Diversifying the Teaching Force in Transnational Contexts

Critical Perspectives

Clea Schmidt and Jens Schneider (Eds.)

Diversifying the Teaching Force in Transnational Contexts

TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION AND EDUCATION

Volume 3

Scope:

Migration has been adopted by many countries as a strategy to compete for the most talented, skillful, and resourceful and to ameliorate aging populations and labour shortages. The past few decades have witnessed both an expansion and transformation of international migration flows. The resulting demographic, social and cultural changes have reconfigured the landscapes of education in the receiving societies.

Transnational Migration and Education aims to bring together international scholars with contributions from new and established scholars to explore the changing landscapes of education in the age of transnational migration. The Series includes authored and edited collections offering multidisciplinary perspectives with a wide range of topics including:

- global and comparative analyses of migration
- the impact of migration on education and society
- processes of exclusion and inclusion in migration and education
- tensions between mobility, knowledge, and recognition
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- transnationalism, diaspora, and identity
- transnational migration and youth
- race and ethnic relations
- ethnicity, diversity and education

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Critical Perspectives

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All chapters in this book have undergone peer review.

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FOREWORD

In reflecting upon the ways in which students learn and teachers teach, the words I once heard from an Indigenous Elder echo in my mind: "Our children learn in 3 ways: by example, by example and by example." The wisdom and clarity in this simple statement are indisputable so why is "example" not a central focus in teacher preparation transnationally? Or is it actually that we focus most of our energy on the creation of an example that is reflective of our own image?

In this ever shrinking world where those entrusted with the responsibility for ensuring the effectiveness and relevance of education systems praise themselves for the forward thinking initiatives that profess to prepare students as global citizens, a glaring question arises: "Are we really moving forward at all?" Further, "Is this even education?"

The definition of what it is to educate, to open one's mind to all that is possible and to seek the path of one's self in this world, varies dramatically from one culture to another. Even if we can agree on how we define education, how can we possibly hope to inspire our students to pursue education if they never see themselves in their teachers? By perpetuating the homogeneity of the teaching force are we not actually telling students that to be 'successful' they need to be someone other than themselves?

As we consider all aspects of an "ideal' teaching force even more questions arise, beginning with, "What is a 'good' teacher?" Are good teachers those who seek to recreate themselves in their students or do they act as mirrors against which we can reflect and seek our own answers with their support? Do good teachers feed us the information that prepares us to give "acceptable" answers or do good teachers model the courage to risk "failure" in seeking deeper understanding? And is it really failure or is it an authentic education experience leading to the acquisition of wisdom and knowledge?

Perhaps the path that leads us to "good teachers" lies in the qualification of those teachers but what is a "qualified" teacher? Is teacher education a program or is it a journey? Is it a process, a quest, or does it lie in the completion of a checklist of training components developed by representatives of the majority who make up the society within which our children are being "educated"?

What really is our end goal in education then? Are we genuinely interested in preparing our children to change history or do we actually want to be sure they are so well versed in our own limitations that they are only capable of replicating our mistakes? How do we prepare our future decision makers, whether their decisions are made within and on behalf of homes, families, workplaces, communities, or nations, to enact a just society when we struggle to manage the simple step of respecting and

honoring diversity in the preparation of our teachers, much less embracing cultural diversity as the key to authentic education.

If we worked as hard at hearing, respecting, embracing and including the values, perspectives, knowledge and approaches of teachers from varied cultural backgrounds as we do trying to assimilate them to our sameness, we may actually have a chance to change the shameful history of assimilation under the alias of education that has been our guiding principal for advancement transnationally for far too long.

In the pages of this volume, diversity of perspective is represented in the courageous sharing of the understandings and experiences of the contributors. Regardless of our own perceived superiority as leaders in education, we are ultimately all connected. We are only as good as the good that we recognize and honour in the diversity around us. The answers to our challenges in education surround us. They always have. Only when education leaders can humble themselves to the understanding that leadership in education is merely responsibility, will authentic and relevant education be accessible to all students. This responsibility requires the ability to hear and acknowledge what is being asked of us by our students, and the willingness to recognize and honour the keepers of the varied and diverse knowledge, experience and worldviews as the educators best suited to answer these calls. Only then will we earn our places as leaders in education alongside genuine seekers of understanding. A promising start is afforded by the researchers who have contributed to this volume, who with their work raise vital questions and issues around diversifying the teaching force.

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INTRODUCTION

Lessons to be Learned from the International Comparison

DEFINING THE ISSUES

Though 'diversifying the teaching force' might appear at first glance to be a rather specific topic, the wide range of issues addressed in the chapters suggests the scope of scholarly inquiry in this field is as fraught with complexity as the process of diversification itself. We are challenged to question the very purpose of what it means to 'educate' in and for increasingly diverse societies. As we delve into this complexity, it is apparent that the comparison and commonalities across the different national and local settings are obscured by different definitions of the focal groups and issues. As regards the focal groups, we find at least eight different categories:

- immigrating teachers (IETs = internationally educated teachers)
- immigrants becoming teachers (student teachers and IETCs = internationally educated teacher candidates)
- teachers of immigrant origin (TIOs)
- teachers with a migration background / an immigration history
- ethnic / "racial" minority teachers
- teachers of colour
- native American / First Nation teachers

Not all of them actually mean different groups or people. IETCs, TIOs, teachers of migrant background and ethnic minority teachers *can* be different denominations for the same kind of people, but this is not necessarily so, and they obviously emphasize different aspects and carry different connotations. At the same time, these denominations are based on different national idiosyncrasies and different statements of problems.

In Canada, for example, the wider context of diversity includes First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples and corresponding Indigenous languages, in addition to many other languages and origins stemming from the recruitment of 250,000–285,000 immigrants per year. Official language policy institutionalizes French/English bilingualism. Canada has a well-established tradition of inclusive education and a strong focus on diversity in a broad sense. Here, what is termed 'Indigenizing' the teaching force (both in terms of preparing more teachers of Indigenous origin and in terms of ensuring Indigenous perspectives are reflected in all teachers' practices)

tends to have its own scholarship. For purposes of this volume, the main focus on teacher diversity is on immigrant teachers (IETs) and immigrant or 1.5 generation teacher candidates, and research considers barriers to certification, teacher education, and integration into the labour market, while there is not much attention to native-born offspring of immigrants becoming teachers.

In the US, Indigenous education is also an issue, but much more attention is paid to the problem of segmented education (i.e., the inequitable educational experiences and outcomes for youth from diverse backgrounds) and the difficult access to appropriate and higher education for African Americans and undocumented immigrant children. Linguistic diversity is mostly restricted to the important role of the Spanish language. The discussion around teacher diversity strongly focuses on the issue of role models for African American and minority students.

In Germany, a majority vs. immigrant-divide still prevails, and with it a monolingual habitus at odds with the rapidly increasing linguistic diversity in schools. Notably, as is evident in other parts of Europe, native-born children of immigrants still carry the label of 'immigrant' into the second and successive generations. Scholarship mainly focuses on children of Turkish background and on enhancing teacher proficiency to address diversity in classrooms. Here, the question of incorporation of internationally educated teachers is a very recent one, mostly linked to the arrival of well-educated refugees from Syria, while the main focus in the debate is the better representation of native-born children of immigrants in the teaching profession.

In the UK and Ireland, circumstances for internationally educated teachers vary considerably across national contexts. In Ireland, for example, most teachers with internationally obtained credentials are of Irish background who completed their teacher education abroad, and cultural diversity stemming from immigration is a relatively new phenomenon. Nevertheless, there are migrant teachers who upon relocating find themselves in the difficult situation of having to pass qualifying exams in Irish Gaelic in order to be able to teach. England historically has been a major immigrant-receiving destination and yet has experienced growing public anti-immigrant sentiment for many years, and numerous challenges exist for immigrant teachers seeking to resume their careers. Scotland, too, has a predominantly white, Scottish-born teaching force, and issues reported on in this volume pertain to both recruiting and supporting a more diverse teaching force but also better preparing the 'mainstream' teacher candidate pool to enact a more culturally responsive pedagogy.

COMMON CONCERNS

Despite the marked disparities between different countries in their specific focuses as regards the incorporation of more diversity in the teaching force, there are a number of fundamental similarities – beginning with the assertion that the linguistic, cultural, "ethnic" and "racial" diversity of the teacher force deserves closer attention. Basically, in all national and local settings we see the following issues:

- *"White", middle-class, monolingual teachers teaching predominantly non-"white", working-class, multilingual pupils.*

Why is this a problem? Intuitively, the perceived mismatch between these teacher and student populations generates the problem, and indeed a frequently forwarded argument says that schools should reflect the diversity of the society they represent – at least to certain extent. More concretely, the chapters in this book put the focus especially on (a) linguistic competences, which are necessary not only for the communication between teachers and pupils, but also to better understand the learning pathways and obstacles of children who learn the official school vernacular as an additional language; (b) intercultural proficiency that extends beyond language to include such aspects as parent-children- and parent-school interactions and religious matters; (c) role modelling, i.e. teachers as important attachment figures especially for younger children; for this matter the life worlds of teachers and their pupils should ideally overlap beyond the school itself.

- *Children should have equal educational opportunities according to their individual talent and interests, but independently from their family background, skin colour, mother tongue, ethnic or religious belonging, and so on.*

The main problem here is that this is neither common sense among all the stakeholders involved in any specific schooling context, nor the actual goal behind the design of many institutional arrangements in the field of education. To different degrees in the respective national and local settings, education is a question of social prestige and a means for maintaining and reproducing the established social stratification of society – in principle, independently from the question of diversity. At the same time, the perspectives of social class and cultural diversity – be it immigrants or established minorities – have become intertwined so that exclusionary mechanisms that originate in social stratification have readily incorporated ethnic, cultural or "racial" criteria for the same goal. Most of chapters in this book address the question of to which degree a more diverse teacher force can help to throw a spanner in the works of the otherwise widely unquestioned status quo, including automatisms in selection and tracking procedures.

- *Non-"white", working-class and multilingual pupils very often represent "vulnerable groups", whose educational success and access to a professional career and a good life are by no means self-evident – even if they have the talent and motivation to get there.*

Research has repeatedly shown that the "stereotype threat" and biases among teachers towards specific groups of pupils systematically put these pupils at a disadvantage, in addition to discrimination in all its more or less subtle forms. But their "vulnerability" also comes from the fact that school cultures and the ways educational systems are built do not correspond to their needs. As a consequence, it is frequently not enough to just not discriminate against diverse learners: they

may need active empowerment and affirmation of their self-respect and identity to have the same chances as peers from "white" middle-class families. The success of mentor projects, especially those working with mentors from a similar background, shows that role models are an important tools for providing this empowerment. As most chapters in this book show, this is an important aspect almost anywhere, where teachers of immigrant origin or background are present in schools: their simple presence already makes a *difference.*

• *Diversity, interculturality, and equity in schools.*

Schools today are confronted with a historically unprecedented level of linguistic, cultural and social diversity, which in other sectors would prompt the immediate implementation of "diversity management" with all its implications. While we are not arguing for a business model to be applied to educational settings, schools, educational leaders, and policymakers should take more responsibility in facilitating a culturally responsive pedagogy. Again, teachers of non-"white", multilingual backgrounds can represent a useful starting point for a school to implement "pedagogies of difference" that formulate equity as a central and strategic goal for teaching diverse student populations. In fact, in many cases it has been the first and few teachers of diversity background who have been charged with these tasks – problematically implying that implementing culturally responsive pedagogy remains a minority issue, and is only very reluctantly incorporated as a mainstream task for everyone. A diversity-oriented approach could have another potential positive effect: to broaden the established scope of "diversity" to affirm the multiple identities of learners and communities.

OUTCOMES

Seemingly contradictory to these common issues the chapters of this book emphasize that the minority or ethnic or linguistic backgrounds of the teachers are no substitute for professionalism and should therefore not become the main criterion for recruiting them: IETs or TIOs are not per se better teachers! And also the individuals themselves do not want to be recruited (primarily) on the basis of these backgrounds, but for their professional qualifications. In general, the role model-function and its relevance in the school context are appreciated and recognised – but there is also always the risk of potentially negative connotations among colleagues. A widely neglected variable here is the general situation in the job market for teachers: IETs and TIOs are most certainly not the most privileged candidates for obtaining positions when there is a scarcity of vacancies – despite their unique contributions to diverse classrooms. Vice versa, their chances for being hired have frequently been enhanced when there is a shortage on the "supply side", rather than as a result of a rational and long-term oriented policy of diversification.

But still, if we look at what characterizes *good teachers*, there are a number of necessary and useful skills next to the "hard" ones (e.g. the qualification for subject, the range and appropriateness of didactic methods, the right mix of professional distance and empathy), for which, in our view, TIOs and IETs tend to present a specific advantage that is based on their biographical experience. These "soft skills", for example, include empathy, critical self-reflexivity, role model authenticity, and collegiality. To these we should add overarching skills, such as communication skills, linguistic competences, and conflict resolution skills.

And similar criteria apply to *good schools*: they should be working with up-to-date teaching methodologies, effective individualized talent development and, as an institution, show "professionality" in the sense of developed mechanisms for constant critical self-scrutiny and for effective conflict resolution. But they also need "soft skills", such as intercultural knowledge, multilingual expertise, role model authenticity, and outreach into their respective local communities and surroundings. Here, we can immediately see that a more diverse teacher force is as much a pre-condition as extremely helpful for the organisational development with regard to these aspects – not to mention the "symbolic significance" of their presence towards pupils and parents, but – in the ideal case – also the other teaching staff.

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SECTION 1

OPERATIONALIZING THE DIVERSIFICATION OF THE TEACHING FORCE

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1. THE CULTURAL DIVERSIFICATION OF THE SCOTTISH TEACHING PROFESSION

How Necessary Is It?

INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades in most parts of the world, the nature of teachers' work and the knowledge they require has undergone enormous change. In part, these changes have occurred in response to unprecedented levels of global mobility. Culturally homogenous classrooms have become rare in most places in Britain, Europe and elsewhere, such as the USA, Canada and Australia (OECD, 2011). Of particular significance is the rapid rate of demographic change in some countries where there has been recent and relative cultural homogeneity, such as Iceland (OECD, 2013) and Ireland, for example (Government of Ireland, 2012). Countries including the USA, Canada and Australia, sometimes referred to as 'classical immigration countries' or 'traditional immigration countries' (Dustmann, Frattini, & Lanzara, 2011), have experienced increased cultural diversity in specific geographical areas and regions in response to government resettlement policies (e.g., Australian Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2014). Additionally, although not due to global trends in immigration, the cultural and linguistic diversity of countries such as Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States of America, includes the diverse cultures and languages of Aboriginal and First Nations populations.

Despite the increased cultural and linguistic diversity of student populations, in Scotland, like the rest of the UK, the majority of teachers are white and monolingual (The Scottish Government, 2011; Department for Education, 2012). Increasingly, the lack of ethnic diversity within teacher populations worldwide is seen as problematic by researchers and policy makers in general, who have called for some time for the cultural and racial diversification of the profession. One of the reasons underpinning such calls is the benefit to culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) pupils. An increasing body of research suggests ethnic and racial minority teachers have important insights about the pupils with whom they share cultural minority status. It is often claimed they are committed to the education of CALD pupils and well positioned to understand their values, their family expectations, their out-of school cultural practices and how these practices and values shape them as learners (Trotman & Kerr, 2001; Villegas & Lucas, 2004; Han & Singh, 2007; Santoro, 2013). In turn, this knowledge can underpin socially just teaching practices and school policies

that can contribute to raising the education outcomes of ethnic and racial minority pupils, many of whom lag behind their majority peers (OECD, 2011). For example in general, first, and second-generation immigrant youth are more likely to leave school early, less likely to access university education (OECD, 2010) and consequently more likely to be unemployed or employed in low-paying jobs (Portes & Rivas, 2011). While claims about ethnic and racial minority teachers need to be interrogated and problematised, a task to which I return later in the chapter, I do want to argue that CALD teachers[1] bring to their teaching, particular understandings and viewpoints that are unavailable to teachers from the dominant cultural majority. In this chapter, I take a somewhat divergent approach to this argument and draw on data from a study that investigated the attitudes and knowledge of a largely white monolingual Scottish student-teacher population towards cultural diversity and culturally diverse pupils. I conclude by suggesting, in the interests of socially just pedagogy, that there is an urgent need to diversify the Scottish teaching profession and to prioritise teacher education that prepares all teachers to be culturally responsive practitioners.

THE STUDY: DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The chapter draws on selected findings of a study investigating the attitudes of a cohort of Scottish student-teachers towards culturally diverse educational contexts and their perceptions of their readiness to teach in such contexts. After obtaining university ethics approval a mixed-method, 2-staged approach to the data collection was used. In stage one, a cross-sectional survey was conducted of all first, third and fourth year student-teachers[2] enrolled in a Bachelor of Education program in one Scottish university (n = 329). A pen-and-paper anonymous questionnaire elicited data about: (a) the student-teachers' backgrounds; (b) their understandings of the nature of cultural diversity in Scottish schools, their experience with CALD pupils and whether they felt sufficiently confident to teach them. Response sets included a mixture of binary categories (e.g., Yes/No), a selection of applicable options, a Likert-type responses and qualitative responses. Overall, 318 student-teachers returned a completed questionnaire.

Stage two of the study consisted of individual in-depth semi-structured interviews with 12 student-teachers who were selected to achieve a range of age, gender, year group. Most interviewees were aged in their early twenties, and female. At the time of the interviews, which coincided with the beginning of a new academic year, four student-teachers were in second year, six student-teachers were in fourth year and two had just begun their probationary year as newly qualified teachers. The interviews explored some of the key issues highlighted in the survey, and elicited in-depth data from the student-teachers. The interviews lasted between 40–60 minutes each, were audio-recorded and subsequently transcribed verbatim.

The responses to the closed items on the questionnaire were analysed using descriptive statistics, undertaken in SPSS 21. The qualitative responses to the 11 open questions in the questionnaire were read and re-read to identify patterns and

themes. A thematic approach to the analysis of interview data was adopted whereby members of the research team read and re-read the individual transcripts, collectively and individually, using a process of open coding to identify patterns, themes and sub-themes in the interviewees' experiences and attitudes. The patterns of data were then compared, contrasted and cross checked across the sets of interview data with the researcher looking for differences and similarities, tensions, contradictions and complexities.

In this chapter, I present selected data from the questionnaire as well as a selection of interview data.

SCOTTISH STUDENT-TEACHERS: WHITE, SCOTTISH-BORN AND MONOLINGUAL

The student-teachers in the study are overwhelmingly white, Scottish born and monolingual. When asked to describe their ethnicity in an open-ended question, 88% of respondents identified themselves as 'Scottish white', 'white-British' or simply as 'white'. Two student-teachers identified as British-Pakistani, two as Scottish-Indian, two as Chinese and one as African-mixed heritage (in total 2% of the sample). Ninety-seven percent (n = 307) of respondents indicated that English was their first language, with 67% of them saying they were monolingual. Of the one third who stated they had "some knowledge" of a language other than English, only 10% said they were fluent speakers of another language.

This group of student-teachers also had little experience of interacting with culturally diverse peers. As school pupils, generally, they attended schools that had little cultural diversity. Morag[3] was 20 years of age, and from a regional city in Scotland. Conflating cultural diversity with colour, she said during her interview;

> there weren't any black children in my school. And I think there was one in another school that I knew of and that's it. Like, I really didn't have any contact with anyone else that wasn't white because that was just the people I grew up with and the school I went to. And then you come down to Glasgow and then it is like another big culture shock because there's loads of like coloured people with black coloured skin and you are like, "Wow, that's really different". It's a really big culture shock.

Furthermore, most of the student-teachers had no or little experience of working with CALD pupils on school experience placements. Generally, they had been placed in schools close to their homes in areas of the city where there is little diversity. Stephanie was representative of the cohort in general, when she said; "I have always taught in schools [for placement] where the children's first language has been English and it has never been an issue for me, but I think if it does happen, it is going to be a lot harder to cope".

Nearly all the student-teachers reported having travelled abroad to European countries, Australia, New Zealand, Canada. However, these trips generally did not

provide opportunities to become immersed in a different culture because generally, thee trips abroad were short, lasting less than 2 weeks in the case of 54% of student-teachers (n = 165). Only 4% of respondents had been away for periods of six months or more. A similar number had travelled abroad for the purposes of study, but these were generally to Anglophone countries such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and for periods of time of less than six weeks. Forty-one percent % of the student-teachers reported having had "very little" to only "some contact" with local people when they had been abroad.

There has been a steady increase in cultural diversity within the pupil population in Scotland due to migration into Scotland (The Scottish Government, 2015). This trend seems likely to continue. One hundred and thirty-nine languages are represented in Scottish schools, with Polish, being the most frequently spoken as an additional language, followed by Urdu, Punjabi and Arabic. There are in excess of 40 African languages spoken (The Scottish Government, 2014a). Approximately 5% of pupils speak English as an Additional Language (EAL) (The Scottish Government, 2014b). These EAL pupils are not evenly spread across schools in Scotland. In some urban areas, such as Glasgow, they constitute 15.8% of the total student population, with numbers are as high as 65% in some areas of the city (The Scottish Government, 2014c). However, many of the student-teachers were unsure of the ethnic and racial makeup of the pupil population in Scotland. When Morag was asked whether she knows what ethnic groups have migrated to Scotland recently, Morag replied:

> Mmme I don't know. I would say it is probably ummm … I would say there's quite a lot of … Eastern European culture. I would probably say that there was a lot of… does Poland and that, come under Eastern European? [Yes. Poland is European]. Is it? So I would say, Eastern Europeans, but that would be as far as my knowledge would be able to stretch.

This cohort of student-teachers is overwhelmingly white, Scottish-born, monolingual and generally, they have had little sustained contact with people who are culturally different from themselves. Thus, they have had little opportunity to come to know, or experience the richness of cultures present in Scotland. This lack of knowledge is problematic because it is well accepted that teachers need to *know* their pupils, to understand and respect their pupils' cultural and linguistic heritage, that is, their cultural knowledge, traditions, values and practices. In order to make their teaching culturally relevant and meaningful, teachers must understand the nature of CALD pupils' 'funds of knowledge' (Gonzales, Moll, & Amanti, 2005), that is, how to scaffold their students' learning and how to connect sanctioned curriculum with students' cultural knowledge. A challenge for many teachers is knowing how to use students' first language in the classroom in order to facilitate effective second language learning, and how to design culturally sensitive assessments (Sleeter & Cornbleth, 2011; Harry & Klingner, 2014). Goodwin (2010, p. 25) suggests that to know pupils is to understand the "informal, cultural, or personal curricula that

children embody – the curriculum of home, the curriculum of community/ies, the curriculum of lived experiences".

While knowing pupils' cultures is important, it does not constitute all the knowledge that teachers need in order to be culturally responsive and socially-just practitioners. I have argued elsewhere that in order to understand the 'cultural other', teachers need to understand themselves as encultured, that is, embedded within particular cultural practices (Santoro, 2009). This means, understanding themselves as having an ethnicity, a set of cultural beliefs and values that shape how *they* see and interact with pupils, what they expect of pupils, what they actually do in their classrooms and what they 'know' to be valuable and correct about particular schooling, teaching and teaching practices (Santoro, 2009; Santoro, 2013). Knowing the 'ethnic self' and 'cultural self' is inextricably connected to understanding the cultural and ethnic 'other', and is crucial to developing culturally responsive pedagogies and effective classroom practice (Santoro, 2009). If teachers are to be the agents of change that so many of them say shaped their motivation to become teachers in the first place (Kiriacou et al., 2010; Sanger & Osguthorpe, 2011), and use pedagogies that address and take into account CALD pupils' needs, it is imperative they understand the ideologies of the dominant cultural groups to which they belong. While it is commonly accepted that pupils' beliefs and values shape their identities and practices as learners, the same is rarely considered in relation to teachers' identities and how their work is shaped by the cultural values and beliefs they bring to the classroom. Applebaum (2009), commenting on the connection in general between understanding self and others, says;

> When it is assumed that teachers can act as if they bring nothing into the classroom, teachers do not have to examine how their own identities and the frameworks within which they are constituted influence how they understand who their students are and what can be expected of them. (p. 383)

Maybe not surprisingly, the majority of the student-teachers in the study reported here also lacked awareness of their own cultures, their own positioning and how membership of the dominant majority shapes their teaching identities. Generally, during interviews, they struggled to engage with the concept. In the following excerpt of data, Lisa responds to a question about how her own culture shapes her teaching identity.

> Ummm … I don't know… I haven't really thought about it… I'm not sure… Do you mean…? Like, well, I've always been brought up with, like my mum's always saying "remember your manners". And say "please", "thank you" and always be kind to other people. And I think that does kind of affect the way you relate to other people. Like when I talk to children in my class, I want to set a good example for them and I want to show them that it's important to have manners and it's important to say "please" and "thank you" and to be

nice to other children. I suppose that does kind of shape you as a person and a teacher as well.

Similarly, Michelle answers the same question with uncertainty.

> I can't say that I've thought about it much, no … ummm. I think my experience of being through the Scottish system will always be something that affects how I am as a teacher. Umm, but as far as culture necessarily goes… I wouldn't say…, there's not been … I don't really know, not really sure.

Ben is much more certain that there is no connection between one's culture and professional identity. He says "I don't think my culture's really impacted on me too much at all". He then follows this comment up with, "It's important for teachers to treat all students the same regardless of their own culture, or the culture of the students". While well intentioned, and underpinned by egalitarian intentions, Ben's intention to treat all students the same is what has been called 'naïve egalitarianism' (Causey et al., 2000). Treating everyone the same and giving everyone the same opportunities are two very different concepts, in that treating everyone the same will may simply perpetuate the status quo and maintain existing inequalities. Difference does matter—most people who are, or perceive themselves to be different, are likely to say it matters, especially when some people are treated unequally and have unequal access to resources, *because* they are different. In some ways Rachel's thinking is more sophisticated in that she seems to understand the need to provide the same *opportunities* to pupils: "To be honest I'm not sure how much you should let where a child's from make a difference. It's about giving him or her the same chance as everybody in the class".

Ben's and Rachel's responses, to some degree, draw attention to the challenges faced by members of the majority cultural in understanding the complexities of cultural identities. They are often blind to the dominant socio-cultural discourses they operate within, and take up. Particular educational practices are simply assumed to be 'normal' and 'natural' rather than a product and a construction of the dominant culture of which they are members. Only one of the student-teachers, Cara, makes any connection between her own positionality and her understanding of CALD pupils:

> I feel… I kind of feel a bit, sometimes, not embarrassed, but you know I'm like the *classic* student, you know, white, young female, Scottish. And I think, sometimes, I think oh, I wish I wasn't because I might have a better chance of connecting with children with different cultures. I might understand them better.

Cara made connections between her personal identity, her professional identity and the challenge of understanding students who are different from herself. This acknowledgement points to a reflexive disposition that did not appear to be apparent in the other students, even though she shares many characteristics with her fellow students. However, what is important for Cara, given that she *is* Scottish and white,

and this is not going to change, is to be able to critique what being white and Scottish actually means, and how she might develop better understandings of herself in order to understand others.

The student-teachers were anxious and worried about teaching CALD pupils. The survey indicated that nearly 72% said they would prefer to teach a class of monolingual pupils. A large majority of 78% (no = 241) were worried about teaching a class consisting mostly of pupils who are of ethnic minority. Maybe this is not surprising, given their lack of knowledge of cultures different from their own and their lack of awareness and reflexivity about their own cultural positioning. Of the student-teachers who responded to an open ended question in the survey about what they thought were the challenges of teaching CALD pupils, 50% indicated that a language barrier posed a challenge to them, 61% said understanding different culture was a challenge and 5% were worried about inadvertently offending pupils and parents from a different religion because of their own lack of knowledge.

Their concern about the prospect of teaching CALD pupils is due, in part to feeling unconfident and underprepared. Nearly 80% said they lacked confidence to teach CALD pupils. Michelle says, "I wouldn't say that I'm very well prepared. I am not confident, particularly with students with English as an additional language. I'm not sure how I would approach it". Others talk about the inadequacy of their teacher education. "I wish there was a compulsory class on languages and teaching bilingual children because we might have only had 2 or 3 lectures on it and it is nowhere near enough" (Stephanie).

> I think my course has prepared me to be aware that I will no doubt come across a classroom with children without English is their first language. But it's not prepared me specifically to deal with it. So you know that's not detracting from the course it's just that you know you've only got four years suppose and we've learned what we've learned but we certainly haven't had, in my opinion, as much preparation to deal with children with English as their additional language, absolutely not. (Amy)

The student-teachers' lack of confidence in their readiness to teach in culturally diverse contexts is not surprising. The component of their course addressing culturally diverse classrooms is limited to a short elective module on teaching English to pupils for whom English is an Additional Language (EAL). Furthermore, CALD pupils are often broadly categorised as pupils with special needs, because of their perceived English language needs. An analysis of professional teacher standards in 5 national contexts suggests this conflation is also common in contexts beyond Scotland (see Santoro & Kennedy, 2016).

DISCUSSION

The issues highlighted in this chapter are not likely to arise in the case of CALD student-teachers or teachers – or at least, not in the same ways. Data from previous

work suggests that CALD teachers who share cultural backgrounds with their pupils are generally more likely to understand the cultural practices and knowledge the pupils bring with them to their learning, they are more likely to understand what is valued by families and have relationships with families based on shared cultural knowledge. Those who might not have the same culture, but are nevertheless cultural outsiders to the mainstream, may have first-hand experience of being an English language learner, or they may understand, on a personal level, the difficulties associated with immigration and resettlement (Santoro, 2013). These insights are not ones that are readily available to teachers drawn from the dominant cultural 'mainstream'. For example, as Sadia, a Muslim primary school teacher in England says, "During Ramadan, if children are tired, or not doing as well, you understand why … It's relating to the children's experiences, because you've been through things yourself (Basit & Santoro, 2011, p. 42). Similarly, Con, a Greek immigrant teacher in Australia says;

> I feel that I can actually understand these kids. The fact that I have experienced all of these experiences has opened my eyes as to what it feels like to be a student under different circumstances and I know what it's like to be a foreigner in a new country where you're not really aware of what's happening and it's hard to be accepted. (Santoro, 2007, p. 87)

A significant theme that emerged from previous research I have conducted, and related to CALD teachers' commitment to improving the educational outcomes of children from their own ethnic group, is the work ethnic minority teachers perform as role models. Raelene, an Australian Aboriginal teacher says:

> I want the kids to know if there is a black teacher sitting in front of the blackboard that they've got a chance to be able to get there too … and I can talk to them about my past because it hasn't been smooth, it hasn't been rosy, it's been a little rough at times … and I can talk to them about it so they know that I have done all that … and oh, maybe they'll think, if she can do it, then maybe I've got a chance of doing it too. (Basit & Santoro, 2011, p. 46)

In contrast, the student-teachers in the study reported here appeared not to understand the culturally diverse nature of the student population in Scotland, let alone what cultural practices their pupils might bring from home to their learning, how, they as teachers, might build upon pupils' prior knowledge, or how some educational practices seen as valuable in a Scottish context, might actually work to alienate CALD pupils. They were fearful of the challenges and difficulties they perceived to be associated with teaching CALD pupils.

I do not want to suggest that *all* teachers drawn from the cultural majority struggle to address the needs of CALD pupils. Of course, there are teachers who possess intercultural competence and knowledge, respect for difference and self awareness of their own positionality and its effect on their classroom practice—they are not a homogenous group. It is also not the case that the student-teachers in the

study reported in this chapter cannot learn to be culturally responsive practitioners who have sophisticated understandings of difference. Nor is it the case that they cannot learn to understand how they are embedded into dominant discourses and ways of thinking and acting, both personally and professionally. However, this requires teacher education that prioritises the preparation of culturally responsive practitioners—far too often it does not. The student-teachers in the study reported here consistently said they had not had sufficient preparation and felt unconfident.

Just as I have cautioned against assuming all cultural majority teachers lack deep understandings of cultures different from their own I also want to caution against assuming that all CALD teachers will necessarily understand all CALD pupils and their needs. CALD teachers are not a homogenous group, despite often being positioned thus by their colleagues, school administrators and policy makers (Santoro, 2013). Their cultures are hugely varied, and a teacher of Chinese heritage from Hong Kong may not understand the cultural values of a student from Iraq, nor may they necessarily understand students from Northern mainland China. Furthermore, other markers of identity such as gender and social class can intersect with ethnicity, thus rendering the cultural values and practices that might be common to pupil and teacher, less salient (Santoro, 2013). For example, a Somalian teacher who is from an urban middle class background might not have much more in common with a Somalian pupil from a rural village, than does a Scottish teacher.

Finally, in returning to the question posed in the title of this chapter, 'The Cultural Diversification of the Scottish Teaching Profession: How Necessary is it?', I believe it is absolutely necessary—and for a number of reasons. First, a Scottish teaching profession that is culturally diverse is likely to enhance the educational experiences of CALD pupils. Notwithstanding the caveats discussed above, they are more likely than their mainstream colleagues to understand CALD pupils and their experiences as members of minority groups, their cultures and the cultural knowledge they bring with them to the classroom. Second, the diversification of the profession is also likely to be of benefit to mainstream pupils. Teachers who are bicultural and bilingual can potentially contribute different cultural perspectives to curriculum and teach *all* pupils about, and through, cultural perspectives that are unavailable to teachers from the hegemonic mainstream. Third, culturally diverse teachers may contribute perspectives to curriculum and pedagogy that has the potential to enhance their mainstream Scottish colleagues' knowledge, skills and intercultural competence. However, while the cultural diversification of the profession in Scotland is imperative, it should never be seen as a panacea for the problems created by inadequately prepared ethnic majority teachers who frequently struggle to work effectively with CALD pupils. Too often, the education of CALD pupils is simply handed over to CALD teachers, thus alleviating their ethnic majority colleagues of the responsibility to address the needs of *all* pupils (Santoro, 2013). Teaching for, and with cultural diversity should be a concern of all teachers. Therefore, what is *also* required at the same time as culturally diverse teachers are recruited into the Scottish education system, is teacher education that prioritises the development of

intercultural competence, reflectivity, reflexivity and signals a serious commitment to the preparation of *all* teachers for the complex and culturally diverse classrooms of the twenty-first century.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

NOTES

[1]   The term 'CALD teachers' is used in this chapter for teachers who are of ethnic or racial minority as well as Aboriginal teachers.
[2]   Second year student-teachers were not on campus because of being on a school practicum at the time of the questionnaire being distributed.
[3]   All names are pseudonyms.

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2. BECOMING THE "GOOD TEACHER"

Professional Capital Conversion of Internationally
Educated Teachers

INTRODUCTION

The possibilities for immigrant teachers to become recertified and find employment is an important concern for the diversification of the teaching profession in Canada and elsewhere in the face of social forces such as globalization and increased immigration. This chapter draws on a larger study that examined the recertification process of internationally educated teachers (IETs) in the contradictory space of Canadian multiculturalism as it played out in one of two teacher education programs in British Columbia (BC) which offer a designated track for IETs (Marom, 2016). Although many IETs arrive in Canada as graduates of higher education and teacher education programs, many of them need to repeat at least parts of their education to be eligible to teach in Canada. Obtaining the course work and practice teaching needed for recertification falls under the mandate of teacher education programs; however, critics point out that teacher education programs have not been flexible enough to meet the challenge of IETs' integration (Cho, 2011; Phillion, 2003).

Building on Bourdieu's (1985, 1990) concept of cultural capital and its sub-category of professional capital (Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011), we investigate the dominant professional capital circulating in teacher education involving IETs. We use the concept of professional capital to demonstrate the capital conversion process that is required from IETs (Marom & Ruitenberg, in preparation).

Research on IETs in Canada is a relatively recent endeavour (Bascia, Thiessen, & Goodson, 1996; Beynon, Ilieva, & Dichupa, 2004; Cho, 2011; Deters, 2011; Faez, 2010; Frank, 2013; He, 1998; Janusch, 2014; Myles, Cheng, & Wang, 2006; Schmidt, 2010). Studies to date focus on different stages of the recertification process (e.g., credential assessment, course work, practicum, and job search). Most studies focus on the experiences and voices of IETs and unveil barriers in the process of recertification and employment using various terminology such as systemic, social, and general barriers (Phillion, 2003); recertification entry, marginalization, and professional acculturation (Deters, 2011); "regulatory agencies, teacher education programmes and employers" (Beynon et al., 2004, p. 433); language,

recertification processes, personal and economic problems (Walsh & Brigham, 2007); intake and recertification programs, and job finding (Cho, 2011). Two major themes identified in the literature are cultural and linguistic barriers with studies describing the difficulties in teaching in a second language and the cultural nuances embedded in diverse teaching contexts. Fewer studies, however, take a closer look at the institutional frames impacting IETs' experiences (Schmidt, 2010; Schmidt & Block, 2010). Indeed, Schmidt (2010) claims that there is a "dearth of scholarship that brings immigrant teacher issues beyond the realm of the personal and into the political" (p. 241).

This chapter focuses on the institutional space of the recertification trajectory for IETs, and some of the processes and interactions enacted in it, by analyzing the conception of the "good teacher" in the recertification trajectory of IETs in the University of British Columbia (UBC) Updating Program. It is grounded in the understanding that the program is not an isolated social site, but rather is located within a web of policies and institutions that are intertwined in the recertification process. The study it draws on findings of previous research on IETs, while aiming to extend beyond IETs' experiences to the institutional and political factors that affect these experiences.

BOURDIEU, PROFESSIONAL CAPITAL, AND THE "GOOD TEACHER"

Bourdieu's (1985, 1990) work on habitus, field, and capital is a useful frame to illuminate some of the challenges that IETs face institutionally in the recertification process. The notion of habitus reflects human participation in a social world and the incorporation of that social world in the embodied dispositions of the person. Fields, or social worlds, are defined by the degree of their autonomy and their location within a larger field of power (Bourdieu, 1985; Gemme, 2009) according to the relative economic, cultural, and social capital operating in them. In any given field, "the kinds of capital, like the aces in a game of cards, are powers which define the chances of profit" (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 196). Hence, capital has two important functions: to advance members of one group over another, and to serve as the quality distinction of a certain group. Bourdieu uses the term symbolic capital to denote "the form in which the different forms of capital [economic, cultural, social] are perceived and recognized as legitimate" (1985, p. 197) in a given field. Thus symbolic capital has a double function as a form of capital embedded in the other forms of capital while different fields have specific forms of capital that act as the local currency of the field.

According to Bourdieu, disjunctions between habitus and field occur "when individuals with a well-developed habitus find themselves in different fields or different parts of the same social field" (Reay, 2004, p. 438). The IET participants in this study arrived in Canada as immigrants with their prospective habitus and capital; however, in order to keep working in their profession (the field of teaching),

they had to go through a recertification process, even if it seemed "not for the likes of us" (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 202). According to Bourdieu, the match or clash of field and habitus is a major factor that impacts the symbolic value of one's capital in a field and operates unconsciously on the choices made by agents. Hence, this is a situation of inherent tension between habitus and cultural capital attained by IETs in their home countries, and the demands of the field of teacher education they enter in BC as part of their recertification trajectory.

Schinkel and Noordegraaf (2011) argue that Bourdieu's conceptual apparatus can be expanded with the concept of professional capital, and that, "professionalism can be seen as a form of symbolic [cultural] capital in … 'the field of power'" (p. 68). While professional capital can be understood as the capital that accrues to an individual by virtue of being a member of a certain profession, it can also represent capital distinctive to a profession that positions people differentially within their occupational field. The concept of professional capital captures the "process of struggle over the attainment of professionalism as symbolic [cultural] capital" (Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011, p. 89) and this is precisely the process in which IETs partake during recertification. In a global society with high rates of professional immigration, many distinctions are based around professional definitions. The study this chapter draws upon indicates that in the field of teacher education, the distinction seems built around who is considered a "good teacher."

Research has identified several concurrently existing discourses on the "good teacher" with the two dominant ones being the "competent craftsperson" and the "reflexive practitioner" (Moore, 2004; Pinto, Portelli, Rottman, Pashby, Barrett, & Mujawamariya, 2012). The "competent craftsperson" discourse denotes a skills-based approach framed by standardization and testing and thus, even though pervasive since the 1990s (Moore, 2004), it seems aligned to current neoliberal pressures on the teaching profession. Based on competency models constraining expertise into measurable units, it is positivistic and universalistic and as such would marginalize and exclude IETs in a new professional context because "the concept of the good teacher cannot sit 'outside' or untouched by the larger social conversations, situations, ideologies and purposes within which it is situated" (Moore, 2004, p. 36). Or, as Pinto et al. (2012) wonder, "what happens to professional dispositions, skills and knowledge not included in official lists?" (p. 75).

The second dominant discourse, that of the "reflexive practitioner," emphasizes the deeper knowledge and understanding of teachers and reflects a more artful approach to teaching. Complying with the unspecified cultural assumptions of this discourse which posits teachers as continual learners and researchers of their own practice can be daunting for newcomers to a given educational context that espouses particular understandings around reflexivity. Besides, this approach too is often consumed by the competence approach, where reflexivity is focused on core skills or "self improvement" (Moore, 2004, p. 104) and is detached from its potential for societal transformation.

The problem with both discourses is that the "dominance of a particular discourse privileges a certain conception of a good teacher—and unfairly advantages the individuals who imbue that discourse" (Pinto et al., 2012, p. 76). As we will show below, within these discourses, IETs are conceived as deficient in many aspects.

RESEARCH METHOD AND DATA SOURCES

The methodological design aims to extend the perspective of the study from IETs' experiences to the wider institutional and structural aspects of their recertification trajectory. Data generation took place between October 2013 and July 2014. The main site of the study was the Updating program where Marom conducted interviews with five currently recertifying IETs, five graduate IETs, eleven faculty members, and observed classes in five courses. Marom also conducted interviews with three employees of the Teacher Regulation Branch (TRB) – the certifying body in BC, attended two information sessions at the TRB, and examined relevant policies. We only refer to interview data in this chapter. The IET participants were of various backgrounds and characteristics: there were eight females and two males, five immigrated from Eastern European countries, one from South America, two from Asia, one from North Africa, and one from Western Europe. All of the participants were in their mid-30s and had families. Since the Updating Program is small, IETs chose pseudonyms and their countries of origin are not disclosed in order to maintain their anonymity.

IETS AND THE PROFESSIONAL CAPITAL OF TEACHERS IN BC

The study addressed several questions around the recertification trajectories of the IET participants and examined the conceptions of the "good teacher" manifested in this process especially within the Updating program. Through a Bourdieuian lens, these IETs' recertification trajectories are viewed as a power-embedded mechanism. Professional capital as developed in the Updating Program was associated with the following: cultural/linguistic/content knowledge, school culture, assessment practices, and pedagogy. The data analyzed below exemplify that conceptions of the "good teacher" and the professional capital associated with this notion were embedded in the wider construction of the teaching profession in BC and its gatekeeping mechanisms.

Entering the teaching profession in Canada, as a regulated profession, requires an evaluation process and specific training. The recertification trajectory for IETs can be understood as a way of gaining local professional capital, a learning process needed for re-entering the teaching profession in a different place. In that respect, the IET participants shared some acute differences in linguistic and cultural knowledge, school culture, assessment, and pedagogy between BC and some countries. For example, Nehlia recalled:

To be a good teacher in [my country], you need to work a lot, … to give them a lot of homework, …you spend a good deal of time teaching the content… here the teachers are more friends.

The participant IETs wanted to understand the Canadian school system and wanted to be "good Canadian teachers." In that sense, they understood "good teachers" as "reflexive practitioners" that are expected to constantly develop their practice. However, while all the IETs felt that the courses opened up opportunities to gain new understanding about teaching in Canada, many felt that their experiences and knowledge were not incorporated into the program. Peter shared, "Nobody asked me about the Eastern Asian system, nobody asked me to open and share, which system is different, which system is not so good. I didn't have this opportunity." The IETs entered the Updating program as experienced teachers, but it had not been established as a professional development program, but rather as a form of novice teachers training. The outcome was a focus on what IETs *don't know*, as Camy recalled:

I have times when I feel overwhelmed, because there are so many things you need to learn and I'm supposed to have experience in teaching and to know things, but I'm aware that there are so many things that I don't know.

No one would argue that differences do not exist between places; the question is how to approach differences. We argue that in the case of IETs, essentialist views toward their professional capital were prevalent. For instance, in one of the TRB information sessions the evaluators said: "In BC [the system] is very student-centered, in other countries it is not like this. Like in China you stand in front and the students follow your orders… In China, there is no class management, none, they just listen." Thus essentialist assumptions were geared toward IETs, based on their culture/country of origin. This is troubling especially since BC's educational system promotes diversity and multiculturalism as main values (BC Ministry of Education, 2008). Unlike the essentialist assumptions made by some professionals toward IETs, the IET participants held a more complex conception of their professional capital not dependent solely on their country of origin or cultural affiliation. For instance, coming from an Asian country, Peter recalled: "I interacted quite well with the students [in my country] because I think the one way is very boring…and students can learn better when … they are not afraid of you."

There are always arbitrary components within professional capital that are entangled with essential ones. Arbitrary components are not only specific to school culture and pedagogy, but also to more general conceptions of the "good teacher" as Miruna shared:

I was given the feedback that I have to be a lot more enthusiastic… my FA [university instructor] pointed out that Canadian applicants tend to be

> more enthusiastic …Thinking back on that it made me feel a little bit of an outsider…I think I'm a very enthusiastic person…but I can't be like that the whole time…That is why I felt that I do need to change, I do need to blend in more because I wanted to do well.

This example demonstrates that one of the marks of being a "good teacher" in the Canadian context seems to be being enthusiastic. However, one might ask what is the inherent connection between enthusiasm and good teaching, and how exactly enthusiasm can be measured. Miruna also points to an important expectation that IETs "blend in" with Canadian teachers.

The recertification trajectory should not be understood as a specific case of the professional acquisition process, which is integral to all professional fields (Deters, 2011; Frank, 2013) since IETs are already trained professionals. However, as data suggest, the recertification process did not acknowledge their expertise and thus is not designed in a reciprocal way, but rather as a mandatory one-sided process. Instead of seeing IETs as professionals who need to learn the new context of their future teaching (while enriching the local context), IETs are perceived as lacking essential qualities for becoming "good teachers" in Canada. For example, one of the practicum coordinators in the program shared:

> [IETs] are forced to do [the recertification program] if they want to be able to teach in BC. Once or twice a year I would get a call from an updater saying, "I don't have the time and the resources…why they make me do so much." So there is a resentment coming into the program and I think sometimes it's a barrier too, because it is not coming here with a sense of excitement and wanting to be a better teacher, wanting to improve their craft. It's because the TRB told them they have to do this.

This quote reflects an assumption that the Updating Program can be viewed as a remedial program for the IETs among some of the instructors in it. This also raises the question of its status within the wider educational community. Similarly, a former advisor in the program shared:

> There is a huge pressure on [IETs] to change and to adjust. In fact we're saying that what you've done in your career already in the last 10–20 years, we're not valuing it, … we want you to change how you do things…You were successful in your country, people … thought you were a good teacher and now you come here and we say, "No, this is a bad method, don't do it any more"…You are asked to change very quickly.

These comments demonstrate the professional capital conversion process that is required from IETs as well as some of the inherent tensions in it. These tensions are the outcome of both the power relations that are embedded in the process, and the demand for IETs to change habitus and exchange their previous professional capital in a short period of time. These power relations are also conveyed in the terminology

of "updating program" and "updater" that position the participants in it negatively and imply that the IETs' professional capital is out-of-date. The TRB, as the main gatekeeping institution of the teaching profession in BC, initiated many procedures that reflect these power relations. As its Director of Certification described:

> One of the mandates of this government and its administrators is to put more weight on what professional excellence means in the teaching profession… [That is why] we have teaching standards. We use the same set of regulations for all applicants whether they were trained in BC or in Nova Scotia or in Romania.

This view demonstrates a top-down standardized understanding of the professional capital of teachers that is consistent with a neoliberal discourse. As Angus (2013) points out: "such presumed … objectivity of a technical-rational approach to education implicitly endorses the status quo. It assumes neutrality and 'common sense' within a paradigm of accountability, compliance and 'performativity'" (p. 172). This study participant shared an example from another regulated profession to demonstrate the responsibilities of the TRB:

> My sister is hygienist; I know what she has to do to maintain her license. As credential evaluators if we won't keep up, … we'll miss things; we won't know the latest developments. And that is why I promote and encourage my staff to do this learning on credential assessment and foreign education systems.

Hence, the TRB aims to be current with regards to developments in the teaching profession in different countries. Still, professional standards are never neutral (Guo & Shan, 2013) and so constant learning does not necessarily challenge the core assumptions that are embedded in the standards. The rationalization in the quote above demonstrates as well what Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) call, when analyzing a given field, "a tacit recognition of the value of the stakes of the game" (cited in Gemme, 2009, p. 20). Hence, it is the internalization of the importance of the game and its rules by agents in the field that justifies the necessity of their position and actions.

In the case of the IET participants, power relations translated into many specific institutional decisions that were made on their behalf, such as whether they would be re-certified as elementary or secondary teachers, and in what subjects they would specialize. These decisions, sometimes dressed as "expert advice", are good examples of power discrepancies in the recertification trajectory. For instance, Sofia, who was an elementary teacher in South America, recalled:

> The TRB studied all my documents and they showed me two paths: if I do the elementary track … I need to take many more classes, and for the secondary track if I'd be teaching Spanish, then I don't have to do that much… so I was thinking about it, and I decided not to keep on with elementary teaching.

In this case, as well as in two other cases in this study, IETs changed their subject areas or their K-12 focus based on TRB recommendations. IETs interpreted these interventions as expert advice that would increase their chances of establishing a teaching career in BC and prioritized them over their initial choice. Yet, finding employment related to a specific subject area following a faster route to certification in BC may not be always the case. Often, however, the TRB considerations prioritized arbitrary standards over the IETs' professional orientation, which reflects the deficient position of IETs in the field and the expectation that they would subordinate their professional identity to its rules. Miruna described a discouraging interaction with her School Associate (the school teacher supervisor in the practicum) prior to her practicum:

> It was told to me over and over, even before I started the practicum that I should reconsider [being certified as a teacher] because my experience was totally different from the Canadian experience. So that was supposed to be, I guess, a warning for me regarding my different background and experience.

These two examples demonstrate extreme paternalism and gatekeeping mechanisms in which the professional capital of Sofia and Miruna was devalued to the point that they were advised to change their teaching trajectory or leave the field.

Not surprisingly, the barriers in the recertification trajectory led to frustration among IETs. However, several program instructors considered these feelings to be "negative emotions" IETs needed to overcome in order to succeed in the recertification process. One practicum coordinator shared:

> When [IETs] are trying to hold on to something that they know, that is when the problems happen, instead of embracing certain things … If they can drop that resistance piece, if they can drop the fight…this is just the system, leave the fight aside and embrace teaching… If they're fighting all the way along, rumbling that I shouldn't be made to do it, it's pretty hard to be successful.

Another practicum coordinator reflected:

> When there are problems one of the most common … statements … students would make is that there is an under-appreciation of their culture here, that we are imposing a kind of a cookie cutter approach on how you teach in Canada, and I've always found it a bit disappointing… sometimes I feel like this is the main argument, that we're not appreciating them and there should be almost seamless kind of thing… and sometimes I think that [IETs] fail to put themselves in another person's shoes as to why these policies might be in place… I feel like this is our fault, that the burden is placed in our hands more than it should be.

Although all interviewed professionals expressed appreciation for IETs' capabilities as teachers, the underlying assumption was that they were the ones who needed to adjust to the Canadian system whereas resistance on their behalf was considered not

only disruptive but also "unfair" to the institutions that were trying to help them. Rather than seeing IETs' critique as a trigger to a more dialogic recertification process, it was marginalized as a personal deficit. Furthermore, instead of challenging views of "difference as deficit" and rejecting neoliberal standardization, these examples maintain the problematic assumption that, "successful integration in the host society is solely the responsibility of the individual immigrant" (Schmidt, 2010, p. 237).

If the recertification trajectory is to be understood as a capital conversion process, it follows that IETs are required to prove that they have adopted the new professional capital in order to gain access to the Canadian teaching profession. Hence, IETs' self-judgment is not at the core of this process, rather they need to convince the recertifying institutions that they successfully transformed their capital. As Peter shared:

> I have to fit in the system … otherwise I won't be able to get a job … I tried to learn the Canadian way because this is the culture here and this is the way things are done. …I would just put it this way, if I can follow the Canadian way then I'm a good Canadian teacher, if I practice my way then I'm not a good Canadian teacher, because they judge me, not I judge myself, this is their criteria, … it's the Canadian criteria.

It seems that the IETs are judged for being not sufficiently Canadian, yet a "Canadian" way of teaching is most certainly elusive if at all definable. Thus the conception of the "good teacher" in Canada is built upon an arbitrary distinction between what is "Canadian" and what is "not from here" with IETs always at a risk of being marked as "outsiders". The desire to fit in is also reflected in Sofia's words:

> You always learn … even from bad experiences… Every day you are getting to know the place you live in and the people who surround you … if not, you're never going to be part of this society. We made the choice to be here so we have to … find a way to do it, I have to survive here, I have to have a job.

Using the Bourdieuian frame, these examples demonstrate the deficient position of IETs as players in the recertification field (game). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) argue that in a given field players try to, "increase or to conserve their capital…in conformity with the tactic rules of the game and the prerequisites of the reproduction of the game and its stakes" (as cited in Gale & Densmore, 2000, p. 42). However, they explain that players can also

> transform, partly or completely, the immanent rules of the game. They can … work to change…the exchange rate between various species of capital, through strategies aimed at discrediting the form of capital upon which the force of their opponents rests… and [valorizing] the species of capital they preferentially possess. (as cited in Gale & Densmore, 2000, p. 42)

It seems that IETs are in an unlikely position to transform the game/field, as they are positioned solely as students (i.e. not professionals) in a game that lacks dialogism

and is controlled by professionals (be it academics, teachers with secure positions, or policy makers). Since at the Updating Program IETs act as individuals, their ability to be recognized as a unique group and to initiate changes in the program is further limited. Miruna's example speaks to the reproduction of prevalent conceptions in the time of her practicum:

> There is sometimes an expectation to try to adapt yourself to the teaching requirements and even to the teaching style of your SA [school associate] I think most SAs [are expecting this], even without realizing. They may say, "I want you to be yourself," but then they give you feedback that some of your methods are not ok…because they would have done it differently. This makes you wonder what … they really want from you… the bottom line is that you want to please them, as you want a good report.

While this example demonstrates power relations embedded in the generic structure of the practicum between mentors and newcomers to the teaching profession, such disregard for engaging with the expertise that IETs with many years of teaching may bring to their new teaching context is regrettable. Instead of a dialogical relation between Miruna and her school associate, we observe unidirectionality in the flow of expertise. It seems that IETs are viewed simply as novice teachers who need to subordinate their ideas to the ideas of their supervisors, the gatekeepers of the field. Some core ideas are needed in any profession, and, as evidenced in Camy's and Sofia's comments above, IETs are willing to learn those pertinent to their new teaching context. Yet, an exchange of ideas is paramount if the "good teacher" is to be understood as a "reflexive practitioner". This is especially important in order to diversify the field and open it to alternative conceptions.

DISCUSSION: CELEBRATION OF DIVERSITY?

The Canadian educational and policy discourse is suffused with references to diversity as something to celebrate, especially in urban areas such as Greater Vancouver. Hence, not surprisingly, references to diversity were prominent in interviews with professionals who highlighted its importance in the teaching profession. For instance, one instructor shared: "BC and Vancouver specifically is such a multicultural city… What is the Canadian culture? … It becomes a matter of celebrating diversity and where people are from." Similarly, the former Head of the Teacher Education Office at UBC argued: "There is no unique Canadian culture anymore, there was more when I was a child, but now there isn't, it's a multicultural student body." Such statements about "Canadian culture" overlook the hierarchal construction of the teaching profession in BC. Whereas references to the importance of diversity and multiculturalism were prevalent, there was a disjuncture between this terminology and the actual construction of the recertification process. It seems that the main message that was conveyed in this process is of a teaching profession that prioritizes assimilation over diversity. In Ewa's words, "in BC you

don't value and appreciate people from the outside; if you have it from outside, we don't need it because we know better." Furthermore, the above comments by professionals demonstrate a profound paradox for the IETs – if there is no single clearcut "culture" why is it that they are constantly being judged negatively for not understanding and representing it sufficiently? Comments by professionals shared here seem to imply an assumption that the role of education in society is primarily to engrain the status quo.

As indicated earlier, most IETs felt that they lacked some local knowledge, cultural understanding, and familiarity with the school system. They felt that they had a lot to learn and were in most cases eager to expand their professional knowledge. However, in the Updating Program their unique position of IETs was not acknowledged enough, whereas in the credential evaluation stage it was categorized as deficient.

IETs are expected to gain the professional capital that is promoted in BC. Yet, in their training process IETs' previous experiences and knowledge are not used as a leverage to challenge and enrich local conceptions of good teaching. The data above show that most IETs did not have the opportunity to share their previous professional capital; rather, they were primarily expected to adjust to the Canadian model. In the professional exchange process, the currency of foreign professional capital was treated as much weaker than the local currency. While it is understandable that capital conversion is inevitable in a new context, the symbolic value of the IETs' professional capital to be converted would depend on the power relations, possibilities for dialogue, and the permeability of the notion of the "good teacher" played out in the teaching field in this new context.

CONCLUSION

The construction of the recertification process posited IETs in a deficient position not only as newcomers to Canada but also to the teaching profession. This position diminished IETs' previous knowledge and experiences and resulted in prioritizing local Canadian knowledge while essentializing and categorizing "other" knowledge. Not only did IETs need to overcome many barriers, but also they were required to prove that they had exchanged their professional capital before they were acknowledged as "good Canadian teachers." This process is even more problematic since, as we noted above, the notion of "Canadian" knowledge itself is vague and contested. Yet, paradoxically, it is conveyed as a coherent construct when contrasted with "non-Canadian" knowledges and when IETs' professional capital is judged in this environment.

We argue that a critical examination of the recertification process is needed if we are to strive for a truly reflective and inclusive teaching profession. The process should be designed in a reciprocal way that captures IETs' complex locations not only as learners within Canadian teacher education models but also as teachers that can expand and challenge the current professional capital, and help diversify

the Canadian teaching force. Inviting IETs to participate in the discussion and to incorporate their knowledge and experiences in reconstructing the recertification process may be the first step in reimagining the "good teacher" in Canada.

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