I believe there were several reasons why the program was abandoned, 1) Given the number of teachers the program imported, it became economically unsustainable to continue recruiting teachers. 2) Teachers were not as compliant as recruiters hoped. These (mostly) women fought for their rights, stood

up for themselves, took legal action and aired the dirty laundry of the board of education – they became a liability. The board of education had a reputation to maintain so teachers became a liability and 3) This group of teachers from the global south were always disposable. I do not think the program was ever meant to be sustainable. The recruitment document from the board of education (see appendix A), says that teachers were recruited on J-1 visas which has a two-year residency requirement. Yet, in my conversations with Robert Antoine, they knew H-1B visas were a better option for teachers but the time frame they were working with did not support the H-1B visa process. So, they got more teachers than they expected but the process was never designed to support the unexpected and talented teachers from the Caribbean. The large numbers in which they came made this even more complicated.

Far fewer teachers were recruited from Spain, Italy, Canada and Austria. These mostly white nations had found ways to protect their teachers. Not surprising however, is that their diplomatic and trade relationships with the United States were also different. They were also wealthier nations. All of these reasons were instrumental in creating a chaotic and almost slave-like recruitment of Afro-diasporic people in large quantities from the Caribbean. This chapter is a story about how countries in the global south are used by the U.S. but treated like cheap and disposable partners in the process of acquiring skilled labor in the United States.

Chapter 5 - We had to step outside of the rules and do the work! The neoliberal project and Afro-Caribbean teachers' enlivened subjectivities

“Workers are hired on contract, and in the neoliberal scheme of things, short term contracts are preferred in order to maximize flexibility” pg. 167-168.

David Harvey, 2005

This quote is very telling of the lived realities of Afro-Caribbean women teachers recruited to work in New York City school districts who were hired to teach in “failing” schools. What they saw as job opportunities and career growth were exactly what Harvey (2005) describes as short-term contracts. This chapter describes the ways in which neoliberal practices⁸ get mapped onto bodies and the consequences for those that are the subjects of the neoliberal project. The teachers thought they were respected for and hired because of their knowledge but as it turns out, they were never considered full participants in a system that wanted to use up their labor, cheaply acquired and then dispose of them. Dispossession is a feature of neoliberalism and in this chapter, I will argue that the women were disposable but not dispossessed of their sense of self.

Dispossession as a neoliberal project is usually conceived of as an issue with losing land. That is not how I intend to use the term but think it is instructive to understand the root of its meaning. Harvey (2005), summarizes very well how dispossession happens and calls neoliberal dispossession, accumulation by dispossession. He explains below what he means:

By [accumulation by dispossession] I mean the continuation and proliferation of accumulation practices which Marx had treated of as ‘primitive’ or ‘original’ during the rise of capitalism. These include the commodification and privatization of land and the forceful expulsion of peasant populations...;

⁸ Neoliberal practices and characteristics are described in chapter 4. See Olssen and Peters (2005); Davies and Bansel (2007); and Harvey (2005).

conversion of various forms of property rights (common, collective, state, etc.) into exclusive private property rights (most spectacularly represented by China); suppression of rights to the commons; commodification of labor power and the suppression of alternative (indigenous) forms of production and consumption; colonial, neocolonial, and imperial processes of appropriation of assets (including natural resources); monetization of exchange and taxation, particularly of land; the slave trade (which continues particularly in the sex industry); and usury, the national debt and, most devastating of all the use of the credit system as a radical means of accumulation by dispossession. (p. 159).

The sentiment of what Harvey explains here, is that over time people's relationship to the land have been commodified or completely taken away and controlled by the state. In his explanation, he also discusses how the credit system is a radical means of accumulation by dispossession which means that although in a neoliberal economy we have greater purchasing power, our ability to own is compromised and reduced. We are chained, he explains to a market economy that tricks us into being consumers who accumulate things unconsciously without a serious or thoughtful understanding of our place or 'usefulness' in the market economy.

Through the work I have done with teachers, I have found them to be agents of their own lives. They are free of the psychological chains of a disposable market economy which says one should feel used, abused and psychologically traumatized. This freedom is accomplished through a strong sense of self and the faith they have

in each other, cultural backgrounds/upbringing and through their various faith traditions in the Christian church. Therefore, I argue here that teachers were not dispossessed of their sense of self despite that they were seen as disposable workers.

The conditions of disposable workers have been written about extensively and in a variety of ways. Hudson (2001), describes disposable workers as contingent and non-standard. Contingent workers, he describes as those workers whose jobs have uncertain or limited duration. Non-standard refers to jobs that are not full time or salaried jobs. The Afro-Caribbean teachers with whom I worked fall into the former category of contingent worker. Their contracts were for no more than two years. Grace Chang's (2000), seminal work on disposable domestics also is a great text that situates mostly Latina women who work as nannies as the new disposable workforce. When one woman leaves, she is easily replaced with a different, similar woman who cares for children and takes care of the household. The Afro-Caribbean women in this dissertation were thought to be easily replaceable and therefore disposable. The board of education quickly learns that they were neither contingency workers given that they have been in the system between 13 and 16 years nor easily replaceable. I demonstrate through conversation how Afro-Caribbean women negotiate the perception others had of them as disposable.

The teachers maintained their sense of self and self-worth through coalitions, faith and community relationships. One of the ways in which the neoliberal project operates is that it does not make itself visible to those who are most often directly impacted by it. For example, the recruiting practices and the "sell" for jobs and opportunities are important pieces of how neoliberalism works but they are instituted to hide the true intent which is, use the worker and enrich the business.

Education is a business that imported women of color from the global south to do what American workers refused to do with promises of green cards, education and other opportunities. What the educators did not bargain for was a group of teachers who would organize and be able to accomplish the goals they had for themselves, get green cards and stay in the country and employed in school systems long term. What was supposed to be a short term project became permanent. Although the program itself was short term, running from 2001 to 2003 with only three cohorts of teachers, the teachers have been able to stay in the system long term.

Of course, along the way, there were casualties and although I do not tell the stories of the teachers who died violent deaths, were terminated from their positions with the DOE and had other hardships, it is important to acknowledge that neoliberalism kills and it often takes without giving. The three themes that I will focus on in this chapter are 1) Disposable but not dispossessed 2) Stepping outside of the rules to do the work and 3) Systems of power and collective subjectivities

Disposable but not Dispossessed

The Afro-Caribbean women teachers knew that they were being recruited in droves. They often discussed in interviews that the DOE was “giving jobs away”, or that they noticed that the principals were interested in getting rid of them so they stuck together and formed friendships and coalitions to protect each other. For example, Mrs. O says,

Kim: Why did you decide to ... come on the rci program. So what were the decisions that you made to do that?

Mrs. O: Well.... my situation is a little different than some of the others

Kim: Ok.

Mrs. O: Before I came up on this program, I already had um.... What they call it?

Mrs. H and Mrs. W: A green card

Mrs. O: Green card.

Kim: Oh ok

Mrs. O: I already had a green card. It just so happens that I was on my way up and they were giving away the jobs so I thought the best thing I could do is collect a job before I come up

This excerpt demonstrates that teachers knew that the board of education was using predatory tactics to recruit them. They were very aware that the recruitment process was haphazard and that it was not always intended to be useful to or to benefit them. Mrs. O shares above that she took a job that was being given away and Mrs. J, who is not cited below says she asked a teacher coming to New York City to take her paper work in for her. What is significant about what these teachers share is that in chapter four, the recruitment handbook had a list of documents that teachers were required to have with them when they came for the interview. To hear later that the jobs were being “given away” or that teachers solicited recruiters while they were still in their home countries, belies a broken system. Mrs. J below shares that she had been rejected before but that her persistence paid off. She says,

Mrs. J: I said, “You know what, what is to be must be,” and then about a couple of months after one of the eight teachers would ... The program started 2001, when it started 2001 I really never had an interest because of the cold as I was trying to stay away from New York and to try other programs, but then I had a cousin who told me it’s okay, I could manage it so I should come. She insisted that I come, so I learnt that ... A parent I met in Jamaica who was at my current school, he was going back to the United States so I just gave him a package and said, “Take it to the board of education. That’s how I eventually got here. They looked at my paper work and realized that, “Wow, we should have taken this person.” At the time, I told you, when I went to the interview they said they had seven vacancy because there were so many people coming from all over that heard about it off the street and they were coming, so as soon as they get someone they would just interview them and didn’t even bother to go by the list anymore. Yeah, so as I said a parent took it, a parent that I had met in Jamaica, from my current school, and they took it to the board of education. That’s how they called me.

The excerpt above describes a teacher, Mrs. J., who teaches high school English. She was not selected initially because the board of education recruiters had too many recruits and her area of expertise was not needed. Yet, she sent her materials from Jamaica with a parent to the board of education. They called her and she was hired primarily based on her credentials. It begs the question, what were they looking for in teachers? How is it possible to hire someone based primarily on credentials, without doing a formal interview, when the board did not have the capacity to acquire more teachers?

The teachers were also disposable because the DOE did not invest in their development as teachers. Although they had professional development opportunities around curriculum, their needs as social beings navigating race, culture, gender, socioeconomic status etc. were not addressed or thought of as important to their transition. The DOE was not interested in working with teachers to understand what was culturally different from the Caribbean homes and schooling systems from which teachers came. It is reasonable to say that recruiters, state and city officials were not aware of and therefore did not prepare themselves for the transitional issues teachers would face. We must acknowledge that it is precisely this lack of awareness and unwillingness to care that is neoliberal and transactional in practice.

The teachers were not desperate economically but many saw the opportunity to earn in U.S. dollars as a welcomed opportunity. In all cases except in Guyana and Jamaica, the U.S. dollar was not significantly higher than that Caribbean country's dollar. For example, the table below displays the conversions from the four countries from which my participants hailed. The disparities in the exchange rate speaks to the degree to which each of these Caribbean nations has economic autonomy. Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados have strong currencies and therefore relative to the US dollar, the exchange rate is low. Jamaica and Guyana have higher exchange

rates relative to the US dollar. Surprisingly, there were no differences I observed or was informed about based on these discrepancies in the exchange rate between how teachers interacted with each other. In fact, Jamaica sent the largest number of teachers and that was probably due to 1) Jamaica being a larger island than the others and 2) the Jamaican dollar was among the weakest in the group of countries listed in the table. So, earning in U.S. currency was attractive to Jamaican participants.

| US Dollar | Currency | Conversion |
|-----------|---------------------------|------------|
| \$1 | Barbados (BBD) | \$2 |
| \$1 | Guyana (GYD) | \$207 |
| \$1 | Jamaica (JMD) | \$127.82 |
| \$1 | Trinidad and Tobago (TTD) | \$6.79 |

Table 1 The currency exchange rate between the U.S. and four Anglophone Caribbean countries

Teaching was a prestigious profession that came with a middle class salary and middle class sensibilities in the Caribbean. Two teachers below, Mrs. O and Mrs. W describe that teachers were not desperate:

Mrs. O: So it wasn't like you desperate for job or thing like that and as I said, my family had been here for a number of years. Back um one of the things when my mother was getting older and I my sister you know? The strain was on her so I thought that that I thought it would be the right time to come because she kept um telling me about coming. First of all I was getting green card and as I said I had my green card six years before I came up here you know? I just travelling every vacation to and fro. So when I came I had been accustomed to being around here. It was like a second home to me so settling was natural. My husband he left his family back there and his mother was sick at that time. We knew she was not feeling well but we didn't know she was that sick. So before the summer vacation was out we had to go back home. And then he was at home longing for us now but he got his commitment now and I was up here with the children struggling because they were not fitting into school as you know? They were not acculturated in that sort of stuff. So I just decide to go back home so that's when we went back home but then his mother died. We decided to come up back that's when I got the job. So coming back up, my sister had already left her apartment and bought a two family house that we could be there and um we had somewhere to live.

Mrs. O describes for the reader that she already had access to the green card and came back and forth from Guyana. For her, accessing the teaching market in New York City was a practical decision given she was planning to be in the U.S. In almost all cases, teachers name family as the number one reason why they came to the U.S. They were focused on doing what was right for their families and staying focused on the reasons for being in the U.S. Therefore, despite the teachers understanding that they were seen as a temporary and disposable work force, they did not allow themselves to lose focus of their goals because of it. Mrs. W below describes a different reason why she came to the U.S. on the RCI program:

Mrs. W: I came on the program because... I don't know. I was a bit at my peak. I think I'd done enough in Jamaica and I wanted a change. That was one of my reasons. My other reason was um.. my daughters were here and I wanted to be close to them. So I said this is an opportunity I could make use of because I could take my fam, the rest of my family with me. So I said well if all of us can be together. That would be nice! So I decided to come and I came. The way I, the perception I had about teaching here was tooooooo different than when I came

Teachers describe many reasons why they traveled to the US for work and in many cases there were kinship ties that pulled them here. Mrs. O discusses her husband's mom's illness above which brought them back and forth from Guyana to the U.S. Mrs. W describes that her daughters were here for school and so she came to be closer to them. Other teachers discussed other members of their families and the reasons they had for traveling to be closer to families. There of course, were teachers who said that they saw an economic advantage to coming to the U.S. but that was not the only or the most important reason why they came. For example, Mrs. W says below,

Mrs. W: Nobody to help you!
Mrs. H: Nobody to help you
Mrs. W: And in that you may have special Ed in the mix
Mrs. O and Mrs. H: mmmhmm [nod in agreement]

Mrs. W: forty six!

Mrs. H: you did, you did

Mrs. W: Special Ed and General Ed and it's forty six and you are alone

Kim: Mmmhmmmm

Mrs. H: Because our school was not as structured as it is now.

Kim and Mrs. O: Mhhmm

Mrs. H: But, one thing that helped me here is the friendship I made. That really helped

Mrs. O: Yes we bonded together.

Mrs. H: Mhhmm mhhmm

Mrs. H: And

Kim: Was this with other international teachers?

All in chorus, Mrs. O, Mrs. W, and Mrs. H: YEEEESSSSS

Mrs. W: I don't know and I didn't even care how much money I was getting hahahahaha [laughs] because my dreams were coming true. I was able to be with my girls and I really wanted to be with them because they left home very young.

This example, indicates that although the teachers were aware of the economic gain because of the conversion of funds to U.S. currency, that was never their primary motivation for migrating. Both teachers are Jamaican so there is an implicit way in which money is referenced given that their dollar in particular was of significantly less value than the U.S. dollar. What the quotes also make clear is that teachers were disposable to the department of education by way of pay and a lack of sustainable support for them as people and as teachers. They say that they had forty-six students per teacher and included in that number were special Education students. Those numbers are difficult for any teacher regardless of skill but was especially detrimental for teachers who were also navigating cultural differences, a new curriculum and in many cases, new subject areas. Despite this, the teachers were never dispossessed of their sense of self and never lost sight of the reasons they were teaching despite the implicit and the explicit goals of the RCI program which were never to nurture the teachers' success. The women perceived quickly that their skills as experienced pedagogues were secondary to the reasons they were really brought to the U.S. to do the labor U.S. citizen

teachers refused to do. The outlier here is Mrs. J who was always clear that she saw an economic advantage to taking a teaching position in the U.S. She says,

Mrs. J: Okay, so as I said my economic goal, even when I'm at my job and they said, "Ms. J you need to be the next chapter leader," I said, "I'm going to say it again, I'm not here for your political affairs, I'm here for my economic affairs. I said I came here only for one reason, to make sure I could live a better life than what I was living in Jamaica." That was what really, really hold me here and made me do what I want to do. To be honest I consider myself very disciplined and a professional so no matter what is going on in school I never get myself caught up with the negativity. I know what my professional duties are, like for example the first 10 years I never absent from school. I'm here 13 years I've never been late, some pattern from Jamaica. Whatever I had from Jamaica I brought it here and I maintain the same level of professionalism. I think because I have that as my mindset, that I'm a professional, this is what my country expects from me, this is the training I got, I try to maintain my professional duties at the highest level.

She refused political affiliation and the possibility of gaining additional responsibility

because she was focused on her goals which were driven by economic gain. It is not a coincidence that Mrs. J is Jamaican although we cannot only assume that her desire for economic gain was her only reason for coming to the U.S. In a different interview, this same teacher told me about courses she was taking towards becoming a principal, not because she wanted to be a principal but because she wanted to understand how administrators thought and what their training was. This move was political and smart. It demonstrates the complexities, resistances and agency with which these women defied the situation in which they had been placed. They enacted their agency in multiple ways and her desire to learn about administrative responsibility to have a better sense of her own job was powerful.

The state of New York, using the department of education as a conduit, embraced the idea of these women from Afro-Anglo Caribbean countries, precisely

because they were diverse racially and economically and it benefited the state.

Mitchell (2003), makes the claim that,

Multiculturalism as a conceptual apparatus, it allows the state to set the terms of the 'difference debate'. These terms are highly individual: they are concerned with individual rights and preferences - the right to choose and display difference with respect to individual identity. Cultural pluralism is encouraged, but only so long as the included groups follow certain rules, and are willing to be contained within the strict parameters of liberalism, that is, to 'accept' liberalism as a fundamental philosophical starting point (see, for example, Appiah's 1994 critique of Taylor 1994). And while group difference is acceptable for 'cultural survival' (e.g. in the case of the Quebec), it is only acceptable in certain carefully circumscribed times and spaces (e.g. within the province of Quebec) (p. 391).

These teachers were necessary to a state system that wanted to be able to say that they had creatively resolved the issue with the students of color in the urban school districts that were struggling because they were different (read as Black and brown and therefore likely to relate well with Black and brown children). Because the teachers were Black, the recruiters thought the Afro- Caribbean teachers would fit into the school districts for which they were recruiting which also catered predominantly to students of color.

The state, did not in fact interrogate that simply importing Black and brown teachers would not resolve the issues with Black and brown children in “urban” districts. The department of education and by extension the state, saw themselves liberal and creative for embracing and recruiting these teachers who should at minimum be grateful for a great opportunity. The literature on disposable workers and neoliberal multiculturalism discussed in chapter 4 supports these claims. The teachers also knew and discussed that they were being used to support students who were similar to them because of race or Caribbean heritage. Mrs. J says,

Mrs. J: Okay, the first thing I would say that was different is the mannerism of the students. For example, in Jamaica when we enter a classroom we say, "Good morning," students stand and rise and they say, "Good morning." Teachers say, "Please be seated," everybody sit down and remain quiet until the teacher give them the directive. Here, when you walk into a classroom no students say anything to you, you try to say good morning, nobody is listening, nobody is doing anything, you're trying to talk to give them directives and nobody is listening. That piece for the first couple of months was really a culture shock. I had seen it on TV but I thought it was just a movie I didn't know it was real. That was the hardest part of me trying to get the kids to behave a certain way as I had expected in Jamaica.

Mrs. J describes the culture shock she felt because the students whom she was told were similar to her, were culturally very different. Their mannerisms were different and what Mrs. J took for granted as a sign of respect was not true for American students. She was shocked that students did not listen to her simply because she was the teacher with all the authority in the classroom. These differences were not taken into consideration by the board of education but they were important to the experiences teachers had. These small differences shook teachers to their core initially but later, they tell me, they worked through it. They managed to maintain their sense of self.

Stepping Outside of the Rules to Do the Work

The way in which the board of education recruited the teachers, trained them and treated them was exploitative. In chapter 4, I discuss that there were other teachers recruited from Spain and other European countries who had better protections from their home governments and who were also treated differently and better than the teachers with whom I worked. Teachers discussed that visa processing times were shorter for European teachers, and that they were brought in on visas that made transitioning to the next phase in the green card

process easier and more accessible. For Afro-Caribbean teachers all of these processes were difficult. One teacher, Mrs. M comments,

Mrs. M: Perfect, because in terms of the organization that recruited, I finally got in contact with him and he was very instrumental in doing the work and the research so that we could be paid properly. With my sort of speech, I think I still have the same speech, I was like, "What is it? This is no ..." He did whatever was necessary for us to not pay taxes because we were not supposed to pay tax on the J1 to have these salaries regulated. He was the one who found out the information about how to transition because when we were supposed to transition from J1 to H1B, they basically were saying that no, we cannot do it. That we're supposed to teach the two years and leave.

This narrative is indicative of the larger structural issues that were intended to deny teachers the ability to stay in the United States past their time of two years. The government and the board of education deliberately tried to create a temporary and disposable worker by making conditions difficult for teachers. Workers are temporary, their labor is cheap and they are disposable. However, what makes this story different and the way in which these teachers were able to display their agency is apparent when the teacher in the excerpt above discusses how she and other Afro-Caribbean teachers, built coalition and found a way to stay past their temporary assignments.

The story of surviving and thriving despite neglect by the board of education and sabotage by principals who doubled as immigration agents were subverted. Together, they knew they could beat the odds. Together, they knew they could not become dispossessed and so they organized and learned how to achieve the goals they had set for themselves. They had left all their possessions and their former lives to take jobs in the United States – they could not afford to be temporary workers. Mrs. W below demonstrates this point,

Mrs. W: Thank God for friends as my other colleague said. Thank God for good friends cause you know there were other international teachers

there and they said, don't worry we gonna take care of you. They don't have curriculum in America, they don't know what it is. We got together and we planned and you know? People who were there who were at other elementary schools that had an idea of what they should be teaching, they would send information for me because I was on the fourth grade and no other international teacher was on the fourth grade. I would even be able to catch something from them to say if they are teaching this then I should teach that tomorrow. They are just jumping all over the place adadadad adadada adadad [flails arms in the air] all over the place. There is no organization. But thank God for good friendsssss.

The agency with which these teachers managed their lives is remarkable. However, we cannot ignore their education, and their ability to migrate as social markers of class and therefore access and agility. That type of access should not be taken for granted. The government and the department of education took these teachers' education and agility for granted and learned the hard way that these particular teachers were not to be taken for granted because they were willing to fight, to build coalition and to do what was necessary to succeed.

The assumption that these teachers from the global south whose governments had not protected them would not be able to navigate a tangled and difficult to maneuver immigration system, was part of the narrative that allowed the board of education to recruit way more teachers than they could support. The teachers however, used the system and found the loopholes they needed to be able to navigate and work through a difficult system. So who was using whom? The teachers used the system to leverage for the life they wanted and to date, have been successful in acquiring the lives they desired. All of them have remained in the country and employed for at least 13 years. They all have houses (which is a marker of success for Caribbean people), acquired master's degrees, some are principals and others have taken on other kinds of leadership

The teachers knew that they had not been prepared to teach in a new culture. In many instances, the teachers discussed that they were not given lesson plans or curriculum to be able to do their jobs well. Because they were considered temporary, they were not adequately prepared culturally and epistemically to live and teach in United States. One teacher claims,

Mrs. W: The first meeting I had with the principal, I had I was taken to an interview at the hotel where we stayed and I got a job at another school. Not this one. And I went to school to meet the principal before school reopened and I said to her um I would love to see my curriculum before I leave so I know what I'll be doing. I'll be teaching fourth grade, I've never taught fourth grade before in my life so I'd like to see what the fourth grade curriculum looks like especially a cur curriculum in the United States of America so let me.. and she said, its ok! when you come you will get it and I said if school is going to reopen next week then I should know what the curriculum looks like this week so I can get my plans together. So I asked her, can I get a template of your lesson plan she said um, well you know I don't really have a template but when you come you will get one from your colleagues. And everything I asked she kept putting me off and I was thinking ... oh my god I'm not going to be happy here. However, I stayed. When I came I came to school the first Monday morning and they introduced everybody and I said to my colleague's um so what should I be teaching them? There was this white lady she said um... just talk to them about ANYTHING! ANYTHING come to your mind! You don't a plan for this week. This week we just talk. I said well I don't know these people what am I going to talk about?

Mrs. W, above, describes the neglect they experienced as they tried to do good work on behalf of their students. The excerpt above indicates that teachers were set up to fail. Mrs. H below continues,

Mrs. H: But really! We had to step outside of the rules and do the work!

Kim, Mrs. W, and Mrs. O: Yes! Yes!

Mrs. H: You know! And you have to go I think those of us who really care about the kids often go beyond the call of duty.

Mrs. O: Oh yes

Kim: Mmmmmhhmmmm

Mrs. H: And you know teachers according to the contract we should not be taking things home.

Kim: hmmm

These two teachers describe how they were unprepared to be in the classroom and that when they asked for support, they were often not given much guidance. Mrs. W in particular made deliberate attempts to understand what her work should be and was met with repeated barriers. She persisted and as Mrs. H describes, they had to “step outside of the rules as and do the work” That is a powerful quote because again it symbolizes the teachers’ agency. It also speaks to the idea that despite being blocked when they tried to do the work, teachers found ways to do the job they were hired to do. They found ways to teach children, who themselves were seen as castaways, disposable and as unimportant. This conclusion is inevitable given that these teachers were not taken seriously as pedagogues and this under-scores that teachers were brought in to baby sit instead of to do the serious business of teaching. Once again, teachers learned how to use the system to accomplish their goals as teachers. Although they knew that support did not exist for their success, they were determined to do all that was necessary to be successful and most importantly to effectively teach. Finally, Mrs. W, below describes why students were seen as disposable and cast- away. Mrs. W and Mrs. H say,

Mrs. W: When we went to the interview um sam told us they were desperate because in areas like these nobody wanted to teach in these areas anymore

Kim: And is it because its high student of color? Sorry I don’t meant to cut you off

Mrs. O: This is a high need area.

Kim: But high need based on what? Just the students not learning or is it just...

Mrs. W. and Mrs. O: Poverty

Kim: Ok

Mrs. H: and the children not achieving

Kim: Ok

Mrs. H: Because it was the same woman that suggested to me she wanted to send me to Queens and I said listen I want to work amongst Black people and so she said ask for district 17 so I kept you know, actually she said Crown Heights hahahahaha [laughs] and it turns out that our family friend lives across the road

Poverty and low student achievement were named by teachers as the reasons for students themselves being seen as disposable and castaways. The teachers themselves were seen as castaways because they came from the global south and were considered third world peoples and therefore backwards. Mrs. H below explains,

Mrs. H: I came under Ms. Sneed. And at first she seemed ok. It took her a while. Um I believe to accept us um as being pedagogues with expertise or with ability to be professionals

Kim: Do you know why? Do you have a sense of why? Mrs.

H: It was the sense that we came from the Caribbean. Kim:

Oh so you

Mrs. H: In coming from the

Caribbean Kim: Third world

Mrs. H: A developing nation and as a developing nation we do not have as much as they do. I think she had referred to I think Barbados as having dumps or something like that so um Oxley put her in her place, hahahahahahaha [ON: Laughs out loud] one time if my memory serves me right.

Culturally, teachers also struggled with mannerisms and the ways in which they were expected to deal with children. This is an important feature of the experiences of Afro-Caribbean teachers. Because it was assumed that Afro-Caribbean teachers were similar to the students they teach, they were not adequately prepared for the ways in which this teaching experience would be difficult for them. For example,

Mrs. P: Okay, the first thing I would say that was different is the mannerism of the students. For example, in Jamaica when we enter a classroom we say, "Good morning," students stand and rise and they say, "Good morning." Teachers say, "Please be seated," everybody sit down and remain quiet until the teacher give them the directive. Here, when you walk into a classroom no students say anything to you, you try to say good morning, nobody is listening, nobody is doing anything, you're trying to talk to give them directives and nobody is listening. That piece for the first couple of months was really a culture shock. I had seen it on TV but I thought it was just a movie I didn't know it was real. That was the hardest part of me trying to get the kids to behave a certain way as I had expected in Jamaica....and he said, "Okay, so all you have to do is to keep your expectation, one of the things actually do not touch any of the kids, do not say anything that they might feel like they're belittled or

demoralized and you'll be on your way." Having that information from him, things change, I use the training that I have from Jamaica, work very cautious because some of the things that I could say to a student in Jamaica I couldn't say it here.

Again, the way in which this teacher chose to cautiously navigate the rules that had not been transparent to her is important to consider in regard to teachers' agency and their ability to survive in a system that seemed to be set up for their demise. It is important to note that teachers did not just do as they were told once they became aware of the rules but that they found ways to push beyond the rules and to incorporate the knowledges they had gained in their home countries and which had served them as successful teachers to date.

Through all of their struggles, the women were most appreciative of the friendships they made and the ways in which they had built coalitions. These coalitions were instrumental for helping them to navigate a system that was not transparent to them and that sustained them through their most difficult moments with visa issues or administrative reprimand. This teacher sums it up best when she says,

Mrs. O: But I am not sorry.. I made some good friends

Mrs. W: Yes

Kim: hehehehe [laughs] Mrs. O: Good experiences

Mrs. W: We've had some good experience.

Despite the hardships they found a way to have good experiences. They relied on each other and bonded over working on classroom charts and decorum late into the night. They supported each other through deaths, illnesses, marriages, births and other life events. They fought for each other when they thought the administration was being unfair to one of their own. They displayed their agency in multiple ways and used their relationships to push through their temporary worker status. They refused to be boxed by a neoliberal agenda and together they were able to not only remain in the system for 14-16 years, but to find success in a system

that was deliberately set up to fail them. Teachers who came in 2001 have been teaching in New York City school districts for 16 years and teachers who came in 2003 have been teaching in New York City school districts for 14 years.

Systems of Power and Collective Subjectivities

The Afro-Caribbean women teachers knew that they were being exploited in particular ways. They shared stories of the size of the classrooms they were initially given, the range of students within these classrooms and the lack of support they had in their classrooms. They were not given resource room teachers even when by the board of education standards, they should have them. They were not allowed teaching aids. They had to manage large classrooms alone. The exploitation was not even thinly concealed. It was blatant. The teachers below describe,

Mrs. W: Nobody to help you!

Mrs. H: Nobody to help you

Mrs. W: And in that you may have special Ed in the mix

Mrs. O and Mrs. H: mmmhmmm [nod in agreement]

Mrs W: forty six!

Mrs. H: you did, you did

Mrs. W: Special Ed and General Ed and it's forty six and you are alone

Kim: Mmmhhmmmm

Mrs. H: Because our school was not as structured as it is now.

Mrs. W: You are blamed for everything. You can't even say if a child misbehaved, you have to weigh your words and you can't say it on the child. You can't look at the child in any way. Because. Nooooo you have to be careful how you look because if you look on the child and the child feels like you gave the child a bad look, then they say you are discriminating against the child and you are putting them down. So...

Kim: Mmmhhmmmm

Mrs. H: The part where I want to challenge really is the part where you go into the wealthier neighborhoods and some of us have and when we look on the things that they ask us to do in the inner cities or maybe I should say the so called high needs area

Kim: Mhhmmmm

Mrs. H: It is apples and oranges. Because you don't see all this fancy bulletin boards and their children are succeeding!

The teachers describe that they had 46 students including special education students in one classroom during their first few years of teaching in the United States. They are exasperated as they share with me the conditions under which they had to work. When we think of exploitation sometimes we are quick to point to examples in China or Cambodia where women's only access to work is as a garment factory worker, working 18 hour days. However, in the U.S., exploitation takes place in school systems for high skilled workers every day.

Neoliberal practices do not make distinctions between the women of color exploited. Low skilled and high skilled workers alike who hail from the global south and who are predominantly women of color, experience similar exploitative practices. The women describe working similarly long hours to get the work done, taking work home, and working with a large amount of students. Principals, often male, were the gatekeepers of this neoliberal enterprise much like factory managers are for the manufacturing industry. What is most telling about the excerpt above is that the teachers say that in 2001, the school in which I interviewed the majority of them (the elementary school), had been designated as a new school with a new principal and 100% of the staff were international teachers. This is not a coincidence. The subjectivities of the teachers were important to the exploitation of their labor. White teachers either did not show up to work or they were not subjected to the same exploitative labor practices as the Caribbean international teachers. One teacher summarizes it well,

Mrs. O: How they portrayed it to us! It was going to be an academy with high score children

Kim: Oh Ok

Mrs. O: But apparently they sold the white teachers the same thing and when we got to find out the week before school, not one came

Kim: Oh wow, none of the white teachers came?

Mrs. O: No not one, None came so for me they had me assigned to another and I had travelled during that vacation so they couldn't get a hold of me and they assigned somebody else.

Mrs. O: Right. So we had to..... We were thrown in at the deep end and we had to work our way through

They were indeed thrown in at the deep end and had to work their way through these situations. They did work their way through and conditions improved for them over time. As principals experienced the teachers as competent, things got better for them. Their classroom sizes became smaller and the school hired domestic teachers and a new principal. These changes created a better life for international teachers. Below, in the excerpt, teachers describe the ways in which they collaborated and the ways in which their subjectivities were pushed. They had fumbled their way through as they said and so saw it as a right to help others who were in jeopardy.

Mrs. H: So for instance... um let's say Mrs. O helps me. It stays here. We go around and we help each other. Whether it's to make charts, whether it's with content, whether it was the pedagogical piece

Kim: Mmmhmmmm

Mrs. H: We used to help. We helped from the heart. And so

Mrs. W: Yes

Mrs. H: I'll give you a typical example. This one international teacher he was having trouble and we realized that she wanted to fi.. get rid of him.

Kim: Mmmmm

Mrs. H: Right. And between

OC: Someone's telephone rings. Mrs. W picks up the phone and moves away from the table where we are sitting and takes the call. She speaks at a low level in the back of the room.

Mrs. O: She actually told me that she was going to get rid of him, right?

Kim: Mmmhmmmm

Mrs. H: And so

Mrs. O: Go ahead

Mrs. H: And so it was. Between meeting at our place and school and everything. We all jumped in, right?

Kim: mmmhmm

Mrs. H: Even work that you needed because he's coming from a, he's coming from a

Mrs. O: High school in England right?

Mrs. O: Yeah

Mrs. O: She gave him til 2 o'clock to get the room ready

Kim: Oh wow

Mrs. O: Proper rich like everybody else's. R-i-g-h-t?

Kim: Wow

Mrs. O: Like everybody else's because by that time we had fumbled our way through

Kim: Mmmhmmmm

They describe helping a male international teacher as he made the transition as a teacher in a place that was culturally different for him and in which he did not have much support from school administrators. Below they continue by saying that although this teacher was on the verge of being fired, that it had little to do with his competence as a teacher and much to do with his inability to navigate in a “foreign” system. So, they came together and navigated on his behalf. Below they describe:

Mrs. O: Remember we don't have the sort of resources to be putting things on the WALL

Kim: Right, Right

Mrs. O: So we ain't accustomed to that

Kim: Right

Mrs. O: So we had to work it out and get it done

Mrs. H: hhhmmmm

Mrs. O: He, he came in a little after us

Mrs. H: Later

Kim: Mmmhmmmm

Mrs. O: Right, But he just didn't have a understanding of what was supposed to be done

Kim and Mrs. H: Mmmhmmmm

Mrs. O: And it wasn't because he was a failure

Mrs. H: failure

Mrs. O: Or so but it's just that

Kim: Right. He didn't know

Mrs. O: Didn't know. Right

Mrs. H: And so we jumped in and there were also students that we worked with

Mrs. O: Mmmhmmmm

Mrs. H: And when she came in, he was a good teacher too, that's the piece you know? When she came in and she looked around ... hahahahaha [she laughs breathlessly] at what she saw.

Kim: Mmmmm

Mrs. H: Her only remark was.

Mrs. O: Actually she somehow

Mrs. H: Figured out

Mrs. O: I got a bit closer than the others to her. Right?

One of the teachers here begins to describe that she leveraged her relationship with the principal to be able to help fellow Caribbean teachers. Although the principal suspected that the young man had been helped, she could not terminate him. Because the principal and Mrs. O had a good relationship, she would tell the other teachers when to watch out for issues and what was coming from the principal that might impact them negatively. She continues,

Kim: Mmmmm

Mrs. O: So she would say things to me that she wouldn't say to them but when I find out it is something to threaten my colleagues, I will always tell them you know? You need to do such and such

Mrs. H: mmmhmmmm yes

Kim: mmmhmm

Mrs. O: But she told me. She accused me of

Mrs. H: Helping him

MO: Helping him to set up right?

Mrs. H: mmmmmmm

Mrs. O: And she tell me I should never have done that right? But she didn't have the opportunity to fire him then

Mrs. O: We stayed in our room and did the charts. So if anybody had seen us making the charts, they could have felt that we were doing stuff for ourselves. We had children who went over that room for that subject and the teacher didn't have work for the kids to put up on the board.

Simply because the kids were unruly and they used to have to stop. So at the end of the lesson, a lot wasn't done but by that time we were getting a good group of the students and so we took some of the work back. We looked for the children that he taught took some more work over there.

Put it on bulletin boards in his classroom so when she came in everything was in order and she check is the same kids. All ages.

They demonstrate here how dedicated they were as teachers to each other but also to the work they were hired to do. They made sure none of them failed but they also put in long hours unsolicited because of who they were, and their subjectivities to do good work on behalf of students. The double bind is that they were hired because they had particular skills but were dismissed, harassed and disciplined because they dared to use those skills. Below they describe,

Mrs. O: Well, this semester, I have been down here after school until 11 o'clock about 3 nights.

Mrs. H: mmmhmm

Mrs. W: yeahhhhhh!

Mrs. W: I left here twenty to eight last night.

Kim: Mmmhmmm

Mrs. W: Twenty minutes to eight. The student's books aren't getting marked and I don't want them to come and say the students books aren't getting marked. So I stayed back and I mark them although they say we should not leave here beyond 3:30.

Mrs. H: mmmhmmm

Mrs. W: But I was here until twenty minutes to eight! I got some books marked, I finished my student's report card. I did my um roll that they wanted and I marked quite a few books so I got some things done. Break time.

Mrs. H: While you are marking at school, I am working at home

Kim: mmmhmmm

Mrs. O: But I tell you already I went to bed on Saturday night in the morning, Sunday morning, doing work.

Mrs. H: Mmmhhmmm

The dedication they have to making sure their students do well is likely a complicated mix of their subjectivities, professionalism and how they perceive the work. It is likely also about the constant surveillance they felt they were under. This for them was a huge culture shock. The surveillance was constant and it was palpable. Below they describe,

Mrs. W: No they are all over the place! And when it's not done, then you are the one who will be blamed and the child fail. You know you have failed

Kim: mmhhmm

Mrs. O: There has been a lot a lot of focus on teachers and teachers failing

Kim: Mhhhhmmm

Mrs. W: Yes

Mrs. O: But personally I think the emphasis needs to be switched to the kids to those children

Mrs. W and Mrs. H: To the children

Mrs. W: Yesssssss

Mrs. O: Yeah I am not telling you ignore helping teachers who may need the help

Mrs. W: Yes!

Mrs. O: Or whatever. I think too much interest has been placed on teachers.

OC: Mrs. W and Mrs. O jump in excitedly but what they say is inaudible

Mrs. O: We do a lot of things and the children do nothing. Nothing

Kim: Hmm

Mrs. W: And you are blamed for everything!

Mrs. O: I was in trouble with miss thing today and she say ok your class is a little too long

Mrs. H: eeehhhe eeeeehhh eeehhhhhhh [laughs]

Mrs. O: So

Mrs. W: Watching you like a hawk

Kim: Wow

Mrs. W: Like a hawk. And making sure every student make sure they understand what you are doing. Do you have time to reteach? You have to make time so sometimes you have to give up your prep and your lunch to make sure.

This example demonstrates that teachers were heavily surveilled. Their conversations sometimes turned to thinking that more should be asked of students and not as much asked of them. Their frustration stemmed from not being taken seriously as pedagogues but also as senior teachers. When I interviewed teachers, on average they had taught 22 years prior to migrating to the U.S. They felt as if there was no acknowledgement of or desire for the knowledge they built over time. They felt the pressure from a system that they felt absolved students and parents from any responsibility in the education system and instead blamed them. They thought that teachers in the U.S. educational system had no autonomy. It is important to contextualize these teachers as coming from a Caribbean education system where they were very well respected and sometimes feared. Where children (in Caribbean school systems) had very few rights, and where they (as teachers) had a lot of autonomy. Many of the teachers I interviewed were heads of departments in their home countries or in higher administrative positions such as principals, vice principals and/or held important positions in their ministry of education systems. This context is important for understanding why they thought they were over surveilled and that students and parents should be held more accountable for not doing well on tests etc. It is also true that teachers were heavily surveilled

and that as part of the common core (discussed later in this chapter), the number of observations of teachers' work increased. So it was not just paranoia on the part of teachers but a realization that they were indeed being surveilled for instructive reasons and sometimes because of who they were as international Black teachers.

It is important not to read these observations by the teachers as a way to inflict the deficit model on already disadvantaged and disenfranchised students. While I believe that the deficit discourse narrative is ripe for being deployed here, because we know that these teachers were recruited to work in predominantly "failing" schools with students from predominantly underrepresented racial and economic groups, it would be a mistake to do so. Given the labor we have already discussed that teachers employ in the service of students, it would not make sense to make this observation. What we can perhaps conclude is that teachers were unprepared for a system in which students had the right to talk back and to advocate for themselves and a system that had not culturally or pedagogically prepared them to be successful. Therefore, teachers were exasperated about how to remain successful given the constraints within which they had to work.

As I read through my field notes, I recognized that the language the women used triggered my own sense of what deficit discourse sounded like. After thinking through the experiences of Afro-Caribbean teachers, and being in community with the teachers over time, I recognized that my own U.S.- Eurocentric and non-teacher identities allowed me to view the teachers as creating a deficit framework for students which was not the case. The realities through which the teachers navigated their new school environments were much different and much more complex for them. A simple reduction to deficit discourse would be to miss the nuances of their own struggle that rendered them invisible. It would be a mistake not to

understand these teachers in the context of their Afro-Caribbean subjectivities and the situations they were subjected to as laborers in a political economy fraught with setting them up to fail.

There were other systemic issues that teachers faced and Mrs. W below provides another example of how teachers made sense of their new realities and the ways in which they pushed against the rules and the systems in place to discipline what teaching looked like in these new environments. Mrs. H poses an important question about the differences in what was required of teachers in wealthier neighborhoods versus what was required of them – teachers in economically disenfranchised groups. Mrs. W and Mrs. H explain,

Mrs. O: This is it

Mrs. W: You are blamed for everything. You can't even say if a child misbehaved, you have to weigh your words and you can't say it on the child. You can't look at the child in any way. Because. Nooooo you have to be careful how you look because if you look on the child and the child feels like you gave the child a bad look, then they say you are discriminating against the child and you are putting them down. So...

Kim: Mmmhhmmm

Mrs. H: The part where I want to challenge really is the part where you go into the wealthier neighborhoods and some of us have and when we look on the things that they ask us to do in the inner cities or maybe I should say the so called high needs area

Kim: Mhhhmmm

Mrs. H: It is apples and oranges. Because you don't see all this fancy bulletin boards and their children are succeeding!

Kim: Mmmhhmm

In this excerpt, Mrs. H points to the divide by socioeconomic class across school districts and the expectations associated with it. Here, she contends that the wealthier districts have less restrictions and less 'busy' work than the poorer neighborhoods. She points out that success is measured in how well students do and not how stimulating the classroom is. The results that students and teachers experience. At the same time, she also points out that

success seems to be measured by how many charts and the performance of teaching instead of the results of teaching in the poorer neighborhoods. Her observation is instructive even as we think about how the particular subjectivities of these teachers were challenged by a neoliberal discourse that rendered them disposable and ineffable. Mrs. H continues to theorize,

Mrs. H: In fact there is someone who came to this very school. Um she came from one of the very reputable, they call them ivy league, ivy league

Mrs. O: Ivy league schools

Mrs. H: And she was doing pd (professional development) with us and she told me she does pd at the school that got the highest mark in the country

Kim: Mmmm

Mrs. H: And she said that the principal anytime they are coming to scrutinize her people? She would let them know and she would tell them, close your door and teach

Kim: Mmmmm

Mrs. H: Don't worry about all the fancy things. You need to spend that time to teach and I fully agree because here it is I have this grade one class. And I spent... here it is you have to have something on the board because the parents are coming, the parents are coming. I spent all that time trying to get the kids to have something on the board

Kim: Mmmmmmm

Mrs. H: And then now another time, in by Monday or Tuesday or maybe today, they are expecting things on the board.

Kim: Mmmm

Mrs. H: Now what time do you really get

Kim: To do that

Mrs. H: to teach the kids!

Kim: mmmmm

Mrs. H's observations are important and poignant because she calls into question our very beliefs about what classrooms should look like, how teachers should teach and what it means to have a principal advocate for her teachers. The very important question is being posed here, what conditions produce learning? The Caribbean teachers had been taught how to be "good" pedagogues but felt they had entered a system that rewarded "good performing." She communicates here that the model described at these "ivy" schools is one that she agrees

with because it meets the objective of doing the job of teaching and not just the busy work of decorating classrooms.

The excerpt below continues to challenge the idea that neoliberalism somehow dispossessed these teachers and that they did not understand the systems of power against which they had to work. They knew instinctively what the systems were but they also experienced the systems daily and sought to resist them daily. The teachers by way of this example, which is not representative of all the teachers' understandings but a testament to the larger systems against which teachers worked, demonstrate that the subjectivities of Afro-Caribbean women teachers allowed them to question what they should have accepted as a given without question. They were expected to be pliable and to do as they were told. The teachers continue,

Mrs. H: So you are meeting one need. To me which is a supervision need and the kids needs

Mrs. W: are not met

Mrs. H: Are not met

Mrs. W: Sometimes you are teaching a topic and you realize that the class didn't get this idea that you really want them to grasp before moving to the next part of the lesson. But because you don't know when they are coming into your room to get you. And because you are working according to our flow of the day, it should be ELA at this particular time and math is coming after but you shouldn't be teaching math in ELA time. You have to short change the kids. You have to break off right there where it was just the moment when they would have got, if you would have had the opportunity just to send it on for two more minutes and then everybody would have gotten it.

Mrs. H: yes

Mrs. W. Sometimes when you are breaking there the children say Noooo! Could I just... Could you just answer one more question?! Could I just ask?! And you have to say no time Is up because if you move over into the other subject area time and your supervisor walk in, they can write you up for that.

This excerpt again demonstrates that teachers understood that the larger neoliberal discourses that made education a commodity that was scarce for the types of students they

were tasked with teaching, was a disservice and unfortunate. The teachers saw through the ways in which student learning was secondary to the aesthetics in schools. The students were not important enough for principals to think strategically about the ways in which policies not centered on student learning would work to further distance them from the educational mission. The teachers wanted to teach but they quickly realized that they had to work through many bureaucratic and seemingly frivolous activities and layers to get to the important work of teaching.

As described earlier, they “broke the rules and did the work.” Afro-Caribbean teachers have indicated that teaching in the particular school districts in which they were placed was an act of transgression. The teachers had to transgress, defy and step outside of the rules to be able to teach through the neoliberal narratives that told them the students with whom they were placed were not worth the effort. The teachers, as articulated through the excerpts, had to work through these narratives to be able to teach students for the purpose of learning as they knew how.

The Common Core

The common core which was implemented during their tenure, was a large part of the increased surveillance that teachers experienced. The common core curriculum to which they had to adhere, demanded that teachers be observed formally and informally over the course of the academic year. I wanted to understand how they received the common core and what their thoughts were about its implementation. The teachers liked the common core because they saw it as a curriculum that made sense and that was similar to how they were taught to teach students in their countries of origin. It is important to pull out the common core as an example of a structural neoliberal practice because it demonstrates the ways in which neoliberalism

dismisses specificity and collapses people and experiences into indistinguishable lumps. The teachers say,

Kim: what do you think now of the common core, right? Because it seems like that's a part of what the common core shifted to, was this idea about teaching strategy and teaching foundation, which it seemed like they weren't getting. What are your thoughts on the common core

Mrs. M: I love common core.

Kim: Okay.

Mrs. M: But the issue of implementation, again, begs the fact that they really don't want the kids to get anything because when they started, it was, "Okay. This is what you do. You have your observations." They come in, and they look at ... They developed a formula to look at student growth. All of that was a part of your evaluation. The first kid was not competent in math. It was very comprehensive with bar graphs to compare your observations in different categories They had every student's name, and they had all the data in respect to the growth system paths of every child in the class. It was a very comprehensive look of the teacher's impact on education. However, they're not doing that moving forward because all of a sudden ... I suppose lobby or whatever ... "Well, that's too much, and it's not developed, and it's unfair that teachers are getting graded," because so many teachers are ineffective and developing. Now, the idea is "Oh, no, let's peel back on that and re-evaluate. The curriculum itself is robust, but implementation, it wasn't. Then, the accountability piece that was supposed to be brought in for teachers has now been scaled back.

Afro-Caribbean teachers loved the common core and saw it as a similar curriculum to what they had used in the Caribbean. They thought it was an effective way to engage student learning. They did however, struggle with its implementation of the program which they thought was very ineffective. A different teacher, Mrs. P from a different interview says this of the common core,

Mrs. P: Nothing is wrong with the common core, the common core is just ... We have been doing this in Jamaica, is a way of giving the kids to obtain more ownership of their learning. Kids read, a lot of people don't understand that it's not content, common core is not content, common core is skill, is skill-based. How do students have an argument, how do students write an argument [inaudible 00:18:29]? Most times we tend to give kids notes and they regurgitate the notes and go back to an exam and write what they've regurgitated, what this is doing is to give the

students more ownerships where they students have a discussion, teach them how to have a discussion and talk to each other about topics. When people say that, "Oh, the common core is taking away from their creativity," no, for me common core doesn't do anything to me. I'm not against it, I'm for it because these are skills that our kids in Jamaica have been taught before, how to have a debate, kids don't know how to debate, how to respect each other when you're having a discussion. Most of what we're doing we're urging the kids to write more which is true, these kids never really write. every teacher is a literacy teacher because you're supposed to reinforce skills in your content area.

These examples are important because in the first excerpt, the teacher argues that the common core is a good tool but that the changes came about through the lobbying of state representatives and implementers of the program lobbying to get a bill passed. She is conscious about how the common core has been used politically and its impact on teaching and learning in the classroom. This is a political consciousness born from the particular subjectivities and lived realities of teachers. The second excerpt is more direct as the teacher explains that the common core in its design, although not its specificities, were similar to curriculum they had in Jamaica. Remember, teachers had been shocked when they moved to the U.S. that there was no standard curriculum. The common core became that curriculum for them and they saw it as a similar tool to the tools they used in their countries of origin. The second excerpt in particular clearly articulates that teachers understood that teaching was about cultivating skill and that they saw American students as lacking in skill. They overwhelmingly embraced the common core and I have no participants who had significant issues with it or who thought it was a bad plan.

The common core can be and has been viewed as a neoliberal tool designed to evaluate students and teachers in a way that is more concerned with the bottom line than with teaching and learning. Popular accounts from native born teachers often dismiss the common core as another state sanctioned interference and see it for its neoliberal violence. However, here we

have a group of teachers who embrace it as a skill based tool. I do not think we can ignore their voices about how this tool can be used effectively and it leaves me wondering what it means that Afro-Caribbean women teachers embrace the plan so fully and see it as an effective tool although they disagree with its implementation?

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed how neoliberal practices were resisted and questioned by Afro-Caribbean women teachers whose lives were being used as a conduit for neoliberal practices. I discussed that although teachers were hired as disposable workers and some of them were disposed of, they were not dispossessed of self. They were not dispossessed of self because they never lost a sense of themselves as Caribbean teachers who were competent or unsure of themselves as human beings navigating a new culture. They knew that this meant they would make many mistakes. Although neoliberal practices intentionally or not, can make individuals feel and become dispossessed of self, this group of teachers demonstrated that they were certain about who they were and by staying focused on their goals (which were different across the different women but which included – staying connected to family, economic gain and passion for the job), and in community with each other, they were not dispossessed of themselves.

I also discussed in this chapter that although the state through the department of education sought to use these women's labor to accomplish their own goals which rarely included thinking about how to best serve children in these school districts, teachers used the system to accomplish their own goals. Teachers were not afraid to work hard but they also were not afraid to call principals out on their behaviors and to work together to be successful. They believed that together they could accomplish great things and together they did. They were not solely cheap and disposable labor but knowledgeable and politically

aware women who pushed back against a system intended to control and discipline them.

The final section of the chapter, focuses on systems of power and the ways in which collectively, the women resisted and challenged the systemic ways in which neoliberal practices were making marginal, student learning and teacher autonomy while they advocated for students. Through the common core which teachers saw as a good policy in practice but a poor policy in implementation, they discussed how they used their subjectivities to successfully use the common core to its fullest potential.

I close this chapter with a quote from Mrs. W who summarizes well how teachers navigated and survived in a system designed to dispossess, intimidate and silence them into submission. Mrs. W says,

Mrs. W: So, it was it was hard. But I've grown. It was hard but I've learned and I've grown. Thank God for friends as my other colleague said. Thank God for good friends cause you know there were other international teachers there and they said, don't worry we gonna take care of you. They don't have curriculum in America, they don't know what it is. We got together and we planned and you know? People who were there who were at other elementary schools that had an idea of what they should be teaching, they would send information for me because I was on the fourth grade and no other international teacher was on the fourth grade. I would even be able to catch something from them to say if they are teaching this then I should teach that tomorrow. They are just jumping all over the place adadadad adadada adadad [flails arms in the air] all over the place. There is no organization. But thank God for good friendsssss.

Chapter 6 - Race and Agency in Afro-Caribbean Teacher Experiences

There are many ways to conceptualize how race operates in American society. The Afro-Caribbean women teachers in this dissertation project were not all unified in regard to how they defined racism or how they understood racism to be real and tangible in their lives. They could all point to the ways in which their status of “international teacher” had limited certain aspects of their growth and development but very few articulated that race was a vital part of their experience. This chapter explores the many ways in which Afro-Caribbean women teachers make sense of their race and more importantly, how they entered into political resistance by using their agency to resist a pre-packaged definition of who they were as Black women. To do this, I use a decolonial theoretical framework called the “coloniality of gender” by Maria Lugones (2007). Using her ambits of social existence, I demonstrate how coloniality - the legacy of colonialism, is still present in the experiences and the interpretations of the lives of these women. To be clear, these teachers understand race and racism. They know that race in America is palpable, contentious, contested and divisive. They know that as Black people they may be discriminated against based on race. Yet, each of the teachers negotiated race in different ways, to different degrees and with different understandings of race as an institution. Using Lugones’ four ambits of social existence – intersubjectivity, authority, labor and sex, this chapter explores those seeming contradictions and the ways in which the Afro-Caribbean women are disrupting these colonial narratives. The larger questions I ask in this chapter are as follows: 1) How does one negotiate the new understandings of the new environment? 2) How do Afro-Caribbean women then make sense of race in a society to which they have traversed? and 3) How do they negotiate the understandings of race that have been mapped onto their bodies despite their own desire to be understood outside of this mapping? 4) Is it just race and being “foreign” that still

render these women as being backward? 5) Does their education in any way allow a different perspective of who they are?

I also want to make distinctions between agency and resistance by using the conceptual framework Mahmood (2001) uses to ground her work with Islamic Egyptian women. Her work has helped my understanding of the differences between resistance and agency and also allowed me to resist reducing how the women in my dissertation make sense of their lives through a liberal emancipatory framework. She contends, "Such a conceptualization of power and subject formation also encourages us to understand agency not simply as a synonym for resistance to relations of domination, but as a capacity for action that specific relations of subordination create and enable" (Mahmood, 2001, p. 210). The capacity for action that is an important feature of agency provides me with a better of understanding of how the Afro-Caribbean women participants in my dissertation were able to survive. They tell stories of helping each other despite resistance from principals and colleagues, praying together and advocating for each other. As Mahmood (2001) draws distinctions between her work and the work of Judith Butler she contends, "Agency: a) more in terms of capacities and skills required to undertake particular kinds of acts (of which resistance to a particular set of relations of domination *is one kind of act*); and b) as ineluctably bound up with the historically and culturally specific disciplines through which a subject is formed" (p. 210). This quote is instructive for conversations about how Afro-Caribbean participants were able to survive a system that intended to use them and get rid of them. The everyday, mundane ways in which they enact their agency through resisting as well as using their knowledges and skills previously acquired, allows us to see the full humanity of these women without reducing their experiences. Many literatures on Caribbean immigrants argue that Caribbean immigrants do not understand race. This chapter argues against that logic by using

Lugones' theoretical conceptions of the coloniality of gender and Mahmood's conceptions of agency.

Caribbean feminists have been critiqued for their inability to develop a critique of race for Caribbean people. Caribbean feminists rely heavily on the work of African American theorists who discuss Black feminist thought from a distinctly American perspective. Their inability to articulate a critical consciousness around race in the Caribbean is important in regard to how Afro-Caribbean teachers articulate understandings of race. Class is often theorized about much more frequently by Caribbean feminists because in societies that are mostly racially homogenous (read black) except in a couple of circumstances, Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago, class is the place/site of difference for many folks. Upward mobility is an important factor in migrating and more importantly in the teachers' decisions to become teachers. It would be a mistake again however, to assume that teachers are unaware of their race, class and gender as identities that shape their experiences in the Caribbean and in the U.S. Throughout the dissertation, the examples I pull are examples of how Afro-Caribbean women enact their agency so as to survive.

[The Coloniality of Gender in Education](#)

Lugones (2007), argues for a deeper understanding of the colonial legacies that created a gender and race system as we know it in the modern era. Lugones (2007), borrows from Anibal Quijano's (2000), conceptions of the "coloniality of power." Here I want to use this concept to describe why in education we are asking the wrong questions about race, gender and other identities. Without a thorough understanding of coloniality which is the legacy of colonial rule and systems, we are unable to fully grasp how these teachers lives come to mean so little to the very institution that hires them for their service. Lugones (2007), uses gender as a way to discuss how a colonial imposition of gender was also a colonial imposition of race. Race and

gender became necessary to establish superiority and inferiority during the colonial era. If white men were going to be the ruling class, then white women had to be inferior to them. The same logic dictated that if Black men and women were going to be the wageless workers – slaves, then white men and women would have to be superior in class and social standing to the Black man and woman’s inferiority. Lugones (2007), writes about gender and sexuality. She theorizes that what is missing from deeper understandings of gender and sexuality is an understanding of race. She asserts,

There has been a persistent absence of a deep imbrication of race into the analysis that takes gender and sexuality as central in much white feminist theory and practice...yet, I arrive at this conclusion by walking a political/praxical/theoretical path that has yet to become central in gender work: the path marked by taking seriously, the coloniality of power” (Lugones, 187).

She argues that we cannot naturalize gender and that when we do, a full understanding of its historical legacy is misunderstood.

I pull from Lugones’ ideas of the coloniality of gender to situate a deeper understanding of the coloniality of education. Before I do this, it is important to understand that I am using Lugones' theoretical constructions of a coloniality of gender to make the argument that to discuss Afro-Caribbean women's understandings of racism is also to discuss the colonial roots of race, sexuality, and gender as co-constructed and inseparable. Lugones (2007), uses the coloniality of gender as a reminder to all of us that we can't do "gender" work without doing "race" work and without doing a deep analysis of power. The Afro-Caribbean women participants in this dissertation should be understood within this framework that makes no distinction between the construction of a gender, sexuality, and a racial identity that have

worked to produce a colonial subject who must now navigate a new colonized territory – the U.S.A. Their gender, constructed as women, their sexuality constructed as precarious, and their race constructed as Black, already created subjects who were useable and disposable. I am making the argument that Black men would have fared differently if recruited in similar numbers to these Afro-Caribbean women. I also argue that Latina women would fare differently (although similarly) than Afro-Caribbean women had they been recruited in the same way.

My connection to a coloniality of education is made through the ways in which gender, sexuality, and race have been socialized as "natural" and not as a constructed phenomenon, so that it becomes easy to reduce the experiences of Afro-Caribbean women teachers as the same as African Americans or to dismiss what differences we see between the two groups as a misunderstanding of race by Afro-Caribbean teachers. As the transcripts will demonstrate, the teachers have a powerful understanding of race but their relationship to racism is experienced and embodied differently than African American women. They also understand that their sexuality is precarious because recruiters were unconcerned about how their sexuality would affect their transition to teaching.

Recruiters were willing to assume that the women teachers were “naturally” heterosexual. Similarly, their gender identities were seen as “natural” and their responsibilities, and placements in schools were given accordingly. Here, I discuss race, gender and sexuality separately to make my point and to provide clarity about the distinctions. However, it is important to note that what Lugones (2007), does, is help us understand how race, gender and sexuality are co-constructed as one. I use this co-construction to illuminate how the women’s subjectivities were made marginal because of how they were perceived racially, sexually and

according to gender norms. In other words, race, gender and sexuality are not distinct categorizations when mapped to particular bodies and when placed within a power hierarchy. The women's race, gender and sexual identities are never openly discussed by them, their superiors, or their peers which is the effect of power hierarchies that are not always visible but which continue to have a negative effect. Throughout this chapter, race is the social identity that is most often engaged and what I argue is that race stands in as a proxy for sexuality and gender because it is often the most visible and charged identity. However, marginalization is happening simultaneously along race, gender and sexual subjectivities.

Education, like gender is taken for granted as a natural institution and although we know it is constructed and has been used to abuse the marginalized, we try to force an understanding that is outside of the realm of the colonial constructions within which modern education as we know it came to be. Patel (2016), in her book *Decolonizing Educational Research: From Ownership to Answerability*, argues that coloniality is often manifested through education, research and knowledge. She contends, "education research through both meaning and matter, has played a deleterious role in perpetuating and refreshing colonial relationships among people, practices and land" (Patel, 2016, p. 12). I include Patel's constructions of the coloniality of education to continue to argue that the recruitment of a "raced" teaching staff was necessary in school districts that needed to respond to a growing population of "raced" (read – children of color) children. It is also true that the teacher's competence was less important than their ability to provide slave-like compliance because neither the students nor the teachers themselves mattered in these school districts. So, while Lugones (2007), interrogates race, gender, and sexuality from a decolonial philosophical perspective, I argue like other women of color and third world feminists that race, sexuality and gender are central to our understanding of systems

of education that continue to fail teachers of color and students of color. Class, ability, religious belief and citizenship are also important categories of analysis that should be interrogated in relationship to teachers and students but for the purposes of this project and this chapter, I focus on race, sexuality and gender.

Lugones (2007), asks two questions about sexuality that I am interested in framing around a discourse of education. Lugones' (2007), questions are,

How do we understand heterosexuality not merely as normative but as consistently perverse when violently exercised across the colonial modern gender system so as to construct a worldwide system of power? How do we come to understand the very meaning of heterosexualism as tied to persistently violent domination that marks the flesh multiply by accessing the bodies of the unfree in differential patterns devised to constitute them as the tortured materiality of power? (p. 187-188)

It is important to note that my dissertation does not focus on sexuality and that the questions I asked the women did not make sexuality a central part of their experiences. However, when the state recruited Afro-Caribbean women teachers, the assumption was that they were heterosexual or experienced as sexually "normal." The state is interested in making compliant subjects and many of these women implicitly avowed a heterosexual sensibility. Evidence of this is seen throughout the transcripts as they discuss mostly nuclear families with husbands and children. The women who were not married, either did not discuss their sexuality or did so in a heteronormative way. Although I recognize sexuality to be an important part of these women's lives, and find Lugones' understandings of it instructive, I am more interested in how Lugones uses the constructions of sexuality as a normative and unequal system and want to make connections to education's role as a normative yet deeply unequal and politicized

institution. I also want to make connections between sexuality, race, and gender as co-constructed phenomena that are impossible to separate. Throughout the dissertation, I use "Mrs" instead of "Ms" when I refer to my participants for two reasons: 1) That is how they refer to themselves. They invoke their partners in their introduction of self and their heterosexual understandings of self and 2) As a sign of respect for the differences in age that exist between myself and them. Both of these points assume a naturalized, hierarchized way of understanding self which is an important point to consider later as I discuss the context that creates these constructions of the self. They are, in many cases other mothers to me and as part of Caribbean culture if someone is older than you she is "aunty" or "Mrs. last name." I believe an area of future research would be for someone to explore how Afro-Caribbean women make sense of their sexuality and the relationship to a neoliberal recruiting effort. Below, I describe how I intend to use Lugones' theoretical frame to ask questions about how a normative education system allowed mostly Black women teachers from the global south to be imported like goods.

The question I am sure one must be asking is, what is the relationship between heterosexuality as a system and the education system? I see several connections that I will further discuss. 1) The first is that heterosexuality, race and gender are seen as natural and not as constructions of a modern colonial legacy 2) Like heterosexuality, race, and gender, the education system has been used to construct a particular world view and so I would ask, why are we surprised by how women teachers of color are treated in an educational system not designed for and that has been violent to them? And 3) The bodies of the unfree have always been necessary in a colonial system for their labor – whether free or partially free so a recruiting effort for Black and brown teachers is not merely a neo-colonial or a transnational

move, but also a direct legacy of a colonial heritage we do not always see. It is this invisibility that maintains a power structure that continues to disallow educators and others to understand the social realities of race, sexuality, and gender and their confluence in American society.

Lugones (2007), contends that there are four ambits of social existence and that life after the colonial encounter in the America's is organized around these four ambits. They are 1) Intersubjectivity/subjectivity 2) Authority 3) Labor and 4) Sex. Lugones (2007), contends,

Thus, coloniality does not just refer to racial classification. It is an encompassing phenomenon, since it is one of the axes of the system of power and as such it permeates all control of sexual access, collective authority, labor, subjectivity/intersubjectivity and the production of knowledge from within these intersubjective relations. Or, alternatively, all control over sex, subjectivity, authority, and labor are articulated around it (p. 191).

I pull from Lugones' work to demonstrate how these ambits operate practically in the lives of Afro-Caribbean women teachers. First we contextualize who Afro-Caribbean women teachers are, then we discuss the ambits of social existence and finally how these women continue to use their agency against these colonial legacies at the fractured locus (Lugones, 2003).

The telling of this story must begin with understanding the places from which these teachers hale. The Caribbean was a region that also bought and sold Black Africans as slaves. This history, unlike the history of the U.S. has rendered much of the Caribbean countries majority Black states. The importance of this difference from the U.S. racial make-up and therefore axes of power, is significant because in many instances, Black people in the U.S. are conflated as mono-racial, which of course is false. Black people from the Caribbean and from African countries have different histories, traditions and understandings of the world. Growing up in a world where everyone, including those in power, look like you is empowering and gives

you access to a different relationship to race and power. Unlike, Blacks in the U.S. who have always grown up with subordinate relationships to race and where only few who look like them hold positions of power, the disassociation that is necessary for survival is palpable in a way that is difficult for those who grew up outside of this context to understand. I suspect that given apartheid and the history of a similar race relationship in South Africa to America, that there were similar psychologies of race in play. Claude Steele (2010), argues that stereotype threat is “a term that captured the idea of a situational predicament as a contingency of their group identity, a real threat of judgment of treatment in the person’s environment that went beyond ability” (p. 60). Like the weaker students in Steele’s experiment, Afro-Caribbean teachers do not feel the pressure of American society to perform in a particular way or that they are not good enough for the positions they hold because of a torrid history of racial hatred which has rendered Black American people incompetent despite their skill levels and knowledges. This allows Afro-Caribbean teachers a different relationship to race, racism and power. The pressure from a society that sees them as inferior is lost on them because they spent the majority of their lives in societies that see them as competent and credible. This truth is not without problems and nuances because we know that white supremacy still organizes race even in the Caribbean. We know that the issues are still alive today because of contemporary problems with bleaching one’s body to achieve a lighter skin tone.

It is important here to contextualize race in the Caribbean. Although Caribbean people do not experience racism in the same ways that African Americans and other Black people across the globe experience race and racism, they live in a neocolonial landscape that at once affirms their Blackness and worth through the relationships they have with state managers and constructs of race from a white supremacy hegemonic framework. Caribbean folks often have a fully

internalized colonial positionality of inferiority especially in relationship to whiteness. Caribbean countries have steep colonial legacies especially as it concerns race, gender and class. Class and color in the Caribbean have always been manifestations of the colonial structures upon which they came to be nation states. In this chapter, we look closely at race, gender and sexuality but in chapter five, I looked more closely at the sociopolitical climate as a backdrop for why Afro-Caribbean teacher's came to the U.S. and why economically they rationalized their move to the U.S.

Transnational and de-colonial feminist understandings of race

De-colonial feminists argue that Black women are a misnomer because in a society that has built its institutions on a colonial legacy of slavery and of Black as inferior, race is always being constructed in relationship to whiteness. This construction therefore makes Black women in particular non-human, invisible subjects. If race is always read “white” and gender is always read “male” then white men are the only intelligible group. Sexuality is always read as heterosexual and those who fall out of this “norm” are punished. White women are semi-visible in this structure because they are women and Black men are semi-visible because they are men. These axes of power are important to an understanding of race at its de-colonial potential. These de-colonial understandings are at play when we ask questions about the lives of Afro-Caribbean teachers because when one traverses and crosses boundaries, how does one negotiate the new understandings of the new environment? How do Afro-Caribbean women, then make sense of race in a society to which they have traversed? How do they negotiate the understandings of race that have been mapped onto their bodies despite their own desire or this mapping?

It would be a mistake to read Afro-Caribbean teachers as not having consciousness about their precarious relationships with race. Indeed, as Dubois (1903) said, a double consciousness is eternally at play in the lives of these women who must always negotiate a raced self in the U.S.

Lugones (2003), contends that we traverse through this world simultaneously in the abstract and the concrete. She contends that these identities are not in competition but are sometimes considered a disassociated state of being. The abstract she describes as, “There is no ‘you’ there except a person spatially and thus relationally conceived through your functionality in terms of power” (Lugones, 2003, p. 9) This chapter largely conveys ideas about racialization and the teachers’ responses to power as enacted to map or to position race onto their bodies in ways in which they do not always agree. By mapping or positioning race onto their bodies, I mean that race becomes an imposition for them. They come from societies where Blackness and race are not identities that are experienced as oppressions although Blackness and race have complicated, contested and problematic histories in the Caribbean. So, it is not to say that gender, sexuality, race and Blackness does not matter to these women, but it is to say that race and blackness are not experienced as systemic oppressions in the places from which they hail. Colorism plagues the Caribbean and ideas about whites as the ruling class are still prevalent, but race is experienced differently and less systematically in the Caribbean than it is in the U.S.

Connections between gender and sexuality and the education system

The construction of gender as a dimorphic system- a colonial imposition, is used as a tool in colonial education systems to further divide and reproduce hegemonic knowledge systems. The ways in which we naturalize our gender system as if it had always been this way or as if people effectively fall within two categories is similar to how we naturalize an education system based on race and gender constructions. We know that institutions of higher learning were in place to reproduce knowledge by and for white bourgeois men. Therefore, women and certainly women of color from poor and working class backgrounds were never meant to be inheritors or partakers of these systems. In addition, institutions of higher learning were used to

make invisible, knowledges, practices and customs for those who were not white, heterosexual rich men. These distinctions must be made as we discuss how Afro-Caribbean women teachers fared in a system that saw them as a threat, that cannot and will not under its colonial structure, appreciate their contributions to knowledge. The colonial imposition of gender, sexuality and race were sustained by an education system that was in place to maintain the hierarchies. So, when Afro-Caribbean teachers are recruited, the coloniality of the education system renders them and their experiences invisible.

Theorists and advocates who call for diversifying the education system must first call for decolonizing the very foundations of the education system. Immigrants, women, the sexually marginalized and teachers of color will always remain marginal if we do not take the time to understand how race, sexuality, and gender are co-constructed as colonial tools and then reinforced through education systems. Heterosexuality is another way in which sexuality is seen as natural and the way in which the body is marked as available (if you are a person of color and woman) and “off limits” (if you are white and male). The women who came as teachers from the Caribbean are marked as available in multiple ways. First, their labor (discussed later in the chapter) is seen as available and cheap. Their home governments seem to have no issues releasing them (they are allstate/government employees) for labor and when they get to the U.S., their labor is only valuable as a filler. Therefore, their knowledges and experiences in classrooms and in schools are seen as backward and not valuable.

Transnational Understandings of Race: Intersubjectivity

Lugones (2007), argues that intersubjectivity is the way in which situated knowledge is leveraged, made marginal and taken up (p. 198). It is an important way to understand the experiences of Afro-Caribbean teachers because as the excerpts below demonstrate, Afro-Caribbean knowledges were being made marginal along a colonially imposed way of

understanding knowledge. Although the teachers were recruited for their knowledges, being women from the global south already situated their knowledges as inferior. The teachers felt this tension although it was never spoken to them directly.

Mohanty (1988), argued that women in the global south are seen as backward, religious and simple. She critiques the long established western, white feminist movement who could not see women from the global south in nuanced ways, acting with agency and resisting. The Afro-Caribbean women in this study are an interesting case because they are educated and were recruited for their knowledges and skills. Yet, they still face some of the same road blocks Mohanty described in 1988. Mohanty (1988), is clear that her critique is not just about women physically located in the global south but also is representative of women who are physically located in the global north but who share the same demographic characteristics as the women located in the global south. The epistemic questions that are raised through the lived experiences of these women is manifested in multiple ways. Is it just race and being “foreign” that still render these women as being backward? Does their education in any way allow a different perspective of who they are? Through the dissertation, the way teachers were treated as epistemically challenged and unable to be knowers is revealing that race and immigrant status still play a part in who is a knower and who is not. Below are excerpts from the transcripts that demonstrate how these issues were taken up with teachers,

Mrs. P: Yes so I was saying she has her ways she had some very nice qualities about her but um my experience seems like no one else's because people had some real troubling experience with her. I had a run in with her too but you know she um she um say things that would probably make you feel. If you didn't know who you are they make you feel like you are not competent or certain skills you are lacking.

In this excerpt, the teacher describes the principal as nice but tells us that, if she did not know herself, she would be led to believe that she lacks the teaching skills necessary to excel. The teacher does not tell us in this excerpt why she was seen as incompetent but across data sets, participants were very clear about having to prove themselves. The irony is that the teachers were brought to the US because of their skill and competence. At least, in theory this was the rhetoric. One can then only assume that recruiters did not care about competence (which we do learn later) and that the teachers' skills and abilities were in question because they are Black people and because they hail from the global south. One teacher says it well when she says:

Mrs. H: I came under Ms. Sneed. And at first she seemed ok. It took her a while. Um I believe to accept us um as being pedagogues with expertise or with ability to be professionals

Kim: Do you know why? Do you have a sense of why? Mrs.

H: It was the sense that we came from the Caribbean. Kim:

Oh so you

Mrs. H: In coming from the

Caribbean Kim: Third world

Mrs. H: A developing nation and as a developing nation we do not have as much as they do. I think she had referred to I think Barbados as having dumps or something like that so um Mrs. O put her in her place, hahahahahaha [ON: Laughs out loud] one time if my memory serves me right.

Mrs. L: The whites didn't like me because I'm Black and the Blacks didn't like me cause they thought I was an Oreo cookie. So I saw racism there now not only from white but also from Black people as well so it was quite interesting so when I came back here now in the new York situation which is a melting pot um it dawned on me that you have to as Mrs. P would say, know who you are and do what you know to be right and don't care about what color you are and where you are from. So, it didn't matter what color you are you can do what is right. You do see it, sometimes you can react, positively or negatively and um you decide how you are going to live your life based on what you see and what you know. I did not like the fact that people who looked like me were racist. That really threw me for a while but then. I suppose your cultural environment and your bringing up will engender certain beliefs. As

someone in a song says, “you have to be carefully taught” so sometimes they don’t even know they are being taught racism but if you speak derogatively about a person, or their hair, nose, color whatever and we have shades of black from coffee to ebony will determine what kind of treatment you are going to get from people like yourself. Then you have the white people on the other side and they move from octave to ebony, you learn that early and you deal with it. Um we do have, we have learned so much here and experience a whole different culture.

Barbados, the principal claims had dumps so how could the teachers have access to knowledge that would be good enough for the students they were serving? These examples are indicative of a general sense that teachers who came from the Caribbean were less than competent. The coloniality of an education system based largely on race and class, could not make visible or refused to understand them as competent Black teachers who had less resources from the global south. How could they, coming from “the dumps” have valuable knowledge? The irony again is that they were recruited because of their competence. Many of the teachers and principals with whom these teachers worked were also people of color – Latino/a, Black etc. so it seems there was a racialized hierarchy in many of their interactions. The point here is that racism is no respecter of bodies. So much so that even Black and Latino principals and teachers enacted systemic racism. This I believe is about the hierarchy that racism inherently creates. Afro-Caribbean teachers now found themselves at the bottom of the racial hierarchy instead of Black and Latino teachers and principals. It is not that Black and Latino teachers and principals were racist but that through their positions as administrators or U.S. based experienced teachers they used the system to further marginalize those who they saw as less competent and racialized as such because of coming from the global south.

Race was contentious horizontally (person of color to person of color) and vertically (white to person of color). This is important in our understanding that race is not about skin color but about power. Power as enacted through colonial legacies which I will call coloniality,

is such that despite skin color, people of color and in the teachers' example, Black teachers from the Caribbean, are still relegated to the bottom of the racial hierarchy because of their combined skin color, accents, and geographic locations. It is important to situate and contextualize indigenous people along the racial hierarchy. Indigenous people in the United States also have a contentious relationship with the settler colonial state that also racialized them as inferior and forced the extinction of their cultures and languages. Despite the systemic genocide of indigenous people, Black bodies still remain a marker of inferiority in the United States. Of course, there are examples of moments when the teachers experienced positive relationships with principals and other teachers who were collaborators with them. For example, Mrs. P below contends,

Mrs. P: Very professional. Yes. He speaks to you not like you are down here but like you are on the same level with him. He defends you as his teacher but when it's all said and done, one-to-one, he would reprimand you. He doesn't do it in front of whatever you know whoever the complainer was and that is what I find very um that's one of the quality's I really admire about him because other principals might reprimand you in front of whoever is complaining.

Although, it is important to note that the teachers knew that their knowledges were being contested and that they were seen as inept. The teachers enacted their agencies as they knew how by being really great teachers. Resistance was one way of enacting agency and it occurred in several ways and was not always in the form of protest and did not always land them favor initially. They also describe the principals as "good people" which again demonstrates the teachers' ability to be complex in their understandings of the power hierarchy. They resisted in seemingly mundane but effective ways. As one teacher describes,

Mrs. H: Um one of the first run ins I had with her was not very long after I came because I was representing the union. We didn't have a hard core union at the time but I was representing. She pass a circular to us and she said, now I remember that because I was talking about that today. About

about the use of lesson plans. Anyway, she passed around a circular and as she passed around this circular. She said, she told us that we had to do um weekly or whatever it was but certainly at least weekly lesson plans. When I looked at the um memorandum, the circular. I didn't understand it the way she did and I told her it didn't seem to be what it meant. What the thing said was that while they may ask for lesson plans, you cannot be mechanical with the lesson plans so you know your asking people for blah blah blah is not ok and of course she didn't like that. So she called me to the room and she said,
ON: Mrs. H sits up in her chair, pushes her chin in the air and looks down her nose and speaks in a high pitched voice

Note here, Mrs. H is aware that she is in “trouble” but that she resists that she has done anything wrong. This speaks to the teachers’ resilience and their ability to negotiate difficult situations. They did not crumble or fold under pressure. Nor did they run away. They saw principals for who they were, gatekeepers of a colonial legacy. Mrs. H continues,

Mrs. H: Mrs. H, do you like it here? Um I said yes Ms. Sneed. If I didn't like it I wouldn't be here. She went on to try, attempt um, to chastise me but I told her you know that the um, the memorandum, she misinterpreted its true meaning so she didn't take too kindly to that hehehehehe [she laughs quietly. Almost a chuckle]. After that we pretty much got along at the time we didn't get paid or anything but she embraced us in that sense. But of course what my sister isn't telling you is that she called her aside and pampered her and whatever else. Hahahahahahaha [she laughs out loud]
Mrs. H: DON'T CROSS ME! And the other one said, WE ARE JOINED AT THE HIP. Hahahahahah [laughs in a deep throaty way]. Be that as it may, the workshop model is being implemented in the school and we were going to the board district office where they would give us weekly training so we took it and we brought it back. So, in one of the observations, she expected me. I taught for about 15 minutes you know, and did things that I am supposed to do. Have children share and what not. So she was upset about that and gave me an unfair unsatis... what you call it?
Mrs. L: Unsatisfactory

Mrs. H resists Ms. Sneed's reprimand by demonstrating that indeed she was not only knowledgeable about and competent with her content area but also with the requirements and changes in the rules for teachers. She knew more than the principal. Her chuckle in her recall of

the story also demonstrates that she was comfortable “putting the principal in her place.” These moments of resistance are important as they situate the teachers as women who had agency but more importantly, as women who knew how to use their agency. Mrs. H continues:

Mrs. H: Unsatisfactory at the time and she says purport to do what I know you do best [OC: As she says this she pushes her chest up, juts her chin in the air and looks down her nose]

Mrs. P: Oh that was Green

Mrs. H: So um she went down. We went to another meeting. You know Ms. Nia? She was one of the people.. Dr. Wilson brought her here. She was one of those people that um was providing the training. She is up there and talking and talking and I said but what you are saying isn't true. You people haven't provided the principals. Because if you did then they wouldn't do this. You are telling us to do this and when we do it we are getting in trouble. It needs to be revised! So Ms. Flatou, isn't that the name of the woman?

Mrs. P: Platou

Mrs. H: Ms. Platou walked around and she came to me and she said, we know of the situation and we have pulled her in for training. Cause she took my stuff down now to lambaste me! But she got lambasted instead because that's what the board wanted. They had shifted from you stand up in front of the class as a style. They'd gotten rid of that. Somy exper.. I didn't find them to be bad people though. Smallwood had a loud mouth. So one of the times I brought the children, I didn't pick them up because I wasn't supposed to pick them. When you have prep, the prep person pick them up, she started man and she cussed me out in front of the children! And I was shocked. I was shocked.

Mrs. H: So but none-the less, having said that. They were warm. They would get to know you. You get to know some of them personal business because they say saw us at the same level. I suppose now they realize that we could teach so we weren't that kind of a threat. But! The contradiction is that we came from the outside and we were taking American jobs. Which they didn't want because if they could have found Americans they would not have gone elsewhere for that. So we have that as a Black, backlash.

In this excerpt, the teacher discusses that after the incident with Mrs. Sneed, there were friendships that were formed with principals because the teachers after resisting and demonstrating that they were knowledgeable pedagogues, were able to change their status. This is important in regard to how teachers demonstrate their agency.

Collective Authority

Lugones (2007), describes this ambit as decision making power. The ways in which decision making moved from a collective way of coming to decisions about community in the pre-colonial time to an individual way of understanding one's authority. This Lugones (2007) says, is a colonial imposition. However, the ways in which the women negotiate their collective authority defies the logic of the colonial individual authority. It is important to remember that all the teachers did not agree on how they were received based on their race and their Caribbean heritage. The dialogue below signifies some of the differences teachers experience around how they make sense of their racialized bodies and how they see themselves as raced. It also signifies this concept of authority. How are they making sense of their raced realities? What decisions do they make about negotiating these identities? The dialogue begins with Mrs. H:

Mrs. H: With um European women because they have this perspective that only them know and um being an out of classroom teacher, um you had to sometimes meet with them and so when they made subtle derogatory remarks coming from where I come from, I am not talking Jamaica now or Africa, coming from Canada, and having faced racism there I was able to see it much more readily than others I think. That's an opinion but nonetheless...

Mrs. P: But that's not an opinion because racism is racism, you know what it is all about. You can pin point it when you see it. That's how I feel.

Mrs. H: Well that's my opinion

Mrs. P: Well you said that and I'm not disagreeing with you

Mrs. H: So, um I could tell the subtleties but coming from where I come from, I wouldn't let it lie. You understand? To the point where I would tackle it at my own detriment. That's the piece I was really making. Um

Kim: What were some of the things that were detrimental for you?

Mrs. H: I mean I could have been. Sometimes you are right but sometimes where you are saying it is wrong and in one instance the VP came to me and said "Mrs. H, Mrs. H, Mrs. H" [ON: she shakes her head as she makes this statement]. And I said, but you know it is true right?

He says, but you have a constituency which is true! But they make these remarks about other black teachers and I am not going to tell them, that is not my style either. Sometimes things are said and I feel like I have to defend them. Right? And in one instance I said to her, what you can do

and get away with, I can't do it and get away with it and most of the teachers inside this place, couldn't do it and get away with it but you have been allowed to get away with it because of how we have been allowed to do things. You know um and if you look at um, let me give you an up to date situation. And part of it was lead by a European woman, right? And it seems of as if the black folks were lining up behind her. Now when doesn't have any more experience than many of those same people but she was able to um insert herself and navigate it so well so much so that she thinks nothing of it to call the union office and to complain to say um, you know this is happening, this should not be happening. She comes from a position of privilege and she feels as if it as night and day to her. She doesn't think about will other people see this? She sees that it is her right to say this or her right to do that even when other people are telling her no. She still moves on with her little bandwagon so again. But you know a lot of us we play dumb. They know it too but we play dumb. But that's just you know.

In this excerpt, Mrs. H describes how she has seen racism enacted between teachers on an individual level. This excerpt is a great example for many colonial imaginings of racism as an everyday occurrence, but I pulled it particularly because it displays how the women think about and make decisions about race. In the first half of the excerpt, the teacher discusses her role as the union representative. She is describing an instance of defending the teachers with whom she works and calling the administrators racist. She is immediately “checked” by a colleague and told that she has to be careful about her defense because her constituency is not mono-racial. The implication here is that Mrs. H cannot offend or alienate the white folks. Her decision to do it to her “detriment” as she says, is indicative of both a colonial imposition and her negotiated decisions and resistances about when to advocate and when to walk away from these situations. In this case we also see an example of the way in which authority works as a colonial construct.

The outlier in this example is that one of the teachers from Trinidad does discuss how a group of teachers came together to advocate on behalf of themselves because of the atrocities they were experiencing so there is no single way to think about these issues. The teacher says,

Mrs. N: Yes. That institute was the big breakthrough in that in its...we began to relax as a group. Then some of us, like myself, our files were disappearing. We would find out our applications had to go ... Different things were happening. There's a number of people who already have their citizenship years ago but the people who were in the program working, different things were happening. Then one day somebody went to a lawyer from Trinidad and when he heard our story, he sent those teachers to this is happening. You actually speak to people who you call here like this and Berta got involved.

In the excerpt above, the organization the teacher discusses is the Black institute, discussed in chapter 4, a think tank organization that is dedicated to helping people in the black diaspora with various issues (see chapter 1 for full details). They were instrumental in helping Afro-Caribbean teachers navigate the visa process and other issues they had. In the excerpt above, the teacher discusses how as a group, teachers formed a collective and partnered with the black institute to fight for their visa rights and to help them navigate problems they faced as a result of their status as international teachers. Resistance in this example, took the form of a structured, systemic and organized collective resistance. The example demonstrates that as a group the teachers used their collective authority to work with allies who were more knowledgeable about New York city and black immigrant issues. The teachers realized that together they were more powerful than if they worked separately. They also realized that if they partnered with a community organization that they could be even more powerful to navigate the issues they had with the board of education.

Although Mrs. P and Mrs. H begin this conversation by saying they disagree about what racism looks like for each of them, below they come to a place of understanding. They move into a conversation about historical legacies and institutional practices of racism. They discuss their collective authority of experiencing race and racism. They argue:

Mrs. P: But that's not that's just in her behavior. She is coming from a background of history. I can do this because that's where I belong

Mrs. H: Its racism Mrs. P

Mrs. P: Gimme a chance fi talk nuh! Me no give you a chance fi go round

Mrs. H: Alright. But you interject before that.

Mrs. P: She is coming from a place where she feels that history is still going on and I can flaunt my color but I've never. I don't know that she's ever. She's a trouble maker. Mi no know if its racism

Mrs. H: hahhahahhahahhahh [ON: Laughs loudly]

Mrs. P: It is racism. It is racism

Mrs. P: She's a troublemaker. I don't think it is racism Mrs. H: It is!

Mrs. P: Maybe I don't understand the concept of racism

In the excerpt above, the teachers argue about what racism means. One teacher has a more institutional understanding and one has a more interpersonal understanding of racism. I included this quote under collective authority and in the race and resistances chapter is, because it demonstrates that the teachers did not always agree on issues but that they co-constructed their realities and made sense of their race, discrimination and racist behaviors towards them through discussion and co-constructed meanings.

Mrs. P: So alright, I think racism is um where you outwardly put down another person's race. Put it that way

Kim: Ok

Mrs. P: So, a trouble maker to me is in a different category

Mrs. L: I agree with you in that cause I think I think of it both ways. She doesn't see herself as racist but what we see, what I see is um she is very um reactionary and she always feels like there is something out there that she has to get. She has an agenda. Those of us who recognize it know what that agenda is. Alright?

In this excerpt, Mrs. L concedes and agrees with Mrs. P that the teacher they are discussing may not be racist but that she has an agenda. It is important to note here that the teacher being discussed is white and a divisive figure. So, when Mrs. L says, "Those of us who recognize it know what that agenda is. Alright?" she means that the teachers agenda is racist as

well as one that the teacher uses to advance herself at the expense of others. As they construct and interpret their experiences, it is important to pay attention to how they build a collective authority.

Mrs. P: If that is the case then I experienced racism from her. She walked into my room, I said "good morning" and she don't answer me. All the black people. Black and Latino people. They answer. I said "GOOD MORNING" She didn't answer. I said huh! What is this? She said, "What is this? You are not my boss!" I said I know and if I were your boss, you think about it

Mrs. P: So that to me is racism. Cause now you resent me and I am better than you. But, the way you handle racism is the way you see yourself. It's how you view yourself.

Mrs. H: I disagree with that!

Mrs. P: you can disagree all you want. It is the way I see it.

Kim: I want to hear why you disagree! Finish what you say and then I want to hear what you have to say.

Mrs. P: If I didn't say what I said that then she would think she won and that's not true. A matter of fact it's as if I am above you!

Mrs. H: Oh that's what you meant

Mrs. P: Wha else yu tink me mean?

Mrs. P: No!!!

Mrs. L: I agree with you but I don't talk, I just act. So I won't answer. It's just me. She just have a bad vibe. People give me vibes. And she comes in and I get a bad vibe. But on my professional side. I will do what I have to because it is about the children.

Mrs. H: The children

In this excerpt, the teachers continue to discuss the white teacher who they perceive to be rude and possibly racist. Mrs. L says she has a "bad vibe" but that she will be "professional" by doing what she needs to. This excerpt is particularly telling because the ways some teachers and in this case, Mrs. L, make sense of their professional selves is by ignoring people who give them "bad vibes." They resist by not acknowledging these people and by not playing into their agendas. In this excerpt, the three teachers resist differently. Mrs. L ignores the white teacher. Mrs. P is direct and forward with her. She says even that if she were her boss she would be fired. Mrs. H is the only one who explicitly sees that what the white teacher is doing is racist

and is the only one willing to call it out and call it racist. Nonetheless, the teachers co-construct meaning together and even though they all do not resist in the same ways, they understand that the white teacher is problematic and that the act of discussing her problematic behaviors is a site from which to further complicate their relationships with the white teacher and to have a better understanding of each other.

Kim: Ok let me hear what Mrs. H has to say and then I think those were actually all my questions. What was your take about racism because it seems you think very differently about racism. How you define it and experience it.

Mrs. H: I think that racism like internalized racism is learned behavior. I think we are socialized to behave in particular ways and there are particular cues we are socialized to give off. For instance, the children, um, turn off your something. You know the saying "anything too blank is not good"

Mrs. P: You say it man. Anything too black no good!

Mrs. H: We encourage um, we say that without thinking to the children. You bring a dark skinned black man home your parents don't like that. Dem want, even without telling you that them want the lightest skin. Right? Or you hear the subtleties. But comments of that sort. So you begin to believe that they are better than you. Right? And so the children begin to believe also that they are better than them.

Mrs. H here, provides a deliberate and structural perspective of racism and internalized oppression. She eloquently describes what some of the issues with black teachers are. She laments that what we teach our children is this self-hate that hurts our community. Below, all the teachers agree with Mrs. H and continue to make meaning of their experiences.

Mrs. P: That's what I said! You don't know yourself!

Mrs. H: These people are better than them! Right? On the other hand, we too are socialized to be inferior. They are socialized to be superior and irrespective of the setting in which they go, they carry their entire persona um basically is that way. One of them will go into a sea of black people and change the dynamics within and it's not because the black people necessarily in that setting um want to you know or don't want to embrace them. Their sense of power and entitlement and privilege cause them to believe they can do anything

Mrs. P: And we allow them to believe this.

*Mrs. H: And this is where our own internalized racism you understand?
That is the piece we haven't dealt with yet. We haven't unlearned it yet.*

This is an important moment among teachers where they describe how they think about and see racism. Lugones' (2007), understanding of authority are that it is the ability we have to be decision makers. The teachers here discuss that although they were seen as having no authority, that they still demonstrated knowledge and eventually came to be seen as smart and capable teachers in their schools. The two teachers who speak to each other in this excerpt. Mrs. H and Mrs. P, come to agree that perhaps what they experienced was racism. Mrs. H however, has a more institutional understanding of racism which can be attributed to her time living in Canada which one could say sharpened her senses to the nuances of how racism works and Mrs. P is more relational in her understanding of racism. The teachers' varying understandings of racism are consistent with the other teachers in the data sets. They, like members of society are not in agreement about how racism works and how different bodies experience racism. But, the power of their coming to collective authority lies in their ability to come to a common understanding of what their lived experiences have been.

In the Caribbean, where social class experiences are more salient than racial experiences, the teachers are learning to negotiate an identity that situates race and class as part of a larger discourse of oppression. Many of these teachers came to be teachers because it allowed them to move across class lines and to continue to climb the social ranks. For example, teachers say,

Mrs. O: Well I got into teaching because I loved, really loved teaching. I used to admire teachers. The authority, the respect especially that they got from the community, from the school.

Mrs. W: Ok. I think I am a born teacher! (raised intonation) and this has been my only profession. I love teaching from I was a child. I love teaching because of the, as my counterpart said, the sort of respect you get in the community. The way people look at you. The way they treat

you. And I have always admired my teachers. Especially my principal Mr. Muchette. Who I really adore that man.

When these teachers left home they were middle class by salary, profession and experiences. Many of them shifted class positions when they got to the United States from middle/upper middle class to lower middle and working class. They at once became negatively racialized and placed into a lower socio-economic bracket. The respect and prestige that had come with teaching suddenly disappeared. Now they were being questioned in ways that left them feeling incongruent and insecure.

Labor

Lugones (2007), understands labor to be much more than wages rendered for work. Unpaid labor (mothering, cooking, cleaning etc.) are also facets of labor. The teachers describe many instances in which their labor was relegated to the margins or instances in which their labor was invisible because of who they were. They were accustomed to working very hard and wanted to make a good impression. So they discuss going above the call of duty. They discuss taking work home. Staying late with children after school to get them prepared for tests and to become more fluent with math, English etc. An example of this is below:

Mrs. H: But really! We had to step outside of the rules and do the work!

Kim, Mrs. W, and Mrs. O: Yes! Yes!

Mrs. H: You know! And you have to go I think those of us who really care about the kids often go beyond the call of duty.

Mrs. O: Oh yes

Kim: Mmmmmhhmmmm

Mrs. H: And you know teachers according to the contract we should not be taking things home.

Kim: hmmm

The teachers' labor – what they were paid for and what they were not paid for, was undervalued and underappreciated. They were not given curriculum or adequate training for the

work they were hired to do. Essentially, teachers were expected to be work horses or place fillers and because of who they are, international, immigrant, women, mostly black, and from the global south, the skills they had acquired meant very little in this new context. So they were met with resistance from principals and other teachers when they asked for materials to be able to do better work. Below, Mrs. W explains what happens:

Mrs. W: The first meeting I had with the principal, I had I was taken to an interview at the hotel where we stayed and I got a job at another school. Not this one. And I went to school to meet the principal before school reopened and I said to her um I would love to see my curriculum before I leave so I know what I'll be doing. I'll be teaching fourth grade, I've never taught fourth grade before in my life so I'd like to see what the fourth grade curriculum looks like especially a cur curriculum in the united states if America so let me.. and she said, its ok! when you come you will get it and I said if school is going to reopen next week then I should know what the curriculum looks like this week so I can get my plans together. So I asked her, can I get a template of your lesson plan she said um, well you know I don't really have a template but when you come you will get one from your colleagues. And everything I asked she kept putting me off and I was thinking ... oh my god I'm not going to be happy here. However I stayed. When I came I came to school the first Monday morning and they introduced everybody and I said to my colleague's um so what should I be teaching them? There was this white lady she said um... just talk to them about ANYTHING! ANYTHING come to your mind! You don't a plan for this week. This week we just talk. I said well I don't know these people what am I going to talk about?

Let me see the curriculum! Let me see something I can really know and I'm going to be planning. I have never ever seen a curriculum in that school. N-e-v-e-r. After two weeks, I was given a math book. And a science book and a social studies book and that was it. And they tell you um next week we going to be teaching main ideas, next week we going to be teaching that. We gonna teach that we gonna teach that. So where can I get this information from? The internet was not even as prevalent as it is now so all they said was um just look in the library and anything you find! And teach it from it. That let me feel so discouraged. Because back at home I know we would sit and make the curriculum together before we go off to holidays in in in June we would have everything organized! You know which class you are getting! You could take your curriculum home from May! June! Or even if you didn't get it June, when you go to staff meeting in August you get that to take home so you

have another week and a half to go through organize your things, know what you are going to be teaching first. You get the names of the kids, you could actually be looking on them and studying the name so when a child get up and say my name is you can put face now with name. It was nothing like that. It was kind of shocking and nerve racking for me. And then you could not stay back late at that school. They told you school um dismisses at 3, you have to be out by 3:15.

These experiences, teachers explained were so unlike what they had experienced at home. They were not properly trained and as Mrs. W says, there was no collaborative effort to create a curriculum from which the entire grade worked. They had to expend labor to create their own curriculum and lesson plans with no help from those who had been in the American system and classroom before them and those who could help them navigate these new systems. These situations were not coincidental. They were tied to the teachers' bodies as Black immigrant women from the global south. What would have happened if a different group of teachers with more dominant and Eurocentric identities showed up? Below, the teachers describe that not only was their labor devalued but that it was further cheapened when white teachers, hired to teach in the same schools did not show up for work. Here is what they say,

Mrs. H: Because it was the same woman that suggested to me she wanted to send me to Queens and I said listen I want to work amongst black people and so she said ask for district 17 so I kept you know, actually she said Crown Heights hahahahaha [laughs] and it turns out that our family friend lives across the road

Mrs. O: hahhahaha [laughs] The funny thing about this school is that what we learned was that they hired all white because they had the school supposed to be

Mrs. H: An academy

Mrs. O: How they portrayed it to us! It was going to be an academy with high score children

Kim: Oh Ok

Mrs. O: But apparently they sold the white teachers the same thing and when we got to find out the week before school, not one came

Kim: Oh wow, none of the white teachers came?

Mrs. O: No not one, No one came so for me they had me assigned to another and I had travelled during that vacation so they couldn't get a hold of me and they assigned somebody else. When I came here I was sent to a different school so after those teachers got skin out hahahahah I had a hahahhaha

In this excerpt, Mrs. P explains a couple of things. First, she makes it clear that teachers were moved around at will. Their assignments were sometimes pulled without explanation. The labor that went into showing up to a school, mentally preparing to be there and doing the physical labor of preparing lesson plans and curriculum was invisibilized. The second thing she explained is that although all teachers were sold a dream – the dream that the students were really bright, and that the school was an academy – which connotated that the resources being given to the school were really great. When that turned out to not be true, the white teachers did not show up. We do not know what happened to the white teachers. The teachers speculate that they realized that the district within which their school was located was “not good” and so decided not to come. How White teachers were able to choose where they worked and the Afro-Caribbean teachers were not only disallowed from choosing but also were moved without warning, and their labor was at the whim of the board of education and by extension the state. So, not only were the teachers negatively raced but they were also treated as disposable workers despite having earned the credentials that would have otherwise made them attractive employees.

Below the teachers describe the difference their relationships with the state in regard to visa documentation, accommodations and pay and the relationships their white counterparts and colleagues from European countries experienced. They say:

Mrs. P: It's 8 A, B and then you move across

Mrs. L: Yes yes.

Mrs. L: Maybe you right. I don't know.

Mrs. H: But you see they thought we made more money than them. So there was a disgust for that. You know? Plus, um because they had gone to the Caribbean to ask for people, we later found out that they were actually giving the white, Europeans um

Mrs. L: Additional support

Mrs. H: Additional support and helping them to get their green cards status early

Mrs. L: They were given housing

Mrs. H: They were given housing whereas we weren't given housing. There was a resentment. I think that um you could go in and talk to them and you know they would um negotiate with them if you will. Some of them like Anton was working on our behalf. He got lashes for that but you know there was that indifference to us

Mrs. L: To me, it wasn't an indifference. Like there was total not cover OVERT um

Mrs. H: OVERT mmhmm

Mrs. L: resentment like you would have to go to the office for something and they would do rude things. I remember one time I was down at the board of Ed and um one of the staff members in the board of Ed came out with a spray can and said the place was smelling funny and there was a lot of international teachers in there.

This narrative describes the inhumane ways in which teachers were received and treated. The teachers were horrified that that they were being treated as 'foreign' and 'unclean.' These are the subtle ways in which international teachers experienced othering and racism.

Mrs. L: Right. Some teachers had a great time in the school. It was only when they went to the board or the union, you find out that these people don't really like us why did they ask us to come... Then you found out that the other people who came under the same guise got better treatment than you were

Kim: And these other people were the Europeans that you talked about? So at the same time that you were recruited people from Europe were also recruited?

Mrs. H: Yes! mhhmmmmmm

Mrs. L: People who had thick accents. The children couldn't understand them

Kim: But they were white European teachers?

Mrs. L: mmmmm

Mrs. L: And our children had a problem seeing the white teacher in front of the classroom

The white teachers they describe, were treated better and more fairly than the Afro-Caribbean teachers. One of the teachers says she's not sure why they recruited them given that they didn't like them. These examples speak to the ways in which the coloniality of gender in education is enacted. The identities of the teachers as women, black and in many cases lower middle class rendered them unworthy of respect, being treated well and being seen as competent. They were placed in failing schools precisely because they were seen as incompetent and the students they taught were also experienced as unable to learn or disposable. So, for recruiters, it didn't matter that teachers were skilled. Any-body would have been good enough and white teachers were certainly too good for that space.

Sex

Lugones (2007) describes sex in her article as one of the ways in which the colonial project enacts its power and domination. Gender, sexuality, and race are components of a system that is based on domination and inferiority/superiority. The way that teachers are read in the classroom is about sexuality, gender, and race as inseparable social and colonial phenomena. For example, many teachers are women. The statistics are staggering but below the teachers discuss how students received them as teachers, knowers, and competent in relationship to how they receive their white counterparts. Although the teachers do not name white teachers as women, we know that it is likely that the teachers are women. Hill Collins (2000), says that White women were the dogs the masters petted in the slavery plantation economic system while Black women were the mules who did all the work. So, both women were animals or non-human according to Hill Collins (2000) but in the hierarchy, White women were higher because of their race. Therefore, in the education system this translation becomes palpable when students read white women teachers as better than, more knowledgeable or more authoritative than Black women teachers. This is what they say:

Mrs. L: Standing in front of them as opposed to a black teacher. Our children do have that here.

Kim: Because of the community because they are all children of color? Do you think the children like it?

Mrs. P: Ooooooh Yesssss! Because they reacted to them differently than how they reacted to us.

Mrs. L: Yes! Very differently.

Kim: Do you think there is more respect for the white teachers? If so, how?

Mrs. P: Yes! We will say have a seat nicely and they still in turmoil and all over

Mrs. H: Yes!

Mrs. P: The white person walk in and say [ON: changes her voice to a nasal pitch to mimic a white person's voice] Have a seat!!!! And everybody sits. I don't know what it is. But we have to bark and bellow at them for them to understand. They just barely say – have a seat and everybody will sit. While if you use that same tone with them..

Mrs. L: you have to say it 2 or 3 or 4 times with them

Mrs. P: Exactly

Mrs. L: And you have to get louder and louder. I think and I'm not putting this against any white teacher but the white teacher will give them this much information or knowledge [ON: She pinches her fingers together to indicate a small amount] and you come with this much information [ON: she opens her arms widely to indicate a lot] and you are not allowed to give this unless you behave like a tyrant. I don't know what else to say.

Mrs. H: I think it is a question of inferiority complex

Kim: For whom?

Mrs. H: All children.

These quotes make clear that some of the teachers understood how race, gender and sexuality were parts of a larger system that was meant to discriminate against them. The excerpts debunk any thought that Caribbean International teachers do not “get” race issues and although all teachers’ literacies are not the same in regard to race, here is a teacher defying that logic. In my interviews to date, she uses the most sophisticated vocabulary, but she is not the only teacher who understands this phenomenon. Below another teacher describes,

Kim: Oh for the children?

Mrs. H: Yes. Because the white person seems to be superior and they are inferior and that's how they reacted. You would see for instance, they see some of the Hispanic kids as white and they play up in the hair and some of the white teachers entertain that and you know um that in of itself is really bad because you are here to help the kids to grow up and you know what the history is too so as much as they are white, they will buy into it because.. Oh and if you say something [ON: changes her voice to a nasal pitch to indicate a white person's voice] "Oh they don't talk to me like that at all. I have classroom management. Oh no!" You know, in fact I tackled the teacher because in fact, she made that comparison a few years back that a teacher was having difficulty with classroom management with a different teacher and how a sub or an ATR had come and um was able to manage the class very well, so it was the other teacher's fault so I tackled that then and there. But we have all these little biases. For me, my view was a little bit different, only because, I have lived in Canada for a long time and I see internalized racism and I see racism for what it is. Right? So as soon as I, when I was back home. Um back then you know, we were just getting into our consciousness so you can't compare this time to now or 2001

The use of the language of coming to consciousness is powerful as this teacher contextualizes her understanding of racism.

Mrs. H: I mean the fact of the matter is that I was a little more tolerant also because um you see something as not being that bad but where United States I lost um, I don't know if it is respect. In the past, the racism was quite open so black people could deal with it. They have switched a little bit so the racism is quite covert and they will be cutting your throat and you know right here and they talk to you and you would never know what they are doing and unfortunately, some of our people have picked that up. So we fight against one another now. You know which is the internalized piece but you know all in all I would say the experience was a good one for me. I didn't like some of the things that you know, I saw but there were good points.

In the excerpt, the teachers discuss that sex and race are closely tied in the colonial imagination as a system for stratifying society. The school being an institution that transmits societies values also enacts these beliefs through students and how they have been taught to respond to teachers. So, very practically, white teachers are coded as having good classroom

management and black teachers are not. If taken at face value, one could say this is true based on the children's response. However, a decolonial framework, forces us to think about how sex and race are enacted as systems that still stratify bodies in society and in a classroom.

Agency

Throughout the text, I have demonstrated that although teachers were being constructed as negatively raced and therefore being treated as incompetent, they were enacting and employing their agencies, and resisting these labels and expectations through their actions. Resistance took many forms. They would refuse to teach in certain ways, they helped each other out, they resisted through unions and finally they resisted by organizing with each other and with the think tank "The Black Institute." Below the teachers talk about resistances and coalition building as a means to not only survive but as a way to thrive.

Chela Sandoval (2000) claims that we must think about new forms of resistance and opposition (53). A cognitive mapping of opposition as resistance was necessary Sandoval claimed to be able to understand how third world feminists were making sense of the world. Oppositional consciousness is a theory of feminist resistance. Like Sandoval, I see the Afro-Caribbean women in my dissertation study as engaging in these oppositional practices as a means of survival but also as a means of subverting a narrative to which they refuse to be subjected. They are conscious of the narrative but in their opposition to it resist the subtleties of being treated like second class citizens.

For example, they say,

Mrs. H: So we did have a backlash even within the union. The union office. The borough office because we raised so many things down there and they said they were antagonistic because they felt like some of the teachers here, like Mrs. P, not you [ON: points to Mrs. L]. They would have been making more money than them because they came with a history. I started scratch because I was supposed to be on sabbatical

right? And I didn't want to let them know I was here working so I had no choice but to start from the very beginning. They, on the other hand had gotten credited. Right? So they were earning more money than some of them so they were very angry about that.

That's how come we kinda got together and negotiate and advocate for ourselves because nobody was doing the advocating for us. It wasn't until we got the

Kim: Is that through the Black Institute?

Mrs. N: Yes. That institute was the big breakthrough in that in it's we began to relax as a group. Then some of us, like myself, our files were disappearing. We would find out our applications had to go ... Different things were happening. There's a number of people who already have their citizenship years ago but the people who were in the program working, different things were happening. Then one day somebody went to a lawyer from Trinidad and when he heard our story, he sent those teachers to [inaudible 00:11:06] this is happening. You actually speak to

Kim: Who is Berta Louis?

Mrs. N: Berta Louis is the CEO of the Black Institute.

Kim: Oh, okay.

Mrs. N: The muscle behind ... Just one second. All right. She's the backbone behind occupy Wall Street and all these different things going on. Yeah, she's the little muscle later with all the groups going on. The climate thing, they have a whole lot of things going on and in the midst of that she said, "What?" Most of the teachers who came, the majority are female. We ended up heads of household with spouses who had to ask us for metro card money because they couldn't work. A lot of these men had their own business and whatever and along the way we had like murder/suicide. When the father couldn't take it he killed his wife, then his daughter came from upstate where she was studying, killed two daughters, himself. We've had suicides. Those are the extreme cases. We had also the things that we had to face as a group. In my case, I'm glad my husband didn't come now my ex, because you can't be husband after 15 years. People who you call here like this and Berta got involved.

Mrs. N describes the way in which teachers worked with the black institute to document the issues teachers were facing and to take a stand against what the teachers thought was abuse. They protested in the streets of New York, wrote letters to their representatives, joined the unions and engaged in town hall meetings. This was a major step to be in community with political leaders. It is important to note that the teachers were not all on board with protesting or

resisting in the ways described by Mrs. N. They resisted in seemingly mundane and everyday ways. They were also divided along country lines. The Trinidadians and the Guyanese were more involved in organized political resistances while the Jamaicans, St. Lucians, Bahamians etc. tended to resist in more mundane ways. One of the reasons was the cost associated with resisting. The Jamaicans in particular owed their governments money, and felt that resisting in organized ways would jeopardize relationships.

The teachers also built coalitions across country lines and usually worked together in resisting. One teacher says:

Mrs. N: If another teacher were to open another school, they can have us, the group? If someone gets sick across the road, you know the next block that a Jamaican teacher had a stroke, then they called me, I go and check. She's home, she had to retire. She's okay. Another one from Trinidad just I'll meet her. So they will contact the core group.

Resistance and coalition building were important for the teachers to survive and thrive. Friendships were built and negotiated. Teachers worked with others on personal projects and supported each other through difficult times. Below, a teacher summarizes,

Mrs. H: There were also very good, I came across, I met and I enjoyed friends. Built friendships. So that was one thing I didn't allow myself to do. I had acquaintances and I have a lot of friends! But here I found that there were few people that you could embrace and talk to them. What was good about the group was that we would always help one another and we weren't fighting to be recognized. But that wasn't the style. We would help one another without kudos. So, those were some of the things.

In this excerpt, Mrs. H discusses the friendships and coalitions they built together. Those friendships were pivotal in regard to survival and resisting. In order to thrive, the women had to learn to work together. Working together provided a way for them to decipher a system that was culturally different and structurally punitive for them. They were not in competition

with each other or with native born teachers. According to Mrs. H, the fact that they did not compete with each other, allowed them to build strong foundations of friendships and coalitions for future fights.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed how Afro-Caribbean teachers negotiated their identities to create new ways of living in and seeing the world. In particular, I have used Lugones' (2007) ambits of social existence from her piece on the coloniality of gender to argue that education systems and in particular schools are tools for reproducing coloniality. I have demonstrated how teachers live in an in-between world where they negotiate these ambits at the coloniality of gender while they enact their agency, resist systems of domination and power, and create coalitions amongst themselves.

Lugones (2007), uses gender as a way to discuss how a colonial imposition of gender was also a colonial imposition of sexuality and race. Race, sexuality and gender became necessary to establish superiority and inferiority. If white men were going to be the ruling class, then white women had to be inferior to them. The same logic dictated that if Black men and women were going to be the wageless workers – slaves, then white men and women would have to superior to the black man and woman's inferiority.

The four ambits of social existence intersubjectivity, authority, sex and labor are really important theoretical concepts that help amplify the experiences of the Afro-Caribbean teachers in this dissertation. Lugones (2007) argues that intersubjectivity is the way in which situated knowledge is leveraged, made marginal and taken up (p. 198). It is an important way to understand the experiences of Afro-Caribbean teachers because as the excerpts below demonstrate, Afro-Caribbean knowledges were being made marginal along a colonially imposed way of understanding knowledge. Lugones (2007), describes this ambit as decision

making power. The ways in which decision making moved from a collective way of coming to decisions about community in the pre-colonial time to an individual way of understanding one's authority. This Lugones says, is a colonial imposition. However, the ways in which the women negotiate their collective authority defies the logic of the colonial individual authority.

Lugones (2007), understands labor to be much more than wages rendered for work. Unpaid labor (mothering, cooking, cleaning etc.) are also facets of labor. The teachers describe many instances in which their labor was relegated to the margins or instances in which their labor was invisible because of who they were. Lugones (2007) describes sex in her article as one of the ways in which the colonial project enacts its power and domination. Gender and race are components of a system that is based on domination and inferiority/superiority. The way that teachers are read in the classroom is about sex and race as inseparable social and colonial phenomena.

I end the chapter by discussing how teachers enact their agency to resist, build coalitions and act in their best interest. They build coalitions with each other and in everyday ways they resist by talking back to principals, demonstrating their knowledges, working with activist organizations, and co-creating shared experiences by staying in conversation with each other. This chapter demonstrates that teachers acted with agency and defied the colonial logics and legacies that situated them as incompetent teachers from the global south. They were not backward, they were not disposable and they were certainly not dispossessed of self.

Chapter 7 - Conclusion

Transnational, Black and decolonial feminists have in common, a desire to interrogate power structures and hierarchies. Beyond just interrogating these systems and hierarchies, they empower women of color to build coalitions and to work together to dismantle hegemonic systems and hegemonic structures that render women of color invisible and ineffable. This dissertation takes a look at a group of Afro-Caribbean women teachers who were recruited to New York City to teach in the most financially and socially vulnerable school districts where students were often described as “high risk” or “failing.” I did not explore how students were treated or even if teachers were successful at teaching students and moving them from “failing” status to passing. Wilson (2010) has done this work and found that Afro-Caribbean teachers recruited to teach between 2001 and 2003, did improve the rates at which students passed state tests and exams and that Afro-Caribbean teachers did in fact improve the passing rates at schools and the school environments themselves. It was important to me to understand these Afro-Caribbean teachers through a woman of color, intersectional and decolonial feminist lens. I discuss in my literature review that the experiences of these teachers are not easily theorized through all women of color feminisms. I especially think Caribbean feminist theories and Black feminist theories fall short of locating these particular women. Caribbean and Black feminist theorists are important to my work broadly so far as they address issues that are unique to the Black and Caribbean diaspora but fall short in regard to the specificities of being Caribbean in Black feminist epistemologies and being Black and women in Caribbean epistemologies. Transnational and decolonial epistemologies have been most useful for my dissertation because both locate the women as people who have crossed borders and who bring with them British colonial legacies to a U.S. settler colonial state. The juxtaposition of a Black diasporic identity

first shaped by British colonial sensibilities and then given new meaning in a U.S. settler colonial state are best made visible by transnational and decolonial epistemologies. These two theoretical frameworks also make visible a neoliberal agenda of hiring cheap, disposable labor, that has become synonymous with countries in the global south, women, and their labor.

Neoliberal practices have also become mundane in educational systems and settings. In particular, Teach for America has been critiqued for its corporate-like practices and its reliance on the recruitment of large numbers of untrained and largely unqualified persons. In particular Sleet (2008), Lahann and Randall (2011), and Kretchmar, Sondel and Ferarre (2014), have discussed the neoliberal practices of Teach for America programs. They argue that these programs rely exclusively on an available labor force willing to work for various incentives. This dissertation also focuses on neoliberal practices but looks at neoliberalism through a transnational and decolonial feminist lens. What that means is that I discuss neoliberal practices in education as part of a larger capital economy that is reliant on cheap, exportable, exploitable and feminized labor.

The dissertation asked the following larger questions, 1) How are Black Anglo Immigrant Caribbean Women Teachers recruited between 2001 and 2003 enacting their identities and subjectivities created through the experiences they have in the schools in which they teach? 2) What is the relationship between neoliberal, capitalist endeavors and teacher education especially as it gets enacted through these teachers' lives?

I answered these questions by examining the complex subjectivities of the women who participated in my research. I demonstrate how they organize and resist politically while navigating the complex systems of race, neoliberalism, capitalism, the feminization of labor and

the ways in which they are rendered incompetent and sometimes invisible. I highlight the ways in which they enact their agency.

Through a series of documents, I received from one of the recruiters, I examined the discourse that surrounded the hiring of Afro-Caribbean teachers from multiple stake holders. Some of these stakeholders include activist organizations, newspaper journals, consulate bureaucrats and other interested parties. I wanted to understand what stories the documents told and how that was supported by what my participants experienced. I also answered that question by examining the ways in which the women I interviewed, talked about their subjectivities and how they perceived neoliberal practices. Of course, I did not ask the women about neoliberalism explicitly but I wanted to understand how they made sense of the practices the board of education used which were neoliberal tactics. Finally, I answered these questions by using Lugones' (2007) decolonial theoretical frame about the coloniality of gender as a model for discussing the coloniality of education. In the dissertation, I demonstrate the complex subjectivities of the participants in my study and how they enacted agency as they navigated their multiple realities.

This dissertation is a feminist reading on the practice of US imperialism as enacted through the lives of women from the global south. The state sanctioned the board of education to recruit Afro-Caribbean women to teach in schools that were designated as failing. They were "surprised" at the response they received in each Caribbean country and that they had the highest numbers of international teachers from the Afro and Anglo Caribbean.

In chapter 4, I conduct a document analysis of recruitment materials and manuals, newspaper articles, and statistics about the types of teachers recruited to teach in New York city school districts. I find in that chapter that there was a blatant disregard for U.S./Caribbean

relationships and an expectation of open borders to countries in the Caribbean. Chapter 1, provides the context for how the Caribbean Recruitment Initiative (CRI) came to be and how others reacted to it. I contextualize it as a neoliberal effort to extract teachers from the Caribbean who were supposed to provide cheap and pliable labor. All the documents demonstrate a pattern of mass importation which is a standard feature of the neoliberal and capitalist practice of importing women of color.

The newspaper articles are particularly telling because they make visible the reactions of fellow country-men and government officials about the recruitment patterns and their relationship to state governments within and outside of the U.S. Other major findings in that chapter include an analysis of the primary recruiter, a Caribbean immigrant himself who came to the U.S. as a teenager. His role in the recruitment process was critical as a legitimizing effort on the part of the board of education. For example, using Robert Antoine, a Caribbean born person to lead the recruitment efforts was strategic on the part of the board of education. Antoine's role could have been critical as he deployed his knowledges of the Caribbean, Caribbean governments and Caribbean teachers, but as the data suggests, he was used as a pawn instead of as a knowledgeable part of the recruitment team. This is evident because of the way in which Antoine was dismissed from his role as recruiter soon after the CRI ended in 2003. The teachers also describe an affinity for Antoine whom they saw as a valuable asset to them. They thought he advocated for them in ways that other recruiters and members of the board of education did not and perhaps could not because of the cultural divide members of the board of education were reluctant to close.

In Chapter 5, I contextualize the ways in which neoliberal hiring practices are experienced in the flesh by Afro-Caribbean women. Cherrie Moraga (1981) theories about a

theory in the flesh which she says is “where the physical realities of our lives – our skin color, the land or concrete we grew up on, our sexual longings – all fuse to create a politic born out of necessity” (23). Moraga’s (1981) insights are very important as I theorize about the lives of the women who participated in the study who knew instinctively but also convincingly that neoliberal hiring practices are violent to one’s psychological state and to one’s life. What I mean by violence here is that when the women in my study are told directly or indirectly that they are not good enough and that the experiences and competencies for which they were hired does not matter, it creates a fracture in their sense of self. One of the teachers, Mrs. H, comments that if they did not know who they were, they would also doubt their abilities. This is a powerful statement from women who were brought to the United States to serve as competent teachers who later had to fight to be seen as competent.

In chapter 5, I make the argument that teachers were disposable as cheap (replaceable labor) but not dispossessed of self. By this I mean that although teachers may have been seen as easily discarded they remained self-assured and self-reliant. They did not lose sight of themselves or allow the dominant narratives about who they should be to dissuade them from being “good” teachers who achieved the goals they had set for themselves. I also discuss that although it would be tempting to only see teachers as victims of exploitative neoliberal practices, that that would be a mistake. Instead, I argue that we see them as people who used their agency to resist the dominant narratives that were not always positive about them and to create spaces where they built coalition with each other and with others. In other words, I ask the question, who is using whom? The third and final theme in this chapter is systems of power and collective subjectivity. Under this theme, I demonstrate the ways in which the women come to form

coalitions and speak back to the power systems that provide restrictions and systemic discriminations.

In chapter 6, I discuss race and agency. I argue in this chapter that although all the teachers in the dissertation navigated race differently among them, that they understood themselves as “raced” people after migrating to the US. I use Maria Lugones’ (2007) theoretical construct, the coloniality of gender to make an argument that much the same way Lugones critiques the essentializing of gender is the same way we should critique the essentializing of education which allows certain bodies to be “good” teachers and others not to be. Using Lugones’ four ambits of social existence – intersubjectivity, labor, authority and sex, I demonstrate how teachers resist hegemonic understandings of the education system and how they resist daily, the racist experiences they encounter. I make the argument that Afro-Caribbean teachers resist in various ways through political organizing as well as through everyday activities. The teachers partnered with the black institute as well as spoke back to principals, closed their doors and taught despite the consequences, and built coalitions with each other in an effort to survive and thrive. I end this chapter by discussing what everyday resistance looks like for the Afro-Caribbean women in my dissertation.

The strengths that this dissertation offers readers lies in its theoretical and methodological framings. A critical feminist approach to understanding teachers, Black Caribbean women and immigrants furthers all of our understandings of race, gender, class and other social identities. Prior to this dissertation, there was not a thorough exploration of the critical feminist literatures used to situate the experiences of Afro-Caribbean women teachers. This dissertation does that work and makes an impact on many fields in a deeply interdisciplinary way. In particular, teacher education theories are enhanced because we can learn much from the experiences of teachers to be able to

implement policies that impact positively students and teachers alike. This dissertation relies on a combination of feminist epistemologies and therefore begs the question, is it time for a new understanding of women from the global south? Aside from teacher education and feminist literatures, this dissertation makes a deliberate intervention into the ways we understand immigrants, their motivations and their lives that goes far beyond pitting them against the groups that are most similar to them.

The data chapters are tied together in a coherent sequence by the agency with which the teachers navigated their daily experiences in the classroom and at home. The two neoliberal chapters (chapters 4 and 5) work together to demonstrate how neoliberal practices are implemented by state and school agents and how they are navigated by those on whom these practices have been enacted. The ten teacher participants in this dissertation, demonstrate how possible it is to navigate complex racialized identities and spaces, neoliberal practices enacted through recruiters, colleagues and principals. They demonstrate this by building coalitions with each other, helping each other in the classroom and outside of the classroom, and organizing politically.

Limitations of the Dissertation

There are several limitations that I have identified with this dissertation. The first is that although I do a thorough analysis of how gender, sexuality, and race are co-constructed and intersect to create the Afro-Caribbean teachers' experiences, I do not do enough to discuss how gender and sexuality are experienced as essentialized in my dissertation. There are no women who identify as trans* in my dissertation and that is a limitation in regard to participant criteria because I did not deliberately ask women to identify as trans* women if relevant or as gender non-conforming. When the women talked about their sexual and gender identities, they did so in heteronormative and essentialized ways that I did not challenge because it was not the focus of my study. As a researcher, I made decisions about what issues I would raise to be explored by my

participants. While I explicitly and intently pursued race and racism as co-constructed with gender and sexuality, I could have done more to ask questions about how the women also experienced tensions around sexuality. This limitation is partly because this information did not emerge from the data but also because it was not a primary focus although the marginal identities the women have cannot be seen for their separate parts but must be understood as co-created.

Other issues of identity such as ability, social class, and religion are not directly addressed in the dissertation. These issues including citizenship were discussed in indirect ways, but the dissertation was less focused on exploring these identities. I am aware that race is always mediated by these other social identities and that it is not possible to understand race fully without understanding how these other identities are influencing and affecting understandings of race. The question of citizenship was always present given the teachers came in on visas and sought green cards later. However, the subject of citizenship as more than a legal phenomenon was never directly addressed.

Religion, in particular Christianity, is important to the Afro-Caribbean women in my dissertation. Almost all the participants reference their faith as a source of strength that helped them get through tough times. I did not excavate or focus on how faith and religion were central to the women's lives. I believe that religion, social class and citizenship are other areas of identity that would be worth exploring in depth with the women because they emerge in secondary ways as important.

As with most qualitative studies, the sample size of 10 is relatively small. It would be instructive to have a larger sample size because a larger sample size would give us more context,

other narratives and a more representative sample of Afro-Caribbean teachers. Given the numbers of Afro-Caribbean teachers who were recruited to New York City, and the

many others who have been working in other states, a mixed methods study would be powerful to begin to see trends across data sets. A quantitative survey of participants that could ask questions about teachers' experiences and lives from 2001 to present would yield additional data and themes that fall outside of the scope of this dissertation.

New immigrant destinations are on the rise in the United States and across the world. Jamie Winders (2013), documents the experiences of Latino immigrants in a southern city – Nashville. She and others argue that immigrants have been moving to new destinations and that we should think differently about how we conceptualize the south and race relationships in the south. Mackini Beck (2010), in her dissertation work, has written about Afro-Caribbean teachers recruited to teach in Louisville Kentucky. More studies like hers are necessary to continue to understand Afro-Caribbean teachers' motivations to move to the United States to teach. New York City has long been a refuge for immigrants and so this dissertation follows a long- established pattern of thinking about immigrants in large urban contexts that have been “typical” destinations for immigrants.

Future Directions

New Immigrant destinations in the United States are a rich space for doing new research on Afro-Caribbean immigrants. The research that has already been done have mostly focused on Latino immigrants. Taking a look at Afro-Caribbean immigrants who were recruited on similar programs as the Caribbean recruitment initiative out of New York City, would provide a space to make comparisons across states, the rural-urban divide and the particular experiences of Afro- Caribbean teachers. I believe southern, rural states and school districts would provide us with a different and rich set of data that would add to our body of literature on immigration and teacher education.

This dissertation uses race, gender, and transnational understandings of labor as its starting point for analysis. Socio-economic class and religion/spirituality are implicated but not addressed fully. In the future, a dissertation that also includes particular discussions of socio- economic class, and in particular how participants move through and make sense of class would add to a richer and deeper understanding of Afro-Caribbean participants' experiences. Although this dissertation is doing intersectional work, I believe that more work could be done in the future on disability and its impact on these particular immigrant women. Anecdotally, we know that many of them have specializations in Special Education and that they have children who have disabilities or they themselves have disabilities. These issues were not fully explored in this dissertation and I would recommend that they are taken up in future work. Sexuality is also not addressed directly in the dissertation. There is an underlying assumption that the women are heterosexual and when they are married, that they are married to men but there are no explicit ways in which sexuality is addressed. In the future, I believe it would make a compelling case to theorize about Black women from the Caribbean who are sexually diverse because it would allow us to have better insight about how they make sense of oppression across various identities.

Future studies should also explore kinship ties and family relationships for Afro- Caribbean women. How are their partners navigating life in a new place? How might their children navigate schooling? The Black Institute (2005), found in its report that the children of Afro-Caribbean teachers often "aged-out" after turning 21 years, so that they were no longer eligible to be sponsored to become U.S. green card holders by their mothers. What impact did this have on families when children became undocumented? How did families manage this financially and socially? These are rich places to continue to ask questions about the

experiences of Afro-Immigrants from the Caribbean.

More work should be explored about other transnational high skilled workers. Particularly, there are large groups of south Asian workers who are skilled workers (see Purkayastha, 2005), whose narratives would serve as a great point of comparison. Purkayastha, (2005) in particular looks at high skilled south Asian women so her work would be great in conversation with the work of this dissertation. Future researchers could look more globally at the disposability of women's labor and theorize more broadly about the transnational implications.

In the introduction of this dissertation, I discuss how race is an integral part of the neoliberal agenda. The hiring of cheap labor is explicitly dependent on the racialization of certain others as inferior. I said earlier,

This dissertation makes explicit connections between the neoliberal state, the police state and race. At the same time that Muslim people and Muslim men in particular, were criminalized as terrorists (Hirschman, 2005), Latino undocumented men were unsuccessful in the New York City labor market (Orrenius & Zavondy, 2009). These are not coincidences and although the dissertation does not look at Muslim or Latino men, the connection between immigrants of color criminalized and sanctioned through the police state that surveils and profiles them, is profound as I make an argument for why Black women were being imported as "good" immigrants. At the heart of neoliberalism is a capitalist agenda, so that one group of immigrants of color could be criminalized (by being locked up and deported) while another could be exploited and desired for their cheap labor. This dissertation explores the ways in which neoliberalism shapes our understandings of immigrants of color by looking explicitly at the everyday experiences of the Afro-Caribbean women teachers who were participants in this dissertation" (Williams Brown, p. 18, 2017).

I believe future work on these and other connections across the global economy would allow us to understand more deeply about the identities of Afro-Caribbean people and the ways in which they are explicitly tied to the market economy.

APPENDIX A

Department of Education of The City of New York

JOEL I. KLEIN, Chancellor

CARIBBEAN RECRUITMENT INITIATIVE (CRI)



DIVISION OF HUMAN RESOURCE

The Center for Recruitment and Professional Development

Joyce Coppin, Chief Executive
Judith Chin, Supervising Superintendent
Brenda N. Steele, Deputy Superintendent
Robert Antoine, Coordinator

2002-2003

INTRODUCTION

Though the Caribbean Recruitment Initiative (CRI) was a pilot program in 2001 it became not only the Bard's but also America's most prolific international teacher recruitment effort. Throughout our 2001 efforts, in three targeted countries, we interviewed over one thousand teachers. From that number we hired 550 Certified Teachers. This number represented 75% of all International Teachers recruited by the Center For Recruitment and Professional Development (CRPD). The logistics involved in organizing and carrying out this initiative were astonishing. Pedagogical, social, political, and cultural issues had to be addressed. The initiative attracted quality candidates to staff our classroom thereby achieving one of its primary goals.

This year, in addition to returning to Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados, we also visited Guyana, Grenada, Panama and the Dominican Republic. The outcome was again a success. Over 180 Certified Teachers, 50% of CRPD's International total, were hired from the region.

Because of the success of the Caribbean Recruitment Initiative a synopsis of the Initiative became necessary. The motivations behind the creation of this Initiative Summary are based on several factors:

- *The absence of reference materials from similar programs*
- *Teachers infilliries for relevant information*
- *A model from which discussion and assessment can be carried out*

As a result, the Initiative Summary was created and organized to serve five purposes. The Summary will:

- *place the evolution of the initiative in focus*
- *highlight the major components of the Initiative*
- *serve as a paradigm for efforts of similar focus*
- *serve as a document of reference for discussion*
- *serve as flexible documents for efficient dissemination*

About The Coordinator

Robert A. Antoine was born on the Caribbean Island of Grenada. There, at the age of eleven, he obtained a government academic scholarship and attended the prestigious Presentation Brother's College. After spending two years there he migrated to the United States and thereafter earned both his degrees in Political Science: BA in Comparative Politics and an MA in International Relations.

As a Certified Teacher he has taught U.S. Government, Caribbean History, and Global Studies, in the New York City Public Schools System for 12 years. He was inducted into Who's Who Among American High School Teachers.

Currently, he remains a dynamic member of his community organizing, managing, and consulting within the political, sporting, musical, and educational sectors.

He has been a member of delegations that has met with former NY State governor. Mario Cuomo, and President Bill Clinton. Recently he has been serving as an Advisor and a Representative for the Grenada Delegation to the United Nations. In addition to being a community leader, organizer and Political Advisor, he is also an accomplished drummer and soccer coach.

Together with his interest in the concepts of quality control and project management he is motivated by his mission to explore the knowledge that leads to empowerment. He is currently completing a Master's degree in School Administration and Supervision.

CONTENTS

NYC DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

The Public Schools System of the City of New York City _____ 2

TEACHER RECRUITMENT

Issues Surrounding Teacher Shortage

MISSION STATEMENT

The Center for Recruitment and Professional Development

CRI

Caribbean Recruitment Initiative _____ 3

QUALIFICATIONS

Eligibility List _____ 5

DOCUMENTS

Required Documentation _____ 6

DATASHEET

Applicant Data Form _____ 7

THE NEW WEST NEW YORKERS

Caribbean Immigration to NYC _____ 8

CARIBBEAN UNIVERSITIES

University of the West Indies _____ 9

University of Guyana _____ 10

CARICOM

Background of CARICOM _____ 11

Appendixes

Appendix A - ORIENTATION SEMINAR _____ **12**

Appendix B - ORIENTATION SEMINAR _____ **13**

Appendix C - CONSULATE GENERAL _____ **14**

Appendix D - GRANTS _____ **15**

Appendix E - SALARY SCHEDULE _____ **16**

Appendix F - UFT HELP PATH AND _____ **17**

Appendix G - INTERNATIONAL RECRUITS

18.

RAA-2002

New York City Public Schools

The largest Public School System in the United States

- Over one million students
- Over 1,200 school facilities
- Over 80,000 teachers
- 32 community districts throughout five boroughs
- 5 High School Districts
- A Citywide Special Education District
- A Chancellor's District
- A Charter School District
- An Alternative High School District

The New York City Public Schools is perhaps the world's most diverse school system. It educates students, coming from all corners of the world, from early childhood through twelfth grade.

The system has done a tremendous job educating its diverse population. However, there are some schools within the system that must improve the performance of their students in order to meet New York State educational standards.

Both the New York State Education Department and the New York City Department of Education agree that all schools, especially those facing the greatest challenge, must be staffed with quality certified teachers.

One strategy devised to work toward that goal is the active and continuous recruitment of certified teachers.

The Department of Education of New York City is striving to meet the needs of all students. As part of its efforts to recruit, retain, and support certified teachers, the Department's Center for Recruitment and Professional Development has started international recruitment and has included the Caribbean as part of this initiative.

Issues Surrounding Teacher Shortage

The U.S. Department of Education predicts that within the next decade over two million teachers will be needed to adequately staff our schools. Some regions, especially urban centers, are experiencing severe shortages of qualified teachers. Though New York State may produce enough teachers to fulfill its needs, some New York City Public Schools districts are experiencing severe shortages.

The factors contributing to this uneven teacher supply are numerous. The inability of certain districts to attract qualified candidates is one factor. Another is the shortage of certain subject area teachers.

The New York City Department of Education has developed programs to target, recruit and retain qualified teaching candidates. International Recruitment represents one of these programs.

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The Center for Recruitment and Professional Development

MISSION STATEMENT

The mission of the Center is to fully staff New York City's public schools with teachers and administrators capable of and committed to providing all students with a quality, standard-based education.

The Center contributes to building the capacity of the system through recruitment and professional development efforts. By deepening the knowledge and skills of teachers and leaders, the Center fosters student engagement in meaningful and rigorous work. In this way, all students are supported in becoming well-educated, productive, and caring citizens in our society.

RAA-2002

Caribbean Recruitment Initiative (CRI)

Before the Center for Recruitment and Professional Development was created, the Board of Education of New York City had already begun to recruit teachers from Austria. Just before the Center was created, in early 2001, recruitment from Canada began. Soon after, recruitment from Italy, Spain and the Caribbean was added to the Board's recruitment programs. This year, in addition to Ireland, Panama, Guyana, Grenada and the Dominican Republic were also targeted.

The Caribbean Recruitment Initiative (CRI) is the most extensive International Initiative being undertaken by the Center. The primary goal of CRI is to recruit quality certified teachers to serve our New York City public school students.

The Caribbean Initiative was inspired, in part, by the increased influx of Caribbean students into the public school system. Throughout the last decade the Caribbean region accounted for the single largest immigrant group entering New York City. As a result, the New York City Public Schools have experienced a substantial increase in Caribbean students. These students, not unlike past urban immigrants, face similar social, economic, and academic challenges. Many felt that Certified Caribbean teachers would provide the basic skills necessary to overcome these challenges.

Several officials from the Caribbean community were consulted. Several meetings were held with government officials from the Caribbean Community (CARICOM). In addition, working relationships were developed with officials from Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad, the three countries initially targeted. This year, Guyana, Panama and the Dominican Republic were also added to CRI. As a result new ongoing relationships developed, with these countries, to address the relevant political, social and pedagogical issues.

Several Ambassadors, Ministers, Consul Generals, Vice Consuls, University officials, community leaders, Superintendents, Principals, Department Heads, Supervisors, Teachers and colleagues helped to make the Initiative a success. They assisted in the issuance of work permits, they helped to verifying the accreditation of academic institutions, they clarified visa regulations and teacher qualifications, they facilitated hotel and flight accommodations, they helped to organize meetings and they assisted in analysis of pedagogical, social and political trends.

After extensive research and consultation the plan for CRI was presented to the Center's administrative leadership team. Additional discussions and modifications helped to create the primary objectives for CRI.

District 17 was initially targeted to accommodate approximately 25-50 teachers. However, as a result of the overwhelming response from Caribbean teachers, other Community School Districts and the Brooklyn High School District, all with high concentration of Caribbean students, were targeted to facilitate the placement of the majority of the teachers.

The first cohort of Caribbean teachers was authorized to enter New York City under the Exchange Visitor Program of the United States Department of State. This Exchange Program was designed to strengthen international relations of the United States through educational and cultural exchange. To ensure that this objective is met, Caribbean teachers were required to be involved in continuous staff development in addition to completing required coursework. Teachers were also advised to exploit the opportunity to acquire new knowledge and experiences through participation in social and cultural events. A major component of the Exchange Program (in conjunction with the CRI vision) is the J-1 visa which has certain limitations:

- Teachers are allowed to remain and teach in the United States for 2 years.
- Teachers are expected to return and remain in their homeland for 2 years
- Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) documentation is required
- New York State Education Department qualifications must be met

After additional consultation and input CRI was conceived. The major components of the initiative are as follows:

- Focus will be on applicants who reside and were educated in CARICOM countries
- Applicants must possess the minimum of a bachelor's degree and a valid Teaching Certificate from accredited CARICOM countries.
- Full-time teaching experience of at least five years is preferred
- Highest priority given to current teachers of math, science, Spanish, and English as a second language
- Number of teachers recruited will be determined by the needs of the Board of NYC
- Recruitment efforts will be centered in Barbados, Jamaica, and Trinidad
- CRI is slated to begin at the beginning of the year
- Continuous collaboration will be a priority
- Teachers will be in place by for the fall semester-September

CRI teachers were originally granted a New York State Exchange Certificate that allowed them to also obtain the corresponding New York City Conditional teaching license.

With the creation of a Memorandum of Understanding between the New York City Board of Education and the New York State Department of Education Caribbean teachers are also eligible for Conditional Provisional Certification. In addition, most were eligible for the Teachers of Tomorrow Grant Award.

CRI teachers are required to complete the Child Abuse and Detection Seminar and Medical documentation and fingerprinting are also required.

Since the New York State Exchange Certificate expires after 2 years, teachers were expected to return to their homeland to impart their new skills and experiences. An understanding, to address reinstatement of teachers, was envisioned. However, a plan has not been worked out as yet between the Department of Education of New York City and CARICOM Ministries of Education.

RAA-2002

QUALIFICATIONS: *EUQIBIUTYus, :. Applicants should:*

- **be a** resident of a CARICOM country
- possess a Bachelor's Degree and a Valid Teaching Credentials from an accredited CARICOM institution
- meet Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) documentation requirements
- meet New York State Education Department qualifications

RAA-2002

ORIENTATION

- All new teachers are expected to attend the Center's International Teacher Orientation in addition to the New Teacher Orientation Workshops scheduled for August
- Orientation sessions will address major issues related to beginning the teaching process
- In addition, new teachers will be expected to attend ongoing staff development
- Additional Certification and Licensing requirements may also be required

* You will be notified of the exact date, time and place of Orientation

RAA-2002

CERTIFICATE and LICENSE APPLICATION

- You will be issued a New York State Teaching Certificate and a New York City License after applications are submitted.
- You will apply for a Social Security number that will be used on all applications and legal documents
- An application to obtain Health Benefits is required
- You will be required to submit Medical Documentation soon after employment
- Additional New York State and New York City Certification and Licensing requirements may be required
- Fingerprinting will be required

RAA-2002

SALARY

Several Factors Influence the Salary A Teacher Will Receive

- Status of Teacher Certification
- School Placement
- Teaching Experience
- Academic Achievement
- Visa Type
- Federal, Social Security, State, City, and Medicare Taxes
- United Federation of Teachers Dues
- Teachers Retirement System Contributions

**Bilateral treaties and visa category may determine the type and amount of taxes you will pay*

If yes, please indicate the type(s) of visa you entered on (H-18, H-4, L-1, etc.) _____
 Include dates of Arrival and Departure: _____

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY - REQUIRED DOCUMENTATION: FRONT and BACK PHOTOCOPIES OF ALL DOCUMENTS ARE REQUIRED

- University Transcripts that show degree conferred: *3 original copies and 4 photocopies*
- Transcripts of Teaching Certificate/Teaching Diploma/Post Graduate Diploma: *3 original copies and 4 photocopies of Certificate or Diploma*
- Ministry of Education letter indicating satisfactory work history: *one original copy and 4 photocopies*
- A Certificate of Record from Police Authorities: *one original copy and 4 photocopies*
- Resume or Curriculum Vitae: *one original copy and 4 photocopies*
- Passport ID Pages and Visa Pages: *4 copies of each page*
- Four Passport - Size Photographs

| 1 | Subject/Certification | District | Letter of Commitment | | Comments |
|---|-----------------------|----------|----------------------|---|---|
| | | | Y | N | |
| 2 | | | | | I received the International Teacher Brochure: Please Sign Below X |

RAA-2002



*The Center for
 Recruitment and
 Professional Development*

Robert Antoine
 Coordinator, Caribbean Recruitment Initiative
 The Department of Education of New York City
 65 Court Street - Room 301
 Brooklyn, New York 11201

Phone: (718) 935-5854
 Fax: (718) 935-2169
 E-mail: Rantoin@nycboe.net
www.teachny.com

REQUIRED DOCUMENTATION -PHOTOCOPIES of FRONT & BACK PAGES of ALL DOCUMENTS are REQUIRED

Employment by the New York City Board of Education is subject to all documents being received on or before March 1st, 2002. As of _____ you are missing the following:

ORIGINAL | PHOTOCOPIES

- _____ University Transcripts that show degree conferred
 _____ *3 original copies and 4 photocopies*
- _____ Transcripts of Teaching Certificate/Teaching Diploma/Post Graduate Diploma
 _____ *3 original copies and 4 photocopies of Certificate or Diploma*
- _____ Ministry of Education letter indicating satisfactory work history
 _____ *one original copy and 4 photocopies*

A Certificate of Record from Police Authorities
one original copy and 4 photocopies

Resume or Curriculum Vitae-one original copy and 4 photocopies

Passport ID Pages and Visa Pages- 4 photocopies of all pages

Social Security Card and/or Residency Documentation -if applicable- 4 photocopies

Four Passport - Size Photographs

X Signature of Applicant

RAA-2002

RECRUITMENT and RETENTION INCENTIVES Tuition Reimbursement and Loan Forgiveness

2001-2002

The United Federation of Teachers and the Board of Education have agreed on a package of recruitment and retention incentives to attract and retain certified teachers to Schools Under Registration Review (SURR) and Hard-to-Staff schools. Certified teachers who work in or transfer into schools and districts that the board has designated are eligible to apply for up to \$3,400 in grants a year under this program. In addition, certified teachers may receive up to 71 years of salary credit for prior teaching experience if they work in or transfer into SURR schools.

The designated schools fall into four categories:

- All SURR schools.
- All schools in designated Hard-to-Staff districts.
- District 75 schools geographically located in Hard-to-Staff districts.
- Designated High Schools.

EXTENDED - TIME SCHOOLS

Those who choose to work
in Extended Time Schools

- working a longer day and year - would be eligible for an additional 15 percent of their now-higher salaries. Here are some of the elements of these schools:

- A 15 percent pay increase to compensate for the longer workday and five extra

TEACHER COST ANALYSIS

This sample check represents one of two that teachers receive per month.

| Total Earnings | Federal Tax | Soc. Sec. | Medicare | State Tax | City Tax | Total Deduct. |
|----------------|-------------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|---|
| 1527. | 218.21 | 94.67 | 22.15 | 65.30 | 41.28 | 674.00 |
| | | | | | | TRS-46.00 UFT-30.00 <u>BANK CD-156.00</u> |

NET PAY: \$856.00

U.S. EMBASSY VISA PROTOCOL

The State Department, part of the U.S. Executive Branch, is responsible for granting visas to enter the United States. Upon entering the United States, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), an agency of the Department of Justice, is responsible for regulating your admission. A spouse may file an Application for Employment Authorization, with INS, if the visa category allows.

Once you receive our J-1 or H-18 Documentation the following steps are necessary:

- Make an appointment, at the Embassy/Consulate, to interview for your visa
- Be prepared to show binding ties to your home country Since a J-1 is a nonimmigrant visa
- Have available relevant documentation for your spouse and dependents
- The following documents should also be made available

Visa Form

Valid Passport

Receipt for Visa Fee

Passport size photographs

Academic/Teaching credentials

Birth Certificate and other valid ID

/ Related documents for Dependents

..Work Authorization for Spouse is based on Visa Category and V. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service Regulations.

Dependents may apply for a Federal Identification Number.

,..Though the State Department has a worldwide Visa Protocol, variances may exist at individual Embassies and Consulates. Consult the nearest American Embassy or the web sites of INS and the State Department.

www.state.gov

www.ins.usdoj.gov

TEMPORARY WORKERS H-1

Classifications

- The Immigration and Nationality Act provides several categories of nonimmigrant visas for a person who wishes to work temporarily in the United States.
- There are annual numerical limit
- Applies to persons in a specialty occupation, which requires the theoretical and practical application of a body of highly specialized knowledge requiring completion of a specific course of higher education.

Petitions

- Employer or agent must file Form I-129, Petition for Nonimmigrant Worker, with the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).
- Once approved, the employer or agent is sent a notice of approval, Form I-797.

Applying For The Visa

- Applicants for temporary work visas should generally apply at the American Embassy or Consulate with jurisdiction over their place of permanent residence.
- Although visa applicants may apply at any U.S. consular office abroad, it may be more difficult to qualify for the visa outside the country of permanent residence.

Required Documentation

- A temporary worker visa must pay a nonrefundable US\$45 application fee and submit:
 - 1) An application Form OF-156, completed and signed. Blank forms are available without charge at all U.S. consular offices;
 - 2) A passport valid for travel to the United States and with a validity date at least six months beyond the applicant's intended period of stay in the United States. If more than one person is included in the passport, each person desiring a visa must make an application:
 - 3) One photograph 1 and 1/2 inches square (37x37mm) for each applicant, showing full face, against a light background; and
 - 4) A notice of approval, Form I-797.

Other Documentation

With the exception of the H-1 and L-1, applicants may also need to show proof of binding ties to a residence outside the United States which they have no intention of abandoning. It is impossible to specify the exact form the evidence should take since applicants' circumstances vary greatly.

THE EXCHANGE VISITOR PROGRAM Q-1)

- The Exchange Visitor Program was established by the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961(Fulbright-Hays Act).
- The major goal of the program is to improve relations between the United States and other countries; promote international **peace** and understanding primarily through educational and cultural exchange.
- J-1 Exchange Visitor Teacher Program is designated through the U.S. Department of State.
- The J -1 Exchange Visitor Program allows elementary and secondary schoolteachers to teach in the U.S. from 1-3 years, renewable annually.
- Sponsors can be Federal, State, or local government agencies; international organizations, and private sector: corporations, universities, and schools.
- Each organization maintains a Responsible Officer and may also designate several Alternate Responsible Officers to sign and execute applications.

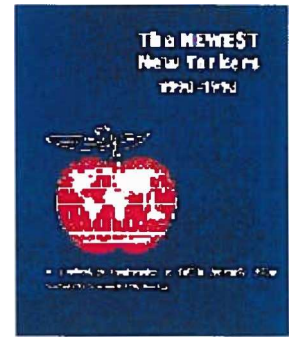
NUMBER OF IMMIGRANT STUDENTS FROM THE ENGLISH SPEAKING CARIBBEAN

NEW YORK CITY EIEP CENSUS REPORT

| COUNTRY | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 |
|------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| ANTIGUA & BARBUDA | 300 | 285 | 218 |
| BAHAMAS | 73 | 75 | 61 |
| BARBADOS | 760 | 710 | 495 |
| BELIZE | 240 | 273 | 258 |
| BERMUDA | 65 | 58 | 27 |
| DOMINICA | 218 | 222 | 191 |
| GRENADA | 578 | 694 | 529 |
| GUYANA | 6031 | 5998 | 5481 |
| JAMAICA | 8658 | 9112 | 8301 |
| St. KITTS & NEVIS | 131 | 164 | 129 |
| SAINT LUCIA | 278 | 317 | 333 |
| St. VINCENT & The GRENADINES | 399 | 404 | 304 |
| SURINAM | 191 | 200 | 170 |
| TRINIDAD & TOBAGO | 5235 | 5585 | 4643 |
| BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS | 237 | 233 | 191 |
| TOTAL | 23394 | 24330 | 21331 |



The Newest New Yorkers 1990 - 1994, An analysis of immigration to New York City in the early 1990s, including a statistical appendix, 1996.
 The Newest New Yorkers 1995 - 1996, an update of immigration to NYC in the mid '90's.



THE NEWEST NEW YORKERS: 1990-1994

Executive Summary

During the years 1990-94, 563,000 documented immigrants settled in the City of New York. This represents an average of 112,600 annually, which was nearly 32 percent higher than the immigrant flow in the 1980s. This increase in immigration to New York City mirrored the growth to the nation as a whole; as a result, immigrants to the city constituted nearly 15 percent of all entering immigrants to the U.S. in both the 1980s and early 1990s.

Sources of Immigration

The Dominican Republic, which was the top source of immigrants to the city in the 1970s and 1980s, maintained that position in the early 1990s. During the 1990-94 period, immigrants from that Caribbean nation accounted for one in five immigrants, averaging 22,000 annually. This was an increase of 52 percent over the annual average of 14,500 in the 1980s. Relative to the nation, the city gets a high share of Caribbean immigrants, who constituted 33 percent of the flow to the city but only 12 percent of immigrants to the U.S. as a whole. This flow to the city included not only Dominicans, but also substantial numbers from Jamaica, Barbados, Guyana, Grenada, Haiti, and Trinidad and Tobago.

- ## University of the "W"est Indies

CAVE HILL CAMPUS

The Cave Hill Campus is one of the three campuses of the University of the West Indies (U.W.I). The U.W.I is an independent institution, serving fourteen countries of the Commonwealth Caribbean. It started as a single campus at Mona, Jamaica in 1948 (as the University College of the West Indies), affiliated to the University of London. It achieved full University status in 1962, one year after the St. Augustine Campus in Trinidad was established, and one year before the Cave Hill Campus was opened.

The non-Campus territories of the U.W.I. are served by Schools of Continuing Studies located in each of them. Some of these Schools (or 'University Centers') provide tuition, partly through a distance facility linked with the three campuses, which allows students to complete the first year of the degree program in the non-campus territories.

Several institutions are affiliated with the U.W.I. Among these are Codrington (Theological) College in Barbados, the St. John Vainney Seminary in Trinidad, the St. Michael Seminary in Jamaica, the United Theological College of the West Indies, also in Jamaica, the Caribbean Meteorological Institute in Barbados, the Women and Development Unit in Barbados, the University of Guyana (in the Bachelor of Law programme), and the College of the Bahamas (in the Hotel Management programme).



THE UNIVERSITY IN BRIEF

In 1963, Guyana, which until then had been a contributing territory in the regional University of the West Indies, established its own University and in October of the same year, the first batch of 164 students was admitted. The new University began its operations in temporary premises loaned from Queens College, the foremost Secondary School for boys and of necessity, teaching had to be carried out between 17:00 hrs and 22:00 hrs.

The University of Guyana occupied its present site at Turkeyen, some 8 km from the centre of Georgetown, in October 1969. The site of 56 hectares was a gift from the Booker Group of Companies and the original ten buildings were made possible by capital grants from the Governments of the United Kingdom, Canada and Guyana.

At its inception, the University offered only general Degree programmes confined to the Arts, Natural Sciences, and Social Sciences. However, from 1966 Certificate and Diploma level programmes were introduced. The first Graduate programme was started in 1973.

The University currently has seven [Faculties](#) - Agriculture, Arts, Education, Health Sciences, Natural Sciences, and Social Sciences and Technology. There is also an Institute of Distance and Continuing Education.

Fees

In the 1994/5 academic year the University introduced a *Cost Recovery Programme*. Students are now required to pay G\$127,000 per annum. This does not apply to Law and Medical Students who pay G\$300,000 and G\$500,000 per annum respectively.

When the University of Guyana was established in 1963, the annual tuition fees for all programmes were set at \$100. That tuition fee was abolished for all students in 1974, and annual tuition fees on a graduated scale were re-introduced for non Guyanese students from the 1988/89 academic year.

To date, the University enrolment is over 3,000 students pursuing more than 60 full time and part-time undergraduate and graduate programmes in Accountancy, Architecture, Agriculture, Education, Engineering, Communications, Environmental Health, Forestry, Law, Medicine, Modern Languages, Natural Chemistry, Pharmacy, Social Work and others.

Members of CARICOM (of the Community only)

[Antigua and Barbuda](#)

[The Bahamas](#)

[Barbados](#)

[Belize](#)

[Dominica](#)

[Grenada](#)

[Guyana](#)

[Haiti](#)

[Jamaica](#)

[Montserrat](#)

[St. Kitts and Nevis](#)

[St. Lucia](#)

[St. Vincent and the Grenadines](#)

[Suriname](#)

[Trinidad and Tobago](#)

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Carol Alexander, Dispute Resolution Associate, Better Business Bureau
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 George Antoine, Certified Teacher, New York City Department of Education
 Joseph Antoine, Certified Teacher, New York City Department of Education, Pastor
 Shep Brown, Borough Manager, New York City Department of Education
 Milagros Ortiz Bosh, Vice President, and Secretary of Education, Dominican Republic
 Basil K. Bryan, Consul General, Jamaica
 Kathy Burgess, Supervisor, Early Childhood Education, District 17
 Evelyn Castro, Superintendent, Community School District 17
 Irwine Claire, Sr. Managing Director, Caribbean Immigrant Services, Inc.
 Sam Cheung, Recruitment Specialist, New York City Department of Education
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 Jocelyn Taylor, Personnel Director, District 17
 Christine H. T. Parillon, Former Consul General, Dominica
 Joanne Pierre, Personnel Director, Brooklyn High Schools
 Pamela Sampson, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education, Trinidad and Tobago
 Richard Sherman, Consul, First Secretary, U.S Embassy, Trinidad
 Burchell A. Whiterman, Senator, Minister of Education, Youth and Culture, Jamaica

RAA-2002

THE VISION FOR THE CARIBBEAN RECRUITMENT INITIATIVE
CRI

In October 2000, I was asked to assume the role of Coordinator of, what I coined as, the Caribbean Recruitment Initiative. I felt confident that my experience prepared me for that assignment. However, I knew that the job was also going to be a challenge. But again, I felt prepared to undertake that challenge. After accepting the task I immediately created a plan, utilizing my *PIRQ* system, to address the major components of the project.

PLAN: Plan the most successful project that will serve as a model

INFORMATION: Obtain relevant Information so that prudent decisions can be made

RELATIONSHIPS: Build Relationships to accomplish goals

QUALITY: Find Quality teachers to assist our students

APPENDIX B

DRAFT

January 2nd, 2002

The Hon. Sue Mccourt Cobb
Ambassador
United States Embassy
Third Floor. Mutual Life Building
2 Oxford **Road**
Kingston 5
Jamaica, West Indies

Dear Ambassador Cobb,

The Center For Recruitment and Professional Development. New York City Board of Education, is making preparations for its Caribbean Recruitment Initiative (CRI). An important objective of CRI is to invite Caribbean teachers to come into our schools to impart their skills, experiences, and knowledge, and to be role models for students, parents and community members. Our initial efforts brought in a cohort of teachers that are now teaching.

The Board of Education appreciates the assistance that your Embassy provided throughout our last efforts. An information seminar is planned for the week of January 13th and another recruitment trip is planned for the week of January 13th. 2002. In order to facilitate the process of recruitment, assistance is again needed from your consulate.

We would appreciate your assistance in recommending a contact person, at your consulate, for us to work out details of protocol for the recruitment initiative.

We thank you for your assistance and support.

Joyce Coppin, Supervising Superintendent
Center for Recruitment and Professional Development

JC/ra

cc: Judith Chin
Caryl Cohen

DRAFT

January 2nd, 2002

Marcia Bernicat
Charge d' Affairs
United States Embassy
P.O. Box 302
Bridgetown, Barbados, W.I.

Dear Ms. Bernicat,

The Center For Recruitment and Professional Development, New York City Board of Education, is making preparations for its Caribbean Recruitment Initiative (CRI). An important objective of CRI is to invite Caribbean teachers to come into our schools to impart their skills, experiences, and knowledge, and to be role models for students, parents and community members. Our initial efforts brought in a cohort of teachers that are now teaching.

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We thank you for your assistance and support.

Sincerely,

Joyce Coppin, Supervising Superintendent
Center for Recruitment and Professional Development

JC/ra

cc: Judith Chin
Caryl Cohen

The U.S. Mission in Bridgetown is accredited to the following countries: Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts/Nevis, Saint Lucia, St.Vincent and the Grenadines.

DRAFT

January 2nd, 2002

The Hon. Ronald D. Godard
Ambassador
Unites States Embassy
100 Young and Duke Streets
Kingston, Georgetown, Guyana,
P.O. Box 10507

Dear Ambassador Godard,

The Center For Recruitment and Professional Development. New York City Board of Education, is making preparations for its Caribbean Recruitment Initiative (CRI). An important objective of CRI is to invite Caribbean teachers to come into our schools to impart their skills, experiences, and knowledge, and to be role models for students, parents and community members. Our initial efforts brought in a cohort of teachers that are now teaching.

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We thank you for your assistance and support.

Sincerely,

Joyce Coppin, Supervising Superintendent
Center for Recruitment and Professional Development

JC/ra

cc: Judith Chin
Caryl Cohen

DRAFT

December 10th, 2001

The Hon. Roy L. Austin
Ambassador
United States Embassy
15 Queens Park West
Port of Spain, Trinidad

Dear Ambassador Austin,

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Sincerely,

Joyce Coppin, Supervising Superintendent
Center for Recruitment and Professional Development

JC/ra

cc: Judith Chin
Caryl Cohen

CONGH/NY/ADM-10-02361



E-Mail: Contact@haitian-consulate-nyc.Org
 Web Site: www.haitian-consulate-nyc.O'rg

October 2, 2001

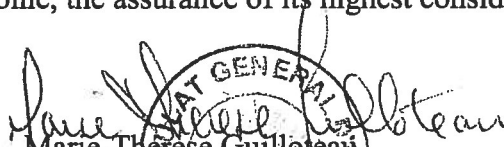
Mr. Robert Antoine
 The Center for Recruitment and
 Professional Development
 New York City Public Schools
 65 Court Street, Room 102
 Brooklyn, New York 11201

Dear Mr. Antoine:

With the compliments of the Consulate General of the Republic of Haiti in New York and on behalf of the Caribbean Consuls General we would like to invite you to be a guest speaker at our monthly meeting scheduled for Wednesday, October 24, 2001 at 11:30 a.m. at the Haitian Consulate, 271 Madison Avenue (bet. 39th and 40th Streets), 17th Floor.

During our last meeting held on Wednesday, September 26, 2001 some general issues have been raised about the Caribbean Teachers recruited in the United States and, we would greatly appreciate if you could provide us a brief update on this matter.

The Consulate General of the Republic of Haiti in New York avails itself of this opportunity to renew to you, Dear Mr. Antoine, the assurance of its highest consideration.


 Marie-Therese Guilloteau
 Consul General of Haiti
 Chairperson of the
 Caribbean Consular Corps.

APPENDIX C

NY wants more J'can teachers
Recruiters returning to *island* next week
Observer Reporter
Monday, January 07, 2002

WHITEMAN...wants special
 arrangements with countries
 recruiting teachers

RECRUITERS for the New York City Board of Education, who last year poached 350 teachers from Jamaican schools, are returning to the island in a week's time to attempt to lure more Jamaican teachers to the American city.

The latest recruitment drive by the New York education system was announced in a newspaper advertisement yesterday that sought to entice Jamaican teachers with offers of an "excellent" package of benefits, working in one of the world's most exciting cities.

There was no indication in the ads of the number of teachers New York City expects to recruit in Jamaica this time, but they promised "many job opportunities in mathematics, science and special education".

Teachers are invited to two seminars, in the afternoon and the evening of January 14 at the Hilton Kingston Hotel.

ADAMS... we want to make sure that our teachers are not short-changed

Education ministry officials

were unavailable for comment yesterday on the latest development.

But, Paul Adams, the president of the Jamaica Teachers Association (JTA), said "We want to make sure that our teachers are not short-changed regarding their original terms and conditions of employment, because last year a lot of things which were promised by the board never happened".

He said attractive salaries, facilities, and teaching materials as well

as opportunities for professional growth are the main reasons for many of our teachers seeking jobs abroad.

"Most of the teachers are being recruited from the scarce areas of mathematics, and science... but I hope the government realises that sacrifices have to be made to upgrade classroom space, furniture and teacher remuneration," Adams told the Observer.

Last May's recruitment from the island's schools hit the education system hard, forcing the government to recruit retired teachers to help meet a shortfall in some specialist areas at the start of the new school year last September.

Jamaicans accounted for 58 per cent of 600 teachers that New York City recruited from the Caribbean to fill gaps in its own school system because of the failure of Americans, in recent years, to join the profession in adequate numbers.

Burchell Whiteman, the Jamaican education minister, has made it clear that the Jamaican government can do nothing to stop teachers, or any other professionals, going abroad to work, particularly in this global environment.

But he has suggested that a city like New York could enter an arrangement with Jamaica for training additional teachers to help satisfy its requirements. However, that proposal has apparently not reached very far.

Additionally, Whiteman last year said that Jamaica wanted to place on the agenda of the next Commonwealth Summit the possibility of a compensatory mechanism for developing countries like Jamaica from which skilled people are recruited in substantial numbers by rich nations.

While Jamaican teachers flocked to the recruitment seminars last year, many of those who went to the United States on two-year contracts complained that they did not get what was expected -- including housing and salaries. A few have since returned.

However, Jamaican-born New York City councilwoman, Una Clarke, argued that Caribbean teachers, particularly Jamaicans, had expectations that were not realistic.

"You have to make major adjustments whenever you move to a

new country," Clarke said last summer at the height of complaints by the Jamaicans. "People are acting as if Caribbean teachers, specifically Jamaicans, should be treated with greater sensitivity than the others. A mountain is being made of a molehill."

In the latest ads, the City of New York Board of Education tells potential recruits that "life is about choices" and that they should "choose to teach in the New York City Public Schools".

Why? Because of:

- * salary incentives;
- * professional development;
- * excellent benefits package;
- * assistance in finding housing; and
- * New York City!

The problem of finding appropriate housing and the cost of accommodation was a major point of contention for those teachers recruited last year.

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CARIBBEAN UPDATE

School's in for Caribbean teachers

By VINETTE K. PRYCE
Special to the AmNews

The New York City Board of Education is having a tough time recruiting educators to fill its 12,000-person void.

The largest school system in the United States, with 1.1 million students and more than 11,000 schools, is now conducting an intensive recruitment campaign to lure qualified teachers to the profession.

Robert Antoine, recruitment coordinator and Caribbean arbiter, is tediously working to fill some of those slots with Caribbean teachers. The Grenadian national has journeyed south to Barbados and Trinidad & Tobago in order to seek candidates willing to commit two years to the profession.

With just three days to interview potential candidates, Antoine is packed and ready to make a final trip to Kingston, Jamaica, in order to complete the Caribbean process of attracting qualified instructors. According to Antoine, qualifications are a valid teaching certificate, a bachelor's degree or university-certified accreditation.

Antoine said these foreign specialists are not intended to fill the vast number of vacancies, but to augment the three-prong recruitment campaign already in place. In an effort to kill two birds with one stone, the board reached into the Caribbean to ask teachers to consider moving north for a two-year period where they would work in some of the most under-achieving public schools in

the system. The board has invested in sending recruiters to Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago in order to meet individuals interested in committing time and talent to the system.

What's in it for them? According to the board, successful candidates will benefit by getting valuable work experience in a tough training environment.

Through the sponsorship of Brooklyn College, teachers will receive a visa. They will be given

a \$3,400 grant as well as the \$31,000 salary paid to teachers. Teachers with a master's degree or advanced education will be eligible for more competitive salaries.

What's in it for the board? They get specialists who may be better able to relate to the immigrant community that resides in Queens, Brooklyn and the Bronx. They also get a new and objective pool of teachers who may not be influenced by bias. And for a limited time of two years, the board will be able to assess the effectiveness of the recruitment drive.

The three-pronged program for acquiring teachers exists with the routine and tradition method. A second option offers a crash course to professionals wanting to achieve a second profession or an advanced degree. This program enables qualified individuals to double as student and teacher by working in the profession while earning a degree. Recruits from Europe are also being sought.

Catch you on the inside!



CIRIBBEIN INSIDER

By Vinette K. Pryce

U.N. sides with U.S. "

By VINE'TTE K. PRYCE
Special to the AmNews

The United Nations adopted the Czech Republic's resolution of denouncing Cuba's human rights stance by voting 22-20, with 10 abstentions and one absence, to censure the island. The Czech-sponsored resolution was voted by the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, as justification of abuses and violations sanctioned by Pres. Fidel Castro. The United

States voted in favor of decision but remained neutral during debates which found member delegates arguing points. Popular opinion is the United States manipulation of the U.N. commission's decision and has been for more than a decade.

"The levels of pressure have been extraordinary, like never before, grossly using all means in order to achieve approval of the anti-Cuban

St. Kitts partners in retreat"

By VINETTE K. PRYCE
Special to the AmNews

St. Kitts is partnering with Africa n-American women organization for a five-day retreat on the twin islands. Sisterhood Soul Journeys begin on May 2, with commencement by motivational speaker and founder of the Enlightened Circle Jewel Diamond Taylor. Susan L. Taylor, prior vice president of Essence,

Communications Inc. and publication director of Essence magazine, will close the retreat on Saturday, May 5.

Other featured motivational speakers include Queen A the creative and soul-filled online Shola Arewa and Mutima Imani, a teacher of metaphysics, women's rite passage and spiritual healer. According to organizers,

Antigua loses salary and air

By VINE'M'E K. PRYCE
Special to the AmNews

Approximately 70 employees of the regional airline Caribbean Star are likely to lose their jobs if the airline carries out plans to move its headquarters from Antigua to Barbados.

Employees who work for the privately-owned airline were told that owner Allen Stanford, an American-born Antiguan billionaire, announced his plans in the *Antigua Sun*, a newspaper

he also owns. According to Stanford, the offer was made by Barbados government although Barbados workers benefit from the transfer with the same amount of employment. Stanford plans to keep maintenance and flight operations in Antigua. Recently, Caribbean Star's consideration of the Barbados proposition comes at a time when its competition, LIAT Limited, plans to reintroduce an op

Penn Relays returns Caril

By J. ZAMGBA BROWNE
Amsterdam News Staff

High school and college students from a number of Caribbean countries will converge on Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love, April 26-28, to participate in the annual Penn Relays.

The island of Jamaica, which has participated in these annual games for the past 40 years, is expected to lead the rest of the island nation in competing.

Jamaican nationals in the tri-state area of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut haven't only been mapping out plans to lead, but have also been making massive preparations to accommodate their fellow countrymen. Preparation efforts to accommodate Team Jamaica Bickle (TJB), the official name given the country's athletes,

since Jamaican and Caribbean athletes who compete in the annual relays often find themselves at a disadvantage when compared to their counterparts from other countries including the United States.

CIS's assistance involves providing much-needed support for the Jamaican athletes including regular meals, tents with diets (Jamaican food is expected to lead the rest of the atmosphere aimed at relieving stress caused by competition.

In addition, Clare said assistance includes providing centralized and convenient accommodations, as well as a centralized location for information on Jamaican organizations, businesses and sponsors. He said this is the first year in a row that CIS has provided meals, amenities, ground

Guyana, U.S. to fight drugs

By VINETTE K. PRYCE
Special to the AmNews

Guyana took the lead recently by signing an agreement with the United States to curb drug trafficking in that nation.

The South American country is working with the United States to curb drug trafficking in that nation.

agreeing to numerous terms.

The primary agreement allows U.S. anti-drug agents to pursue and search any suspicious vessels. The terms of the agreement make provisions for local police officers from Guyana to accompany agents when they apprehend and/or arrest suspects of

is being spearheaded by transportation and discount hotel accommodations. Jamaican athletes and officials

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Caribbean teacher recruitment for NYC schools a big success

By Nelson A. Elroy

New York City's Board of Education is hailing as a big success its first teacher recruitment drive in the region.

"It was very overwhelming," said Crendian Robert Antoine, coordinator of the Caribbean teacher initiative, reacting to Caribbean Life's questions on the Board's initial trip to the region to recruit teachers for the city's sprawling school system.

"We did not know that so many teachers would turn up. It was very successful," Antoine, who was part of an 11-member delegation that visited Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago over seven days recently, said that though the project was well publicized, they were stunned that Caribbean teachers were so eager to teach in the city.

"From the time we landed in Barbados, we did not get a good break until we returned to New York," he said of the touring party, which spent three days in Barbados, from Apr. 18 to 20, and the remaining four in Trinidad and

Some 350 to 400 teachers in Trinidad and Tobago may be considered from about 600 who applied. Teachers from other islands, such as Jamaica, the Bahamas, the Virgin Islands, Guyana and Grenada, also journeyed to Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago to be interviewed.

The Board will dispatch another delegation in late May to recruit Jamaican teachers. Jamaica was considered in the Board's initial literacy, but was jettisoned after that country's Ministry of Labor, at the last minute, demanded work permits. However, after inter-

vention by Jamaican-City Councilwoman Una Clarke - who spearheaded the plan - and others, officials rescinded the requirement. But through the green light has been given for recruitment there, Jamaican education officials have, simultaneously, issued a caveat: Teachers hired by New York City's Board of Education on the two-year contract must resign from their substantive positions in Jamaica, Antoine said.

"It's a catch-22 situation," he said. Certified regional teachers are needed to help fill the vacancies left by some 12,000

city teachers who will either be leaving or retiring when the new school year begins in September. Clarke had confronted Schools Chancellor Harold Levy to recruit Caribbean teachers after learning the Board of Education was returning to Austria to recruit teachers there. She told Caribbean Life she was able to convince Levy of the benefits of recruiting Caribbean teachers to teach Caribbean students, who predominantly attend school and reside in Brooklyn. She said that besides being well-trained and qual-

Continued on page 5

Jamaica's youth: Never too young to make a difference

risky sexual behavior because they knew nothing about sex, sex education or AIDS. This is a reflection of a 1998 Ministry of Health study that showed that half the island's children are at risk of contracting HIV, because they were ignorant about the disease.

Now the children are working harder than before to repair the damage caused by the

young people between the ages of 11 and 25 each year. He says, however, that it takes \$60,000 a year to run such a program and

world they would not have otherwise known because of lack of opportunities and money, they say.

These days, A.C.'s progress is hampered by a lack of funding.

Hinds wants to reach as many as 100 young people between the ages of 11 and 25 each year. He says, however, that it takes \$60,000 a year to run such a program and

before to repair the damage caused by the

young people between the ages of 11 and 25 each year. He says, however, that it takes \$60,000 a year to run such a program and

before to repair the damage caused by the

Newest Import: Teac

Board of Ed goes to the Caribbean to seek recruits

By Merle English

STAFF CORRESPONDENT

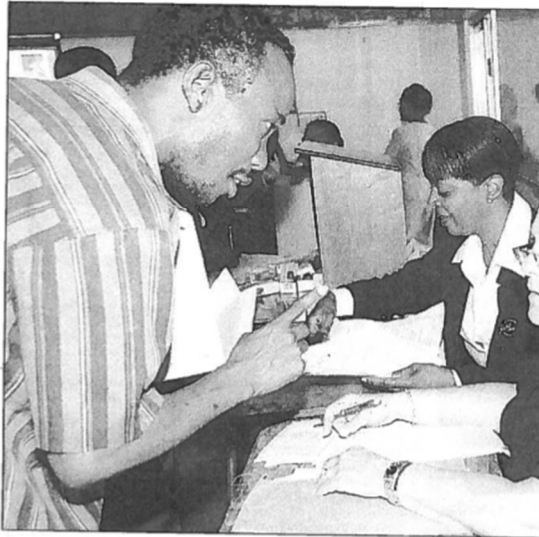
Kingston, Jamaica — They came from across the island of Jamaica, schoolteachers, principals and administrators, some with as many as 30 years experience teaching English, math and science — skills that are in great demand in the New York City public school system.

In an overwhelming response to the Board of Education's ongoing international teacher recruitment drive, nearly 700 applicants — mostly women — turned out at the University of the West Indies Mona campus in Kingston, the island's capital, to fill out applications for a two-year teaching stint that the board is offering to eligible Caribbean teachers.

"We've seen really qualified and quality candidates," said Caryl Cohen, director of recruitment in the Board of Education's newly created Chancellor's Center for Recruitment and Professional Development. Cohen told the teachers, "You're welcome. You're wanted. We're here because we need you."

Those who received board commitment letters left with smiling faces last week. Others, told the skills they had were not needed, were dejected.

Many were eager to teach in a new environment, broaden their skills and earn more than the \$400 to \$600 a month most teachers earn in Jamaica based on their experience. In New York, they will be paid about \$32,000 to \$44,000.



Caryl Cohen, left, and Brenda Steele speak with teacher applicants in Kingston, Jamaica.

Concern that students with discipline problems might end up in the criminal justice system and be deported, spurred Clarke, a Jamaican immigrant and former teacher and city consultant on day care, and George Irish, head of the Caribbean Research

tion at the board's recruitment drive, "It's important people who are from the

But some parents in the hiring army of tea

Brain Drain No Worry, Panday Say

Port of Spain, Trinidad, CANA: TRINIDAD AND Tobago's Prime Minister Basdeo Panday is not worried about a possible brain drain on the country caused by an exodus of nurses and teachers seeking jobs in the United States.

Panday, however, sees Trinidadian nationals returning to the country to take up contract jobs.

"There is a trend that is reversing the brain drain. In Canada and the United States, many West Indians who had gone abroad to seek better work opportunities have now retired and now they have settled down, they want to return to Trinidad and Tobago," Panday told reporters.

"In Canada, after the Quebec Summit, I tried to set up a mechanism to allow Trinidadians and Tobagonians to know that because of our revolution in education, we will need their services. We hope to take the people on contract to work in our schools."

Hundreds of educators were interviewed a week ago by the New York City Board of Education to fill vacant teaching posts in the US.

Principals, lecturers, teachers, and even technocrats in the Ministry of Education, are among the 400-plus who hope to land jobs with the New York City Board of Education.

Lecturers at Teachers' College, and curriculum and guidance officers attached to the Education Ministry were said to have joined scores of teachers at the Hilton Trinidad last weekend, seeking a chance to teach in the United States.

Inviting All Street Fair Vendors

The Carnival Band Leaders Committee is inviting all Labor Day Carnival & other street fair vendors to attend an important meeting, on Tuesday, May 22 from 7:00-8:30 PM at Cafe Omar at Nostrand and Clarendon Avenues, Brooklyn.

Democratic Public Advocate Norman

TRUST WESTERN UNION WHEN YOU SEND MONEY BACK HOME. BECAUSE SECOND BEST JUST WON'T DO

Western Union: Sending more money to more places in the Caribbean than anyone else.

With so many locations in the Caribbean, chances are we're right around the corner from your loved ones. That makes us the most convenient way to send money back home. And now we'll even call* your loved ones the minute the

APPENDIX D



**Syracuse University
Recruitment Email**

Dr. Dalia Rodriguez
School of Education, Department of Cultural Foundations of Education

Kimberly Williams
School of Education, Cultural Foundations of Education

Title of Study: Invisible Black Immigrant Teacher: Post- colonial and Transnational Struggles in New York City school Districts

Recruitment Email to Potential Participants:

Greetings,

I am writing because I received your name from (Name of Teacher), who recommended you for potential participation in my research study on the experiences of Afro-Caribbean international teachers in New York City.

I am attaching a research consent form to this email that outlines the goals of my study in greater detail. After reading the form, if you decide that this is a study in which you would be willing to participate, please respond affirmatively to this email. I will then work with you to find an appropriate time for the focus group, individual interview or observation depending on how you would like to participate in the study. The consent forms all indicate the differences between focus groups, individual interviews, and observations. Focus groups and observations will last approximately 2 hours. Individual interviews will last approximately (60) minutes. Focus groups, individual interviews and observations will take place at the (Name) elementary school.

Feel free to respond to this email with any questions.

Sincerely,
Kimberly Williams

.....
Kimberly Williams

Ph. D. Student
Syracuse University, 208 Bowne Hall

Syracuse University
Consent to Participate in Research Study

Dr. Dalia Rodriguez
School of Education, Department of Cultural Foundations of Education

Kimberly Williams
School of Education, Cultural Foundations of Education

IRB # 15-279

Title of Study: Invisible Black Immigrant Teacher: Post- colonial Struggles in New York City School Districts

You are being invited to participate in a pilot research study for partial fulfilment of my Ph.D. requirements at Syracuse University that is being conducted by Kimberly Williams, Ph.D. Student in the Cultural Foundations of Education doctoral program at Syracuse University. The purpose of this research study is to document the experiences of Afro- Caribbean teachers. You are being invited to participate in this study because you were referred as a potential participant through fellow teachers.

Involvement in this research is voluntary, so you may choose to participate or not. This document will explain the study to you. If you have any questions about the study, feel free to ask. I will be happy to explain anything in detail if you wish.

Focus of Study:

I hope to explore 1) Why black immigrants are invisible? How do black immigrants make sense of their experiences as black people in an American society that continues to place black people at the bottom of the racial hierarchy and 3) what is the relationship between neoliberal, capitalist endeavors and teacher education especially as it gets enacted through teachers' lives?

Type of Interview

The purpose of this study is to document the experiences of Afro-Caribbean teachers through **Semi-Structured Individual Interview**. Each interview will last for approximately 1 hour. Interviews will be audio recorded. If you wish to participate but are not interested in being audio recorded, you may still participate and opt out of being audio recorded. Please see the option below. You will be asked to answer questions based on your experiences. Please see below for examples of questions. The recordings will be used to provide data for transcription and data analysis. Excerpts from transcriptions will be used at conferences and in publications. Your information will be de-identified for your protection.

By participating in this research study, you will be asked to reflect on and respond to questions about: 1) How did you become familiar with the Caribbean recruiting initiative (CRI)? What helped inform your decision to accept a job offer in NYC? 2) Please tell me about your transition to life and work in America. 3) What, if any familial struggles did you face during your transition and to date? 4) Were there any specific moments that you noticed tension around your race as

you went about your work life or your personal life? If so, what are the examples and how would you say they impacted you?

Confidentiality:

Information gathered during interviews are considered data for this study. To ensure confidentiality, your name will be changed or removed from all data. Dr. Dalia Rodriguez and Kimberly Williams will be the only persons to have access to the data. All data from this study will be kept in a locked file and destroyed once the study is completed.

Risks/Benefits:

Although there are no known risks with this study, you could feel discomfort or shy when being interviewed. Should anything unexpected arise, you have the right to decide whether or not you will remain in the study.

The benefits of the study are numerous; the potential for public scholarship, changes in the K-6 public school system, changes in the way we think about teachers and learning, and overhauls in the American education system are among the benefits that could come from this study. I am not unrealistic enough to think my study alone will affect all the changes listed, but I do think this study is important for building on contemporary scholarship concerning race, immigration and pedagogy that push our understandings of critical issues in education. The risks of fear of employment or retaliation, although important, are worth the risk of the potential overhaul of an education system that is in trouble. To safeguard against the risks mentioned, Kim Williams, the researcher will de-identify data by using letters to identify participants or by assigning pseudonyms. Access to the data will be limited to the researcher, Kimberly Williams and to Dr. Dalia Rodriguez.

If you do not want to take part in this study, you have the right to refuse to take part without penalty. If you decide to participate and later no longer wish to participate, you have the right to withdraw from the study at anytime, without penalty. If you wish to participate but refuse to be audio recorded, the interview will be recorded by paper and pencil.

If you have any questions or concerns about this study you can contact Kimberly Williams at knwillia@syr.edu and 315-877-7418. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or questions and concerns you want to address to someone other than the researcher(s), contact the Syracuse University Institutional Review Board at 315-443-3013.

(You will receive a copy of these forms for your personal records)

I am over the age of 18, have read the information provided above, all of my questions have been answered and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

I agree to be audio recorded Yes No

Signature of Participant

Date

Printed Name of Participant

Signature of Researcher

Date

Printed Name of Researcher



Syracuse University
Consent to Participate in Research Study

Dr. Dalia Rodriguez
School of Education, Department of Cultural Foundations of Education

Kimberly Williams
School of Education, Cultural Foundations of Education

Title of Study: Invisible Black Immigrant Teacher: Post- colonial Struggles in New York City School Districts

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Involvement in this research is voluntary, so you may choose to participate or not. This sheet will explain the study to you. If you have any questions about the study, feel free to ask. I will be happy to explain anything in detail if you wish.

Focus of Study:

I hope to explore 1) Why black immigrants are invisible? How do black immigrants make sense of their experiences as black people in an American society that continues to place black people at the bottom of the racial hierarchy and 3) what is the relationship between neoliberal, capitalist endeavors and teacher education especially as it gets enacted through teachers' lives?

By participating in this research study, you will be asked to participate in either a focus group interview, a semi-structured interview, a life history interview or I will observe you. In each interview, participants will be asked to reflect on and respond to questions about: 1) How did you become familiar with the Caribbean recruiting initiative (CRI)? What helped inform your decision to accept a job offer in NYC? 2) Please tell me about your transition to life and work in America. 3)What, if any familial struggles did you face during your transition and to date? 4) Were there any specific moments that you noticed tension around your race as you went about your work life or your personal life? If so, what are the examples and how would you say they impacted you?

Information will be retrieved from audiotaped interviews The focus group date and time will be decided with your input through a doodle poll or other similar technology to accommodate your schedule. If you are unfamiliar with the technology, I will work with you to find a time appropriate for you and all participants.

Type of Interview

The purpose of this study is to document the experiences of Afro-Caribbean teachers through **focus groups**. Each focus group will last for approximately 2 hours. Focus groups are interviews with multiple participants. Four to six participants will engage in the focus group of you which you will participate. Focus groups will be audio recorded. If you wish to participate but are not interested in being audio recorded, you may still participate and opt out of being audio recorded. Please see the option below. You will be asked to answer questions based on your experiences. Please see above for examples of questions. The recordings will be used to provide data for transcription and data analysis. Excerpts from transcriptions will be used at conferences. Your information will be de-identified for your protection.

Confidentiality:

Information gathered during interviews are considered data for this study. To ensure confidentiality, your name will be changed or removed from all data. Dr. Dalia Rodriguez and Kimberly Williams will be the only persons to have access to the data. All data from this study will be kept in a locked file and destroyed once the study is completed. Although I will ask that each participant not discuss the content of the interview outside of the interview setting, confidentiality is not a guarantee in a group interview.

Risks/Benefits:

Although there are no known risks with this study, you could feel discomfort or shy when being interviewed. Should anything unexpected arise, you have the right to decide whether or not you will remain in the study.

The benefit of this research is that your participation in this study can be used to understand the best practices for recruiting, preparing, and retaining diverse teachers in New York City and cities like it and help with forming appropriate education policies that will positively impact teachers and students.

If you do not want to take part in this study, you have the right to refuse to take part without penalty. If you decide to participate and later no longer wish to participate, you have the right to withdraw from the study at anytime, without penalty.

If you have any questions or concerns about this study you can contact Kimberly Williams at knwillia@syr.edu and 315-877-7418. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or questions and concerns you want to address to someone other than the researcher(s), contact the Syracuse University Institutional Review Board at 315-443-3013.

(You will receive a copy of these forms for your personal records)

I am over the age of 18, have read the information provided above, all of my questions have been answered and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

I agree to be audio recorded Yes

No

Signature of Participant

Date

Printed Name of Participant

Signature of Researcher

Date

Printed Name of Researcher

Syracuse University
Consent to Participate in Research Study

Dr. Dalia Rodriguez
School of Education, Department of Cultural Foundations of Education

Kimberly Williams
School of Education, Cultural Foundations of Education

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Type of Interview

The purpose of this study is to document the experiences of Afro-Caribbean teachers through **observations**. Each observation will last for approximately 2 hours. The researcher will observe you as you teach class, interact with students, and go about your administrative responsibilities in this two hour period. Observations will be recorded in a notebook. During the observation, I may ask you questions to clarify the things observed that I may not fully understand.

Confidentiality:

Information gathered during interviews are considered data for this study. To ensure confidentiality, your name will be changed or removed from all data. Dr. Dalia Rodriguez and Kimberly Williams will be the only persons to have access to the data. All data from this study will be kept in a locked file and destroyed once the study is completed.

Risks/Benefits:

Although there are no known risks with this study, you could feel discomfort or shy when being interviewed. Should anything unexpected arise, you have the right to decide whether or not you will remain in the study.

The benefits of the study are numerous; the potential for public scholarship, changes in the K-6 public school system, changes in the way we think about teachers and learning, and overhauls in the American education system are among the benefits that could come from this study. I am not unrealistic enough to think my study alone will affect all the changes listed, but I do think this study is important for building on contemporary scholarship concerning race, immigration and pedagogy that push our understandings of critical issues in education. The risks of fear of employment or retaliation, although important, are worth the risk of the potential overhaul of an education system that is in trouble. To safeguard against the risks mentioned, Kim Williams, the researcher will de-identify data by using letters to identify participants or by assigning pseudonyms. Access to the data will be limited to the researcher, Kimberly Williams and to Dr. Dalia Rodriguez.

If you do not want to take part in this study, you have the right to refuse to take part without penalty. If you decide to participate and later no longer wish to participate, you have the right to withdraw from the study at anytime, without penalty.

If you have any questions or concerns about this study you can contact Kimberly Williams at knwillia@syr.edu and 315-877-7418. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or questions and concerns you want to address to someone other than the researcher(s), contact the Syracuse University Institutional Review Board at 315-443-3013.

(You will receive a copy of these forms for your personal records)

I am over the age of 18, have read the information provided above, all of my questions have been answered and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

Signature of Participant

Date

Printed Name of Participant

Signature of Researcher

Date

Printed Name of Researcher



Syracuse University
Interview Protocol

Dr. Dalia Rodriguez
School of Education, Department of Cultural Foundations of Education

Kimberly Williams
School of Education, Cultural Foundations of Education

Title of Study: Invisible Black Immigrant Teacher: Post- colonial and Transnational Struggles in New York City school Districts

Semi-structured interview protocol

1. Please describe your experiences as a student growing up in the Caribbean.
2. What path did you take to become a teacher in the Caribbean?
3. What was your life like as a teacher in the Caribbean?
4. How did you become familiar with the Caribbean recruiting initiative (CRI)?
What helped inform your decision to accept a job offer in NYC?
5. Please tell me about your transition to life and work in America
6. What are your overall experiences as a Caribbean teacher working in a New York City urban school?
7. Please name specific experiences positive or negative as it relates to working in the US.
8. What, if any familial, professional, personal, struggles did you face during your transition and to date?
9. Were there any specific moments that you noticed tension around your race as you went about your work life or your personal life? If so, what are the examples and how would you say they impacted you?
10. Compare your experiences teaching in NYC to the country you are from.
11. What do you think makes you a successful teacher in NYC?

Focus Group Protocol

1. Please go around the table and state your first name and country of origin. For the remainder of the discussion, you will be identified as Teacher A, Teacher B, etc. as we work clockwise around the table starting with the person sitting to my immediate right.
2. Describe your educational background as a student growing up in the Caribbean.
3. What, if any, familial struggles did you face during your transition and to date?

4. What are your overall experiences as a Caribbean teacher working in a New York City urban public school? Can you name specific experiences that you would like to share? They can be either positive or negative.
5. How did you become familiar with the Caribbean recruiting initiative (CRI)? What helped inform your decision to accept a job offer in NYC?
6. Were there any specific moments that you noticed tension around your race as you went about your work life or your personal life? If so, what are the examples and how would you say they impacted you?
7. How has your educational training and/or background prepared you for a teaching
8. career in America?
9. Are there differences in your teaching style from the Caribbean to the US? If yes, why?

Thank you for your participation, honesty, and candor. I enjoyed learning more about your beliefs, experiences, and thoughts as a Caribbean teacher in the United States.

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Curriculum Vitae

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EDUCATION

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| Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York | |
| Dissertation Title: The Transnational Narratives and Struggles of Black Immigrant Women Teachers in New York City School Districts | |
| Committee: Dalia Rodriguez, Chair; Marcelle Haddix; Chandra Mohanty; Linda Carty | |
| Certificate of University Teaching | April 2017 |
| Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York | |
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| Master of Arts in Communications and Rhetorical Studies | May 2011 |
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| Master of Science in Human Resource Management | May 2005 |
| University of Charleston, Charleston, West Virginia | |
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| Concord University, Athens, West Virginia | |

RESEARCH AND TEACHING INTERESTS

- Social Justice in Education;
- Intersections of Race, Gender and Education;
- Critical Qualitative Research Methods;

- Critical Migration/Immigration Studies;
- Women's and Gender Studies;
- Intergroup Dialogue;
- Higher Education

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Independent Research

Dissertation Research (2015-2016): Participant observations, formal and informal interviews, focus groups, and document analysis with Afro-Caribbean women teachers in New York City school districts

Research on International Graduate Students Whose First Language is English – Transitions and Struggles (Spring 2014): Participant Observations, Life History Interviews and formal interviews using a semi-structured interview protocol

Graduate Research

Graduate Research Assistant (Spring 2014)

Project: Study of the Experiences of Students of Color Pursuing Teaching as a Profession

Faculty: Marcelle Haddix

PUBLICATIONS

- Brown Williams, K. (2016). Activism and Love: Loving White people through the struggle. In *Pedagogies in the Flesh: Case Studies on the Embodiment of Sociocultural Differences in Education*. Sarah Travis, Amelia M. Kraehe, Emily Jean Hood, Tyson E. Lewis (Eds). Palgrave MacMillan.
- Brown Williams, K., Steinwert, T. (2016). How Is it with Your Soul? Developing a Liberatory Consciousness through Dialogue in Campus Ministries. In *The Prophetic Voice and Making Peace*. Matthew Charlton and Katheryn Armistead (Eds). Higher Education and Ministry, Nashville TN
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- Thorne, F. Williams, K. (2013). Raising Awareness in Academic Libraries with Multicultural Exhibits, and Installations. In C. Smallwood and K. Becnel (Eds.), *Library Services for Multicultural Patrons: Strategies to Encourage Library Use*. Plymouth UK: The Scarecrow press, Inc.

PRESENTATIONS

- “Race, Resistances and the Coloniality of Gender in Education”, Eastern Sociological Society (ESS), February 2017
- “Invisible Black Immigrant Teacher: Post-Colonial and Transnational Struggles in New York City School Districts”, Eastern Sociological Society (ESS), February 2016, and American Educational Research Association (AERA), March 2016
- “De-Mystifying the journey to the Ph.D.: Three Perspectives”, National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA), March 2016
- “Activism and Love: Loving White people through the struggle”, American Educational Society (AES), November 2015
- “De-colonizing Dialogue Spaces”, Intergroup Relations Conference, June 2015
- “Intergroup Dialogue Pedagogy and Educational Border Crossing”, Eastern Sociological Society, February 2015
- “Embodied Politics: Women and the Assemblage Identities,” Equity and Social Justice Conference, March 2014
- “Underrepresented RAs United: A Model”, College Student Personnel Administration (CSPA) Conference, October 2010 and National Association of College Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA), March 2012
- “Sustaining Multiculturally Competent Student Leaders in a Diverse World”, Cortland University Sustainability Conference, October 2010

FELLOWSHIPS, AWARDS AND HONORS

- Dissertation Proposal Development Fellowship (DPDF), Social Science Research Council, March – October, 2016
- Outstanding Graduate Student Award, Women's and Gender Studies, Syracuse University, April 2016
- Joan Lukas Rothenberg Graduate Student Service Award, April 2016.
The Joan Lukas Rothenberg Graduate Student Award recognizes the work of a Women's and Gender Studies Certificate of Advanced Studies (CAS) student who has contributed to feminist education on campus through direct service to the Women's and Gender Studies department, and/or the larger SU community
- National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women (NANBPW) Award for African American Women, February 2010
- Senior Vice President's Award for Excellence, April 2008
- Office of Residence Life Award for Excellence, May 2007

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Teaching Associate, Advanced Studies in Feminist Thought, Spring 2017

- Co-taught the WGS major/minor student senior seminar class on decolonial feminisms
- Assessed student learning through discussions and grading
- Met with professor to discuss lesson planning, student engagement and pedagogical and theoretical approaches

Instructor, Women's and Gender Studies 101, Summer 2016

- Created syllabus for course with interdisciplinary and selected readings
- Created prompts for student evaluations
- Evaluated 20 students on writing, and analysis of concepts of Race, Gender, Class etc.

Teaching Associate, Women and Gender Studies, August 2015 – Present

- Teaching Associate for Women and Gender Studies for two years, Fall 2015-Spring 2017
- Taught two classes for 50 students for one hour and fifteen minutes each on Introduction to Women's and Gender studies and Transnational Feminism
- The course required students to critically engage feminisms, power and feminist thoughts

Instructor, Intergroup Dialogue on Race and Ethnicity, August 2014 – May 2015; January 2017 – May 2017

- Co-taught WGS/SOC 230; CFE 200, a cross-listed course to undergraduate students
- The course required students to critically engage with concepts of institutional racism, power, privilege and oppression
- Attended weekly team meetings where intergroup pedagogy was discussed

SummerStart Seminar, July – August 2012; July – August 2013

- Taught a six-week pre-college course to admitted first year students of color on transitioning to college
- Graded papers and discussed academic interest and success with students

Multicultural Living Learning Community (MLLC) Class, Living in a Diverse World, August – December 2012

- Co-taught the MLLC class – Living in a Diverse World, which focused on providing students with the tools necessary for identifying ideologies, schemes of thought, and conceptual paradigms that sustain exclusionary practices and behaviors
- The class covered topics such as cultural norms, life-styles, political ideologies, religious beliefs, racial traits, intellectual traditions, sexual orientations, class positions, worldviews, and other indicators of the diverse structure of modern society

HIGHER EDUCATION PROFESSIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERIENCE

SummerStart Seminar Coordinator, Summer at Syracuse, Syracuse University, April 2014 - Present

- Coordinate presentations between Syracuse University offices and the SummerStart office
- Meet with offices across the university to plan and implement programs for 180 pre-matriculated first year students as they transition into the university
- Evaluate programs and make recommendations on best practices for programs for pre-matriculated students
- Train and indirectly supervise SummerStart instructors

Graduate Assistant, Posse Program, Syracuse University, July 2013 – Present

- Mentor, guide, and provide support for first year and sophomore undergraduate students through the division of enrollment management
- Maintain group dynamics through weekly group meetings with ten (10) Posse students from Atlanta and meet with individual Posse students bi-weekly to discuss academic, personal and interpersonal concerns
- Support the needs of the Posse program at Syracuse University which collaborates with three Posse cities Atlanta, Los Angeles, and Miami
- Meet with and provide support for students from other access programs such as KIPP, Say Yes to Education and Gates Millennium Students
- Research the concerns of and provide support to undocumented students

Associate Director, Office of Multicultural Affairs (OMA), Syracuse University, September 2011 - June 2013

- Directed, guided and provided leadership for functional areas in the Office of Multicultural Affairs and provided leadership to the office in the absence of the director
- Provided leadership for the following areas: conversations about race and ethnicity (C.A.R.E), The multicultural living learning community (MLLC), the Dimensions mentoring program for women of color, Asian Pacific American Heritage month (APA) and the Latino Heritage Month (LHM) celebrations
- Developed and implemented a multi-layered mentoring program, fullCIRCLE mentoring, for students (first year and upper class), alumni, employers and faculty/staff mentors
- Advised several student groups including Asian Students in America (ASIA), and OMA student advocates (OMASA) Pentecostal Student association (PENSA)
- Co-directed the WellsLink leadership program from September 2011 – January 2012
- Managed budgets upwards of \$100,000.00 for various programs

Coordinator for Staff Selection and Training, Syracuse University, June 2006 - September 2011

- Analyzed, developed and evaluated the selection, training, and evaluation processes for professional and student staff in the Office of Residence Life.
- Created and implemented on-going professional development programs and activities for all levels of staff
- Supervised summer professional staff interns and practicum students in the Office of Residence Life
- Assisted with the management of a \$60,000.00 selection and training budget
- Developed and implemented a resident advisor (RA) support group - Underrepresented RAs United (URU)

Residence Director, Syracuse University, July 2005 – May 2006

University of Charleston, Charleston WV June 2003 – May 2005

- Managed the day-to-day operations of residence hall housing for up to 500 students and supervised professional and student staff that assisted in the effective operation of the residence hall.
- Served as judicial hearing officer and administered educational sanctions for code of student conduct violations and departmental standard violations
- Provided on-call crisis management for a residential area housing over 2000 residents
- Advised students on their academic interests and majors

COMMITTEE AND BOARD EXPERIENCE

Committees

- Co-Chair of the Participatory Research committee, October 2014 - present
- Member of the diversity and inclusion planning work group; Invited to facilitate a series of conversations on the Ferguson, MO and New York, NY shootings and non-indictments, October 2014 - present
- Member of the University Appeals Board (UAB) for high level judicial cases, August 2012 – June 2013
- Member of the Women’s Leadership Committee, June 2012 – present
- Member of the Sticky Campus Task Force, October 2011 – June 2013
- Redesigned the RA selection interview process, February 2010
- Division of Student Affairs Graduate Assistant Restructuring Committee, November 2011 – June 2013
- Procedural Advisor advising students going through the judicial process, August 2008- present
- Redesigned and implemented the RA selection class, August 2008 - December 2010
- Designed a programming book for the 2005 Living Learning conference for universities across the country

Boards

- Membership Coordinator for New York State, board of the College Student Personnel Association (CSPA), October 2007 – October 2010
- Directorate body member for the commission for social justice educators (CSJE), American College Personnel Association (ACPA), March 2006 – March 2008
- Presidential Intern for the American College Personnel Association (ACPA), March 2006 – April 2007
- Founder and community outreach coordinator, BGSA, Fall 2013 - Spring 2016
- Founder and Co-president, SOE Council, Spring 2015 - present
- Founder and Co-president, CFE Council, Fall 2016 – present

KEYNOTES AND SPEAKING OPPORTUNITIES

- Keynote: “National Association of Negro Business Professional Women”, Syracuse University, March 2016
- Keynote: “Office of Multicultural Affairs End of Year Banquet”, Syracuse University, April 2015
- Keynote: “Take Back the Night”, Syracuse University, March 2015
- Student Speaker: “Phi Beta Delta International Honor Society”, Syracuse University, March 2015

CONSULTING PROJECTS

- Colgate University Intergroup Dialogue Program, Consultant

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

- National Women’s Studies Association (NWSA), 2017 - present
- American Educational Research Association (AERA), 2016 – present
- American Educational Studies Association (AESAs), 2015 - present
- Eastern Sociological Society, 2014 - present
- Equity and Social Justice (ESJ), 2013 - present
- Society for Human Resource Managers (SHRM), 2008 - 2013
- College Student Personnel Association (CSPA) Membership Chair 6/2007 – 10/2009
- National Student Personnel Association (NASPA), 2006 - present
- American College Personnel Association (ACPA), 2005 - present

