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**Context and Process in International Teacher Recruitment:  
The Experiences of Global Educators Outreach (GEO) Teachers from Africa in the  
U.S.A.**

**A Thesis**

**Presented to the Faculty of  
Social and Cultural Foundations of Education**

**School of Education**

**DePaul University**

**In Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of**

**Master of Arts**


**By**

**Omar A. Kamara**

**February, 2011**

**DePaul University  
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We approve the master's thesis of Omar A. Kamara.



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## **Abstract**

This study examined the experiences of three teachers recruited from African countries to teach in Chicago's public schools. The purpose of the study was to highlight the experiences of the teachers through the lens of changing global dynamics that make such international recruitment of teachers more likely than ever before. It was apparent through this research that the movement of the teachers from developing countries to the United States of America had professional, economic and social impact on the teachers, their families and their communities. Although the teachers interviewed were hopeful that the skills they are gaining could one day benefit the communities they left behind, they face serious challenges as they adjust to living in a new environment. There is need for further research on this subject because this new trend of officially recruiting teachers from developing countries to the United States is increasing as shortages of teachers in the U.S. is growing, but the potential impact on education is not yet fully known.

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To my family and friends, whose love and understanding daily bless my life.

-Omar Alpha Kamara

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### **1.1 Introduction**

In the years 1999 to 2002, the Chicago public school district embarked on a program of recruiting foreign teachers to teach in the city's public elementary, middle, and high schools. A special program called Global Educators Outreach (GEO) brought over one hundred teachers into Chicago's classrooms from all over the world. According to a report to the National Education Association on trends in foreign teacher recruitment, Chicago, the nation's third-largest school district and the second largest employer in Illinois, was reported in 2001 to be seeking to hire 3,500 new teachers for 2001-2002 school year. Through GEO, the city's school system hired more than 130 teachers from 35 countries, including Japan, India, Colombia, Pakistan, Ghana, Jamaica and Mexico (Barber, 2003, p.11). The teachers were recruited in four cohorts. A cohort of about thirty teachers was recruited annually starting from 1999 up till 2002 when the program was suspended.

These teachers, some of whom are now in their tenth year of teaching in Chicago, are adjusting to working in a new environment. Most of them have either recently completed or are still taking college courses to become certified teachers in the state of Illinois. The purpose of this thesis study was first, to examine the experiences of some of those teachers in the light of changing global dynamics that make such programs possible. Secondly, I also examined how the teachers' perspectives on the role of globalization in education have been influenced by their experiences as GEO teachers. These experiences relate to the processes of international recruitment, migration, teacher education, work conditions and the

teachers' general integration experiences into Chicago's schools and communities. And lastly, I tried to situate the GEO program itself within conceptual frameworks of globalization, migration and education using existing literature to analyze the impact of such programs to both the sending and receiving communities and on the people involved, in this case the GEO teachers and their families. But it is important to note that the GEO program is by no means unique in its goal to recruit teachers from developing nations to the U.S. Increasingly, more and more school districts in the country are undertaking similar programs. According to Barber (2003), "Some school districts in major cities like New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and Atlanta have established their own foreign teacher recruitment bureaus, with significant budgets and expansive global network" (p. 2).

The recruitment of teachers from other countries to Chicago represents a step in the process of globalization that increases the flow of professionals from developing countries to developed ones. This flow is a problem to developing countries already faced with lack of resources in most sectors of their economies, not to mention an added brain-drain in the education sector. The flow also comes with challenges not only to the sending and receiving communities, but also to the lives of the teachers as immigrant professionals. The chances of learning about the program, securing a visa for an interview in the United States and raising the fare for two trips to the U.S. were three initial huddles that participants had to overcome. After a rigorous recruitment program, successful participants were faced with the challenges of moving to settle in America leaving friends and family behind and adjusting to work and social life in the U.S. They were also required to attend school to gain

teacher certification while they undergo processes aimed at adjusting their immigration status. These processes pose considerable challenges to the newcomers. As pointed out by Portes and Rumbaut (1990), “There are many dilemmas to overcome, such as leaving friends, families, jobs, and familiar environments. In addition, upon arriving in the new country, one must adapt to new cultural norms, language and community systems which add to the burden of newly arrived immigrants” (as cited in Sheena, Cranley & Nichols, 2001, p. 47). These challenges make the integration of the teachers into the schools and communities very difficult, if not impossible. In fact, Richardson, Kirchenheim and Richardson (2006), citing the works of other researchers, in reference to expatriate assignments, mentions that “current research in the field reports a relatively high failure rate within these expatriate assignments (Black, 1998; Black & Gregersen, 1999; Down, 1978; Tung, 1981), education seems no exception” (p. 884). This thesis study examines the experiences of the GEO teachers in relation to how they are adjusting to working in the U.S. and how they have coped or are coping with the above challenges. Also, the study examined how the teachers’ experiences have influenced their perspectives about globalization and its role in education. Through examining the experiences of the teachers, from the interviews, and the general dynamics of the GEO program, from reviewing the teachers’ program documents, this study sought to gain some insights into this relatively new trend of officially recruiting foreign teachers to the United States from developing countries all over the world.

The focus of the study is on the experiences of the teachers, but I am also interested in situating those experiences and the GEO program itself within the

sociopolitical dynamics of globalization and its role in education. The following are the key research questions that the study tries to answer in order to throw light on the new trend of international recruitment of teachers:

1. How do teaching experiences and teacher education programs in the native countries of GEO teachers compare to those in the U.S., and how have they contributed to preparing teachers for the challenges they face in Chicago's classrooms?
2. How does the movement of GEO teachers from foreign countries to Chicago impact their social, economic and professional lives?
3. How have the social, economic and professional experiences of the teachers shaped their perspectives on the role of globalization in education?
4. What do the teachers think about the impact of their migration on the sending and receiving communities? How do the GEO teachers think about their impact on their school and/or wider communities?
5. How did globalization enhance or inhibit the recruitment process? From a global perspective, what could have been the school district's motivation behind the recruitment of teachers from all over the world?

In the search for answers to the above questions I also hoped to understand how global dynamics play out when foreign teachers come to the U.S. to educate children from multicultural backgrounds. In order to do this adequately, this study is situated in relation to the notion of globalization.

## **1.2 Globalization as a Context for the Study**

Globalization has been defined as “a set of processes by which the world is rapidly being integrated into one economic space via increased international trade, the internationalization of production and financial markets, and the internationalization of a commodity culture promoted by an increasingly networked global telecommunications system” (Gibson-Graham, as cited in Stromquist & Monkman,

2000, p. 4 ). This set of processes has resulted in what has been described as a “compressed human time and space” (Sanderson, 2003, p.1) and what Castells calls a “network of societies” ( as cited in Stromquist & Monkman, 2000, p. 3) having economic, political and cultural implications on nations, communities and people around the world. Globalization can be discussed in economic, political, and cultural terms (p. 3). Although many scholars recognize challenges created by globalization, many others are optimistic about the advantages brought about by the new open, highly connected, competitive and far reaching process of economic and cultural exchanges. But on a closer look, one would notice that globalization has impacted the lives of citizens of all countries to different degrees in both positive and negative ways (Stromquist & Monkman, 2003). One consequence of globalization is the increase in the movement of capital, goods and labor across national and regional boundaries. In this, some see progress, but others are more skeptical for reasons relating to how the lives of people are affected. Either way, Sanderson (2003) is probably right in supposing that “we stand on the cusp of an era in which the processes of globalization look to dramatically influence the transition of human society into the third millennium” (p. 2). Going further he added that “Globalisation ‘is a reality’ (Callinicos, 2001, p. 19) and is the catalyst for many of the changes currently being experienced by people, social institutions and nations around the world” (Sanderson, 2003, p. 4).

Globalization also influences education in a variety of ways, many of which reflect the power that some countries (organizations, political/policy agendas) have relative to others. The World Bank, for example, exerts its influence on low-income

countries' educational systems through externally mandated policies. In order to understand the impact of globalization on education in some African countries, one must examine the effects of the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) in the African development terrain in the early 1980s which led to a reduction of public expenditure, especially on education and other social programs. For example, from 1980 to about 1983, Abdi (2003) reported that spending on education in Sub-Saharan Africa fell from nearly \$10 billion to \$8.9 billion (p. 198). Such policies, he noted, guided by the fear of what has been selectively called "credibility with international financial markets" promoted the "sacredness of fiscal responsibility" (Abdi, 2003, p. 196) in the neo-liberal worldview that dominated national policies. In South Africa, for example, a post-apartheid program called Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), which was designed for the "socioeconomic uplifting of the previously disenfranchised segment of the population" (African National Congress, 1994, as cited in Abdi, 2003, p. 196) was replaced by another program called Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), which was economically "focused on reducing national budget allocations for housing, health and education" (Stromquist, 1999, as cited in Abdi, 2003, p. 197). The ANC government became "quite conspicuous in its adherence to the expectations of the global capitalist economy even if the political language is still developmentally friendly" (Stromquist, 1999, as cited in Abdi, 2003, p. 196).

In my home country, Sierra Leone, for example, a new education policy had to be introduced in 1995 at the urging of World Bank representatives. Among other things, The New Education Policy for Sierra Leone (1995) required teacher education



colleges to increase the number of female students admitted into their programs due to the severe shortage of female teachers, especially in the secondary levels of education. The policy stated that “At all levels of teacher education, steps must be taken to ensure that far more women than at present qualify as teachers” (SLGDE<sup>1</sup>, 1995, p. 19). Also based on similar recommendations, the structure of the education system was changed from a 7-5-4 (7 years of elementary school, 5 years of secondary school and 4 years of college) system to a 6-3-3-4 (6 years of elementary school, 3 years of junior secondary school, 3 years of senior secondary school, and 4 years of college) system (SLGDE, 1995, p. 3). More often than not, financial institutions make the implementation of such recommendations as pre-requisites for countries to receive much needed funds for education. As a result of such demands, driven by more powerful nations directly or indirectly through international institutions, policy agendas are converging, with issues such as accountability, gender equity and technological focus being more or less common around the world. As has been suggested “Education policies from international organizations such as the World Bank and OECD are restructuring education to promote a utilitarian vision of education” (Vongalis, 2004, p. 488). Critiques of neoliberal globalization highlight imbalances in power relations and the increasingly imperialist nature in which educational agendas seem to take on common characteristics as possible setbacks that come with the effect of globalization on education. Challenges to globalization from below seek to mediate the power differentials by skillfully resisting or seemingly surrendering, but to an extent that it places unbearable burden on donor nations and/or agencies. When the donor nations or agencies fail to support their mandates the

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<sup>1</sup> Sierra Leone Government Department of Education.

tendency is for local authorities to revert to other options within their financial reach. In Sierra Leone, for instance, the administrators at the Milton Margai College of Education, where I taught physics for four years, initially welcomed the new policy recommendation to increase the number of female students admitted into the teacher education programs with the understanding that the World Bank, through the Ministry of Education, was going to fund the extra cost of enrolling more students into the college. When the funds did not come as anticipated, the college was forced to cut back the number of admissions the following years although there was a clear need for the mandated admission policy. The recommendation was probably based on pressure to not discriminate against women, and on the premise that women stayed longer in the teaching field than men. It was thought to be better to invest in educating female teachers as one way to address the dwindling number of teachers in the country, rather than focus on training male teachers who, the argument went, generally tended to leave teaching for better paying jobs as soon as the opportunity arose. Vongalis (2004) is probably right in describing such moves as the “feminisation of the teaching force,” which could negatively impact pay and working conditions, especially because of the lack of female representation at the upper levels of education management and leadership in policy and institutions (p. 491).

As developing nations open up to accepting policies from donor agencies, so does their expectation for more funding thereby increasing the pressure on the donor agencies. But unfortunately the agencies themselves are experiencing donor fatigue resulting from the reduction of financial support from their more powerful financiers in the Americas and Europe. This in turn limits the role of education in enhancing

social and other development, especially in the least developed countries. As Abdi (2003) pointed out, “Due to recurring and continuing political and economic pressures, educational programs have been at best, limited in advancing reliable platforms of social development for many countries in the sub-continent” (p. 192). The failure to finance the mandates affected their implementation, and encouraged some local authorities such as college administrators, to consider alternative options to the mandates. No wonder in 1992 there was widespread unrest in Sierra Leone’s teacher education colleges as staff and administrators demanded more money from the government to meet the higher cost of an increased student intake, and to improve the working conditions of staff and faculty. But when the government could not sufficiently increase their funding as requested, claiming that it had not receive the promised financial support from the World Bank, the colleges’ administrators had abandoned the recommended increase in students intake and downsized the intake almost to previous level. The half measures resulting from ill funded mandates and the failure of local authorities to meet the educational needs of their communities are recipes for discontent and leads to an aura of general dissatisfaction on the part of education personnel that grapple with such challenges and/or disappointments.

In Sierra Leone, as in many other sub-Saharan African countries, the discontent of the education personnel is compounded by the failure of the government to pay decent salaries to teachers. Salary delays go for months causing dismay and dissatisfaction that impact how well teachers perform their responsibilities. As pointed out by Banya (1997) in reference to the Sierra Leone situation “A very low salary not paid on time only leads to frustration on the part of the teachers” (p. 492).

In another study of the crisis in the Nigerian educational system, Nwagwu (1997) noted similar problems. He highlighted “poor funding, inadequate facilities, admissions and certificate racketeering, examination malpractices and general indiscipline” (as cited in Abdi, 2003, p. 198) as responsible for the general decline in the Nigerian education system. The resulting deteriorating conditions in African countries’ educational systems lead to an increase in the number of professionals, including teachers, wanting to emigrate in search of a better life in more developed countries. According to Brittain (1994), “the combined forces of economic collapse and institutional corruption have forced over 100,000 African professionals and intellectuals to flee their continent in search of better opportunities, thus bleeding their countries of the talent, education, and energy that would offer a chance of reversing the trend of de-development” (as cited in Abdi, 2003, p. 198). This is the essence of the brain drain, which is affecting all of Africa but is apparently more central to the educational problems facing many sub-Saharan African countries. According to Robertson (2006), “Much of the concern then is the movement of the talented and the highly skilled from those countries that can least afford to lose them, such as many of the sub-Saharan African countries, to countries like the United Kingdom, the United States of America, France and Germany, who seem to act like a magnet by offering better conditions for work and study” (p. 1). In numerical terms, Robertson highlighted reports from other studies that estimated that the African continent as a whole had lost as many as thirty percent of its skilled professionals to OECD countries, between 1960 and 1987. He also mentioned that some countries lost even more professionals in the same period. For example, Ghana had lost nearly a

third of its educated adults to OECD countries (Tanner, 2005, as cited in Robertson, 2006, p. 2).

If globalization becomes synonymous with imperialistic imposition of norms and values, then the long-term effects are anyone's guess. The aftermath of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, for example, is going to pose a challenge to the United States and her allies in regard to the tasks of not only rebuilding the broken infrastructures, but setting up sound educational systems that will be the foundation of the *freedom and democracy*<sup>2</sup> the promoters of the war claim to be spreading through the *global war on terror*. The new government in Afghanistan may have welcomed the enrollment of more girls and women into schools and colleges, but the challenge will be in their ability to fund the new mandates<sup>3</sup> and the question of how many other nations will be ready to support the programs financially. The traditional donor nations are themselves faced with shortfalls in funding education at home. They are increasingly reluctant to support programs abroad in spite of the growing wealth accumulation resulting from the expanded global access to resources and markets. As Power (2000) noted

Despite the commitments made at Jomtien, Beijing and Copenhagen and the rapid increase in GNP per capita within the OECD countries, there has been a dramatic decline in aid provided for developing countries since 1992. Private foreign investment and loans have replaced aid, but the UNESCO-ILO studies of structural adjustment show the burden of debt falls most heavily on the

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<sup>2</sup> I have put certain words and phrases in italics because although they may be commonly used by media outlets or literature to refer to certain meanings or concepts, there is not a general consensus that the meaning invoked is acceptable to everyone. In other words, their meaning and application are in some ways politically and/or socially contentious. For example, the concept of spreading *freedom and democracy* through the *global war on terror* is frequently been challenged by the anti-war movements in the U.S. and Europe.

<sup>3</sup> Global policies come with short-term support and mandates to be sustainable, yet many countries do not have the resources to sustain initiatives.

public education and the health services available to the poor and marginalized groups. (Power, 2000, p. 153)

All of these point to the imbalance of power relations that have multiple effects on the lives of people around the world as a consequence of the processes and outcomes of globalization. The effects of either encouraging nations to adopt policies that do not serve the best interest of their population, as was the case with South Africa, or that are not adequately funded as was the case with the teacher education college in Sierra Leone, or that are more forcefully imposed as in the cases of war-torn Iraq and Afghanistan, whether seen to be positive or negative, clearly illustrate the influence of globalization and its impact on the lives of people and economies around the world. The problem is that the development brought about by extrinsic pressures has less positive impact than if it were an intrinsic, bottom-up, undertaking. The top-down development based on a “one size fits all” (Gutek, 1993, as cited in Jagusah, 2001) ideology like that of the World Bank/IMF has less positive overall impact (Samoff, as cited in Jagusah, 2001). As rightly put by Jagusah (2001), it is the case of “the master’s economic blueprint, which such a master will never even think of implementing at home, that will be shoved down the throats of the slave, the colonized or neo-colonized using a neo-colonized general or politician as in the case of Nigeria” (p. 122 ).

At the third World Congress of Education International held in Thailand in July 2001, Athena Vongalis did a study in which she examined the opinions of teachers’ union delegates from 29 countries and regions on issues relevant to education and teachers about educating in a global economy, which was the theme of the congress. Among other discontents, the study indicated that

teachers expressed disagreement with neo-liberal policies ... linking the neo-liberal social and economic reform to the privatization of education and the exclusion of poorer children, especially girls, the restructuring of learning for global economic utility, the marginalization of teachers as social agents, and the degradation of working conditions for many teachers around the world. (Vongalis, 2004, p. 490.)

She pointed out that there was “a clear overlap between neo-liberalism and the deteriorating working conditions of teachers” (Vongalis, 2004, p. 491). A view also expressed by representatives of teachers from African countries, who as Vongalis (2004) reported, “concurred that neo-liberal social change had brought negative change such as the increase in child labour” (p. 491).

As a small boy growing up in a village in northern Sierra Leone, American Peace-Corps volunteers were probably the first of the very few white people I met. They were mostly teachers and agricultural extension workers. They brought with them skills that were seen as the promise to rural development. The American Peace Corps, the mostly Italian Catholic reverend fathers, and later the British Volunteer Service Overseas teachers made up for the shortage of local manpower in the areas of education, health, agriculture and rural development generally in Sierra Leone. This is typical of developing countries looking up to more developed ones, especially past colonial masters, to support them in developing their human resource capacity. As Vinokur (2006) noted “From the nineteenth century to the Second World War, highly skilled personnel moved along with production capital, from the more industrialized to the less developed countries (LDC), while the unskilled took the opposite direction (*brains against browns*)” (p. 7, emphasis in the original). That significantly changed in the late 1960s after most African countries gained independence from their colonizers. In the recent past the developed countries are increasingly drawing from

the sometimes meager pool of professionals in developing countries, especially in the areas of science and technology, to make up for the growing shortage of local personnel in those areas. According to Richardson, von Kirchenheim and Richardson (2006),

there is an increase in the expatriation of employees which is especially profound within education where ever increasing numbers of foreign countries are regularly seeking out the services of university trained teachers, (particularly those trained in English speaking countries), in an effort to give their young citizens the necessary skills required to compete effectively in the newly emerging borderless economy. (p. 884, citing Richardson & Richardson, 2002-2006; also see Brown, 2004.)

Until quite recently, these professionals did not include many teachers. But that is changing dramatically as teacher shortages heighten and the developed countries, especially the U.S. are increasingly looking to the outside to make up for the shortage. As this phenomenon is relatively new, the problem is that there is not much known in academia about the reasons for this shift or development, its possible impact on education, and the challenges and experiences that come with it.

This thesis research is an attempt to look closely into issues around the movement of teachers to the United States from other countries, especially developing ones that used to rely on more developed countries for similar support. How do global dynamics play out when foreign teachers come to the U.S. to educate American children? Is this an example of the U.S. using foreign human capital for its own benefit at the expense of developing countries? Was it simply trying to alleviate a teacher shortage, or is it trying to internationalize the education that American children receive through its use of teachers from a wide variety of cultural, national, and ethnic background? These and other questions were examined in relation to an



international teacher recruitment program, the Global Educators Outreach (GEO) that was initiated in Chicago in the year 1999 to bring foreign teachers into the city's classrooms. Studying the experiences of the teachers who were brought in and the possible impact of their movement on both the sending and receiving communities is one way to understand the processes and outcomes of globalization in relation to education, migration and socio-economic relations of people and nations.

### **1.3 Studying International Teacher Recruitment**

According to Glen Roque Omanio, in a *Chicago Sun-Times* (2005, March 27) article titled "10,000 foreign teachers a year asked to fill gap in U.S. Schools" (p. 20A), an increasing number of foreign teachers are being recruited each year to fill in the demand for teachers in the United States in subjects such as foreign languages, special education, mathematics and science. With baby-boomer teachers retiring and low teacher salaries (by U.S. standards) discouraging more Americans to take up teaching as a life-long profession, the shortage – estimated at 50,000 a year by the U.S. Department of Education (Omanio, 2005, p. 20A) – has become alarming, especially in "less desirable" (Barber, 2003, p. 1) poor urban and rural school districts. A spokesman for the National Education Association said the country will need about 2.4 million new teachers in the next decade (Omanio, 2005, p. 20A; also see Barber, 2003, p. 1). With such a high demand for teachers, it is obvious that the subject of how foreign teachers are integrated into communities and schools will become an increasingly important subject of study. As will the experiences and perspectives of the teachers on the role of globalization on education.

One of my motivations for undertaking this study was the hope that it will help me and other GEO teachers contextualize our experiences, as foreign teachers in Chicago, around issues of globalization and social justice as they relate to education and labor mobility. Disadvantaged people, communities and nations find themselves constantly dis-empowered politically, economically, and socially. Consciously or not, the ways the current processes of globalization are designed to favor some people, some communities, and some nations at the expense of others. Disparity in income levels and education seem to have been exacerbated rather than been reduced by the increase in global activities. The increase in migration is in some ways connected to the increasing gap between rich and poor people, as well as the gap between rich and poor nations on earth. Although some continue to portray globalization as a positive development, others are suspicious of it because of its negative impact on poor people and nations.

I believe in educating for social justice as one way to address economic and social injustices. As Brown & Lauder (2006) rightly put it, “not only is education seen to hold the key to a competitive economy but also seen to be the foundation to social justice and social cohesion” ( p. 26). The GEO program and teachers may represent the first step in a trend in which more developed countries suck value from developing nations thereby impeding growth in those countries as they, the developed nations, strive to remain in the lead. As Brown and Lauder (2006) noted, “the major issue for policy-makers is no longer one of how to equalize the national competition and jobs but rather how to ‘outsmart’ other nations in a bid to capture a lion’s share of high-skilled, high-waged jobs” (p. 46). The teachers could also be preliminary steps

to a broader goal of recruiting second-class teachers, who, because of their immigration status, employment terms and past experiences may be more inclined to accepting labor abuses that their American counterparts will not. The GEO teachers could have been trapped into terms and conditions that expose them to labor exploitation either directly or indirectly by virtue of their immigration realities. As noted by Brown & Lauder (2006),

Guest workers typically do the same job for fewer rewards and inferior contracts of employment. Hence, even in areas where there is increased demand for high-skilled workers there is a growing propensity to import qualified labour rather than invest in skills for less qualified and socially disadvantaged. (p. 33.)

Through this study I hoped to gain more insight into the broader issues relating to the experiences of teachers recruited from abroad and relate those experiences to past and present experiences of other foreign workers, especially those in minority groups imported into the U.S. from less developed nations.

The stories of the teachers could be useful to school districts who may be working on similar programs. The teachers' voices could help future planners learn what to do and what not to do to enhance the smooth integration of foreign teachers into U.S. schools and communities. Narrating the teachers' experiences could also be useful to would-be foreign teachers who would be better informed as to what challenges to expect should they choose to take up appointment as foreign teachers in Chicago, in particular, and the United States of America in general. Multicultural communities in the U.S. will also benefit from educating their members, especially the younger ones, about each other's cultural background as a way to enhance more cordial co-existence. As Power (2000) predicted, "global trends mean ever greater

mingling of cultures and thus learning to live together, cultural identity, and interculturality will become priority issues” (p. 158). In addition, Power (2000) stated that;

Another research agenda for the twenty-first century relates to the impact of different types of student and faculty exchange programs, citizenship education, interactive multimedia packages and the web on intercultural sensitivity and the conditions under which various types of learning experiences transfer into acceptance of difference and tolerance in our university. (p. 159.)

This study relies on interviews of three GEO teachers who were recruited to teach in Chicago. The particulars of the research methods are presented in chapter three, which follows a review of literature to this study in chapter two. Findings from this study are presented in chapter four, with analysis and discussion in chapter five. The conclusion, chapter six, concludes the study.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

### **2.1 The Foundations for the Teacher Mobility.**

Education is the process by which people acquire knowledge, skills, habits, values, or attitudes. The word is also used to describe the results of the educational process (Borrowman, 1983, p. 56). According to Vongalis (2004), “Education as a human right, developed citizenship directing how people thought and acted within society. The role of schools and learning was to deepen people’s knowledge base from which they could fully actualize their role as citizens” (p. 499). In most developing nations the processes of education have gone through considerable transformation ranging from traditional non-formal education to public formal education. In Sierra Leone, my home country, for instance, as in other African countries from which some of the GEO teachers came, education was purely in the non-formal sector of apprenticeship and in the institutions of secret societies. Formal western education was introduced by the arrival of the colonial masters in the mid to late nineteenth century. The education at that time was a privilege to new converts to the Christian faith who were trained to do mainly secretarial and other low-level work for the colonial masters. As Jagusah (2001) rightly pointed out in reference to deficits in educational orientation in African countries generally, but to Nigerian and South African education in particular, “Bantu education ... rested on a racist anthropology designed to generate cheap labor for what remained a colonially organized economy” (p. 118, citing Asmal and James, 2001, p. 186). After independence, in 1961, attempts to make education more accessible were thwarted by the lack of resources and by the failure of the post-colonial leadership to prioritize education as key to

national development. Hence education remained a privilege to a few who could afford it, leaving behind the vast majority of the population illiterate and unskilled.

In the United States, on the other hand, public schools offer free and mandatory education to all children up till twelfth grade. This is done at a very high cost to governments at all levels: local, state and federal. The result is a nation of high literacy rate and sustainable national development. The commitment to public education is facing new challenges as private companies and individuals vie for a bigger role in education. The public demand for improved performance of public schools is the driving force for education reforms that come in various forms and extents. The metamorphosis of public education in the United States in the last 100 years has gone through what a Harvard school history professor, Patricia Albjerg Graham, referred to as the four A's. On a Chicago Public Radio program Chicago Matters – Valuing Education, produced in April 2006, she explained that in the early 1900s when European immigrants were flooding the U.S. coast, the focus of public education was the *assimilation* of the new immigrants into the society. Basic literacy and work skills were all the new immigrants needed to get by. By the middle of the century (1920s - 1954), however, the focus was slightly shifted to *adjustment* when the newly arrived were been provided with the social and psychological support to adjust to their new environment. After the landmark ruling of Brown vs. Board of Education in 1954, the focus of public education again changed to enhancing *access* to all, especially for African Americans, but also for new Latino immigrants from mainly South American countries. This period (1954–1983) also saw the expansion of the public school curriculum to include bilingual and special education programs.

Following the release of the report “A Nation at Risk” by the U.S. Commission on Excellence in Education in 1983 complaints from those who perceived the standard of public education to have been watered down led to the current focus of public education, which is high academic *achievement* for all (WBEZ, 2006). Although the United States shared a history of colonization by Great Britain with some of the countries from which the GEO teachers came, the history of education in those countries had taken different paths over time since independence from the colonialists. Nevertheless the shared language (English) and broader traditions of education continue to pave the way for teachers to move from the United States of America to teach in some of those countries as Peace Corps volunteers, and on the other hand for teachers from those countries to come to the U.S. to teach, as was the case with the GEO program.

The role of teachers is to educate the young in society. That, according to Vongalis (2004), “is to put in place a curriculum and pedagogy that foster knowledge diversification” (p. 499). In spite of the significant role the teaching force is charged with, the teaching profession is ever faced with widespread challenges that vary considerably in different places and at different times. These challenges are causing an increasing number of people to be disinterested in teaching and are also causing high turnover of teachers from schools. According to the National Commission on Teaching and America’s Future (NCTAF) “The high demand for teachers is not being driven by an undersupply of entering teachers, but by an excessive demand for teacher replacements that is driven by staggering teacher turnover” (NCTAF, 2002, p. 6 as cited in Hutchison, 2005, p. 12). The resulting shortage is widespread and is

prompting some countries to look outside their borders to recruit teachers. Chicago is just one of several cities in the United States of America who initiated programs aimed at recruiting teachers from overseas. According to a report to the National Education Association on Trends in Foreign Teacher Recruitment, by Randy Barber of the Center for Economic Organization, in June 2003, “Public schools systems throughout the country are utilizing the services of perhaps as many as 10,000 foreign teachers in primary and secondary schools on ‘nonimmigrant’ work or cultural exchange visas” (Barber, 2003, p. 1). For the fiscal year 2002, Barber (2003) reported that of the 7,900 K-12 teaching positions approved for foreign teachers, new or renewed, 5,300 were for public school teachers distributed as follows: 3,310 for the state of Texas, 1047 for California, 543 for Illinois, 538 for New York, 326 for Georgia, 239 for New Jersey, 235 for Florida, 227 for Maryland and 218 for Ohio (p. 4). The GEO program was started in 1999 to bring teachers to Chicago from all over the world. The program must have been enhanced by globalization, and is an example of how the processes of globalization shape or influence education policies. The movement of the teachers does not occur in a vacuum and is therefore bound to have effects on the teachers and in some ways on students, schools, communities and the countries involved. This movement also generally represents a new trend in the teaching profession, when teachers are being recruited from countries that used to look to the U.S. and other developed countries for teachers to support their education. In the next section, I present a detail comparison of the structure of education in the State of Illinois in the U.S. to that of one of the countries from which GEO teachers came, Sierra Leone. In the other sections of the literature review I will present and



reflect on what other authors have discussed as the political, economic, social/cultural dimensions of globalization as they affect education, the people and institutions involved in the processes.

## **2.2 Teacher Education in Illinois and Sierra Leone<sup>4</sup>**

In order to compare teacher education in the United States to that in some of the countries where the GEO teachers came from, I have drawn a flowchart that compares education in the State of Illinois to that of my native country Sierra Leone. One of the participants interviewed for the study came from an English-speaking West African country which has an education system that is very similar to Sierra Leone's education system. Both countries also shared a history of colonization by Britain and belong to the same regional organizations that influence education and other government policies. To safeguard the confidentiality of the participants the author decided to compare the education system of his country, Sierra Leone, to that of the State of Illinois in order to highlight some of the similarities and differences in teacher education in some of the countries from where the GEO teachers were recruited, to that in the United States of America. According to the U.S. constitution, education is more of a state responsibility than it is a federal one. Therefore, individual states within the union regulate their education system with greater leverage than they do with, say, immigration. In most of the rest of the world, education is governed at the national level.

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<sup>4</sup> Sierra Leone is the country of origin of the researcher and author of this thesis. He was also a GEO teacher recruited from Banjul, The Gambia. To safeguard the confidentiality of the participants the author decided to compare the education system of his country, which has marked similarities to those in the countries of some of the GEO teachers interviewed for the study, to that of the State of Illinois to highlight the foundation that make teacher mobility from those countries to the U.S. possible.

Public education in all of the United States of America is mandatory through age 16 and free for all children from kindergarten to grade 12. It is paid for largely by property and/or other taxes, and grants from local, state and federal governments. In Sierra Leone, basic education-- the first nine years of schooling -- was declared free and compulsory since the mid-1970s in government and government-assisted schools. The reality is that it is neither free nor has it been compulsory, primarily because the governments, both local and national, have not been able to adequately support education financially. Schools are left to levy other charges which are high enough to deny children from low-income families access to schools. What is interesting to note is the fact that whereas post secondary education in the U.S. is largely paid for by students and/or their parents from personal savings and loans, even though in state school it is highly subsidized, in Sierra Leone, like most other African countries, post secondary education is largely paid for by scholarships and grants from the government and other sponsors for the very small percentage of students who are able to make it to that level.

The general structure of education in Sierra Leone, from pre-primary / nursery school (the country's equivalent of pre-school in the U.S.), through university is very similar to that in the State of Illinois (See Figure 1). The names of the levels, entry ages of students, duration, and curricula at the various levels differ slightly but they are reasonably similar probably because both countries were British colonies and have basic structures that were heavily influenced by that common experience. Certain things in Sierra Leone may have also been copied from the United States education system. For instance, the University College I attended in Sierra Leone was

modeled after the University of Illinois, which was its parent institution at its creation in the early 1960s. Among other things, a credit-hour grading system, similar to its Illinois parent institution was used at the college. Details on the structure of education in Sierra Leone are given in The Education Act of 2004. This publication, like similar ones before it, spells out the national policies on education in regards to the structure of the education system, control of education, establishment of a national Board of Education, the role of local authorities in the education system and much more.

As shown in Figure 1, there are considerable differences in teacher education, especially in terms of the qualification and/or certification requirements to teach at the various levels of education in Sierra Leone as compared to the requirements to teach in Illinois. In the State of Illinois, the minimum requirement for anyone to teach at any of the levels is a bachelor's degree and the successful completion of the state's certification requirements. This includes successfully completing a list of education-related college courses, teaching practice and passing tests in the certification examinations. New teachers are awarded an initial teaching certificate which is replaced by a standard certificate after four years of practice coupled with the taking of professional development courses. A number of teachers now opt for National Board Certification, which earns them the title of Master Teachers in the State of Illinois. In Sierra Leone, on the other hand, teachers don't have additional certification requirements beyond successfully completing the rigidly prescribed array of courses needed to qualify for teachers' certificates, diplomas in education or university degrees in education. The vast majority of holders of Teachers' Certificates (T.C.) teach in pre-primary and primary schools (classes 1-6), the equivalents to

American kindergarten and elementary schools (grades 1-5). The majority of Higher Teachers' Certificate (H.T.C.) holders teach in junior secondary schools (forms 1-3), the equivalent to American middle schools (grades 6–8), while the majority of holders of Bachelor's degrees teach in senior secondary schools (forms 4–6), the equivalent to American high schools (grades 9–12). Holders of general degrees, with no background in teacher education, need to get a degree in education or a diploma in education to qualify for teaching positions. Although it is possible to find all teachers in different levels, the mobility of teachers among the different levels of schools is very highly regulated by officers of the Ministry of Education who have to approve all teacher appointments to government and government assisted schools made by local school authorities headed by a Board of Governors, the governing body for most secondary schools. Also, according to the Sierra Leone Government Education Act of 2004, “the minister may cause a licence to be issued to any person who is or may be employed as teacher in any school if in his opinion such person is in all respects suitable so as to warrant his employment as a teacher in a school, and the issue of such licence shall have effect as if a certificate had been issued to him under this section” (p. 34). Such a provision does not exist in the State of Illinois, but in Sierra Leone it has been used by the minister to appoint or cause to be appointed as teachers religious or traditional leaders who may not have acquired regular teaching certificates.

The Ministry of Education in Sierra Leone, and its constituent Board of Education, is the equivalent of the Illinois State Board of Education in its role as the body in charge of the overall control and supervision of the education system, while

the Boards of Governors for secondary schools are the equivalent of the Local School Councils in the Chicago public schools system. Every school's Board of Governors, in Sierra Leone, consists of a chairman appointed by the Minister from among the members; five representatives of the Minister to be appointed by the Minister; four members to be appointed by the Minister on the recommendation of the proprietor of the school; one member nominated by the local authority of the area in which the school is situated, and appointed by the Minister; one representative elected by the Ex-Pupils Association; and the school's principal who serves as Secretary to the Board (The Education Act, 2004, p. 30). In the Chicago Public Schools system, the high schools' Local School Councils (LSC) consist of twelve members: six parents or legal guardians, two community members (age 18 or older), two teachers from the staff, one full-time student and the principal of the school who serves as secretary of the council. Except for the principal, who is appointed by a sitting LSC, all the other members are elected for a two-year term of office. Although the two bodies do not necessarily have the same mandates and/or authority, they serve very similar roles in the governance of the schools. Identical to alternative certification in Chicago, Sierra Leone also has career changers who join the teaching field after experience in other fields of work. Before they can be appointed to teaching positions, such people will need to complete certain stipulated courses in colleges to be awarded Diplomas in Education, if they already graduated from University with a general bachelor's degree.

One difference in education personnel is in the use of teachers' aides in some classrooms. In Illinois, some classroom teachers have support from teachers' aides

who are trained from junior colleges for two years to earn an Associate degree in teaching. They are not fully certified as teachers by the state's requirement to handle classrooms on their own, so they work very closely in support of certified teachers. This happens mostly in elementary and middle schools with larger than usual class sizes or with many children in the classroom having special needs. Nothing like that exists in Sierra Leone, rather what one may find, in very few isolated cases, are technical or laboratory assistants who are usually minimally trained secondary school graduates who help to run and maintain science and technical laboratories in support of school teachers. In some rural schools, where there is usually a shortage of trained and qualified teachers, these so called UU (untrained and unqualified) teachers take on full-time teaching responsibilities.

In Illinois some of the teachers' aides can also serve as assistants in school laboratories and similar facilities but their role may not just be limited to that function. Also in Illinois there are specialist teachers who are trained to support students with special needs in the general education classrooms. They now increasingly co-teach with regular-education teachers to ensure that the students with special needs are included rather than excluded from sharing the same classrooms and other resources with the regular students. In extreme cases, the specialist teachers are assigned to teach self-contained classes with just a small group of students, all of whom may share some kind of special needs. Such privileges hardly exist, if any at all, for teachers and students with special needs in Sierra Leone. Sierra Leone also does not have a system for substitute teachers as there is in American schools. In America, many school districts have a substitute center staffed by teachers, some of

whom are retired teachers who can no longer take on full time teaching responsibilities, but are hired to go to schools to substitute for regular teachers who are absent. In Sierra Leone, individual schools and/or departments make their arrangements internally to share the work load if one or more of their colleagues were to be absent on any given day. Another growing trend in Chicago public schools, especially in schools that use Instructional Development Systems (IDS) curricula in the core subjects of Mathematics, English and Science, is the introduction of instructional coaches, who are veteran teachers that support other teachers in the implementation of the rigorous academic curricula. This happens alongside other coaching or mentoring programs sometimes augmented by personnel from local colleges and universities.

There is a notable similarity in the type of courses potential teachers study in college in preparation to becoming teachers in the two countries. Although their names may seem different, teacher preparation courses include educational/child psychology, educational administration, curriculum development, philosophy of education, comparative education, sociology of education, methods and practice teaching. In Chicago, for instance, there is a lot more emphasis placed on teaching reading and writing, so most teachers take courses in teaching reading and writing across the curriculum, unlike their counterparts in Sierra Leone who teach reading only in the primary schools, where, as it is in Illinois' elementary schools, a single teacher is usually expected to teach all the subjects in the curriculum to students in his/her assigned classroom. In junior and secondary schools, only teachers of English

Language and/or Literature in English specialize in teaching reading and writing in Sierra Leone.

Figure 1 is a flow chart showing details of education levels in the State of Illinois compared to those in Sierra Leone. Other things to note about the two education systems are given below and are associated with superscript numbers on

Figure 1:

1. Whereas kindergarten is compulsory in Illinois for all children whose birthdays are on or before September 1 of the year in which to start formal schooling, in Sierra Leone, although supported by government, “Pre-primary education is optional and outside of the formal system of education” (The Education Act, 2004, p. 7).
2. In Illinois education is mandatory only up to the age of 16. With parental approval students can voluntarily opt out of formal schooling after their sixteenth birthday. In Sierra Leone, basic education, consisting of six years of primary school and three years of junior secondary is compulsory and is free “to the extent specified by the minister under subsection 3 of section 3” (The Education Act, 2004, p. 9). Officially, education is free in government and government assisted schools but quite often schools have to levy other charges which in many cases can be prohibitive for low income families, causing children to be asked out of school because of their parents’ inability to pay school fees.
3. In Sierra Leone students have to pass certain examinations before they can transition from one education level to the other. At the end of class six, children take the National Primary School Examination (NPSE), the results of which are used for junior secondary school placement purposes. Results from the Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE), at the conclusion of junior secondary school, are used for senior secondary school placement. The West African Senior School Certificate Examination (WASSCE) grades which consist of scores from the final examination combined with a pre-specified percentage of students’ continuous assessment scores in specified subject areas are used as entry qualifications for tertiary institutions.
4. The Illinois Standards Achievement Test (ISAT) measures individual student achievement relative to the Illinois Learning Standards. The results give parents, teachers, and schools one measure of student learning and school performance. ISAT in mathematics and reading are taken every year from grades 3 to 8, ISAT in Science is taken in grades 4 and 7, and ISAT in English are taken in grades 3, 5, 6 and 8. Although schools refer to the results of these



scores for various reasons, poor performance does not stop students from moving to the next level of their education. The Prairie State Achievement Examination (PSAE) measures the achievement of grade 11 students in reading, mathematics, science and writing. ACT and SAT scores are used by most colleges to determine admissions into college and university programs.

In spite of the minor differences highlighted above, there exist enough similarities in the education systems of the State of Illinois and Sierra Leone to ensure a smooth transition for teachers from one system to the other. Thus the foundation for teacher mobility from other African countries, with systems similar to that of Sierra Leone, could well be linked to the similarities in the education systems. In the next section I will discuss globalization as the context for teacher mobility.

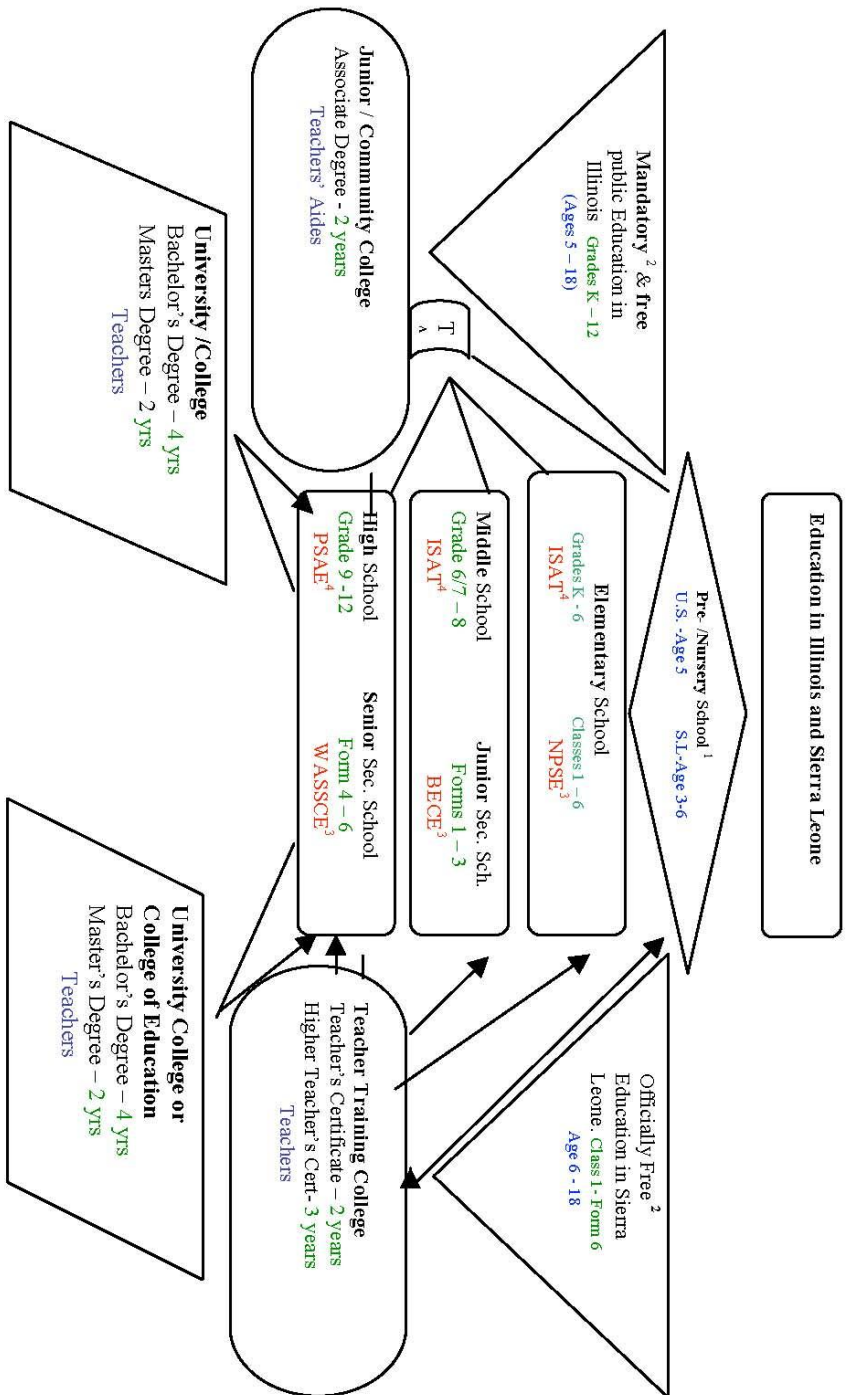


Figure 1: Educational structures in Illinois and Sierra Leone.

### **2.3 Globalization: A context for teacher mobility.**

Globalization refers to policies pursued at both national and international levels that support the supposed progressive (ongoing or increasing) integration of economies and societies of the world, particularly through trade and financial flows. But it sometimes also refers to the movement of labor (people) and knowledge (information and technology) across international borders (IMF Issues Briefs, 2002, p. 3). The process is historic, but the term globalization came into common usage in the 1980s, reflecting the technological advances that have made it easier and quicker to complete international transactions and share information broadly around the world, made possible by electronic communication.

In the following sub-section I will discuss the GEO program as an example of international teacher mobility within the context of globalization starting with the question of whether such movements of teachers represent trends towards the true spirit of globalization wherein nations, people and economies harmoniously integrate into the utopian global village or whether the teacher movement represents a continuation of the historic exploitation of the nations of the South by those of the North.

#### **2.3.1 Globalization or Neo-Liberal Globalism?**

Modern globalization is premised on the neo-liberal assumption that market forces promote competition and division of labor, and that specialization allows people and economies to focus on what they do best. The term globalization has acquired considerable emotive force. Supporters view the process as inevitable, irreversible and beneficial - a key to future world economic development (IMF Issues

Brief, 2002). Gavin Sanderson is probably right in stating that “Depending upon your point of view, globalization is the phenomenon that will either make or break humanity’s ability to survive beyond the next few hundred years. As Goldmark (2000) state succinctly, “the future is open and little is certain. The stakes are enormous” (as cited in Sanderson, 2003, p. 4). Some regard globalization with hostility, even fear, believing that it increases inequality within and between nations, threatens the environment, employment and living standards, and thwarts social progress especially in third-world countries. Because of the negative effect of its policies on Africa, some have even gone further to compare Structural Adjustment Program’s (SAP) policies to colonial policies in the continent. As Samoff (1999) accurately observed, about the IMF/World Bank’s use of the structural adjustment tool in Africa “Colonial rule was, among other things, a general strategy for integrating Africa into the global political economy on terms set largely in Europe. Formally managed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, structural adjustment plays a similar role” (Samoff, 1999, as cited in Jargusah, 2001, p. 122). Although markets can increase efficiency to a certain extent, the skeptics of globalization are of the opinion that markets alone, in the form of access to capital flows, technology, cheaper imports, and larger export markets, do not necessarily ensure that the increased efficiency and opportunities are shared by all. The gaps between rich and poor nations, and rich and poor people within countries, have grown wider. The most talked about per capita GDP growth in some countries does not tell the whole story, as income inequalities have increase and the irreparable damage done to the environment could not possibly be assessed in monetary terms (IMF

Issues Briefs, 2002, p. 4). To critics, globalization refers to “a profit-driven process, rather than to the potential of global networking for a better world” (Bigelow & Peterson, 2002, p. 6).

As explained above, there are opposing views about globalization vis-à-vis its merits and demerits relating to its effect on people's lives. One key point of contention is whether or not globalization is more useful or harmful to the interests of poorer nations and people. Is globalization really this inevitable process that poorer nations need to embrace to alleviate their economic and social predicaments? Or is it another of the devices which rich nations use to further exploit poorer nations? Sanderson suggests that we must draw a distinction between “globalization as a process versus the agendas that are presently driving much of the global activities” (Sanderson, 2003, p. 4). With regards to the latter, M. Singh described the force behind the current agendas driving the process of globalization, as “neo-liberal globalism” (Singh, 2002, as cited in Sanderson, 2003, p. 5) which “... is the extension of power by the powerful for their own vested interest. In doing so, the polarization between, for example, rich and poor, winners and losers, and the included and excluded is reinforced. On a global scale, this perpetuates the increasingly disproportionate gap between the *over*-developed North – which globalizes from above through corporations, multilateral agencies, policy experts, and national governments- and the “under-developed, over-exploited South” (Singh, 2002, as cited in Sanderson, 2003, p. 5). Singh is not alone in holding skepticism about the motives underlying the current global agendas, Sanderson cited many more literature with

similar views including “Appadurai 2001; Arnove and Torres 1999; Bauman 1997; Beare and Slaughter 1995” (Sanderson, 2003, p. 5).

Some aspects of my thesis study had me reflect on some socio-economic dimensions of globalization, as they relate to the impact of programs such as GEO on poorer nations who lose a part of a highly needed segment of their work force, teachers, to richer nations. In examining these economic and social dimensions of globalization, concerns about how globalization impacts employment, incomes/earnings and social protections in both donor and receiving communities were examined from the perspectives of the GEO teachers and from related literature. The recruitment, integration processes and other experiences of the teachers provided insight into globalization as it relates to issues of migration, the working conditions of teachers around the world, and issues of power relations between nations, within communities and schools in both the peripheral and core countries. I also worked with the basic assumption that globalization, both as a process and in its accomplishments or drawbacks significantly impacts labor mobility, educational planning, finance reforms in education, and cultural identities. The experiences of the GEO teachers and the dynamics of the program itself were used in the study to shed light on these issues. More centrally, this study examined the experiences and understanding of the GEO teachers and how those experiences and perceptions reflected varying notions of globalization.

For a better understanding of the impact of programs such as GEO on the sending and receiving communities and on the teachers themselves, it may be worthwhile to ask the question: Do the experiences of the teachers and the dynamics

of the program portray the true spirit of globalization leading to “Marshall McLuhan’s global village where ‘time has ceased and space has vanished” (McLuhan and Fiore, 1967, p. 63 as cited in Sanderson, 2003, p. 15) or is it neo-liberal globalism representative of globalization from above?

In the following sub-section I will use Richard Cullen Rath’s (1997) definitions of power relations to reflect on issues relating to the relationship between the developing nations of the *South*, from where the GEO teachers came, and the developed nations of the *North* to which they migrated, as well as the power relations between the teachers, the school district, school administrators and students within the context of globalization.

### 2.3.2 Power relations in the global context of the GEO program

Foucault’s constant emphasis on **power** and on **discourse** provides a unifying core on his work. In his view, complex differential **power relationships** extend to every aspect of our social, cultural and political lives, involving all manner of (often contradictory) ‘**subject-positions**’, and securing our assent not so much by the threat of punitive sanctions as by persuading us to internalize the norms and values that prevail within the social order. (Wanli, 1998, p. 1, emphasis in the original.)

In an attempt to present a formal model of a variety of relations of power, Rath (1997) presented and analyzed (with examples) several definitions of power relations. In my analyses of the relationships between the GEO teachers and other people and institutions, I will use Rath’s definitions and examples as ways to understand the dynamics of the GEO program and the experiences of the teachers. Rath (1997) conceived power as “latent force, force which could be, but not yet been, realized. ... As such power is unreal-but-possible force which *would* be constrained by its domain were the force realized” (p. 1). He indicates that “latency and diffusion of power

requires it to be treated as residing in a *relation*, rather than in individual entities” (p. 8). In other words, relationships provide the framework by which to understand power and its realization as a *force* that affects people and communities. Rath’s analysis suggests that “relations are by definition reciprocal to some extent, not unidirectional” (p. 8). This view would be problematic in the case of the GEO program, if reciprocal is meant to imply that the manifestation of the power will result in similar or comparable effect on the entities involved. In my view Rath’s assertion that, “In a synchronic analysis, the entity with the most power becomes the agent, all other power is factored out” (Rath, 1997, p. 7), would seem more apt in describing the power relations between the developing and developed nations, between the school district and the GEO teachers, and in the relationship between the teachers, their students and administrators, especially in the current ways in which the processes of globalization are carried out.

In the relationship between the rich and poor nations of the world there is power which although may not always illicit observable outcomes, has the potential to do so when it materializes as force. In the dynamic of programs such as GEO, the force is embedded in the realities that culminate in experiences or movements that directly or indirectly impact the lives of people and communities. GEO teachers migrating from developing nations to a developed one is a good example of power manifesting itself as force in the relationship between nations. As Rath (1997) puts it “This event or process of realizing power as force changes all parties in the relationship to some extent, which in turn changes the nature of the power relations” (p. 1). Therefore, there is no doubt that the movement of teachers somehow affects



both the sending and receiving communities, the question asked in this study was by how much? It is evident that globalization has brought about an “incremental importance of international trading, cross-national manufacturing and the emergence of a global economy (New York Time, 2002), all resulting in a dramatic increase in expatriation of employees” (Dodd, 2003, & Harzing, 1995, as cited in Richardson et al., 2006, p. 883). The GEO program, which recruited over one hundred teachers from all over the world to Chicago exemplify this growing trend of expatriation of employees.

In the next section I will use existing literature to highlight how the GEO program, which recruited teachers from other countries to the U.S., is an example of migration and labor mobility within the context of globalization, and how such population movement may be affecting the sending communities in the developing countries.

#### **2.4 Globalization and migration: Labor mobility and brain drain.**

Once California belonged to Mexico and its land to Mexicans; and a horde of tattered feverish Americans poured in. And such was their hunger for land that they took the land ... and they guarded with guns the land that they had stolen... Then, with time, the squatters were no longer squatters, but owners... And as time went on ... the farms grew larger, and there were few of them. Now farming became industry, and the owners ... imported slaves, although they did not call them slaves: Chinese, Japanese, Mexicans, and Filipinos. They lived on rice and beans, the businessmen said. They don't need much ... And if they get funny-deport them. And all the time the farms grew larger and the owners fewer... And then the dispossessed were drawn west - from Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico; from Nevada and Arkansas families, tribes, dusted out, tractored out... [Steinbeck, as cited in Sklar, 1995, p. 72.]

A common saying is that America is an immigrant country (Sheena, Cranley & Nicholas, 2001). From the European *pilgrims* of the 1700s to the undocumented

workers of today, the sense of belonging and acceptance to this great nation is relative to various group and individual histories which in turn are linked to the time and manner of arrival, the status in society, skin colors and/or ethnicity. In spite of growing restrictions, immigrants continue to arrive to this land of many.

Globalization is believed, in some ways, to have led to increase in labor migration.

According to Power (2000),

An estimated 130–145 million people now live officially outside of their countries of origin and there are at least as many illegal migrants. And over 23 million refugees are struggling to survive: lacking papers, illegal immigrants, refugees and displaced persons face exploitation, but also denial of human rights, including the right to education for their children. (p. 154.)

In 1990 “the US census revealed that there were more than 2.5 million highly educated immigrants from developing countries residing in the United States alone, excluding students” (Rapoport, 2002, as cited in Robertson, 2006, p. 2). The speed and volume of transportation of capital, goods and people, the speed and quality of communication and the formation of transnational social networks all contributed to today’s increase in labor mobility as compared to the 1900s. Workers supposedly move to this country in part to find better employment opportunities. Globalization or not, people have and will continue to move in and out of countries, but it is important to note that most labor migration occurs between developing nations. Advocates of globalization think the flow of migrants to advanced economies is likely to provide a means through which global wages converge (IMF Issues Brief, 2002). In the “Brain circulation” (Saxenian, as cited in Vinokur 2006, p. 16) paradigm shift of the brain drain controversy, an element of “back drain/brain gain” has been introduced in relation to high skilled workers who eventually return to their countries of origin.

Vinokur (2006) pointed out that “the return of HS (high skilled) expatriates as an equalizing transfer to S (South) of technological and organizational know how” (p. 16), citing the return of Taiwanese immigrants from the Silicon Valley back to Taiwan in the early 1990s, as a typical *positive-sum game* success story. Such speculations portray a somewhat positive outcome to donor nations (of emigrants) and suggest the potential for skills to be transferred back to the developing countries and for wages in those countries to rise as well (IMF Issues Briefs, 2000, p. 16). But current evidence fails to corroborate such speculations. In fact, unlike the mid to late twentieth century, when a job title was closely related to job entitlements, and most of those in similar professions and managerial status received similar remuneration packages and career opportunities, Frank and Cook (1996) argued that nowadays “the fortunes of those in occupations such as law, management, medicine, journalism and academia have significantly diverged; hence leading to a wider disparity of income” (as cited in Brown and Lauder, 2006, p. 47). Also evident are increased unemployment rates and a fall in wages in spite of the increase in corporate profits. According to Sklar (1995) “The official U.S. unemployment rate averaged 4.5 percent in the 1950s and 4.8 percent in the 1960s. It climbed in the next decades, averaging 6.2 percent in the 1970s and 7.3 percent in the 1980s – not counting the growing numbers of ‘discouraged’ and other jobless and involuntary part-time workers” (p.53). Immigrants have had to bear the brunt of scapegoating for rising unemployment and falling wages when the blame actually lies somewhere else. Banking practices help maintain unemployment by raising interest rates in order to slow down the economy and keep inflation extremely low - cheering the now famous

bond- market investors at the expense of the working masses. Free trade agreements in the name of globalization have exacerbated the shipment of jobs and capital to cheap labor markets abroad (outsourcing, as it is called). They increase unemployment and weaken the resolve of labor unions' struggles to protect workers' rights. Part-time (disposable) jobs and overtime practices are quickly replacing what used to be regular and more stable ones.

Jeremy Rifkin (1994), a trend analyst, warns that "within a few decades hundreds of millions of people working globally in manufacturing, services and agriculture could be displaced through automation, artificial intelligence and biotechnology" (as cited in Sklar, 1995, p. 65). *The OECD Jobs Study, 1994*, reported that there were 35 million unemployed in OECD countries [including the United States, Canada, European Union countries, Japan, Australia and New Zealand]. As unemployment rises, scapegoating of immigrants will increase and could make racism politically correct. It is no accident that anti-immigrant sentiments are growing in the U.S. nation-wide, targeting mainly Latinos and other immigrants of color rather than Canadian, Italian, Irish, Polish and other White immigrants, documented or undocumented. Immigrants of color are blamed for the sapping nation's economy and rising unemployment in spite of the economy's dependence on immigrant labor. A recent study confirmed that "immigrants actually create more jobs than they fill, and pay significantly more in taxes than the cost of public services they receive" (Sklar, 1995, p. 75). California's Proposition 187, political TV ads in Illinois with a gubernatorial candidate's main pledge being to limit the migration of *illegal* workers, and the stiffening of the nation's immigration laws all contribute to the scapegoating.

Within the economic and sociopolitical contexts of globalization, Africa would not be anywhere near the top on the list of places where professionals will be expected to come from to fill vacant teaching positions in the U.S. or other developed nations. This situation is unusual because the predominant images of Africa in the Western press are negative stories of illiteracy, wars, hunger and/or poverty. The recruitment of teachers from developing countries, especially from Africa, is therefore a new trend in the dynamics of global labor mobility. It is more typical that developing countries recruit expatriates from economically more developed countries; this adds an interesting twist in international labor migration. It raises questions of whether or not the motivation is simply to increase diversity in America's schools and expose American students to the world through contact with foreign teachers, as some people would gladly claim, or is it just another way of exploiting developing countries of their meager skilled human resources, or could it be a nice way to lower the wages, job security and general working conditions for native U.S. teachers? Of course, brain drain occurs from lower-income to higher-income countries, but historically, there has not been much active governmental recruitment, as with the Bracero program. That laborers are historically recruited from lower income countries (e.g. Mexico, Jamaica, Haiti) to the U.S. to work in agriculture, and that highly-skilled jobs in the U.S. attract highly-educated people from low income countries (e.g. engineers and doctors from south-east Asia) has been the trend. However teachers have not historically been recruited by U.S. government entities (like school districts), only recently have school districts started recruiting teachers from Mexico

or Spain to work with Spanish-speaking students (Barber, 2002). So GEO signals a new trend that this study explored.

Although the study focused on documenting the experiences of the GEO teachers by interviewing some of them, it also, through extensive literature review and analyses, situated the GEO program into the general policy framework for international labor mobility and migration by examining existing literature on what should be realistic multilateral and/or institutional model for coordinating and managing such migration of teachers from the developing countries to the United States. Issues of social integration in the increasingly xenophobic U.S. society were examined in the light of the growing gap between tight immigration policies in industrialized countries and growing emigration pressures in developing countries. Why do people increasingly choose to emigrate? What are the economic and social costs to the donor countries/communities? How may the movement of labor affect the host communities? What effect could an influx of foreign teachers have on local organized labor (teachers' unions)? These were some of the questions that were addressed vis-à-vis the GEO program and the experiences and opinions of the teachers in relation to existing scholarship on similar themes on globalization.

In the next section I will highlight ideas in current literature about current educational reforms within the framework of globalization and how they are affecting educational planning in the U.S. and other countries.

## **2.5 Globalization and educational reforms.**

In response to global competition, some countries have undertaken, or even been compelled by international financial institutions to undertake finance-driven

educational reforms. Such reforms, according to Martin Carnoy (1999), “attempt to improve the quantity and quality of the labor force, including an increased emphasis on teaching science and mathematics, and on educational measurement to monitor and stimulate educational improvement” (p. 61). Increased emphasis on testing in the guise to measure student performance and the failure of students to score high has been used by some to justify cuts in educational funding, reductions in teacher salaries and an overall drop in public spending on education in favor of mobilizing more private resources. According to Carnoy (1999), the tests are supposed to “make teachers, administrators, and parents much more aware of student performance and more sensitive to the need to raise performance, especially if the scores on the tests are systematically publicized” (p. 63). The belief is that publicizing test scores could influence school choices and increase competition among schools even in largely public systems. How this emphasis on testing relates to the increasing involvement of private corporations in education is not clear, but it is obvious that companies such as the Edison Schools are increasingly taking over schools’ administration with the promise of better management and improved test scores. How well they are doing is anybody’s guess (see Stephenson’s interview, 2003)

In spite of the controversy surrounding high stakes testing authorities have continued to emphasize testing as the primary measure of educational achievement in most U.S. schools and colleges. The No Child Left Behind act and its adequate annual progress (APR) measure for schools, based principally on test scores, exemplify the craze for testing in current U.S. education. Globally, comparisons of test scores are being made across curricula, regions, countries, socio-economic groups

and race without proper consideration of, or accommodations for, all the factors that underlie such differences. Organizations such as the International Educational Assessment (IEA), the American National Center of Educational Statistics (NCES), the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and the World Bank share a globalized view of education and efficiency, which includes a highly quantitative view of progress. They urge the acceptance of inter- and intra-national comparisons of standardized test scores of students' knowledge (Carnoy, 1999).

As Carnoy (1999) pointed out, international comparisons may provide a benchmark for educators in setting national learning goals, and allow countries to compare the effectiveness of national and local curricula in developing problem-solving skills and higher-order thinking, in addition to basic skills. They also may enable the comparison of educational standards with other countries, but do not "raise the issue of how the results should be employed beyond making them available to analysts in central ministries or in international agencies" (p. 65). They fail to address questions of multiple levels of consciousness about what constitute a good education in varying political, cultural and social contexts. Nor do they address aspects of power relations, vis-à-vis economic and political ideologies and control. There is little evidence that knowledge of test results alone can improve teacher and school practices beyond the thinking that their publication will shame schools into wanting to do better by having their poor performance publicized in their communities. The need for providing schools, administrators, teachers and students with opportunities to acquire more effective practices and materials that can improve student learning is hardly emphasized. Some aspects of school efficiency can certainly be understood



through proper testing, but there is a problem when efficiency is less concerned with resource allocation per se, as with process and use of resources. Globalization has spurred more governments into paying more attention to how well their students perform in relation to students in other countries. Increased economic competition gets transposed into competition for indicators of high productivity, students' test scores being one of such indicators. For positive effects on educational output, such notions of efficiency and measurement must, according to Carnoy (1999), be passed through local filters. They must have as their specific purpose school improvement, even if school improvement requires more resources, which is likely the case in most developing countries and less affluent regions in developed ones. "Without adequate support systems that allow schools to learn how to improve teaching and learning, tests will rarely elicit systematic effort to make improvements" (p. 68). The assumption that test scores are low mainly because schools, teachers and students are not trying hard enough is misleading. In most countries, good school materials and knowledge about good teaching, and good school management are scarce commodities.

The global frenzy on testing has clearly impacted educational planning here in the United States and other developed countries, as well as developing nations. In the annual International Mathematics and Science competitions, United States students perform less than those from Japan, South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan. In 1983, in an education report titled *A Nation at Risk* it was asserted that "test scores are important to competitiveness" (Bracey, 2003, p. 16). No wonder in the 1980s some American education reformers argued that "we should adopt the Japanese

model of education. Japan had high test scores and a booming economy. We have middling test scores and a slumping economy” (p. 15). That became the rationale for the push by some reformers for more tests and for improving the test scores. How does this relate to CPS’s strategies for recruiting teachers internationally? How do teachers from low income countries (often with arguably weak school system) fit into this dynamic? The study also explored, through a review of the literature, how the recruiting of foreign teachers is related to the global perspective of educational planning and reforms, such as relates to efficiency, competitiveness and other perceived indicators of high productivity such as test scores. If indeed that was the intent of the policy or even an unanticipated outcome, how much of an economic and/or social loss or gain does the program represent to both the sending and receiving nations?

In the next section I will discuss literature which highlights how increased in economic inequalities (between and within nations), population movements and the introduction of new information and communication technologies are impacting education within the framework of globalization and new finance reforms.

## **2.6 Globalization and finance reforms in education.**

Power (2000) identified three global trends that he said will pose challenges for education and will make the task of learning to live together “ever more important” in the twenty-first century. These trends are: growing inequality, population movement and new information and communication technologies (p. 154).

In regards to the first trend, inequality, UNDP and others warned that globalization is increasing the gap between the rich and the poor, between the

connected and the isolated cultural groups and that inequality within countries certainly has increased dramatically over the past 20-30 years (p. 154), as have inequalities between countries been increasing dramatically in this century, making the income gap between the top fifth of the world's wealthiest countries and the bottom fifth of the least developed countries (LDCs) to increase from 11:1 in 1913, to 30:1 in 1960, to 74:1 in 1997. Adding that "Today over one quarter of the world's population, some 1.3 billion people, live in abject poverty on income of less than \$1 a day, while the assets of the three richest people in the world exceeds the combined GNP of all LDCs" (p. 154). There is little doubt that such inequalities have been fueled by competition and capitalism within the framework of the current trends in globalization, and that they have impact on education systems across the world.

According to Power (2000),

The quest to provide education for all has made little headway in countries ravaged by armed conflict, crippling debt, and rapid population growth. In particular, the data show a worrying increase in the number of out-of-school children in the poorest countries, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. Over the past decade, public expenditure for primary education in the LDCs remained static at about \$20 per pupil while among the developed countries it rose to well over \$5000. (p. 156.)

The deteriorating conditions in the South also help to increase emigration pressure on the labor force from developing countries towards the developed North, bringing about the second trend highlighted by Power, increase in population movement. As he puts it "Global forces are also leading to increasing population movement and thus to an exponential increase in intercultural interactions and exchanges" (p.154) The numbers are staggering but not surprising,

An estimated 130-145 million people now live officially outside their countries of origin, and there are at least as many illegal migrants. And over 23 million refugees struggle to survive: lacking papers, illegal immigrants, refugees and displaced persons face not only discrimination and exploitation, but also denial of human rights, including the right to education for their children. (p. 155.)

This study looked into whether or not the internationally recruited GEO teachers may have been exposed to similar circumstances as described by Power.

In the following sub-sections I will highlight what some literature consider to be questionable assumptions behind global finance reforms that are not only increasing economic inequalities and causing population movements, but also influence decisions about educational reforms.

### **2.6.1 Questionable assumptions.**

From a finance-reform perspective, according to Carnoy (1999), globalization usually places implicit and often explicit emphasis in reducing public spending. Public spending on education, especially spending on teachers, which represents a substantial percent of education expenditure, is usually the first to suffer in the brunt of governments' attempts to reduce costs. Reducing the teaching force, privatizing teacher markets, increasing class size and teachers' workload, at the same time as their pay is scaled down are actions usually taken with little consideration on the overall effect on pupil performance. Finance ministries and international agencies are convinced that their cost-saving measures will work because they are justified by empirical estimates of what Carnoy (1999) described as production functions, which according to the author, claim to show that "teachers' pre-service training and class size are much less important in explaining variations in student achievement than in-service training, teacher knowledge of subject content, and school materials" (Carnoy,

1999, p. 69). Such claims, he explained, are grounded less on sound learning /teaching theories and technologies, but rather on lecture-type teaching technology typical to many developing countries. According to Levin (1980), in order to be able to determine the most effective inputs in producing higher achievement in a particular country, policy-makers, "would have to understand and be able to model the process by which children in classrooms learn" (as cited in Carnoy, 1999, p. 70). He argued that the time teachers spent in the classroom, the effort put into teaching and the quality of the teaching methods used are all important in explaining student achievements among classrooms and schools, but none of which usually enter into traditional production-function estimates in any meaningful way (p. 70). Further explaining that increasing class size may save some money in the short-term but it will have negative effects in the long-run, since teaching large classes makes teaching more difficult and less rewarding. Just as longer hours in school if not convincingly adopted in exchange for smaller class sizes, and productively used, results in no meaningful educational gains (p. 70). The end result is that more teachers are either moving from place to place in search of better conditions of work or even worse, leaving the teaching field entirely. The next section examines some of the other push factors that motivate teacher movement.

### **2.6.2 Motivations for teacher migration.**

It has been argued that by ignoring fundamental political, cultural and social realities to improving educational quality, globalization ideology and the policies of lending agencies that belittle education and public-school teachers, may act to contradict the expressed need for more educated labor force in an ever more

competitive world economy (Carnoy, 1999, p. 71), especially in developing nations where policies are sometimes dictated by outsiders who have little at stake in the outcome of such policies. A good example is the effect of the IMF conditionalities imposed on developing countries, from where most of the GEO teachers came, which call for cuts in government subsidies that directly or indirectly affect education and negatively impact teachers' lives as they did in my home country of Sierra Leone in the 1980s. Such conditions motivate teachers in developing countries to seek better conditions of work and living in developed countries as the GEO teachers did by taking up teaching positions in the U.S. Carnoy (1999) is probably right in pointing out that:

If nations hope to increase the cognitive skills of their young populations through schooling, they will have to rely on autonomous, motivated, and skilled professional teachers trained in public institutions to do so. How these teachers regard themselves, how committed they feel to their pupils' academic success, how willing they are to learn to do their job better, and how able they are to teach well are keys to producing both basic and advanced learning in any society. Teacher commitment and involvement implies a management system that takes teacher needs into account and involves their participation in improving the quality of education. (Carnoy, 1999, p. 71.)

The absence of teacher autonomy coupled with other challenges push teachers to consider options such as migrating to other places in search of better conditions of work. Teachers who migrate to developed countries bring with them high expectations as to how better things will be in the new countries they move to. In the next section I will discuss studies which show that such expectations are not always realistic.

### 2.6.3 High expectations

Von Kirchenheim and Richardson (2005; 2006) studied a group of expatriate teachers in what the researchers described as “one small island Caribbean state” (p. 887). The teachers were employed by the host government in the public school system. The nearly two hundred expatriates surveyed were mainly from North America, the United Kingdom and other Caribbean countries. In the first of two studies, von Kirchenheim and Richardson (2005) examined the effect of self-efficacy and flexibility on adjustment and other outcome variables for the teachers. In their second study, von Kirchenheim and Richardson (2006) studied the effect of self-esteem and pay satisfaction on adjustment and other outcome variables.

Bandura (1977) defined Self-efficacy as “the belief that one can successfully perform a behavior and the subsequent willingness to persevere in the face of adversity” (Bandura, 1977, cited in Richardson et al., 2005, p. 409). The result of their first study “revealed the significance of self-efficacy but failed to reveal a significant relationship between flexibility and adjustment” (p. 407). In both of their studies, the authors defined adjustment as “the person’s ability to function effectively, personally and vocationally, in the new environment” (p. 409). Black et al. (1992) argued that adjustment consist of “three very distinct but related factors; adjustment to job, adjustment to interacting with host country’s nationals, and finally adjustment to the general non-work environment” (Black et al., 1992, as cited in Richardson et al., 2005, p. 408). Black et al. (1991), also suggested that adjustment can be further subdivided into two main temporal sections, “anticipatory adjustment” which refers to the expectations that the newcomers had about the new culture and assignment

prior to coming to the country, acquired through reading, training, or through personal beliefs and wishes, and the “post-arrival” or “in-country factor” which is the second temporal section referring to “the process that takes place when the expatriate actually arrives in the new country, again, particularly as relates to the individual and his or her expectations” (Black et al. 1991, as cited in Richardson et al., 2005, p. 408). Arguing further that the two temporal sections can actually be further subdivided into individual, job-related, organizational, and non-work related factors.

In their first study, von Kirchenheim and Richardson (2005) hypothesized that “adjustment would result in reduced turnover intention, increases in life satisfaction and higher job satisfaction” (p. 407). The general implication from the study, as reported by the researchers, is “that the degree to which expectations are confirmed or disconfirmed, greatly impacts on adjustment (p. 408), agreeing with Louis’ (1980) theory which suggests that “negative surprises detract from successful socialization or adjustment” (Louis, 1980, cited in Richardson et al., 2005, p. 409). Put in other words, von Kirchenheim and Richardson stated that “It is generally conceived that the more accurate the expectational set, the smoother the adjustment will be” (p. 885). The results from their second study indicated strong correlation to adjustment for both self-esteem and pay satisfaction. They reported that “there is evidence to suggest a direct relationship between specific personal characteristics, pay satisfaction, job satisfaction, and turnover intention” (Richardson et al., 2006, p. 883).

I chose to refer to the above studies because, like in my study, the participants of those studies were teachers who were relocated internationally and who willingly left employment in their home countries to seek out opportunities within the



educational sector in a foreign country. The main difference is that von Kirckenheim and Richardson used quantitative methodology to measure the characteristics studied in relation to the teachers' adjustment and outcome variables. In this study I used qualitative methodology (interviews and document analysis) to investigate the experience of the GEO teachers, who had voluntarily relocated from African countries to take up teaching appointments here in the U.S. Von Kirckenheim and Richardson's (2005; 2006) studies contain elements of some of the same issues that the GEO teachers reported to be grappling with in their experiences as foreign teachers adjusting to a new environment.

This study examined, from the GEO teachers' perspectives, some of the push factors that encourage teachers in developing countries to consider leaving for teaching jobs in other countries. It asked about how the movement of the teachers may have impacted their social, economic and professional lives. Also examined were the intentions and/or expectations of Chicago Public School policies that encouraged the recruitment of teachers from foreign countries instead of emphasizing on training homegrown teachers. Could the policy of recruiting foreign teachers be another cost-saving measure in education? How much does the average cost of recruiting a teacher compare with that of training one locally? Are rich countries, such as the U.S., once again saving money at the expense of poorer nations? Foreign teachers from less developed nations are used to working in less privileged conditions and with limited resources. Their experience will make them more accommodating of the lack of resources that prevail in most inner city schools than their American counterparts. Might their recruitment have been one of the city's strategies to cope

with the woes of an under-funded public education in the U.S? Or was it a means to enhance the global city image of Chicago, with its diverse cultural, ethnic and racial composition? Who ultimately profits and who loses from this trend of labor mobility in the global market? On one hand the city may find it cheaper to bring in trained teachers from abroad than engage in training them locally, but of what cost is that to the cultural balance in the city's classrooms? On the other hand if Chicago is trying to enhance its global city image by recruiting teachers to match the diversity spectrum of an increasingly multicultural student population, how prepared is the city to effectively integrate these teachers to the extent that they become effective educators in their own rights? Either way, there are possible benefits in bringing in teachers from similarly diverse backgrounds, as there are obvious challenges for both the communities and people involved in the process. The following section examined the possible cultural benefits and challenges brought about by the processes of globalization resulting in increased cultural exchanges such as enhanced by programs like GEO.

## **2.7 Globalization and cultural identity**

According to Gollnick & Chinn (1998), “anthropologists ...define culture as a way of perceiving, believing, evaluating and behaving” (as cited in Jagusah, 2001, p. 115). Culture “provides the blueprint that determines the way we think, feel, and behave in society” (p. 115). According to Jagusah (2001), “every cultural and educational process, along with its planning, has two components: it enculturates children of all racial, ethnic and gender groups and it socializes its young (p. 115). Culture is learned (both formally and informally); not inherited, it is shared, and

therefore can be found in human, technical, and scientific language. Culture is also dynamic, and according to Gollnick & Chinn (1998), it adapts to the challenges of context, making it subject to change either through “evolutionary or revolutionary paths” (p. 115). Education and culture are very closely intertwined. Strauss (2000) likens education to culture in the sense that educational processes, like culture, also target the enculturation and socialization of the citizenry on both formal and informal levels, with the aim of preparing individuals to assume mature roles in the society. Also, Spring (1997) states that at the heart of what is education or educational, is the issue of whether it should be just about cultural transmission, or more importantly about the question of whose culture is to be transmitted (as cited in Jagusah, 2001). These issues are increasingly becoming more complex and urgent as world communities become more diverse in composition. Cultures in urban communities such as Chicago’s neighborhoods are increasingly gaining from each other as people from diverse cultural backgrounds share the same space and resources. With programs such as GEO, teachers, traditionally expected to lead the path to educational enculturation and socialization, are themselves becoming more foreign to the culture they are expected to transmit. How effective can they serve as agents of social change as teachers in a foreign culture? Or what impact does otherness have on their effectiveness as teachers? As Sanderson (2003) puts it “one outcome of this has been greater contact with the ‘cultural other’. No longer can we think of ‘strangers and the strange’ as dislocated entities that are peripheral to our own lives” (p. 1). In the light of which, one may also ask: how ready is the American populace to engage with the cultural others without the “fear of the unknown” (Jagusah, 2001, p. 1), which

Sanderson, from an existential perspective, suggests is the “foundation of our difficulty in accepting otherness” (Sanderson, 2003, p. 1).

Globalization is redefining culture by stretching the boundaries of time and space and in the ways individuals, groups and societies relate to these changing boundaries. The meaning of culture and how it should be interpreted by nations or states is a crucial issue for educators, and is contested in most societies. Beyond imparting skills for work, education and schools can do much more as transmitters of modern cultures. By redefining culture, globalization reduces the legitimacy of national educational and political institutions to define modernity and identity, and increases the ability of external institutions such as multinational corporations and international finance agencies in doing so either directly or indirectly through increased technological linkages. It thus necessarily changes the conditions of identity formation. Some have anticipated a ‘global identity’ in terms of the way the global market values individual traits and behavior. One problem with such a knowledge-centered definition of individual and group worth is the fact that the global market values certain kinds of knowledge and behavior more than others. But as current trends in global migration continue, education has the challenge to enhance greater mingling of cultures in ways that help people learn to live together amicably. Teachers are very instrumental in promoting learning experiences that transfer into acceptance of difference and tolerance in schools and communities. This can only happen if teachers and communities share in the ownership of education and have a greater say in what transpire in schools. Unfortunately, many teachers do not feel they have the leverage to play such a role as global forces assume more control of

education policies. Vongalis (2004) reported from her study of teachers at the third World Education Congress in 2001 at Bangkok that “There was a sense that ownership of education, once in the domain of nations, was in the hands of global agencies such as the World Bank who maintained governance over educational reform and left the management of that reform to national bureaucracies” (p. 494).

Education policies target the valued traits even though they constitute only some characteristics of the multicultural communities. Higher value is placed on scientific and technical knowledge and less on manual labor skills that serve more basic needs. The global market does not therefore work well as a source of identity for everyone, and even the identity that individuals have with work places becomes more tenuous and subject to more frequent change (Carnoy, 1999). It increases material and hence socio-economic differences among individuals, groups and nations. While it may create a sense of community among those who share the same professional networks, at the same time it destroys other communities, isolating individuals until they are able to find or form other networks that will restore their sources of social worth. As Carnoy (1999) puts it, “today’s coworkers are not necessarily tomorrow’s friends” and that “with the individualization of workers and their separation from permanent jobs, even the identity individuals have with work-places becomes more tenuous and subject to more frequent change” (p. 76).

Globalization is not the only force influencing modern culture. Challenging globalization as a force in changing modern culture are new social movements that oppose the process in favor of cultural singularity and local control over people's lives and the environment. In education, for instance, communities are wary about losing

control to multinational corporations whose main interest is making profit even at the expense of local concerns for cultural validity and the environment. Test-driven curricula unmindful of social and cultural contexts may be profitable in market values but less so in social and cultural capitals of many communities. Religious fundamentalism, nationalism, feminism, and environmentalism are some of the movements that are building resistance on behalf of God, nation, gender, family, ethnicity and locality amongst others. They challenge or outrightly reject the authority of the market with its techno-economic forces that threatens the continued existence of fundamental categories and greatly influences power relations in affected societies and/or communities. Because the market itself has never been sufficiently inclusive, fundamentalism, in some cases provides people with an identity that stands above market success. It appeals especially to those who feel threatened by the coaxed “‘inclusiveness’ of a multiculturalist version of welfare democracy (or even the authoritarianism of single party states) that offers a bureaucratic vision of nationality and the ‘inclusiveness’ of the global market that serves the power of money and complex information systems (Carnoy, 1999, p. 78) Religious, ethnic, racial or feminist movements (whether local, regional or more global) define identities that are antidotes to the complexity and harshness of the global market as the determiner of a person's worth. They help in developing self-worth and hence advance self-confidence especially for people in developing countries. GEO teachers from more traditional societies are faced with the dilemma of adjusting to new ways even as they are expected to model what they are learning. The communities they leave also have to adjust to their absence, in terms of either what was left behind or in

the management of what they send back. This can either disrupt social stratification or re-enforce the class strata of those communities. This study examines, theoretically, some of the perceived social and cultural impacts of exporting and importing labor as enhanced by programs such as GEO. How does the uprooting of teachers from donor communities affect such societies culturally? How does the importing of foreign teachers affect the effectiveness of schools as agents of transmission of modern cultures? What organizations are these teachers interested in joining? What role do they play and why? How does the participation in such organizations impact their practices as teachers? Knowing these may provide an insight into the personal philosophies of the teachers for a better understanding of their choices, including their decision to leave their countries to come to teach in Chicago.

## Chapter 3: Methods

### 3.1 Introduction

This study sought to tell the story of the Global Educators Outreach (GEO) program and the experiences of GEO teachers recruited from developing countries in Africa to teach in Chicago Public Schools. Through documenting the stories and other experiences of some of the African participants to the program, this study was aimed at understanding how such a program has been created and enacted in relation to the current sociopolitical context of globalization. The data from this study came from documents about the program, and African GEO teachers and focused on their experiences in learning about the GEO program, being recruited, coming to Chicago, entering Chicago schools and classrooms, and how their feelings towards their professional lives in Chicago has changed over time. In addition, the teachers' educational experiences both in their home countries and in Chicago were included in the study. The presentation of data includes brief narratives of the life stories of the teachers interviewed for this study, reflecting their experiences as teachers in African countries, as well as their experiences here in the United States from the time of their recruitment to the time of participating in the study. The study is analyzed within literature on the globalizing world as a context within which to understand the teachers' perspectives.

After presenting the key research questions that the study tried to answer, I will discuss how the participants were selected, and how the data was collected and analyzed. After which I will explain how the rights and interests of the participants



were protected, as well as how participants and others may benefit from the study.

The research questions the study tried to answer were:

1. How do teaching experiences and teacher education programs in the native countries of GEO teachers compare to those in the U.S., and how have they contributed to preparing teachers for the challenges they face in Chicago's classrooms?
2. How does the movement of GEO teachers from foreign countries to Chicago impact their social, economic and professional lives?
3. How have the social, economic and professional experiences of the teachers shaped their perspectives on the role of globalization in education?
4. What do the teachers think about the impact of their migration on the sending and receiving communities? How do the GEO teachers think about their impact on their school and/or wider communities?
5. How did globalization enhance or inhibit the recruitment process? From a global perspective, what could have been the school district's motivation behind the recruitment of teachers from all over the world?

### **3.2 Participant selection**

A letter requesting the teachers' participation in the study was sent out by U.S.P.S. first class mail and/or by email on the internet. The letter explained details about the study, its purpose and what was expected of participants. It also explained how information was to be collected, to what use the information may be put and how respondents' privacy and confidentiality were to be protected. The focus of the study was on the experiences of the African participants in the GEO program. I chose the

African participants because I am one of them and wanted to examine their experiences in relation to mine, and because I was curious about Africans participating in the program in the first place. Why Africans? Whereas it was obvious as to why Spanish-speaking teachers were recruited to serve the growing Spanish-speaking population of students from Mexico and other Latin-American countries, the same could not be said of the teachers from African countries. In addition, I had the most contact with other Africans in the program and shared a similar sociopolitical background with them. There were initially seven teachers recruited from Africa through the program from 1999 through 2002. Five of these teachers were still teaching in Chicago public schools at the time this study was started in 2008. One had returned to Africa, while the seventh one, though initially recruited by Chicago Public schools, left the appointment to take up an appointment with another public school district in Texas. All of the African participants were to be contacted for their possible participation in the study, but effort to contact the participant who had returned to Africa was unsuccessful. Two others, I believed to still be working in the school district, did not respond to my request to participate in the study. Three participants agreed to participate in the study; two were interviewed face-to-face and one by phone. Every effort was made to conduct face-to-face interviews instead of interviews by telephone because I felt they accorded me, the interviewer, and direct contact with the interviewee and created a more comfortable and direct relationship with the interviewees. I also felt that interviews that were conducted in person elicited more credible information because, in addition to verbal responses, I was able to get further clues from the respondent's body language, and also made it possible to ask

more clarifying questions. However, because one of the participants lived in Texas, I had to do telephone interview in his case.

### **3.3 Data collection**

Data was collected primarily via interviews with teachers and also through document analysis. The teacher interviews explored in detail the facts, attitudes, opinions, experiences and the expectations of the African participants in the GEO program. Some documents such as newspaper articles, letters, contracts, and memos pertaining to the GEO program were also analyzed to complement information collected from the interviews.

#### **3.3.1 Interviews**

The information that was collected from the interviews resulted in the narratives about the teachers' experiences; open ended questions were asked about the recruitment processes, emigration to Chicago, and their integration into the school district and into local communities. The teachers were asked to compare their economic situations, teacher training and teaching experiences in their home countries to that in Chicago/the U.S. in order to highlight how change may have affected them as teachers in different communities. The experiences in Chicago that they talked about as relevant included the placement process into Chicago's Public Schools, the mentoring program in which every teacher was required to participate, the Illinois state certification process, school curricula, and their relationship with staff, students, school administrators, and representatives of the school district. Also examined were the teachers' opinions about globalization and its influence on education, development and international migration. These were analyzed within the

framework of the GEO program as a byproduct of globalization and international labor mobility. The interviews were conducted in English and were audio-taped; I transcribed the audio tapes into texts and analyzed them. See Appendix B, Guide for Teacher Interviews. Interviews lasted for an average of about one and a half hour and took place in mutually agreed upon places where each participant felt comfortable to speak out freely.

### **3.3.2 Archival Data**

Documents relating to the GEO program which were also Public documents such as newspapers, bulletins, websites and/or other publications on the history, logistics, expectations, claims and commentaries that were made about the program were searched and studied to complement data from other sources. A Chicago newspaper, *The Catalyst*, devoted to writing about educational issues in the city, was also examined for the program's history. Web pages obtained from the website which was created for the program while it lasted, provided other documents that the researcher examined.

In addition to participating in the interview, teachers were also invited to share with the researcher procedural documents about the program. These were representative of the teachers' interactions with the school district, schools and the program coordinators. The documents examined included letters, memos and other instruments of communication, which the participants received from district officials, school authorities and others. Participants were only invited to voluntarily share documents that were expected to shed light on the general processes, procedures and the stated expectations of the program, not information particular to individual

participants. The researcher, being a participant in the program also had some saved documents from his personal collection to augment the archival data. All documents were reviewed and detail notes were made. Some of the documents were photocopied for later coding and analysis.

### **3.4 Data Analysis**

Data analysis involved the process of systematically searching through the interview transcripts and other materials that were accumulated in order to identify common themes and patterns in the information collected. Partial data analysis and interpretation were done concurrently with the data collection to identify and follow trends in the stories that were told by the teachers during the interviews. More extensive data analysis was done after all the data had been collected to enhance the final interpretations of the study's findings. In this study the findings encompassed the life stories of teachers as they relate to their educational and teaching experiences in other countries and as participants in the GEO program. The African teachers' stories helped me answer the research questions relating to the general processes of the program, and in the ensuing discussion to situate the program within the sociopolitical context of globalization. Some of the current literature on the subject was also used as reference and to help provide the lens through which the teachers' experience and the dynamics of the program were examined.

The interview transcripts and archival data were coded by hand (line by line coding) to represent main ideas or themes that emerged. Additional codes were derived from the main concepts/themes within the conceptual framework of globalization and/or migration. The coded chunks of data were then grouped into

nominal categories that were used to construct themes that ran through the data. In some cases the emerging categories helped in directing the focus of subsequent interviews in terms of digging deep into the issues that emerged. The data analysis also involved finding possible relationships between the different categories of codes and using such relationships to answer the research questions.

Another process of data analysis involved memoing, which comprised of writing personal comments about my thoughts and feelings in regards to sections of the data, besides the interview notes, as they were generated about what I was learning about the subjects and the data so that important insights were not lost with time. Later in the research process, I discussed some of my ideas and theories with participants in follow-up interviews or discussion. This “member checking” helped me to be sure I understood the study participants’ perspectives and that I was representing them accurately. I also used graphics and charts, such as flow diagrams and tables, to help me understand relationships and concepts as they developed through the coding process. Such visualization helped me understand complexities that could have been difficult to grasp or explain with words alone. I also used deductive reasoning as means of rationalizing and broadening ideas generated from the collected data. As Mills (1959) reminds us, “Facts discipline reason; but reason is the advance guard in any field of learning” (as cited in Bogdan & Biklen, 2003, p. 55). Following Bogdan and Biklen’s (2003) advice that, “You do not have to prove ideas in order to state them; they must be plausible given what you have observed” (p. 160), I used thought and theory to open ways to further the discussion of the themes in the research findings. In other words, information from the GEO teachers’

interviews was used to obtain what Creswell (1994) describes as “an interpretive framework through which the meaning of human experience was revealed in personal accounts from the interviewees” (as cited in Sexton, 2004, p. 208).

### **3.6 Ethical concerns**

In 2008 DePaul University’s IRB issued the approval notice for the study to be conducted after reviewing the thesis proposal (see Appendix A). Participation in the study was voluntary. Prospective participants were given all the information they needed to determine whether or not they wanted to participate in the study. The letter requesting their voluntary participation explained details about the study, its purpose, what was expected of them, how information was to be collected, to what use the information was to be put and how respondents’ confidentiality was to be protected. The findings were not reported back to the school district, the schools, or the teachers’ colleagues or students. The only possible risk, which was benign, was possible minor emotional discomfort that could have resulted from respondents talking about past experiences that may have been stressful. That did not happen during any of the interviews, so there was never a need to stop an interview to address such an issue as originally proposed.

To protect the identities of the respondents from inappropriate disclosure, identifying information such as participants’ names and specific identifying characteristics were known only to me, the researcher. Pseudonyms were used, and although participants they were given consent forms in keeping with the requirements of the Human Subjects regulations, they were not required to sign them. The forms were only informational as approved by the IRB.

Audiotapes holding recorded interviews and the discs holding files of the transcribed tapes were safely locked up in cabinets to protect them from unauthorized access by third parties. The tapes and discs were identified by numbers rather than by names to reduce the possibility of unauthorized persons linking names with data. Transcripts did not include participants' personal information. Folders stored on the computer were only accessible to me via password. All documents and data devices were stored only as long as the study lasted. They were destroyed at the end of the study in December 2009 to protect the confidentiality of the respondents. In the write up of the study's report, pseudonyms were used for people and places to further protect participants' identities. Also, details of description of places, events, and people were done in such a way that the protection afforded by the pseudonyms was not undermined.

While no personal benefit was expected to accrue to the participants, beyond any personal satisfaction they may have derived from talking about their lives, the study was expected to contribute to the generalized body of knowledge in globalization and education. Indirectly, the study hopes to provide a benefit in that if we, as educators, can better understand how globalization is implicated in educational processes, including those related to recruiting teachers internationally, we can then use that information in our effort to improve schools and educational experiences for teachers and students. Secondly, school districts which are currently undertaking such recruitment programs or plan to do so will also benefit from knowing the experiences of teachers who have gone through similar processes, as will teachers in other countries who may wish to participate in similar programs.



## **Chapter 4: Findings**

In this chapter I will present the data collected from interviewing the three GEO teachers recruited from African countries to teach in Chicago's public schools. Joseph and Makela still teach in the city, but Lamrana now teaches in a school district in Texas. In spite of them being at different locations in the city, and in the case of Lamrana, in a different school district, the information obtained revealed marked similarities in the experiences of the teachers as relates to recruitment process, integration into schools and communities, as well as their experiences with immigration as shaped, in part, by the GEO program, and finally in how they understand their experiences in the context of globalization. To fully appreciate the basis of the teachers' experiences I will start with a brief profile of each of the teachers that were interviewed for the study, and will then discuss the recruitment and integration of the GEO teachers, their experiences as GEO candidates adjusting to working in the schools and living in the U.S., as well as highlight the teachers' perspectives on the role of globalization on education:

### **4.1 Profiles of GEO teachers**

#### **4.1.1 Joseph Masela**

Joseph Masela was born in the late fifties in a town in Western Cameroon, the English speaking part of the West African nation. He attended public elementary and secondary schools in his home town of Mafulia. After graduating from secondary school he entered the polytechnic institute, upon completion of which he subsequently gained a scholarship to study in the former Yugoslavia from 1980 to 1987. At the end of his study he returned to Cameroon with a Master of Science (M.

Sc.) degree in computer design and programming. He worked in several companies as a computer engineer before joining a vocational school as a lead instructor of trainees in computing technology and applications. His quest for further education and desire to gain access to cutting-edge expertise in his chosen career led him to join a technology company that eventually brought him to the United States of America to understudy developments in computing industry. His major goal in the United States was to acquire skills to enable him successfully integrate the latest computer technological advancements into the fabric of the Cameroonian society. In the capacity of a network engineer he worked with a team of other engineers engaged in re-programming, correcting and eliminating the Y2K bug to assist in averting the threat posed by computers at the turn of the century (January, 2000) to wreak havoc on industry by the mal-functioning clocks embedded in the chips.

In 2001 Joseph was recruited to teach mathematics, science and computer science by the Chicago Public Schools through the GEO program. While teaching he successfully completed an alternative teacher certification program at one of Chicago's leading universities earning a Master of Education (M. Ed) in Teaching and Learning. For the past eight years Joseph has been teaching computer science and is also in charge of maintaining the computers at his school. His other functions include training other teachers in integrating technology into the classroom, and in the use of new computer technologies and programs introduced by the school system. He currently heads the technology team at his school and as a member of the leadership team and technical coordinator he is regularly engaged in several city-wide training programs in computer technology and engineering. In the Spring of 2009, his students

were chosen to present to members of the Illinois state legislators on skills he taught them on managing computer hardware as an illustration of the school district's effort to close the technology gap between the haves and the have-nots.

#### **4.1.2 Lamrana Othabo**

Lamrana Othabo was born in the late 1960s in a town near the regional city of Port Harcourt in the oil-rich West African nation of Nigeria. He attended both elementary and secondary schools in his home town of Abadin, not far from the oil fields that produce millions of barrels of crude oil each day to the delight of Shell and other oil companies, while the process reeks misery and havoc to the local population and their environment.

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa with a population of over a hundred million people. Educationally and economically, she is a giant in Africa as a whole but more so in the West African region where the other countries with much smaller economies rely on the lead of Nigeria in shaping many a policy especially in education. The policies of the regional organizations Economic Commission of West African States (ECOWAS) and West African Examination Council (WAEC) are heavily shaped by Nigerian influence because of the heavy reliance of the success of such policies on Nigerian population numbers and money. As a consequence of these quasi-reliance and inter-relationship it is very common to have teachers and other professionals live and work freely in countries other than their native countries within the West African region.

After graduating from a Nigerian university, Lamrana taught for a few years in his native country before relocating to teach at an international school in Banjul,

The Gambia. He taught mathematics from grades six to twelve to students from very diverse cultural backgrounds. In 2002 he participated in the recruitment process of Chicago Public Schools through the GEO program. He was invited for an interview to the U.S. and after a successful completion of the process, he returned to Banjul for the final preparation to migrate to Chicago. But that was not to be because the GEO program was suspended, and oblivious of the strains and expense incurred by the candidates who made it through the process, they were informed that their potential employment had been cancelled for apparently no obvious reason. Lamrana traveled back to the United States determined to pursue his teaching career and after unsuccessfully trying to convince the Chicago public school district to employ him, he moved down south and was offered employment by another school district where he now teaches mathematics to high school students. He has secured permanent residency and is on track to become a U.S. citizen while his counterparts in Chicago, some of whom were recruited three years earlier, still have to renew their work permits periodically and are stuck in the immigration debacle with little or no support from the school district to expedite the process.

#### **4.1.3 Makela Narre'**

Makela Narre' was born in a village in Uganda in the early-nineteen 1960s. He attended an elementary school from classes one through seven (American grades 1-7) at his two-room village school. For the next level of his education, he moved to a town six miles from his village, to attend a Catholic secondary school from forms one through five (American grades 8 – 12). Immediately upon completion of secondary school, he started work as an elementary school teacher at his home village of

Mawula. Two months later he accepted an offer to be a laboratory assistant in his former secondary school after he passed the East African Certificate of Education, Ordinary level (EACE “O” level) certificate examination. After two years of doing science laboratory work and teaching mathematics to students in the junior forms of secondary school, he went to a four-year university college from where he gained a bachelor’s degree in science and mathematics education (B. Sc. Ed). Following his graduation in the mid 1980s, he taught mathematics and science in several secondary schools in Uganda before becoming a junior lecturer in a teacher training college near the capital city, Kampala. While teaching in the college, he also taught classes as a part-time lecturer in the neighboring university from where he had graduated a few years earlier.

In the mid 1990s, an intense civil war in his native country of Uganda forced Makela to flee with his family to become a refugee in the neighboring country of Tanzania. He took up appointment as a teacher in an international school in that country’s capital city, Dar es Salaam. After two years of teaching at the Madina International School, he was appointed head of the science department with a staff of eight teachers. The private international school was modeled very closely on private high schools in England. It served children from mainly upper middle class families and children of diplomats from all over the world in the East African nation. While he was head of the science department, the school adopted the Cambridge international curriculum allowing the students to gain the Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate’s International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE) and the Advanced International Certificate of Education (AICE) at the end of forms five

and seven respectively. With that certificate, Makela's students were able to gain admission into most British universities for three-year bachelor's degree programs.

In mid 2000, Makela was recruited by the Chicago public schools district, as a participant in the GEO program, to teach in the city's high schools. He moved to the United States of America in the same year and has since taught science and mathematics in several high schools in America's third largest school district. He currently heads the mathematics department at a high school in one of the toughest neighborhoods on the south-side of Chicago. His job includes both teaching responsibilities and managing the affairs of a department of about fifteen teachers in a school of about one thousand students. Among other things he is expected to support the professional growth of teachers in his department by organizing and promoting professional development activities in and outside of school. He also regularly observes teachers in his department and provides them with feedback and other professional support.

In the next section I will report on the information gathered from the teachers regarding their recruitment from African countries to teach in Chicago's public schools.

Also, I will report some of the reasons the teachers gave for choosing to participate in the program, their opinions as to why the school district launch such a program, as well as their views on the role of globalization in enhancing the recruitment program.

#### **4.2 The recruitment and integration of GEO teachers**

Chicago Public schools through its GEO program recruited nearly one hundred and thirty teachers from all over the world to teach in the city's public

schools. To participate in the program, candidates were directed to a web site for detailed information and to apply online. Of the thousands of applicants, a few were vetted out and contacted by courier delivered letters, email messages or by telephone inviting them for interviews here in Chicago. It was up to the candidate to make their own travel arrangements to be at the interviews. Those who were able, within a week or so notice of the interviews had to secure visas and other travel documents, buy round-trip air tickets to make it successfully to Chicago. The interview sessions included group and individual oral interviews and written tests in English and mathematics. Successful candidates left the U.S. to return to their countries with big packages of material to read, forms to complete and a verbal assurance that the district will support their applications for work permits in the state of Illinois and will sponsor their H-1B visa applications with the U.S. Department of Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS), now known as U.S. Department of Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS).

Chicago Public School's GEO program which was started in 1999 recruited over one hundred teachers before it's suspension in 2002. The recruitment was done by cohorts consisting of about thirty teachers each per year from cohorts one through four. Recruited in 1999, members of the first cohort started work in 2000, cohort 2 teachers started work in 2001 and so on. The group that was to be the fourth cohort went through the recruitment process but the program was suspended before they actually took up appointment with the Chicago Public School District. Whereas Joseph and Makela came from earlier cohorts, Lamrana was a member of cohort 4 and following the suspension of the GEO program in 2002, he took up appointment in

another school district. In the second cohort of the program, for example, about thirty teachers were recruited from fourteen countries in June of 2000. The successful candidates came from Peru, India, Poland, Venezuela, Ghana, Pakistan, France, British Virgin Island, Sierra Leone, Taiwan, China, Columbia, Mexico and Chile. The interviewed candidates learned about the program either through local newspapers, for those who were already living in the U.S. or were referred to the program's web site by friends and/or relatives living in the U.S.

When asked about why they chose to participate in the program, the teachers gave several reasons including the opportunity to pursue higher education in the U.S., wanting to get the experience and excitement of teaching outside of the African continent, and in one case actually wanting to return the favor of having benefited from Peace Corps volunteers who taught him as a child in his native country. Some of the teachers also mentioned fleeing away from crisis situations, and the poor work conditions of teachers at home as added reasons to migrate. All the teachers mentioned anticipated better conditions in the U.S. as additional motivation for grabbing the opportunity offered by the GEO program to work abroad. Lamrana and Makela who were foreign teachers in African countries before their recruitment to the U.S. also mentioned discrimination at their work places as one other push factor for wanting to come abroad. In both cases candidates mentioned that white expatriate teachers from European countries and the United States received better conditions of service than their local (Black/African) counterparts for performing the same teaching responsibilities. Although the dual pay system may have been a common one in International schools of the nature Lamrana and Makela came from, the teachers



nevertheless felt it was not justified to warrant its discriminative nature. The GEO program therefore provided an opportunity for those teachers to remove themselves from that situation.

All of the candidates agreed that the enhanced global communication network, the Internet, was crucial to making the recruitment program possible for them. But they also stated that Chicago was by no means a unique destination for them. In other words, they would have participated all the same if it was another U.S. city that had a similar program.

When asked why they think the Chicago Public Schools district chose to recruit teachers from other countries, the participants cited the global shortage of teachers in the subject areas they teach (science, mathematics, special education and foreign languages), the universality of knowledge, and the ease and less expensive alternative of hiring trained and qualified personnel from abroad as possible reasons. Some also suggested that their recruitment may have to do with the district's aim to increase students' academic performance, as well as expose the city's increasingly diverse student population to foreign teachers coming from equally diverse cultural and social backgrounds. One of the teachers recalled that during one of their interview sessions it was mentioned by a district officer that the pending retirement of the baby-boomers from the city's classrooms was one reason the district was stepping up effort to recruit younger teachers to replace them. It is also important to note that at the same time that the GEO program was on there were several local initiatives aimed at recruiting American teachers through alternative teacher certification programs such as the Golden Apple Teacher program which continues up to date. The

next section talks about the experiences of the GEO teachers in Chicago following their recruitment.

### **4.3 Teaching experience of the GEO teachers in the U.S.**

In this section I will discuss information relating to the teaching experiences of the GEO candidates in the U.S. relative to their experiences in other countries. The information discussed here came mainly from interviewing three GEO teachers from African countries, from the review of some program documents, and from my experience as a participant in the program. The experiences include orientation procedures, mentoring and other in-service training strategies, integration into communities, and the challenges involved. Although the teachers shared many common experiences, a few of them applied more specifically to individual teachers than others. But the fact that individual teachers' names are mentioned in a particular experience does not necessarily mean the experience was unique to them although they may have been the ones to have mentioned it during the interviews.

The conditions of participation in the GEO program for cohort 2 participants were stipulated by the school district as pre-conditions to continue their participation in the program. Candidates had to sign to the conditions before they could come to Chicago for the orientation. Among other things, cohort 2 GEO teachers were required to attend and complete orientation and pre-service classes, accept school assignments and/or re-assignments as needed by the Chicago Public Schools, attend all staff development sessions held by DePaul university and/or the Chicago Public Schools during the school year, complete all course work necessary for an Illinois Standard Teachers certificate within a 4-year time frame starting January 2001, obtain

an Illinois Standard Teaching Certificate, and receive on a yearly basis a satisfactory performance evaluation from the school principal, university personnel and the Chicago Public Schools Office of Language, Culture and Early Childhood Education. Failure to meet those conditions, the document pointed out, “will result to loss of CPS sponsorship of your H-1B visa. Loss of CPS sponsorship may result in your return to your last place of residence abroad” (collected data). Although the candidates were required to sign the document before they can come to Chicago for the orientation, it was pointed out emphatically that “*This document shall not be considered all inclusive and shall not be considered as an employment contract*” (emphasis in the original document).

The teaching experience of the GEO teachers in Chicago started with an intensive orientation program that lasted for three weeks. The orientation was followed by a four-month Mentoring and Induction of New Teachers (MINT) program. While enrolled in MINT classes, the teachers were also actually working in schools with partial work load and with the support of veteran teachers who served as their mentors for the duration of about a semester. During the first six weeks of their stay in Chicago, candidates who came from places outside of Chicago were accommodated in a down town hotel. As part of the orientation, guests were invited from a number of city agencies and services to present workshops to the candidates. Among those invited were presenters from the Chicago Transit Authority to talk about navigating Chicago and its surroundings on trains and buses. The “Apartment People” presented on housing services they offered to clients in North Chicago.

The orientation of Joseph's cohort 2 took the form of both formal classroom instruction and semi-formal tour guides around the city, including visits to schools and some important places around the city. For the first six weeks of his stay in Chicago he resided in a hotel while he was assisted in locating permanent housing in Chicago for the upcoming school year. His stay at the hotel did not include meals and transportation, but he was paid a stipend while he participated in the orientation program. For the first two weeks he attended training from 8:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. The first week's activities included applying for a social security number, detail review of CPS employee benefits, housing in Chicago, and classroom lectures on teaching in an urban setting and he was assigned to a high school on the south-side of the city. During the second week he took lessons on classroom procedures, CPS curriculum and on preparing for classroom lessons. At the end of that week, participants presented demonstration lessons to their fellow trainees. On week 3, Joseph shadowed his mentor at the school to which he had been assigned. He also started a general education course in U.S. History and took the MINT classes at Jones High School in downtown Chicago. The MINT classes went from the first week in February to the last week in May, every Tuesday and Thursday from 1:30 P.M. to 4:30 P.M. The topics discussed in the course included Classroom Management, Behavior Management, Classroom Climate, CPS Policies and Procedures, Legal Issues, Standards-Based Instructional planning/Learning Theories, Standards-Based Instruction, Conferences, Evaluation/Mandated Programs, and Professional Growth and Standards. There were several presenters on the topics, some appearing more than once.

While attending the MINT classes, Makela was having real-world experience with the students in the classroom at his assigned high school with the support of his mentor, a white female physics teacher. The school's student population was more than ninety percent of Latino/Hispanic heritage, mostly of Mexican background. In a city like Chicago, with its neighborhood structure, the effects of those racial configuration on his experience at the school, will only make sense much later after that experience. His mentor was a great teacher who was highly admired and respected by her students. Unfortunately Makela did not benefit much from that relationship. The students were less accepting of a black male teacher than they were of a white female one, especially when they knew very little about his background and possibly because of racial tensions between Blacks and Latinos that lurk just beneath the surface in the nearly racially partitioned Chicago. Makela's mentor was not of much help herself, because like the students she knew very little about the background of her protégé. Makela said that she knew so little about Africa that she didn't think that buffalos exist in Africa. She thought buffalos could only be found in America, like elephants in Africa, so stories of African buffalos were heard with disbelief. Nevertheless those formative years defined Makela's path to becoming an effective teacher in Chicago. He said he realized that he had a Herculean task if he was to survive as a teacher in his new environment. Not only did he have to contend with the students and the challenges of getting them to learn the prescribe curriculum, but also to build trusting relationships needed to promote a conducive teaching and learning environment. As he puts it "to some people the question was not whether or not one was capable of teaching the curriculum, but rather it was about how can you

come from Africa and be a teacher in the United States?” It was about his authenticity or legitimacy more than anything. He recalled how often people would ask whether or not he liked it here, whether or not he would like to return back to Africa, all meant to remind him that he was lucky to be in the United States. Implied in many of these comments, Makela understood they thought he was lucky to be wearing clothes at all and not living in trees, as Africans are frequently depicted in the Discovery Channel. In their innocent minds, Makela said, the students would actually go the extra mile to ask “Do people wear clothes in Africa? Do people live in trees in Africa?”

At the end of the semester of mentoring and a luke-warm summer school experience Makela made his first school hunt and landed what, in hind sight, he said was a gold mine. He got a teaching job in a very small unit that was part of a big school on the north side. The center was established to provide intensive mathematics, science and English as a second language to largely refugee students from all over the world. The overwhelming majority of the students came from African countries including Ethiopia, Somalia, Liberia and Angola. Within a very short period of time Makela and his new students established amazing relationships that made the two years at this school-within-a-school the most memorable ones. Mathematics and science skills aside, Makela said the conducive environment translated to productive interactions that resulted in more teaching and learning. Most of the members of the teaching and administrative staff, he recalled, were either naturalized American citizens or second generation Americans who still have fresh memories of immigration and the struggles of integration into the U.S. society either

directly or indirectly from parents and/or other relatives, and were therefore very supportive of him as he struggled to get his footing both in and out of the classroom.

After one year, Makela said, he was recommended by the principal of the school for assignment, but CPS declined the recommendation on the premise that, although Makela was a mathematics and science teacher, he needed to be endorsed in Spanish before he could be assigned to start the path to tenure. The school-within-a-school ceased to exist in its original design in September 2003. The new model required Makela to go around to five high schools on the north-side of the city to provide support services to refugee students in the classroom. He was to spend a day in each of the schools working with some refugee students, as they moved from class to class, and providing support in the form of in-class tutoring in mathematics and science. Makela said he did not like the new model for several reasons. Firstly, the intended support was, by his judgment, quite ineffective, in part because he thought it was impossible to build relationships with the students, which he considered key to effective teaching and learning. Secondly, he said, he had no way of knowing what to expect each day at each school. The lessons he would follow and the kind of support he would give, to whom and when, were completely arbitrary and were at the discretion of one or more people between several departments in each school. Makela resigned from the position after two months and sought out for a new teaching position at another school.

In November of 2003 Makela landed a math position at a school in north-west Chicago. The school's student population was over ninety percent whites. The students were mostly of Eastern European heritage, mainly of Polish background.

Makela said, although that was also a largely immigrant population, the population dynamics was quite different from that of the mostly African student population at his previous school. He took over some mathematics classes over which other teachers had left the school due to what was claimed to be their inability to manage the students in those classrooms. Makela held the fort for the rest of the academic year but his position was closed at the end of that year. Two months before the end of the year he was accidentally informed that over half of the students in some of his classes were students with special needs. A teacher in the special education department wanted to know how a particular student in one of Makela's classes was doing. When she was informed that the student was likely going to fail the course, she informed Makela that the student should not fail the class if he had not been provided with the extra services recommended in his IEP (Individual Education Plan). At that point, Makela said, he asked why he had not been notified of that requirement until then. He also asked to know who else in his classes fell in that category, and to his astonishment, in some cases over half the students in a class needed some forms of accommodations and/or modifications in their instruction, especially in mathematics. Such a proportion of special education students in one classroom, Makela recalled, was an overstretch of the union agreement with the district as to the percentage of special education students that could be included in a general education classroom, but worse of all was the fact that for almost the entire year he was never formally informed of the situation, never given access to the students' Individual Education Plans (IEPs) nor was he ever invited to any meeting to prepare such plans. He said, he knew his double period algebra 1 class was designed to cater to the needs of the least



proficient students in freshmen Algebra, but that was it, as to the nature and composition of the students he was completely kept in the dark, as possibly the other teachers who abandoned their jobs over what was interpreted as their inability to manage the classroom environment, when in actual fact they were set up to fail anyways. Makela recalled that another of his classes was a geometry class with most of the students coming from double period algebra classes from the previous year. While students in the other classes were using newer editions of the textbook, those students in Makela's class used a similar textbook that was published years earlier. Makela said he felt as if he had been deliberately given the most challenging circumstances and so he felt demoralized. It was the worst experience of his almost seventeen years of teaching, he recalled. He failed to establish meaningful relationships with both students and the adults in the building. That may have cost him his position at the end of the year. Some of the adults, like the special education teacher, who enjoyed special relationship with members of the administration, would not accept responsibility for failing to notify staff about the special services some students need until at the very end-of the academic year. Makela said he did not miss much from not returning to that school in the following academic year; he felt he could never have become an effective teacher in the prevailing environment.

As a result of a newly negotiated union contract, Makela had a new nomenclature as a Probationary Appointed Teacher (PAT). The nomenclature replaced his Full Time Basis (FTB) substitute category and he said it was promoted as a better bargain for Chicago's teachers. But in Makela's opinion it turned out to have resulted to less protection for teachers from unscrupulous principals. With his FTB

appointment if he was to be found wanting in performance, the provisions of the previous contract require that he should be invited to a conference, witnessed by a union representative, with the principal to come up with an improvement plan. He would also have to be assigned to a veteran teacher to serve as his mentor while he worked on improving his teaching strategies. His principal would then have been required to make another visit to observe his teaching a few weeks later. Only if he failed the follow-up observation would the principal have had a choice to decide whether or not to renew his contract. With his new PAT designation, Makela said, he did not enjoy such provisions. Although he was, by name, automatically assigned and put on track to tenure after four years of continuous 'superior' annual ratings, his position/job at any school was less secure. His principal was able to arbitrarily not renew his position without having to give him the chance of a remediation plan or be given any reason for the decision. And that was exactly what happened to Makela after almost a year at the north-western school. He recalled that the principal had only visited his classroom once. There was neither a pre-observation conference, nor a post observation conference to discuss the lesson observed, but once the decision was taken he had no grounds upon which to challenge it in any way because the new 2003 contract between the Teachers' Union and the Chicago Board of Education that brought into play the PAT designation did not require principals to have to give reasons for not re-appointing probationary appointed teachers.

Like Makela, Joseph was forced to change schools after just one year at his first school. In fact, according to him, by the second year of the program, rumors were rife among GEO participants about other participants quitting the program and

returning to their countries of recruitment or origin or simply quit teaching. Some returned back to their native countries while others simply changed careers. He related news of a Ph. D. degree holder in Chemistry from India, who was recruited in the same cohort as himself who had returned back to his country in less than six months after he started working in the school system. News circulated among candidates as they met, sometimes accidentally, in college classes and tried to keep in contact with each other. He pointed out that earlier in the program, classes for GEO teachers in his cohort were scheduled in a way that most of them took the same classes, but gradually they diverged in different directions and started meeting less frequently. Whenever they met their experiences in the city's classrooms were the talking points of many classes because of the wealth of experiences they shared with their much younger American classmates, some of whom had no classroom experience and were curious to know more about the career they were about to get into. He also recollected that few enthusiastic GEO participants in his cohort kept trying to keep the teachers in contact with each other for the perceived purpose of supporting one another but without commitment from the majority, their effort did not result in much and the school district was also not interested in dealing with them as a group but rather as separate individuals. That dynamic, which became most apparent after each candidate was told to get an attorney of his/her own to assist him/her in filing for a change of immigration status to permanent residency.

Both Joseph and Makela mentioned that the failure of the GEO teachers to maintain contact with each other and work as a team weakened their potential to advocate for the things that mattered to members of the group. Before their apparent

separation, the teachers used to go down to CPS's central office in group to pose questions or advocate on matters relating to work and immigration. There were officers in CPS's Office of Language, Culture and Early Childhood Education dedicated to handling issues concerning the teachers, but as budgets became tight in the school district and administrative positions got axed, less and less attention was paid to the teachers' concerns. Makela and Joseph also expressed some form of dissatisfaction with the disengagement of the school district from supporting them, especially as regards the adjustment of their immigration status. After recruiting three cohorts of foreign teachers to Chicago, the program was "suspended" in 2002 after candidates of the fourth cohort had been selected following the recruitment process, but were never given a chance to take up appointment in the city. Makela thought from that point onwards, GEO was a thing of the past to the school district officers. As district leadership changed, succeeding leaders who knew little or nothing about the program could hardly be bothered by matters relating to GEO teachers, who were now been referred to as *Visiting Teachers*. Except for one administrator in the human resource department, Makela believed the phenomenon of recruiting foreign teachers was all but forgotten, especially in the current climate of budget shortfalls.

Lamrana Othabo was among those successful candidates who got turned down after spending a fortune (for an average African teacher) on attending interviews here in Chicago. He ended up teaching in a school district in Texas. His experience in Texas, a southern state, bears marked similarities to that of the teachers in Chicago, as revealed in his interview for this paper. He talked about the challenges of teaching

inner-city students who he said “appear completely unmotivated to learn”. Similar to what Joseph and Makela said about Chicago’s school children, they come to his classroom unprepared and unwilling to learn. As a math teacher, he is constantly in battles to keep them interested in the curriculum. The lack of discipline and mastery of rudimentary mathematics skills overwhelms him. Compared to the students he taught in two African countries before he came to the United States, he couldn’t understand how those students got to high school with such low proficiency in mastery of basic concepts and skills in mathematics. Coming from a country where students have to meet strict conditions to be promoted to the next class, he is still baffled by the social promotion that is practiced in most U.S. school districts. The very high expectations he had, for ideal school and classroom environments, when he left Africa for the U.S. have remained dreams that he is not sure he would ever realize. He has not lost hope but he thinks the road to realizing his ideal classroom remains a challenge not only at his school district but nation-wide because of the social and/or cultural dynamics of the U.S. society, about which he agreed he still has a lot to learn. Although he pointed out that comparing his experience as a teacher in African countries to that in United States does not seem practical because the settings are completely different, but like all human experiences the antenna is always up for cross references as one navigates through life. Like Makela, who expressed shock at not having access to science laboratories while teaching science in one of Chicago’s school, Lamrana, in comparison to the schools he taught in Africa, was disappointed that his high expectations of well equipped American classroom was not realized.

All the teachers interviewed for this paper agreed that their relationship with students, fellow teachers, parents, administrators, district officers, and society/community members as a whole is getting better the more they understand the culture of the people, but like all learning processes it is a slow process and can be painfully demanding sometimes. Learning to function effectively in their new environment have been a challenge more so because as teachers, Makela thinks they are expected in some ways to be transmitters of the culture even as they were being acclimatized in it. Students expect from their teachers nothing short of a neat American accent annotated with proper slangs derived from currency in youthful pop culture; administrators expect teachers to make regular telephone calls and/or home visits to address the issue of poor attendance in schools, even though parents and foreign teachers struggle to comprehend each other's accent. That notwithstanding teachers are expected to make home visits in dangerous neighborhoods to discuss student s' performance and other school related issues with parents or guardians. Such situations, Joseph confirmed, are challenging to all teachers but more so to foreign teachers who are new to the environment and from whom much is expected but to whom very little is given in the form of enduring support. The next section discusses in more detail some of the challenges that the GEO teachers faced as they find their feet in American schools and communities.

#### **4.4 GEO teachers and family: Adjusting to classroom and community**

GEO teachers by and large made a voluntary and conscious decision to migrate from their countries of origin or recruitment to the United States of America. There is a level of preparedness to face most of the challenges that come with

migration. But there were also expectations that helped in shaping the decision to migrate. How they react to their experiences could partly be related to how close the realities of those experiences are to the expectations. None of the teachers interviewed hinted at any dissatisfaction with the salary structure in the U.S. Although it may not have been as generous as anticipated, especially in terms of what they are able to accomplish with it here in the U.S., it is still very much higher than any of them could earn in Africa. In the interviews, they highlighted poor/deteriorating working conditions for teachers in those countries by the time they decided to participate in the GEO program. Comparatively, the United States offers so much better conditions that none of the teachers mentioned any concern over the salaries they earn here in the U.S. In discussing the conditions of work, Makela mentioned that of his fourteen years of teaching experience before coming to the United States, only two years of outside teaching experience were recognized by CPS and factored into determining his starting salary. Even that did not seem like a major point of dissatisfaction for the teachers. On the other hand, every one of the teachers interviewed hinted disappointment in the school and/or classroom environment. Not only in regards to students lack of discipline and lack of intrinsic motivation but also in the suitability of the physical environment for the learning outcomes anticipated. Coming from a well funded and highly equipped private school in Dar es Salaam, Makela was shocked to find poorly equipped public schools in Chicago. While in Africa, he said he could never have imagined teaching science courses in the United States with students and teachers having no access to laboratory facilities. Such experiences, in direct contravention of the teacher's high expectations, had the most

negative impact on the teachers professionally. They pointed out concerns about their effectiveness in the classroom and how that affected students' learning, which could be interpreted as expressing disappointment when things did not turn out the way they expected them to be. As some of the teachers had families of their own subjected to similar conditions, concerns about how the deficient environment affects the teaching and learning process were intimate and close to home. But as Makela puts it, "it was more a question of concern for the welfare of the broader communities than for just an individual student or family member. With Chicago's residency rule for employees of Chicago's Board of Education, Makela, like other Chicago Public school teachers, was required to live within the precincts of the city of Chicago. His children had to go to the same schools as the ones he taught in. The condition in the schools was therefore more personal to him than some of the district officers who enforced the residency rule but live in the suburbs with their families. He indicated as unfair the residency policy which exempts some employees who lived in suburbs before the rule was enacted in September 1, 1980. It also allows waivers to be granted to new employees who are designated as "special needs employees" that include new teachers of mathematics and science. It was to him then a question of fairness more than just the consequences it caused his family. Before coming to the United States, Makela and his family were refugees from a war-torn country who fled from violence. One of his reasons for jumping at the opportunity to come to the U.S. was to bring his family to a safe and more secure environment. For them, being trapped in the inner-city violence of Chicago was a constant reminder of the very violence they fled. His nearly teenage children were most vulnerable to the gang wars in the city



that in the first few months of the 2008–2009 academic year claimed the lives of over thirty teens, most of whom attended Chicago Public Schools. Those incidents provoked a variety of community responses from individuals, religious and other community organizations including the upside down mounting of the American flag in front of a Church. As reported on CNN’s web site, “In May, the Rev. Michael Pflieger of St. Sabina Church hung the American flag outside his church upside down as the teen death toll for the 2008-09 school year climbed into the 30s. He spoke to CNN at the time, after 15-year-old Alex Arellano became the 34th fatality (CNN, 2009). It was a cause for concern for all parents with teenage children in Chicago, but even more so for people new to the environment, like Makela and his family. Although they lived in a relatively less violent part of the city, even there was not up to the level of security he expected when he chose to migrate to the U.S. from his first country of refuge. He recounted that in few instances he had to make police reports and needed to accompany his teenage daughter to the local library because she was having trouble with other girls in the neighborhood. The next section looks at the experience of the GEO teachers and their families around the issue of adjusting their immigration status from current visa holders with work authorization permits to permanent residency status.

#### **4.5 GEO teachers and family: Adjusting immigration status**

The non-teaching experiences are just as powerful in their effects on the teachers as the teaching experience. Take for example the immigration and the legalization issues of the teachers’ stay in the U.S. In the interviews this was

mentioned as one of the most challenging aspect to the teachers' in their quest to be integrated in the U.S. As holders of H-1B visas the teachers have legal authorization to work only for the sponsor of their visas. In this case the Chicago Board of Education as the sponsor of their H-1B visas was the only one the GEO teachers are legally allowed to work for unless they elect to seek new sponsors. That requirement created a kind of unease that infringe upon the personal choices of the teachers vis-à-vis their ability to freely make employment choices open to other teachers not bound by similar restrictions. They cannot, for example, easily change their employer even if they wish to do so. Makela explained that to be in such condition indefinitely is deeply troubling and infringes on international labor rights, which grant workers the right to equal opportunities and equal treatment in matters of employment and occupation without discrimination on the ground of sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin. For over seven years Makela's wife was not allowed to work as a holder of an H-4 visa tied to Makela's H-1B. She enrolled to study in a community college but did not have access to student loans or grants by virtue of her immigration status. They have to painfully pay for each course and handle all the bills out of Makela's single salary. For those seven years Makela's wife could not even get a driver's license in the State of Illinois, since to do so require a social security number which she was not given until the last quarter of 2008. Such restrictions imposed economic and psychological hardship on Makela and his family which he thought may have inadvertently affected his effectiveness as a classroom teacher as he transitioned from one school to another in 2003.

Makela's daughter is almost ready to graduate from high school and he pointed out that he does not even like talking about what it could mean to them if she is not able to go to college because they cannot afford the fees, and unless their immigration situation changes very significantly, like her mother it will mean having to pay for each course out of pocket or on her dad's credit cards both of which are impossible. His family had applied for a change of residency status from non-immigrants visa status to permanent residency status in September of 2007 but had to wait for almost two years now and no significant action has been taken on their application. What Makela found difficult to understand is why it takes so long to process their papers when they see that friends and relatives coming to the country with different visas have their papers processed within weeks. He spoke about a friend who came to the U.S. as a spouse of a former refugee from Uganda who had acquired U.S. citizenship, and within six months of his arrival in the U.S. he had permanent residency and is now well on track to become a citizen. A cousin of his who won the Diversity Visa lottery and came in with his family had their permanent residency status awarded in less than six weeks. For the past more than one year he has been continuously told that because of the long line of people who applied for the change of status the USCIS center to which their cases were referred was still processing cases of applicants whose applications were received in November 2006. That message has been on the department's web site for over a year even as other people they know who came in much later and have had their papers processed in weeks. The question he said his family continued to ask themselves is what is inherently so complicated about processing H-1B cases that they should take so long?

Whose best interest does it serve to keep these workers who are offering services to the country from being made an integral part of society? Makela, pointed out that although over and over again most of the GEO teachers in his cohort have met the conditions that were set in 2001 for participation in the program, the cloud of uncertainty still hangs over them, since as pointed out in the ‘must sign document’ “Failure to meet the above conditions will result in loss of CPS sponsorship of your H-1B visa. Loss of CPS sponsorship may result to your return to your last place of residence abroad” (Conditions of Participation).

When Makela and other GEO teachers were given substitute teachers’ certificates at the start of their employment and subsequently when they completed the certification requirements and were awarded the initial teacher’s certificates in February of 2003 it was written on the certificate that “To maintain the validity of this certificate, the holder must become a United States citizen by 2/21/2007.” An Illinois House of Representatives bill HB 3587 signed into law by the then governor Rod Blagojevich eliminated the citizenship requirement for receiving a teacher’s certificate effective January 1, 2004. As amended it requires teachers to provide information that they are pursuing citizenship. Makela, like other GEO teachers, complied with that requirement but as of the time of his interview in March 2009 he was still not a citizen. He has paid hefty sums to the government and his immigration attorney, and has done everything he has been asked to do but yet there seems to be an insurmountable obstacle to reaching his family’s goal of becoming U.S. citizens. At the same time, he said, he was amazed by the arguments he frequently hears on the media from anti-immigrant activist in regards to the nearly twelve million illegal

immigrants currently said to reside in the United States. The argument goes like this, “if only they had joined the line and waited for their turn, it should have been okay. We have no problem with welcoming immigrants if only they come the right way.” That does not seem to agree with the experience of Makela and other GEO teachers who have been waiting on the line for close to eight years while they serve in some of the most challenging schools in urban America.

In hindsight Lamrana considered himself to have been fortunate not to have been stuck with the GEO program and caught up in the immigration debacle in which the GEO teachers now find themselves. Independently working on his papers, with the support of his school district, he now has permanent residency even though he came to the United States nearly four years after the first cohort of GEO teachers were recruited. Joseph recently had to renew his H-1B visa again for another three years even though he completed the application for permanent residency in 2007. And most likely, Makela and his family may have to go through a similar process in the very near future unless something dramatic happens before their visas expire soon. In the meantime, he said, “we just have to wait and hope for the best but there is nothing we can do.” Makela and the other GEO teachers represent the millions of people who currently live and work outside of their countries of origin as a consequence of increased population movements fueled by current trends in globalization. Their illustrated predicaments with immigration processes symbolize the impact of the imbalance of power relations on the lives of people around the world resulting from the current ways in which the processes of globalization are carried out. But as Sanderson (2003) pointed out “we stand on the cusp of an era in

which the processes of globalization look to dramatically influence the transition of human society into the third millennium” (p. 2). He further stated that “Globalisation ‘is a reality’ (Callinicos 2001, p.19) and is the catalyst for many of the changes currently being experienced by people, social institutions and nations around the world” (p. 4). This study assumes that globalization forms the context of the experiences of the GEO teachers. The next section reports the perspectives of the teachers on the role of globalization on education vis-à-vis their experience as participants in an international teacher recruitment program.

#### **4.6 Teachers’ perspectives on the role of globalization**

The teachers interviewed for this study had different understandings of what globalization was really about and how they felt it was impacting education. But their views about the role of globalization on education were somewhat similar, in that all of them thought globalization was either already having a positive effect on education, or that it would have a positive effect in the future. They agreed on the important ways in which the interconnectedness brought about by globalization contributed to enhancing international teacher recruitment such as their recruitment to the United States through the GEO program. Joseph defined globalization as “the application of what works for everybody, everywhere.” He pointed out that there was “no universal education system in the world but knowledge is universal and is something we can all use.” To him it is positive that people are able to share knowledge around the world in ways currently enhanced by globalization. Joseph also considered as positive the easy recruitment of teachers across national boundaries as something that will have a positive impact on education. As a student in his home

country, he was taught by United States Peace Corp volunteers, and he believed his coming to teach in the U.S. was a way of giving back to America some of what he gained from her generous citizens who chose to go to Africa to teach him. He is confident that some of his current students will in one way or the other one day benefit his home country and his people in Cameroon. His faith in the interconnectedness of peoples and communities around the world gave him a positive outlook in regards to the role of globalization and its impact on education. As to why he thought developed countries such as the United States would look to developing countries for the recruitment of teachers, he thought it had to do with the fact that students in other countries are out-performing U.S. students in the core curricula subjects of science, mathematics and engineering. Hence the decision to bring in foreign teachers could be a ploy to improve performance, according to Joseph.

Lamrana's views on globalization were more futuristic than those of the other GEO teachers interviewed. Although he acknowledged that there may have been some negative impact on his country from losing teachers to developed countries, he down played such impact as very minimal, if any, based on the fact that his very populous home country of Nigeria produces many thousands of graduates each year that go into teaching. Losing a few teachers here and there, according to Lamrana would have no impact on Nigeria's education. From my discussion with him, one could tell that he nurtures a view of the universality of knowledge and the hope that globalization has the potential of "globalizing education." By globalizing education, he was referring to the increased possibility of making education more easily accessible to peoples all over the world as a consequence of the growing

interconnectedness brought about by current trends in globalization. He mentioned the media networks, internet network (including online schools and resources) and other improved global communication networks, if made accessible to all, as having the potential to turn knowledge and education into a universal asset and process respectively. He thought developing countries have people who are equally intelligent and could make meaningful contribution to the world as a whole if only the right environment was created. According to Lamrana the GEO program was clear proof that if only the world was to invest in educating all its peoples, then there would be a pool of “brains” from which different /communities/countries can tap from as and when needed.

Makela was the most suspicious of the intentions of the processes of globalization, and was not as positive or futuristic about its impact on developing countries and people around the world. He accepted that his recruitment would have been almost impossible had communication networks not been expanded by the current surge which he attributed to globalization. His definition of globalization made reference to the “expanding power of economics and technology” which he believed had some positive impact on humanity as a whole, but also noted some negative effects on the environment and the developing nations. He was suspicious of some of the processes of globalization especially as they relate to international trade and finances. To the extent that some of the programs are designed to help people in developing countries, he was suspicious of the intentions of the designers, who, by and large are usually more influenced by governments and institutions in developed countries. In his opinion “developed countries, with few exceptions, have always



acted in their own best interest before anything else.” He believes that GEO and similar programs represent a continuation of the exploitation of the resources of developing countries by developed ones. The way the recruitment and integration of the teachers was done pays very little attention, if any, to how such programs could benefit or negatively affect the participants or the countries they came from. Labor shortages in those countries resulting from the ‘brain drain’ engineered by international recruitment programs such as GEO never make headlines. When asked about how he thought GEO teachers and their countries of origin could benefit from the program, he mentioned the skills and expertise that the teachers could take back to their countries if they ever returned to those countries again. Of that, he was very doubtful because the restrictions imposed on the teachers by immigration make it impossible to freely travel and share or transmit the skills they have learned. Makela thought that exchange programs that allow teachers less restrictive international experiences would be more beneficial to both the host and sending countries. He cited the American Peace Corps and the British Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO) programs as good examples of programs that really benefited his native country of Uganda. He thought the benefits would have even been increased if the flow of teachers was in both directions instead of teachers just coming from developed countries to developing countries. In Makela’s opinion, “teaching should become a world profession because every community/country stands to gain from some form of interaction with others around the globe.” The increasing global nature of the labor force is why he thought programs such as GEO were successful in the first place. Although he distrusted the motives behind such programs, and thought himself and

other teachers as not being treated fairly, he believes that if the process was done in fairness to all concerned the potential to benefit both the sending and receiving communities would be enormous.

In Chapter 4 I highlighted the bulk of the data collected from interviewing three GEO teachers from African countries. Among other things the chapter explained the recruitment process that brought the teachers to the U.S., it reported on the experiences of the teachers as they integrate into American schools and communities, as well as highlighted the challenges that came with those experiences. Also reported are the teachers' perspectives on the role of globalization on education seen through the eyes of migrant workers who came from developing countries to work in a developed country, U.S.A. In chapter 5 I will analyze some of the themes that seem to run through the highlighted data from chapter 4 and draw from related literature as background to reflect on the study's research questions in chapter 6, and to discuss the broader implications of the teachers' experiences within the context of globalization. I will also draw from the teachers' perspectives and existing literature to discuss the potential role of globalization on education and in the promotion of positive human relationship across the world, as well as the implications of this study for research and practice.

## **Chapter 5: Discussion**

### **5.1 Experience versus expectations of the GEO teachers**

The participants were clear that their initial expectations were not met in their real experiences in the U.S. Coming from African countries to teach in the world's most advanced country, the U.S.A., the teachers expected good salaries, secure jobs, a smooth integration into the American society, conducive school and classroom environments, motivated and enthusiastic students, and supportive management structures. Their experiences, however, fell far short of their expectations in regards to, among others, the conditions in the schools and in the processes leading to their integration into the American society.

A prominent example of the mis-match between teachers' expectations and experience is on the issue of immigration. The GEO teachers hoped that their employment by a public school district should lead to a smoother path to citizenship, especially counting on the support of the third largest school district located in a state which initially made becoming a U.S. citizen, a pre-requisite to earning a standard teaching certificate. At the orientation of GEO cohort 2, one of the teachers recalled that they were informed by a program administrator that they would attain U.S. citizenship within a period of six years from the time of their employment. The teachers interviewed indicated that it is demoralizing to have to endure the job insecurities and the social and financial hardships brought on their families by the unpredictable circumstances surrounding the immigration process. Their spouses and children are denied access to certain educational privileges due to the unrealistic delay in processing their immigration papers. For seven years, Makela's wife could

not obtain a driver's license since she was denied a social security number on the grounds that her visa (H-4) does not allow her to work in the U.S. She had to be driven around, limiting the type and number of classes she could enrolled in at the local community college. She also could not get government subsidized student loans or grants, which required beneficiaries to at least be permanent residents in the U.S. Not being able to work, drive or secure financial aid severely hampered her quest for further education, one of the strongest motivations that bring people from developing countries to the United States of America.

Another area of the mis-match between the teachers' expectations and experience has to do with job security or the lack of it. The teachers anticipated better work conditions in the U.S., and with stronger labor unions, they expected that they will be holding more secure jobs compared to what they left behind. But to their greatest disappointment the GEO teachers found their jobs as FTB substitutes, and later as PATs to be very temporary, their jobs were less secure than other teacher categories in the system. As PATs their principals could chose to not renew their employment contracts at the end of each academic year without having to give any reason or explanation for the decision. Although some of the GEO teachers were members of the teachers' union and pay comparable dues as tenured teachers, the union could not mount any defense on their behalves when they lost their positions in that manner, because there was a provision in the collectively bargained agreement between the Chicago Teachers' Union and the Board of Education of 2003 that allow for such terminations of PATs.

Conditions in Chicago's schools and classrooms were less conducive as learning environments than the teachers initially expected them to be. The shortage of properly working equipment, the poor management of resources, as well as the lack of discipline in the schools was at first very shocking to the teachers. As head of the science department of an international school in Dar es Salaam, Makela said his department had a budget of about five thousand pounds Sterling (the British currency), about eight thousand U.S. dollars, annually to order equipment and other materials from Europe for use in the laboratories. For him to have to teach science courses in a high school in Chicago in which both students and teachers had no access to a laboratory for the whole year was "at best flabbergasting", he explained. In other cases the poor management of resources in some schools meant materials and equipment were more or less accessible to some students and teachers than others.

On the issue of the pay structure, the teacher's experiences very much matched their expectations. Compared to what they used to earn as teachers in their countries of origin or recruitment in Africa, the salaries they now earn in the United States is much better, even when accompanied by a more rigorous tax structure and higher cost of living, it accorded them a far better standard of living, they acknowledged. The collective bargaining agreement between the Teachers' Union and the Board of Education ensured that every teacher was treated fairly in terms of salary even when they are not members of the union. The only anomaly the teachers mentioned is in terms of accepting their outside teaching experience. Chicago public schools awarded salary scale advancement for only two years of outside teaching experience. No matter how long the teacher has been teaching before joining the

district, his/her pay scale will be advanced by only two steps from the beginning scale of a local graduate fresh from college joining the system for the first time.

One of the research questions for this study relates to how the movement of the GEO teachers from African countries to the U.S.A. may have impacted their social, economic and professional lives. As highlighted in the literature review, the studies by von Kirchenheim and Richardson (2005 & 2006) confirmed Loius' (1980) theory that negative surprises detract from positive socialization. Based on my findings from interviewing the GEO teachers, I can reasonably conclude that the teachers interviewed are not having smooth adjustment to their new environment because their expectations have not so far been matched by their experiences. While the movement of the GEO teachers from African countries to the U.S. is negatively impacting their social and professional lives, in regards to the impact on the teachers' economic life, the result from my interviews indicates that the teachers are somewhat satisfied with their current salaries relative to what they earned in their previous teaching appointments in Africa. But it would also be a stretch to conclude that all is well with them in the United States. Firstly, the ratio of the teachers' salaries to the cost of living in the U.S. will compare quite favorable to the same ratio in their countries of origin or recruitment, although agreeably they acknowledge to having a much better standard of living here in the U.S. What the teachers reported as frustrating is the fact that their spouses and children were prevented from working for several years after they joined them here in the U.S. That situation forced some families to have to survive on one income. And the delay in changing their immigration status is also

negatively impacting them and their family members because it somehow limits their access to higher education which in effect could have a long-term negative economic impact on them. In very broad terms, therefore, one can reasonably conclude that the movement of the GEO teachers from Africa to the U.S. is having a negative overall economic impact on them and their families. It is not so clear how that may be affecting their social and professional lives, I assume that they would be better off without the constraints posed by all the reported challenges.

Another not so recognized pressure is the one that the teachers get from family members and friends who they left behind. Some of the GEO teachers coming from Africa are part of extended family structures. They left behind a multitude of people who expect a lot of support from them, especially knowing that they live and work in the U.S. Such demands are also derived from the very high expectations that people who live outside of this country have about how well people who work here do economically. As one teacher puts it, “it is not a good feeling not to be able to help people who may have contributed to educating you”, so some GEO teachers wish they could do more for the family members and friends they left behind.

In the next section I will discuss the dynamics of the power relations that may have affected the GEO teachers’ experience in terms of how poor developing nations and their peoples relate to the richer developed nations and their peoples and institutions.

## **5.2 Power relations**

The GEO program, which recruited over one hundred teachers from all over the world to teach in Chicago, exemplifies a growing trend of international teacher

recruitment from English-speaking developing nations to developed nations such as the U.S. and U.K. One of the questions I asked the interviewed GEO teachers from African countries was how they felt their migration might have impacted their sending and receiving communities? All of the teachers agreed that if it was done on a large scale the immediate impact on the sending communities, their countries of origin or recruitment, would have been negative because it would have aggravated an already acute shortage of teachers, especially in the core curriculum areas of mathematics, science, special education and foreign languages, in those communities. In spite of the short-term negative impact, the teachers also believed that having the opportunity to gain the experience of teaching in a developed country will benefit the communities they left in the long term, if done properly. If they return back to their countries with the skills learned, they could positively contribute to improving teaching and learning in those countries. That kind of thinking is in line with what Saxenian (2000) described as “Brain circulation” (as cited in Vinokur, 2006, p. 16), an element of “back drain/brain gain” introduced in relation to high skilled workers eventually returning to their country of origin. In fact, as quoted in the literature review, Vinokur stated that “the return of high skilled expatriates is an equalizing transfer to South of technological and organizational know how” (Vinokur, 2006, p. 16).

One factor that will greatly determine the possibility of whether or not the “brain circulation” theory would ever become a reality for the communities that the GEO teachers left, may have to do with elements of power relations between the teachers and components of the communities they have come to bridge by their



migration. In the interviews, the teachers frequently mentioned phrases such as “building relationships”, “meaningful relationship”, “reciprocal relations” and spoke about interconnectedness between nations and people as one possible outcome from programs such as GEO, in this era of increased global interactions. In order to decipher the network of relationships which may result or not to the anticipated benefit to the sending and/or receiving communities, I would like to examine the relationships in the dynamics of the GEO program and in the experiences of the teachers through the lenses of Richard Cullen Rath’s (1997) and Michel Foucault’s discourses about power relations in regards to individuals and institutions in post-modern societies.

Talking about relationships, one is compelled to explore a wide variety ranging from the relationships between the sending nations of the South (developing) and the receiving nations of the North (developed), to the relationships in the classroom between the GEO teachers and their students. In between those two extremes are the relationships between the teachers and the school district, other institutions, administrators, other teachers, and the communities they left and/or currently serve in. It will be too much or even irrelevant to attempt to analyze all those relationships in order to understand the plight of the teachers and the impact of their migration to the sending and receiving communities. I will therefore limit my analysis on the power relations that exist in the relationships between the sending and receiving nations, between the teachers and the school district, and between the teachers and their students and/or administrators. In the following section I will

discuss the power relation between the developing nations of the South from where the teachers came and those of the North such as the U.S., their destination.

### **5.2.1 Power Relations: North and South**

As mentioned earlier, the teachers in their interview responses, expressed hope in the possibility of long-term positive impact of their migration to the communities they left behind. Whether this is a realistic expectation remains to be seen. But if history is anything to go by, the power relation between the rich nations of the North with their poorer counterparts in the South best fits Rath's (1997) definition of power relations as "(what) enables (who) to do (what) to (whom)" (p. 2). In analyzing this definition Rath (1997) gave the example: "(Wealth) enables (the west) to (exploit) (the rest) & (labor) enables (the rest) to (sell to) (the west)" (p. 2). I found this example to be interesting relative to how I see the relationship between the U.S. and the African countries from where some of the GEO teachers came. But is the rest actually selling to the west in the case of the GEO teachers migrating to the U.S? That is hardly the case in the dynamics of the GEO program, because little or no financial benefit could be traced back to the African countries that invested so much in educating the teachers that are now serving schools in the U.S. Their loss amounts to brain drain which is not reciprocated either by the remittances the teachers send back home, or by the anticipated "brain gain" upon their return to those countries. Generally speaking, teachers in the U.S. are barely able to live comfortably with the salaries they earn, making it difficult for GEO teachers to send significant amounts of money back home. Immigration restrictions make traveling back and forth a difficult

undertaking for the teachers, limiting their chances to share acquired skills and experiences with colleagues left behind.

The power relation between the peoples and nations of the North and South, evident in the way the teachers from the South are treated in the North, illustrates the power imbalance in favor of the developed country, in this case the U.S., giving them the advantage to treat this poached labor (the GEO teachers) whichever way that suits their purpose with no consideration of any impact to the people or their countries of origin or recruitment. For example, by delaying or withholding the granting of citizenship rights to the teachers, the receiving nation is also effectively delaying or withholding their participation in the democratic process which in some ways impede on the teachers' human rights. One of the interviewed teachers asked, "What guaranty there is that at some point in the future, maybe very close to our retirement age, we will not, for some flimsy reason/s, be shipped back to our countries to die?" This was said jokingly, but nevertheless it may be a real concern on the part of some teachers, that after spending the prime years of their lives serving in a nation that so far has proved unwilling to fully embrace them as citizens, the burden of caring for their old age may be shifted to the poorer nations of the South they had earlier abandoned. In the next section I will examine how power is manifested in the relationship between the individual GEO teachers and their recruiter and employer, the Chicago Public Schools District.

### **5.2.2 Power Relations: Teachers and the school district**

The power relation between the individual GEO teachers and the school district, represented by its operatives and processes, presents another opportunity that

could help in making the classification of whether the GEO program and its processes as they impact communities and people represent what some may portray as the true spirit of globalization aimed at harmonizing the peoples and nations of the world for the betterment of all, or what others would dismiss as just another form of what Singh (2002) has described as “neo-liberal globalism” (as cited in Sanderson, 2003, p. 5) by which more powerful nations, institutions, and people lord it over less powerful others. Rath’s (1997) definitions of power relations as: “what enable who to do what to whom” (p. 2) and as “ever-shifting threats and promises” (p. 3) would be more apt in describing the way the school district relates with the GEO teachers. At the time of accepting the offer to participate in the GEO program the teachers were made to sign a document, the conditions of participation, which was specifically stated as not being a contractual offer of employment, but which contains labor requirements that remained binding to the teachers for as long as they continue to work for the school district. Not meeting any of the stipulated conditions could result to possible dire consequences to the participants. One such condition relates to their legal status in the U.S.: if the teachers were to stop working for the school district they would no longer have legal status to remain in the U.S., unless they are able to secure sponsorship of a new H-1B by another employer. But without the guarantee that beginning a new relationship would be approved by the immigration authority or that it would be any different from their current relationship with CPS, teachers are very hesitant to pursue that alternative. Among the conditions for participating in the program, the teachers were required to

Accept school assignment and/or re-assignment as needed by the Chicago Public Schools. Attend all staff development sessions held by the university

and/or the Chicago Public Schools during the school year. Receive on a yearly basis a satisfactory performance evaluation from school principal, university personnel and the Chicago Public Schools' Office of Language, Culture and Early Childhood Education. (GEO, Conditions of Participation.)

In concluding, the document stated that “Failure to meet the above conditions will result in loss of CPS sponsorship of your H-1B visa. Loss of CPS sponsorship may result to your return to your last place of residence abroad. *This document shall not be considered all inclusive and shall not be considered as an employment contract*” (GEO, Conditions of Participation, emphasis in the original). Even though there was an earlier promise that the school district would support the teachers’ effort to secure permanent residence status, a process that was speculated to take about six years to realize, the teachers have remained in what has now become “GEO/Visiting Teachers Program” for nearly ten years without success in changing their more vulnerable non-immigrant status.

In a 2003 report to the National Education Association on trends in foreign teacher recruitment, Barber (2003) pointed out that

A quite troubling dynamic in both the H-1B and J-1 programs is the inherent temporary and legally precarious status of nonimmigrant teachers. Because their sponsor constructively controls their visa, they are effectively “at will” employees. And since either type of sponsor can directly or indirectly cause a teacher’s visa to be revoked, there is at least the potential for a degree of intimidation from which permanent employees are shielded. This is obviously a question of fairness and an unacceptable balance of power in the employment relationship. Without the protection and due process rights enjoyed by “regular” teachers, H-1B and J-1 foreign teachers can be subject to a range of abuses and pressures. Moreover, the security of all teachers working in such an environment could be compromised as well. (p. 2.)

Indeed the GEO teachers interviewed do feel the pressure and intimidation as aptly stated by Barber (2003). They do not understand why for almost ten years they have been kept in limbo with regards to changing their immigration status. One of the

teachers, who was originally recruited by Chicago Public Schools who ended up taking an appointment with a school district in Texas got permanent residency only two years after working for that school district. The GEO teachers are constantly reminded of the temporary status of their employment and immigration by the requirement to regularly update their residential information both with the U.S. Department of Homeland Security and with the Human Resource Department of the Chicago Public School District. Although the school district offers minimal support in the effort of the teachers to change their immigration status, they require them to provide copies of immigration documents as soon as they receive them. The teachers thus feel a sense of surveillance and hence are somewhat feeling intimidated just as posited in Barber's report. In "Modules on Foucault: On Panoptic and Carceral Society", Felluga (2002) cited Foucault as stating that "To maintain order in a democratic and capitalist society, the populace needs to believe that any person could be surveilled at any time" (p. 1). In the same paper, Felluga also mentioned that Foucault stated that

He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power, he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection. (as cited in Felluga, 2002, p. 2.)

In the case of the GEO teachers, a change of address is more than a routine thing that other people do casually. Firstly, the Chicago Board of Education's residency policy restricts the precincts or physical space within which they can reside (i.e. within city limits), and following each such change of address they have to report themselves in ways comparable to convicted sex offenders or child predators who

similarly need to report themselves to law enforcement agencies each time they change address, and are restricted in where they can or cannot live. Psychologically, it is not a pleasant condition to have to endure over a long period of time, and as a consequence some of the teachers may voluntarily just choose to stay put and endure the inconveniences of living in the same address to simply avoid the other inconveniences and/or indignities of being treated like common criminals. As Foucault stated in the above quote, the GEO teachers can thus become “the principle of their own subjection”, constantly feeling the eyes of *big brother* watching over their every move.

Makela recounted how a change of address apparently led to a notice increasing the processing time of his family’s change-of-status application with immigration authorities. Following the supply of additional documents, requested by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (USDHS), two years after their applications were tendered, they were each told to expect a response within a period of sixty days from the date the documents were received. It happened that they made a change of address notification within that period of time. Days after they sent in their notices, they received letters from USDHS each stating:

Recently, you or your attorney called to update your address. We have updated your address in our systems and on your application or petition. Based on your request we researched the status of this case. We are actively processing the case. However, we have to perform additional review on this case and this has caused a longer processing time. If you do not receive a decision or other notice of action from us within 4 months of this letter, please call customer service at the number provided below. (Collected data.)

About four months later, when the family called to check the status of their application, a customer service representative acknowledged that their application

was well outside of the normal processing time and that she was going to forward an inquiry about the status of their case to the processing office of the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) that was handling their cases. They were again told to expect a response within 45 days, but a few days after that conversation, they received an email message from the processing office stating that:

On [date] you, or the designated representative shown below, contacted us about your case. Based on your request we researched the status of this case. We are actively processing this case. However, we have to perform additional review on this case and this has caused a longer processing time. If you do not receive a decision or other notice of action from us within 6 months of this letter, please contact customer service at the number provided below.  
(Collected data.)

As they waited the six months to pass by, Makela jokingly asked “don’t you think I should call again and ask? Maybe after I call next time they will have the good sense to say ‘within 1 year of this letter’ to be more realistic”. The above examples point to the *big brother* tactics that lead people to self-police themselves. And the whole issue of manipulating immigration procedures is an example of how the more powerful entities - the nations and their institutions, including in this case USDHS and the school district - play on the vulnerability of the GEO teachers, and the inability of their countries of origin or recruitment to offer better employment alternatives. In the following section I will discuss the power relations within the schools themselves which will reveal further vulnerabilities suffered by the teachers.

### **5.2.3 Power relations: Teachers, students and administrators**

The interviewed GEO teachers also reported as challenging the task of relating with school administrators and with their students. The power relations entailed in the relationship between the teachers, administrators and/or the students



can be described or seen at various levels using several of Rath's (1997) definitions of power relations. At some levels, for example, in the relationship between teachers, administrators and/or their students, it is "what enables who to do what to whom" (p. 2). At other levels, especially in the relationship between the teachers and administrators, power relations can be seen as "the matrix of possible actors and their possible interactions" or yet still as "the bounded portion of power that gives agents the ability to act on patients" (p. 3). As members of a teachers union, the power relations between teachers and school administrators can also be seen as "the bounded portion of power that gives entities the ability to interact in a particular way" (p. 3) or as "the domain of latent power that makes it possible for entities to interact in a way that temporarily manifests that power among them" (p. 3). Accordingly, because of the many players and circumstances involved, one or several of these definitions can apply at any one time.

Coming from more traditional and less democratic societies, the GEO teachers are shocked by the level of contestation and challenge they confront in American classrooms. Here, in the U.S., students like their parents, have many rights that pose a challenge to the foreign teachers coming from countries where education is still a privilege for most students rather than a right to all. At his first posting as a teacher in a village school, soon after graduating from secondary school, Makela reflected on the authority teachers generally had on children's education which was only comparable to the authority of the village chief. The largely illiterate parents highly respected the teachers and relied on their counsel in making decisions regarding the choice of curriculum content, the promotion of the students to new classes, and the

choice of which secondary schools to select for further education, amongst others. Another GEO teacher, Lamrana, talked about the cooperation he received from parents when it came to disciplinary issues with his students both in Nigeria and in the Gambia. Parents did not see teachers as adversaries in making sure that their students adhere to disciplinary policies that promote positive school and classroom environments conducive to learning. In the interview, Joseph mentioned the enthusiasm his near-adult students brought to his classroom in the vocational school. Some of the students, having been dropped from regular secondary schools because of their parents' inability to pay school fees, were enthused to have the privilege of a second chance to realize a highly prized goal of an education, which in most communities represented the only chance for upward mobility from abject poverty, for more than sixty percent of the population. The students came in already knowing what they want to accomplish and are intrinsically motivated to pursue their goals in spite of the enormous challenges they are confronted with daily, including lack of transportation to and from school, being hungry with no lunch at school, and not having essential school supplies and equipment. In Chicago's schools, the GEO teachers had to adjust to different realities in their interactions and relationship with both parents and students. Makela no longer feels the respect and authority he felt as a teacher in directing the education of his students. Lamrana, like the other teachers interviewed, complained about the "lack of discipline and respect for teachers in American schools and classrooms" while Joseph, lamented about the lack of self-motivation in most American students and how much it negatively impacted the schools and classrooms as learning environments.

The GEO teachers also mentioned their disappointment over the limited access to supplies and equipment in Chicago's classrooms and schools. Coming from developing countries, they dreamt of American classroom as having everything they could possibly need in a classroom. The high shortage of things like copy paper and basic necessities prompt teachers to spend, on the average, about US 500.00 dollars each per annum of their own money on buying supplies for their classrooms, is something Makela would never have imagined before actually experiencing it. At the international school in Dar es Saalam, his department had close to five thousand pounds sterling (British currency, equivalent to almost \$8000 U.S.) to order supplies from Europe for the science department that he headed. The science laboratories, staffed by additional non-teaching personnel, a laboratory assistant/technician, were operated very efficiently and served students and science teachers' classroom needs more effectively. Makela also spoke about the very poor management of science equipment and supplies in some of the schools in which he has taught in Chicago. Teachers treat the equipment as if they were personal property. A teacher who finds himself or herself assigned to a classroom with some equipment is not provided with modalities to effectively share the equipment with other teachers that may need the same. Instead of the equipment been pooled into science laboratories to better serve the interest of promoting student learning, they become just another cupboard full of materials that are used very rarely, if ever, in classroom activities. Makela talked about a few times when he had to teach science courses with no access to laboratory facilities or equipment, even though he knew some of the equipment to be available to other teachers and students within the same building. "With just a little effort and

management strategies on the part of departments and school administration, more teachers and students could have access to supplies and equipment”, he concluded.

In the interview, Joseph talked a lot about how teachers are blamed for everything that is not going right in American schools and classrooms. People hardly emphasize the important role that communities, homes, parents, school administrators, students and school district administrations play in creating the classroom environment that is conducive to student learning. If students do not make the scores in high-stakes tests, very little thought is given to the poor structure of the tests, or even the very idea that testing remains the dominant parameter by which student learning is measured. Poor teaching remain the easy target for blaming poor performance more so than the dangers that confront students in their communities that limit teenagers’ access to recreation facilities, library/media centers or even regular attendance to schools, and the compulsory education which brings unwilling student participants into the learning environment.

At a recent Carnegie Learning Users’ conference on the theme; Teacher Efficacy and Best Practices, the keynote speaker at the Chicago event, Omo Moses, the executive director and founding member of the Young Peoples Project (YPP) spoke about his organization’s effort in organizing young people to radically change their education and the way they relate to it. He pointed out that unlike during the civil rights era in the 1960s, when Black Americans and their communities were enthusiastic about education, the young generation of African Americans does not bring to their classrooms the same enthusiasm. In order to narrow the achievement gap between African American students and their White and Asian counterparts, he

suggested that the attitudes of the Black students and that of their communities are some of many factors that need to be addressed. Accordingly, he stated that “the community, the students, the system [possibly meaning the school district and administration] and the teachers all have an impact on the classroom space. What they each bring into the space, be they tools, activities, and/or attitudes have an impact in what comes out as product of the interaction within the space” (as presented by Omo Moses, Teacher Efficacy and Best Practices conference, 2009). In the State of Illinois, as in many other states in the U.S., it is compulsory that children go to school up to age 16. Students who are not self-motivated enough can easily become a *captured audience* who would rather be somewhere else or be doing something else if it wasn’t for the law requiring mandatory attendance to school. Some of the GEO teachers interviewed believe that some of the factors that influence students’ interactions with the learning environment, which include their interactions with teachers, have to do with the fact that some of the learners are unwilling participants in the learning process. Reflecting on their experience with students they taught in African countries, for which the classroom is still largely a privileged space to be in, the GEO teachers noted that some of their American students seize on the right to the classroom space to contest social authority in ways that interfere with the teaching and learning processes. The power relations that exist between the students and the teachers could easily become a by-product of elements that neither of the two parties has control over.

In follow-up discussions with the teachers, some of them wondered about the following questions: how often are school and/or district administrators evaluated to

ensure that they have created the right school climate that maximizes teaching and learning potentials? Why do school populations not have significant say in appointing or maintaining school and district leadership? Why are members of the Chicago Board of Education not elected but instead appointed? How well are communities working together to ensure that their neighborhoods are safe enough for students to not have to skip school for fear of being targeted by gang violence? Although there are state laws in the books that mandate parents to ensure that their students maintain regular attendance to school, none of the GEO teachers had a recollection of any parent that has actually been prosecuted as a result of his/her student's poor attendance. They also were not sure whether or not such actions would lead to the desired outcome. Considering the socio-economic status of the parents and their communities, there could be many factors beyond the parents or guardians control they may well be responsible for students' poor attendance. Assuming those conditions are beyond anyone's control, schools in general, but teachers and the quality of their instruction in particular, becomes the obvious target of blame for poor student performance. College professors and the media, in support of the status quo, publicize and author papers and books that zero in on the role of the teacher and almost ignore the importance of the other factors that contribute to school environment and students' learning. As Makela puts it "with very little details given about the background and nature of the studies, beyond the flimsy statement that 'research have suggested that bla, bla, bla' teachers are overwhelmed with all sorts of suggestions that quite often contradict each other. The suggestions come especially from the same teacher education programs that emphasize 'do as I say not as I do

model'. He gave as an example a practice that require teachers to provide grade justification forms and remediation plans for students who showed up in their classrooms only once or twice in ten weeks. Home calls are mostly not successful because telephone lines/numbers are "either disconnected or not in service". The random violence in most communities makes home visits very risky, and hence rare.

In planning and implementing curriculum, the GEO teachers pointed out the inconsistencies and frequent changes that plague the school system. Programs are frequently introduced but are not given enough time to be effective. Teachers are constantly adapting to new things but are never given the chance to master their implementation to the level that ensures meaningful gains in students' learning. Curriculum discussions are not mindful of the social and cultural background of the students which in many ways affect their learning. According to research, such as that done by Jean Anyon (1980) on the relationship between curriculum, school knowledge and social-class, some of the challenges faced by schools are due to society ills that the system has fail to address. According to the researcher, "working-class schools contribute to the reproduction of a group in society who may be without marketable knowledge; a reserve group of workers whose very existence, whose availability for hire, for example, when employed workers strike, serve to keep wages down and the work force disciplined" (p. 32). Anyon's research also revealed some kind of *hidden curriculum of work* in schools which reflect the expectations for the social class of the majority population of the school, and to which most of the students may be headed to. Evidence of these expectations, she observed, was apparent in the different types of classroom behaviors and the school knowledge

promoted and/or rewarded for students in different social classes. Like other researchers before her, Bowles and Gintis (1976), Anyon (1980) argued that “students in different social-class backgrounds are rewarded for classroom behaviors that correspond to personality traits allegedly rewarded in different occupational strata—the working classes for docility and obedience, the managerial classes for initiative and personal assertiveness” (p. 67). The ability of teachers to physically control students in working-class schools is a high priority, according to the author. What the GEO teachers have reported as lack of student discipline could well be students’ attempts to resist perceived oppression. Like Anyon (1981) wrote, “some of the children were already engaged in struggle against what was to them an exploitative group - the school teachers and administrators. They were struggling against the imposition of a foreign curriculum” (p. 33). The unfortunate thing about that struggle is that it is destructive to the students themselves (p. 33) and the teachers get reprimanded for something that is beyond their control. .

Another challenge that the GEO teachers reported was that of coping with rapidly changing technology. Except for Joseph who was initially trained as a computer engineer, the other GEO teachers interviewed appreciated their exposure to more technology in the schools and classrooms, nevertheless they acknowledge as challenging the task of constantly having to improve their skills in technology to adjust to the rapidly growing use of technology in the classroom in ways that vastly supersede earlier exposure in Africa. Also mentioned is the influence of high technology use on their students’ attitude to learning and how it is impacting their teaching methodology. Makela spoke about the new vogue in professional



development sessions that he attended at which presenters continuously emphasized the point that today's children do not process information in the same way as older generations did. As a result of their exposure to high definition TVs, broadband internet and all the gadgets that come with it, it is claimed that their brains process things much faster than earlier generations did. Teachers therefore have to adjust their teaching styles away from "boring lectures" to more interactive technology-based instructional methods to capture and maintain the attention of their students. That is a challenge that the GEO teachers welcomed, because they see the potential of sharing such skills with their counterparts in Africa should they ever have the opportunity of doing so. The challenge that is not so desirable for the teachers is that of keeping tiny electronic gadgets from infiltrating their classrooms stealing away instructional time and causing confrontation between teachers and students, and between students themselves. They found displeasing the inconsistent and incoherent policies that the school district and school administrations have been putting forward in regards to students' use of cell phones in school buildings. Makela recalled that at some point in some schools cell phone, mp3 players were banned from school premises. Students' bags were searched as they enter school buildings and any of those gadgets found were confiscated to be picked up by parents at a later date. Part of the explanation was that having access to cell phones could help fuel drug sales and gang violence in and around schools. At his current school, however, the policy changed from no cell phones in the building to letting the students bring them, but that they should be left in their lockers. Should students be seen with them in the classroom, they should confiscate them or request for security to do so. The administration explained that the

change in policy was due to the fact that some students needed to be in constant touch with their parents in case of emergency. As Makela saw it, the effect of the change in policy was to shift the responsibility of controlling cell phones from being a primary administrative one to the teachers' primary responsibility. The administration, after side-stepping the problem, failed to respond adequately as proposed thereby compounding the challenges in the classroom making the problem worse. As teachers grappled with more of those and similar problems, they are accused of poor classroom management, the most vague but potent weapon that administrators use against teachers to dress up what is basically a poor district and school disciplinary policy.

Moses (2009) was definitely right in stating, at the Carnegie Users' conference, that "the tools of technology are not going away, so we have to use the tools appropriately, and on the flip side make sure that the students are grounded in something, and not necessarily cling to the tools as means to an end" adding that "teachers are up against all the new innovation that compete for students' attention. Everything moves very fast, students have a million things to capture their attention". In essence, he was advising teachers to warm-up to the idea of incorporating more technology into their classroom practices. On the other hand he also hinted that society as a whole needs to be more alert to the influence of new technology and be more discriminatory as to the content and extent of exposure accorded to young people, when he said, "There is a societal challenge to identify what is essential. All these material things that distract us help to keep obscure the attention of young people" (Moses, 2009). Access to technology is one of the key areas that need to be

leveled in order to close the achievement gap between the overwhelmingly White suburban students and the mostly Black and Latino students in urban districts like Chicago. The GEO teachers were therefore appreciative of the need to grow their technology skills but could not avoid seeing it as a double-edged sword if the district and school policy fail to provide the necessary guidance that will accentuate the positive more than the negative impact of the rise of technology on students' learning. The mere presence of technology without the necessary provisions that limits students' access to distracting media increases teachers' enforcement responsibilities and the potential for power struggles that strain the relationship between the students and teachers, as well as decrease students' benefits from the use of technologies.

In the next section I will discuss how capitalism and competition as integral components of the processes of globalization are impacting policies that affect trends in education.

### **5.3 Competition, capitalism and education**

But if globalization cannot resolve the long standing issue of 'who does what' and 'who gets what', it has contributed to both the intensification of positional conflict and to a transformation in the nature of the competition for a livelihood. (Brown & Lauder, 2006, p. 49.)

In this section of the thesis I will expand the discussion beyond the question of how global trends enhanced the recruitment of foreign teachers to Chicago/US, and attempt to explain the motivation behind the recruitment of foreign teachers from developing countries to developed countries such as the United States. Within the context of stronger capitalist systems in the world, following the end of the Cold War between the super powers, it is reasonable to assume that competition may be the driving force behind the new trends in globalization, namely: increase in income

inequalities between and within nations, increase in population movement, and the growth in new information and communication technologies, according to Power (2000). Some analysts view the developed countries, relative to the developing ones, as having “magnet economies” that attract highly-skilled and high-waged workers. According to Becker (2002), “the idea of the magnet economy is based on the view that we live in an ‘age of human capital’, where ‘the economic successes of individuals, and also of whole economies, depends on how extensively people invest in themselves” (as cited in Brown & Lauder, 2006, p. 35). Adding that “learning is earning” to emphasize the importance of education not only to individuals but also for nations to win in the emerging global competition for economic advantage over others. Within the framework of the above growing trends in globalization, I will also examine how the increased flow of human capital impacts changes in education systems. Notwithstanding the many benefits and difficulties that education derive from such trends in globalization, it is important also to highlight the role of education in the drive towards a harmonious global society dedicated not so much to expanding monetary profits for the corporate world, but rather to promoting human rights and harmony among and between diverse groups and cultures in increasingly multicultural communities.

In the following sub-sections I will discuss how global trends driven by capitalism and competition are impacting education. I will also highlight how policy makers are reacting to global trends in terms of their influence in promoting magnet economies, their subsequent impact on education, and how education could be instrumental in building harmonious global communities.

### 5.3.1 Globalization and global trends

In the twenty-first century, nations will become both more competitive and yet more interdependent, and their future ever more dependent on the knowledge, skills and resourcefulness of its people, creating new opportunities and difficulties for education. (Power, 2000, p. 153.)

The teachers interviewed for this study all indicated that one thing that made their participation in the GEO program, and their ultimate recruitment to Chicago possible was easy access to the internet and other information & communication technologies brought about by the current trends in globalization. This process of “shrinking space and time” according to Power (2000),

brings with it a mix of opportunities and threats for every nation, culture and educational system. On the one hand the removal of barriers and the new technologies create new possibilities for intercultural exchange and dialogue, but on the other hand we face the threat of a new global imperial regime in which one political, economic and communication culture is unilaterally favoured over all others. (p. 153.)

As highlighted in UNDP’s 1999 *Human Development report* “Globalization is not new, but the present era has distinctive features. Shrinking space, shrinking time and disappearing borders are linking people’s lives more deeply, more intensively and more immediately than ever before” (p. 1). Accompanying these developments, according to Power (2000), are the increases in inequalities between and within nations, increase in population movement and a rapid growth in information and communication technologies. Unfortunately these developments are also fermenting xenophobic reactions which negatively affect the people who dare to venture across national boundaries, as the GEO teachers and their families did in search of better living conditions. Although the teachers and their family members are legal migrants to the U.S., reports from the interviews indicate that their situation, as H-1B and H-4

visa holders, with the current tightening immigration regulations in the country, make their situation similar to that described by Power (2000) for illegal immigrants, refugees and displaced persons as facing “not only discrimination and exploitation, but also denial of human rights, including the right to education for their children” (p. 155). Not having access to the same opportunities and privileges as Americans reduces the chances of children of GEO teachers of getting a good education, especially their college-bound young adults.

Since their visas are controlled by their employers, the GEO teachers are more like what Barber (2003) described as at will employees who are “subject to a range of abuses and pressures” from their employers (p. 2). The opportunities of having easy access to foreign labour markets brought about by growth in information and communication technologies come with the threat of discrimination and/or exploitation as illustrated in the case of the GEO teachers and their families. These seemingly little things have much broader implications on perceptions about the processes of globalization. According to Power (2000)

Whatever changes are made at the school level or in the education systems of poor countries, their effort will be constrained to the extent which inequalities within and between countries are structural and powerful mechanisms are maintained to reproduce existing hierarchies, and to the extent that ‘social capital’ continues to decline as relationships and supportive social networks collapse. The situation has been made worse by policies at national and international levels which deny the right of all to a decent education and thereby undermine the principle that education is a public good and the responsibility of the whole society, especially of governments. (p. 157.)

### **5.3.2 Policy reactions: Magnet economies and the guest worker conundrum**

As explained in the previous section, the trend towards increased inequalities within countries and between nations is a factor in increasing population movement from developing countries to developed ones. What, on the part of the developed countries, could have led to the increased interest in recruiting workers from least developed countries (LDCs)? One of the research questions for this study relates to finding out the reasons behind the school district's decision to recruit teachers from abroad. Since administrators from the school district were not interviewed for this study, the exact reasons for adopting the policy of hiring foreign teachers could not be obtained from that source. As an alternative to collecting direct evidence from interviews, the question can be examined using conjectures derived from literature on current global trends so as to attempt to explain the reasoning behind the policy. According to Power (2000) "Today, global wealth is concentrated less and less in factories and the land, and more and more in knowledge and skills" (p. 158). This claim points to the growing importance of human capital that is taking central stage in national policies geared towards gaining competitive advantage over other countries. Power (2000) further indicated that "In the U.S.A. human capital is now estimated to be at least three times more important than physical capital" (p. 158). This view is supported by other analysts. For instance, "Drucker (1993) argues that we have entered a new stage of post-capitalist development, where it is no longer ownership of capital that generates wealth creation but the application of knowledge" (as cited in Brown & Lauder, 2006, p. 26). This trend has "led to a power shift from the owners

and managers of capital to 'knowledge workers' thereby marking a new stage of capitalist development" (Drucker, 1993, as cited in Brown & Lauder, 2006, p. 26). This global trend together with the increasing shortage of teachers in America's classrooms, which is only going to be worse once the baby-boomers start retiring in a couple of years, explains why nationally there is growing interest in the U.S. to expand the pool in the search for teachers in places outside of its borders. According to Brown & Lauder (2006), "These new rules of wealth creation rest on 'outsmarting' economic rivals. Schools, colleges, universities, think tanks, design centres and research laboratories are now on the front line in the search for competitive advantage" (p. 26). The authors added that "the major issue for policy-makers is no longer one of how to equalize the national competition for education and jobs but rather how to 'outsmart' other nations in a bid to capture a lion share of high-skilled, high-waged jobs" (p. 46). One question that comes to mind, then, is how do developing countries react to, or how can they be pro-active in the face of, such an onslaught on one of their most valuable human resources? The literature offers no straight answer to this, but did mention that as it is with financial markets, under the domination of neo-liberal capitalist policies, the job market dictates the rules in such ways that "nation states are largely powerless to protect domestic markets from international competition or the structures imposed on interest rates and public spending by the financial markets" (p. 27). As a consequence, the authors predicted that "Low skilled jobs will be auctioned on price and will tend to migrate to low-waged economies such as those in Asia or Eastern Europe, while the high skilled jobs will continue to attract higher wages. These jobs will be auctioned on 'quality' rather



than price, including the skills, knowledge and insight of the employee” (Brown & Lauder, 2006, p. 27). The high-skilled, high-waged jobs, according to this theory, will be attracted to high-waged economies which offer the “potential for countries such as the UK, France and the United States to become *magnet* economies, attracting a disproportionate share of high-skilled, high-waged jobs (p. 28). The magnet effect is not only restricted to the IT industry, and as seen in the case of the GEO program, there are examples of qualified teachers, doctors and nurses being attracted to countries like the United States at the same time that indigenous workers are unemployed or are in low-skilled employment. Brown & Lauder (2006) also pointed out that “the causes for increased recruitment in these cases do not lie in the rise of the knowledge-based industries in the first instance but in the electoral policies related to increased education and health expenditure” (p. 51). Although talent has been a key component of American capitalism, this magnet economies theory assumes that in the current economic climate there may not be enough incentives for companies to invest in the training of indigenous workers. Rather, globalization encourages employers to reduce the cost of training indigenous knowledge workers<sup>5</sup>. Employers may be thinking, if *guest* workers can typically do the same jobs for fewer rewards and inferior contracts of employment, why bother to train indigenous workers? Hence the authors surmised that “even in areas where there is increased

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<sup>5</sup> By indigenous knowledge workers I assume Brown and Lauder (2006) are referring to native-born workers with comparable skills who for some reasons may be unemployed, or are employed in low-skilled jobs within the country at the same time that workers are recruited from overseas to fill high-skilled jobs that indigenous workers could easily have filled. A possible reason posited for this development is that guest workers can typically do the same jobs for fewer rewards and inferior contracts of employment. And as to the reluctance in companies to even bother to train less-skilled indigenous workers instead of opting to bring guest workers, the suggestion that companies may be unwilling to invest in indigenous workers who may belong to disadvantaged groups in the host countries make sense.

demand for high-skilled workers there is a growing propensity to import qualified labour rather than invest in the skills of the less qualified and socially disadvantaged” (p. 33).

In the state of Illinois, a work authorization has to be granted to every potential foreign worker before companies or institutions in the state can employ him/her to fill a job vacancy. That is supposed to ensure that there are no U.S. citizens or permanent resident who could fill the vacancy at the time before it is offered to a foreign worker, even with the appropriate visa. For the GEO program, available vacancies had to be advertised in local newspapers for a number of weeks, and if they are not filled by qualified citizens, the school district and/or the candidates’ lawyers can then apply to the state for work authorization. Also, before the program was started, there were negotiations with the Chicago teachers’ union to agree on the terms for bringing in foreign teachers. Did the above measures ensure that the GEO teachers did not take jobs that Americans could have filled? It is difficult to say, especially because hundreds of teachers are laid off from schools every year and in the rush to fill those positions, it is not certain that all the required procedures required by law are followed. What also with the fact that as the GEO teachers gain seniority in the system, some union rules are suppose to protect them from arbitrary layoffs? So there are some grey areas that may not be as clear cut as required by law or contracts. The teachers interviewed are not clear about this either, and because administrators were not interviewed for this study I cannot speak to these issues, or others relating to the choice of recruiting foreign teachers over training indigenous teachers definitively. One thing that came out of the study was that at the same time

the GEO program was going on, several other programs, aimed at recruiting local teachers were being conducted by the school district.

### **5.3.3 New information and communication technologies and education**

The third trend in globalization that Power (2000) highlighted is the introduction and expansion of New Information and Communication Technologies (NICTs). This trend has obvious implications for education and relates to some of the challenges that confront the GEO teachers from Africa as they adjust to working in their new environment. On the one hand this trend brings with it enormous potentials to individuals and nations, as Power (2000) rightly pointed out: “The New Information and Communication Technologies (NICTs) constitute an extraordinary resource base for the storing, dissemination and sharing of information, and strengthen intercultural exchanges and democratic participation” (p. 155). NICTs offer new potentials for providing access to education through multiple channels of communication, visualization and simulation, and powerful means for the exchange, processing and storage of information. At the same time, the trend brings with it challenges to individuals and nations. According to Power (2000), “currently, the production of the world’s cultural ‘exports’ is dominated by a handful of extremely powerful wealthy global magnates: 60 per cent of the internet hosts and 83 per cent of the usage of the net are in the USA, and only 11 per cent is outside U.S.A. and Europe” (p. 155).

The limited access that people have to these vast resources means that workers migrating from developing to developed nations will have difficult times adapting to the rapidly changing technologies which in turn can impact their efficiency. The GEO

teachers are faced with similar challenges. Except for Joseph, whose initial training was in computer engineering, the other GEO teachers interviewed mentioned that adapting to all the new and changing technologies in the schools and classrooms was indeed challenging. Not only in terms of their use of the technologies but the additional challenges that come with their students' interactions and attitudes. Another challenge for developing countries is the fact that very few powerful players control the generation and dissemination of the contents on the networks. As Power (2000) puts it, "Global monopolies controlling NICTs may accelerate the homogenization of the world's cultures and extinction of many of the 6,000 languages" (p. 155).

Another benefit resulting from the trend in NICTs is the attempt to internationalize standards for educational performance as is the case in OECD countries. According to Power (2000) "The student body, faculty, courses and teaching provided by major universities are all being increasingly 'internationalized'" (p. 156). This may consequently fuel more intercultural interaction and put education at the center in directing the future of globalization. As suggested by Brown & Lauder (2006), "Not only is education seen to hold the key to a competitive economy but it is also seen to be the foundation of social justice and social cohesion" (p. 25). And as nations and cultural groups become more intertwined, Power (2000) suggests that "it is becoming ever more imperative that education systems develop policies and programs to counter the resurgence of discrimination, racism, ethnic violence and xenophobia which has erupted at the close of the Twentieth century" (p. 163). Aside from benefiting from NICTs, education systems, in the absence of other

controls, can expect to be called upon not only to help equip the young with the information and communication tools, but also to promote moral development and make wise choices, according to the author. This is based on his belief that the “opportunities created by global processes will be actualized only if we continue to insist that education is a basic human right and to reduce the tendency to reduce education into yet another market commodity” (p. 153). And he also warned that “If we fail I fear that our world will become increasingly unequal, competitive, polarised, conflicted, and dangerous” (p. 153).

#### **5.3.4 Globalization and education in the global society**

In the previous discussion I highlighted how the magnet economies and the shortage of teachers in the United State may have led to the recruitment of the GEO teachers, as high-skilled, high-waged workers from developing countries around the world. If those two factors together can be seen as market forces, then this phenomenon indicates that education is moving towards what Power is warning against, the tendency to reduce education into another market commodity. The increased privatization of educational institutions and outsourcing of educational services combined with the skyrocketing cost of getting an education, and the standardization of curricula to serve the demands of the global market are other examples that point towards this increased tendency to commoditize education. If Power (2000) is right in warning that “There will be a global crisis in education if we allow our market forces to polarise the world of education, internationally and nationally” (p. 158), then the task is on policy makers and educators to minimize this trend and limit the commoditization of all things educational. Article 26.2 on the

Universal Declaration of Human Right assigns the fundamental purpose of education as one that “shall be directed to the full development of the human personality, and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all groups” (as cited in Power, 2000, p. 153). If that should remain the purpose of education then more needs to be done to educate policy makers about the dangers of commoditizing education. Power (2000) suggests that “While we need more ethnographic research on intercultural learning, we also need to put the research evidence on the table to ensure that governments do assume their responsibilities to ensure a just distribution of the benefits of globalization within and among nations – otherwise, the rich will get richer (and meaner), the poor, poorer (and more desperate), and our world ever more polarised and insecure” (p. 163).

The GEO program is just one of several in the country that recruited teachers from abroad to teach in public schools in the U.S. In her 2003 report to the National Education Association on Trends in Foreign Teacher Recruitment, Barber (2003) reported that “Public school systems throughout the country are utilizing the services of perhaps as many as 10,000 foreign teachers in primary and secondary schools on ‘nonimmigrant’ work or cultural exchange visas” (p. 1). She pointed out that the trend was probably driven by the “perceived teacher shortages, particularly in specific disciplines such as math, science, foreign language and special education, as well as in ‘less desirable’ poor urban and rural school districts” (p.1). The GEO teachers reported to have also been told that one reason the Chicago Public School district was

stepping up recruitment effort was the perceived shortage that will result once baby-boomers start retiring from the city's classrooms in a few years.

While none of the reasons proffered above mention the increasing diversity in America's schools as a possible reason for the policy to recruit teachers from abroad, the broad composition of the teachers in the GEO program points in that direction. Some of the teachers who participated in the program were initially part of an exchange program between the school district and the government of Spain. As the school district's Spanish-speaking (Latino) student population increases it is logical to assume that effort to increase the number of teachers with similar language background will grow. Hence one of the reasons that may have possibly led the district to expand its recruitment field is an effort to address the growing diversity of the student population. As Power (2000) pointed out "While economic growth often seem to be driving government policy, building social cohesion still remains one of the main purpose of public education, and particularly as our societies become ever more multicultural" (p. 160). The author explained that educational systems have historically taken different approaches to address increasing diversity, including policies of assimilation (imposing a common nationality), melting pot (gradually developing a national culture), differentialist (developing a common nationality but minimizing interaction with and among minority culture), and multiculturalism which aims at developing unity within diversity (p. 160). The decision to employ staff from diverse ethnic backgrounds is a good indication that Chicago Public Schools District was probably taking the multicultural approach to addressing increasing diversity in the city's schools.

In the next chapter I will conclude the thesis by returning to the research questions and attempt to provide brief answers based on the data generated from the study and its analysis within the socioeconomic and political framework of new trends in globalization.



## Chapter 6: Conclusion

### 6.1 Returning to the Research Questions

1. How do teaching experiences and teacher education programs in the native countries of GEO teachers compare to those in the U.S., and how have they contributed to preparing teachers for the challenges they face in Chicago's classrooms?

In this study the researcher interviewed three teachers recruited for African countries as part of the Global Educators Outreach (GEO) Program which brought in one hundred teachers from all over the world to teach in Chicago Public elementary, middle and high schools. Data from the interviews and the analysis of literature related to issues raised in the study show that teacher education programs and the teaching experiences of the teachers in other countries bears marked similarities to those in the United States of America. The opportunities and challenges faced by teachers differ in some ways but the fundamental role and performance expectations of the teachers are principally very similar. The GEO teachers face challenges in adjusting to working in their new schools and in integrating into broader communities in the U.S., but these challenges are not insurmountable and could be minimized by good induction programs that prepare the teachers for what to expect in their subsequent interactions and professional activities. The shortage of equipment, seemingly uncaring attitude of district and school administrative personnel, the perceived lack of self-motivation on the part of the students, the lack of discipline in the schools, and the difficulties of learning to operate in a more technological environment obviously pose serious challenges to the teachers' professional lives. Mostly coming from more traditional and less democratic societies, where education

is still a privilege to the few who can afford it, the GEO teachers from African countries have to adjust to teaching in an environment where, because education is a right and is compulsory to even unwilling participants, schools and classrooms are contested public spaces that operate differently from what the teachers were accustomed to.

2. How does the movement of GEO teachers from foreign countries to Chicago impact their social, economic and professional lives?

According to the teachers' responses, they are much more heavily challenged by broader issues of integration into the U.S. society that may not seem directly related to their teaching jobs, but which nevertheless have social, economic and emotional impact in ways that may have affected their professional lives too. Notable among these were the challenges in regards to adjusting immigration status and the limitation in the choices open to the teachers relative to their American counterparts. The former affects the teachers and their families economically and emotionally. Their spouses had to stay at home for years (between 5 and 7 years) without proper documentation to engage in any gainful employment causing serious economic and emotional strain on the families. Now that their children are entering college, their immigration status limits access to grants and scholarships. These and other experiences that do not match with the high expectations that the teachers had coming to teach in the United States from less developed countries, adversely affect their adjustment into the new environment and indirectly affect their professional lives.

3. How have the social, economic and professional experiences of the teachers shaped their perspectives on the role of globalization in education?

In their response, the teachers did not readily make a connection between their experiences as participants in the GEO program to broader aspects of globalization. They saw globalization as a process that could benefit everyone and every nation if done properly. They also believed that although the immediate effect of their recruitment from their countries of origin or recruitment could lead to increased teacher shortages, if it were done on a large scale, they thought in the long run their nations would benefit if they return home with the skills that they would have gained from working in the U.S. One could therefore conclude that they had a positive perspective of the role of globalization in education in spite of, or because of their experiences, with slight variations from teacher to teacher.

4. What do the teachers think about the impact of their migration on the sending and receiving communities? How do the GEO teachers think about their impact on their school and/or wider communities?

As mentioned early, all the teachers think that their migration to teach in a more developed country will benefit the communities they left behind if eventually they are able to transfer the skills they will gain here back to their home countries. The main stumbling block is immigration policies which make free travel back and forth very difficult. As teachers they are not able to send back significant remittances, which is worrisome to some of the teachers who have relatives and friends that expect more from them. Personally, the teachers are better off economically, working and living here in the U.S., but to their countries of origin they represent an economic loss to a more developed country, a brain drain that may never be fully compensated by any anticipated brain gain in the current dynamics of neo-liberal globalism.

Two of the three teachers interviewed were serving as academic department chairs in the schools they taught at time of the interviews, indicating that in some ways they were participating in making leadership decisions in those schools. One of them had just led a group of students to present to the Illinois state legislators as a demonstration of the effort the school district was making to close the technology gap between the haves and the have-nots by exposing students to computer education and technology. These clearly highlight significant roles the GEO teachers were playing within the school communities, what was not apparent from the interviews is whether or not the teachers were actively involved with the wider local communities beyond the basic interactions within the framework of performing their duties as classroom teachers.

5. How did globalization enhance or inhibit the recruitment process? From a global perspective, what could have been the school district's motivation behind the recruitment of teachers from all over the world?

New global trends may very well have contributed to the policies that brought about programs such as GEO which recruited the teachers from African countries to Chicago. The increased inequalities within and between nations, the increased population movement and the growth in new information and communication technologies all helped in making the climate conducive for international teacher recruitment. It was easy even for teachers in Africa to participate in the program, and promising for the school district to embark on a mission to broaden the multicultural base of their teaching staff to reflect, in some ways, the increasing diversity of their student population, which may very well have been another consequence of globalization. To enhance the positive outcomes of such initiatives, the data points to

the fact that more needs to be done by, especially the school district and national governments and institutions, to mitigate the possible harm such programs as GEO could cause to people and communities if not done properly.

## **6.2 Implications for research**

The methodology and choice of the number of participants for this study may seem very inadequate in terms of their validity as the basis for generalization to the eyes of quantitative researchers who rely mainly on numerical statistics with randomized sample selection intended to represent the population. The number three out of a total of over one hundred teachers would obviously seem statistically insignificant to base any generalization of all the experiences narrated. But to the qualitative researcher, it is no surprise that the choices and methodology of research will challenge existing paradigms by questioning the assumptions of objectivity in research. In this type of research the experience of even one teacher may sufficiently represent those of the over one hundred others depending on the circumstances narrated, which normally do not easily lend themselves to laboratory-styled controlled mechanisms in terms of their variations and consequences. In socially stratified communities such as discussed in this study, some experiences are valued more than others, but in the spirit of fairness every experience deserves an audience, and so be it that in this study I chose to highlight the experiences of three GEO teachers. The reason being that in those experiences I see mine, and I also see a connection to some broader aspects of globalization and education. Hopefully, as the number of such programs grows, and the concerns get more important and urgent, other choices of method and perspectives will augment this humble step to

understanding the experiences of internationally recruited teachers from developing countries to developed ones.

### **6.3 Implications for Practice**

That this study was conducted using qualitative methods to address an issue that represents a new trend in education: the official international recruitment of teachers from less developed countries in Africa to a more developed country, U.S.A., was deliberate and a matter of convenience has been stated above. As globalization leads to a more compressed time and space resulting to a borderless global community, it is reasonable to assume that more programs such as GEO will come into play. Unfortunately, because of the current climate of increased cultural conflicts, symbolized by the clashes between the cultures of the East and West in what has now been rightly or wrongly been called the ‘global war on terror’, the cancellation of the GEO program, following the events of September 11, 2001 (911) and the onset of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, represent a temporal check in what would otherwise have been a natural progression on the road to more global integration. In spite of this setback, academia, through research engagements and literature, has to be prepared with strategies and data to support genuine globalization, and be prepared to guide policy makers from practices that could only deter what would otherwise be beneficial integration of global communities.

### **6.4 Recommendations for future research**

One possible area for further research is to assess how effective internationally recruited teachers are in carrying out their main assignment of educating children, and which elements of the recruitment and integration processes

could result to a more effective teaching force. My study did not specifically measure or inquire into whether or not the GEO teachers were successful in their jobs as educators. Nonetheless, other studies cited by von Kirchenheim and Richardson (2005) reported high termination rates for expatriate employees resulting from failure to properly adjust in the new environment. According to von Kirchenheim and Richardson (2005, citing Burkley and Brook, 1992; and Shay and Tracey, 1997) studies “indicated that between 30 per cent and 50 per cent of all expatriate employees ultimately terminate their employment before their contract expires, with rates ranging from 25 per cent to 40 per cent when associated with developed country, to as high as 70 per cent when associated with a developing country” (p. 408). But it was also noted that proper adjustment is not only about the foreign worker’s willingness to complete and/or re-new oversea assignment contracts, resulting to reduced turnover intention, it is also about the effectiveness of the worker in performing his or her work. Studies such as Black and Gregersen (1991), Copeland and Louis (1995), and Naumann (1993) were cited by Richardson et al. (2006) to have reported that “a statistically significant number, although not returning to their countries of origin prematurely, are nevertheless viewed as being completely ineffective in their posting, with their overall assignments being considered ultimately as failures” ( p. 884). The subject of investigating the performance of GEO teachers could be an interesting possibility for future research. Of the three teachers interviewed, the two that were still working for CPS were serving as heads of academic departments in their schools. But that would be too small a percentage of

the overall number of teachers recruited by the program to make generalization in regards to the performance of the entire group.

Another possible area for future research is to look into how integrated the internationally recruited teachers are within the local wider communities. How much do they feel as part of the communities? What organizations do they belong to? What role/s do they play in local community activities, outside of their regular role as classroom teachers? Knowing which factors could enhance or may be inhibiting the active participation of teachers in wider community activities will go a long way in easing the integration struggles of foreign teachers into local communities, which in turn may help in preparing them to be more effective educators able to relate well with students and their parents.

## **6.5 Epilogue**

It suffices it to say that the story of the GEO teachers is ongoing. The immigration status of the teachers is far from what they would consider regular. Their goal is to eventually become U.S. citizens. Even though they pay taxes and contribute to pension funds, they and/or children do not have access to public assistance programs nor are they certain that they will ever draw pension from the funds they are contributing to. Some of the GEO teachers (not part of the study) have voluntarily returned home. Others (also not part of the study) have been forced to return home either due to unforeseen difficult circumstances or after faulting immigration circumstances that required them to leave for their home country. The school district seems very content with having the teachers remain as visiting teachers with little



concern as to how the state of limbo impacts the lives of the teachers and their families.

At the conclusion of the 111<sup>th</sup> session of the United States Congress, the senate by a vote of 55 to 41, in a cloture vote, failed to make progress on the DREAM Act despite the earlier passage of a similar bill in the house. The proposed bill, if passed, will put on the path to citizenship children of undocumented workers who were brought to the country while young, if they enroll into college or join the military. This may very well indicate how unwilling some key constituencies in the country are to acknowledge the potential that these young people have to offer to this great nation, even as other developed countries are gradually coming to terms with integrating their immigrant population. In this light of growing intolerance and xenophobic reactions, the story of the GEO teachers may still be worth looking into for years to come.

At the time of concluding this thesis the researcher made a final call on the participants to find out what may have changed with their situations from the last time he interviewed them. He found out that Makela and Joseph had just again completed new application forms which had been forwarded by the school district to the U.S. Department of Homeland Security to renew their H-1B visas for the third time, bringing the total number of years they may be on that visa to twelve years from the time they started, even though the law creating the H-1B visa category initially only required one renewal of the visa to a total of six years before a final decision should have been made on granting permanent residency to qualified holders. They also had to renew work authorization for family members at inflated costs. The State of Illinois

temporarily waived the citizenship requirement for renewing teacher certificates until 2010. The teachers don't know what will follow at the expiration of that temporal waiver, and how it may affect their ability to continue to teach in the state. Makela's daughter was admitted to a university to take classes in pre-medicine. She was awarded a total in grants of about \$32,000 based on her grades and a GPA of 3.6. A day before she was suppose to move into campus residence they were informed that she did not qualify for the biggest of those grants (the State of Illinois MAP grant and the Presidential Sch-Full Time) because she wasn't yet a permanent resident in the U.S. Now she attends a community college and the family has to pay school fees monthly, not qualifying for any other government subsidized grants or loans.

In the back drop of the current economic situation, as the world seems to be emerging from a very deep economic recession, the changing immigration regulations that expand U.S. immigration laws, and the fact that the GEO program had been suspended since 2002, Brown and Lauder (2006) were probably right in predicting that if the job situation for the middle class continues to be insecure and jobs fail to deliver the standard of living that people have been made to expect, the disgruntled middle class may flex their political muscle which will have wider political ramifications. According to the authors, "A more likely scenario today is that it may lead to pressure towards the national protection of jobs and greater restrictions on the global movement of labour" (p. 50). The experience of the teachers and the current world situation also points toward a warning in the 1999 UNDP-Human Development report that "When the market goes too far in dominating social and political outcomes, the opportunities and rewards of globalization spread unequally and

inequitably- concentrating power and wealth in a select group of people, nations and corporations, marginalizing others” (p. 2). If globalization is done with a human face the report assures that “Global markets, global technology, global ideas and global solidarity can enrich the lives of people everywhere. The challenge is to ensure that the benefits are shared equitably and that this increasing interdependence works for people—not just for profits” (p. 1).

## Appendices

### Appendix A: IRB Approval Notice

DEPAUL  
UNIVERSITY



Research Involving Human Subjects  
**NOTICE OF INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD ACTION**

**Institutional Review Board**  
1 East Jackson Boulevard  
Chicago, Illinois 60604-2287  
312/362-7593  
FAX: 312/362-7574

**To:** Omar Kamara, Graduate Student, School of Education  
Karen Monkman, Faculty Sponsor, Faculty, School of Education

**Date:** September 10, 2008

**Re:** Research Protocol #OK081808EDU  
"Context and Process in International Teacher Recruitment: Global Educators Outreach (GEO) Teachers from Africa in the U.S."

Please review the following important information about the review of your proposed research activity.

Review Details

Original Review

Amendment

Unanticipated Problem Report

Exempt Review, under 45 CFR 46.101

Your research project meets the criteria for an exemption under the following categories:

Category of Review: 2, 4

(2) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless:  
(i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

(4) Research involving the collection or study of existing data, documents, records, pathological specimens, or diagnostic specimens, if these sources are publicly available or if the information is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects.

Approval Details

Approved

Approved (Previous contingencies have been resolved.)

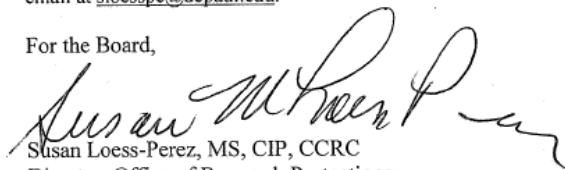
Approval Date: September 10, 2008

Reminders

- Under DePaul's current institutional policy governing human research, research projects that meet the criteria for an exemption determination receive administrative review. Once projects are determined to be exempt, the researcher is free to begin the work and is not required to submit an annual update (continuing review). As your project has been determined to be exempt, your primary obligation moving forward is to resubmit your research materials for review and classification/approval, before they are implemented in the research, if you propose substantive changes to the project. Substantive changes would include changes in the design or focus of the research project, revisions to the consent/information sheet for participants, addition of new measures or instruments, and any change to the research that might alter the exemption status (either add additional exemption categories or make the research no longer eligible for an exemption determination).
- Once the project is complete, you should submit a closure report to the IRB.

The Office of Research Protections would like to thank you for your efforts and cooperation and wishes you the best of luck on your research. If you have any questions, please contact me by telephone at (312) 362-7593 or by email at [sloesspe@depaul.edu](mailto:sloesspe@depaul.edu).

For the Board,



Susan Loess-Perez, MS, CIP, CCRC  
Director, Office of Research Protections  
Academic Affairs, DePaul University  
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Chicago, IL 60604

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## Appendix B: Guide for Teachers' Interviews

### INTRODUCTION

“Hello. I am Omar Kamara, a GEO teacher, from cohort 2. I was recruited in 2000 from Banjul, The Gambia, but I am a Sierra Leonean citizen, from West Africa. Thank you for agreeing to talk to me about your experiences. Please note that I am committed to protect your privacy and confidentiality. Therefore, I will neither share your identity nor disclose the specific content of our discussion to anyone. All documents and recorded media shall only be accessible to me and will be destroyed at the end of the study. My project advisor may request to see some of the transcripts of the audiotapes for academic purposes. In the event of such a request, identifying information to the transcript will be removed before such sharing can take place. Is it acceptable to you if I audiotape the interview so I am able to remember all the details?”

### A. RECRUITMENT

1. How did you first learn about the GEO program?
2. Tell me about the job you were doing at that time.
3. *Possible probing questions:*
  - a. What would you say was the most satisfying part of the job that you did?
  - b. Explain some of the challenges you faced
4. Why did you choose to participate in the GEO program?
5. In your opinion what made such international recruitment of teachers possible? (Or why do you think teachers were recruited internationally?)
6. How do you think such a program might affect your home country?
7. *Possible probing questions*
  - a. What are the benefits?
  - b. What are the negative consequences?

### B. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

8. What might motivate teachers in your country of origin or recruitment to jump at an opportunity to participate in programs such as GEO?
9. What conditions in your country of origin or recruitment contribute to teachers wanting to migrate to the U.S. or other countries?
10. How did those conditions contribute to enabling your recruitment as a GEO teacher?
11. What do you think is the possible impact on your country of teacher emigration to other countries?
12. Why did you choose to emigrate from your country?
13. What motivated you to come to the U.S. in particular, instead of other countries?

14. Why Chicago and why not other cities in the U.S?
15. What do you think is the possible impact of teacher migration to the receiving communities in Chicago?
16. What were your biggest challenges in migrating to the United States?
17. How did you overcome those challenges?
18. What support, if any, would have made you overcoming those challenges easier?

**C EDUCATION AND TEACHER TRAINING IN OTHER COUNTRIES**

**AND U.S**

19. What education and training are needed to be a teacher in your country of origin or recruitment?
20. How do these compare to teacher education and training requirements in Chicago?
21. How does the cost of education and training compare?
22. If you were in charge of setting education policies in your country how might you address concerns about teaching in that country?
23. On the other hand, what would you do to attract teachers from other countries to come to your country to teach?

**D. REALITIES OF WORKING**

24. How do the working conditions of teachers in your country compare to those of teachers in Chicago Public Schools?
25. What specific expectations did you have coming to teach in Chicago/U.S.?
26. How do the realities of your work conditions compare to your expectations so far?
27. What advice would you give to foreign teachers who may be thinking of immigrating to the Chicago/ U.S.?
28. How does the teaching experience in your country compare to that in Chicago/U.S.?
29. Which experiences, if any, affect the performance of your job as a teacher in Chicago/U.S.?

**E. EDUCATION AND GLOBALIZATION**

30. How has your experience as a GEO participant impacted your view of education and its role in society?
31. In your opinion, has teacher migration had any significant impact on your native country's educational system? Explain your answer.
32. Briefly explain what you think is the impact of teacher migration on Chicago and/or the U.S.
33. "There is a lot of talk about globalization and its relationship to migration and education."
  - a. What do you think globalization is?

- b. What do you think globalization might have to do with being a GEO teacher (if anything)?
34. “Up till recently, developing countries in Africa benefited from expatriate personnel from developed country, especially former colonial masters, to provide technical support in education and other development sectors.”
- a. Why do you think developed countries, such as the U.S., are now looking to developing countries to recruit teachers?
35. What do you think is the role of globalization in enhancing such recruitment?
36. How would you describe the role of globalization in education?
37. Has your view of globalization been impacted in anyway by your experience as a GEO teacher? Explain?”

“Once more, I would like to thank you very much for agreeing to share your experiences with me. Is it okay for me to contact you again if I need further clarification to the issues we discussed tonight?”



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