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Educating for Exile? The Effects of Emigration on the Roles and Identities of Salvadoran Schoolteachers

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2013

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Educating for Exile?

The Effects of Emigration

on the Roles and Identities

of Salvadoran Schoolteachers

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Education

by

Meredith Jane Wegener

2013

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Educating for Exile?

The Effects of Emigration

on the Roles and Identities

of Salvadoran Schoolteachers

by

Meredith Jane Wegener

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2013

Professor Carlos A. Torres, Chair

This study critically examines the effects of emigration on the roles and identities of
public-school teachers in El Salvador. Framed within the context of globalization and
international migration, it utilizes a phenomenological approach in order to conceptualize
the ways in which rising emigration rates have changed perceived and actual teacher
roles, teacher perceptions of identity and citizenship, and their relationship to the state
and civil society. Using El Salvador as a case study, this research examines the impact of
migration – of students, family members, and teachers themselves – on the lived
experiences, role construction, and identity of Salvadoran educators. In-depth

phenomenological interviews were conducted with 19 teachers from two schools: one in a semi-urban border town where migration was a part of everyday life, and the other in a rural village on the outskirts of San Salvador where cases of migration were few and far between. Through these interviews, I examine how teachers make meaning of their personal, professional, and national identities in the context of fluid and dynamic processes of migration and globalization. My findings highlight the contradictions and tensions that emerge from these meaning-making processes. Finally, I argue that the conflicts experienced by teachers seeking to define their individual and collective identities represent a larger struggle between forces of nationalism and transnationalism, leading to new questions about teaching and learning models in El Salvador, as well as the role of teachers and public education within and across national borders.

The dissertation of Meredith Jane Wegener is approved.

César J. Ayala

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University of California, Los Angeles

2013

DEDICATION

Para los docentes salvadoreños,

especialmente mis compañeros en La Armonía y Las Esmeraldas.

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Wegener, M. (March 2013). "Educating for Exile? The effects of migration on the role of Salvadoran schoolteachers." Dissertation draft presented at the New Scholars Mentoring Workshop at annual meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES), March 13, 2013, in New Orleans, LA.

Wegener, M. (October 2012). "Educating for Exile? An examination of the changing roles of Salvadoran schoolteachers." Paper presented at annual Western regional meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES), October 26, 2012, in Tempe, AZ.

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Chapter One

Introduction

"Emigration, forced or chosen, across national frontiers or from village to metropolis,
is the quintessential experience of our time"

– John Berger (1984)

In recent decades, the phenomenon of emigration has become a defining feature of many Latin American countries, where the primary flows of human and knowledge capital have been away from countries of origin and toward the United States and Europe (Asch & Reichmann, 1994; Lungo, 1997; Spring, 2008). Perhaps nowhere has this been more evident than in the tiny Central American nation of El Salvador, where more than a quarter of the population currently resides outside its borders (Ruiz, 2011).[1] This has contributed to profound changes within Salvadoran society amid the forging of transnational networks and systems of economic, social, and cultural exchange. These changes have important implications for schooling, both on the theoretical and practical level, as well as for notions of citizenship, civic engagement, and the relationship between schools and the state. My examination of teacher roles and identity depicts El Salvador's teaching corps at a crossroads, caught between competing ideologies of nationalism and transnationalism, and without clear guidance from the state as to the purpose, aims, and fundamental mission of public education. This study is an effort to

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[1] It is difficult to calculate the exact number of Salvadorans living abroad, mainly due to high levels of undocumented migration. A recent study by Ruiz (2011) found that in 2008 there were approximately 6,122,413 Salvadorans living in El Salvador (data from the Salvadoran Bureau of Statistics and Censuses) and 1,591,640 Salvadorans living in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau). According to these calculations, approximately 26 percent of Salvadorans, or 1 in 4, live in the United States. However, Ruiz's study does not account for Salvadorans living in other foreign countries, meaning that the total number of Salvadoran migrants worldwide is likely somewhere between 2 million and 2.5 million.

help them make sense of their work in the context of dynamic and fluid processes of migration and globalization.

The lack of clarity among teachers with respect to their own roles and identity is indicative of a broader trend within El Salvador, a country at the forefront of debate about the continued relevance of the nation state amid intensified flows of people and ideas within and across national boundaries. Recent research has sought to understand these issues through the lens of transnationalism, arguing that the delinking of economic, political, social, and cultural processes from the nation state necessitates a broader conceptualization of identity and citizenship (Appadurai, 1996; Castles & Miller, 2009; Dyrness, 2011; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). In this model, migration and globalization have contributed to a scenario where national identity is no longer an exclusive way of being (Dyrness, 2011) and people have been separated from longstanding local identities (Appadurai, 1996).

However, such arguments often overlook the important role of the nation state in guaranteeing its citizens certain rights and privileges – including the right to a free, public education – as well as serving as the locus of shared values, ideals, and goals that contribute to a sense of national identity. Critics of transnationalism and its vision of the "disappearing" nation state have argued that such claims are both ahistorical and functionally reductionist (Calderone & Rhoads, 2010; Mintz, 1998). In an early critique of the transnational theories emerging in the 1990s, Mintz (1998) pushed for a more historically inclusive perspective on migration and globalization. Arguing that the mass movement of people and their subsequent identification with multiple communities was neither new nor unique, he wrote, "the new theories of transnationalism and globalization

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are not respectful enough of history, especially of the history of exploration, conquest, and the global division of labor" (Mintz, 1998, p. 131). In a similar vein, Calderone and Rhoads (2010) have emphasized the importance of global power relations and the ways in which nation states sustain global capitalism by providing growing markets, stable political conditions, and a steady supply of human capital.

While some scholars have focused on the relationship of the nation state and global capitalism, others have pointed to the continued power of nation states in regulating international migration. Following the work of Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) on Latina transnational motherhood, Bailey (2001) has argued that the actions of nation states strongly influence the terms and possibilities of migration, noting that, "nation states manage borders to determine who is permitted to enter, how new arrivals are perceived, and how long new arrivals can remain (legally)" (p. 421). Similarly, Castles (1998) has addressed the dual processes of inclusion and exclusion associated with migration:

> Individuals or groups, who possess the characteristics necessary to fit into global markets, whether for labor, capital or cultural goods, are included into the global order as citizens, with civil, political and social rights. Individuals and groups who do not fit are excluded, and may be denied even the most basic rights, such as the right to work and the right to food security. (p. 179)

As the preceding analysis demonstrates, the terms of citizenship remain intimately linked to and determined by the nation state. For many of the world's migrants, including the majority of Salvadorans, citizenship is strongly conditioned by global power relations and the governance of individual nation states. Accordingly, this dissertation remains skeptical of claims that migrants are able to "transcend" or "go beyond" the boundaries of

the nation state, given that their possibilities for economic, political, and social integration are still largely structured by and take place vis a vis state apparatus.

My findings demonstrate that despite claims that transnational activities are taking place above and beyond national borders, nation states continue to play a powerful role in structuring the political, economic, and social activities of citizens, particularly when it comes to international migration. Taking the view of the teachers who took part in this study, rather than having been diminished or become obsolete, the nation state remains a key actor in regulating flows of people and goods, as well as determining the conditions of citizenship, particularly in peripheral nations like El Salvador. Furthermore, the state has tremendous influence on the way Salvadoran teachers view the world and their work. In a time when the links between territory and identity have become increasingly destabilized, teachers saw the state as a source of stability and consistency, at least as an ideological construct and meaning-making device. Indeed, study participants had a strong sense of what it meant to "be Salvadoran" and felt that part of their responsibility as educators was to help students understand their unique political, economic, social, and cultural history. At the same time, they also recognized the importance of preparing youth for the social realities of present-day El Salvador, which often includes leaving the country, either to reunite with family members who have already migrated or to seek out better life and work opportunities for themselves.

The complexities and contradictions surrounding the concept of transnationalism epitomize the challenges faced by teachers across Latin America, who find themselves situated at the intersection of diverse viewpoints, values, and ideologies. The tensions and conflicts that emerge as they go about their lives and work are indicative of the ongoing

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struggle between nationalism and transnationalism – a struggle that is played out on a daily basis in developing countries like El Salvador, where the pull of migration is strong and the influence of the United States evident in the ways that people dress, how they speak, what they eat, and even how they shop. This study asks how teachers are defining and redefining their roles in the context of mass emigration and dislocation. In doing so, it raises questions about how they – and we – can better understand the experience of "living simultaneously within and beyond the boundaries of a nation state" (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004), and perhaps more importantly, what are the implications for teaching and learning in Salvadoran schools?

Key Issues and Terms

Historically, migration has been a difficult concept to define, with a lack of international consensus about the criteria used to classify migrants. In its online glossary of migration-related terms, UNESCO defines migration as "the crossing of the boundary of a political or administrative unit for a certain minimum period of time." While it specifies that international migration involves a relocation of people between nation states, it also acknowledges that "migration is not a single act of crossing a border, but rather a lifelong process that affects all aspects of the lives of those involved." Highlighting the broad nature of the term, the UN's 2002 International Migration Report cited the most commonly used criteria as citizenship, residence, duration of stay, purpose of stay, and place of birth. However, much uncertainty remains over exactly who should and should not be classified as a migrant and for how long.

Ambiguity over the classification of international migrants has spilled over to the language of education research, where the term migration has been used to describe both

processes of immigration and processes of emigration. However, while migrants engage with both processes simultaneously, there is a clear distinction between the effects of immigration (primarily a reference to the experiences of the migrant him/herself) and the effects of emigration (the experiences of those who remain at home). In a more general sense, immigration can be equated with receiver countries while emigration is more closely related to sender countries. Because this study deals with teachers and students still living in El Salvador, its chief concerns revolve around the concept of emigration. Therefore, unless otherwise specified, the terms "migration" or "the migration process" will be used primarily to refer to emigration.

In the case of El Salvador, emigration can been categorized into four main stages: (1) 1920-1969, when migrants principally sought employment opportunities in Honduras, but later traveled to the United States to fulfill labor demands of the World War II era; (2) 1970-1979, when the United States became the principal host destination and Salvadorans began to establish initial roots and networks; (3) 1980-1991, during the Salvadoran civil war when thousands fled as refugees (the majority were undocumented and did not return home after the war); and (4) from 1992 on, as the war ended but migration flows increased dramatically, in some cases by as much as 400 percent (Pleitez, 2005). For the purposes of this study, the fourth stage will be the main point of reference, as it has the most direct relevance for the primary issues and themes. It should be noted, however, that in focusing on the most current phase of migration, this study does not seek to minimize the historical relevance of previous stages. The economic and social networks developed in previous stages of migration have important implications for current migration patterns, not only in terms of who migrates, but also with regard to

when, where, why, and how. Thus any analysis of current patterns and trends must always be grounded in an understanding of the past.

Another important distinction with relevance for this study relates to the geography of migration. In the case of Salvadoran migrants, key destination countries have historically included Mexico, Spain, and Italy, primarily due to cultural, linguistic, and religious ties (Pastran & Rico, 2006; Pelligrino, 2004). However, in the 1970s and 1980s, the United States became the principal destination for Salvadorans fleeing the outbreak of civil war (Pleitez, 2005; Terrazas, 2010). Far from decreasing after the signing of peace accords in 1992, migration rates have steadily risen in the past 15 years – largely a factor of the country's persistent poverty and unemployment, as well as growing insecurity amid surges of crime and gang violence. It is also important to note that while there are Salvadorans living all over the world (Andrade-Eekhoff, 2006; Pastran & Rico, 2006), this study primarily focuses on Salvadoran migration to the United States. This decision has been made for several reasons, namely the fact that the overwhelming majority of Salvadorans living abroad – about 90 percent – reside in the United States (Terrazas, 2010). Therefore, unless otherwise noted, international migration refers to Salvadoran migration to the United States.

A final issue that must be addressed relates to the way that a migrant enters the receiving country. While there is much debate over what constitutes an "illegal" migrant,[2] I will use the simple determinant of those who have entered the country without proper legal documentation or who may have entered legally via a visa or work permit but who

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[2] Recent political efforts have attempted to criminalize the term "illegal immigrant," a view that treats migration as something undesirable or problematic (Donato & Armenta, 2011; Koser, 2005). I prefer the term undocumented or irregular migrant, which I think offers a more descriptive point of reference and avoids the use of overly politicized terminology.

have remained in the country past the expiration date. This study is chiefly concerned with undocumented migration, as that is the route most commonly taken by Salvadorans who are not members of the country's political and economic elite.[3]

The terms *mojado* and *coyote* are also important in this context. The former refers to the way that many undocumented immigrants enter the United States, via river crossings, thus the moniker *mojado,* or "wet" in Spanish. It is common to ask a migrant whether they "went *mojado*," a euphemism for entering the country without documentation. A *coyote* is essentially a border smuggler, someone who provides migrants with transport and travel assistance along the migration path. Many migrants who go *mojado* do so with the help of a *coyote*, who typically charges between $5,000 and $7,000 per trip (half is paid upfront, with the balance due upon arrival in the United States). Having established some basic guidelines for the scope of this study, let us now turn to a closer examination of its guiding issues and themes.

The Global Context: Understanding Migration and Globalization

Because this study seeks to answer complex questions dealing with diverse tensions and themes, an interdisciplinary approach drawing on three distinct but complementary theoretical frameworks represents the best method of analysis. My research is grounded in three major theoretical bases – theories of migration, theories of globalization, and theories of transnational identity and citizenship. Migration theory

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[3] Teachers are generally not considered to be among El Salvador's elite. The average public school teacher makes about $485 a month (DIGESTYC, 2012). In comparison, Salvadorans who work with international businesses or organizations earn roughly $1,150 per month. In 2012, the average monthly income in El Salvador was $296.88. In the health and social services sector, it was $275.29 per month; in manufacturing, $245.81; and in agriculture, $133.50. In February 2013, President Mauricio Funes proposed a 10 percent increase in the country's minimum wage in order to keep up with costs of inflation.

provides key historical and socioeconomic context, and illuminates global trends that have important implications for Salvadoran schools and society. This study is further framed within a critique of neoliberal globalization as an "ideological political project" that seeks to incorporate education into a model of marketization, commodification, and consumerism (Apple, Kenway & Singh, 2005). As ensuing chapters of this dissertation will demonstrate, models of neoliberal education have found a strong foothold in Latin America, particularly in terms of school governance, financing, and evaluation.

A third theoretical framework that serves as a link between elements of migration and globalization theory is transnationalism. Examining teacher role construction and identity in these terms can provide new insights into how teachers view their roles in educating a new generation of Salvadoran citizens – a generation for whom the term citizenship has taken on new meaning in the context of increasing migration (Dyrness, 2011; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). Viewing the emergent research problems through the collective lens of migration, globalization, and transnationalism helps to illuminate the complex issues and themes that can be found at the intersection of these three theoretical founts. In addition, the rich literature on public education in Latin America is used to develop historical context and set a foundation for understanding the role of teachers in Salvadoran society. Using the existing body of literature as a base, this study builds on previous discussion of how social, political, economic, cultural, and pedagogical changes in the region have affected teachers and their work.

Theories of migration. The phenomenon of migration is neither new nor exceptional. Castles and Miller (2009) expressed this point quite fittingly in their book *The Age of Migration*, writing that, "international migration is a constant, not an

aberration, in human history" (p. 299). Their work reminds us that human beings historically have had a variety of reasons for moving from one place to another, whether in search of new opportunities, or to escape poverty, conflict, or environmental degradation. Accordingly, this dissertation takes a broad view of migration in seeking to better understand the contradictions and tensions that emerge in teachers' experiences with and feelings about a phenomenon that has become a defining feature of El Salvador's social reality.

In the past several decades, migration theory has undergone several major trends, beginning with the neoclassical economics perspective, to historical-institutional approaches such as dependency and world-systems theories, analysis of migration systems and networks, and the more recent focus on transnationalism and transnational communities. The assortment and range of migration theories have led to claims that migration cannot adequately be explained by a single theory, with some going as far as to label it "resistant to theory-building" (Arango, 2000, p. 283). While that assessment may be a bit extreme, it does speak to the complex and at times contradictory nature of migration.

This dissertation takes the position that people migrate for various reasons, at different times, and with diverse goals. While some leave home to pursue better wages or improved educational prospects, others migrate to escape violence or political repression. Still others are actors in long chains of migration networks that involve family members across various times and places. I use these examples to make the point that aspects of several different theories can be used to explain the phenomenon of migration in El Salvador. However, the goal of this dissertation is not to offer an explanation as to why

people leave, but instead to take a closer look the effects on those who remain at home, particularly within the domain of public education.

      The role of globalization. Any study of migration would be remiss if it did not also address the question of globalization, which remains a crucial context for twenty-first-century migration research (Castles & Miller, 2009). As Castles and Miller (2009) have noted, "On the one hand, globalization drives migration and changes its directions and forms. On the other hand, migration is an intrinsic part of globalization and is itself a major force reshaping communities and societies" (p. 51). Thus, the two are intricately linked, posing a veritable "chicken and the egg" scenario, in which it is difficult to determine whether one phenomenon is driving the other or vice versa. As with migration, there is no one experience of globalization. Highlighting the variety of individual responses, Lechner and Boli (2008) have observed that, "[People] can shape, resist, absorb or try to avoid globalization. They can seek opportunity in it, feel the harm of it, or lament the power of it" (p. 119). Again, the theme of contradiction and tension emerges, further highlighting the need for studies like this one to more closely examine the more problematic aspects of the migration-globalization paradigm.

      As with migration theory, the existence of numerous and diverse theories of globalization make it difficult to define. It has been conceptualized as an economic process, a political project, and a framework for development, among other iterations. While some have argued that globalization is a divisive phenomenon that perpetuates unequal global power relations and aggravates existing inequalities (Barber, 1992; Stiglitz, 2002; Stromquist, 2005), others have celebrated its role in promoting growth and providing increased opportunities for more of the world's citizens (Micklethwait &

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Wooldridge, 2008; Sen, 2002). Ideological or political positioning notwithstanding, a fundamental premise of globalization theory is that the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have borne witness to major transformations in political, socioeconomic, linguistic, religious, and cultural contexts worldwide.

Conceptualizing globalization as the "dominant intellectual and cultural motif of the 1990s," Rosenberg (2005) has pointed to the significance of that decade in terms of the spread of economic liberalization, the rise of new information and communications technologies, the increased salience of international organizations, and the resurgence of a cosmopolitan human rights agenda. With respect to the prevailing neoliberal mindset of the time period, it should also be noted that shifts in global economic ideology have historically been accompanied by shifts in national education policy. Hence the 1990s were particularly important in shaping Salvadoran public schooling, as well as migration.

The burgeoning of neoliberalism in the region and the period immediately following structural adjustment were instrumental in determining the political economy of the Salvadoran state and its education system. Coinciding with El Salvador's emergence from civil war, the 1990s was a time of ambiguity and contradiction, marked on the one hand by the democratization of the political process, and on the other by the reduction of state spending on social services and education. Thus neoliberal economic policies were contributing to the continuity of old exclusionary socioeconomic structures in El Salvador (Richani, 2010), at the same time that globalization was opening up space for "global citizenship" and expanding freedoms and opportunities for many of the world's citizens.

It will be prudent here to include a definition of globalization that guides and gives direction to this research. As previously mentioned, I am primarily concerned with how globalization and migration relate to concepts of identity, belonging, and citizenship, particularly with respect to the role of the nation state. This takes on added relevance in highly centralized education systems like El Salvador's where teachers traditionally have been viewed as agents for national development and social change. In this context, teachers must attempt to navigate the tensions between global values and ideas and local history and traditions. Marcelo Suárez-Orozco (2005) has offered a useful framework through which to view this quandary, proposing the following conception of globalization:

> I define globalization as processes of change, generating at once centrifugal (qua the borders of the nation state) and centripetal (qua the post-national) forces that result in the deterritorialization of important economic, social, and cultural practices from their traditional moorings in the nation state. (p. 347)

Conceptualizing globalization in these terms means recognizing the impact of both national and transnational forces and actors on traditional notions of identity and citizenship. Changes within the nation state, as well as those taking place beyond its borders, play a key role in how people understand themselves and their place in society. Hence new flows of people, ideas, and information are changing demographic, economic, and social structures, bringing into question the meaning and substance of national identity in an increasingly transnational world society (Appadurai, 1996; Castles & Miller, 2009; Levitt, 2001).

The emergence of transnationalism. The umbrella of transnationalism provides a useful way to link theories of migration and globalization, particularly with respect to notions of identity and citizenship. Research in this area has tended to focus on migrants'

assertion of national identity in foreign migration destinations and the extent to which sending and receiving countries continue to play a critical role in migrants' lives (for excellent examples, see Feliciano, 2006; Flores, 2003; Portes, 2003; and Olwig, 2003). A prevailing line of thought is that transnational identities are not determined by affiliations with a particular nation state; instead they emerge among groups that share a common heritage, cultural values, and/or life histories.

However, few studies have explored the concept of transnational identity among those who do not migrate themselves but are nevertheless largely affected by the migration process. As Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) have pointed out, "a person may participate in personal networks or receive ideas and information that connect them to others in a nation state, across the borders of a nation state, or globally, without ever having migrated" (p. 1010). This has become particularly relevant in countries like El Salvador, where emigration rates have more than doubled in the past decade, and increasing numbers of individuals and families are being affected by international migration. Table 1 demonstrates the rise in El Salvador's net migration rate since 2000.

Table 1

Net Migration Rates, 2000-2012

Year	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
Net migration rate (per 1,000)	-4.02	-3.88	-3.74	-3.61	-3.4	-9.13	-8.78

Note. Migration statistics from Central Intelligence Agency. (2013). El Salvador. In The world factbook. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook.

Transnationalism by definition implies a relationship between and among people and countries. Prior studies have shown that when migrants retain strong ties to home, aspects of their new life and new identity invariably seep through in the form of values, traditions, styles of dress, and patterns of consumption (Olwig, 2003; Rodriguez, 2009; Suárez-Orozco, 2001, 2005). These "social remittances" have a profound effect on the identities of those at home, many of whom consider themselves to be members of transnational communities despite never having crossed national borders. In light of such findings, I argue that studies of transnational identity – or cultural citizenship, another popular buzzword – must also take into account the identities and citizenship of those who remain at home. Just as countries of immigration have had to re-examine notions of citizenship and what it means to "belong" in their societies (Castles & Miller, 2009), countries of emigration find themselves in a similar position. In that sense, questions about identity and citizenship have an important place on both sides of the discourse. To highlight just how strongly these forces have come into play in El Salvador, we now shift from the global scenario to a more local perspective.

The Local Context: The View from El Salvador

The phenomenon of emigration has come to define Salvadoran society in the past several decades. Large-scale emigration began with the outbreak of civil war in the 1980s, as thousands of Salvadorans fled the repression and violence that came with a long, brutal conflict between government forces and leftist guerrillas. The war – during which the United States provided substantial monetary and technical aid to the Salvadoran military – left 75,000 dead and more than 200,000 displaced. It is estimated that more than one-quarter of the population migrated or fled during the war years, many

of whom did not return following the signing of peace accords in 1992 (Gammage, 2007; Karl, 1992).

In the years since the war's end, the outflow of Salvadoran citizens has not slowed. On the contrary, emigration has steadily increased in the past two decades, as persistent inequality, poverty and joblessness, coupled with new social problems like gang violence and youth delinquency, have led to migration rates that are nearly unequalled throughout Latin American and the Caribbean. In a recent study of Salvadoran migrants, Ruiz (2011) found that 65 percent had migrated for economic reasons, such as lack of work, search for better wages, or a desire to contribute to the family. She also noted that since 2005, insecurity and new patterns of violence have played a major role in Salvadoran migration.[4] Essentially, more Salvadorans are leaving home today because of poverty and insecurity than during the country's most prominent period of human and civil rights violations.

The fact that the majority of migrants leave home for economic reasons speaks to the structure of opportunity in El Salvador's labor market, particularly for Salvadoran youth. According to Ministry of Labor statistics, El Salvador's overall unemployment rate has hovered around 7 percent in recent years. However, the greatest problem is access to employment for people between the ages of 16 and 29, for whom the unemployment rate is significantly higher, estimated at 11.6 percent in 2011 (MINTRAB,

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[4] El Salvador is widely considered to be one the most violent countries in the Western Hemisphere. This is largely due to the presence of gangs such as the *Mara Salvatrucha* and *Calle 18*, whose members are estimated to number between 70,000 and 305,000 in El Salvador alone (Ruiz, 2011). Between 2000 and 2008, El Salvador had the highest average homicide rate in Latin America, peaking in 2006 with 65 homicides per 100,000 people (PNUD, 2009).

2012).[5] A large segment of the Salvadoran population also suffers from underemployment. In an examination of rising crime rates among Salvadoran youth, Richani (2010) found that overall underemployment rates had increased from 43.7 percent in 2001 to 49.9 percent in 2006. He further noted that two out of three in the 15-25 age group were underemployed, many of whom worked 40 or more hours per week and received less than minimum wage. It is within this context that Salvadoran teachers seek to make meaning of their work. Traditionally tasked with developing human capital and educating the country's workforce, teachers have begun to question their roles in the face of limited economic opportunity and the inability of the youth to integrate into the local labor market.

Yet this situation is not unique to El Salvador. A similar narrative can be found in peripheral and developing countries around the world, giving rise to debate about whether education alone can lead to higher productivity and income, technological and cultural progress, and preparation of a society's youth for adult roles in economic, political and social life (Levin, 2011). In their discussion of the enormous expectations placed on education, Levin and Kelley (1994) posited that producing a more highly educated workforce was not a sufficient means to energize national economies. Arguing that education must be complemented by a range of other factors that take advantage of workers' improved knowledge and skill capacities, they wrote that, "education can work to improve productivity only if there are *opportunities* for more productive workers" (p.

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[5] The situation in El Salvador is also reflective of broader trends across the region. For example, the unemployment rate in Latin America and the Caribbean dropped from 7.3 percent in 2010 to 6.7 percent in 2011. However, as a 2012 CEPAL report on labor productivity and distribution noted, "substantial labor market gaps and serious labor market insertion issues remain," especially for women and young people (CEPAL, 2012, p.1).

97, emphasis mine). Absent the opportunity for insertion into the labor force – as is the case in El Salvador and many other peripheral countries – education cannot single handedly solve social problems such as inequality, economic growth, political participation, and reduction of crime.

Rather than conceptualizing education as a "magic bullet" or cure-all solution, Levin and Kelley (1994) have argued that the role of education has been historically overstated in its ability to create a more productive and equitable society. Similarly, Bowles and Gintis (2013) have posited that an education system can be egalitarian and liberating "only when it prepares youth for fully democratic participation in social life and an equal claim to the fruits of economic activity" (p. 14). In their examination of the contradictions of schooling in capitalist America, they noted that although education had contributed to improved economic *chances* for many individuals, the equalization of educational attainment had not been accompanied by a similar equalization in individual incomes (Bowles & Gintis, 2013).

While Bowles and Gintis primarily focused on the United States, the case of El Salvador offers further empirical support for their analysis, particularly when viewed in light of rising rates of international migration. With lack of economic opportunity cited as the number one driver of migration (Ruiz, 2011), it is becoming increasingly clear that education has not had the desired effects on either national growth or worker earnings. In addition, lack of work opportunities was one of the major obstacles that teachers saw facing El Salvador's youth. Thus the links between schooling and the labor market played a major role in how teachers contextualized their work.

Returning to the terms of migration, it is important to note that the vast majority of Salvadoran migrants – at least those who travel to the United States – are undocumented, having entered the country without visas or legal paperwork. According to U.S. Department of Homeland Security estimates, there were 570,000 undocumented Salvadoran migrants in the United States in 2008,[6] an increase of 20,000 people, or 4.65 percent, from 2000. A more recent estimate put the total number of undocumented Salvadorans in the United States at 660,000 (Reuters, 2012). According to other sources, the total number of undocumented immigrants in the United States rose 32 percent from 2000 to 2009, with El Salvador as the second most popular country of origin after Mexico (Passel & Cohn, 2009).[7]

Furthermore, immigration reforms such as the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 and the threat of deportation have not had much of an effect in slowing undocumented migration to the United States. Between 1990 and 2005, there was a dramatic increase in the size of the overall population of undocumented migrants in the United States – from 3.5 million in 1990, to 8.4 million in 2000, to 11.1 million in 2005 (Hoefer, Rytina & Baker, 2011; Passel & Cohn, 2009). More recently, a Homeland Security report released in 2012 estimated the total number of undocumented migrants in the United States at 11.5 million (Reuters, 2012). In addition, previous unsuccessful attempts at migration do not appear to be much of a deterrent. In interviews

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[6] The immigrant population of unauthorized residents is defined as all foreign-born citizens who are not legal residents. Unauthorized residency status refers to foreign-born people who entered the United States without inspection or were admitted temporarily and have remained past the date they were supposed to have left (Hoefer et al., 2011).

[7] There is evidence that the economic recession of 2008 temporarily slowed migration flows, particularly those of the undocumented nature. A later section of this chapter will address these findings.

with Salvadoran returnees, Ruiz (2011) found that most had tried to enter the destination country between two and 10 times before giving up.

With more than 2 million citizens estimated to be living abroad, El Salvador is clearly among the sender countries most affected by international migration (Andrade-Eekhoff, 2001, 2006; Terrazas, 2010). Roughly 90 percent of Salvadoran migrants have left home in the past three decades, with the United States as the primary destination (Pleitez, 2005). In 2012, El Salvador's net migration rate of -8.78 migrants per 1,000 citizens put it among the top 15 countries of emigration worldwide in a U.S. State Department comparison of 220 nations. Its emigration rate was more than 2.5 times higher than the next closest Latin American country on the list – Nicaragua, with -3.40 migrants per 1,000 people. In fact, only Syria, Somalia, Jordan, Lebanon, Guyana, and several Pacific Island nations currently experience higher net population losses due to migration. This last detail is notable because many of the countries with higher emigration rates are areas of political and civil unrest, where migrants tend to be political refugees and asylum seekers, as opposed to economic migrants, as is generally the case for Salvadorans.

It is impossible to look at these kinds of statistics without considering the effects on El Salvador's society, culture, politics, and economy – not to mention their impact on education. Forces of globalization and migration are clearly contributing to the processes of deterritorialization and dislocation outlined by Suárez-Orozco (2001, 2005). Yet few scholars have explored the implications for schooling in sender countries, particularly in terms of how teachers are experiencing and dealing with these changes. Accordingly, this study seeks to understand the ways in which El Salvador's rising emigration rates have

affected teachers and their work. In doing so, it aims to add a new voice to current migration-education discourse – one that focuses on the lived and subjective experiences of Salvadoran teachers as they navigate a changing social and educational landscape.

Shifting from the national perspective to a more local view, it is also important to get a sense of the sites where fieldwork was conducted for this study. I chose to focus on teachers at schools in two different communities to examine whether the effects of migration were consistent across various contexts. Both schools were public schools, run by the Salvadoran Ministry of Education. However, with respect to geography and teacher-student demographics, the schools and the communities in which they were located were quite different.

The first school was a large, K-9 institution that housed nearly 1,000 students and 40 full-time teachers. It was located in the *pueblo* (small town) of La Armonía,[8] Chalatenango, in northern El Salvador, a region heavily affected by the civil war and an important site of battles and negotiations between guerrilla and government forces. La Armonía has historically experienced high rates of migration relative to the rest of El Salvador. In contrast, the second fieldwork site, the *cantón* (village) of Las Esmeraldas, in the southern department of La Paz, has generally seen low rates of migration. The school where I conducted research was a K-12 institution, with roughly 375 students and 10 full-time teachers. Unlike La Armonía, Las Esmeraldas was relatively isolated from the effects of the war, by virtue of its remoteness and relative inaccessibility. Interviewing teachers in these two different contexts allowed me to examine issues of identity and citizenship in distinct settings – one where migration exerted a strong influence and another where its effects were less overt.

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[8] Both communities have been given pseudonyms.

While I will not go into the specifics of my findings here, it was clear that migration did not mean the same thing to all teachers. Individuals' knowledge of and experiences with migration played a large role in determining their pedagogical beliefs and behaviors. Thus through their daily thinking and action, teachers either adapted to or resisted patterns of globalization and international migration. Furthermore, teachers' beliefs, values, and goals, as well as their individual and collective knowledge and experiences, had implications that went beyond simple changes in classroom practices.

While the ways in which teachers conduct their daily schooling practices have certainly changed in response to global phenomena, transformations are also taking place at a deeper ideological level. Teachers' social consciousness, their expectations, hopes, dreams, and goals – both for themselves and for their students – are all part and parcel of their changing social realities. In addition, concepts of national and transnational identity and citizenship have taken on new importance in a context where "being Salvadoran" does not necessarily mean the same thing today as it did 20 years ago. Such transformations highlight the importance of examining public schooling in the context of the dialectic of the global and the local.

The Dialectic of the Global and the Local

Changes brought on by globalization and intensified by large-scale migration have led to important changes in El Salvador, not only at the national level, but also in small towns and villages throughout the country. This study asks teachers how these changes have impacted their lives and work, in an effort to better understand global trends and local responses. By examining these issues through teachers' eyes, this study offers a fuller picture of how individual human actors make sense of large-scale global

processes, as well as how these changes affect their sense of identity and citizenship – not only as Salvadoran citizens but also as citizens of a larger world community.

In her work on transnational identity among Salvadoran youth, Dyrness (2011) suggested that, "Salvadoran educators are deeply concerned about the impact of migration on the identity formation of young people left behind. Yet, with little guidance from the state in addressing it, they are largely on their own to decide how to respond to the transnational realities of their students' lives" (p. 45). This study builds on her research by asking teachers about the transnational realities of their *own* lives and how this is reflected in their educational theories and practice. I further argue that despite claims of the diminished relevance of the nation state, it still plays an important role in individual and group conceptions of identity, belonging, and citizenship.

Following the work of Apple (1995), Morrow and Torres (1995), and others, this study maintains that schools are sites of cultural and ideological production, and that students and teachers must decide whether to accept or reject their products. Accordingly, it asks how migration affects teachers' social consciousness and their capacity to act as agents of change. Do they feel more or less empowered in their roles as school and community leaders, given the fact that many of those with whom they live and work (and even they themselves) may be considering migration to another country? What are the implications of either accepting or rejecting dominant teaching and learning models? How do structural and institutional factors impact what happens in individual classrooms? The answers to these types of questions can help to explain how and why teachers engage in certain practices, behaviors, and beliefs, as well as reveal interesting tensions between their perceived and actual roles.

On a related note, this study seeks to examine Salvadoran teachers' understanding of their role in national development. Grounded in the premise that school acts as a filter between home and the labor market, and in doing so reflects the interrelation of the state, economy, and culture (Apple, 1995; Morrow & Torres, 1995), this study examines not only the overt curriculum of Salvadoran schools, but also what Apple (1995) has referred to as the "hidden curriculum." In doing so, it aims to uncover what Salvadoran schools and teachers are really saying about what kind of learning is important. For example, do teachers primarily see themselves as transmitters of knowledge and skills deemed necessary for success in a global labor market (e.g., English language proficiency, computer and technological competency) or do they envision their role as more oriented toward nation building and fostering social cohesion? At a more fundamental level, do teachers feel they are preparing their students to become productive members of Salvadoran society or are they more concerned with educating global citizens?

In examining the impact of migration on teaching and learning models, this study asks how emigration influences teachers' sense of identity and citizenship, on a personal, professional, and national level. Presently there is a lack of clarity about how teachers should approach questions of identity and citizenship in their practice. Highlighting this confusion, Dyrness (2011) has asked:

> Should [teachers] reorient their activities to foster 'global citizenship' to best prepare their students for a life abroad? Or should they attempt to stem the tide of outward migration and encourage new commitment to the local? (p. 41)

These were exactly the types of questions I posed to teachers in both La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas. As the findings chapters of this dissertation will demonstrate, their answers were sometimes strikingly dissonant yet at other times almost completely in sync, further underscoring the confusion and contradiction surrounding teachers' understanding of

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their own roles and identities.

A final goal of this study is to assess the responsiveness of education policy and practice to the changing social realities of Salvadoran students and teachers. The liberal tradition in which El Salvador's public education system is grounded posits that education of the masses leads to a more complete and productive society (Torres, 2001). Yet in many places across the country, migration is increasingly replacing education as a means to greater economic and occupational possibilities. I examine the impact this has had on the role of teachers, who historically have been viewed as conduits to fulfill national development goals.[9] Despite neoliberal attempts at decentralization and privatization, public education remains highly centralized throughout Latin America, and "the role and function of public schooling remains by and large unchanged" (Torres & Puiggrós, 1997). Yet, the context within which public schooling takes place has undergone fundamental transformations. How do teachers reconcile these apparent contradictions?

Given the close teacher-state relationship, this study examines how the Salvadoran development agenda, and teachers' roles within that agenda, coincides with or conflicts with broader paradigms of globalization and migration. In a migratory society characterized by net population loss, how do teachers envision their role as it relates to national development goals? What do teachers see as their contribution to national development when many of their students, colleagues, or even they themselves increasingly envision and pursue lives beyond El Salvador's borders? It is these types of substantive issues that lie at the heart of this study, with particular attention paid to the

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[9] This is particularly true in Latin American countries, where the state is viewed as the supreme public authority and education is considered a social good (Morrow & Torres, 1995; Stromquist, 2001).

ways in which teachers' ideals, goals, identities, and relations to the state and civil society are intertwined with processes of international migration and globalization.

Rationale and Purpose

This study is particularly significant in today's global landscape, where one in four of the world's citizens have said that they would move permanently to another country if given the opportunity (Torres & Pelham, 2008). In a 2008 Gallup survey conducted in 82 countries, Salvadorans were the 11th most likely to want to migrate, with 51 percent expressing a desire to live in another country (Torres & Pelham, 2008). In fact, it has been argued that migration represents El Salvador's principal gateway to globalization, given not only the volume of remittances sent from abroad but also its growing ties to U.S. society and culture (Andrade-Eekhoff, 2001, 2006; Lungo, 1997).

In its most fundamental sense, this research seeks to understand how Salvadoran teachers and their practice have changed within the context of a shifting global landscape, specifically in the past two decades. While much previous research on teachers and their work has been conducted in North America and Europe (primarily the United States and United Kingdom), fewer studies of teacher roles and responsibilities have taken the perspective of teachers from the global South. Teachers from Asia, Africa, and Latin America have rarely been asked to articulate how they view and go about their work. In this respect, El Salvador represents an area ripe for new empirical research. It remains relatively under-represented in education studies, despite the fact that significant changes have been made to national education policy in the past several years.[10]

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[10] The most recent iteration of El Salvador's education policy is the *Plan Nacional Social Educativo "Vamos a la Escuela,"*(National Social Education Plan "Let's Go to School") which was implemented in 2009. Before that, the most notable reform effort was Plan 2021, a comprehensive program adopted in 2005 that focused on improving quality, access, and relevance

The majority of existing studies on El Salvador's education system focus on its efforts at decentralization, namely the decades-old Community-Managed Schools Program. Known by its Spanish acronym EDUCO (*Educación con Participación de la Comunidad*), the program was designed to give local communities more responsibility for school oversight and management. In recent years, several studies and reports have been conducted on the effectiveness and outcomes of EDUCO schools.[11] However, comparatively little is known about how Salvadoran teachers in traditional public schools are navigating a changing educational landscape, both in their theories about their work and through their actual practice.

Rationale of El Salvador as a Research Site

El Salvador was chosen as the primary research location because of its high emigration rates relative to the rest of Latin America. Proportionally, Salvadorans represent the largest Central American contingent of the U.S. immigrant population (Brick, Challinor & Rosenblum, 2011). In fact, Salvadorans comprise the fourth-largest Latino group in the United States, after Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans (Dyrness, 2011). El Salvador is also closely economically linked to the United States. In 2001, the Salvadoran economy underwent dollarization, making the U.S. dollar the official national

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of primary and secondary education. For more on the implementation and outcomes of Plan 2021, see Crouch, L., Gillies, J., & Flores, A. (2008). Sustainability and continuity of El Salvador's education plan 2021: Dialogue and reflections. USAID: San Salvador; Harris, A., Moran, C. & Flores, A. (2008). *Evaluación continua con un enfoque por competencias: Mejorando las políticas y las prácticas en El Salvador.* USAID: San Salvador; and Schiefelbein, E,, Gillies, J., & Flores, A. (2008). Sustainability and continuity of El Salvador's education plan 2021: Effective schools as the Foundation of Learning. USAID: San Salvador. The current policy was implemented in 2009 following the historic election of leftist presidential candidate Mauricio Funes. While the new plan called for a redesign of the school and changes in teaching and learning models, it has largely retained elements of previous policies.

[11] For more on EDUCO initiatives and outcomes, see the work of Cuellar-Marchelli, 2003; Desmond, 2009; Jimenez & Sawada, 1999; and Sawada & Ragatz, 2005.

currency. Recent reports indicate that among Salvadoran migrants who reside in the United States, more than a fifth send money home on a regular basis (Ruiz, 2011; Terrazas, 2010).

These close economic and social ties also have implications for education. As increasing numbers of people and goods cross national borders, dominant concepts and ideas tend to follow.[12] Thus, while the bulk of existing research on teacher roles has been done in the context of the developed world, it is logical to imagine that prevailing patterns and trends also have relevance for developing countries like El Salvador. There is much to be gained through an examination of the dialectics of emigration and education. With increased worldwide attention focused on immigration policies and educational standards, we are at an important crossroads whose implications cannot be ignored. Studies like this one can tell us more about how teachers view and carry out their practice, how their roles develop and change over time, and how they react to shifts in global and local contexts. As a major sender country feeding the immigration pipeline and a nation with evolving education policies, El Salvador represents an ideal starting point in this line of inquiry.

It is also important to note that this study takes place within a highly charged sociopolitical climate and amid continued contestation over U.S. immigration policies and politics. Increased enforcement of national immigration laws, development of new state policies designed to curb undocumented border crossing, and the ongoing economic recession have contributed to the recent slowing of immigration flows to the United States (Papademetriou & Terrazas, 2009). This downward trend has been particularly

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[12] Marcelo Suárez-Orozco (2001, 2005) has referred to this exchange of concepts and ideas as "social remittances," positing that they affect the values, cultural models, and social practices of those left behind in sender countries.

notable among undocumented immigrants, who traditionally constitute a significant portion of the total Salvadoran migrant population in the United States (Passel & Cohn, 2010).[13]

While conservative discourse seeks to paint a picture of "illegal aliens invading America," Census Bureau data reveal otherwise. The total immigrant population in the United States has leveled off since 2007 (Papademetriou & Terrazas, 2009), with the population of undocumented immigrants estimated to be nearly two-thirds smaller in the March 2007 to March 2009 period than it was in March 2000 to March 2005 (Passel & Cohn, 2010). Reports indicate that the most marked decline in the population of undocumented immigrants has been among those who come from Latin American countries other than Mexico. From 2007 to 2009, the number of undocumented immigrants from the Caribbean, Central America, and South America decreased 22 percent, according to surveys conducted by the Pew Hispanic Center (Passel & Cohn, 2010).

Yet despite a recent downturn in overall migration, the Salvadoran-born population in the United States remains strong. According to a 2010 study by the Migration Policy Institute, Salvadorans constitute the sixth-largest immigrant community in the nation (Terrazas, 2010). Perhaps even more strikingly, "the number of immigrants from one of the smallest countries in Latin America now almost equals the immigrant population from China, which has 200 times as many people and about 500 times as much territory as El Salvador" (Terrazas, 2010). With about one of every four

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[13] While these statements and the following paragraph may appear to contradict information cited earlier in this chapter, they reflect more recent data and trends in U.S. immigration. This apparent inconsistency also highlights the difficulty in obtaining accurate information about international migration, particularly of the undocumented nature.

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Salvadorans now living in the United States, the importance of studies like this one cannot be overstated.

Personal Significance of Research

In addition to its richness as a site of academic investigation, El Salvador also holds a great deal of personal significance. I was privileged to serve as a Peace Corps Volunteer in La Armonía from 2006-2008. During that time, I worked as a teacher trainer in several primary and secondary schools. That experience provided valuable insight into Salvadoran schools and their day-to-day operations and allowed me to forge close personal connections with local teachers. In addition to gaining experience working alongside Salvadoran teachers, I also had the opportunity to observe and participate in many of the exchanges and interactions that take place in schools on a daily basis. My experience in the Peace Corps sparked my desire to learn more about the stories of Salvadoran schoolteachers, and my dissertation research has allowed me to pursue that passion. Thus this topic represents not only an important academic investigation but also an exploration of great personal significance.

When I returned to El Salvador in January 2012 to conduct fieldwork, my prior experience allowed for relatively easy access to teachers and schools in La Armonía. The participant group consisted primarily of teachers with whom I had worked during my Peace Corps service. Because of our prior relationships and mutual trust, our dialogues were open and honest, even when they involved potentially controversial topics such as undocumented migration or criticism of national education policy. In this respect, I felt that teachers were more willing to share their genuine feelings with someone they viewed as a colleague rather than as someone who they saw as an outside researcher.

My prior experience was also helpful in finding a second research site. After a day of interviews early in the fieldwork process, the daughter of one of the La Armonía teachers approached me, saying that she worked at a school that might offer an interesting point of comparison. After accompanying her on a preliminary visit to Las Esmeraldas, it was clear that she was right. This use of family networking helped me to locate the second school, something that likely would have been much more challenging without my prior relationships and experience in the research context.

My fluency in the Spanish language has also been an invaluable tool in my quest to understand the hopes, expectations, and dreams of Salvadoran teachers. Having lived in the country for nearly four years,[14] I possess a near native level of language proficiency. Living in El Salvador provided me with intimate knowledge of "Salvadoran" Spanish and its unique contexts, connotations, and meanings. My firsthand knowledge and understanding of the Spanish language and Salvadoran culture have helped to guide and inform my research, and I am confident in my ability to grasp the complex meanings and subtle nuances that emerged in my conversations and interactions with teachers.

Having outlined both the academic and personal significance of this research, I now turn to the specific research questions guiding this study. While the following questions cover a range of issues and ideas, they all derive from the same fundamental inquiry: how does emigration affect the role and identity of Salvadoran teachers?

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[14] I served as a Peace Corps Volunteer in La Armonía from February 2006 to April 2008. Upon completion of my service, I took a position at the American School in San Salvador, where I worked as service learning coordinator from April 2008 to June 2009 and as a ninth grade English teacher from January 2012 to June 2012.

Research Questions

How do Salvadoran schoolteachers conceptualize their primary roles and responsibilities?	• In what ways have processes of migration and globalization changed or reinforced these roles? • How do teachers perceive the level of support from policymakers and administrators in dealing with the complexities of teaching and learning in their own classrooms? • How do they envision their contributions to students and to society?
How do migration and globalization affect Salvadoran teachers' notions of identity and citizenship?	• In their view, is the mission of public education to foster "global citizenship" or is it more with stemming the tide of migration and promoting a commitment to local and national development goals? • Do they see these as conflicting goals or is there space for both within current models of curriculum, instruction, and/or pedagogy?
What opportunities and challenges do Salvadoran teachers perceive as being brought on by recent migration patterns?	• More specifically, how do teachers perceive the occupational and educational futures of their , as well as their own role in socioeconomic development in El Salvador? • Finally, how do teachers view their own educational and occupational futures and opportunities for social mobility?

Chapter Two

Review of the Literature

El Salvador será un lindo	*El Salvador will be a beautiful*
y (sin exagerar) serio país	*and (without exaggeration) serious*
cuando la clase obrera y el campesinado	*country*
lo fertilicen lo peinen lo tal que en	*when the working class and peasantry*
le curen la goma histórica	*fertilize it, comb it, such that*
lo adecenten lo reconstituyan	*they cure the historical hangover*
y lo echen andar.	*they move it forward, they rebuild it*
	and begin to make it walk.

— Roque Dalton

Public education in El Salvador and the rest of Latin America is at a pivotal moment. The first decade of the twenty-first century was marked by considerable economic and educational progress, but serious problems continue to plague the region. In terms of achievements, school enrollment rates have significantly improved, especially at the primary level where several countries are approaching the goal of universal participation. School completion and literacy rates are on the rise, while economic growth and living conditions have generally improved.

However, Latin America remains the most economically unequal region in the world, with the richest 10 percent of the population earning an average per capita income about 17 times that of the poorest 40 percent (Karl, 2003; Barcena, 2011). There are serious questions about quality and equity of educational opportunities, with low student achievement, lack of certified teachers, poor teacher training, and an outdated, inflexible curriculum seen as some of the major shortcomings. States are caught in a tense struggle among various political, economic, cultural, and pedagogical agendas, underscored by the

persistent influence of neoliberalism. New patterns of international migration are contributing to changes in social and educational landscapes, while the burgeoning of transnational networks and communities has brought into question traditional notions of national identity and citizenship.

At the forefront of these changes are public school teachers, who have traditionally played an important role in Latin American development. Because education systems reflect the many tensions and contradictions of their societies (Arnove, 1999, 2013), teachers operate within a battleground of competing politics, policies, and pedagogies that increasingly reflect both global and local issues. This is especially true in developing countries like El Salvador, where globalization and migration are changing not only national education agendas but also the ways in which teachers think about and perform their daily work. The problems and tensions that emerge reflect diverse perspectives on globalization and migration, as well as an ongoing struggle between nationalism and transnationalism. In order to better understand the implications of these changes for El Salvador's teaching corps, this chapter first traces the historical development of the structure and function of Latin American public education. It then turns to an examination of the current situation in El Salvador, focusing on the multiple tensions facing teachers, schools, and the educational system.

The Development of Public Education in Latin America

Latin America has a long history of public education, largely grounded in a tradition of cultural liberalism that views education as a state mandate and a mechanism for expanding opportunity, equality, and social justice (Stromquist, 2001, 2004; Torres, 2001, 2009b; Torres & Puiggrós, 1997). Education models have undergone profound

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transformations throughout nearly 200 years of Latin American independence, as schooling has been subjected to numerous, and often competing, politics, policies, and ideologies. Past models have been grounded in and influenced by human capital theory, neoliberalism, and globalization. While it is not within the scope of this dissertation to undertake an in-depth review of the historical development of public schooling in the region, this section will touch on several salient points. Topics to be discussed include the underlying theoretical foundations of schooling in Latin America, as well as the changing culture and politics of public education, and the implications for teachers and students.

Early education systems. Like most of its counterparts in the region, El Salvador's public education system was founded in the second half of the nineteenth century, following independence from Spain in 1821. In its early history, El Salvador (like the majority of Latin American nations) was an oligarchical state, controlled by a small group of wealthy landowners who sought to maintain political and economic control. Known as the "Fourteen Families," the landed elite were all but feudal lords, with ultimate power over the direction of the nation's politics and economy (Lauria-Santiago & Binford, 2004). Post-independence El Salvador was thus marked by restrictions on citizen expression, discrimination against certain political parties, and the exclusion of much of the population from public decision-making, as the landowning elite maintained their privileged position through labor-repressive agriculture and a "virtual partnership" with the armed forces (Karl, 1990).

The national education system was created amidst this environment of extreme social and economic inequality. In 1832, public instruction was established by the *Primer Reglamento de Enseñanza Primaria*, or First Regulation of Primary Education, which

called for the creation of primary schools in each of El Salvador's 14 municipalities (MINED, 2009b). Education was seen as a state responsibility, with schooling free, mandatory, and open to all. In its early conceptualization, the emergence of mass schooling was grounded in the belief that a more educated populace would create a more cohesive society, characterized by social inclusion and collective well being (Bonal, 2007; Torres, 2001). Writing on the prevailing philosophy of Latin American education at this time, Torres (2001) has stated, "to put it in sociological terms, more education means a better society, composed of more full, responsible, and productive individuals" (p. 24).[15] In short, improvements in a society's overall level of schooling were expected to contribute to an improved overall quality of life.

Yet while education for the common good appeared a noble goal, Torres and Puiggrós (1997) have examined the politics of schooling in a more critical light. Early Latin American education systems, they contend, were developed by states that "sought under the control of a landowning oligarchy to establish the foundations of the nation and citizenship" (p. 5). Under this framework, despite claims of equity and access, education largely functioned as a means to maintain social order and ensure the status quo. These same agendas continued to exert influence as educational policies and politics progressed throughout the second half of the century.

The move toward modernization. Following the collapse of the oligarchical state in the 1930s, new models of governance emerged throughout Latin America. El Salvador's pattern of development was not uncommon, emerging as a heavily authoritarian state under virtually continuous military rule from the 1930s until the

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[15] Much of the quoted material in this dissertation, including this excerpt, has been translated from the original Spanish. Unless otherwise noted, it is my own translation from the Spanish.

breakout of civil war in 1980 (Lauria-Santiago & Binford, 2004). In fact, in the time period between 1931 and 1980, all but one temporary Salvadoran president was an army officer (Holland, 2011). El Salvador's transition toward democracy has been rocky since.

In the 1980s and early 90s, a 12-year civil war between government forces and the rebel Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) claimed the lives of some 75,000 citizens and displaced nearly one-quarter of the population (Gammage, 2007; Karl, 1992). The conflict, during which the military received substantial aid from the United States, marked a key turning point in El Salvador's transition to democracy.[16] While this dissertation will not review the emergence of the Salvadoran state in its entirety, it will point to some key trends throughout the region and their implications for public schooling. It is also important to note here that the war marked the beginning of large-scale and long-term migration to the United States, as tens of thousands of Salvadorans left home seeking refuge and political asylum.[17]

As El Salvador and its Latin American counterparts moved toward modernization and participation in the international economy in the age of industrialization, they remained on the periphery of global capitalist relations (Arnove, 1999). While capitalism did not develop the same way in all places, state structures and institutions "reinforced the characteristics of a system of production and a social order subordinated to the centers of world capitalism" (Oszlak, 1981, p. 22). Educational ideology was aligned with the theory of these emergent capitalist states and thus contributed to social and cultural

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[16] For an excellent analysis of the peace process in El Salvador, see Karl, T. L. (1992). El Salvador's negotiated revolution. *Foreign Affairs*, *71*(2), 147-164.

[17] The larger impact of the war and its implications for migration and education will be more fully examined in a later section of this dissertation.

reproduction (Morrow & Torres, 1995). As it was in the best interests of the elite to retain their political and economic advantage, public schooling was often of questionable quality, particularly in the poorer and more remote areas.

Following Oszlak (1981), Torres and Puiggrós (1995) have examined the emergence of "dependent-development capitalist states" across Latin America. They link this status of dependency to the attempt to establish a Western-style welfare state – a model that was not necessarily appropriate, given Latin America's distinct historical, political, economic, and cultural contexts. Karl (2000) has pointed to the region's patterns of income distribution as a key determinant of its development trajectory, arguing that most Latin American countries lacked the initial advantages that allowed democratic self-government to succeed in the United States, primarily an egalitarian social and economic structure based on small landholders, expandable and easily accessible borders to absorb future conflicts as they emerged, and an absence of credible enemies. Lacking these initial advantages, much of Latin America became entangled in a "vicious cycle of inequality," where power and wealth were concentrated at the top, at the expense of the poor and middle classes (Karl, 2000, 2004).

The next few decades saw patterns of uneven and conditioned development across the region and a general failure of the welfare state in Latin America. Several factors contributed to this failure, including extreme inequality in income distribution, economic vulnerability to multinational corporations and foreign governments, lack of unemployment and welfare benefits, and disorganized bureaucratic control (Karl, 2004; Torres and Puiggrós, 1995). States were unable to carry out their public functions because they had little control over their own political economy. Thus fragile local

economies, vast gaps between rich and poor, the external influence of supranational institutions, and an inability to link the capitalist division of labor with science and technology all contributed to the inefficiency of the Latin American state.

Human capital theory. In the 1960s, Latin America moved toward a human capital model of development, reflecting the policies and ideology of foreign governments and international financial organizations like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). Human capital theory saw education as a development strategy that would lead to both individual and societal benefits, such as improved income levels, increased employee productivity, heightened competitiveness and economic growth, and a greater sense of collective well-being (Bonal, 2007). The acquisition of new knowledge and skills through education was seen as a gateway to overcoming poverty, which continued to plague much of the region. However, by placing a premium on information and knowledge as consumer assets and as necessities for technological progress and economic growth, human capital theory no longer saw social integration and cohesion as primary goals of education (Bonal, 2007). Talk of productivity and growth replaced principles of democracy and social justice in education ideology, as nations saw increased access to and participation in education as the most effective means to combat poverty.

In following these strategies, Latin American states became increasingly tied to and dependent upon Western models of development. As previously mentioned, development patterns across the region were largely uneven. For example, in the early ages of industrialization and modernization, Latin America experienced the world's highest rates of educational growth (Reimers, 2000, 2006). Higher and secondary

education enrollment rates more than doubled between 1960 and 1970. Enrollment in primary education also grew, though at a slower rate, while illiteracy rates remained relatively unchanged (Reimers, 2006).

While this trend of expanded access and participation has generally continued, particularly at the elementary level, the 1980s saw a marked decline in real education expenditure (as adjusted for inflation). With a reduction in the size of the welfare state, as prescribed by prevailing neoliberal economic views, social spending saw drastic cuts in all areas, including education (Chwieroth, 2010). These spending decreases were linked to structural adjustment policies, under which education was seen as a long-term investment that was considered dispensable by governments with more urgent priorities (Carnoy, 1995; Torche, 2010). Thus education ministries were forced to sacrifice equity in favor of efficiency in order to cut costs (Reimers, 2006).

Education spending in Latin America has traditionally been low in comparison with OECD countries, but in recent years it has begun to invest at a higher rate (CEPAL, 2012a, 2012b). The Economic Commission on Latin America and the Caribbean reported in 2012 that the region spent an average of 4 percent of GDP on education – a slight increase since 2000 – compared with the OECD average of 5 percent. In the specific case of El Salvador, education spending constituted 3.4 percent of GDP in 2011, down from a high of 3.7 percent in 2008 but still a discernible increase over the 2.8 percent of GDP allocated to education spending in 2003 (World Bank, n/d).

Returning to the impact of past structural adjustment programs, it is clear that they have had important implications for the current state of education in El Salvador and the rest of Latin America. Accordingly, the next section will discuss some chief

characteristics of the structural adjustment process, as well the neoliberal politics and policies underlying its creation and implementation.

The advent of neoliberalism. Structural adjustment is generally associated with the spread of neoliberalism in Latin America and has been a subject of fierce debate and critique among scholars from the global North and South alike.[18] As a political and economic concept, neoliberalism represented a direct challenge to the liberal underpinnings of Latin American education. While the early expansion of mass schooling was grounded in an understanding of education as a state mandate and social good, the neoliberal model was driven by notions of market rule, privatization, and decentralization.

Neoliberalism saw education (and nearly every other sector of public policy) as subject to the unfettered activity of the free market. Accordingly, neoliberal policies advocated free trade and small public sectors, while at the same time opposing excessive state interventionism and tight market regulation (Chwieroth, 2010; Cornia, 2012; McGuire, 2011; Torche, 2010). It is also important to note that neoliberalism coincided with the Latin American debt crisis of the 1980s and occurred simultaneously with the democratization of the region (Grugel & Riggirozzi, 2012). Hence the push for economic liberalization was instrumental in shaping political culture and practices, encouraging technocratic decision-making and limiting popular access to the state (Grugel &

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[18] For further discussion of the impact of neoliberalism in Latin America, see Puiggrós, A. (1999). Neoliberalism and education in the Americas. Boulder, Colo: Westview Press; Silva, E. (2009). Challenging neoliberalism in Latin America. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Torres, C. A. (November 01, 2002). The State, Privatisation and Educational Policy: A Critique of Neo-liberalism in Latin America and Some Ethical and Political Considerations. Comparative Education, 38, 4, 365-85; and Torres, C. A. (2009). *Education and neoliberal globalization* (Vol. 18). New York and London: Routledge.

Riggirozzi, 2012; Silva, 2008). While neoliberal policies sought to remedy the emerging debt crisis through abandonment of state-led industrialization and implementation of free-market policies to spur modernization, accompanying cuts in social assistance and social services hurt the poor, by taking away coverage or benefits, while also making life more difficult for the very poor (McGuire, 2011; Tarabini, 2007).

With the advent of neoliberalism, the political economy of Latin America began to change as well. As structural adjustment programs took hold, many Latin Americans were left worse off than they had been 20 years before (Cornia, 2012; Karl, 2003; McGuire, 2011). Average incomes fell, more people were living in poverty, and many took a step backward in living standards. Accordingly, the average Gini index,[19] a standard measure of a country's level of income inequality, rose by 2.32 points (from an already high level) between the 1980s and 1990, by an additional 1.55 points between 1990 and 2000, and by 1.15 points in 2001-02 (Cornia, 2012). Thus the overall Gini index rose by almost 5 points in the two decades during which neoliberal policies dominated.

Furthermore, the spread of neoliberalism was occurring precisely at the time when much of the region – El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala in particular – was embroiled in civil war. Marked by unusual economic restraints and the eventual failure of these socialist revolutions, the 1980s was essentially a "lost decade" for development in Latin America (Arnove, 1999; Grugel & Riggirozzi, 2012; Kohli, 2009; Torres & Puiggrós, 1995). Social exclusion and inequality largely increased, and states struggled

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[19] The Gini index measures the degree of inequality in the distribution of family income in a country. The more nearly equal a country's income distribution, the lower its Gini index. The more unequal a country's income distribution, the higher its Gini index (World Bank, n/d).

with fractured political systems, depressed economies, and weakened societal ties (Karl, 2003; Bonal, 2007).

In terms of the impact on education, structural adjustment also strained the relationship between teachers and the state, creating "new arenas of conflict in teacher-state relations," which included the formulation, operationalization, and evaluation of education policy (Torres, 2001). In this model, teachers received competing messages from the state, which saw them on the one hand as transmitters of social and cultural norms and on the other as employee labor. Thus the state, driven by a pursuit of economic development in a post-industrial globalized marketplace, was caught between the necessity of creating a normatively educated populace and the global demand for cheap skilled labor (Torres, 2009b).

These issues remain a contested terrain today. Writing on the educational impact of the neoliberal globalization agenda, Torres (2009a) has described the current educational landscape as one characterized by a push toward privatization and decentralization, movement toward educational standards, testing of academic achievement to determine the quality of students, schools, and teachers, and increased accountability measures (Torres, 2009a, p. 16). All of these areas have important implications, not only for teaching, but also for what it means to be a teacher, in Latin America.

The continued conflict over the nature of education policy and reform has been further highlighted in the work of scholars like Vongalis (2004), who in her conversations with teachers at a worldwide education forum, noted a distinct sense of disdain when it came to topics of neoliberalism, globalization, and institutions like the World Bank and

IMF. She has echoed other critics of neoliberalism in her assertion that "neoliberal reform creates an education system that is uneven and promotes imbalance in society" (p. 492), pointing to the lending practices of organizations like the World Bank that further serve to perpetuate inequalities. For example, a financial restructuring program in El Salvador resulted in the further exclusion of children from the education system:

> Teachers reported that after the implementation of World Bank reform there had been an increase in non-enrollment of children due to unexpected hardships. For example, in 2000 there were half a million children not enrolled in school. After a devastating earthquake, this number increased to three-quarters of a million children. The fragile economic status of those struggling to stay above the poverty line were not cushioned by a social safety net of welfare and provision that maintained a standard of living despite unforeseen hardship. The most vulnerable group were poor children who forwent their educational rights due to economic hardships. (Vongalis, 2004, p. 493)

Such examples highlight the role of neoliberal policies in accentuating educational segmentation and polarization, as they often deepen inequalities in the very places where they intend to minimize them (Bonal, 2007). Gentili (2009a) has suggested a strong correlation between poverty in social terms and poverty in educational terms, noting that the universalization of schooling in Latin America has occurred within the context of extreme poverty, multiplying inequalities and further polarizing educational opportunities between the richest 10 percent and poorest 40 percent of the population.

As evidenced through the extensive context provided in the preceding section, this study is grounded in the premise that education is inherently linked to and influenced by historical, social, political, cultural, and ideological conditions (Apple, 1995; Arnove, 1999; Dale, 1989; Morrow & Torres, 1994, 1995). This is certainly not a novel revelation. Writing in the first half of the twentieth century, Isaac Kandel (1933), observed, "in order to understand, appreciate, and evaluate the real meaning of the

education system of a nation, it is essential to know something of the history and traditions, of the forces and attitudes governing its social organizations, of the political and economic conditions that determine its development" (cited in Arnove, 1999, p. 8). Having established the requisite context, we now turn to the contemporary situation in Latin American education, focusing on the ways in which history and tradition are increasingly coming into conflict with new waves of migration, globalization, and transnationalism.

The Current State of Latin American Education: Competing Tensions

Apple (1989) has written that in order to think in a meaningful way about education policy and practice, we need to understand "what actually happens in schools" (p. 132). Within the dialectics of education and power, knowledge and knowledge production are highly political (Apple, 1995; Weis, McCarthy, & Dimitriadis, 2006). In this framework, the stratification of knowledge can be linked to the stratification of society, with knowledge itself representing a "site of power" (Weis et al., 2006). Reflecting this point, Morrow and Torres (1995) have pointed to the need for a critical examination of the underlying structures and institutions that have helped to legitimate certain kinds of knowledge and de-legitimate others. Having set the scene with the preceding historical background of public education in Latin America, we now turn to the question of what is "actually happening" in schools and classrooms across the region. The following section paints a picture of an education system rife with contradiction and tension.

The first set of tensions: liberalism and neoliberalism. As mentioned previously in this chapter, the advent of neoliberalism was a direct challenge to the liberal

underpinnings of Latin American public education. Further tensions emerge when we consider the claim that neoliberalism is considered to be the "common sense" of our time (Apple et al., 2005; Tarabini, 2007; Torres, 2001, 2011). Yet despite its purported basis in rational choice and logical action, neoliberalism has had devastating consequences for people across Latin America, leading one to wonder whether much sense has been involved at all.

Vongalis (2004) has said that neoliberal reform in Latin America essentially altered the social fabric of society, with important implications for the role of teachers as linkers of the state and society. Furthermore, Torres and Puiggrós (1995) have noted that cultural and social change has not been sudden, but rather "the product of long-simmering processes that are the product of numerous ruptures of words, of myths, and of painful changes in values" (p. 19). On the eve of the twenty-first century, they foresaw an organic crisis in Latin American education that had disrupted the transmission of knowledge and culture among social groups and generations.

In the years since, Latin American education has continued to be conceptualized as a site of struggle, described by Gentili, Suárez, Stubrin & Gindín (2004) as "an arena of conflicts and competing demands and claims that have led to significant tensions, advances, and retreats in the democratic development of the political, social, and cultural life of the societies and countries of the region" (p. 1257). These ruptures appear to be continually deepening, particularly in developing countries like El Salvador, where teachers and students often express different values, ideals, and hopes for the future. As later chapters of this dissertation will demonstrate, there is indeed a growing disconnect

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between teachers and their students, reflecting a deeper ideological conflict about the meaning and value of education in twenty-first century El Salvador.

Tedesco (2001) has observed a fundamental conflict between liberalism and neoliberalism that has led to a fissure in social cohesion in many Latin American countries, writing, "the state and the public policies focus on the social cohesion of the poor, while the private sector and the market care about educating the modern and more productive sectors" (p. 54). Thus while the state and public policy have traditionally been concerned with fostering solidarity among the poor, the market-driven model focuses on modernization and productivity. In this model, the state and the market essentially serve different populations and are directed toward different aims. Ultimately, as Tedesco (2001) has argued, this kind of system cannot sustain itself, either as economic policy, or more importantly, as a means to ensure participation in democracy and national solidarity. Boaventura de Sousa Santos has offered a similar critique:

> Neo-liberalism is the political form of 'globalization resulting from U.S. type of capitalism, a type that bases competitiveness on technological innovation coupled with low levels of social protection. The aggressive imposition of this model by the international financial institutions worldwide … forces abrupt changes in the role of the state and in the rules of the game between the exploiter and the exploited, as well as between the oppressor and the oppressed.' (interview with Dale & Robertson, 2004, p. 151)

His critique highlights the interaction, and at times conflation, of neoliberalism and globalization and brings us to the second set of tensions that characterize Latin American education.

The second set of tensions: globalization(s). The origin of the term globalization can be traced to economist Theodore Levitt, who used it in 1985 to describe changes in global economics affecting production, consumption, and investment (Spring, 2008;

Stromquist, 2002). The term quickly grew to encompass political and cultural changes affecting large portions of the world's population, including global phenomena like schooling. Highlighting the key role of schools worldwide, Dale and Robertson (2003) have referred to formal education as "the most commonly found institution and most commonly shared experience of all in the contemporary world" (p. 7). Accordingly, the language of globalization has come to be widely applied to education discourse.

Owing to its nearly ubiquitous presence in studies of migration and education, globalization theory has taken on many different forms and agendas throughout the years. Held and McGrew (2007) have broadly defined globalization as "the widening, deepening, and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness" (p. 1). To paraphrase their analysis, globalization can be described as a historical process characterized by the stretching of social, political, and economic activities across political frontiers; the intensification of global interconnectedness; the accelerating pace of trans-border interactions and processes; and a deepening enmeshment of the local and global (Held, 2007). These drivers of globalization go hand in hand with international migration, as the social, political, and economic activities and identities of vast numbers of people are increasingly created, conceptualized, and played out across and between national borders.

But what appears to be lacking in the previous definition is a discussion of the political economy of neoliberal globalization, particularly its relationship to the world capitalist system. A more critical perspective, offered by Dale (2000), describes globalization as "a set of political economic arrangements for the organization of the global economy, driven by the need to maintain the capitalist system rather than any set of values" (p. 436). In this view, globalization can be linked to a global education agenda,

embedded in neoliberal ideology. The global agenda is then articulated locally in state education policies and individual teacher practices. This study uses Dale's (2000) framework in order to critically examine the effects of neoliberal globalization on the lives and work of Salvadoran teachers. Because teachers are subject to the push and pull of competing politics and policies, these conflicts are often translated into their educational theories and practices. Thus the experiences of individual teachers are reflective of struggles taking place at a deeper philosophical level.

Highlighting an inherent conflict at the heart of globalization theory, a challenge to the neoliberal perspective has emerged with recent discussion of "globalization from below." Opposing neoliberal globalization – or what is often referred to as "globalization from above" – proponents of globalization from below take a more bottom-up standpoint in examining "the extent to which and manner in which globalizing processes are mediated on the ground, in the flesh, and 'inside the head'" (Apple et al., 2005, p. 8). Studies of globalization from below typically focus on global power inequities, the causes and conditions of marginalization, and emerging social movements that oppose aspects of globalization from above.[20]

In advocating a critical approach to globalization studies, Kellner (2002) has theorized globalization as "a highly complex, contradictory, and thus ambiguous set of institutions and social relations, as well as one involving flows of goods, services, ideas, technologies, cultural forms, and people" (p. 286). Yet as the emergent tensions between globalization from above and globalization from below generate new conflicts and new

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[20] Among others, Arturo Escobar and Boaventura de Sousa Santos offer excellent insights into the concept of globalization from below. For examples, see Escobar's *Encountering development: The making and unmaking of the Third World* (1995) and Santos' *Another knowledge is possible: Beyond northern epistemologies* (2007).

spaces for struggle (Kellner, 2002; de Sousa Santos, 2006; Torres, 2009b), they also open up new possibilities for theoretical and empirical research.

Because it focuses on the knowledge and experiences of Salvadoran teachers – whose voices have traditionally been under-represented in education research – this study takes the perspective of globalization from below. This standpoint allows for a better understanding of the "localized inflections" of global flows and exchanges of goods, information, and human and knowledge capital (Apple et al., 2005; Morris, 2005). However, it is also important to recognize that teachers are not merely passive receptors of incoming ideas and information. As Andrade-Eekhoff and Avalos (2003) have observed, flows of economic, political, and sociocultural exchange initiated from "below" have become part of the daily life of individuals, families, and communities across the region. The linking of the global and the local has led to new configurations of individual and collective identity, which leads to the third set of tensions within Latin American education, the conflict between nationalism and transnationalism.

The third set of tensions: nationalism and transnationalism. As Kenway and Bullen (2005) have observed, education sociology is more concerned than ever with "educational responses to, engagements with, and expressions of global flows of trade, investment, wealth, labor, people, information, and ideas" (p. 33). Migration and globalization have increased the permeability of national borders and boundaries, leading to profound transformations in relationships between place and policy, teachers and the state, and practice and ideology. These processes have also given rise to important questions about the role of the nation state in what is increasingly conceptualized as a

global society, made up not of citizens of individual nation states but of citizens of one world community (Castles, 2006).

An ongoing debate of the past few decades has been based on the premise that global processes of economic modernization and social change have separated people from longstanding local identities, thereby weakening the power of the nation state as a source of identity (see, for example, Appadurai, 1996; Levitt, 2001; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). Following this line of thought, recent scholarship has suggested that citizenship can no longer be equated with assimilation to national identity, and pushed for a rethinking of prior conceptions of citizenship and belonging (Dyrness, 2011; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). Yet teachers across Latin America are still embedded within educational frameworks that see schooling as a citizen right and a social investment on the part of the state (Torres & Schugurensky, 2002) – an understanding that is clearly at odds with emerging theories of transnationalism.

The issue of citizen rights also points to a key limitation of transnational theory - its failure to account for the fact that only a small privileged sector of the world's citizens are able to fully participate in a transnational society. For example, in order take part in legal channels of economic exchange or political processes, a migrant must first normalize his or her status in the host country. Thus in order to increase our transnational identity, we must first be national. Such examples highlight the complexities and contradictions inherent in theories of transnationalism, particularly the question of who is able to participate in the so-called transnational society.

The notion of "global citizenship" is also linked to the debate about transnational communities and networks, specifically in terms of the politics of participation. In the

case of El Salvador, the migration process is primarily a migration from below, where the majority of migrants are members of the working class who end up in low wage, low skill jobs. This is a stark contrast to the "brain drain" experienced in countries such as India and China, which have seen the loss of highly educated individuals with advanced technical skills or knowledge. In this sense, while skilled workers from India or China would be considered transnational, working-class Salvadoran migrants would not. This dissertation acknowledges that in reality there are two distinct classes of "transnational" or "global" citizens: the elite, who by virtue of their social, economic, cultural, and/or intellectual capital are able to move freely across borders and participate fully in multiple communities, and the poor masses, who are transnational in the fact that they retain ties to more than one nation state but who are not able to attain the full rights and privileges associated with citizenship.

It remains to be seen whether these tensions can be reconciled. Like the contradictions and complexities surrounding notions of globalization from above and globalization from below, the relationship between nationalism and transnationalism is a contested terrain, offering at once new areas of conflict and new spaces for struggle. Herein lies the plight of Salvadoran teachers. Traditionally tasked with fostering social cohesion and the formation of national citizens, teachers are also cognizant of their students' (and their own) current transnational realities – realities that necessitate the acquisition of new kinds of knowledge and skills. In addition, teachers must negotiate and make sense of the various messages they receive – from a variety of actors representing local, national, and global education interests – about what to teach and how to teach it. Reconciling these tensions represents an important site of conflict and struggle

for teachers, and has important implications for how they theorize and go about their work.

The transnational elements in the lives of Salvadoran students and teachers are largely a factor of increased migration and globalization during the past 15 years. Pointing to what he sees as the diminished influence of individual nation states, Suárez-Orozco (2005) has posited that, "immigration is now structured by powerful global economic factors, social forces, and cultural practices that seem impervious to state actions such as controls of international borders" (p. 52). In this view, flows of people and ideas can no longer be regulated by the state, as improvements in communications and transportation technology have led to a strengthening of cross-border social and economic networks. Castles (2006) has extended this position a step further, suggesting that, "there is no return to the neat idea of closed-off nation states with homogenous national communities" (p. 1164).

However, such statements do not take into account the fact that many so-called "transnational" activities are still regulated by the state. The ongoing debate about U.S. immigration reform and the role of El Salvador's national bank in managing remittance flows are just two examples. Thus we could say that transnationalism is happening not above and outside of, but rather *via*, nation states. Furthermore, I argue that while elements of transnational theory may have some grounding in empirical observation, it also diminishes the role of a country's unique historical and cultural knowledge, elements that are also crucial aspects of national identity and help to foster a sense of belongingness among a society's citizens.

In moving too far beyond the state, or what Beck (2000) has termed "the container theory of society," we also run the risk of overlooking how tensions related to nationalism and transnationalism impact schooling. Imparting historical and cultural knowledge has traditionally been an important aspect of the Latin American teaching experience. Yet today's globalized world also necessitates the teaching and learning of new knowledges, skills, concepts, and technologies. In light of these developments, teachers have been expected to fulfill a multiplicity of roles – retaining some of the more traditional elements of their work, while at the same time integrating new ideas and practices, some of with which they themselves may not be familiar. Ultimately, these tensions can be best explained through the dialectic of the global and the local. While it is true that at the global level the political economy has been largely controlled by multinational institutions and corporations, these actions and decisions have implications for all of us at the local level. I propose that by focusing too much on transnational identity and cultural citizenship, teachers in peripheral countries like El Salvador may find themselves in the midst of an identity crisis – an idea I will explore in more depth in the following section.

Local tensions. The tensions addressed in the preceding sections primarily represent large-scale frictions taking place at the global level. Issues related to neoliberalism, globalization, and transnationalism have long been at the forefront of comparative and international education research. However, there are also several sets of *local* tensions emerging *within* in El Salvador that have relevance for this study. In the previous section, I spoke of an emergent identity crisis among Salvadoran teachers. This crisis encompasses questions about their primary roles and responsibilities (e.g.,

integrating job training and preparation for entry into the workforce with the artistic and cultural dimensions of education), their notions of identity and citizenship (e.g., what is the relationship between national identity and citizenship? How do teachers themselves define these terms? What does it mean to be a Salvadoran citizen versus a global citizen?), and their perceptions of future opportunities and challenges (e.g., what possibilities do they envision for socioeconomic mobility, for their students and for themselves? What are the implications for local and national development?). These kinds of questions reflect the uncertainty and ambiguity with which many Salvadoran teachers have come to view their work.

In addition, tensions over what constitutes the most effective model of teaching and learning, about which knowledge(s) are deemed most important, and about the ways in which knowledge is produced and disseminated, all play a role in guiding the work of Salvadoran teachers. Notwithstanding the influence of neoliberalism, globalization, and transnationalism emanating from outside its borders, teachers in El Salvador also face pressures and demands from education policymakers and planners at the state and local level. Education reform efforts, often driven by the prevailing political agenda, are continually re-conceptualized, appearing to shift direction with the election of each new head of state, while teachers endeavor to adapt to the latest round of recommendations. Teacher training and professional development represent further areas of struggle for new and experienced educators alike.

Taken together, these tensions have important implications for public schooling in El Salvador, particularly in terms of how teachers view their roles in forming future citizens. Indeed, the very nature of citizenship may be at stake, as traditional assumptions

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about the rights and responsibilities associated with Salvadoran citizenship increasingly engage with new understandings about what it means to be a transnational or global citizen. At the same time, these questions are being raised in the context of a globalized world still largely dominated by a hegemonic neoliberal agenda. It is in light of its many complexities and tensions that the following section examines the current status of the Salvadoran education system.

The State of Salvadoran Education: An Overview

In his examination of the profound effects of globalization on knowledge transmission, Carnoy (2000) has argued that the market values of a new globalized culture have led to a new struggle over the meaning and value of knowledge. Positing that the overall delivery of schooling has been affected by transnational paradigms, national policy, and local practices, his work further highlights the interplay of global, national, and local forces and actors. In this context, the interactions among globalization, migration, schooling, and teacher roles and identity, have given rise to new notions of the purpose, aims, and status of public education in El Salvador. As teachers struggle to confront these changes, they are also grappling with questions of identity and citizenship, as an increasing push toward transnationalism has led to uncertainty about the continued relevance of the nation state.

In El Salvador, as in many of its Latin American counterparts, the dominant education model has historically focused on social cohesion and solidarity. In this framework, schooling aims to "prepare modern citizens, integrate the nation, and culturally homogenize the population, achieving some degree of uniformity in pupils' behavior, customs, ways of thinking, and political and cultural language" (Torres, 2009b,

p. 61). Education has been seen as a linchpin of economic, social, and cultural development, with teachers playing a key role in the formation of competent citizens. In this respect, education policy in many Latin American states still reflects a human capital perspective, which sees an educated populace as the driving force behind economic growth (Arnove, 1999; Londoäno, 1996; Torres, 2009b). While El Salvador's policy has typically been rooted in a similar theoretical framework, its most recent iteration emphasizes national solidarity and citizenship building over economic development and global competitiveness.

Shifting educational policy. Changes in education discourse in the past decade reflect broader political changes in El Salvador, most notably the historic election of leftist presidential candidate Mauricio Funes in 2009. Prior to Funes' election, the conservative *Alianza Republicana Nationalista* (ARENA) party had held the presidency since the country's post-war transition to democracy in the early 1990s. A comparison of education policy under Funes and that of his predecessor, Antonio Saca, demonstrates two very different views of the Salvadoran education system – one of which is more closely aligned with a global neoliberal agenda, while the other seeks to affirm El Salvador's unique historical and cultural identity.

In 2005, then-President Saca launched a 15-year comprehensive reform effort called Plan 2021, aimed at improving the public education system and achieving universal primary and secondary education by the year 2021 (Konnert, 2007; MINED, 2005). Seen as a direct response to the UN's Millennium Development Goals, Plan 2021 called for general reform of public education, with a focus on improving preschool, primary, and secondary education by decreasing drop-out and repetition rates; improving

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quality; and increasing the national education budget (Konnert, 2007; MINED, 2005). Education policy under Saca was largely aligned with goals of economic productivity and international competition, as evidenced in one of the major objectives of Plan 2021: "to increase the productive capacity and international competitiveness" (MINED, 2005). Former Education Minister Darlyn Meza referred to Plan 2021 as "a leap toward the modernization of education and the construction of a society of knowledge," a direct reference to the "knowledge society" that has become ubiquitous in neoliberal and globalization discourse (Gounari, 2006; Méndez & Moral, 2011).

When Saca left office in 2009, Funes pledged continued support for Plan 2021's major aims and objectives, while also adding new cultural, art, and technological components (Avalos, 2009). However, a closer look at the language of the current policy – officially known as *Plan Social Educativo "Vamos a la Escuela"* – appears to signal a return to education's liberal traditions and a shift away from past neoliberal models. While I will not go into an in-depth analysis of the program here, it is important to note the type of language used and its underlying principles. The prevailing edict is that the education system must look to the past in order to "protect and sustain cultural heritage and diversity" (MINED, 2012). Envisioning the school as a "nucleus of culture," the plan has a heavy emphasis on history, culture, national identity, and language – as opposed to Plan 2021's concentration on science and computer skills. While it acknowledges the importance of science and technology in promoting innovation and development, this new policy is more focused on the education of "holistic people" than on economic growth.

The overall message of *Plan Vamos a la Escuela* is that El Salvador has been too focused on what happens outside of its borders and has spent too little time looking at what happens inside. Accordingly, its key points include "forming students with deep and profound national identity, incorporating into their studies a strong historical-cultural component" (MINED, 2012, p. 33). The plan goes on to state that new generations must recognize their past, because the past is where a sense of community is founded, the development of identity stimulated, and the civic dimension nurtured.

Yet despite its inward-looking focus, the plan is also cognizant of El Salvador's role in the world system. The theme of globalization is clearly articulated, as the plan refers to the need to link school with students' economic, political, social, and cultural realities. However, it emphasizes that interactions in processes of globalization must be undertaken in a critical manner that safeguards and values attributes of national identity. In sum, Salvadorans must be careful not to lose their own sense of culture and identity through their participation in the global family. Whether the rhetoric of education policy matches with its implementation and outcomes is another topic of discussion, one that I will save for a later chapter of this dissertation. I introduce the idea here simply to make the point that the contradictions within El Salvador's education system are yet another factor contributing to the daily pressures facing its teachers.

Educational outcomes. In the past two decades, enrollment and retention rates in El Salvador and across Latin America have continued to rise. However, critical questions remain about the quality and relevance of schooling, as well as its impact on social mobility, particularly for the poorest segments of society. According to UNESCO

statistics for 2010,[21] net enrollment rates for primary schooling in El Salvador have reached 94 percent, equaling the regional average and nearing the goal of universal primary education. While enrollment in secondary education has risen from 49 percent to 58 percent since 2002, El Salvador remains well below the regional average of 74 percent. Enrollment in tertiary education has leveled off at about 20 percent since 1999, with females overtaking males in gross enrollment rates.[22]

In terms of completion rates, 96 percent of children complete a full course of primary education (through ninth grade), up from 82 percent in 2002. Literacy rates for youth and adults have continued to rise in the past two decades as well, though they remain below regional averages at both levels, with a more marked difference among adults older than 15. Yet despite increasing overall levels of education in El Salvador and the rest of Latin America, poverty rates generally remained steady between the late 1990s and first decade of the twenty-first century (Karl, 2003; Bonal, 2007). While the region's overall poverty rate has declined sharply in recent years – reaching its lowest point in three decades in 2012 – the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean noted that this drop was largely due to increases in job-related income for poor households (CEPAL, 2013). This leads us to question what real impact increased education is having on the lives of many Latin Americans.

Disillusionment with schooling. If education is no longer seen as a viable strategy for combating poverty, has migration become the new solution? Bonal (2007) has warned that, "without effective policies to counter inequality, education becomes just

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[21] Education statistics are from the UNESCO Institute of Statistics and represents the most current data available (2010). The database can be accessed at http://www.uis.unesco.org/Education/.

[22] These figures may be a reflection of recent migration trends and the fact that a large number of males of college age choose to migrate rather than attend further schooling at home.

one more way in which inequalities are expressed, a source of social differentiation, and an element in the search for mechanisms that exclude certain groups from taking advantage of this resource" (p. 30). These concerns call to mind social reproduction theory, as well as Stromquist's (2001) analysis of the emergence of bifurcated school systems across developing countries, with higher quality, usually private, schools for the elite and middle classes seeking mobility, and lower quality public schools serving the poor. Tarabini (2007) has noted that for education to have a real effect on reducing poverty, equitable, high quality education must be provided for the entire population in order to offer all social groups the chance for success. When this is not the case, individuals and families either remain in poverty or begin to search for new ways out. Perhaps here is where migration comes in – disillusionment with the education system and its outcomes is likely contributing to the millions of Salvadorans who leave school early or forgo it entirely.

Identity and citizenship also play a role in this context. Dyrness (2011) has referred to emigration as a "survival strategy," positing that Salvadorans continue to migrate because the state is unable to fulfill their basic citizenship rights. In her work, she cited a migration-themed issue of *Estudios Centroamericanos* from 2007, which asserted, "In no small measure, emigration has replaced the state in its obligation to ensure the welfare of the Salvadoran family" (p. 4). The authors went on to call migration the government's "most effective economic policy," writing that, "El Salvador is able to maintain its current model of economic growth due to the fact that it massively expels a significant proportion of its population, which not only relieves social pressure internally, but also contributes in a determining manner through the sending of billions of dollars

each year [in remittances]" (p. 8). Their analysis supports the premise that if education cannot provide the social and economic stability a society demands, its citizens will turn elsewhere.

Pleitez (2005) has attributed rising emigration rates to a combination of factors, including poor economic opportunity at home (which can be seen as a function of the disconnect between schooling and work opportunities), growing levels of inequality, and dissatisfaction with the political system. Others point to the fact that while education has been touted as a key means of individual mobility and job placement, heightened demand has led to a devaluation of credentials and weakened connections between education and work (Preston, 2012; Tarabini, 2007). Former Argentine Minister of Education, Science, and Technology Daniel Filmus (2001) offered an apt summation in his assertion that education in the twenty-first century had become "more necessary but less sufficient" (p. 53). That is, while education has been deemed indispensible in today's global society, it is not a sufficient condition for social inclusion or poverty reduction.

Tarabini (2007) has addressed the need to complement investment in education with other strategies to combat social and economic inequality. While her suggestion has merit, these kinds of integrated approaches often require an inordinate amount of time, capital, and manpower. In the meantime, it seems that many Salvadorans have already turned to migration as a way out. Furthermore, in many cases, migration is being used as a replacement for education rather than as its complement.[23]

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[23] This at least appears to be true for Salvadoran migrants, who often have low levels of educational attainment and lack advanced technical or technological skills (Terrazas, 2010). However, numerous studies have shown an overall increase in the educational attainment of the children of migrants in cases where remittances are used for investment in education (for examples, see Acosta et al., 2007; Edwards & Ureta, 2003; Hanson & Woodruff, 2003; Pleitez, 2005).

A closer look at migration. The importance of historical context in El Salvador's experiences with migration and globalization cannot be overlooked. The United States has played a large role in Salvadoran political and economic affairs since its intervention in the country's civil war of the 1980s. Propelled by fears of communist revolution after the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua and similar uprisings in Cuba and Vietnam, the United States provided the Salvadoran government with more than $6 billion in economic and military aid over the course of the 12-year armed conflict (Lauria-Santiago & Binford, 2004). During the height of the war, U.S. aid to El Salvador averaged more than $1.1 million per day (Dillon, 1989). The Reagan administration was heavily involved in Salvadoran political affairs as well, promoting the drafting of a new constitution in 1983 and pouring $1.8 million into the presidential election campaign of Christian Democrat José Napoleón Duarte, helping to ensure his victory in 1984 (Karl, 1992). By the time peace accords were signed in 1992, El Salvador was left with a fragile political system, depressed economy, and fragmented social order. The war also transformed the migration process, as hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans fled the country, with the lion's share migrating to the United States (Landolt, 2001). Many refugees remained in the United States after the war's conclusion, setting foundations and forging social and economic networks that shaped the direction of future migration.

Recent years have seen intensified processes of globalization and migration, which have contributed to ruptures in traditional social structure. For example, in 2008 four of five Salvadoran migrants were adults of working age (Terrazas, 2010). This trend suggests a growing age gap in the Salvadoran population, with the very young and very old remaining at home while those of working age continue to migrate. Furthermore,

more than half of Salvadoran-born adults living in the United States in 2008 did not have a high school education (Terrazas, 2010). While it is not clear at what age these individuals migrated, such statistics reflect a sense of disillusionment in the Salvadoran education system as a source of socioeconomic mobility. The fact that many Salvadorans leave home without completing secondary education has important implications for teacher roles, both present and future. It has an impact on the type of content that teachers teach, the manner in which they teach it, and even when certain knowledge and skills are taught. This is particularly relevant at the primary level, where teachers may be providing students the only formal education they will receive in their lives.

It is clear that poor economic and educational prospects are among the factors that have contributed to the overwhelming increase in migration from El Salvador in the past few decades. Following Rao's (2010) theory that education and migration represent two key pathways to social mobility, increasing numbers of Salvadorans are choosing the latter. Evidence of this trend can be seen in the fact that that the number of Salvadoran migrants is believed to have increased as much as 400 percent between 1990 and 2000 (Pleitez, 2005). In comparison with migrants of the 1980s, who were primarily refugees fleeing the civil war, today's migrants are younger, less educated, speak less English, and have lower earning opportunities than their predecessors (Terrazas, 2010).

According to various estimates, between 800,000 and 2.5 million Salvadorans currently reside in the United States.[24] The majority are males of working age with low levels of educational attainment (Pleitez, 2005; Terrazas, 2010). Most leave home in

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[24] Estimates vary depending on the reporting agency. For example, the U.S. Census Bureau estimates the number of Salvadorans living in the U.S. at 817,336, while El Salvador's Ministry of Exterior Relations puts the figure at 2.5 million. Other estimates include 1,117,960 (Mumford Institute); 958,487 (Pew Hispanic Center); and 1,217,703 (Andrade-Eekhoff, 2006).

search of improved financial and labor prospects, and after finding employment send aid home in the form of remittances. These remittances have had significant effects on socioeconomic conditions, including educational opportunities for family members who remain in El Salvador. In fact, remittances, or *remesas* as they are called in Spanish, have been referred to as "the most concrete expression of Salvadoran transnational links" (Lungo, 1997, p. 14). According to World Bank estimates, Salvadorans living abroad sent home $3.7 billion in remittances in 2011, representing 16 percent of the country's GDP and placing El Salvador among the world's top 10 remittance-receiving countries (World Bank, 2011).[25] Yet despite the recent influx of *remesas,* El Salvador remains among the world's poorer countries. In 2011, GDP per capita was estimated at $3,702 and El Salvador ranked 107th of 187 nations on the Human Development Index (World Bank, n/d). According to UNESCO, more than one-third of the population is classified as living in poverty, with 13 percent of Salvadorans subsisting on less than $2 per day.[26]

As the case of El Salvador clearly demonstrates, the migration process has widespread and long-term effects, for both sender and receiver countries. In this respect, transnationalism again provides a useful framework through which to view these changes. Popkin (1997) has asserted that, "the migration process should not be analyzed in the context of distinct regions, those which send and those which receive, rather

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[25] In recent years the total amount of remittances sent home has varied, primarily due to fluctuations in the U.S. economy. According to El Salvador's Central Reserve Bank, the highest volume of remittances was received in 2008. In the following year, remittances dropped off due to the financial crisis in the United States. However, in 2010 the overall volume of remittances again increased, with $43.8 million more sent home than in 2009 (BCR, 2011). This upward trend continued in 2011 and 2012.

[26] Actual figures and averages are susceptible to variation, given the extreme income gap that exists between the richest and poorest segments of Salvadoran society.

migration should be seen as a 'transnational' process that is more fluid, in which migrants establish and sustain multifaceted social relations that link origin and receptor societies" (p. 229). Accordingly, I now return to the question of globalization to further explore these links, as well as examine where teachers fit into this changing landscape.

Images of globalization. In addition to providing a rich case study for the impact of migration, El Salvador also exemplifies the shifting patterns of geography, labor markets, and knowledge and information transfer that have collectively come to be known as globalization. The effects of corporate globalization are palpable, as a quick glance around the streets of San Salvador reveals a McDonald's or Pizza Hut on nearly every corner. More than 300 U.S.-based companies currently have either a permanent commercial presence or work through representative offices in the country,[27] and free-market strategies have prevailed in national economic decision-making of the past several decades. The privatization of the banking system, telecommunications, public pensions, and electrical distribution, as well as the dollarization of the economy, all point to El Salvador's close alliance with the United States, and its alignment with neoliberal economic policies.

El Salvador is party to several key free-trade agreements, the most prominent being the U.S.-Central-America-Dominican-Republic Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA-DR), signed in 2006. The preferential access to U.S. markets provided for under CAFTA has helped to strengthen Salvadoran-U.S. ties, particularly within the consumer and labor markets. In another move highlighting its close relationship with the United States, El

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[27] Data and figures on El Salvador's economy from the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, March 30, 2013.

Salvador was awarded a five-year, $461 million anti-poverty compact through an agreement with the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC)[28] in November 2006. Among the grant's key provisions were investments in education, public services, and enterprise development. In a 2011 project status report, the MCC noted significant progress in its education objectives, reporting that 14,067 students and 450 teachers had participated in MCC-sponsored activities (MCC, 2011).

Implications for teacher roles and identity. In their examination of the impact of transnational migration on local development, Andrade-Eekhoff and Avalos (2003) suggested that through the linking of the global and the local, new flows of economic, political, and sociocultural exchange have become part of the daily life of the families, communities, and regions of Central America. While I agree with their assessment, I maintain that we have yet to fully understand the processes through which people make sense of the contradictions and tensions that have become part and parcel of their new social reality. This study views the emerging issues through the eyes of teachers, asking them what strategies they have developed in response to migration, globalization, transnationalism, and neoliberalism, as well as how they envision their roles in student and societal development.

It has become increasingly clear that these changes have important implications for teacher roles and identity. A 2007 UNESCO report on education in Latin America and the Caribbean reflected an inherent inconsistency in teachers' perceptions of their major roles and responsibilities, stating:

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[28] The Millennium Challenge Corporation is a U.S. foreign aid agency, created by Congress in 2004. It aims to reduce poverty by providing grants for projects in areas such as agriculture and irrigation, transportation, water supply and sanitation, finance and enterprise development, health care, land rights, and access to education through partnerships with governments in some of the world's poorest countries.

Most teachers tend to identify the development of creativity and a critical spirit as among the priorities that education should pursue, followed by preparation for life in society… On the other hand, about one-fourth of teachers surveyed elected as an option the transmission of up-to-date and relevant knowledge – a view generally associated with a more traditional view of education. (p. 44)

This confusion about schooling's aims has also been manifested in education policy, as evidenced by this chapter's previous discussion about recent changes in El Salvador's national education plan. Far from occurring in isolation, the trend has been regional, as countries across Latin America have experimented with policies and procedures aimed at increasing international competitiveness, while at the same time building modern citizenship (Bonal, 2007). The tension between developing international competitiveness on the one hand and constructing modern citizenship on the other further reflects the contradictions of education systems caught between competing interests and ideals. As previously mentioned, El Salvador finds itself experimenting with policies and initiatives that at times align education with a neoliberal agenda (a la Saca's Plan 2021) and at others directly challenge it (Funes' current approach). I see this as yet another factor contributing to teachers' perceived identity crisis.

It is also evident that Salvadoran education policy has been increasingly influenced by the country's close ties with the United States. As the flow of financial and human capital between the countries has steadily increased, beliefs about education's aims and expectations have also begun to cross national borders. Morrow and Torres (1995) have provided a useful framework through which to view these developments in their examination of teachers located within a theory of the state. They envision the state as a site of contestation for competing political projects, where public policy represents an arena of struggle, as both a "project of domination" and "a sounding board for civil

society" (p. 355). The model becomes further complicated when politics and policies are created under the influence of a global hegemony and attempt to incorporate not only national but also international interests. A closer look at the relationship between teachers and the state will help to further illuminate these tensions and conflicts.

The Teacher-State Relationship

As Morrow and Torres (1995) have suggested, the discussion about education and globalization can be further framed within a theory of the state. Dale (1989) has argued that the basic problems of the state are played out in every level of the education system, "from national policymaking to PTA meetings" (p. 49). Accordingly, the struggles experienced by teachers are often indicative of larger conflicts within a nation's education system. In the Latin American framework of highly centralized public education, classroom practices and procedures traditionally have been governed by the agendas, objectives, aims, and priorities of the state (Torres, 2009b; Torres & Puiggrós, 1995; Verdugo, 1996). However, with the advent of neoliberalism, new visions of education's primary mission and aims began to emerge in the language of national education plans, as the agenda promoted by foreign governments, the World Bank, and IMF, among others, began to play a more prominent role in determining the content, instruction, evaluation, and assessment of Latin American schools. As agents of the state, teachers were expected to fall in line with this new vision, rather than offering their own advice and input (Torres, R.M., 2000; Villegas-Reimers & Reimers, 1996).

During the height of neoliberalism in the 1980s and 90s, the teaching profession was largely undervalued in the region, due to economic restrictions and the relatively low priority placed on education (Torres, R.M., 2000). However, in the past two decades

there has been a renewed emphasis on the role of teachers in national development and an acknowledgment that "what a country's education is capable of achieving depends largely on who its teachers are and what they are able and willing to do" (Torres, R.M., 2000, p. 265).[29] Such statements reflect not only a shift in teachers' day-to-day responsibilities but also a new understanding of their importance as social and historical actors.

The state and the development of teacher roles. Perhaps more so than any other profession, teaching has long been the subject of debate about its fundamental purpose, aims, and expectations. Historically, the role of the teacher has resisted a singular definition. The teacher in contemporary society has been variously conceptualized as a dispenser of knowledge, conveyor of skills and technical expertise, civic/citizenship educator, ethical and moral guide, facilitator of learning, dialogic partner, and community builder. More recent discussion has focused on the teacher's role as a public intellectual, peace educator, and social justice activist. As roles and expectations have evolved in response to changing socioeconomic, political, and cultural contexts, these changes have been marked by continual adaptation and innovation on the part of teachers worldwide (Asch & Reichmann, 1994; Harden & Crosby, 2000; Mazawi, 1994).

But a central question remains: Where exactly do teachers fit in amid diverse questions of politics, culture, ideology, and the influence of migration, globalization, and neoliberalism on schooling? It is not overstating the situation to say that teachers are at the forefront of these competing demands and desires, at times pulled in one direction and at times in another. As Apple (1995) reminds us, teachers do not exist outside of

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[29] This sentiment is further reflected in El Salvador's current education policy, which explicitly states that its success depends in large measure on teachers (MINED, 2012).

political, economic, and social structures, nor are they immune from the influences of history, culture, language, religion, and ideology.

Further stressing this point, Stromquist (2001) has noted that while official discourse still seeks to cast education in apolitical terms, the ideological function of schooling must not be overlooked. Measures to improve equity and access must also concern themselves with issues of class, race, gender, and ethnicity, not to mention sexuality, religion, and language. However, this has not typically been the case in Latin America, as evidenced by the persistent inequality of educational quality and access. In traditional models, public school teachers are charged with helping to alleviate poverty through provision of requisite knowledge and skills. Yet this may be an impossible task, given the continued lack of resources, training, and financial and political incentives for teachers.

It has been well documented that teachers in less developed countries often experience top-down causal change without any real opportunity to have input in education policy and decision-making (Torres, R.M., 2000; Villegas-Reimers & Reimers, 1996; Vongalis, 2004). This reflects a strong state role in determining education policy and ideology, as well as directing teacher knowledge and practices. However, it is also important to note that teachers are not simply agents of the state who blindly follow policies and enact mandates handed down from above (Dale, 1989). Despite working within a heavily centralized system, teachers possess individual and collective hopes, dreams, passions, and goals. They are also important social actors who often recognize their own agential potential. As one Chilean teacher in Vongalis' (2004) study stated:

> Teachers are forces that bring about change. We know about teaching and how to bring about change with our expertise. We must be creative and autonomous as

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educators; schools should not be thought of as places where change is introduced and measured but as places of awareness. (p. 494)

However, we must be careful not to assume that such sentiments are universal among all Latin American teachers. While Chilean teachers are well known for their recent political activism and involvement in social movements, the Salvadoran context is quite different, both in a historical and contemporary sense. Nevertheless, the same types of questions can be asked, and Salvadoran teachers can provide important insights into how they view their roles in relation to educational and social change.

This study sees teachers as continually engaged in processes of conflict, compromise, mediation, and negotiation with the state. In the education arena this can involve ideological struggles surrounding the production, distribution, and consumption of knowledge, as well as the specifics of curriculum, instruction, assessment, evaluation, and teacher training (Apple, 1995; Dale, 1989; Morrow & Torres, 1995). Within this two-way discourse and give-and-take process, both sides play a significant role in education planning and outcomes. Dale (1989) offered a particularly apt description in his examination of the relationship between the state and education policy:

> Teachers are not merely 'state functionaries' but do have some degree of autonomy, and this autonomy will not necessarily be used to further the proclaimed ends of the state apparatus. Rather than those who work there fitting themselves to the requirements of the institution, there are a number of very important ways in which the institution has to take account of the interests of the employees and fit itself to them. (p. 57)

Dale's observations capture the dialectical nature of relationship between the state and education. I use the term "relationship" to highlight the significance of human actors in any sociohistorical process – in this case, the importance of teachers in mediating processes of globalization and migration. Accordingly, this study explores the

experiences of Salvadoran teachers not as "state functionaries" but as important social actors who have real and material historical effects (Apple, 1989).

Changes in teacher roles and identity. Harden and Crosby (2000) have identified 12 distinct teacher roles, including information provider, learning facilitator, role model, mentor, student assessor/evaluator, and resource material creator. Others have expanded those categories to include school leader, data coach, catalyst for change, and learner (Harrison & Killion, 2007). Still dozens more could be added: civic/citizenship educator, community activist, and social justice advocate, to name a few. This diversity in the conceptualization of teacher roles highlights the multidimensional nature of the profession, as well as its interconnectedness to society.

Likewise, teacher identity is an important element in any discussion of teacher roles. It is generally understood that teacher identity is not static; rather it is constantly negotiated and re-negotiated as personal history is continually mediated by life contexts (Flores & Day, 2006; MacLure, 1993). MacLure (1993) has proposed that identity serves as an organizing principle in teachers' lives, as "something that they use, to justify, explain and make sense of themselves in relation to other people, and to the contexts in which they operate" (p. 312). Furthermore, these contexts are continually changing, as teachers' personal biographies are influenced by school culture, leadership, and other external factors (Flores & Day, 2006). This is particularly true for Salvadoran teachers in the contexts of globalization and migration.

Identity is also closely linked to teacher practice. Understanding that teacher identity comprises several levels, Wenger (1998) has examined the connections between the teacher's personal self and his or her professional self. In this model, the personal and

professional are "mirror images of one another" and the same characteristics apply to both: identity is the negotiated experience of self, involves community membership, has a learning trajectory, combines different forms of membership within an identity, and presumes involvement in local and global contexts (p. 149). Using Wenger's (1998) framework as a starting point, I propose that another core element – national identity – also plays in important role in how teachers understand themselves and their practice.

Torres (1998) explored a similar notion in his examination of the dilemmas of citizenship in a globalized world, envisioning identity as a process of individual (and collective) learning. Like Wenger's (1998) framework, Torres' (1998) understanding of identity is both deeply personal and powerfully influenced by membership in multiple communities and contexts. Conceptualizing identity as a lifelong journey of learning, knowledge, and recognition, and an ongoing process of discovery, he concluded that, "the notion of identity as an elusive, disputed, ever-changing assemblage of narratives and positions makes it very difficult to speak of citizenship as a single identity correlated either with a territory, culture, or experience" (p. 117). However, while Torres has argued that national identity is not a fixed marker, my findings suggest that it does play an important role in the meaning-making processes of Salvadoran teachers.

Returning to MacLure's (1993) notion of identity as a mental framework that helps teachers to justify, explain, and make sense of themselves in relation to others as well as to their surrounding contexts, I posit that national identity is a key component of how teachers understand themselves and their work. While it is true that teacher identities encompass a multiplicity of dimensions, traits, and domains, conceptualizing national identity as somewhat fixed and rooted in a particular culture and/or nation state offers

teachers a sense of familiarity and consistency in an otherwise ambiguous and changeable world.

Furthermore, teacher identity has implications not only for individual (and collective) meaning-making processes, but also for the political, moral, and cultural dimensions of teaching, as well as for teachers' commitment to their work. In his examination of the nature and quality of teachers' work, Hargreaves (1994) identified four vital influences: the teacher's *purpose*, the kind of *person* the teacher is, the *context* in which the teacher works, and the *culture* of the teaching community (emphasis mine). He argued that while these four factors were critical components of teachers' theories and practice, they were often overlooked or dismissed in discussions about education policy and planning. Interestingly, debates about how to improve education typically focus on teachers' knowledge, skill, and compliance with state and school policies. However, such models leave out what Hargreaves (1994) has termed the more "elusive aspects of teachers' work," or the personal, moral, cultural, and political dimensions of teaching. Accordingly, it is these aspects of teaching that are the focus of this study, particularly in terms of how they relate to teachers' sense of individual and collective identity.

Examining teacher identity is an important part of understanding the personal, moral, cultural, and political dimensions of teaching because identity development is also closely linked with teachers' commitment to their work. Sachs (2005) has claimed that teacher professional identity stands at the core of the teaching profession, while others have argued that teachers' identities "shape their dispositions, where they place their effort, whether and how they seek out professional development opportunities, and what obligations they see as intrinsic to their role" (Hammerness et al., 2005, p. 383). By

making sense of their individual and collective experiences, teachers can make sense of their roles and responsibilities, at the personal, professional, and state level. In essence, identity provides a framework within which teachers can construct ideas of "'how to be', 'how to act' and 'how to understand' their work and their place in society" (Sachs, 2005, p. 15). It is within this framework that we now turn to the relationship between teachers and social change.

Teachers and Social Change

While official policy may historically have paid them little attention, this study acknowledges that teachers are important political and social actors who can play a key role in either supporting or resisting change. Studies on teachers from less developed countries have suggested that they see education reform as linked to broader social and economic change. However, they do not always utilize their agential capacity and potential for social activism (Vongalis, 2004). This study examines this apparent contradiction within the specific context of El Salvador. Its chief queries include the following: If teachers recognize their potential to enact social change, why are they often reluctant to do so? How might their willingness (or unwillingness) to act be tied up with larger questions of politics, culture, and history, as well as current pressures of migration and neoliberal globalization? What do they see as their role in either promoting or inhibiting change? These are questions that can only be answered through careful observation and interaction with teachers themselves.

It is clear that education reform has social and political implications for teachers, not only as practitioners, but also as social and political agents (Vongalis, 2004). This study explores the ways in which teachers' roles and expectations come into conflict with

the aims of the state. In doing so, it examines how teachers engage with and make sense of processes like globalization and migration, particularly when viewed through the lens of neoliberal policies and politics. For example, how do Salvadoran teachers understand and respond to neoliberalism, either through direct resistance or through more subtle engagement? Do they view education as a tool for a global development agenda or as a public good and a right of the people? How do they view their own contributions toward these aims? Lastly, to what extent do teachers feel that they can make a difference?

The theme of identity again provides an important point of reference when considering the answers to such questions. Sfard and Prusak (2005) have asserted that a teacher's realization of his or her identity can have powerful effects, including "a sense of agency, of empowerment to move ideas forward, to reach goals or even to transform the context" (p. 15). In exploring the dynamic and agentic dimensions of identity, they have noted that a heightened awareness of one's identity may lead to a stronger sense of agency, proposing that, "human beings are active agents who play decisive roles in determining the dynamics of social life and in shaping individual activities" (Sfard & Prusak, 2005, p. 15). Accordingly, this study posits that teachers should not be underestimated as political actors, particularly in their capacity to organize through unions, community groups, and social movements.

The modern teacher and the role of unions. The role of teachers as critical social actors has demanded increased attention of late, particularly with the emergence of a notion of the modern teacher. According to Vongalis (2004), the modern teacher is one "whose agency extends beyond the classroom into the heart of social and political change" (p. 488). Linked to the expansion of mass schooling in the mid-twentieth

century, the emergence of the modern teacher has also been tied up with issues of power, class, and equity. Further exploration of these relationships has led to critical questions about whether schooling has resulted in greater equity and social justice through access and social mobility, or whether it has been primarily used as a means of reproducing the dominant social and economic order (Bonal, 2007; Morrow & Torres, 1995; Stromquist, 2001, 2004).

These questions have not gone away; rather debate has intensified in the context of globalization and international migration. As has been previously postulated, in migratory societies like El Salvador, migration appears to be replacing education as a pathway to social and economic mobility. Some of the pertinent questions have already been addressed. But a follow-up should be asked here: Is emigration merely another avenue through which elites seek to maintain power and the masses remain trapped in an unequal and unjust system? While migration can lead to improved individual and family incomes, it does not necessarily lead to changes in social identity or standing (Hanson & Woodruff, 2003; Pleitez, 2005; Rodriguez, 2009). Accordingly, this study explores these issues by viewing the politics and culture of schooling in El Salvador through the eyes of some of its most important potential political actors – teachers.

I use the term "potential" here because I feel that Salvadoran teachers have yet to fully realize their power as a social and political group. While teacher unions do exist – the largest, the *Asociación Nacional de Educadores Salvadoreños* or ANDES, has more than 20,000 registered members – they lack a sense of cohesion and solidarity. Aside from ANDES, there are five other main teacher unions in El Salvador, each of which has its own mission, aims, and organizational structure, not to mention membership. Hence

the existence of multiple, unrelated organizations has contributed to fragmentation within El Salvador's teaching corps (Palamidessi & Legarralde, 2006).

Furthermore, Salvadoran unions historically have been characterized as "weak" and "scattered" with "low technical capacity to conduct negotiation; scarce or no political will and commitment for social dialogue; restricted freedom of association; limited conditions for consensus building; and little or no connection between unions, ministries and the public opinion" (Palamidessi & Legarralde, 2006, p. 2). When teachers do engage in political action, it is typically through labor strikes, although disputes more often center on demands for improved wage and labor conditions (e.g., contractual norms, benefits, promotion systems, and evaluation procedure) than on issues of educational policy or political/ideological differences (Gentili et al., 2004; Palamidessi & Legarralde, 2006). In a five-year study of teacher unions in 18 Latin American and Caribbean nations, Gentili and colleagues (2004) found that El Salvador had the second-lowest number of protest days[30] in the region, with only 13 days in five years. In contrast, Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, and Honduras each had more than 100 protest days in that same period. Also notable, while I was in the field during the spring of 2012, the Salvadoran government announced the postponement of an expected pay increase for teachers. In response, unions called for a nationwide strike. Yet only 2,400 of El Salvador's 45,000 registered teachers participated (Flores, 2012). Judging from these kinds of examples, it appears that there is a serious disconnect between union leaders and the general membership, as well as an overall reluctance on the part of teachers to engage

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[30] Protest days included strikes, marches, pickets, and other types of demonstrations.

in large-scale political action. Thus while they do possess *potential* as social and political actors, they have yet to collectively enact this power in a meaningful, sustained way.

However, the lack of cohesion within unions does not tell us much about what individual teachers think, feel, and believe. Nor does it provide insight into the extent to which they are willing to engage in the struggle for democracy and social justice within the walls of their own classrooms. Through teacher interviews, this study explores more deeply the political will and agency of Salvadoran teachers. In doing so, it follows Vongalis' (2004) premise that the political questions that engage teachers as a social group are based on their views of their roles and whether they believe they have the capacity to influence the direction of educational change. Thus when teachers believe they have a strong voice, they are more likely to politicize their work practices and "construct education as a site challenging the regulatory control of education by the state" (Vongalis, 2004, p. 489).

My findings indicate that at the large-scale level, most teachers saw themselves as working within existing (unequal and inefficient) structures rather than actively seeking to change them. In this sense, my study appears to confirm prior work characterizing Salvadoran teachers and teacher unions as lacking in political will and with a weak sense of their own agency. However, there were also instances where teachers reported engaging in smaller scale, individual acts of resistance through their own teaching practices (e.g., teaching content in a different manner or using resources other than those specified in official policy, adapting curriculum to more accurately reflect the particular needs of their students, offering more critically-oriented extracurricular or out-of-school learning experiences). In these cases, teachers were indeed exercising their voice and

political agency – they simply weren't doing it at the collective level or in a public forum. Based on what I saw and heard from these teachers, I believe that with proper leadership, a clear sense of direction, and sustained commitment, teachers can, and will, realize their potential to promote social change.

Looking Ahead: The Future of Teaching in Latin America

I preface the following section with some cautionary words from Torres (2001), who has warned that the true effects of neoliberal globalization on teachers and their classrooms have yet to be fully understood. In 2001, he wrote, "the impact of neoliberal globalization on school classrooms, on the specific activities that teachers perform with their children, and, of course, in the places at the margins of the international system, is still the subject of intense academic and political discussion" (p. 42). Yet while there has been continued dialogue in academic and political circles, teachers' voices remain largely absent from discussions on education reform. This has been particularly true in the developing world, which is surprising, given the magnitude of the global teaching corps and teachers' historical involvement in political and social movements (Villegas-Reimers & Reimers, 1996).

To put the discussion into context, there were more than 28.5 million primary teachers worldwide in 2012 (UNESCO, 2013). Two-thirds of the world's teachers reside in the developing world; one in 10 teaches in Latin America or the Caribbean (UNESCO, 2012). However, the supply of teachers has not kept up with global demand, given rising enrollments in primary education. In 2012, UNESCO announced the need for 1.7 million additional teachers worldwide in order to meet the goal of universal primary education by 2015. Given the number of teachers leaving the profession for various reasons, to meet

the total shortage, 5.1 million teacher replacements were needed between 2010 and 2015 (UNESCO, 2012). Taken together with the 1.7 million new posts to meet universal primary education, that means that 6.8 million teachers would have to be recruited in the 2010-2015 period (UNESCO, 2012).

Yet despite the millions of teachers currently practicing and the calls for more to join the profession, reform efforts have continued to overlook teachers' experiences with and theories about education. Villegas-Reimers and Reimers (1996) have identified three common trends in education policymaking in Latin America: (1) little attention is paid to teacher voices, (2) proposals for change are conceptualized as "teacher-proof," designed to sustain change in spite of teachers, and (3) teachers are not central to proposals for change. Thus teachers have alternately, or simultaneously, been paid lip service, been viewed as a hindrance to educational innovation, and/or been completely left out of decision-making processes. This system not only has been criticized as politically unjust and administratively naïve, but also has also been faulted for "showing poor understanding of the factors which influence educational opportunity in schools" (Villegas-Reimers & Reimers, 1996, p. 470).

Indeed, the important role of teachers in creating and sustaining change has been highlighted in numerous studies and reports on education systems worldwide (Fullan, Stiegelbauer, & Fullan, 1991; Gentili, 2009b; Hargreaves, 1994; Hopkins, Ainscow, & West, 1994; Lieberman, Darling-Hammond, Zukerman, & Harrington, 1991; Reimers, 2006; Torres, C.A., 2000, 2001, 2009a). Yet we cannot ignore the larger structural and institutional factors that also affect educational change. In this respect, I again refer to the framework suggested by Morrow and Torres (1995) as a means to understand the ways in

which theories of the state affect education policy and planning. Among their findings with specific relevance for this study are: (1) educational institutions are strategic sites for social stability and societal development, (2) education policy formation constitutes a context of negotiation and struggle that affects society's ability to maintain or transform itself, and (3) education can be either a powerful tool of social and cultural reproduction or a tool through which to challenge and resist a hegemonic culture or social practice (p. 347). Thus we must consider not only the role of teachers, but also the role of the state and how education can function as a means of social and cultural reproduction. There is already a wealth of research examining how education in Latin America has been conceptualized and re-conceptualized throughout the past century. But important questions still need to be asked. In an effort to help fill these gaps, this study turns to teachers to help construct the answers.

Progress and setbacks. In his examination of the triumphs and miseries of Latin American education, Torres (2001) reminded us that despite the advances of the past century, many obstacles remained. He warned that shortcomings in public education systems could be representative of larger ideological conflicts, writing that, "the risk that we confront, ostensibly, is that the rupture of the commitment for public education may signify and anticipate the rupture of the democratic pact in Latin American societies" (p. 26). The point is well taken. Educational expansion in Latin America was based on a democratic pact and the belief that social mobility was made possible through education. However, as schooling has increasingly become an instrument of economic control and social legitimation through the neoliberal agenda, goals of self-reliance and social justice

have become obscured, or in some cases left behind completely (Torres & Puiggrós, 1995).

The future is uncertain, not only for teachers in El Salvador, but also for the overall status of schooling in Latin America. The past few decades have been marked by continued inequality between rich and poor, declining social stability, and the inability of states to meet demands for social welfare (Karl, 2003; Gentili, 2007a, 2009a; McGuire, 2011). Beyond the shortcomings of formal education systems, concerns have been raised about adult education, marginalized populations, bilingual education, and new forms of literacy, particularly computer, digital, and media literacy (Kellner, 2002; Gentili 2009a). Teachers, too, continue to face real anxieties and pressures, including low pay, inadequate training, and difficult working conditions (Gentili, 2007a). Underlying – or perhaps at the forefront of – these practical concerns are more fundamental questions about the nature of the Latin American state.

Broader implications. The failings of Latin American education systems have consequences for the status of Latin American democracy, solidarity, and social justice. By failing to address problems in schooling, we risk ignoring issues of political economy that extend far beyond classroom instruction and curriculum. Torres and Puiggrós (1995) have maintained that education has become "an arena of struggle among competing political agendas" (p. 15). Their analysis could be expanded to encompass education as a contested terrain not only among political agendas, but also among competing economic, social, cultural, and pedagogical interests, as well as among competing knowledges, models of knowledge production and dissemination, and models of teaching and learning. This contentious atmosphere has important implications for both teachers and students,

particularly those from the poorest classes, who face either substantial gains or enormous losses as these struggles are played out.

Torres and Schugurensky (2002) have reminded us that we cannot examine changes in Latin American education in isolation from the larger political and economic changes in the region, which are largely a product of the dynamics of globalization (and, I would add, international migration). Migration and globalization are redefining and repositioning teachers' work, not only in El Salvador, but also across the region and around the world. In recent years, their work has taken on new pressures and demands in the context of a hegemonic neoliberal agenda and the push for worldwide education standards, as teachers have increasingly come under attack and been blamed for a host of educational and social ills, from declining instructional quality and student achievement to failure to address larger social problems such as poverty, gang violence, and drug use (Gentili, 2007a). Much is expected of teachers, yet all too often they are not provided with the adequate guidance, resources (both human and capital), or political will to help them achieve desired goals.

Concluding Remarks

I do not want to close this chapter by predicting only doom and gloom in the years to come. To be sure, Latin American education has made tangible gains in the first part of the twenty-first century. Puryear and Goodspeed (2011) have offered the following examples as notable achievements: Public spending on education has grown steadily over the past two decades, both as a share of total public expenditure and as a percent of GDP. A greater number of children and youth attend school today than at any time in the region's history, with all but the poorest and most isolated attending and completing

primary education. Attendance gaps between rich and poor at the primary level have continued to decrease, with El Salvador among the countries experiencing the biggest drops.

However, the situation is far from ideal. Enrollment in secondary and tertiary education continues to lag behind world averages, and there are serious questions about the content and quality of student learning. Millions in the region continue to live in poverty, and while gains have been made in closing the gender gap, an underlying culture of *machismo* persists in many areas. There are also very real concerns about indigenous populations, bilingual education, and continued adult illiteracy. In addition, questions linger about the persistence of a hegemonic neoliberal agenda throughout the region.

Considered by some to be the "weakest link" in the world's neoliberal chain, Latin America has historically been a laboratory for neoliberal experiments (Reyes, 2012; Sader, 2009). As the region of the world where neoliberalism has been the most prevalent, it is also the place where it has taken on its most radical forms. Yet, as Sader (2009) has pointed out, while Latin America was the first region to adopt neoliberalism as a hegemonic model, it has also been the first to explore alternatives. The recent transition into a period of postneoliberalism has been marked by the emergence of new forms of popular resistance – including those led by workers' movements, indigenous groups, and coalitions of other marginalized and minority populations – and the elections of left, or left of center, presidents across the region – including Hugo Chávez in Venezuela, Cristina Kirchner in Argentina, and Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in Brazil.[31]

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[31] While El Salvador's Funes has generally been seen as more of a centrist, his election also marked the emergence of a new leadership model and a break from the politics and policies of previous administrations.

Accordingly, in the past decade the region has entered a period of postneoliberalism, representing a moment of rupture and evolution within Latin America's struggles and an enormous shift in the re-conceptualization of the means, ends, and scope of politics (Reyes, 2012). In his recent thesis on neoliberalism's new common sense, Torres (2011) argued that despite its "utter failure" as a viable model of economic development, the politics of culture associated with neoliberalism were still in force, and had become the "new common sense" shaping the role of governments and education (Torres, in press). In a similar vein, Sader (2009) has written, "it is safe to say ... that the golden age of neoliberalism is over and that this is a new period of disputes over the kind of government that should succeed it" (p. 177).

Within the postneoliberal context, education's potential as a force of change has received renewed attention, particularly amid the "hegemonic dispute" over the direction of the Latin American state (Gentili, 2009b; Sader, 2009). This has become even more relevant in recent years, given the impact of globalization and international migration (Stromquist, 2004, 2005). As Stromquist (2004) has noted, when education is framed in neoliberal terms of efficiency and competitiveness rather than in terms of equality and social justice, quality becomes defined by economic growth and productivity rather than in the development of civic understanding and critical consciousness of societal inequities. Likewise, Gentili (2007b) has linked the commercialization of education to the progressive loss of the notion that in a democratic society, education is an inalienable social right.

The significance of the present moment must not be overlooked. There are important implications not only for the future of Latin American education, but also for

the future of the Latin American state. Reflecting these concerns, Torres (1998, 2001) has posited that the struggle for education is ultimately a question of the state, and represents a struggle for the defense of the democratic pact. Similarly, Sader (2009) has noted that, "it is this struggle between the new (which seeks, with difficulty, to forge new paths) and the old (which seeks to resist, with no less difficulty) that marks the current instability on the continent: the expression of a great crisis of hegemony" (p. 179). Yet inherent in this "great crisis of hegemony" is an opportunity to create a new form of social compact between the state and its people, and to build a social consensus that encompasses economic and growth interests while also remaining sensitive to the challenges of poverty and citizenship (Grugel & Riggirozzi, 2012).

Writing on the possibilities of a postneoliberal Latin America, Gentili (2009b) envisioned a historic opportunity to improve public policies and strengthen public schooling, drawing on its "enormous revolutionary potential" to effectively put an end to neoliberalism. He has further proposed that teachers must play an important part in the construction of more inclusive social policies, as well as a key role in the development of new models of public schooling. If such a vision is to come to fruition, then studies like this one – with a focus on teachers as leading actors in the struggle for democracy and social justice – will play an increasingly crucial role in putting a human face on local responses to neoliberal globalization and international migration.

Chapter Three

Methodology

"This type of phenomenological study lends itself to the idea that each of us has our own truth or social reality. Thus, what the teachers tell me is their truth, their reality as they see it. And in a phenomenological study, that's what matters – each individual's experience is his or her truth."

— Field journal entry, February 24, 2012

This study utilized phenomenological interviews with two groups of teachers –14 from a large, semi-urban K-9 school serving more than 900 students, and 5 from a small, rural K-12 institution of approximately 375 students – with the goal of understanding how these particular teachers made meaning of their work in the context of migration and globalization. In order to capture a range of teacher knowledge and experiences, as well as illuminate the tensions and contradictions within the Salvadoran teaching experience, schools in two different communities were selected as the primary sites for field research.

The first school was located in La Armonía, a medium-sized town near El Salvador's northern border with Honduras, an area that was heavily affected by the civil war and has traditionally experienced high rates of migration. The second school was in Las Esmeraldas, a relatively remote agricultural village about 15 miles outside the capital, San Salvador. Unlike La Armonía, Las Esmeraldas remained largely isolated throughout the war years and does not have a history of international migration. The specifics of each research site and participant group will be addressed in a later section of this chapter. First, however, I will discuss the general methodology and research design, as well as provide a rationale for this phenomenological study.

It is pertinent to note that as a methodology, phenomenology aims to describe a central phenomenon – in this case, the experience of being a teacher in El Salvador –

through the lived experiences of study participants (Creswell, 2007; Lopez & Willis, 2004). Phenomenological research assumes that shared experiences are marked by several common, or core, characteristics that can be used to construct a collective narrative, thus revealing the underlying "essence," or meaning, of that experience (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Accordingly, this study seeks to understand how two specific groups of teachers interpreted and represented their lived experiences with migration, globalization, and education.

Overview

This study explores the intricacies of the emigration-education relationship through careful examination of the role of teachers working in a society characterized by a steady loss of citizens to migration. In seeking to understand the teaching experience in El Salvador, it takes a phenomenological approach focused on a small group of individuals. This framework sees individuals as embedded in both global and local contexts, and proposes that people's interpretations and representations of their experiences contribute to their subjective and lived realities (Rao, 2010). Hence, these realities are at the conceptual core of this study, which seeks to tell the stories of teachers living in El Salvador and dealing with processes of migration and globalization on a daily basis. In doing so, it proposes a new migration-education narrative, one that is shaped, guided, and constructed by the people whose everyday lives are impacted by these global processes.

The primary data source comprised interviews with teachers at various levels of the K-12 system. Because this study is largely concerned with understanding how individual teachers are affected by broader social trends, interviews were conducted at

each research site with teachers ranging from the kindergarten to the high school level, in a variety of content areas.[32] When possible, interviews were also conducted with administrators, union representatives, and Ministry of Education liaisons.[33] Collectively, their ideas about education, and its relation to larger issues and themes, were important in illuminating the conditions and circumstances affecting teachers' own experiences and opinions.

All of the teachers interviewed worked in public schools run by the Salvadoran Ministry of Education (MINED). While the specifics of sample selection are discussed later in this chapter, it is important to note that the participant group comprised teachers of various ages, genders, marital status, and years of teaching experience. They also represented a variety of grade levels and curricular content areas, including history, language, math, and science.[34] As previously noted, teachers from schools in two different communities were included in the study – Centro Escolar (C.E.) La Independencia in La Armonía, Chalatenango; and C.E. El Diamante in Las Esmeraldas, La Paz.[35] La Armonía was chosen because of my prior history working there as a Peace Corps Volunteer and because it has historically experienced a high rate of migration relative to the rest of El Salvador. In contrast, Las Esmeraldas has a migration rate that is

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[32] Specific details about teacher experience, area of specialization, etc. is provided in a forthcoming section of this chapter.

[33] In some cases these individuals had also worked as teachers within the same school system, either at the time of the study or previously.

[34] While my goal was to capture the diversity of teacher experiences, voices, narratives, and identities, the sample size is small, and the outcomes of this research cannot be fully extrapolated to represent the whole experience of all Salvadoran teachers. In this respect, the sample is relevant but not representative.

[35] The names of both communities and their respective schools, as well as the names of all participants, have been given pseudonyms.

among the country's lowest, and thus provided an interesting source of comparison and contrast. All interviews were conducted during the field research stage of this study, which took place between January and June 2012.

In conducting interviews, I employed a phenomenological approach in order to describe and understand how Salvadoran teachers experienced migration and globalization and how these experiences helped to determine their worldview (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Phenomenology typically seeks understanding through a focus on the meanings and essence of experience rather than on measurement and explanation (Moustakas, 1994). Hence my goal was not to construct a generalized account of the whole of the Salvadoran teaching experience, but rather to illuminate the experiences, voices, and identities of teachers in the two participant communities.

Furthermore, phenomenology assumes that human actions are based on social meanings and unique interpretations of the world. In this sense, our realities are both subjective and objective. While individuals help to construct their own meanings and identities, in doing so we are both products of and actors within larger social processes (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Accordingly, interviews sought not only to examine Salvadoran schoolteachers' knowledge of and experience with migration and globalization, but also to make meaning of these processes and their implications for teacher roles and identity, as well as for teachers' place within the larger social structure, including local, regional, national, and global contexts.

In a broad sense, interviews focused on participant knowledge and understanding of teacher identity and role construction, how they have been influenced by migration and globalization, and how teachers' understandings of their roles and identity have affected

their own teaching and learning. Teacher relations with students and the community, the education hierarchy, current policy issues and concerns, and key political and/or social events were also discussed. While specific interview protocol is discussed in a forthcoming section of this chapter, it is important to note that because interviews were open-ended, their structure and flow was largely determined by teacher responses. Conversations were generally allowed to "take their course," with the interviewer interjecting additional questions or requests for clarification when it appeared necessary.

This study is grounded in the principle that experience as perceived by human consciousness has intrinsic value and should be an object of scientific study (Akerlind, 2005; Lopez & Willis, 2004; Moustakas, 1994). Moustakas (1994) has noted that "phenomena are the building blocks of human science and the basis for all knowledge" (p. 26). Accordingly, this study views the subjective experiences of teachers as crucial in helping to understand their motivations and perceptions (Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Moustakas, 1994). Through its findings, this research endeavors to create a narrative that intertwines empirical and theoretical knowledge, and presents a complex picture of the meanings and essences of how migration impacts the lives, hopes, dreams, and expectations of Salvadoran teachers.

By focusing on the deep lived meanings of participants, this study examines how these meanings guide actions and interactions (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Following this point, Marton and Booth (1997) have noted that the social world should not be framed in binary or dualistic terms but within a more complex framework that takes into account various relations, hierarchies, and relationships. Arguing that there is no "real world out there" and subjective world "in here," their view envisions the world as a series

of structural relationships. Accordingly, the goal of phenomenology should be to explore a range of experiences within a group *as* a group, not as individuals within a group (Akerlind, 2005; Marton & Booth, 1997). In other words, individual findings cannot be interpreted in isolation, but must be viewed in the context of others, in terms of similarities and differences within a particular group. Hence, a primary goal of this study was to explore a range of teacher experiences, focusing on how they were logically related to one another within a larger meaning-making process. Keeping that in mind, we turn to the question of data sources – the research participants, sample selection procedures, and the strengths and limitations of the methodological approach, along with ethical concerns surrounding data collection and analysis.

Data Sources

The following section addresses in greater detail the people and places that served as research partners in this study. A rationale for participant selection is presented, along with information about sampling procedures, sample size, and relevant participant characteristics.

Participant Rationale

As the focus of this study is teachers' knowledge and lived experience, the primary participant base was currently practicing classroom teachers. In order to understand the subtleties and nuances of how teacher roles have changed in the context of migration and globalization, I conducted a series of in-depth interviews with a limited number of teachers (a total of 19). I focused primarily (though not exclusively) on teachers of *tercer ciclo* – seventh, eighth, and ninth grades – because they educate a population heavily affected by migration. It is estimated that one-fifth to one-quarter of

Salvadorans migrate by age 15, with 61 percent arriving in the United States between the ages of 15 and 30 (Terrazas, Papademetriou, & Rosenblum, 2011). Thus teachers working with middle school students have a direct window into the impact of migration. In contrast to younger children (for example, those in kindergarten through fifth grade), middle schoolers are better able to understand the complex meanings and tensions surrounding emigration and education. Furthermore, because a relatively small percentage of Salvadoran youth attend high school – secondary enrollment rates were below 60 percent in 2010, according to UNESCO – I felt that working with teachers of middle school would provide a more representative participant base.[36]

In seeking to construct a diverse and varied sample, teachers were categorized according to grade level, discipline or curricular specialization, years of teaching experience, gender, and whether they lived in the local community where they taught. Teachers' own migratory experiences were also used as a classification measure. While teachers were neither selected for nor excluded from the study on the basis of these factors, such characteristics were taken into account in construction of the overall sample profile.

The reasons behind the selection of El Salvador as a case study have been well explicated in other sections of this dissertation. As for the specific research sites, I began my inquiry at C.E. La Independencia in the *pueblo* of La Armonía, Chalatenango. This particular site was chosen both for its relevance to the research problem and for convenience of researcher access. Having previously lived and worked in the community,

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[36] Of the 19 teachers interviewed, 12 were currently teaching middle and/or high school, while three others had previous experience at those levels. Five teachers were currently working with students between kindergarten and third grade, and two were responsible for providing special services support for students with disabilities across all grade levels.

I was able to rely on established networks to help identify potential study participants, as well as recruit new ones. Furthermore, Chalatenango consistently ranks among the departments that lose the highest percentage of people to migration (DIGESTYC, 2010; Orozco, 2003), and is therefore representative of many communities in El Salvador that are affected by similar phenomena.

In order to provide a point of comparison and contrast, I also sought to examine a school in a community with a lower migration rate. Las Esmeraldas, a small village in the southern department of La Paz, not only fit this profile,[37] but also offered relative ease of access due to the fact that the daughter of one of the La Armonía teachers – a teacher herself – worked in C.E. El Diamante as a special educator with a local nongovernmental organization (NGO). The differences between Las Esmeraldas and La Armonía (both in the schools and within the larger communities) in terms of location, population, median income, modes of production, and educational profiles, not to mention historical factors, were important in illuminating the contradictions and tensions, as well as the common struggles, facing Salvadoran teachers.

In both cases, sample size was kept relatively small to allow for more extended observations and in-depth discussions with study participants. Because the main goals of this study were to understand social reality through the eyes of the participants and to describe the context in a great deal of detail, I determined that a small, purposeful sample

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[37] In comparison to Chalatenango, La Paz has traditionally experienced one of the country's lowest migration rates. This difference was particularly striking during the civil war. For instance, the 1992 national census estimated that in the five-year period from 1987 to 1992, Chalatenango had a net international migration rate of 2.01/1,000 people, compared with a rate of only .23/1,000 in La Paz. While migration in both regions has slowed in the past 15 years, a significant difference in migration rates persists. For example, the 2007 census reported a loss of 33,242 Chalatenango residents to migration between 2002 and 2007, while La Paz lost only 6,762 residents – just under one-fifth of Chalatenango's total – during that same time period (DIGESTYC, 2010).

was preferable to one that was larger and more random in nature (Ladner, 2009; Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte, 1999).

Participant Selection and Sampling Procedures

This study relies on two basic assumptions about qualitative sampling methods: (1) unlike objects, social actors are not predictable, and (2) randomized events are not relevant to social life (Ladner, 2009). In accordance with these basic premises and the fundamental goals of this research, which emphasize quality of responses over quantity, purposive sampling represented the best approach. While the sample used in this study does not necessarily allow for extrapolation of the results to the entire Salvadoran population, it does provide a relevant dataset whose findings are meaningful for a particular group of people in a particular context. As previously discussed, while this research sought to capture a diversity of participant voices, experiences, and identities, its outcomes are not generalizable to the whole of the Salvadoran teaching experience. Thus while not representative, the sample is indeed relevant.

Study participants were largely recruited through direct contact. Before arriving at C.E. La Independencia in La Armonía, I had identified several potential participants – teachers with whom I had worked closely during my Peace Corps service. I felt that these teachers would not only be more willing to participate in the study, but would also be able to provide open and honest feedback in response to the research questions. Beginning with a strong sense of researcher-participant *confianza*[38] was particularly important in this regard because several interview questions asked teachers to express

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[38] *Confianza* refers to the Latin American notion of mutual reciprocity within interpersonal relationships in which each party feels a responsibility to extend favorable treatment toward the other. Luhmann (2005) has noted that, "where there is *confianza* there is an increase in the possibilities for experience and action" (p. 12), adding that *confianza* is only possible in a "familiar world" where the parties have a previous history and shared experiences.

their ideas about sensitive – and potentially unlawful – issues like undocumented migration. In addition, teachers were at times in a position to critique and/or criticize their schools, education system, and government, subjects that remain delicate in light of the country's history of authoritarian rule and repression of civil society.

I used these initial contacts as points of reference to recruit more teachers, primarily through word of mouth. With the help of two lead teachers in La Armonía, I drafted a formal invitation to participate in the study, which was then distributed to all 38 members of the school faculty. In January 2012, I held an open meeting for those interested – 17 teachers attended the initial meeting, 14 of whom ended up fully participating in the study. Through this meeting, I was also able to locate a second research site, Las Esmeraldas. As previously mentioned, the daughter of one of the lead teachers in La Armonía worked as a special services provider in C.E. El Diamante. She invited me to accompany her on a site visit in February 2012, during which I was able to meet with the assistant principal and seven of the school's 10 teachers. At that meeting, four teachers and the assistant principal agreed to participate in the study.

At both sites, the cooperation of school administrators was crucial to the success of the research project. Both the principal of La Independencia and the assistant principal[39] of El Diamante were open to my presence in their schools and granted me access to their institutions and permission to interact with staff. In this respect, administrators acted as gatekeepers, whom Atkinson (1981) has described as "actors with control over key sources and avenues of opportunity" (p. 35). Recognizing who the

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[39] I did not have the opportunity to interact at length with the principal of El Diamante, as he was often engaged in other tasks during my visits. For all intents and purposes, the assistant principal served as my main contact and research partner at this site.

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gatekeepers were and their roles within each research setting enabled me to better understand the politics of qualitative research as they related to each particular context. For example, I was able to identify lead teachers in each site who aided in participant recruitment and served as liaisons between myself and the other teachers. Lead teachers were truly partners in the research project, as they not only helped to arrange meetings, set up interviews, and coordinate logistics such as classroom use and meeting times, but also were instrumental in helping to shape and guide the focus of the study.

Sample Size and Relevant Characteristics

The sample consisted of two groups of teachers – 14 from C.E. La Independencia and five from C.E. El Diamante, for a total of 19 teachers. The number of teachers interviewed at each school was proportional to overall school size. For example, La Independencia was a K-9 institution with 38 teachers and 921 students. In contrast, El Diamante was a K-12 school with 10 teachers and 378 students. In each case, the number of teachers interviewed represented roughly 40-50 percent of the school's total teaching corps.[40]

Sample size was determined in accordance with guidelines set forth by Glaser and Strauss (1967) in their work on homogenous sampling methods. In this model, research begins with a small number of participants, typically five or six, who are selected because they have in common the phenomenon of interest – in this case, teachers working in public schools in communities with varying degrees of international migration. The following sections provide overviews of each community, along with profiles of each

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[40] To be precise, I interviewed 36.8 percent of the faculty in La Armonía (14 of 38 teachers), while in Las Esmeraldas I interviewed 50 percent (5 of 10).

participant group. A map showing the approximate locations of each community is included in Appendix A.

Community profile: La Armonía. La Armonía is a *pueblo* of approximately 12,000 people in the northern mountain region of Chalatenango.[41] Located a little more than 50 miles north of San Salvador, the town is an important thoroughfare for long-distance truckers passing through the El Salvador-Honduras border. Traditionally, La Armonía was an agricultural economy known for its production of high-end coffee, as well as beans, corn, and other vegetables. However, in the 1970s and 1980s the town became associated with the innovative, colorful style of art made famous by Salvadoran painter Fernando Llort, whose studio was on the outskirts of town. The popularity of Llort's designs led to the establishment of several artisan cooperatives and workshops; today there are more than 100 vendors of these traditional handicrafts. The people of La Armonía have become heavily reliant on the sale of artisan crafts and tourism, which make up about 75 percent of the local economy. The remaining 25 percent is agriculture. In terms of overall economic development, La Armonía has been classified as an area of *pobreza extrema moderada*, or moderate extreme poverty, by El Salvador's Social Investment Fund for Local Development (FISDL, 2011).[42]

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[41] La Armonía is the name of both the principal town and the larger municipality, which comprises eight districts. My research focused primarily on the town of La Armonía, as that is where C.E. La Independencia was located. The 2007 national census estimated the town's total population to be 12,235, with just over 60 percent of residents under the age of 24 (MINED, 2009a).

[42] El Salvador's Social Investment Fund for Local Development has designated four levels of extreme poverty: low extreme poverty, moderate extreme poverty, high extreme poverty, and severe extreme poverty. All four of these categories fall under the umbrella of "extreme poverty." According to El Salvador's Finance Ministry, extreme poverty refers to homes whose per capita income is insufficient to cover the cost of the "basic market basket." The basic market basket includes staples such as tortillas, rice, beans, eggs, and milk, as well as a small amount of fruit and vegetables. In January 2013, the basic basket was valued at $46.45 per month (per capita) in

Historically, La Armonía played an integral role during the country's civil war. In the 1980s it was an important guerrilla staging point, as well as the site of several key battles between guerrillas and government forces. Perhaps more importantly, it was also the location chosen for the first round of peace talks between President José Napoleón Duarte and leaders of the *Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional* (FMLN). That meeting, held on October 15, 1984, was seen as a first step toward the peace treaty that culminated in the Peace Accords of Chapultepec eight years later.

The war was also responsible for a surge of migration from La Armonía, as residents fled north across the Honduran border, and many continued the northward journey to the United States and Canada. A large number of migrants did not return home after the war, leading to the creation of family and economic networks that have continued to strengthen over time. Official statistics on the number of residents living abroad vary. A recent study conducted by the Foundation of Studies for the Application of Law, FESPAD by its Spanish acronym, ranked La Armonía's migration rate as the third-highest in the department of Chalatenango (FESPAD, 2008). In respect to this particular study, all but one of the teachers I interviewed had at least one immediate family member currently living in the United States. According to UNICEF (2011), more than one-quarter of the municipality's households – 26.8 percent – reported having members living permanently in another country. Within La Armonía, 19.3 percent of residents said they regularly received remittances, with the average household receiving $134.80 per month.[43]

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urban areas and $29.79 per month in rural areas (DIGESTYC, 2013).

[43] Remittance information for both La Armonía and Olocuilta comes from a 2010 report by the United Nations' Seal of Approval program. Both municipalities are members of the program,

Educationally, La Armonía ranks slightly below average in comparison with the rest of the country, according to key education indicators such as school enrollment, level of educational attainment, and literacy. (See Table 2 for comparison with national statistics). However, its dropout rate is well below the national average – 4.5 percent compared with 6.3 percent – and students from La Armonía equaled the national average on the 2008 PAES, an aptitudes exam based on the national curriculum and required by all students pursuing a secondary school diploma.

Community profile: Las Esmeraldas. Las Esmeraldas is a village of approximately 800 people[44] located in the municipality of Olocuilta in the southern coastal department of La Paz. Because Las Esmeraldas is a *cantón* – a relatively small and sparsely populated district – census and educational statistics are hard to come by. Hence, the data and figures presented in this section generally refer to the larger municipality of Olocuilta.[45] Cases where the reference is directly to Las Esmeraldas are explicitly noted.

While the municipality of Olocuilta is located just 15 miles from El Salvador's capital city of San Salvador, the *cantón* of Las Esmeraldas is relatively isolated. In fact, merely getting there can be a challenge, as there is only one bus route that travels to the general area, passing through the village once in the early morning and once at midday.

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which seeks to improve the lives and protect the rights of Salvadoran youth through advancements in human development, public policy, and youth participation. [UNICEF (2010). *Municipios aprobados: El Salvador.* Santa Elena: UNICEF El Salvador.]

[44] Estimate based on conversations with local teachers. However, a 2006 survey by El Salvador's Bureau of Statistics and Censuses reported a much lower estimate of 449 residents (Iniciativa Social Para la Democracia, 2008).

[45] The municipality of Olocuilta has a population of 29,529. Of that total, 53.8 percent are under the age of 24 (MINED, 2009a).

Agriculture continues to predominate as the main mode of subsistence, with 80 percent of the economy devoted to the cultivation of basic grains such as beans and corn. The remainder is dedicated to livestock, vegetables, fruit, and coffee. In terms of overall poverty levels, the municipality of Olocuilta is classified as an area of *pobreza extrema baja,* or low extreme poverty (FISDL, 2011).

Because of its relative remoteness, Las Esmeraldas was largely spared the effects of the civil war. In contrast to the turmoil experienced in La Armonía, which was at the forefront of both armed struggles and initial peace talks, life in Las Esmeraldas went on more or less "as usual" throughout the war years. While no community in El Salvador escaped the war entirely unscathed, Las Esmeraldas did not witness the mass destruction and loss of life that was experienced in many other areas of the country.

According to school sources, the region has traditionally been characterized by low migration rates. Teachers reported that Las Esmeraldas residents who did migrate were more likely to live in Spain or Italy than in the United States. Of the five teachers who participated in this study, three had close family members currently living outside of El Salvador. At the municipal level, only 5.3 percent of households in Olocuilta reported family members living permanently abroad (UNICEF, 2011). Throughout the municipality, 6.4 percent of households reported receiving remittances on a regular basis, with an average household remittance of $65.10 per month – half the amount reported by families in La Armonía.

Because education data are generally collected by municipality, it is difficult to directly compare the educational profiles of Las Esmeraldas and La Armonía. As an alternative, statistics from the municipality of Olocuilta are used to highlight some

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similarities and differences between the regions. In terms of school enrollment, overall educational attainment, and literacy rates, Olocuilta ranks slightly above the national average (see Table 2). Municipality-wide, dropout rates are lower than the national average, but nearly 1.5 percentage points higher than La Armonía's (5.9 percent compared with 4.5 percent). On the 2008 PAES exam, students from Olocuilta scored just under the national average, earning a median grade of 6.0 compared with the national mark of 6.2. For a more detailed comparison, as well as to see how the two municipalities compare with national averages, see Table 2.

Table 2

Educational Profiles of La Armonía and Olocuilta

	La Armonía	Olocuilta	National Average
Average schooling (yrs.), 15-24 years old	7.0	8.2	8.0
Average schooling (yrs.), 15 and older	4.5	6.5	6.4
Literacy rate, 15-24 years old	91.4 %	96.2 %	93.3 %
Literacy rate, 15 and older	73.2 %	86.1 %	81.1 %
School coverage, basic education	80.7 %	84.7 %	86.5 %
School coverage, middle school	70.2 %	81.1 %	78.7 %
School coverage, high school	39.3 %	56.0 %	53.8 %
Dropout rate	4.5 %	5.9 %	6.3 %
Average PAES score (2008)	6.2	6.0	6.2

Note. Data from El Salvador's Ministry of Education. MINED (2009). *Perfiles educativos por departamento. Gerencia de análisis e información. Datos de centros escolares referentes a matricula, deserción, repitencia (2005-2008), docentes y resultados de PAES y PAESITA (2008).* San Salvador: MINED.

Participant Group Profiles

Teachers were classified according to several categories, including grade level, years of experience, subject(s) taught, age, gender, marital status, community of residence, and personal migration experience. While participants were not necessarily included or excluded from the study on the basis of these characteristics, keeping track of them was helpful in shedding light on particular patterns and trends. For example, teachers tended to have a different view of their primary roles and responsibilities depending on how long they had been in the profession and/or whether they lived in the community where they taught. Additionally, teachers' personal migration aspirations were typically linked to gender and marital status, with single male teachers more likely to express a desire to migrate. While the significance of these discrepancies will be examined at length in the findings chapters of this dissertation, it is prudent here to include demographic information about the participants. Detailed profiles of each teacher group are provided in the following sections.

Participant group profile: La Armonía. The sample in La Armonía consisted of 14 teachers – seven males and seven females. They ranged in age from 23 to 54 years old, with an average age of about 45. In terms of overall teaching experience, I sought to interview teachers in various stages of their careers. Accordingly, teachers were categorized into groups based on years of experience (1-5 years, 6-10 years, 11-15 years, etc). In La Armonía, teacher experience ranged from a young woman who was in her first year as a kindergarten aide to a school principal who had taught at virtually every grade level, as well as having served as an administrator, union representative, and liaison to the district MINED office. The average term of service was more than 22.5 years, with

the individual breakdown as follows: one teacher with 1-5 years of experience; two with 11-15 years; two with 16-20 years; one with 21-25 years; and the remaining eight with more than 26 years. Said another way, over half of the participants had more than a quarter-century of teaching experience each. Collectively, these 14 teachers represented more than 300 combined years of teaching service.

Although my main focus was on middle school teachers, I also sought to interview those who worked at different grade levels and in varying disciplines. It is important to note that Salvadoran teachers often work in several different grade levels and subject areas throughout their careers; therefore, many of the participants had diverse teaching experiences. That being said, teachers typically identified themselves according to the grade level and/or subject in which they had the most experience and felt the most closely associated. Among the La Armonía teachers, 10 had previously or currently worked with students at the *tercer ciclo* level. Four classified themselves as primary school teachers, working with students from kindergarten to third grade, and one identified as a sixth grade teacher. Additionally, four teachers had experience at the high school, or *bachillerato*, level.[46]

In terms of subject area, seven teachers classified themselves as "generalists," responsible for teaching a range of subjects including science, mathematics, social studies, and language. Of those seven, two worked with younger students (K-3), and five worked with older students (sixth grade and up). Five teachers identified themselves as English specialists, working mainly with *tercer ciclo* and/or high school students. The

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[46] Because several of the teachers had experience at multiple grade levels, totals given here may exceed the sample size of 14.

remaining two teachers worked primarily in the school's *aula de apoyo,* or student support classroom.

A final area of relevance for this study includes demographic information about the participants, including marital status, local residence, and past migration experience. Of the 14 La Armonía teachers, 12 were married[47] and two were single (never been married). Twelve of the teachers lived in La Armonía or the immediate area, meaning that they essentially lived in the same community where they worked. Eight teachers had themselves attended C.E. La Independencia as students. Finally, two teachers had previous migration experience[48] – one having lived in the United States for two years and the other for close to four years. All but one of the teachers reported having close family members – parents, siblings, and/or children – currently living in the United States.

Participant group profile: Las Esmeraldas. The sample in Las Esmeraldas consisted of five teachers – three males and two females. They ranged in age from 26 to 43, with an average age of just over 33, more than a full decade younger than the La Armonía group. In terms of overall experience, two teachers were about midway through their first year of teaching. Another had been teaching for seven years, but was in his first year at El Diamante. The other two teachers had 11 and 18 years of service, respectively. Among these five teachers – who represented half of the school's faculty – average teaching experience was roughly 7.5 years. Their total teaching experience amounted to

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[47] In fact, the sample included four teacher couples, in which both the husband and wife worked at the same institution.

[48] For the purposes of this study, previous migration experience is defined as having lived outside of El Salvador for a continuous period of more than six months, primarily for employment/financial purposes. Those who traveled abroad as tourists, students, and/or participants in exchange programs are not included in this category.

38 years. Figure 1, shown below, highlights the differences in teaching experience between the groups.
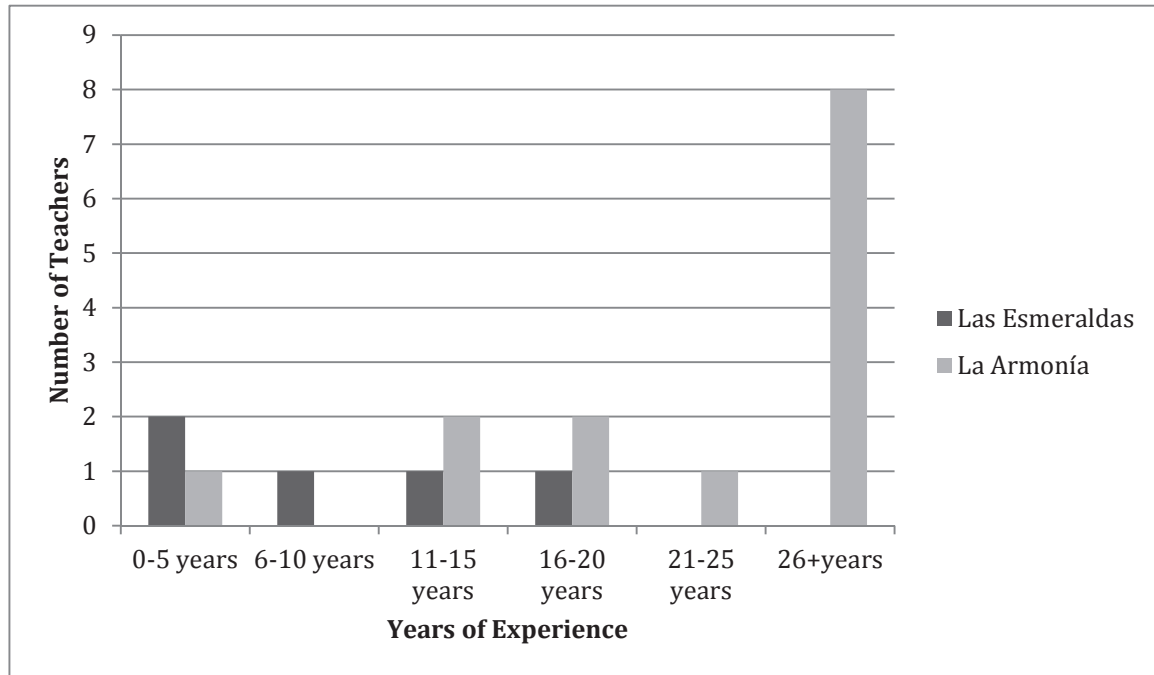
Figure 1. Bar graph showing differences in teaching experience between communities.[49]

As I did in La Armonía, I also sought to include teachers of various grade levels and subject areas in this sample group. Two of the Las Esmeraldas teachers worked exclusively with high school students – one in social studies and language, and the other in the school's electricity skills workshop. Two other teachers worked with students of various ages: one was a student support specialist working through an NGO, the other was the assistant principal, who was also the school's only English teacher and taught

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[49] Teachers were categorized into groups per five years of experience; for example 0-5 years, 6-10 years, 11-15 years, etc. There was no set cutoff point; however, the teacher with the most experience had 31 years of service.

both *tercer ciclo* and high school. The fifth teacher worked primarily with elementary students as a first grade generalist.

The Las Esmeraldas group also differed from the La Armonía group with respect to martial status, place of residence, and migration experience. Two of the five teachers from El Diamante were married (not to each other), while the remaining three were single (never married). This was not surprising, given their relatively younger age compared with La Armonía teachers. However, one of the more significant differences between the groups was that none of the El Diamante teachers lived in Las Esmeraldas. (In fact, study participants told me that none of the school's faculty members were from the community. All of the teachers commuted from other areas of La Paz or San Salvador, which often required leaving home at 4:00 in the morning and returning at 6:00 at night.) Also in contrast to the La Armonía teachers, none of the Las Esmeraldas teachers had attended El Diamante as students. While one had grown up in a nearby municipality, most of the teachers were from communities located 20 miles or more from Olocuilta.

As for past migration experience, none of the Las Esmeraldas teachers had ever lived abroad. Two had siblings currently living in the United States, while another had grown up in a single-parent home because his father had moved to the United States shortly after he was born. However, because these teachers were not from Las Esmeraldas, their experiences should not be considered representative of the community's overall migration profile.

Comparison/contrast of participant groups. As the two participant profiles demonstrate, some obvious comparisons and contrasts can be made between the groups. For example, the male-to-female ratio was roughly the same for each group, as was the

average age range. Both groups included teachers from a diversity of grade levels and disciplines, providing samples that were largely representative of the range and breadth of teacher experiences at each school. Table 3 highlights some of these similarities, as well as key differences.

Table 3

Key Characteristics of Participant Groups

	La Armonía	Las Esmeraldas
Number of teachers interviewed	14	5
Male : female ratio	1:1	3:2
Age range	23-54	26-43
Average age	44.5	33.2
Range of teaching experience	1-31 years	1-18 years
Average teaching experience	22.6 years	7.6 years
Percent of teachers who lived in community where they taught	85.7%	0%
Percent of teachers who attended school where they taught	57.1%	0%

As observed in Table 3, several differences emerged between the groups, particularly in relation to average teaching experience and residency. In general, La Armonía teachers had much more professional experience, with an average term of service nearly three times that of their counterparts in Las Esmeraldas. Another significant contrast was evidenced in the percentage of teachers who either lived in the community where they taught or had attended the same school where they taught. While

more than half of the La Armonía teachers had been students at La Independencia, none of the Las Esmeraldas teachers had attended El Diamante. Furthermore, significant differences were found in the proportion of teachers who lived in the community where they worked – more than 85 percent in La Armonía versus none in Las Esmeraldas.

It is important to note that in accordance with the study's overarching goals, this sample was not intended to be generalizable at the regional or national level. However, I am confident that the sample was large enough to provide an accurate depiction of the social reality of the teachers and schools in the two communities studied. At the same time, it was small enough to allow for a sense of intimacy and empirical accuracy. As a general principle, this study was more concerned with collecting in-depth and intensive data from a smaller number of participants than with obtaining limited data from a larger source base. This strategy allowed for more careful observation and more informed analysis of the specific problems and themes that emerged throughout the research process.

Sample Limitations

The majority of data collection for this project took place in schools, places where many different parties, interests, and agendas regularly interact. As such, it is important to recognize that teachers, students, administrators, parents, and community leaders all have a stake in and exert influence over school functions. This study was primarily interested in teacher perceptions and practices and, to a lesser extent, the responses of policymakers, legislators, administrators, and community workers in education. Thus interviews were largely limited to currently practicing teachers. In some cases, teachers also held, or had held in the past, other positions, which included administrative, union-

related, and/or government capacities. However, interviews were largely focused on participants' experiences *as teachers*. This is one area where the study could be expanded in the future, in order to include the voices and identities of other key stakeholders and to explore how their experiences compare with those of teachers.

In order to shed light on the social context of education in El Salvador, I also engaged in a limited amount of archival research, in particular analysis of education policy of the past 20 years. This decision was made both for reasons of time management and relevance to the study's primary aims and objectives. While historical data does provide important insights into the foundations of and changes within a country's educational system, the primary focus of this study was current education policy, not the history of its development over time. Such an effort would represent something outside the scope of this project. Accordingly, analysis focused on MINED documents and reports from 1995 onward, all of which were available online through the Ministry of Education's website at https://www.mined.gob.sv/.

Working with Human Subjects

Research design and procedures adhered to the ethical and conduct guidelines set forth by the Institutional Review Board (IRB), including policies and procedures governing confidentiality, voluntary participation, and informed consent. Participants agreed to take part in the study according to a strict code of confidentiality, and all individuals, schools, and communities have been given pseudonyms. Every attempt has been made to safeguard participants' identities, including their positions within the school, places of residence, and other important personal information. Teachers were assured that their participation was entirely voluntary, and that they could choose to

withdraw from the study at any time. No payments or other incentives were offered in exchange for participation. All participants were provided with and signed a consent form in Spanish, giving their permission to take part in the study (a copy of this form is provided in Appendix B).

<div align="center">**Data Collection**</div>

This section covers the specific methods employed during the data collection phase of the research project, including overall design as well as specific instruments and procedures.

Overview of Data Collection Process

This research relied primarily on open-ended phenomenological interviews as a means of understanding the teaching experience in two Salvadoran public schools. In order to situate this study within the social context of education, it also utilized a limited amount of archival research to examine the social, political, and cultural impacts of migration on education. A distinct advantage to combining interviews and archival research, rather than using only one method, is that data collected from one source can be used to illuminate the other (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Rather than relying solely on what is said in an interview or what is written in a document, this method allows the researcher to use one set of data to inform the other. This is helpful in drawing out important comparisons and contrasts between education policy and practice.

The major source of data for this study comprised a series of interviews conducted with teacher groups from La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas. Interviews took place in relatively formal contexts, typically one-on-one sessions in private classrooms, offices, or homes. However, more informal, casual exchanges, such as conversations with

teachers and administrators in break rooms, at lunch, or on the playground, were also an important mode of data collection. Through these conversations, as well as careful observation of and participation in daily school activities, I was able to gather a rich set of data from diverse groups of individuals. Combined with archival work, interview transcripts and field notes helped to create a more complete picture of life and work in Salvadoran schools.

Document analysis focused on examination of official policy statements and other documents related to educational aims, curriculum, instruction, evaluation, teacher training, and professional development. In the interest of taking a broader view of Salvadoran education policy, I also reviewed studies, evaluations, and theses on national and local education issues, as well as reports generated by donor and lending institutions such as the World Bank, USAID, the Millennium Challenge Corporation, and UNICEF. Finally, press reports, both from the Ministry of Education and from other education-related entities such as UNESCO and FLACSO were helpful in providing information about more recent developments in the education sector. Due to time limitations and issues of access, archival research was largely done online.

Data Collection Procedures and Instruments

As the procedure for archival analysis employed in this study is relatively straightforward, this section primarily discusses interview processes and procedures. In keeping with the study's aim of understanding local perspectives and behaviors, schools and classrooms served as the main research sites. Because of the important status of schools in Salvadoran communities, fieldwork conducted there required the cooperation of administrators, teachers, and community members. In keeping with my objective of a

comparative study, I selected C.E. La Independencia and C.E. El Diamante because they provided valuable sites of comparison and contrast by virtue of their distinct populations, locations, and educational profiles. More importantly, because the two schools were situated in communities with nearly opposite migration profiles – one that experienced high rates of emigration and another with relatively low rates – I was able to develop a broader understanding of the differential aims, purposes, and roles of education in migration and non-migration areas, rather than limiting the analysis to one or the other.

In total, I spent nearly six months in country, from early January to mid-June of 2012. In most cases, I was able to conduct a series of three interviews with each participant, as well as hold focus groups at both schools.[50] Interview design was based on Seidman's (2006) work on phenomenological inquiry, which calls for three in-depth interviews – one focusing on past experience, another focusing on present experience, and a third that joins the two narratives by asking participants to reflect on the meanings of their experience. Interviews focused on topics such as teachers' conceptualization of their primary roles and responsibilities; their perceptions of past and current education policy; their experiences with and feelings about migration, globalization, and neoliberalism; and their understandings of how their own (and their students') identities and citizenship had been affected by these processes. In addition, several other key topics

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[50] Informal focus groups were held at each school at the beginning and end of the data collection phase. The first meeting was an introduction to the research project, which provided an overview of the study and outlined the research process. The second meeting was a project wrap-up. While the final meetings were initially conceptualized as *despedidas*, or farewell celebrations marking the project's conclusion, they also became fora for valuable conversations about the study's major issues and themes. Teachers enjoyed sharing their insights and knowledge about migration, globalization, and education in a group setting, thus these meetings developed organically into an additional phase of the data collection process.

and themes emerged throughout the course of the research project. A more detailed description of the interview process follows.

Interview Format and Procedures

Because interviews with teachers represent the core of this study, this section will primarily focus on the format and procedures of those particular interviews. However, it is worthwhile to note that several of the teachers were also able to speak in some capacity as other key actors in the education sector, having also served as administrators, union representatives, and/or in various roles within the Ministry of Education throughout their careers. In some cases, I conducted shorter, less in-depth interviews from those perspectives. These interviews were generally conducted in a single session, lasting for approximately 30 to 40 minutes, and followed the same general guidelines as teacher interviews (see Appendix C for interview guide).

Interviews with teachers followed the general structure and procedures outlined by Seidman (2006) in his work on phenomenological inquiry. As the overarching goal was to have participants reconstruct their experiences with and knowledge about migration, interviews were open-ended. This format allowed me to more effectively build upon and explore participant responses. Seidman's (2006) protocol calls for three interviews with each participant, a number that reflects the assertion that "people's behavior becomes meaningful and understandable when placed in the context of their lives and the lives of those around them" (p. 17). Through a series of interviews as opposed to a single session, the researcher is better able to explore the meaning of an experience and place it in context (Schuman, 1982).

The first interview was essentially a form of life history. The focus of the initial interview was to put teachers' experience in context by asking them to reflect on their past teaching experiences. Migration and globalization were not a specific focus of this interview; however, the concepts often came up in teacher responses and were duly noted. Initial questions focused on past experiences as teachers, including classroom experiences and interactions with students, colleagues, and administrators. At times, these interviews also reflected teacher experiences with education policy and reform as it applied to their schools and classrooms. In the initial interview, my aim was to have teachers reconstruct and narrate a range of events in their past work and life experience that placed their role as teachers in El Salvador in a specific context.

The second stage of interviews concentrated on more concrete details of teachers' current experiences with migration and globalization. For example, they were asked whether they had ever migrated or knew people who had migrated, or what they saw as the effects of globalization in their community. In order to put experience within the context of its social setting, I asked teachers to talk about their relationships with their families, students, colleagues, and the wider community. I also asked them to explain how they felt migration, globalization, and neoliberalism might be related to changes within Salvadoran society, economy, politics, and culture.

In the third interview, I asked participants to reflect on the meaning of their experience. Meaning here refers to "the intellectual and emotional connections between participants' work and life" (Seidman, 2006, p.18). A more detailed interview guide is included in Appendix C; however, I share some sample questions here in order to provide a sense of what the third interview entailed. For instance, questions were phrased as,

"Given what you have said about your work as a teacher and given what you have said about migration, how do you believe migration affects you as a teacher?" Some questions also reflected a future orientation, such as "How do you see your role as a teacher in El Salvador going forward?" or "Would you, yourself, consider migrating in the future?" In making sense of their experiences, teachers were able to connect their lived experience with the context in which it occurred. It is also important to note that in telling stories from their experiences, teachers employed certain frames to help make meaning, both at an individual and collective level (Lakoff, 2004). That meaning was the focus of the third interview, and is examined in greater detail in the data analysis section.

Field Note Protocol

Throughout the data collection phase, field notes were recorded in order to provide a concrete description of the social processes and contexts observed in the research site (Hamersley & Atkinson, 1995). In addition to describing "what happened and who was involved," my notes also included impressions, hunches, reflections, reminders, and theoretical analysis. Before and after each interview, and at times during the interviews themselves, I scribbled short notes and memos in a field journal, using the same notebook at both sites.

These notes included my observations and impressions of the physical aspects of schooling, such as what schools looked like and how classrooms were arranged, as well as more relational aspects, including daily patterns of behavior and interactions between and among teachers, students, and administrators. I also made reminder notes to prompt myself to ask certain follow-up questions or to explore issues that arose in interviews with some participants that I had not yet addressed with others. Finally, once I had a

chance to listen to the recording of each interview (typically anywhere from two days to two weeks after the interview had been conducted), I jotted down some preliminary theoretical analysis, linking the content of interviews to broader theories of migration, globalization, and transnationalism. This process was also helpful in determining the direction and scope of subsequent interviews.

Based on the framework suggested by Groenewald (2004), I organized my field notes according to the following four categories:

- *Observational notes* (ON): 'what happened notes' deemed important enough to the researcher to make

- *Theoretical notes* (TN): 'attempts to derive meaning' as the researcher thinks or reflects on experiences

- *Methodological notes* (MN): 'reminders, instructions or critique' to oneself on the process

- *Analytical memos* (AM): end-of-a-field-day summary or progress reviews. (p. 15)

Indeed, each of these categories was reflected in my notes. A brief example of each type of entry follows, using actual excerpts from my field journal.[51]

- *Observational notes* (entry from January 15, 2012): "Today was Day One of 'Operation Educating for Exile.' I met with 17 teachers, all old colleagues and friends from my time in the Peace Corps. We had a lovely lunch at *Piedras del Bosque* [a local cafe] and an even better chat about education, migration, and the interconnections and conflicts between the two. These teachers are so insightful, experienced, and wise. What they had to say on these themes really made an impact. Themes discussed: work experience, development of the teacher's role, student needs, responses from the education system, migration (in general)."

- *Theoretical notes* (entry from April 7, 2012): "Key points: More than anything they see migration as a negative phenomenon ('migration=family

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[51] In the interest of maintaining narrative flow and facilitating comprehension, field notes have been translated into English. However, the majority of my notes were written in a combination of Spanish and English, or Spanglish.

disintegration') → results in delinquency, lack of discipline, misuse of money, lack of motivation in studies. *Question: ¿*Qué hay de bueno?*[52] (Lots of studies that show positive effects of *remesas* on education, do teachers see this too?) **Key question for the study: Why and for what means are they educating the youth – for a future in Salvadoran society or to migrate? (Global citizenship vs. national solidarity emerging as key concept. Does this reflect inherent conflict between transnationalism and nationalism? What does this mean for role of nation state? How do teachers see their role in promoting/resisting these ideas?"

- *Methodological notes* (entry from February, 24, 2012): "One thing that I know I'll have to be careful about is subjectivity as a researcher. Because I'm so close with these teachers, I think I tend to be less skeptical/critical of their comments. But I have to remember to also ask the hard questions and consider the other side of the *moneda* (coin). For example, if they tell me migration only has negative consequences, I need to ask why they feel that way and propose an alternative rather than just take their word for it. As for objectivity/validity, I can see how this type of phenomenological research lends itself to the idea that each of us has our own truth or social reality. Thus, what teachers tell me is their truth, their reality as they see it. And in a phenomenological study, that's what matters – each individual's experience is his/her truth."

- *Analytical notes* (entry from February 12, 2012): "Today we discussed the following themes: the teacher's role in national development, changes in the education system in the last 15-20 years, how teachers prepare youth to participate in Salvadoran society and in global society (to stay vs. migrating). Overall, I feel that the interviews are going well. The teachers have been very frank with me and spoken with all of the sincerity that I had hoped. They have brought up things that I hadn't even thought about. I feel that I already have a lot to tell/share in my dissertation. The only thing that worries me is the question of continuing with a comparative study or perhaps keeping with a more in-depth study with the teachers here. One option is to do a comparative study with private school students, but it seems to me that isn't as closely related to the main theme."

During my time in El Salvador, the fieldwork journal was instrumental in helping me keep a running account of the conduct of research, as well as enabling me to identify emergent problems and themes throughout the data collection process. One of the main goals of taking field notes was to identify and develop appropriate categories for analysis,

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[52] Literally, "What's good?"

as well as to provide a means of cross-checking my hunches about developing patterns and themes. While I had a general idea of some of these categories at the project's outset (given the content and structure of interview questions), most emerged from the interviews. That is, while I had an overall sense of the tensions and themes that I wanted to explore, their manifestation into specific analytical categories was a product of teacher narratives. This process is addressed in greater detail in the following section.

Coding Schemes

As previously mentioned, the main dataset for this study consisted of input from teacher interviews, with archival research as a smaller, more minor aspect of the overall research project. Participant observations also helped to inform the analysis, though they were used mainly to contextualize interviews and provide a means for either confirming or supporting emergent themes. Data from observations and interviews were combined into a single dataset.

In the construction of this dataset, I followed the methodology employed by Lenze and Dinham (1994) in their examination of the pedagogical knowledge of new college teachers, which utilized similar research methods. In conducting their investigation, Lenze and Dinham (1994) began the process with teacher interviews, and then observed teachers in the classroom. Interviews formed the basic dataset, which was then augmented by analysis from observations. My study employed a similar methodology, although observations were done in a less formal manner. Archival research was treated as a separate dataset that was compared and contrasted with data from observations/interviews.

Data collection was primarily guided by emerging theory and previously collected information. Through the analytical induction process (Erickson, 2012; Jacobs & Jackson, 1982), key patterns and themes emerged from the data. I conducted an initial open round of observations in order to generate a coding scheme. The resulting scheme was then refined throughout the data collection and analysis process, as dimensions, relationships, axes of codes, and categories emerged (Lenze & Dinham, 1994). The scheme was then subjected to concept mapping in order to develop core concepts and themes and to develop an overall conceptual framework. The coding scheme and its underlying theory are discussed in greater detail in the forthcoming analysis section.

Researcher Relationship to Field Site

Because we are part of the social world we study, social scientists must take special care to consider our own role within the research setting. Key concerns include awareness of subjects' perceptions of the researcher, involvement in community activities, and identification with certain groups within the research setting (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; LeCompte, Preissle, & Tesch, 1993). However, one of the most important elements of successful qualitative research is the development of a sense of trust between participants and researcher (Groenewald, 2004; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995) – a topic that I have previously addressed in my discussion of the Latin American notion of *confianza*. When participants value the researcher's role in the community, participant-researcher exchanges are facilitated. This principle holds with respect to observation as well as interviews, as participants who feel a sense of partnership with the researcher are more likely to share intimate thoughts and answer seemingly interminable questions (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Seidman, 2006).

Applying these basic principles to the context of this study, I return to my experience as a Peace Corps Volunteer. In addition to helping gain access to research sites, my prior experience in the schools and relationships with teachers provided a solid foundation from which to build the trust and openness needed to carry out an effective study. During the nearly three years that I first lived and worked in La Armonía, I was able to develop a firm sense of its social and political organization, identify school and community leaders, and establish close ties with several teachers. Upon returning to the site to conduct research, I was able to draw on this knowledge and these networks to establish my role as a researcher, gain the trust of study participants, and collect meaningful data.

One challenge that I encountered throughout the process was remaining cognizant of my positionality so that my prior experience did not skew data collection and analysis. Having already established a rapport with some teachers, I had to be careful not to look for specific attitudes or behaviors, but to remain open to any data that presented itself. At times I did find myself expecting certain responses from certain teachers or anticipating their reactions to particular questions. (Interestingly, my hunches were just as often disconfirmed as they were validated). I also tried to frame questions in several different ways over the course of the three interview sessions, to ensure that I was truly asking what I wanted to ask.

Finally, it is important to recognize that no matter how accepted I may have come to feel in either community, I remained an outsider.[53] Being a *gringa* in El Salvador

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[53] The tensions of negotiating insider-outsider status in ethnographic and phenomenological work have been well explicated in prior research. For classic examples, see Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1983). Ethnography: Principles in practices. London: Tavistock; Clifford, J., & Marcus, G. E. (Eds.). (1986). Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography. Berkeley,

automatically afforded me certain economic, educational, linguistic, and cultural powers and privileges. Throughout the various stages of this study I have worked to remain critically aware of any actual or perceived hierarchies that might have developed between myself and research participants, resisting any false stereotypes or divisions that may have emerged. As self-reflexivity plays a crucial role in any sociological study, I have endeavored to engage in self-reflection and analysis throughout the research process.

Data Analysis

Data analysis represents an important part of the research process, particularly given the researcher's objective of uncovering both a set of meanings and a logical structure through which these meanings are related, with the latter being the more critical aim (Akerlind, 2005). Accordingly, this section addresses the schemes, codes, and general principles underlying the data analysis phase of this research project.

General Overview of Data Analysis Process

Based on an inductive research model, this study relied primarily on grounded theory building to make sense of the data. Grounded theory refers to the process by which the researcher first collects and analyzes data, then considers only those variables and hypotheses that emerge in order to formulate a concept or proposition from the emergent relationships (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Hypotheses and emerging problems are

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CA: University of California Press; and Merton, R. K. (1972). Insiders and outsiders: A chapter in the sociology of knowledge. *American Journal of Sociology*, 9-47. More recent scholarship has focused on insider-outsider tensions in the specific context of migration research. For examples, see Gans, H. J. (2000). Filling in some holes: Six areas of needed immigration research. Foner, Rumbaut and Gold (eds.), *Immigration research for a new century*, 76-92; Kusow, A. M. (2003). Beyond indigenous authenticity: Reflections on the insider/outsider debate in immigration research. *Symbolic Interaction*, *26*(4), 591-599; and Rubin, M. (2012). 'Insiders' versus 'outsiders': What difference does it really make? *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, *33*(3), 303-307.

continually tested against the reality being observed on a day-to-day basis, allowing the researcher to test theory against data – a technique Glaser and Strauss (1967) have termed the constant comparative method.

As Erickson (2012) has pointed out, an important part of the analytic induction process is identification of "typical phenomena," or the dominant actions, opinions, and patterns of thought that emerge from the data. However, it is also important to pay attention to the atypical or discrepant cases, which often lead to new insights. Rather than viewing these discrepant cases as "leftovers" in analysis, Erickson (2012) has argued that these cases, and the circumstances in which they occur, require careful scrutiny, as they help the researcher to test and refine theories. Ultimately this process results in further development of the overall conceptual model, enabling the researcher to distinguish between the typical and atypical. Conducting my own research in this manner allowed me to examine the topic from perspectives that I otherwise may not have considered.

In the process of analyzing data about teachers' daily actions and lives, I followed the open approach favored by Glaser and Strauss (1967), in which theory and research are grounded in the reality being studied. In advocating the use of a grounded approach over more traditional research methods, Glaser and Strauss (1967) have noted:

> The consequence [of the traditional approach] is often a forcing of data as well as a neglect of relevant concepts and hypotheses that may emerge... Our approach, allowing substantive concepts and hypotheses to emerge first, on their own, enables the analyst to ascertain which, if any, existing formal theory may help him generate his substantive theories. He can then be more objective and less theoretically biased. (p. 34)

Grounded theory represented the best method of analysis for this particular study because rather than seeking to answer a specific set of questions, my goal was to more fully understand the complex and multifaceted relationship between teachers and migration.

Furthermore, because few prior studies had been conducted on this particular topic, it was difficult to predict what types of key issues and problems would arise. Grounded theory is particularly useful in situations where little is known about a research problem because it allows the researcher to enter the field free of prior assumptions and expectations. Rather than the researcher looking for specific examples or phenomena, the data speak for themselves. Thus themes and patterns emerge organically through both the data collection and the data analysis process. Field notes proved particularly useful in this respect, as I was able to cross-check my hunches about developing patterns and confirm them by reference to interview data. This method of triangulation allowed me to make stronger evidentiary claims, which were based on evidence from at least two separate information sources (Erickson, 2012).

While it is difficult to conduct any project entirely free of presuppositions, I have made a concerted effort to follow the guidelines set forth by the study's inductive design. At the same time, I acknowledge that my own opinions, ideas, beliefs, and biases may be reflected in the analysis and interpretation of data. Given the fact that all of the information was in one way or another "filtered" through my own eyes and ears and influenced by my own experience, knowledge, skills, and background (Lichtman, 2012), any claims of objectivity in a strict scientific sense would be unfounded.

However, within the qualitative research community, it is widely understood that the interpretive process can never be entirely objective. In this sense, I agree with the work of many feminist, postmodern, and constructivist scholars, which has posited that what exists "out in the world" can be understood as it is mediated through the observer (Lichtman, 2012). Thus the descriptions, understandings, and interpretations presented in

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this dissertation are based on the data I collected, and my ability to organize and integrate it into a meaningful whole.

Feminist theory in particular has made several important contributions to our understanding of researcher objectivity and bias. For example, the notion of reflexivity recognizes that both participants and researchers produce interpretations that are "the data" (Diaz, 2002; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011), and demands an acute awareness of the ways in which the researcher's own background contributes to knowledge production (Gorelick, 1991). In confronting the question of bias, scholars including Harding (1998, 2002) and Haraway (1997) have suggested notions of "strong objectivity" and "diffracting" that have sought to re-imagine the concept of objectivity, positioning both researcher and participants as the focus of critical scientific explanations. In arguing against positivist conceptions of objectivity, Harding (2002) has noted that human ideas cannot escape their location in human history and that "observers do change the world that they observe" (p. 377).

Thus in phenomenological terms, the findings presented in this dissertation represent the data as experienced by both the teachers, as study participants, and by me, as a researcher (Akerlind, 2005; Bowden, 1996; Marton & Booth, 1997; Sandberg, 1997; Svensson & Theman, 1983). Highlighting this co-construction of research outcomes, Uljens (1996) has argued that a phenomenographic researcher asks not how well the research outcomes correspond to the phenomenon as it exists "in reality," but how well they correspond to human experience of the phenomenon. Accordingly, and in the spirit of the participant-researcher partnership, I have endeavored to let the teachers' words

speak for themselves whenever possible, while at the same time recognizing the influence

of my own knowledge of and experiences with migration, globalization, and education.

Coding Technique and Framework

Following its phenomenological design, this study examined variations in human

meaning, understanding, and conceptions (Marton, 1981), in order to develop an

awareness of ways of experiencing a particular phenomenon (Marton & Booth, 1997).[54]

Accordingly, the coding process was done in several stages, with the aim of developing

an understanding of teacher experiences at both an individual and collective level.

In total, I had approximately 60 hours of interviews.[55] I began by listening to each

interview in real time, recording notes about my general impressions and working to

develop a holistic understanding of the interview at an individual level. The second step

was transcription, whereby I recorded the actual dialogue, while at the same time

translating from Spanish to English.[56] Finally, I listened to the interviews in groups of

three or four, in order to get a sense of how they fit together collectively and to develop a

relational framework through which to analyze and interpret them. Akerlind (2005) has

described this process at length:

> Consequently, the researcher aims to constitute not just a set of different
> meanings, but a logically inclusive structure relating the different meanings. The
> categories of description constituted by the researcher to represent different ways
> of experiencing a phenomenon are thus seen as representing a structured set, the

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[54] Marton and Booth (1997) have further acknowledged that an individual's experience of a
phenomenon is context-sensitive and may change over time and/or place, hence the need for
constant comparison between data and interpretation, as well as analysis of the data on several
levels.

[55] This figure includes two or three interviews of between 40 and 90 minutes with each
participant, as well as the recordings made during project wrap-up celebrations.

[56] All quotes attributed to study participants are my own translations from the original Spanish.
Thus, any errors in meaning and/or intent should be attributed to the researcher.

'outcome space.' This provides a way of looking at collective human experience of phenomena holistically, despite the fact that the same phenomena may be perceived differently by different people and under different circumstances. Ideally, the outcomes represent the full range of possible ways of experiencing the phenomenon in question, at this particular point in time, for the population represented by the sample group collectively. (p. 323)

Throughout the analysis stage, I followed the coding process outlined in Groenewald's (2004) phenomenological study of cooperative education. This involved listening repeatedly to audio recordings of interviews, in order to develop a holistic understanding of participants' experiences. "Units of meaning" were then extracted from each transcript, according to the "literal content, the number (the significance) of times a meaning was mentioned and also how (non-verbal or para-linguistic cues) it was stated" (Groenewald, 2004, p. 19). These units were then clustered to form themes as specific topics were identified. Finally, interviews were summarized in order to look for general and unique themes. From these findings, I created a composite summary, in which I attempted to "transform participants' everyday expressions into expressions appropriate to the scientific discourse supporting the research" (Groenewald, 2004, p. 21).[57] It is important to remember, however, that data analysis is an iterative process, in which data, categories, and pools of meanings continually shift and change.

As expected, several key themes emerged through this process of "listening to teachers talk about their work and their world" (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 27). I used an open

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[57] Marton (1986) has referred to this approach as generating "pools of meanings." In this process, each transcript is subjected to a dual-level analysis as the researcher searches for groups of meanings. "Thus, each quote has two contexts in relation to which it has been interpreted: first, the interview from which it was taken, and second, the 'pool of meanings' to which it belongs. The interpretation is an interactive procedure which reverberates between these two contextually" (p. 42-43). Marton and Booth (1997) have further noted that while pools of meanings contain material pertaining to both individuals and the collective, it is essentially the same stuff, viewed from two different perspectives.

coding approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to look for generative themes, or "recurring threads of thought that are woven throughout the dialogues and that signify important issues to the lives of the participants" (Freire, 1970).[58] I chose not to utilize any particular analytical software, instead relying on more traditional methods. Several scholars have noted that while software packages can be helpful in analyzing text-based data, there are also significant limitations. For instance, no one program can do the analysis in itself (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996), while the underlying meaning of a phenomenon cannot be computer-generated because it is not an algorithmic process (Kelle, 1995). Groenewald (2004) has added that programs such as ATLAS.ti, NUD*IST, and The Ethnograph that perform rapid, sophisticated searches and line-by-line coding "do not help with doing phenomenology" (p. 20). Accordingly, I used the more traditional method of analyzing transcripts line by line, using a color-coding system to identify units of meaning, which were then clustered into larger themes and used to construct an overall narrative of the findings.

The resulting narrative reflected the subjective human experience of a small group of teachers who had experienced the same phenomenon – teaching in a migratory society. The primary themes that emerged reflected several key tensions, including contested notions of ideal versus reality, past versus present, and hope versus hopelessness. Underlying these tensions was a deeper question about teachers' search for identity and meaning amid the multifaceted changes brought on by processes of international migration and neoliberal globalization. However, I will not go into the specifics of these

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[58] Field notes from observations were also useful in helping to identify coding categories. Though it is not the primary focus of this study, archival data was coded in a similar manner, allowing for examination of the convergence and/or divergence of particular themes within both datasets.

individual tensions and themes here, as they will be discussed in depth in the findings chapters.

Strengths and Limitations of Methodology

In the next section, I address what I consider to be this study's major strengths, as well as its potential limitations. To conclude the chapter, I offer some insights about my methods and learning with regards to researcher positionality.

Major Strengths

A particular strength of qualitative research is its ability to "identify the unexpected and illuminate the odd" (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 182). Erickson (1985) coined the term "strange-ify the familiar" to describe the way that social scientists critically examine ordinary actions to get at their underlying social meaning. Research of this nature allows us to question our assumptions about how the world works through careful observation and investigation of social phenomena. In particular, phenomenology helps us to investigate the ways that individuals comprehend their experiences and beliefs (Akerlind, 2005; Creswell, 2007; Groenewald, 2004; Seidman, 2006). It also allows us as researchers to critically reflect on our own understandings and experiences (Moustakas, 1994).

This type of research can also raise "important, if uncomfortable, questions about the deepest assumptions and the most taken-for-granted purposes and perceptions" (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 182). This point is particularly salient in the context of my study, given the fact that most of the world's citizens have been exposed to teachers or schooling at some point in life. Accordingly, we have pre-existing schemas for what teachers should do and how they should act. These schemas are further shaped by our

own ideas and expectations about the teacher's role, both in the classroom and in society. My study offers a means through which to confront these assumptions and question whether they are accurate representations of social reality.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) have suggested that to be of real social value, qualitative research should be concerned "not simply with understanding the world, but with applying its findings to bring about change" (p. 15). Following that line of thought, my study sought not only to illuminate the experiences and meaning-making systems of Salvadoran teachers, but also to examine their relevance for future research, as well as education planning, policymaking, and practice. In addition, my research sheds light on the impact of education on global families and offers new perspectives that may have implications for the construction of new immigration laws emerging in the United States. These implications will be discussed further in the final chapter of this dissertation.

Furthermore, while the developing world historically has been the subject of much philosophical discussion and empirical investigation, its citizens have not always been afforded the opportunity to tell their own stories (Escobar, 1995; Grahame, 1998; Harding, 2004). Harding (2004) has noted that accounts of the so-called Third World are often told from the researcher's perspective and fail to present an accurate depiction of the social reality they are attempting to explain. In conducting my own research, I sought to avoid such a bias by asking teachers to express, in their own words, how migration and globalization had affected their daily lives and work. Thus while I acknowledge that the interpretation of data reflects elements of my own knowledge, background, and experience, I also sought to privilege teachers' words and actions to give meaning to the overall narrative.

Furthermore, the research strategy of observing and interviewing teachers about their interactions with migration provided insights into the social and cultural effects of what has largely been conceptualized as an economic phenomenon. The account presented in this dissertation sheds light on the complexities and tensions of migration and education, adding new voices, experiences, and identities to the traditional narrative. In this sense, teachers served as what Rudestam and Newton (2007) have termed "experiential experts," authorities by virtue of their daily experiences with migration and globalization. Documenting these experiences through observation and interviews has opened space for understanding the complex ways that these processes affect Salvadoran educators and their lived experience.

Extending the discussion beyond the strengths of the particular methodological approach, the process of writing this dissertation has been integral to my own learning as a new researcher and scholar. On a personal level, this study has brought attention not only to the practical dimensions of conducting social sciences research (how to locate participants, how to conduct interviews, how to code and analyze data, etc.), but also to its political dimensions. Following Habermas' (1966) notion of guiding knowledge interests, I posit that it is not only our empirical findings that are of consequence, but also the epistemological foundations underlying our research (Morrow & Torres, 1995).

In his discussion of the diversity of the human interest in knowing, Habermas (1966) identified three guiding knowledge interests: empirical-analytical, historical-hermeneutical, and critical-emancipatory. Viewed in these terms, I would define this particular project as historical-hermeneutical, given its focus on understanding social meanings and cognitive patterns through processes of interpretation. However, I also

envision future opportunities for a more critical-emancipatory approach, aimed at transforming reality by calling into question existing traditions and patterns of domination (Habermas, 1966; Morrow & Torres, 1995).

On a related note, conducting this study afforded me a unique opportunity to formulate the research questions and view the emergent problems through a lens that reflected issues and concerns with real implications at the local level. Rather than remaining at the level of theoretical abstraction, this study provides an empirical, on-the-ground perspective of how migration and globalization are affecting the lives and work of teachers in two communities in El Salvador. In doing so, it offers a way to understand how teachers in La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas are situated and embedded in local contexts and demonstrates how the presence or absence of large-scale migration impacts their views on public schooling.

In addition, my findings highlight another of this study's major strengths, namely its ability to offer powerful insights into the culture of teaching and learning in two Salvadoran communities. As the findings chapters will demonstrate, the politics of education are inherently local – a fact that has often been overlooked in larger scale examinations of migration and globalization. This study shifts the focus back to the local, offering a new perspective through which to view the dialectic of the global and the local as it relates to teachers in places like La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas.

Potential Limitations

As with any study, my research also has some potential limitations, which include the length and breadth of fieldwork. To begin with, six months may seem a relatively short time when considering the depth and complexity of the issues examined in this

dissertation. I have addressed this limitation by restricting the number of teachers and schools included in the study. Narrowing the scope of research to two schools and 19 teachers allowed me to collect in-depth and meaningful data in a limited amount of time. In addition, conducting three interviews with each participant allowed for more informed dialogues, as well as ample opportunities for follow-up and continued discussion of key themes. Lastly, because this study was interested in quality rather than quantity of data, the selection of sources reflected those aims. Thus while there are always more questions to ask and more topics to explore, I believe that six months provided a reasonable amount of time for data collection.

My prior experience in El Salvador is another important asset that should mitigate any concern about the amount of time spent in the field. Having previously lived in the country for nearly four years, I was already familiar with the basic groundwork of the research sites. As such, I was able to begin data collection relatively quickly, without spending too much time "getting to know the lay of the land." My past history and experiences in El Salvador, in particular my relationships with many of the study participants, allowed me to conduct this study from a unique perspective as someone who had attained a degree of insider status. This status was instrumental in enabling me to collect deep, meaningful data, as well as understand its subtle meanings and nuances.

Another critique of this study might point to its scale. I have addressed concerns about the sample size and focus on two specific communities by framing this study as a phenomenological inquiry. Accordingly, the goal of this research was to describe how a certain group of people experienced a specific phenomenon (Creswell, 2007). Selecting two small groups of teachers allowed me to work with an intimate sample that provided a

powerful insight into the inner workings of each community in ways that a larger study would have been unable to achieve. Additionally, my sample of 19 teachers was nearly double the ideal sample size of 10 suggested by Creswell (2007). For these reasons, I am confident that the methods which I utilized were not only justified, but also superior to any other methods that I may have chosen for this particular research project.

Going beyond the specific methods employed in this study, another potential limitation that deserves discussion is my awareness of my own limitations as a researcher. For example, my past experience as a teacher and Peace Corps Volunteer was both an advantage and disadvantage. On the one hand, it afforded me a degree of credibility with study participants, with whom I shared some common experiences. On the other, it also led to certain assumptions on my part about shared understandings and how we saw our work. Unraveling these tensions has been an important part of my own learning process, particularly in terms of how I view and carry out my role as a researcher.

However, I would again argue that what might be considered a potential limitation actually represents as strength of this particular study. In acknowledging that my analysis and findings have been filtered through my own background, knowledge, and position in the world system, I maintain that my personal experience and identity also constitute an important part of this dissertation's narrative thread. Recognizing my own biases and idiosyncrasies has enabled me to look beyond the standardized narratives and conceptual frames employed by Salvadoran teachers in order to examine them from a more critical perspective.

In terms of my specific findings, some might argue that this dissertation is not necessarily a study of transnationalism, given the fact that the majority of the participants had never migrated. I have addressed this particular point in previous chapters with my discussion of how individuals can take part in transnational activities despite never having crossed borders themselves. Following this point, much of the previous scholarship on transnationalism has focused exclusively on the experiences of migrants, unduly overlooking the lives and experiences of those who remain at home. In this respect, my dissertation can be conceptualized as a step toward balancing the current discourse. Indeed, we cannot claim to be scholars of transnationalism if we restrict ourselves to viewing the emergent issues and themes from a singular focus. Returning to Habermas' (1966) notion of guiding knowledge interests, my study addresses the need for multiple forms of knowledge and multiple ways of knowing.

In terms of the "big picture," this study contributes a new way of looking at the migration-education paradigm through the meanings and experiences of Salvadoran teachers. In doing so, it introduces a new model of interpretation and analysis that can be further adapted and expanded. The following chapters make explicit this model, focusing on how teachers make meaning of their experiences, as well as the implications of these meaning-making systems for teachers' sense of personal, professional, and national identity. However, before turning to these issues, I will conclude this chapter by sharing some reflections about my own position and identity within the research context.

Researcher Positionality

Phenomenological research – as is the case with most forms of qualitative research – involves a reflexive stance on the part of the researcher (Hammersley &

Atkinson, 1995; Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Creswell (2007) has reminded us that phenomenology is "not only a description but is also seen as an interpretive process in which the researcher makes an interpretation of the meaning of lived experiences" (p. 59). These interpretations may be based on both our prior lived experience and our experiences during the research process. Following this point, Schensul, Schensul, and LeCompte (1999) have maintained that all qualitative research should be an active process, in which the researcher is at the same time an observer of and a participant in the social world he or she studies. Likewise, Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) have emphasized the importance of context, noting that the setting in which research is conducted can affect the behavior and attitudes of both participants and observer. Reflecting these concerns, all interviews for my study were conducted in either teachers' classrooms and/or their private homes, in order to situate the research process within an authentic setting.

My study is also grounded in the premise that the social scientist cannot understand human behavior "without understanding the framework within which the subjects interpret their thoughts, feelings, and actions" (Wilson, 1977, p. 249). Human interactions are governed by certain cultural rules, and those rules are highly context-specific. In order to fully understand participant responses, it was important to also understand the context of Salvadoran teachers, as well as the cultural rules that guided their actions and interactions. This follows Heidegger's (1962) assertion that humans are embedded in their world to such an extent that subjective experiences are inextricably linked with social, cultural, and political contexts. As such, the cultural, political, and historical embeddedness of others is an integral component of how they make meaning

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(Akerlind, 2005; Morrow & Torres, 1994, 1995). This analytical framework acknowledges that research participants' "reality" may not be directly accessible to the researcher, hence the researcher's focus becomes neither the phenomenon nor the participants, but rather "the 'dialogue' of individuals with their contexts" (Van der Mescht, 2011, p. 2).

Following this principle, my research took an approach that was primarily empirical rather than interpretive. In other words, my study did not aim to make universal claims about the Salvadoran teaching experience in its entirety, but rather to examine the experience in a given time and space.[59] Lakoff's (1980, 2004) work on framing provides a useful theoretical perspective in this respect. In their book *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) asserted that we perceive and experience much of our world through "frames," or themes that organize our thoughts. Through largely unconscious processes, the frames we acquire determine common sense. Ultimately, Lakoff (2004) has said, what we perceive as facts are indeed products of the conceptual frames through which we view the world. Frames are "the mental structures that allow human beings to understand reality" (Lakoff, 2004, p. 73), and help to structure both how we think and how we act.

Similarly, Creswell (2007) and others have noted that phenomenology often combines the researchers' lived experience with those of participants (Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Patton, 2002). Accordingly, it was important to acknowledge my own positionality within the research context. Throughout the scope of this project, I have

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[59] Among others, Van der Mescht (2011) has argued for the important role of empirical phenomenology, particularly in educational leadership studies, noting that it is "a potentially powerful way of making sense of education practitioners' (and learners') sense-making, and can lead to startling new insights into the uniquely complex processes of learning, teaching and educational managing and leading" (p. 1).

engaged in a continual process of reflexivity about my role within the overall research design and have sought to remain cognizant of any power dynamics inherent in the theoretical framework, methodology, and/or guiding epistemology. For example, as a white, highly educated American woman, I possess certain advantages in social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). It is possible that these factors may have influenced my relationship with study participants. For instance, some teachers may have experienced the researcher-participant relationship as hierarchical rather than horizontal.

During the course of data collection, I sought to combat these notions by engaging in participatory research, a research design in which "ordinary people generate knowledge in addressing their concerns as members of society" (Park, 2006, p. 83). Asking teachers to share their everyday concerns in order to problematize migration privileged their voices as important sources of empirical knowledge and theory building. In this way, this study represents not just an instrument for solving social problems related to migration, but also "a social practice that helps marginalized people attain a degree of emancipation as autonomous and responsible members of society" (Freire, 1982; Park, 2006, p. 83). Thus, the spirit of this study, in accordance with the guiding principles of participatory research, is research of the people, by the people, and for the people (Park, 1997, 2006).

To help foster a sense of collaboration and shared engagement in the project, I joined teachers in a number of school, community, and local events during the term of my fieldwork. These activities included but were not limited to: involvement in school and community events such as festivals, fund-raisers, and parent-teacher nights; attendance at faculty and staff meetings; participation in school field trips and excursions;

and numerous interactions with teachers, administrators, and other staff members in the teacher lounge, cafeteria, and other public places. I also spent time with teachers outside of school in order to learn more about their lives beyond the classroom and to foster a stronger sense of partnership in the research project. Engaging in these types of activities was important in helping to overcome potential obstacles that may have existed due to perceived differences in race/ethnicity, class, education level, and/or organizational affiliation.

In terms of gender, my status as a woman in a traditionally *machista* society was another potential source of complication and/or limitation. Yet despite the prospect of conflict, I do not feel that it proved to be a significant limitation in terms of this particular study. Although I did not perceive any overt problems due to my status as a woman, it is nonetheless important to consider the role of gender, along with class, race/ethnicity, sexuality, and religion in educational research (Morrow & Torres, 1994; Stromquist, 1990, 1995, 2005). Having lived with and among Salvadorans for several years prior to conducting this research, my strategy was to rely on local women as guides to enlighten me about expected and/or perceived female attitudes and behaviors, as well as their larger implications.

Having previous relationships at the La Armonía research site was perhaps the most important aspect of overcoming potential barriers related to the researcher-participant dynamic. Because of these existing relationships, I was able to enter the research site not as a complete outsider but as someone who had attained a degree of insider status. Navigating these insider-outsider tensions was a true exercise in researcher reflexivity as I sought to understand my own place within the research process.

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Ultimately, recognizing that social research and its products can be affected by the researcher's own values and experiences – either consciously or unconsciously – has helped to inform and guide my research methods and practices.

Chapter Four

Toward a Pedagogy of Migration: Tensions and Discord in La Armonía

"We don't know where we came from, nor who we are, nor where we're going. So it seems that we become 'floating citizens.'"

— Cristian, school principal

Findings and Analysis

This chapter presents my findings from in-depth interviews with 14 teachers from Centro Escolar La Independencia in La Armonía, Chalatenango. In addition to one-on-one interviews, I also held two group meetings – one as an initial orientation at the beginning of the data collection process and another at the project's conclusion. Though it was not my original intent to use the group meetings for data collection purposes, the discussions that emerged organically provided additional insights that were relevant to the scope of this dissertation. With teachers' permission, I recorded these sessions, and thus the findings presented here reflect the content of individual interviews as well as the two larger group meetings.

To review, my research questions asked:

- How do Salvadoran schoolteachers conceptualize their primary roles and responsibilities?

  o In what ways have processes of migration and globalization changed or reinforced these roles?

  o How do teachers perceive the level of support from policymakers and administrators in dealing with the complexities of teaching and learning in their own classrooms?

  o How do they envision their contributions to students and to society?

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- How do migration and globalization affect Salvadoran teachers' notions of identity and citizenship?
    - In their view, is the mission of public education to foster "global citizenship" or is it more concerned with stemming the tide of migration and promoting a commitment to local and national development goals?
    - Do teachers see these as conflicting goals or is there space for both within current models of curriculum, instruction, and/or pedagogy?

- What opportunities and challenges do Salvadoran teachers perceive as being brought on by recent migration patterns?
    - More specifically, how do teachers perceive the occupational and educational futures of their students, as well as their own role in socioeconomic development in El Salvador?
    - Finally, how do teachers view their own educational and occupational futures and opportunities for social mobility?

The themes that emerged through our conversations not only answered the three primary research questions, but also brought to light additional topics that I had not anticipated. In this chapter, I elaborate my findings, detailing the development of key themes, as well as exploring their significance in terms of the larger body of research on migration, globalization, and transnationalism. It is my hope that these findings help to provide a more thorough understanding of how teachers in La Armonía experience and interpret their work.

Theme Development

As data analysis procedures have already been outlined in the previous chapter, I will limit discussion here to the manner in which I determined the key topics and themes. As previously stated, data analysis consisted of two main processes. The first step was to transcribe verbatim the audio recordings of each interview. After transcription was complete, I read through the interview logs several times, assigning color-coded themes. Themes were expanded and collapsed through subsequent re-readings and coding sessions.

After determining the major themes, I organized them according to relevance to the initial research questions. This process allowed me to further classify my findings into major themes (those which pertained to my original research questions) and subthemes (distinct yet related topics that emerged in interviews). As a result of this process, I was able to further refine the research questions so that they reflected the true spirit of this dissertation, which is a researcher-participant collaboration.

La Armonía: A Site of Struggle and Discord

This chapter addresses my findings relevant to La Armonía. I have chosen to discuss La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas separately in order to best capture the essence of the teaching experience in each community. In doing so, I highlight some key similarities, as well as differences, that emerged between the two schools.[60] While my analysis primarily utilizes teachers' own comments and observations, I have layered them

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[60] Before delving into analysis, I should make clear that this dissertation is not intended as an evaluation of teachers, teaching methods, and/or school achievement in either La Armonía or Las Esmeraldas. My objective was simply to understand how teachers experienced and reacted to migration and globalization through their daily lives and work. Thus, the findings presented in the following two chapters represent a commentary on how I perceived learning communities in these particular sites, not a performance assessment of Salvadoran teachers and/or schools.

with my own analysis and reflections to create a more complete picture of the key themes and cognitive patterns that came to light throughout the research process.

To illustrate my findings, I have relied primarily on direct quotes from teachers. From the beginning, it has been my intention that this research is driven by teachers' knowledge and experiences, and I have made every effort to maintain their voices in an accurate and truthful manner. In the interest of readability, I have removed filler words such as "like" and "um" and eliminated some non-sequitur commentary that does not enhance overall understanding. Thus, while the analysis and connections to other research presented in this chapter are mine, the voices that emerge and the experiences that are shared belong to the teachers.

Although each teacher brought unique knowledge and experiences to the project, several commonalities did emerge. Through their individual and collective understandings of migration and globalization, I highlight these shared perceptions and beliefs, as well as point out areas in which they diverge. Thus this dissertation not only examines the common essence of the La Armonía teaching experience, but also uncovers some of the distinctions that each teacher brought to his or her own work.

In the remainder of this chapter, I present the key themes in three separate but related sections. The first section discusses teacher perceptions of their primary roles and responsibilities, as well as how these roles are mediated and/or transformed by processes of migration and globalization. The second section focuses on teacher notions of identity and citizenship, with an emphasis on the role of public education in fostering national and/or global solidarity. Finally, the third section is oriented toward the future, focusing

on how the dialectics of the ideal and reality affect teachers' hopes, fears, and expectations, both for their students and for themselves.

1. Teacher Roles and Responsibilities

My first research question asked how teachers viewed their primary roles and responsibilities, particularly in light of fluid and dynamic processes of migration and globalization. In framing the question, I took a broad view, leaving the term "roles and responsibilities" open to teacher interpretation. Not surprisingly, their responses reflected an array of beliefs and attitudes. These included but were not limited to: fostering personal development, which encompassed intellectual, behavioral, and emotional growth; encouraging opportunities for socioeconomic mobility; instilling values and moral education; promoting social integration; and educating for citizenship and democracy. Beyond their roles in educating individual students, teachers also spoke of their contributions to community, regional, and national development.[61] In the interest of conciseness, I will not go into detail on all of these topics in this chapter. However, I have included them here to provide insight into the diversity of perspectives among teachers' understanding of their roles and responsibilities.

The following sections focus on four main aspects of teacher roles expressed by participants in La Armonía: (1) transmitting culture and values, (2) promoting social cohesion, (3) educating for citizenship and democracy, and (4) fostering national development. In my discussion of each of these roles, I draw on participant quotes, relevant literature in the field, and my own analysis and interpretation.

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[61] This aspect reflects a subtheme of the first research question related to teacher contributions to their students and to society. Rather than dedicating a separate section to this particular subtheme, I have instead woven it throughout my analysis of teacher roles and responsibilities.

1.1 The Teacher as a Transmitter of Culture and Values

Torres (2000) has posited that teachers often perceive of themselves as the main public employees responsible for passing on a nation's collective values. It was clear that teachers in La Armonía shared this outlook. For them, the transmission of culture and values took on added significance in the context of social and cultural changes brought on by migration and globalization. In fact, many teachers cited "values education" as their number one priority, given the fact that many students were growing up in single parent or parent-less homes.

Their concerns echoed a 2003 UNESCO report on education in Latin America and the Caribbean, which noted, "Our present-day societies are witnessing a weakening of the family nucleus; there is a tacit tendency to delegate the family's role of transmitting values to the school" (p. 5). Clearly, the concept of "values" is broad and polysemic. This section will focus primarily on values in the sense of adherence to certain moral principles and ethical standards guiding individual and group action. A later section of this chapter addresses values in the sense of passing on cultural knowledge and practices.

In terms of values in the moral-ethical sense, a common complaint among teachers was the *perdida de valores,* or loss of values, that had permeated the youth culture. Many saw it as their responsibility to combat this trend. Milena, an elementary teacher with 15 years of experience, explained: "We're educating them in values, in how they should confront the reality that we live. As teachers, this is the struggle that we face every day, to be able to guide them in how they should face the world, life, the situation that we're living, to develop the values that they have lost."

While Milena did not specifically label migration as the cause of waning values, other teachers expressed a concern about the effects of parental absence. Dora, who had worked at the school for 28 years, offered this explanation: "We have to teach the child how to deal with life without a father or a mother. So we guide them in how they should behave themselves when there are so many social problems." Reflecting a similar perspective, Alicia, who had attended La Independencia as a student in the 1960s, spoke of the multiple roles she played at school and in the community. "In my case, I am a woman," she began, "I am a mother. So I sometimes feel as if I were the mother of these students. Someone has to check whether they have their shoes tied, check whether they have bathed, check if they have lice."

Alicia's response reflected the intertwining of teacher roles and teacher identity. Although I had asked her to explain how she viewed her *role* as a teacher, her answer spoke more to how she conceptualized her *identity* as a teacher. For her, fulfilling different roles for her students essentially meant taking on multiple identities. Thus she was not only a middle school language teacher, but also a substitute mother, which was inherently linked to being a woman. Because of family situations related to migration, she had taken on some of the roles traditionally ascribed to the family. This was precisely the state of affairs foreseen by the 2003 UNESCO report, which noted that the school and its teachers "increasingly find themselves obliged to compensate for shortcomings in pupils' upbringing" (ibid.). Thus Alicia's comments reflected underlying tensions in the La Armonía teaching experience, as many educators felt as if they should not only guide students' learning in the classroom but also play a role in monitoring their home lives.

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Teachers also acknowledged the direct and powerful impact of students' home lives on their behavior in the classroom. Angel explained, "It's not like 20 years ago when people's patterns of conduct were completely different. Today, because of the effects of migration and many other factors – in reality, many students in broken homes – many students, well, perhaps they feel obligated to be in the education system. And many times this means that their behavior isn't worthy of what one expects." Angel attributed discipline and behavior problems to the fact that students felt "obligated" to be in school, when many would have preferred to have migrated along with their parents. In his view, family breakdown due to migration was a chief cause of poor student conduct, given the difficulty of maintaining discipline at home in the absence of one of both parents. Furthermore, Angel added, many students whom he saw as "behavior problems" were simply waiting to migrate themselves, and thus not concerned about academic performance. Underlying these claims was a sense that the past 20 years had seen a marked decline in the values and behaviors of Salvadoran youth.

Drawing on the premise that knowledge cannot be separated from meaning and value, Torres (2000, 2002) has argued that education is necessarily a moral enterprise. Following this principle, many teachers saw a need for a more values-oriented curriculum, reminiscent of Torres' call for education grounded in principles that guide ethical thinking and action. As he has written, "In the context of education, caring, justice and individual responsibility are central principles of moral action that should complement each other" (Torres, 2002, p. 379). Grounded in Kant's philosophy of an education for human development, this model envisions caring, justice, and individual

responsibility as the basic underpinnings of an educational system. However, those are precisely the elements that teachers identified as lacking in Salvadoran schools.

Adriana, who as a first-year teacher was the youngest study participant, was also one of the most critical. Explaining what she saw as an impending moral decline, she noted, "One of the needs of the youth is values. Although they don't see it as a need, because many don't even know what a value is – now a lot of this has been lost. ... There's an emptiness and a lack of values, ethics, spiritualities, moral values." Adriana's sense that youth "don't even know what a value is" reflected a common perception among teachers that principles of caring, justice, and shared responsibility had been lost amid the fractures created by migration and globalization. Her comments also pointed to a lack of faith in Salvadoran youth, depicting an entire generation lacking a moral compass and devoid of the capability of ethical thought and action. If that is truly the case, then El Salvador's future looks bleak indeed. Absent a sense of compassion and justice, what are the prospects for social cohesion and equity of access and opportunity? In an attempt to understand how teachers saw the possibilities, we now move to a discussion of how participants perceived their roles in creating a more equitable and inclusive society.

1.2 The Teacher as a Promoter of Social Integration

Social integration implies the coming together of all sectors of a nation's society, particularly the movement of ethnic and minority groups (which may refer to race, class, gender, sexuality, religion, etc.) into the mainstream. Within a framework of social integration, all citizens enjoy access to the same opportunities, rights, and services. Although El Salvador is largely homogenous in terms of race and ethnicity, stark

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inequalities exist when it comes to social class and gender. Accordingly, I asked teachers how they viewed their roles in promoting social inclusion.

Interestingly, the question of gender did not feature prominently in participant responses. I found this somewhat surprising, given the fact that a culture of *machismo* still tends to predominate Salvadoran social relations, especially in rural areas. I expect that this could be a result of several factors, including the increased feminization of Salvadoran society due to migration,[62] and the growth of girls' participation in all sectors of education.[63]

Unlike gender, the issue of social class did come up frequently in interviews. Many teachers listed lack of economic opportunity as the most serious challenge to social integration. Many students at La Independencia were from homes of *escasos recursos*, or scare resources, and were expected to contribute to household income from a young age. Accordingly, teachers' efforts were often focused on promoting knowledge and skills that would enable students to obtain employment.

Nancy, a middle school English teacher, noted the importance of teaching through projects, such as teaching students how to make natural shampoo or training them as local tour guides. "When we teach with projects, it's very important because many of [the projects] can be economically productive for them," Nancy noted. "And apart from that, well, they can generate money."

Likewise, Milena saw school as a bridge to future employment prospects and earnings potential. She envisioned the relationship in the following terms: "What the

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[62] In 2011, more than half of El Salvador's population, or 53 percent, was female (CEPAL, 2013).

[63] According to UNESCO, Salvadoran girls participate in primary education at generally the same rates as boys. At both the secondary and tertiary levels, there are slightly more girls enrolled than boys. *Note*: Statistics are from 2010, the most recent year available (UNESCO, 2013).

teacher wants is for the child to be prepared to apply all the knowledge that he learns in school, to apply it to real life. But we also want the youth to be prepared to face reality and society and to adapt – not only to confront it but to adapt and be useful in society – so that he can develop the skill of adaptation and fit in, or do X job." In Milena's view, "fitting in" and "adaptation" were important goals. A student who was able to adapt would be granted full participation in society through membership in the workforce, an elusive goal for many Salvadorans.

Adriana offered a different perspective of social cohesion: "The teacher should make sure that the youth doesn't only know mathematics, but that he also knows that he should practice respect for his countrymen, for his elders. For me, this is the role: focus on the cognitive, and the social, and values." For Adriana, fostering respect for one's elders was a key aspect of social integration. Her call to practice respect for fellow citizens also alluded to the teacher's role in promoting culture, citizenship, and generational solidarity. Adriana's comments further reflected the recommendations of the 2003 UNESCO report, which stated:

> In many cases the school appears to have responsibility for creating cohesion around values that are tending to vanish. And we are not just talking about family values but also, and above all, values connected with culture, citizenship and living together in harmony. The teacher's role thus consists in shaping individuals, societies and nations. (ibid.)

As the above excerpt suggests, the term "values" encompasses an array of knowledges and practices. Having already discussed family values and living together in harmony through social integration, we now transition to the third aspect of the teacher's role: educating for citizenship and democracy.

1.3 The Teacher as an Educator for Citizenship and Democracy

Another important role, though one less frequently cited by teachers in La Armonía, was that of civic and citizenship education. Alicia was one of the few teachers to discuss this role at length. She put it this way: "We can guide [the students], teach them about democracy, teach them that a child has rights and obligations, about what democracy is and how far their rights extend and the duties that they have. As teachers, we have this obligation to guide. And I consider this to be important in the functioning of the country." In Alicia's view, her work entailed an obligation to develop citizens who were knowledgeable about their rights and able to actively participate in democratic processes.

Similarly, Adrian, who had spent his entire 30-year career at La Independencia, warned of the disastrous consequences that could result when schooling didn't serve these functions. He said that he had observed a growing sense of passivity and indifference among the populace, including teachers. In his opinion, a healthy democracy allowed space for protest and dissent. But he saw a citizenry that was increasingly unwilling or unable to stand up for what he considered infringements of basic rights. This took on particular significance in light of a recent measure cutting teachers' pay and reducing benefits. According to Adrian, the lack of public outcry indicated Salvadorans' weak sense of democracy. Highlighting this point, he said, "I assure you that in a civilized country where there is democracy, like the United States, the people would have gone out to protest. Here, no one said anything. And we're still here, not saying anything." Adrian feared that if the education system failed to construct informed,

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politically aware citizens, the people of El Salvador would remain passive and complacent in the face of continued injustice.

It is important to note here that migration and globalization have led to new assumptions about the role of government and citizen rights (Rizvi & Lingard, 2005, 2010). Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004) have conceptualized states as membership organizations with formal citizenship rules that condition individuals' potential for full participation in society. Yet with the emergence of transnationalism, citizenship is no longer synonymous with national territory, as individuals increasingly view their rights in terms of multiple communities or states. This shift in conceptualizations of citizenship and citizen rights may help to explain Adrian's observations that Salvadorans had become less engaged in domestic political processes. Yet the fact that he was the only participant to voice such concerns reflected an ambiguity about teachers' role in educating for citizenship and democracy. This led me to wonder how they viewed their role in what I saw as a related area, promoting national development. Accordingly, the next section examines a fourth and final aspect of teacher roles: the teacher as an agent of national development.

1.4 The Teacher as an Agent of National Development

Study participants were split on how they viewed their roles in national development, as well as their ability to effect change. While most agreed that the path of El Salvador's future largely depended on how teachers formed the younger generations, they were divided over whether they had any real agency in the matter. Expressing a more hopeful perspective, Alicia explained, "In our teacher training, they told us that we are agents of change, both in the family and in the school, and all of society – that the

change that happens, in the person, and in the country, depends on us. I think the teacher plays a very protagonistic role, because the way that education progresses, how it moves forward, depends on us."

Alicia's understanding reflected the notion that teachers play a leading role in the functioning of the state (Torres, C.A., 2000, 2002; Torres & Puiggrós, 1995). However, her comments also revealed what Torres (2002) has called a "self-perceived mission" among teachers that has created a "mystique of spiritual satisfaction, self-esteem and professional status" (p. 83). Yet in contrast to Torres' portrayal of teachers as confident and self-assured, most study participants reported feeling limited in their capacity to impact the direction of national development.

Franklin, an English teacher with 20 years of experience, noted, "The ideal of a teacher in El Salvador is that we dedicate ourselves to do our part so that this country becomes a different country through education, right? That we overcome the obstacles that exist. But of course the reality that we're working in is very deterministic. We have serious economic and social problems, serious political differences. We have a reality with which we collide in the work that we're doing." Franklin's comments highlighted the tensions and contradictions that teachers experienced as they struggled to perform their jobs within the bounds of their social reality. While they maintained aspirations of moving the country forward through education, existing conditions in El Salvador – persistent inequality, rising unemployment rates, and continued delinquency and gang violence – contributed to a sense of hopelessness and disempowerment.

Some teachers reconciled these tensions in their belief that their role was to develop "useful and productive citizens." Many emphasized the importance of "education

for life," including Angel, who noted, "It's important to develop the skills that are useful and applicable in life. It's one of the efforts for us educators – to make the student feel that studying isn't simply coming to the classroom to sit and pass the time. We teach him the knowledge so that at least he can develop and be a useful person to society." On the surface, Angel's comments are typical of those made by teachers around the world. Forming competent and useful members of society has traditionally been a goal of all education systems. Yet a layer of complexity was added when I asked to which "society" he was referring. Did this mean that students were expected to contribute to Salvadoran society? Or were they likely to migrate and thus be productive and useful somewhere else? The answers to these questions lead to what I consider to be the most interesting aspect of this discussion: La Armonía's emerging pedagogy of migration.

1.5 Toward a Pedagogy of Migration

With migration exerting such a strong influence on the community of La Armonía, it seemed logical that its impact would also be salient in school. This assumption was confirmed many times over, as teachers repeatedly referenced the many ways in which migration had changed not only how they viewed their daily work but also how they went about it. Among the most significant changes they observed were: decreased motivation (for both students and teachers), a diminished sense of professionalism, increased work-related stress, and doubts about their own efficacy. What ultimately emerged was a sense that teachers' work now encompassed a "pedagogy of migration," in which migration had become an ordinary aspect of everyday life for teachers and students. In this model, teachers largely saw migration as an inevitability – a

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conceptualization that led to a weakened sense of their own roles in either promoting or resisting it.

Mercado's (1991, 2002) work on *saberes docentes*[64] offers a useful framework for understanding teacher beliefs and practices with respect to this emerging pedagogy of migration. Based on her research in rural Mexican schools, the *saberes docentes* construct views teachers' pedagogical knowledge as grounded and constructed in their daily experiences with learners. Mercado's model privileges context, arguing that teaching is a socially constructed practice and that teachers' knowledge is intimately linked to their everyday experience and associated reflective processes. In this view, teaching is less about the performance of highly formalized roles and more about the linkages among teacher perceptions, beliefs, and practices. The *saberes docentes* model has clear relevance for the case of La Armonía, where teachers' everyday experiences with migration, as well as their reflections about its meaning and implications, exerted a powerful influence on their teaching practices. The following analysis of La Armonía's pedagogy of migration takes a critical look at the ways in which migration, along with globalization, both guided and came into conflict with teachers' daily practices.

1.5.1 Migration as a way of life. Most teachers adopted a tone of apathy or indifference when it came to the question of whether they were preparing their students to stay in El Salvador or to migrate. The general attitude was that, regardless of what was taught in the classroom or in what ways, the decision to migrate ultimately depended

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[64] The literal translation of *saberes docentes* is "teacher knowledges," which refers to the practical knowledge that teachers acquire and generate in their daily teaching practices (Mercado, 1991). This knowledge includes how to involve, organize, and engage students, at both the individual and group level, as well as how to manage classroom activities and how to promote and sustain learning. However, while Mercado (1991, 2002) uses the term "teacher knowledges," I prefer the expression "pedagogical wisdom," which I believe offers a more precise translation.

upon the student and the student's family, not the teacher. Reflecting the sentiments of many, Adriana mentioned, "In the end, the student is going to make the final decision. Many of them, even though they might prefer to stay here, well, their parents are in the United States or they have a significant family problem – economic, a social problem. So they prefer to flee from it, not to face it, not to stay and try to get out of it. So ultimately, even if the teacher is disposed to help and everything, and the student doesn't stay, well, that's his decision."

Adriana's views were not uncommon, as many veteran teachers echoed her sentiments. Adrian pointed to an inherent contradiction in the aims of Salvadoran public education: "We prepare them so that they stay here, but the reality is that they make the decision to stay or go. But the grand dilemma is this: 'If I stay, what do I stay for? What opportunity does the country offer me – in education, in work?' It's a total disgrace." Having lived in La Armonía for his entire life, and served in public education for more than 30 years as a teacher, administrator, and union representative, Adrian had a unique perspective. He had been in La Armonía through the war years and had been active in the guerrilla movement that opposed repressive government policies and practices. He had seen his community torn apart by war and later witnessed its efforts to rebuild, only to be plagued by many of the same problems that existed before the conflict. In his opinion, the current situation was a "total disgrace," and young people were not to blame for wanting to escape.

Others expressed an even harsher critique of the lack of opportunities for El Salvador's youth. Cristian, the principal at La Independencia, was particularly outspoken:

> Let's say we prepare them for both (to stay or to migrate), right? But, in reality, both things are leading us to failure. Those who go face the challenge ... to go, to

be marginalized in other countries, because you don't have the same rights. And if you stay, you'll continue to be a marginalized youth, caught up in drug addiction and crime because the social situation has deteriorated. There isn't preparation to have a good future. Right now, there's preparation simply to pass through some stages of life. Hundreds of youth are dying, if they stay or if they go. The system that we have right now is a system of death.

It was clear that the teachers of La Armonía were struggling to make sense of their roles in the face of social, economic, and political uncertainty. On the one hand, they felt as if they should be preparing their students to remain in the country and contribute to improving the current situation. On the other, they were very much aware of the lack of opportunities, even for educated citizens. As a response, many had turned from trying to resist migration to working to mitigate its effects. The next section details various teacher responses to what they largely saw as the "migration problem."

1.5.2 Teacher responses to migration. As the *saberes docentes* framework proposes, teacher knowledge and practices are largely constructed through everyday experiences and reflective processes (Mercado, 1991, 2002; Wenger, Dinsmore, & Villagomez, 2012). Ernst-Slavit and Poveda (2011) push the issue a step further, suggesting that a *saberes docentes* perspective "invites educators and researchers alike to carefully consider educators' personal biographies and trajectories as elements that configure their teaching knowledge" (p. 14). While this line of analysis is somewhat incomplete – given that teaching and learning are also largely influenced by ideology and politics, among other factors – their suggestion nevertheless has relevance for this study. My findings suggest that teachers' beliefs about and attitudes toward migration were by and large colored by their individual and family experiences.

For example, when I asked Norena, the supervisor of student support services, about how migration affected her work, she was adamant that it had only negative

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consequences, alluding to low self-esteem, poor school performance, and diminished educational aspirations. When I pressed her on whether could cite any positive effects, her response reflected the experience of seeing her sister migrate to the United States, leaving behind three young girls. "Positive consequences of migration?" she asked. "Only that they send them money, the remittances. But for me, that would be it." She explained how her nieces had not seen their mother in 13 years, adding that she and another sister were largely responsible for the girls' care. It was clear that seeing her nieces deal with the absence of their mother had a profound impact on Norena's understanding of migration. Thus when it came to addressing migration-related issues in her classroom, she relied on her personal knowledge and experience to guide her teaching practices.

In a later interview, Norena reflected on how she tried to mitigate the impact of family disintegration on students' self-esteem. "They feel that [their parents] abandoned them, that they left them alone, that they're not worth anything," she observed. "So the teacher struggles to ensure that the youth's self-esteem is sufficient. It's important to us that the students know that they're worth something, that they're important." Norena's experience is a clear example of the usefulness of a *saberes docentes* perspective. Having already gone through a similar experience with her nieces, Norena set a priority on making the children of migrants feel as if they were "worth something." Thus her reflections on how migration had affected her own family informed and guided her work in the classroom.

1.5.3 The *remesa* culture. Following La Armonía's pedagogy of migration, teachers were also cognizant of the influence of remittances, or *remesas* in Spanish.

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According to study participants, *remesas* had both positive and negative consequences for education. While many teachers were quick to cite the influence of remittances in fostering negative student behaviors – including a lack interest in their studies, discipline and behavior problems at school and at home, increased delinquency, and misuse of remittance money – others acknowledged their important role in sustaining many Salvadoran households, as well as the national economy. Some even sought to quantify the differences, like Franklin, who broke down the impact of remittances into 30 percent positive and 70 percent negative. The diversity of perspectives among teachers reflects yet another conflict within the migration-education paradigm and an existing tension in the literature. To date, research has provided no firm answer on whether remittance monies yield positive or negative effects (Waldinger, 2011).

In terms of positive effects, most teachers cited the economic impact of remittances as the primary benefit. Erick, one of the school's assistant principals, referred to remittances as the "fundamental base" of the Salvadoran financial system, noting, "If it wasn't for remittances, we couldn't maintain the country's economy." Recent research supports Erick's claims. Various studies have found that in many developing countries, remittances are the primary source of foreign currency, exceeding private and official capital inflows. In turn, these countries become so dependent on remittances that their economies might collapse if they declined (Hussain, 2005; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; World Bank, 2006). Reflecting these concerns, Franklin speculated: "Thinking about the balance of the positive and negative [of migration], yes there are negative aspects. But speaking of the situation of this country and the recent crisis, if there weren't people there (in the United States), who knows what situation we'd be in here?"

Other teachers mentioned the role of remittances in improving living conditions and educational opportunities for individual households. "I think that [migration] has helped us economically, so that many families have possibilities and have taken advantage of these resources," said Luis, a former vice principal who had recently returned to the classroom. "Many families continue studying and have a few little things."

Other teachers expressed similar notions, but emphasized the importance of how remittance money was utilized. Raul, the only teacher who had not grown up in La Armonía, explained, "The money [migrants] send can build houses or can improve the family conditions, but that's if it is put to good use. If it's put to poor use, the children invest it poorly. So this is one of the great challenges of migration and a big problem for the country."

Adriana agreed, noting that remittances brought opportunities and challenges for educators and students alike. In her view: "It's an advantage and a disadvantage. A disadvantage because, for example, the child grows up without a father. There's no one there to support him and help him with his schoolwork. But if the father hadn't gone to the United States, he wouldn't have been able to buy a new computer to help with his assignments. He wouldn't have access to new technology and new ideas." Adriana's comments underscored the complexities of teaching and learning in a country where migration has become the norm yet educational practices and policies are unsure of how to adapt. On the one hand, remittances – and by association migration – have led to improved economic opportunities, increased access to technology, and advanced knowledge of the English language for many migrants and their families. Yet the

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education system has been unable to fully harness these potential resources. Some schools, La Independencia included, have recruited returned migrants to teach English classes. However, official policy continues to fluctuate between the rhetoric of productivity and international competitiveness and that of education for human development and social cohesion.

Perhaps Luis put it best when he spoke of the potential for both great gains and enormous losses due to mass migration. "Migration for me is both a benefit and a necessary evil," he began. He went on at length:

> To talk about migration in the case of Salvadoran reality is to talk about family breakdown. And to speak of family breakdown, what are we talking about? Of all the social problems that we have now – the gangs, the delinquency. They have their origins in the United States, but here they found fertile ground to develop even further with all the inconsistencies that emerged from migration. On the other hand, [migration] isn't sustainable. We have about 12 million[65] Salvadoran people – how are they all going to find employment in El Salvador? So they have to look for options for economic improvement ... but it comes with a total loss of love, of the family network.

Luis's comments shed light on the inherent contradictions of migration, which was a source of economic opportunity for many Salvadorans but also contributed to familial stress and conflict. He referenced gangs and delinquency as byproducts of migration, acknowledging the lack of opportunity within El Salvador that he viewed as a primary driver of migration. His remarks also raised another theme commonly mentioned by teachers – the effects of migration on the family, which they saw as directly linked to several key issues in the education sector.

1.5.4 Family disintegration. Talk about remittances typically led to a discussion about the fact that receiving remittances generally meant the absence of one or more

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[65] The actual number is closer to 8.5 million, which includes El Salvador's population of just over 6 million, plus the approximately 2.5 million Salvadorans currently living abroad.

family members. On this topic, teachers were virtually unanimous in their critique, citing breakdown in family structure, family stress caused by parental and/or sibling absence, and emotional distance as the main problems facing the education community. Diego, who had worked with middle school students for the past 15 years, noted: "Migration is affecting the teachers specifically. It's because the student receives only money and education [due to remittances], but he doesn't receive love or understanding on the part of the parents."

Norena agreed, adding that part of the teacher's role was to help mitigate the losses experienced by the children of migrants. "We struggle to minimize the harm and the consequences of migration," she said. "How is the money [from remittances] going to cover what the child needs in his personal development? He retains a void. No one fills the space that the mother and father leave."

An extreme, yet unfortunately not uncommon, case was reported by Alicia, who described one middle school student who repeatedly claimed that he wanted to die because he knew his parents would not return from the United States. She explained that the parents had migrated when the boy was 5 years old, promising to send for him once they had secured jobs and a place to live. However, as the years went by and the boy continued to wait, he slowly began to lose hope. According to Alicia, it had been eight years since the child had seen his parents and nearly three years since they had last been in contact with him. In her view, the parents were unlikely to return, or to send for their son.

As another example, she recounted the story of a young girl, the daughter of a neighbor who had migrated shortly after the child's birth. Alicia explained how the girl

would come to her house in order to communicate with her mother via Skype. She remembered overhearing several conversations in which the girl asked whether the cement had been purchased yet – alluding to the fact that her mother had told her that she would return to El Salvador once construction began on the family's new house. However, as Alicia acknowledged, there were no plans for a new house, nor were there likely to be in the future. Stories like these highlighted the context in which Salvadoran teachers performed their daily work, often as the only consistent adult presence in students' lives.

The damaging effects of parental absence and family disintegration on the children of migrants have been well documented (Kandel, 2002; Mahler, 1999; Menjivar, 2006; Rodriguez & Hagan, 2004; Zilberg & Lungo, 1999). Likewise, Waldinger (2011) has pointed out that, "any economic gains to remittances also need be balanced against the social and psychological costs that occur when migration splits families apart" (p. 9). While the focus of this dissertation is not migration's impact on the family per se, many of these social and psychological effects were often manifested in problems at school. It is to these issues that we now turn, with particular attention paid to migration's role in cultivating a school culture marked by student apathy, a devaluing of the teaching profession, and increased stress and anxiety for educators.

1.5.5 Student apathy and disinterest in learning. In a related sphere of analysis, several studies on the relationship between migration and education in Latin America have found that migration is often linked to decreased educational aspirations and attainment (Kandel & Kao, 2002; Mahler, 1999; McKenzie & Rapoport, 2006). This is particularly significant in the case of El Salvador, where migration has become a way of

life for many young people (Andrade-Eekhoff & Avalos, 2003; Mahler, 1999). In her study of youth in eastern El Salvador, Mahler (1999) found that young people's perceptions of their prospects for socioeconomic mobility were intimately linked to international migration. Although many envisioned migrating only for a brief period to accumulate savings that could later be used at home, a vast majority of youth expressed the expectation that they would one day migrate.

Such findings coincide with the observations of scholars like Torres (2000), who has noted that across Latin America, "teachers may find students aloof, with no interest in learning cognitive skills or pursuing public deliberation. Students may find teachers (and the adult society in general) distant from their own interests and social construction of knowledge – a knowledge base that is the result of the appropriation of a global mass culture" (p. 99). Torres's analysis highlights the impact of globalization in creating a sense of disruption and dislocation between students and teachers. Similarly, my conversations with La Armonía's teachers revealed a teaching corps very much aware of a widening cultural chasm between themselves and their students – a gap that they saw as intimately linked to processes of both migration and globalization.

Take, for example, the following comments, which represent but a few of the criticisms put forth by teachers with regards to student performance and expectations:

- The child feels like he's not worth anything. His parents left him, so an effect is disinterest in his studies. He doesn't want to learn; he wants to come to school only to cause trouble. — Norena

- They want to come to school, but they don't want to study. In other words, they like school but they have lost the desire to succeed. In any grade, we can count the good ones on our fingers. For example, in a section of 30 [students], with our fingers we can see how many are good. And we can also count with our fingers the really bad ones. But the majority is mediocre. Every day the disinterest grows more. — Angel

- The student has lost interest in learning. The student doesn't make the effort. He says, 'No, when I grow up my dad is going to bring me to the United States. I'm going to earn money there. Why should I study?' — Milena

- I have seen decreased school performance, because the father and mother are no longer here to tell [the student], 'Look, do your homework. Do this.' If he has some assignment from school, there isn't support from the parents. So the student is limited. — Adriana

Such comments revealed the frustrations of teachers working in a culture where migration was increasingly seen as the only option for youth. Teachers reasoned that if youth had no expectations of remaining in El Salvador during adulthood, then they would feel little obligation to succeed in school. Further complicating the situation was the fact that the stream of remittances did not seem to diminish, regardless of how well (or how poorly) students performed academically. Imagining how students might view their options, Angel offered this explanation: "If we're good, they send us money. But if we're bad, they're still going to send us money. So it's not worth it to make the effort to study." Similarly, Adrian saw remittances as a form of welfare, describing them as "*una beca para andar en la calle,*" or a scholarship to wander the streets.

While some teachers worried about the effects of remittances on individual students, others, like Diego, were fearful of the long-term implications for the country. He pointed to the influence of having family members already living abroad, saying: "The problem is that, because of family remittances, [students] say, 'What am I going to study for? I have my father, my mother, my uncle, my brother – they send me money every month.' That is the problem, because if we didn't have any relatives in the United States, more Salvadorans would be encouraged to study." Diego's view provided a stark contrast to previous migration research that has suggested a link between the reception of

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remittances and increased educational attainment (Acosta, Fajnzylber, & Lopez, 2007; Edwards & Ureta, 2003; Hanson & Woodruff, 2003). In the case of La Armonía, the opposite appeared to be true. Rather than facilitating further schooling, existing family and social networks forged by migration were instead seen as barriers to academic progress.

Finally, teachers viewed students' lack of motivation as an ominous omen for the future. Perhaps the bleakest perspective was put forth by Norena, who noted, "[The youth] don't want to do anything in the future. They don't have a vision." If this is truly the case, then El Salvador's future appears grim indeed. However, I am more inclined to believe that rather than an accurate assessment of the aspirations of Salvadoran youth, Norena's comments represented frustrations and anxieties shared by many of her colleagues. Teachers in La Armonía, as well as throughout El Salvador and across the globe, are routinely overworked, underpaid, and tasked with enormous responsibilities in the face of ever-mounting challenges. It should not come as a surprise that they often feel underappreciated and undervalued. This offers a fitting segue to the next subtheme that emerged in my research: increased teacher stress and a devaluing of the profession.

1.5.6 Teacher stress and de-professionalization. A common complaint among teachers in La Armonía was that migration and globalization had contributed to increased work-related stress and a growing sense of de-professionalization. An exchange among colleagues during our final group meeting underscored these issues. I had asked teachers how migration was affecting them, on an individual level, in their classrooms. Raul was the first to offer his thoughts, framing his answer as a bit of a joke. "Every day we say, 'Thank god this day is over,'" he quipped. Though he laughed as he spoke, the tone of his

voice hinted at an undercurrent of truth behind his smile. Other teachers quickly picked up the thread. What follows is a short transcript of their exchange:

> Raul (smiling): Every day we say, 'Thank god this day is over...'
> Diego (laughing loudly): ... that we got through it!
> Raul (in a more serious tone): Because the students come just to make trouble or to be an annoyance.
> Angel: It's our sad reality.

Though fewer than 40 words were exchanged among the men, their comments spoke volumes about the way teachers felt about their daily work. Following the *saberes docentes* framework, one would expect these beliefs to also be reflected in their teaching practices. While observing teacher practices was not a major component of my fieldwork, I did have the opportunity to speak to participants about how they navigated the challenges of balancing their sense of duty as professional educators with the feeling that their contributions were not valued.

Indeed, many teachers expressed a sense of frustration about the fact that they were often seen as nothing more than glorified babysitters. Observed Adrian: "The educator has been viewed as a domestic employee – the schools take care of the children. And someone who is prepared in the country, to earn a degree and become a professional, he ends up doing work that earns the same as a domestic." Other teachers confirmed this perspective, explaining how many parents and guardians sent their children to school simply because they didn't want to deal with having them home all day, or out of a desire to keep them off the streets, not because they saw an intrinsic value in obtaining a basic education. Clearly these attitudes and beliefs had an impact on teachers' expectations and sense of professional duty.

Franklin maintained that many educators had more or less given up on providing quality instruction. "Many of us have an attitude, not passive, but we could say

disengaged," he said, "Many of us say, because of this situation, we say, "Well, I might as well just screw around too." Diego put it even more bluntly, saying, "The student doesn't put forth the effort. So as a teacher, we don't put forth the effort either, right? It's the same apathy there." These kinds of remarks, which were common among participants, reflected a growing sense of disillusionment and detachment from their professional mission and goals. Changes brought about by migration and globalization had led them to express serious doubts about the significance and meaning of their work. In response, they had turned to some of the same coping mechanisms as their students – apathy and disengagement.

Lack of respect from students was another major factor that teachers saw as leading to de-professionalization. Milena described what she saw as a dissonance between her own efforts and motivation and those of her pupils. "It's so much effort on the teacher's part to prepare the class, staying up late at night preparing materials, to come to class well prepared," she explained. "But the student doesn't have the same motivation. What he wants is to come and fool around, to get attention."

Shedding light on a potential cause of this teacher-student disconnect, Diego spoke of a growing income gap between teachers and the children of migrants – a gap that had contributed to a feeling of student superiority. He asserted:

> The students see the teacher as less. Because the student says, 'My *papi* earns $100 a day in the United States. And you? How much do you earn in a month?' If we earn say $400, $500, $600 here, by the 15th of the month we don't have any left. In contrast, that child's father, well, he might receive [remittances] every week or every two weeks – the children perhaps have more money than a teacher. So this means they think less of the teacher.

In some cases, teachers' frustration and dissatisfaction with their work had led them to consider leaving the profession, or the country. Speaking on the former point,

Angel articulated his views this way: "Many times one wishes to have a different type of job, perhaps another type of occupation where the work was valued to a certain extent. This job of ours ends up being stressful – stressful in every sense, but more stressful when we see these types of behaviors, this wall you can't get past."

Reflecting on teacher' personal desires to migrate, Franklin acknowledged: "We'd like to go to the United States sometimes too, right? To earn more and have less stress. Because we have economic commitments and all of a sudden we say, with this little salary I can't do it. Sometimes we can be tempted too. Even being a professor, yes we're tempted too. In other words, we're suffering the same problem as the youth." Franklin's last statement was particularly telling. His feeling that teachers were "suffering the same problem as the youth" underscored the fact that teachers experienced the same social and economic struggles as their students. Furthermore, his acknowledgment that "even professors" were tempted to migrate was a strong statement on the way teachers viewed their own social and economic possibilities.

The social, economic, and educational transformations resulting from migration have led Salvadoran teachers to a place where their status is unsure and their futures uncertain. In light of these doubts, I sought to understand how much support teachers perceived from educational leaders, in particular from the national Ministry of Education. In the next section, I discuss the ways in which education policy and policymakers have responded to the "migration problem."

1.6 Support from Policymakers

The final subset of my first research question focused on the larger context in which teachers performed their daily work, asking them to evaluate the level of support

from administrators and policymakers. Grounded in the premise that education systems reflect the tensions and the contradictions of their societies (Arnove, 2013; Morrow & Torres, 1995), I wanted to explore what teachers felt was working, and what wasn't, in order to get a sense of how they negotiated the fine line between policy and practice. This chapter has already focused a great deal on El Salvador's social and economic tensions. In this section, I take a closer look at the political situation, with a focus on the historic 2009 election, in which the leftist FMLN party won the presidency for the first time since the end of the civil war.

During my time in the field, politics took on particular significance. At that point, FMLN President Mauricio Funes was about halfway through his term,[66] with midterm elections set for March. I remembered how, while wrapping up my Peace Corps service in 2009, I had talked to teachers about Funes' election. Hopes for change were high. After nearly two decades of rule by the conservative ARENA party, many were optimistic about increased support and resources under the new FMLN government. Social services, health, and education were expected to become priorities, and teachers felt as if they finally had an ally among the political elite. When I returned to El Salvador three years later to conduct fieldwork, I was eager to see whether their hopes had been realized.

1.6.1 Critiques of education policy. Before delving into how schooling had changed (or not changed) since Funes' election, I first wanted to understand teachers' general perceptions of the education system, which has traditionally been highly centralized under the national Ministry of Education. Participants explained how the

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[66] The presidential term in El Salvador is five years, without possibility of re-election. Elected in March 2009, Funes' term officially runs from June 2009-June 2014.

election of each new government brought new reforms and new ideas about the design and implementation of public schooling. Yet they also noted that many of these so-called "new" ideas were simply regurgitations or reframings of past policies.

Two teachers in particular, Adrian and Raul, were the most outspoken in their critique of El Salvador's education reform efforts. With nearly six decades of teaching experience between them, they had witnessed numerous policy models and government initiatives. Yet they were doubtful about how much real change had been achieved. Adrian drew attention to the inherently political nature of education reform. He asserted that rather than being developed out of a genuine desire to move the country forward, many reforms simply reflected the political agenda of the ruling party. "Education reforms have been like a government plan; they haven't been borne of a national plan," he said. "So the government comes along, they maintain the same continuity of ideas that came with the last education reform."

Similarly, Raul emphasized the fact that despite revisions in content and modes of delivery, the underlying structure of public education remained largely unchanged. He remarked: "There have been so many reforms in our country – from the flexible curriculum, later different modalities. There have been changes of programs, but only in form, not in structure. So they've only been changing the content from one unit to another unit. In other words, I don't see changes. I only see it as moving from one unit to another. I don't see the total change." As the next sections of this chapter will demonstrate, these criticisms arose in teacher concerns about curriculum, pedagogy, and funding, among other issues.

1.6.2 'We're not looking forward.' One of the main critiques put forth by teachers in La Armonía – and one that has been leveled by teachers in education systems across Latin America – was that schooling was not relevant to students' lives and their social realities. Diego gave an example of teaching factorial analysis to a middle school class. He explained how students would often ask him why they had do the exercises, complaining that they couldn't see how they might utilize them in their own lives. He wondered:

> And what response can I give them then, if in daily life they're not going to be made to do one of these exercises? So I simply tell them, 'Look, the only thing you're doing is preparing your brain. So take as much as you can from it and try to solve it. What are you doing there? Trying to get your brain used to the pressures of life that you'll ultimately face as a father, as a professional, whatever.' And they say to me, 'Sure, OK, but *why* are you making me do this?'

Diego was not the only teacher to express concerns about the relevance of public education. Adriana also spoke of the importance of teaching content that was useful and applicable to students' lives. Talking about recent changes in the national curriculum, she reflected, "We're not looking forward. [The Ministry of Education] is only modifying contents, but they're not anticipating the needs of the students or of the place where they live. So they're only teaching content to teach it." She gave an example of working in a rural community and having to teach students about stoplights, something with which they had no prior experience and that had little connection to their daily lives. Adriana felt that it would be more pertinent to focus on how to deal with community risks, such as landslides and flooding. However at the same time, she felt obligated to follow the prescribed curriculum and teach what was outlined in the national plan.

Other teachers were conscious of a disconnect between the Ministry's pedagogical recommendations and their own practices. Raul recounted how his students

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were often motivated to explore certain topics but noted that he felt constrained in his teaching methods. He said, "Many times the students are anxious to learn, to practice, and to do things, but the Salvadoran education has been focused on filling them with knowledge – knowledge but little practice. The problem with Salvadoran education is that it doesn't correspond to the interests of the students. It only corresponds to a methodical teaching, and when [the students] go look for work they're not capable of developing their own projects." According to Raul, schooling primarily followed a banking model, where the focus was filling students with content knowledge rather than developing their critical thinking and problem solving skills. In his view, the banking philosophy served as a barrier to national development because students were unable to adapt to the challenges and demands of the workplace. It is important to note that the skills Raul saw as lacking in the Salvadoran curriculum are also those that have been deemed critical to success in a globalized knowledge economy (Reich, 1991; Morrow & Torres, 1995).

However, Raul was one of the few teachers who said that he sought to modify or adjust his teaching practices to better align with students' interests and needs. He noted that this was particularly important when working with the children of migrants (in light of the previous discussion about waning interest and motivation). Referring to the MINED program, he explained, "There are recommendations, but you can readapt them. When we work through projects, the student – even the child of a migrant – becomes more and more interested. So it motivates the students. It motivates them through a project." He went on to explain how he had organized a shampoo-making unit and recounted the excitement and eagerness with which students approached the task.

In the end, Raul adopted the following approach to his practice: "If you truly want to give quality instruction, you have to adapt or make changes in the contents, because our country is a country where they've only promoted a passive instruction. So the youth aren't prepared to do the scientific part. It's an education that has been repetitive. As a teacher, the great role is to make changes, not of structure, but changes in behavior and changes in curriculum and reform it." Following Raul's call for change, we now turn to a discussion of how teachers viewed education reform under the Funes government.

1.6.3 'We don't see anything very different.' When I began fieldwork in January 2012, I was eager to talk to teachers about the changes they had experienced under the country's first FMLN president. However, three years into President Funes' five-year term, much of the initial optimism had faded. Teachers were generally unsatisfied, noting that despite seemingly good intentions, they had seen little evidence of concrete change. "We believed that in this moment, with the win of the left, they could perhaps not combat but make more equality in the economic aspect, that there would have been more funds for the youth," Raul said, highlighting disappointments that a much-anticipated boost in education funding had not materialized. Others, like Angel, were more critical: "We were thinking that with the first socialist or leftist government that education and health were going to be a priority. But we don't see anything very different."

What was different, at least on the surface, was the educational framework under which teachers were working. The current iteration of Salvadoran education policy is the National Social Education Plan 2009-2014 "*Vamos a la Escuela*," or "Let's Go to

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School.[67] Framed as a response to the previous reform – Plan 2021 – the current plan seeks to reform public education to "develop citizens with critical judgment, able to reflect and investigate, and to construct collectively new knowledge that allows the transformation of social reality and values and protects the environment" (MINED, 2012).

The plan expresses a commitment to universal access and the proposed infusion of humanistic values, critical reflection, and the pursuit of the common good into the education process (Mills, 2012). However, few study participants referenced these ideals in describing their primary roles and responsibilities. Perhaps they had seen so many changes in educational missions and goals throughout the years that they no longer found them relevant to their own practice. Or perhaps, they simply weren't aware of the change. As Alicia explained, in addition to being left out of decision-making processes about education reform, teachers often were not informed about key changes. "Sometimes we don't have immediate access to [education] programs," she said. "We have to wait. For example, this last program [implemented in 2009], we didn't have access to it until last year (2011). We had to photocopy it on our own, without [MINED] explaining to us how we're going to work. We just had to read it."

Such comments bring into question the substance of education reform in El Salvador. When those directly responsible for implementing education policy – teachers – are not even made aware of that policy, what does that say about the state's commitment to educational change? One answer may lie in theories of cultural

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[67] According to El Salvador's Five-Year Development Plan for 2010-2014, the reform's five main goals are: (1) Universalization of initial, basic, and secondary education; (2) Establishment of an education system to which all people will have a right; (3) Increasing the participation of the community in their schools; (4) Preparing students for careers in science and technology; and (5) Overcoming illiteracy in the population of those 15 and older (MINED, 2012, pp. 78-79).

reproduction, which view education as a means of reproducing the dominant order of social classes (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Morrow & Torres, 1995, 2013). In this model, rather than seeking to promote qualitative, meaningful change, the kind of reforms like those taking place in El Salvador are simply cosmetic changes, with no real impact on the existing social structure. Thus while an education plan may promote humanistic values and the common good, these aims remain at the level of elegant rhetoric, unless teachers are given the requisite knowledge and resources to implement them in their classrooms.

Drawing on these inconsistencies, Adrian expressed grave cynicism about the state of Salvadoran education: "The party in which we had so much hope that it would be revolutionary, that it would change – it got comfortable in the bureaucratic positions and it forgot about the people, the peasant, the worker, education." With 30 years in the education sector and now approaching retirement, Adrian was doubtful about the prospects for change:

> We have had the same government for 50 years and the same people dominating for their own interests, not for the great majority. Now there's a government that, according to them, was going to give priority to the needs of the majority of the population. But it has been a lie. It has been a lie.[68]

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[68] Adrian's observations are reminiscent of the phenomenon described by Richard Van Heertum in his 2009 Ph.D. dissertation, "The fate of democracy in a cynical age: Education, media and the evolving public sphere." In his analysis, Van Heertum examined the contemporary crisis of American democracy, positing that education, along with the media, was a key institution effectively "teaching" cynicism to its audience. He argued that instrumentalization of knowledge, overly positivistic research, depoliticizing of the classroom, and other barriers to educational access and opportunity had resulted in distrust in social institutions, a lack of hope about the possibility of change, and a loss of faith in reason and science. For more, see Van Heertum, R. J. (2009). *The fate of democracy in a cynical age: Education, media and the evolving public sphere.* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. (304845523).

Ultimately, it was clear that teachers were not depending on the government to effect any meaningful change, at least not through education. In their view, there was little that they – either as individuals or collectively – could do to change the situation. Angel likened it to trying to bring someone back from the dead. "It's true [the people] expected much more change with the change of government," he said. "But I say it's like trying to raise a dead body or treating a really sick person with the same medicine over and over – it's something that in reality you can't do much about." Angel's comments revealed a growing sense of disillusionment and disempowerment among teachers, who had come to accept that, regardless of their own efforts, the dominant order in El Salvador was unlikely to change.

In at attempt to uncover the complexities and contingencies inherent in the current educational model, I now proceed to my second research question, which sought to understand the deeper significance of changes in teacher roles and education policy. The next section of this chapter examines the effects of migration and globalization on teachers' understanding of identity and citizenship, from both a local and a global perspective.

2. Identity and Citizenship

My second research question examined teachers' notions of identity and citizenship, particularly whether they viewed the mission of public education as fostering global citizenship or whether they were more concerned with local and national development. These tensions are closely tied to current debate in the field over the continued relevance of the nation state amid the forging of transnational networks and communities. Scholars of transnationalism argue that the increased movement of people,

ideas, and information across national boundaries has led to a fundamental displacement of the nation state as the locus for development and civic engagement goals. However, others contend that despite the emergence of transnational ties, the state still plays an important role in individual and group conceptions of identity, belonging, and citizenship.

Highlighting these complexities, Morrow and Torres (2013) have asked whether globalization has weakened the nation state's role in fostering solidarity and collectivity among citizens. In the fourth edition of *Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local*, they raise the question: "Does globalization mean that the nation state has lost its power to control social formations and therefore create conditions for socialization, citizenship, and the promotion of a democratic environment?" (p. 107). A similar question has been raised about the impact of migration. Numerous scholars have argued that migration has led both sending and receiving countries to re-examine notions of citizenship and what it means to "belong" to a particular society (Appadurai, 1996; Castles & Miller, 2009; Glick Schiller, 2003; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Suárez-Orozco, 2001, 2005; Suárez-Orozco, Darbes, Dias, & Sutton, 2011). A consensus has yet to be reached about the long-term implications of these changes in the global landscape – nor is one likely to emerge. Perhaps the more important issue at hand, however, is how these changes are affecting, and being affected by, local actors. In light of these concerns, the following section offers a glimpse into how La Armonía's teachers viewed their compatriots who had migrated.

2.1 Teacher Perceptions of Migrants

In examining teacher attitudes and beliefs about migration, a largely negative image of the typical migrant emerged. Despite their acknowledgment that migration had

become a way of life in La Armonía, teachers adopted a position that was almost uniformly unfavorable, not only in terms of the migration process but also regarding the people who engaged in it. On the whole, teachers viewed migrants as uneducated, ill prepared, and with questionable objectives. For example, Franklin lamented that many migrants went to the United States lacking basic skills and knowledge. "It's very important to know English and computation," he explained. "They are very important subjects. But the people migrate without a foundation." Franklin's claims appear to hold credence, as several studies have shown that Salvadoran migrants typically end up in low skill, low wage jobs (Orrenius & Zavodny, 2012; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006).

However, according to teachers, the ability to speak English often compensated for a lack of more basic skills. Diego told the story of his brother-in-law, who had only studied through third grade in El Salvador but had gained employment as a chef in Virginia due to his English abilities. Similarly, Diego recounted how in his own experience in the United States, he had been subject to discrimination and exploitation as a result of not being able to speak the dominant language. He told me he had made less money and worked longer hours than fellow immigrants with better English skills. Stories like these were not uncommon, as teachers regularly referenced English as both the number one necessity for migrants and a primary benefit of migration.

Furthermore, some teachers linked migrants' lack of formal education to poor moral and ethical behavior. Adrian commented:

> Our people migrate with little schooling, without being prepared. They go and get caught up in vices, in adultery. ... They didn't go with clear objectives of moving the family forward. The pretext is to help your family improve themselves, but in reality they are evading responsibilities here to look for better opportunities or to enjoy life. But they don't go with the goal of sincerely helping their family or their country.

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In Adrian's view, migration was less about seeking opportunities abroad and more about fleeing problems at home. He associated migrants' negative behaviors (i.e., vices, adultery) with egoism. For Adrian, the decision to migrate was a selfish one, a sign that the migrant was concerned only with his or her own welfare, not that of the family.

Following Husu's (2007) conceptualization of teacher identity as relational and context-bound, it was clear that participants defined themselves in comparison with and in opposition to migrants. It was also clear that, given their generally negative perceptions, teachers sought to distance themselves from the kind of lifestyles and values they associated with those who migrated. While identities are often multiple and rarely static, I saw teachers' experiences as indicative of the fractures that had emerged in their traditional notions of national identity and belonging.

2.2 The Impact of Globalization: 'We're getting left behind'

To this point, this chapter has primarily focused on the effects of migration, with lesser attention paid to the specifics of globalization. In this section, I discuss the ways in which globalization has also contributed to a fractured sense of national solidarity within El Salvador. Several study participants spoke of a burgeoning tension between the desire to preserve traditional customs, values, and ways of life, and the need to prepare their students – and themselves – for a modern, globalized world.

These tensions were evident in Franklin's observation that globalization had merely reinforced the notion of how far behind El Salvador was in the development process. He observed: "Globalization has forced countries to change in a rapid form and in a form tied to integration. Globalization pushed down on top of us, and those that didn't get on the train were left behind. And the changes I've seen – honestly, what I've

seen is that we're in a situation where we have to run. Because we're already behind the train – we're getting left behind." In Franklin's view, Salvadorans had no choice but to try to keep pace with changes taking place at the global level. His reference to integration alluded to the cultural assimilation that teachers saw as contributing to a loss of local identities. Thus while he acknowledged a need to keep up with global changes, Franklin also worried that the globalization train was carrying Salvadorans farther away from their roots.

These complexities reflect a fundamental tension identified in recent transnationalism scholarship. In their examination of the multiple and changing links between citizens and the state, Levitt and Jaworsky (2007) argued that the concept of national loyalty had been reconfigured. It is not that state borders, or economic, political, and military power, are no longer significant, they posited, but that their role in fostering a sense of nationhood have been profoundly altered by processes of migration and globalization.

As on-the-ground public employees, teachers are at the forefront of this debate. As such, their understandings of identity and citizenship have large-scale implications. Teachers in La Armonía were well aware of a shift in the politics of identity, noting that "what it means to be Salvadoran" no longer had the same significance as it had in past generations. They worried about a loss of historical memory and social consciousness among the youth, citing cultural globalization and "social remittances" as key factors in weakening national solidarity. Yet they were unsure about how to confront these changes. In the next few sections, I examine the ways in which teachers responded to what they perceived as a loss of culture and history. The following sections focus on three major

trends: (1) tensions within the national education system (Section 2.3); (2) deterritorializing processes of transculturation (Section 2.4); and (3) the emergence of a culture of dependency and consumerism fostered by neoliberal globalization (Section 2.5).

2.3 The National Education System: 'We've never had our own'

One of the strongest themes that came out of my interviews with teachers was that the national education program was, in fact, not "national" at all. That is, teachers felt that the prevailing educational design – including teacher training, curriculum development, teaching and learning objectives, and assessment and evaluation procedures – was based on a model that was not necessarily relevant to the Salvadoran context. Reflecting on the limitations of such a design, Alicia said: "The curriculum has always been a copy of other countries. They've always criticized our curriculum in this area – that we've never had our own. It's always trial and error, trial and error, this works, now it doesn't work. They get rid of it and make another. If I remember correctly, I've had some three or four programs in my hands."

Alicia's comments demonstrated the frustration felt by many teachers about a lack of consistency in national education planning. Rather than devising a consistent plan with clear guidelines, the Ministry of Education was constantly changing its expectations to fit changes in the global education agenda. Alicia saw this not only as a logistical challenge, but also as a failure to accurately address the local issues facing El Salvador. For her, this was also indicative of a deeper question of national identity. Having not formulated its own programs from the ground up, the Ministry had instead tried to pick and choose "best practices" from other systems. This had resulted in a piecemeal approach to public

education that, in teachers' opinion, did not reflect the true values and needs of the Salvadoran people.

Cristian echoed this sentiment: "The Salvadoran programs at times are copies of other countries, and they don't correspond to the reality that we live. The topics, the contents that they develop – this promotes a situation where the student doesn't give importance to the contents because they don't see in what moment in life they might be applying them." Among others, Arnove (2013) has warned against this style of educational planning, noting that, "education policymakers cannot simply uproot elements of one society and expect them to flourish in the soil of another society" (p. 7). He posits that while certain principles and techniques may be applicable at the general level, education systems should not seek "one-size-fits-all" solutions. Yet this appears to have been the dominant paradigm in El Salvador: the wholesale application of global models that don't necessarily correspond to local realities.

Like Alicia, Cristian also felt that this was indicative of a deeper problem, one that went beyond simple changes in curricular content:

> We're applying a generalized curriculum, which is creating these voids in the identity of the population, because we don't know where we came from, nor who we are, nor where we're going. So it seems that we become 'floating citizens' once we become adults. Because we don't know what our past was like. The memory, the history, isn't appreciated.

Cristian's comments underscored the widening of a perceived cultural and historical gap between teachers and students. Like many of his colleagues, Cristian was concerned that the current education model was not effective in transmitting traditional knowledge and values. Teachers saw this as leading to a situation where young Salvadorans were either unaware of or indifferent toward understanding their country's unique history and

traditions, features that teachers considered essential to fostering a sense of national identity.

This tension substantiates the claims of scholars like Torres and Puiggrós (1995), who have written that across Latin America, "students are increasingly ignorant of both their own national past and world history, reflecting profound gaps in the transmission of culture (and official knowledge) between generations" (p. 20). Yet, as they have pointed out, schools continue to play a key role in socializing children into the "official knowledge" of the nation, as well as the culture of older generations. Pointing to the role of Latin American teachers in transmitting the "legal and legitimate modern cultural capital," Torres and Puiggrós (1995) have noted that the legitimacy and significance of this cultural capital have come into question in the face of a growing disconnect among teachers, students, and knowledge. Thus, schools must attempt to link increasingly disparate cultural, political, and pedagogical identities in order to successfully accomplish their goals.

Likewise, the 2003 UNESCO report on the state of Latin American education emphasized the school's role in preserving cultural heritage. To quote the document at length:

> Preserving a cultural heritage such as the region possesses must, without any doubt, be a priority for the authorities concerned. To preserve heritage is to create awareness among the region's inhabitants of the past, of its hybrid reality, of the present and of future possibilities. Heritage means legacy, but it also leads to – and has already led to – transformation and change, in that Latin American cultural heritage is the making of its people and its people are the making of its cultural heritage. It is the inhabitants of the continent and of each of the islands, therefore, who must take on the responsibility of sustaining, enriching, preserving and transmitting their legacy from the past in accordance with present-day appreciation of such legacy. They must keep alive simultaneously the indigenous legacy, the colonial legacy, and the traditional legacy from the nineteenth and twentieth century. All these are part of the heritage that makes up the countries of

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Latin America and the Caribbean. Where, if not school, is the perfect place to achieve this process? (p. 9)

It would appear that teachers in La Armonía had taken to heart such advice. Study participants routinely cited preserving cultural heritage and transmitting historical legacy as major goals of public education. Like the UNESCO report, they too placed that responsibility squarely on teachers' shoulders. And while teachers had been critical of past education policies, the latest reform efforts appeared to specifically target these concerns.

    2.3.1 School as the nucleus of culture. Reflecting UNESCO's concerns about an impending loss of cultural heritage, El Salvador's latest education reform envisions the school as a "nucleus of culture," with teachers responsible for fostering a sense of cultural identity among younger generations. In this sense, the Social Education Plan implemented under the Funes government can be seen as a direct response to concerns about fractures in national solidarity. Based on a vision of the school as a nucleus of learning and culture, the plan's basic idea is that, in addition to promoting traditional core competencies, the school should also encompass study of the ethical, aesthetic, and historical dimensions of local culture. According to Mills' (2012) analysis of MINED documents, this model presents "the opportunity to develop a sense of cultural and national identity in relation to which [students] can critically interpret the national and global context." Furthermore, the plan advises that if a student does not develop a sense of cultural identity, he or she runs the risk of massification, of passively buying into the homogenizing influence of globalization (Mills, 2012).

    Amidst fears of identity loss and cultural disintegration, I wondered how teachers were dealing with these uncertainties in their daily practice. I asked whether they sought

to promote a sense of civic duty and national solidarity among their students or whether they considered it more important to foster global citizenship. While participants were divided on the issues, their responses provided valuable insight into the ways that teachers either promoted or resisted patterns of migration and globalization.

2.3.2 'Values don't have a nation.' The majority of teachers were of the mind that their task was to develop "good people" who would be useful and productive individuals, regardless of where they ultimately chose to reside. "Values don't have a nation," Dora explained. "In other words, you can practice them here (in El Salvador) or at the global level, right? It's all worth the same – a value here, or in the United States, or in whichever other place." Dora's comments suggested that her primary concern was not whether youth remained in El Salvador or not, but that they conducted themselves according to basic moral principles. In her perspective, her role as a teacher was not directly linked to either encouraging or resisting migration – an attitude shared by many of her colleagues.

For many teachers, the formation of "good people" took precedence over the development of national solidarity. In a follow-up interview, Dora explained:

> For the most part, we are trying to prepare them in an academic form. We teach them that an educated person is worth more than someone ignorant, someone illiterate. We try to prepare the student. You tell them, 'You ought to study. You ought to study so that you can collaborate, so that you become a youth for the good, for your family, for society, for our country, and even for another country.' Because a prepared person is very important and wherever you go, a person who is prepared is valued.

According to Dora, it was more important that students had a basic preparation for life, regardless of where they ultimately chose to reside. Her response signaled a global citizen perspective, in which schooling was integral to developing educated, responsible

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individuals with a commitment to contribute not only to the well being of their own families or nation but to the well being of a world society.

However, some teachers expressed doubt about whether their efforts to educate global citizens had a lasting impact. Drawing on the dialectic of educational ideals and reality, Franklin observed, "Perhaps the intention that we have as teachers is to educate the youth for whichever situation, whether they stay or whether they leave. This is our ideal. But perhaps we don't know if we're doing it well or not. But yes, our intention is that we are preparing them to be people with values, good people, like professionals, that wherever they go they have the faculties, the skills, to develop themselves in whatever area." Franklin's comments highlighted the uncertainty teachers felt about how to approach questions of citizenship and identity. On the one hand, they wanted to fulfill their obligation to prepare students for life in a global society. On the other, they were unsure about what exactly that future might entail. The result of this confusion was that teachers doubted their ability to have a meaningful impact, regardless of whether their students stayed in El Salvador or left for another country.

2.3.3 'A problem of justice.' The sense of doubt reflected in comments like Dora's and Franklin's also highlighted the politics of migration. Teachers saw migration as both an opportunity and a threat (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2004). Yet while they expressed clear views on its economic and social effects, they were more ambiguous about its political consequences. Cristian saw a long history of unequal power relations as a primary factor contributing to migration:

> It's a problem of justice in every sense. First, because historically those who directed the destinies of the nations that were emerging at the time [of colonization] were selfish. They saw their own benefit, and the education of the people mattered very little to them. These patterns of injustice have continued up

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to the present, where there is marginalization, poverty, lack of work, low education indexes, and it has resulted in a large part of the population leaving.

Cristian's comments pointed to the ways that states seek to limit or regulate not only the movement of people across borders but also access to membership in a national collectivity (Waldinger, 2011; Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2004). His reference to colonization shed light on the importance of historical precedent and the ways in which education can become a means of controlling the masses (Morrow & Torres, 1995, 2013). In El Salvador, lack of access to education had translated to hundreds of thousands of citizens being effectively shut out of the national collectivity. According to Cristian, the inability to enjoy the full citizenship rights typically provided for by the state (e.g., access to education, employment, and basic human rights) had contributed to mass emigration. However, while many teachers shared this deterministic view of history and seemed resigned to the continued loss of Salvadoran citizens, there were also those who worked to actively resist it.

2.3.4 Resisting migration. While study participants were nearly unanimous in their belief that migration presented a major obstacle to educational quality and attainment, only three of the 14 expressed a need or aspiration to change the current pattern. Perhaps the most adamant in her desire to see her students stay in El Salvador was Alicia, who stated:

> With each lesson that we give, each piece of advice, each training that we give them, this is the idea (that they stay). That they love their country, that they have love for their family. We know that migration has contributed to this family breakdown. So in each of the encounters that we have with them, we always do this – love for the country, that we value what we have here, that we don't have to go searching for the sun somewhere else, that we can do it here.

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In Alicia's view, migration was linked to a sense of allegiance to one's family and to the nation. Her perception was that the more closely connected students felt to El Salvador, the less likely they were to migrate. A strong sense of national loyalty, she reasoned, would lead students to seek opportunities at home rather than somewhere else. However, she did not address the influence of having family members abroad, or the lack of opportunities for youth in El Salvador. Thus while Alicia's outlook could be considered a sign of hope and empowerment, it also failed to take into account important aspects of her students' social realities.

Another participant who explicitly stated that teachers could – and should – play a role in encouraging students to remain in El Salvador was Raul, who was also Alicia's husband. He acknowledged: "I believe that it's going to be difficult to stop [migration]. However, there have to be efforts so that these youth stay, so that it doesn't lead to more family breakdown." Similarly to Alicia, Raul saw family disintegration as a major social problem stemming from migration. His statement that it would be "difficult to stop" demonstrated his negative association with migration as something that should be prevented rather than a naturally occurring phenomenon. Yet he also felt that teachers could exert some influence in discouraging their students from leaving the country.

Adriana, Alicia and Raul's daughter, offered a similar opinion. She felt that teachers had an important responsibility in helping students see the value of remaining in El Salvador. "I think it's the teacher's role to make the student see that if he feels the need and he has the capacity to develop himself in society, that it's not necessary to go to another country and look for an opportunity there," she said. "No, it's to take advantage of his knowledge, his skills, to develop himself within his own country." One might view

Adriana's comments as the eager idealism of an inexperienced teacher who had yet to face the struggles and challenges that had become commonplace for some of her older colleagues. However, they may also be representative of a more optimistic tone among younger generations and offer a sense of hope for El Salvador's future.

While Alicia, Raul, and Adriana hoped that their students would decide not to migrate, current trends signal otherwise. The fact was that many of their students were likely to migrate, despite any messages they received in school urging them not to. Furthermore, increased access to technology, communication, and mass media had led to the emergence of new ideas, attitudes, and behaviors, which teachers saw as further evidence of the ways globalization had transformed local identities. These observations lead to the second subtheme of this section: the impact of transculturation.

2.4 Transculturation: 'We've arrived at a moment of losing our own identity'

The term transculturation came up quite frequently in my conversations with teachers, particularly when I asked them to reflect on the impact of migration and globalization on their notions of identity. Coined by Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz, transculturation refers to the mutual transformations that take place as a result of the relations and interactions between different cultures (Hernández, Millington, & Borden, 2005; Ortiz, 1978). It involves the simultaneous de-culturalization of the past and hybridization of the present, as the intermingling and exchange of different peoples results in the reinvention of a new, common culture. Viewing the emergent issues from a cultural globalization perspective, Appadurai (1996) has posited that all nation states historically involve the fusion or merging of multiple identities. More recently, scholars have examined the ways in which transculturation has altered the identities, values, and

practices of entire regions (Kyle, 2000; Levitt, 2001; Levitt, DeWind, & Vertovec, 2003; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007).

According to teachers, the emergence of a new hybrid culture in El Salvador had contributed to a growing disconnect between teachers and students. Teachers in La Armonía reported that they felt increasingly distanced from the youth culture, as processes of migration and globalization had led to the adoption of new habits, behaviors, and values that teachers saw as markedly un-Salvadoran. Explained Angel, "Globalization has practically led to a loss of identity – of each of the students and perhaps not only of the students, but in a general form of all people. In our case, as educators, we realize that kids are in another world; they live in another reality." Angel pointed to the influence of "social remittances," or flows of ideas, norms, practices, and identities, as a primary factor in creating this cultural fissure (Levitt, 2001; Suárez-Orozco, 2005).

Furthermore, while the claim that "kids are in another world" may be a common grievance of adults across the globe, Angel's comments were indicative of a deeper conflict specific to El Salvador. As migration and globalization had expanded the contexts for the expression of culture and identity, subtle shifts had occurred in language, worldview, and ritual practices, as well as collective self-understanding (Appadurai, 1996). In Angel's view – a view shared by many of his colleagues – belongingness and identity implied homogeneity, consensus, and stability. Yet this understanding, grounded in an assumption of the nation state as central to the forging of solidarity among its citizens, was being fundamentally challenged by processes of transculturation. In this respect, Angel's concerns recalled the "organic crisis" in Latin American education

foreseen by Torres and Puiggrós (1995), who nearly two decades ago argued that a growing gap between the discourses of students and teachers had led to the fracturing of traditional cultural, social, and pedagogical identities.

Another important tenet of transculturation is the notion that identity is not one-dimensional, but is defined in relation to and in comparison with the other (Cuccioletta, 2001). According to teachers, this constant cultural comparison – particularly with the United States – had led to an identity crisis among Salvadoran youth. Cristian was particularly concerned about the implications:

> I think in certain measure it's an effect of migration and the influence of other societies. And it is reflected in the strengthening or assimilation of new values. For example, youth today only look for material satisfaction. We have a case in which the transculturation from the big countries to our own has created this mediocrity in the children because they compare themselves and would prefer to be in another country because they couldn't put down roots in their own identity. Now we almost don't have an identity. We feel that we're outsiders in a national territory.

Cristian associated transculturation with a loss of cultural pride and national identity. With the statement that many Salvadorans felt like "outsiders" in their own country, he proposed a more traditional notion of identity and citizenship, where group loyalty and national solidarity were largely determined by the boundaries of the nation state. In Cristian's view, transculturation had fundamentally altered what it meant to be Salvadoran, leading younger generations to turn to other cultures as a source of individual and collective meaning making.

Cristian's fears that Salvadorans were in danger of losing their identity support the claims of scholarship on transnationalism that has suggested that group loyalty and national identity are no longer intimately tied to territory and place (Appadurai, 1996; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Waldinger, 2011). As networks of people and ideas continually

extend beyond national frontiers, individual and collective identities are accordingly reshaped and reinvented. However, in the eyes of many teachers, these new configurations came at an enormous cost. Perhaps the most straightforward assessment was put forth by Alicia, who stated simply, "We've arrived at a moment of losing our own identity."

The above discussion provides an apt segue to the final aspect of the identity-citizenship debate: the emergence of a culture marked by dependence and consumerism. Concerns such as those expressed by Cristian and Alicia – of the assimilation of new values and totalizing influence of globalization – are not unique. In their work on global education policy, Rizvi and Lingard (2000) examined the impact of "new hybridized cultural practices that can be packaged for consumption by those connected to the network society" (p. 424). In this model, social remittances become goods for consumption, and yet another way in which developing countries are further marginalized by large-scale, global processes. Accordingly, the next section of this chapter deals with the impact of neoliberal globalization on identity formation and cultural citizenship in El Salvador.

2.5 Dependency and Consumerism: 'We're subject to a market where we're puppets'

The final aspect of identity and citizenship that merits extended discussion centers on teacher perceptions that neoliberal globalization had fostered a consumerist culture and sense of possessive individualism. In their censure of globalization from above, teachers were highly critical of what they saw as the emergence of the "entrepreneurial self," which "sets its sights on maximizing individual benefits, while often eschewing

common good concerns" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2000, p. 420). Many spoke of a decline in social conscience, which they saw as a direct result of a neoliberal market-based philosophy that had permeated all aspects of Salvadoran society, including education. They further noted that migration had intensified existing structural inequalities, creating a sharp division between the families of migrants and the families of non-migrants.

Franklin, for example, saw globalization largely as a process of manipulation and exploitation, especially of the children of migrants. He explained how he attempted to educate his students about the perils of being "taken in" by big business:

> Globalization has transformed us into a consumerist country. This has been awful. Because of this, everything has been brought in from outside. The big companies have brought their products, and what matters to them is that here we consume, that we're a market. And, of course, the child is affected by that. His parents live in this environment, this consumption. And the money comes from remittances ... but they're thinking under different parameters. I tell them, 'Look, don't give your money to the big companies. They want to manipulate you.' But it's very difficult to combat this.

Franklin advocated a more critical approach to consumption, something that he tried to impart in his own teaching practice. Yet he went on to add that it was not only youth who were affected, observing, "We're subject to a market where we're puppets, where we're simply small satellites and consumerists."

In his work on cultural globalization, Appadurai (1996) equated consumption with pleasure and agency, arguing that, "where there is consumption there is pleasure, and where there is pleasure there is agency" (p. 7). In this model, agency refers to the consumer's ability to choose from a virtually infinite number of products and services, thus exercising free will over what, when, and how he or she chooses to consume. However, teachers in La Armonía espoused a very different viewpoint. As Franklin's comments demonstrated, they associated consumption with passivity, compliance, and

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conformity.

Teachers were also acutely aware of the political economy of education, noting that neoliberalism had called into question the notion of public schooling oriented toward providing equality of opportunity and citizenship building for all citizens (Torres, C.A., 2000). In his extensive work on Latin American education, Torres (2000) has distinguished between social citizenship, which implies access to the material and symbolic goods and services that condition one's quality of life, and political citizenship, encompassing equal and universal suffrage and the exercise of rights and obligations. From teachers' standpoint, neoliberal globalization, along with migration, had transformed these notions of citizenship, with social citizenship (or the ability to consume) taking precedence over political citizenship as a primary aim.

2.5.1 'We've moved toward living our lives in an individual form.' Teachers were also highly critical of the possessive individualism that they felt had infiltrated all aspects of Salvadoran society (Rizvi & Lingard, 2000, 2010; Torres, 2002). Adrian was one of the most vocal critics of these developments. "We've moved toward living our lives in an individual form," he observed. "We don't think in terms of the collective." Drawing on the example of the weak status of teacher unions in El Salvador, he lamented, "We're one of the only countries in the region that doesn't have a professional [teachers] association. ...We're so weak, we're so apathetic, and we're so individualistic and disorganized because of our poor training that was developed in a system where education hasn't been the priority." While Adrian primarily focused on what he saw as deficiencies within the teaching corps, his comments also indicated larger struggles facing Salvadoran society.

Shifting from education to the corporate world, Diego was critical of developments within the Salvadoran business community. "We're one of the few countries where our private businesses don't have a social conscience," he remarked. "They don't have this corporate social responsibility." Like Adrian, Diego saw this as evidence of the emergence of the possessive individualism that had come to define not only global consumer capitalism but also social relations within El Salvador.

Perhaps more clearly than any of his colleagues, Franklin plainly articulated the perils of this kind of individualistic thinking. He offered the following observation:

> For the big capitalists, what does [national development] matter to them? If their children already study in the United States and Europe or in the best universities here, they don't care whether those of us here in La Independencia have computers. They're not interested, and it doesn't matter to them, because the neoliberal system that they created is not for the idea of contributing to society.

His comment that it "didn't matter" to the elite whether the schools in La Armonía had computers reflected the fact that in El Salvador, knowledge had become increasingly fragmented according to social hierarchy (Stromquist, 2001; Torres, C.A., 2000). Those who could afford it had access to a different pool of knowledge (the knowledge deemed crucial for success in a global capitalist economy), while those who lacked access were further marginalized and excluded from both mainstream knowledge and the dominant social order.

In his reference to computers, Franklin also alluded to the crucial role of technology in a global knowledge economy. Those with more resources were able to access newer and more powerful technology, allowing for greater levels of creativity and productivity among the elite. Meanwhile, underfunded public schools like La Independencia fell increasingly behind as they lacked crucial human and capital

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resources. Torres (2000) has highlighted the exclusionary nature of these processes, asserting that, "with these increasing processes of differentiation, the educational system will then be another form of exclusion rather than inclusion, reflecting the dualization of society" (p. 100). According to La Armonía's teachers, El Salvador was already undergoing these processes of differentiation, as unequal access to education continued to contribute to inequalities in access to power, wealth, influence, and political representation.

2.5.2 'It doesn't matter to globalization how much the student learns.' Further complicating the situation was what teachers saw an inherent conflict between national education policy and the needs of students poised to enter a global workforce. According to teachers, the education system was stuck in the old capitalist model oriented toward producing a disciplined and reliable workforce. However, this model was incompatible with the pressures and demands of a global knowledge society. In Raul's view, "the [education] system has been managing itself like a large company with the students. The students are only capable of looking for work, but they're not capable of developing projects." His critique was predicated on a concern that students were being taught only to be employees, not employers. As a teacher, Raul recognized that a flexible, fluid global economy required workers who were creative, adaptable, quick thinking, and could work well in teams (Reich, 1991; Torres, 2002). Yet these skills had not traditionally been a focus of the Salvadoran curriculum.

Raul further explained how the goals of public education had shifted away from national development and toward production for a global market. "It doesn't matter to globalization how much the student learns, but how much he's going to produce for big

business," he noted. "So globalization is only concerned that the youth produce." Under this guiding philosophy, teaching and learning were condensed to factors of production and consumption. No longer were social inclusion and citizenship building the primary aims, because all that mattered was how much an individual was able to produce.

    2.5.3 'A poor person can't ask for what he wants.' In the end, most teachers felt relatively powerless when it came to negotiating the influences of neoliberal globalization. Alicia explained that most Salvadorans had adopted a "take whatever we can get" attitude. "Everything depends on the economy," she said. "A poor person can't ask for what he wants, and that's what happens to us, the Salvadorans. A person with few resources grabs onto whatever they give him, whatever comes his way. So we don't have many options." Alicia's comments recalled those of former Costa Rican President Oscar Arias, who when asked by researchers why his country had accepted international donors' conditions for development aid, asserted, "A small country has no choice" (Carnoy & Torres, 1992; Arnove, Torres, & Franz, 2013).

    Norena expressed a similar view:

> We are subjects of the different policies that the countries that have better possibilities impose upon us. They are the ones who decide what's going to happen with the rest of the world. The [aid] money is from other countries, the bank is from other countries, so we just have to accept whatever they tell us. All of this is already imposed, already decided – even as far as what we eat, what we buy, what we consume. We have to take it or leave it. As underdeveloped countries, we don't have a choice but to accept what comes to us.

Some teachers linked this sense of dependency to pressures from international governments and multinational institutions and organizations. Alicia saw El Salvador's dilemma as resulting from its lack of an organic leadership structure. "We have copied manners of directing the country, how to govern," she explained. "In the long history of

the country, we have never had a native system, one that was born here. No, they always talk about capitalism, and with capitalism, neoliberalism. They go hand in hand. And what does capitalism do? It keeps enriching those who have the most."

Similarly, Adrian took issue with the fact that countries like El Salvador had essentially been forced to comply with external mandates in order to obtain development aid. "The [less developed] countries have become dependent, very dependent on aid, and the financial organizations like the IMF and the World Bank keep telling the countries what they have to do, but not based on the reality of each country. No, from their desks, from their transnational policies, they force the countries to adopt rules that at the end are unfavorable to the great majority." Adrian's criticism of the IMF and World Bank echoed the critique of scholars who contend that neoliberal policies often are not based in the realities of borrower countries and can end up causing more harm than good (Arnove, 2013; Morrow & Torres, 2013).

Perhaps Cristian summed it up best with his assessment of where El Salvador was headed if the current trend continued. "Globalization is without a soul, without a heart," he began, "and voracious – voracious and getting bigger. They have created such an unjust system, so unjust that this has generated more and more poverty. And it will keep generating it – more poverty, more delinquency." Cristian's vision could be called pessimistic, at best. However, not all teachers shared this dark view of their country's prospects. In the final section of this chapter, I examine teachers' hopes for the future, as well as their fears, set within the context of the ideals and realities of Salvadoran public education.

3. Opportunities and Challenges

My third, and final, research question sought to understand what teachers viewed as the main opportunities and challenges brought on by migration. I specifically asked about their hopes for their students' educational and occupational futures, as well as their own possibilities for socioeconomic mobility. While responses varied, the overarching theme was one of uncertainty. Teachers simultaneously expressed feelings of hope and of despair, notions of progress and of stagnancy. Once again, their struggles to make meaning were indicative of struggles that played out in homes and workplaces across the country. This section explores the possibilities that lie within these conflicts, both real and imagined, from the standpoint of La Armonía's teachers.

If the education policy of a nation reflects its society, then the future of that education system, and of the nation, is intimately tied to its past and present. In La Armonía, it was clear that in talking to teachers about their work, I was also talking to them about El Salvador's historical and cultural legacy. Turning to the past for inspiration, I draw on German professor Michael Sadler (1912), who at the turn of the twentieth century wrote:

> In the educational policy of a nation are focused its spiritual aspirations, its philosophical ideals, its economic ambitions, its military purpose, its social conflicts. For a German or for an Englishman to speak of his own country's educational aims is to speak of its ideal, of its hopes and fears, of its weakness as well as of its strengths. (qtd. in Arnove, 2013, p. 8)

Sadler's observations underscore the importance of listening to teachers' voices, which reflect not only individual opinions and attitudes, but also a collective understanding of the education system, and of the nation. Thus, teachers' hopes and fears, and their

educational ideals and realities, ultimately represent the hopes and fears, and ideals and realities, of the nation.

3.1 Hopes and Fears

When talking to teachers about their visions of the future, a distinct tension emerged between feelings of hope and of hopelessness. Perhaps the most salient of these tensions was how teachers viewed their own potential to effect positive change. While some participants felt a strong sense of agency and efficacy, others appeared resigned to simply do what they could and hope for the best. Several interviews in particular highlighted these tensions.

3.1.1 Hopes: 'It's in the hands of the teachers.' Some participants, like Diego, embraced the position of role model and agent of change. "It's not up to other people to go about changing the conduct, the behavior, of the youth," he said. "This role to make change, or to change most of El Salvador, or at the global level, is in the hands of the teachers." As an educator, Diego felt a strong responsibility for promoting progress, both at home and at the global level. From his standpoint, prospects for future development were largely dependent on the commitment of teachers.

Angel had a similar outlook. He noted, "This is a situation where there has to be a big, momentous change, creating values in the people. But we all take part in this responsibility. And perhaps we have to begin to change ourselves to see if, little by little, we can project this change to the rest of the people. We can't lay all the blame on the system. We are the system." Angel's acknowledgement that "we all take part in this responsibility" demonstrated a sense of agency. Perhaps if he and his colleagues began to change their own practices and ways of being, others would follow their example. Thus

despite the challenges they faced, Angel saw teachers as key social actors, with not only the ability but also the responsibility to lead efforts for social change.

Likewise, Alicia viewed teachers as important role models. She expressed the following sentiments: "I think the future generations have to see the problems that have existed. And if we as teachers keep pointing out these problems, perhaps the youth will listen to us. They listen to us and we could have a better future." Like Diego and Angel, Alicia felt an obligation to initiate change. As a teacher, her job was to help students learn from the examples of the past in order to pursue a better future. And she was generally hopeful that if she continued to do this, then a better future was possible.

Franklin, too, felt that the road to progress began with teachers. Echoing Alicia's hopes for a better future, he said: "In this country where there are so many problems and so many challenges, the teacher ought to be a person with the sufficient vision to say, 'OK, we're going to prepare these generations so that they can satisfactorily face the future of this country with success.' And then they become the future congressmen, governors, mayors, directing the country with a new vision, overcoming the visions of the past that have led us to war, that have led us to conflicts."

3.1.2 Fears: 'The fruit of injustice will be violence.' However, not all teachers expressed such optimism about the possibility of overcoming the country's troubled past. Adrian, for example, worried that if education was not made a priority, El Salvador risked a return to a police state. Lamenting that law enforcement and defense spending had taken precedence over education, he warned, "Since they don't invest in education, they don't invest in creating opportunities for the youth. So they only offer them jail, the clubs, few opportunities. This lack of investment is carrying us to a return to armed

groups, because the fruit of injustice will be violence, confrontation. They will return to picking up arms as an option." In contrast to Alicia and Franklin, Adrian expressed a much darker view – one where instead of becoming El Salvador's future economic and political leaders, youth would turn to violence and crime in order to improve their socioeconomic possibilities.

While Adrian was not alone in his fears, other teachers were more hopeful about overcoming the challenges of the past. Raul tied prospects for peace to fostering a sense of solidarity and social justice. "Up until this moment, our past has been difficult – violent, unjust," he explained. "So we have to develop the new generations to create a new society where they value work, where they value preparation, where they value solidarity. So we have to take our role very seriously and take it very much to heart, because if we only work to earn a salary and what happens to the youth doesn't matter to us, then we ourselves are leading society to failure." Raul's final statement encapsulated the belief that if teachers did not take their roles seriously, then they themselves were contributing to the problem. He saw hard work, preparation, and solidarity as values to be nurtured in the school, with the prospects for future generations heavily dependent upon how teachers approached their daily work. Drawing on this notion, I asked teachers about the specific economic and educational opportunities they envisioned for their students.

3.1.3 Possibilities for youth: 'The country needs them.' One of the most interesting themes that emerged was the hope was that more youth would remain in El Salvador, rather than seeking opportunities abroad. Alicia explained how she regularly reinforced the idea that if they worked hard, her students could succeed in El Salvador. "I always insist to them – I invite them to continue studying – that they keep studying and

that they don't leave the country, that they become people of benefit here. [I tell them] that the country needs them, but it needs people that are perseverant, that are tenacious, that work and don't give up, that are entrepreneurs." Similarly, Raul felt there were opportunities for self-improvement within El Salvador. Yet finding them, he noted, required resourcefulness and creativity. "My personal experience is that we shouldn't stay in the United States," he said. "We should generate jobs and be more creative to earn more money here. I think that we can develop ourselves here." Both Alicia and Raul were confident that, given the right knowledge, abilities, and motivation, youth did have the opportunity to improve their life and employment chances without migrating.

Focusing on job prospects for youth, Adriana offered a vision that reflected her work as an English teacher. She imagined a future with more possibilities for those who spoke English, beyond answering phones at a call center. She explained that knowledge of English had become a virtual necessity, as many schools now began instruction in kindergarten. "These children have very advanced knowledge in English," she said, adding that she hoped they would be able to find high-skilled, high-paying jobs in which they could utilize this skill. "Perhaps new employment opportunities will open up in our country that require English," she mused. Yet despite Adriana's optimistic outlook, El Salvador continues to face some real challenges in its path to development. From teachers' hopes and fears, we now turn to their ideals and realities.

3.2 Ideals and Realities

The dialectic of educational ideals and realities was a prominent tension that emerged as teachers talked about what was possible versus what actually was. On the one hand, study participants generally expressed faith in the possibility of development

through education. Yet on the other, they were acutely aware of the constraints of the context in which they lived and worked. The following reflections highlight the complexities and contradictions that emerged as teachers sought to make meaning of their own ideals and realities.

3.2.1 Ideals: 'The teacher gives the model of how to improve this country.' One of the most frequently cited ideals was that education would lead to national development. Examining the link between the two, Franklin explained what he saw as a historical pattern across the region: "The ideal is that these [developing] countries get ahead through education, because it has been shown that a well-educated populace, if it invests in education, the future is more promising." However, he also acknowledged the other side of the coin, noting, "but if the education is poor, if education doesn't progress, the future will be the same. There won't be progress of the people."

Franklin's observations underscored the relationship between educational ideals and realities. In the ideal situation, education created an informed, knowledgeable citizenry and promoted national development. Yet the reality was that, absent sufficient resources and political will, public schooling was unlikely to improve, leaving the people and the nation in a perpetual state of underdevelopment. Ultimately, Franklin reasoned, the fate of the education system determined the fate of the nation.

Other teachers expressed a similar ideal that public education would lead to improvements in all aspects of life – a better economy, more jobs, less violence, and increased democratic participation. However, they also felt limited by the same structural elements that they sought to change. Luis described the dilemma this way: "The ideal is that the professor, the teacher, is the one who gives the model of how to improve this

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country. But of course there are many obstacles. I'm talking about the lack of resources, the socioeconomic situation, the economic crises, the political problems." Such limitations, he explained, made attaining educational ideals all but impossible. In light of these concerns, we now examine how teachers viewed the actual state of schooling in La Armonía.

3.2.2 Realities: 'They have us wanting to perform miracles.' While Franklin and Luis spoke of the ideal – moving the country forward through education – other teachers focused on difficult realities such as lack of government investment, poor support from policymakers, and a feeling that their efforts ultimately made little difference. Several participants spoke of the challenges of trying to promote development without the proper technical and technological resources. Noted Diego, "Here they have us, wanting to perform miracles with the programs, with the realities that we live – the economy, the lack of support. That's the reality – needs and problems that exist in the Ministry as well as in education."

Adrian echoed Diego' concerns, taking a more critical tone toward the government's handling of public education. "Our country will never get out of underdevelopment, because they never want to invest in education," he stated. "All of the countries that want to overcome underdevelopment invest in education and technology. Ours only puts forth pretty discourses and calls to conscience, to tell the teachers that we have to improve our country and our education, but really they don't make the investment that we need." Adrian expressed frustrations about the weight of expectations placed on teachers. He, and many of his colleagues, felt that a major aim of education was to promote national progress. Yet they were expected to do so in the absence of any real

government support. Ultimately, Adrian felt that government calls to improve the country through education were nothing more than empty rhetoric, far removed from the realities of Salvadoran teachers and schools.

Finally, Angel noted that in the context of ongoing crises, teachers were limited in their efforts to promote social change. "I'd say that we do what we can," he said. "In reality, to change some paradigms, or change certain types of behavior, or the system is a little bit complicated. As teachers, the only thing we can do is to give them, up to a certain point, the tools. Today with the economic, political, and social situation that we have, one does what he can."

3.2.3 New realities: migration and globalization. In addition to the realities of funding and administrative support, teachers also spoke about how the role and significance of public education had been redefined by processes of migration and globalization. Diego worried that Salvadorans had become too dependent on migration as a means to social and economic mobility. Remittances and expectations of future migration had contributed to a culture where education was no longer seen as a primary pathway to improved life and work opportunities. "The Salvadoran has forgotten how to struggle, how to improve himself by his own efforts," Diego asserted. "In other words, we have become dependent on migration. We don't put forth the effort to move forward or to improve ourselves intellectually. We've become much too dependent on the immigrants." Diego' critique reflected the reality that more people now than ever before routinely imagine the possibility of living and working in a place other than where they were born (Appadurai, 1996). In Diego' view, this had contributed to a weakened work ethic and intellectual drive, as well as a sense of dependency.

However, other teachers felt that migration and globalization had positive effects for El Salvador. Adriana observed: "The country has changed a lot. I think it still will, with the development and globalization, the new technologies and even the language. Before, to be able to speak English was like, 'Wow! Look!' But now many, the majority, of people speak English." She went on to explain how some returned migrants were able to obtain jobs in call centers, where they could earn $650 to $700 per month. In comparison, she noted, a teacher at a top school eared about $500 a month, while those at lesser institutions made as little as $250 to $300. Adriana felt that in these cases, the decision to migrate had led to economic and employment advantages: "Now [returnees] come to El Salvador with an opportunity, because the ones who speak better keep moving up and they can earn a lot. So it was worth it to have gone to the United States, to learn the language well, because now they're here, in their country, earning well."

Diego shared Adriana's view that in some cases migration could be a source of positive development. He recounted the story of a former student who had migrated to New York and later returned to thank him for his preparation and guidance. Diego guessed that for every 30 or 40 students he taught, perhaps 10 had held onto something. Nevertheless, he was confident that, for those 10 students, his efforts did make a difference. He explained: "I believe that what we do makes an echo. What we teach makes an echo so that they learn to live or struggle to live in a country with the situation that we have. I think that we do what's possible. We take on the struggle; we do what we can. This is the reality that we live." Diego recognized the challenges facing students, and teachers, in El Salvador, acknowledging, "we do what we can." At the same time, he had seen evidence that his teaching had made a tangible difference in students' lives.

Diego' experience was not unique. Teachers repeatedly affirmed that they were willing and able to effect change. However, they felt that they were often prevented from doing so by factors beyond their control. "As teachers, we can do a lot," Cristian told me. "But the reality is that our efforts fall short because of this [socioeconomic] situation. So the ideal would be this: It would be that the youth would have the capacities, the competencies, to work with new technologies that the modern world requires. But the truth is that [education] falls short. It accomplishes little." Evident in Cristian's response was the notion that the underlying structural deficiencies were too great to combat through education alone. Thus, well intentioned as they may have been, teachers simply did not feel empowered to have a meaningful effect on the future – whether it be their students', their own, or the nation's.

What then is the lasting message to be taken from the experiences of La Armonía's teachers? Is there no hope for progress in a nation that has become irrevocably entrenched in the quagmire of its violent and unequal past? Or is there a possibility that new forms of solidarity and group collectivity may arise to challenge the status quo? In the final pages of this chapter, I explore some possibilities.

Concluding Remarks

My findings from La Armonía have highlighted the ways that migration and globalization have contributed to transformations in teachers' understanding of identity, culture, and citizenship, leading them to question their own roles and the role of public education. Although some appeared resigned to accept these changes as an unavoidable consequence of participation in a global society, others actively resisted them. Thus the

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tensions that played out on a daily basis in Centro Escolar La Independencia reflected the complex, and often contradictory, nature of the teaching experience.

Olsen (2008) has written that, "a teacher is always collapsing the past, present, and future into a complex mélange of professional beliefs, goals, memories, and predictions while enacting practice" (p. 24). This was precisely what I found through my conversations and interactions with the teachers of La Armonía. Teachers' personal and professional identities were continually shifting as they attempted to make sense of their theories about and experiences with migration and globalization. Clearly teaching and teacher identity were not one-dimensional processes. Rather, teachers' formed their identities within distinct social contexts that served to both enable and limit their meaning making (Husu, 2007).

In concluding this chapter, I would like cite Appadurai (1996), who offers a useful framework through which to view the situation in La Armonía. He has used the concept of the diaspora to explain how the scattering of language, people, and culture can have both limiting and empowering effects. He has written:

> We may speak of diasporas of hope, diasporas of terror, and diasporas of despair. But in every case, these diasporas bring the force of imagination, as both memory and desire, into the lives of many ordinary people, into mythographies different from the disciplines of myth and ritual in the classic sort. The key difference here is that these new mythographies are characters for new social projects, and not just a counterpoint to the certainties of daily life. (p. 6)

Using Appadurai's categorizations, we might say that La Armonía's teachers are currently situated within a diaspora of despair. Some may even locate themselves within a diaspora of terror. Yet it is not too much of a stretch to imagine that these could easily be translated into diasporas of hope. I propose that the force of imagination has the potential to open up new diasporas of possibility for Salvadoran teachers. One has only to

look to the emergence of new social movements, feminist groups, and indigenous rights advocates across Latin America for evidence of the possibilities that exist as local people and parties increasingly push back against unjust political, economic, and social structures.

Evidence of these patterns of resistance may be emerging in El Salvador as well. Observed Adrian: "I think the people are starting to mature, to come alive, and if a government or a party doesn't function, they come along and change it. I think that now people aren't so easily taken in. I think this will force the political parties or the government to work in benefit of the great majorities. I think that we have to be optimistic and think that the world, even with its problems, with our individual and collective efforts, we can move forward." Adrian's comments offered a ray of hope in the midst of what at times was a largely downcast and disheartened view of the future. They also opened up the possibility of collective imagination as fuel for action.

Again, I draw on Appadurai (1996), who has written: "It is the imagination, in its collective forms, that creates ideas of neighborhood and nationhood, of moral economies and unjust rule, of higher wages and foreign labor prospects. The imagination is today a staging ground for action, and not only for escape" (p. 7). While the first part of this statement reflects Adrian's call for the people to "come alive," the second half is perhaps even more relevant for El Salvador. Rather than encouraging escape vis a vis migration, a collective imagination model promotes solidarity, neighborhood, and nationhood. Thus it fosters a shared commitment to action, something that has become increasingly difficult in El Salvador with nearly one-quarter of its population living abroad.

If Salvadorans are serious about improving their future, teachers will need to play an important role in promoting a model based on the power of collective imagination. A clear message that has emerged from this research is that El Salvador can no longer afford to continue looking outward for solutions; the answers must come from within. As Alicia plainly stated, "A country only develops with its own people, those who know its needs."

In closing, I share a comment made by Adrian at the final meeting of the research group. After sharing a meal and discussing the successes and failures of the Salvadoran education system for more than two hours, Adrian offered this final assessment. I have quoted him at length because I feel that his comments truly reflect the opportunities and challenges facing La Armonía's teachers:

> When you listen to us, sometimes we seem like pessimists who only see the bad. But I'm also realistic, and I say that the day El Salvador truly wants to develop, it's going to be very easy. The day that a government enters determined to help – not like this one we have now that isn't worth anything – it will be easy. Because our country has to invest in education, not invest in soldiers, not invest in defense. What it has to do is prioritize educational development, human development, and the development of science and technology. When the governments and the private businesses and the millionaires of this country want to develop our country, it will be very easy.

Chapter Five

Embracing a Pedagogy of Staying: A Focus on the Local in Las Esmeraldas

"As teachers, we should come up with creative initiatives so that the children don't opt to migrate. Because when Salvadorans have the tools to survive in our zone or the region, we don't need to migrate."

— Anita, first grade teacher

Findings and Analysis

This chapter details my findings based on in-depth interviews with five teachers from Centro Escolar El Diamante in Las Esmeraldas, La Paz. Similarly to La Armonía, fieldwork in Las Esmeraldas consisted of several site visits and multiple interviews with each participant. Because of time and travel constraints, I was able to interview teachers from El Diamante only at the school, not at their homes.[69] Furthermore, because visits took place during school hours and teachers had limited free time, some interviews were conducted in pairs or in small groups rather than in a one-on-one setting. However, like the large group meetings in La Armonía, the joint interviews in Las Esmeraldas led to meaningful dialogue and interactions that comprised crucial components of the dataset.

As the research questions, theme development, and format for the reporting of findings are the same as the previous chapter, I will move directly to analysis of the key issues and themes that emerged from interviews at El Diamante. To review, the three focus areas are: (1) teacher roles and responsibilities as mediated by processes of migration and globalization; (2) teacher notions of identity and citizenship, particularly the tensions surrounding conceptualizations of global citizenship and national solidarity;

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[69] As explained in chapter 3, none of the teachers at El Diamante lived in the community. Because they traveled to school from various places, often spending up to two hours on the bus each way, visiting them at home was not a feasible option.

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and (3) teacher perceptions of current opportunities and challenges, situated within the dialectic of their social and educational ideals and realities.

1. Teacher Roles and Responsibilities

Like their counterparts in La Armonía, teachers in Las Esmeraldas had various conceptions of their primary roles and responsibilities. Participants in both communities expressed many of the same goals, including preparing students for life's challenges, cultivating a sense of self-sufficiency, training for participation in the workforce, and fostering the development of useful, transferable knowledge and skills. The role of education in local and national development was also a common theme among teachers at both schools.

However, differences also emerged, particularly in terms of which roles were deemed most important. While many of the same roles were cited at both schools, the priority assigned to them varied. Some roles – such as workforce training – were given more weight in Las Esmeraldas, while others – such as social integration – were more of a focus in La Armonía. Two roles in particular, the teacher as transmitter of culture and values and the teacher as educator for citizenship and democracy, were not a major focus of interviews in Las Esmeraldas. While it should be noted that the findings presented in this chapter represent the views of only the five teachers who took part in the study, they may also be indicative of differences in the ways in which teachers from communities with high migration rates understand their roles and how those from low migration areas view their work.

Once again, Mercado's (2002) *saberes docentes* model provides a useful lens through which to examine similarities and differences between the teaching experiences

in La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas. As predicated by the framework, teachers' lived experiences, along with their subsequent reflections on those experiences, play a large role in shaping their teaching practices (Ernst-Slavit & Poveda, 2011; Mercado, 2002). Following this point, it is important to note that in La Armonía, teachers' everyday experiences were generally similar to those of their students, given that most of the teachers lived in the community. However, this was not the case in Las Esmeraldas, where all of the teachers were from outside. This adds a layer of complexity to the *saberes docentes* model, in that teachers in Las Esmeraldas simultaneously experienced and interpreted two distinct layers of everyday experience – their own and their students'. Thus the intertwining of teacher and student experiences reflects the complex ways in which teachers' social reality is determined by and connected to their work (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Husu, 2007; Olsen, 2008).

Close analysis of transcripts from interviews in Las Esmeraldas resulted in the classification of teacher roles into three distinct but related categories. The three focus areas to be discussed in this chapter are: (1) the teacher as a modernizer, (2) the teacher as a job trainer, and (3) the teacher as a promoter of local development. However, the most significant theme that emerged in Las Esmeraldas was a "pedagogy of staying," as teachers expressed a shared commitment to encourage youth to remain in El Salvador rather than seek opportunities through migration. The following pages examine in more detail the aforementioned teacher roles and take a closer look at Las Esmeraldas's pedagogy of staying.

1.1 The Teacher as a Modernizer

A common perception among teachers in Las Esmeraldas was that they had a responsibility to prepare students for life in the "modern" world. This outlook was not surprising, given the fact that most of the teachers lived in communities with regular access to media, technology, and communications networks, while youth in Las Esmeraldas grew up with relatively little access to computers, the Internet, and high-tech machinery. Based on their own experiences, teachers felt that part of their job was to foster the knowledge and skills necessary to navigate a more advanced technological landscape and close the so-called "digital divide."

Noemy, a special education aide from a San Salvador-based NGO, offered some particularly unique insights. Born in La Armonía and having earned her teaching credentials at the prestigious Central American University, Noemy's own educational experience had largely taken place in modern, urban environments. Yet her work in Las Esmeraldas and the surrounding villages had exposed her to the type of schooling that predominated in rural areas. According to Noemy, there was a significant difference between the two models, not only in the delivery and expectations of public schooling, but also in how teachers approached their work. "I feel that there's more urgency in an urban area – for the teacher and for the student," she shared. "So the teacher feels more committed to preparing the youth for reality, so that he faces it and so that he stays here in the country."

In Noemy's view, urban schools were more likely to focus on the kinds of learning that students needed to continue onto higher education or to participate in a more modernized, highly skilled workforce. On the contrary, rural schools remained focused

on traditional modes of knowledge transmission. She went on to explain that in many rural communities, particularly those with older teaching corps, teachers were wary of innovation, preferring to stick with what they saw as "tried and true" methods of instruction and pedagogy.

Noemy spoke of one school (not El Diamante) where she had met stiff resistance when she suggested ways in which teachers might adapt their practice to become more inclusive. Describing teachers' general reactions to new ideas, she said:

> The teachers who founded the school think they're the owners of the school, because they know their population, they know their school, they've been there since the first brick was laid, and they've never innovated. They've never gone back to studying again – maybe not to learn, but not to experiment either, to know the new material that is in the program, to adapt.

Noemy's comments reflected the complexities of the rural teaching experience, where traditional ways of knowing were often set in opposition to more contemporary teaching and learning models. As a young teacher, Noemy saw a need to prepare her students for the challenges of living in a modern global society, yet, in her opinion, older teachers were more intent on preserving the status quo. In this respect, her observations echoed the findings of numerous studies that have suggested that teachers with more experience are more likely to express skepticism to change and resistance to innovation (Bliss, Askew, & Macrae, 1996; Lazarová, 2011; Tůmová, 2012).

However, Noemy also added that El Diamante was not a typical rural school. "The teachers here prepare the children as if they were in an urban area," she said. "And they tell them, 'Take advantage of all the resources that you have within your reach to develop yourself.'" Noemy felt that by preparing students for the demands of an urban lifestyle, teachers at El Diamante were in effect discouraging them from migrating. If

students were able to continue their studies or compete in the local job market, Noemy reasoned, they would not need to leave the country to pursue better life and work opportunities. Her suggestion that the teachers at El Diamante prepared students "as if they were in an urban area" further emphasized the teacher's role as an agent of modernization.

Other teachers cited the complexities of preparing students for life in a high-tech information age without having access to the requisite tools or resources. Carlos, who had seven years of teaching experience but was in his first year at El Diamante, acknowledged that a persistent digital divide between rural and urban communities made imparting certain knowledge and skills much more difficult in a place like Las Esmeraldas. "Because we're in a rural place, this has an effect," he explained, "because there's no technology. There aren't cybercafés here, there's no Internet signal where one can say to the children, 'Look, investigate this on the Internet,' like in the city where it's more accessible to the children." Yet despite the community's lack of technological infrastructure, teachers recognized the importance of exposing students to this kind of learning.

Joel, El Diamante's vice principal, described how the school had recently initiated a computer-training program, with the aim of teaching students useful, adaptable skills and providing opportunities that did not traditionally exist in the rural village. "Now we're making the effort with the students so that they do have this contact [with computers]," he said, "because this is the most remote *cantón* of Olocuilta, so they haven't had this opportunity." In speaking with Joel, it became clear that the computer program was directly linked to the school's pedagogy of staying. As he explained, "We

try to give this tool to the youth so they don't migrate, so they can find work here, nearby." Having started with only five computers, the program had recently expanded with the help of donations. Yet while Joel was optimistic about the program's goals, the reality of its implementation was much more complex.

He acknowledged several challenges facing the school and its computer initiative. First, he noted, the machines were difficult to maintain and often broke down. Securing the hardware was one phase of the project, but ensuring its upkeep was crucial to its continuity. An additional, and perhaps more significant, challenge was that many of the teachers lacked the very skills they were supposed to be teaching. According to Joel, only two of El Diamante's 10 teachers were qualified to provide computer instruction. Expressing his frustration about the situation, he noted, "It's a shame that as teachers we still haven't had the opportunity [to learn computer skills], because here it's a question of opportunities. We haven't had this opportunity."

Like Noemy and Carlos, Joel was cognizant of the complexities of teaching in a rural area like Las Esmeraldas. On the one hand, the teachers were aware of the demands of a modern knowledge society and strived to provide their students with the requisite knowledge and skills. Implicit in this perception was the notion that if students possessed the right kinds of social and cultural capital, they would remain in El Salvador as professionals. Yet on the other hand, teachers themselves were struggling to master the same knowledge and skills they sought to impart to their students. Such tensions have been the subject of teaching research not only in Latin America but across the globe, as various studies have addressed the ways that teachers are constrained or limited by external contexts, including lack of relevant knowledge, low self-efficacy, and existing

belief systems (Ertmer & Ottenbreit-Leftwich, 2010; Klette & Carlsten, 2012; Somekh, 2008).

Before moving the discussion forward, I would like to return to what I consider the most salient point related to the "teacher as a modernizer" concept: the notion that preparing students to participate in the knowledge society was seen as a means of resisting migration. Teachers recognized that with the Salvadoran economy's reliance on the service sector, most jobs required at least basic computer skills. Yet they also acknowledged that few youth from Las Esmeraldas left the community in search of work, and those who did tended to work in jobs that required manual labor, such as printing presses, plastics factories, or *maquilas*. In an attempt to make sense of this apparent discrepancy, I now turn to the second teacher role: training a competent and reliable workforce.

1.2 The Teacher as a Job Trainer

Although teachers in Las Esmeraldas saw a need to integrate youth into a modern, technologically advanced, knowledge-based society, at the same time they also appeared stuck in an old capitalist model of education. Torres (2000, 2002), among others, has noted that the traditionalist model of public schooling that dominated the early phase of Latin American industrialization was geared toward the production of a disciplined and reliable workforce. Following the human capital theories of the 1960s, education was seen as a means of ensuring a nation's skilled labor force (Olmos & Torres, 2009; Torres & Schugurensky, 2002). In speaking with teachers from Las Esmeraldas, it became clear that a similar educational philosophy continued to hold sway, as in addition to teaching

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core competencies, school was also seen as a place where youth could receive practical, hands-on job training.

Joel, the vice principal, described several workshop-based projects implemented as part of the national education initiative *Escuelas Inclusivas para Tiempo Pleno*, or Inclusive Full-time Schools. The programs offered at El Diamante included computer maintenance, electricity, welding, bread making, haircutting, cosmetology, and jewelry making. Miguel, a first-year teacher who was in charge of the welding program, felt that the workshops were geared toward helping students become successful in El Salvador. "Here in the *cantón* we have tried to make an effort with the few resources we have," he stated, explaining that most students from El Diamante remained in the community after completing their studies. In a given year, two or three would continue onto higher education, while the majority went straight to work.

According to teachers, youth who sought employment outside the community generally ended up in low skill, low wage positions. Anita, an 11-year veteran who worked in *primer ciclo*, described the typical employment opportunities for local youth: "They devote themselves to work, here or in San Salvador. More than anything, they work as service employees or in print shops. They work in printing presses, in factories that produce plastic products, and *maquilas*." She went on to explain that by offering the various workshops, the school was contributing to the attainment of skills that students could utilize to expand their economic possibilities.

This was a common sentiment among El Diamante's teachers, most of whom oversaw one of the workshops in addition to their regular teaching duties. Carlos, for example, taught high school social studies and ran the *panadería*, or bakery program. He

saw his main role as helping to encourage self-sufficiency and independence, offering the following view: "Let's say I teach the children to make French bread and sweet bread on Thursdays, right? These are knowledges that the student – even if he isn't able to graduate from high school – he's already learning this trade and working in whichever bakery, here in this country, and he can have an income." Like his colleagues, Carlos' response provided further insight into El Diamante's pedagogy of staying. From his perspective, the bakery program offered an alternative for students who were not able to earn a diploma and therefore had limited work opportunities. Rather than feeling the necessity to migrate, he reasoned, these students would be able to earn an income utilizing the skills they had honed in the workshop.

In listening to teachers talk about the ways in which they prepared youth to remain in El Salvador, I began to wonder why they saw this as a more desirable outcome. From what they had told me, students who remained in the country did not appear to fare much better than those who migrated, in terms of overall quality of life. In fact, numerous studies and reports have shown that migrants typically earn more than their counterparts at home and also fare better on several human development indicators (Pedersen, 2013; Pleitez, 2005). Nonetheless, like their peers in La Armonía, teachers in Las Esmeraldas viewed migration as a predominantly negative phenomenon and a process that was fundamentally detrimental to their country. Suspecting that the answer lay in something other than simple economics, I pursued the question of how teachers saw their role in development. Accordingly, it is to this third, and final, teacher role that we now turn.

1.3 The Teacher as a Promoter of Local Development

While teachers were largely concerned with fostering the conditions for economic and social progress, they did not limit their role to improving the situations of individual students. On the contrary, a key aspect of teachers' work was promoting development, at both the community and the national level. Like teachers in La Armonía, teachers in Las Esmeraldas saw themselves as important social actors with a responsibility as protagonists in local development efforts.

Given the important role of agriculture in the community, Miguel felt that the school could contribute to improving local business practices. He gave the example of teaching youth to cultivate land so that they no longer had to rely on the market to supply food for the household. In addition to fostering a sense of self-sufficiency, he reasoned, this would also contribute to larger benefits for the local farming community, which would become more autonomous and productive.

Like Miguel, Noemy also saw developing local agriculture as a goal, recounting how teachers encouraged students to seek out small changes with large-scale benefits. She shared the following example of how teachers approached the topic:

> A teacher tells them, 'That's fine that your parents are farmers, because you've been able to study and you'll be able to find work. But there are more opportunities too.' [The teachers] show them how to develop, so they can go further, apply the sciences that we're learning to help their parents in agriculture, help them see that they can go beyond this.

In observing these kinds of interactions, Noemy felt that teachers at El Diamante were genuinely concerned about helping their students develop opportunities within El Salvador. With new knowledge and more efficient agricultural practices, more families would be able to improve their living situations, contributing to an increase in the community's overall level of development. Noemy added that this way of thinking was

tied to the school's pedagogy of staying, noting, "In many occasions, [teachers] encourage the students more so that they stay."

Finally, teachers saw a place for instilling a broader sense of community among youth, particularly in terms of how they could become important actors in national development efforts. Reflecting a sentiment shared by several of his colleagues, Carlos felt a responsibility to instill in his students a vision of the future. Describing how he viewed this role, he stated, "Our role is very important because it depends on us how the living conditions of each one of the students improves. So we're always pushing them to prepare themselves, to study, and to pursue a university degree."

For Carlos, encouraging students to continue studying was a means of raising consciousness about their own social reality. This consciousness could ultimately become fuel for social action. As he explained, "In my case, [the role] is to guide and make the students aware of their learning. More than anything, the task on my part should be to wake them up, and make them see the social reality that our country lives in." By encouraging students to "wake up" and recognize what was taking place around them, Carlos believed that they would be inspired, not to flee the situation, but to push for change. In this respect, he saw his work as having an impact not only on individual students but also on the direction of the nation. Carlos's beliefs were yet another example of how teacher in Las Esmeraldas viewed their chief mission: encouraging youth to remain in El Salvador. Accordingly, we now take a closer look at El Diamante's pedagogy of staying.

1.4 Embracing a Pedagogy of Staying

To a large degree, the vignettes described in the previous sections reflect the pedagogy of staying that predominated at C.E. El Diamante. In contrast to the tacit acceptance of migration that was prevalent in La Armonía, teachers in Las Esmeraldas were actively engaged in promoting a culture where migration was seen as a last resort rather than the primary option. As has been demonstrated thus far, this culture was reflected not only in teacher beliefs and attitudes, but also through their pedagogical practices and engagement with the school's curriculum.

In its emphasis on useful skill sets with immediate relevance to students' lives, the school's message was clear: learn how to be productive here, so that you remain here. Anita confirmed this perception, offering the following piece of advice: "As teachers, we should come up with creative initiatives so that the children don't opt to migrate. Because when Salvadorans have the tools to survive in our zone or the region, we don't need to migrate." Miguel offered a similar perspective, noting that if the curriculum were more geared toward practical learning, migration rates would decline. "I think that if the national curriculum involved technical learning, not only at the high school level, but at the basic level, we could have many workers in the region," he said. "We wouldn't have the need to leave for the U.S. or for Spain, like they're doing now, or Italy."

For some teachers, this pedagogy of staying extended to their own migration aspirations. Joel recounted how he had seriously considered going to the United States as a young man. Recalling his own decision-making process, he explained that the main reason he decided against migrating was that he knew he would never return to El Salvador. Instead, he dedicated himself to a career in teaching, with the aim of instilling

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among future generations a shared commitment to national development. "I believe that while God gives us life we should do something for our country," he said. "If I go (migrate), I only solve my problems, but not those of everyone else. And even if I'm not able to solve them, I'm going to try to do something here." However, as a later section of this chapter will demonstrate, Joel's outlook was not shared by all of his colleagues.

Returning to Miguel's call for reform of the national curriculum, the final aspect of teacher roles and responsibilities to be discussed here is the question of official oversight and support. As I had in La Armonía, I sought to understand how teachers in Las Esmeraldas experienced and interpreted levels of government support, in terms of training, resource provision, and school management, among other factors. The following section details my findings on how teachers perceived their interactions with the Ministry of Education, with a particular focus on funding and curriculum development.

1.5 Support from Policymakers

In talking with study participants about how they viewed the national Ministry of Education, teachers at Las Esmeraldas leveled many of the same critiques as their counterparts in La Armonía. The two themes that emerged most clearly in Las Esmeraldas were inadequate funding and lack of a consistent curriculum. In this respect, their comments confirmed the findings of scholars like Arnove, Franz, and Torres (2013), who have written that Latin American teachers generally prefer "centralized public funding that guarantees an equitable financing of education for all areas of a country, with a more decentralized curricular policy in order to reflect local realities" (p. 330). Accordingly, this section explores those two areas, in order to examine how teachers confronted what they saw as the main challenges to enacting state education policy.

1.5.1 Funding: 'Here we're at 2 for 1.' Concerns about inadequate investment in education were a top priority not only in La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas, but also across the country. In January 2012, just as I was beginning fieldwork, both the Minister and Vice Minister of Education abruptly resigned. While they gave no official reasons for their departure, it was widely believed that they had stepped down over insufficient resources and lack of administrative support.[70]

Teachers in Las Esmeraldas confirmed that lack of resources was a major source of anxiety. Joel described how the workshop program, part of the "full-time schools" initiative, had been functioning for two years without government funding. "We're working with zero government aid," he told me. "No help, nothing, not even one cent." He explained that students paid small quotas to participate in the workshops, perhaps 50 cents or a dollar, but noted that it was difficult to garner community support, particularly in an already poor region.

To overcome deficiencies in state funding, teachers spoke of having to work double to fill the gaps left by MINED. In addition to their regular classroom duties, each teacher was also responsible for one of the projects. For example, study participants oversaw workshops in welding, electricity, bread making, and drawing. When asked how they functioned in the absence of government resources, Joel explained that the school looked to hire teachers with "added value" – those who could teach both core subjects and hands-on skills. However, teachers did not earn extra pay for the time they spent leading workshops. Carlos, the history teacher and bakery supervisor, summed up the

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[70] The resignations were widely covered in the Salvadoran press, including newspapers La Prensa Grafica and El Mundo, which provided background information for this section.

situation this way: "Here we're at 2 for 1," he said. "They have us doing double the work for half the pay."

On the whole, teacher grievances about state funding of education, in terms of both school programs and their own salaries, were consistent across both communities. In both cases, teachers felt as if they were being asked to complete the nearly impossible task of providing quality education without being supplied the proper resources, a conflict that has been examined at length by Gentili (2007a) in his work on the disenchantments and utopias of Latin American education. Thus in both La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas, tensions within the Salvadoran education system were reflected through contradictions in the funding and aims of public schooling (Torres, C.A., 2000). Following this point, we now turn from concerns about inadequate resources and insufficient pay to teacher critiques of the national curriculum, including the aims, expectations, and relevance of national education policy.

1.5.2 Curriculum: 'We begin again from zero.' The first area of concern was the curriculum's lack of consistency. Similarly to their counterparts in La Armonía, teachers in Las Esmeraldas expressed frustration about working under education policies that were continually changing. They explained feeling like they had to start from ground zero with each change in government. "The policies change according to how the governments change," Joel commented, explaining that the Funes government had made English a priority of basic education. However, under the previous government, that had not been the case, which had led Joel to worry: "If the government changes, they'll take it away again and put in place other policies."

Other teachers echoed his concerns. During one group interview, the following

exchange transpired, highlighting teachers' shared frustrations:

> Anita: Each government brings its own policies...
> Carlos: ...throws out the old and includes their own.
> Miguel: And there we go with another change, and we begin again from zero.

Having been through the same situation time and time again, teachers were becoming increasingly disillusioned with the Ministry and its ability to provide a relevant, reliable curriculum with clear aims and expectations. In this context, they felt as if they were being asked to re-define and re-conceptualize their roles with each new election cycle. Ultimately, this had led teachers to adopt a cynical outlook toward education reform that reflected their doubts about the curriculum's real significance for their students' daily lives.

A final area where teachers saw room for improvement was in creating national education policy that was locally relevant. "They have to improve the curriculum," Noemy insisted. She explained that policymakers and education consultants had traditionally looked to the tourism and business sectors for guidance in structuring education policy. In her view, the process had resulted in a curriculum that addressed only the interests and needs of a small portion of the population. A better solution, she argued, would be to take into account the needs of all citizens. In an ideal model, "They should also involve social needs. ... They have to go around asking, 'What do you want your child to be?'"

Noemy's suggestion that curriculum take into account social needs, not just economic and business interests, hinted at the importance of fostering social integration through education. Furthermore, her proposal to ask parents what kind of education they desired for their children reflected the importance of community participation in

designing educational programs. Such advice recalls the recommendations of Arnove, Franz, and Torres (2013), who have called for "greater participation of teachers, parents, and communities in the design of education programs to meet their self defined needs" (p. 333). A similar message has been put forth by Huff (2007), who has argued that teachers posses a relative power to "embrace, ignore, or reject outright state-mandated educational policy" (p. 71). In the case of Las Esmeraldas, teachers appeared to be moving toward the latter.

Overall, the critiques of schooling in Las Esmeraldas mirrored critiques that have been voiced by teachers across the region for decades. Based on their extensive research on Latin American education, Arnove, Franz, and Torres (2013) have offered several recommendations for reform, including improvements in infrastructure; the provision of culturally sensitive and socially relevant curricular materials; pre-service and in-service teacher education and professional development; and incentive pay for teachers working in difficult situations. In talking with teachers at El Diamante, it was evident that any and all of these suggestions would represent welcome change.

However, one area that has not been given as much attention in the field is the question of how teachers perceive the links among education policy, citizenship, and national identity. These issues have taken on added relevance in the context of increased international migration and neoliberal globalization. Thus, seeking to fill a perceived gap in the literature, I move now to the second major theme of this chapter: the impact of migration and globalization on teacher notions of identity and citizenship.

2. Identity and Citizenship

Given their distinct demographic, geographic, and migration profiles, one might presume that La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas experienced vastly different models of globalization. In some ways, this was true, primarily in terms of how it affected beliefs about citizenship and identity. While teachers in La Armonía were concerned about a loss of culture and historical memory, teachers in Las Esmeraldas did not express the same fears. Absent the steady loss of citizens to migration and without a regular influx of external images and ideas, Las Esmeraldas remained a traditional agricultural village, where life had gone on relatively unchanged for the past 50 years.

However, this is not to say that the community had remained entirely untouched by processes of globalization. Youth often traveled to San Salvador for work or, less frequently, to study. There they had more access to and contact with dominant global trends. Furthermore, El Diamante's teachers were more connected to the global society and hence well aware of the impact of neoliberal globalization in El Salvador. In the next section of this chapter, I examine how the presence, or absence, of globalization and migration affected teachers' perceptions of identity and citizenship in Las Esmeraldas. First, however, I take a critical look at how migrants were viewed in a community where migration was not a common experience.

2.1 Teacher Perceptions of Migrants

Before moving to the specifics of how teachers viewed migrants, it is important to reiterate that there was very little international migration from Las Esmeraldas. This was not surprising in itself, given numerous studies suggesting that migration from poor, rural regions is generally less than that from more affluent and urban areas (De Brauw, 2011;

De Haas, 2010). Thus, unlike in La Armonía, where migration had become a familiar way of life, youth in Las Esmeraldas rarely left the community, with the exception of those who pursued education or work opportunities in San Salvador. Furthermore, community members who did migrate typically went to Italy or Spain rather than the United States. Such differences must be taken into account when considering how teachers viewed the migration process and those who participated in it.

As opposed to the widespread negative perception of migrants expressed by teachers in La Armonía, teachers in Las Esmeraldas were less uniform in their attitudes and beliefs. While some shared the critical stance that predominated in La Armonía, others spoke of migrants with a sense of respect and admiration. For these teachers, migrants represented success and were seen as examples of realized economic and social possibilities. In exploring the tensions underlying these conflicting perceptions, it was clear that participants' views were closely linked to their personal experiences. In addition, differences also existed according to age and marital status, with older, married teachers expressing more negative views of migrants and younger, single teachers a more positive outlook.

Articulating a belief common among the older contingent, Joel, the vice principal, adopted a more critical tone. While he had seriously considered migrating to the United States as a young man, he was now married, with a child, and no longer had a desire to leave El Salvador. However, he spoke harshly of those who did, characterizing migrants as "bad exports." He observed, "The problem is that the largest export product here are our citizens, and we send bad products. Like I said, if they leave for the U.S., for Italy, for Spain, it's delinquents that we're exporting, and this is a problem."

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Meanwhile, other study participants expressed a more positive view of migration. Miguel and Carlos, both in their early 30s, said that, given the opportunity, they would leave the country. Both had family members in the United States and had seen the economic and social benefits of migration firsthand. Carlos recalled a conversation with his brother, who worked as a custodian in a Virginia supermarket. He remembered how he had called to share news of his first teaching position: "One day I called him and I said, 'Hey, they're going to pay me $310 [per month]!' Well, actually, with taxes I keep $280, but let's say $300. So, I tell him all excited, 'I found a job and they're going to pay me $310!' And he starts laughing. 'You're happy about that?' he asks me. 'You're happy about $310?'"

Carlos expressed frustration that despite having earned a university degree and secured a teaching position, he still struggled to make ends meet. Meanwhile, many migrants with less education and fewer professional qualifications – his brother, for example – had what he saw as a better quality of life. He would often wonder to himself: "How is it possible that someone with only a high school diploma – my classmates from high school – they leave the country and earn $500 a week in the United States? We're talking about $2,000 a month. And how can I be a professional in El Salvador, studying for such an expensive degree and earning such a low salary?" Questions like these had led teachers like Carlos and Miguel to conclude that the migrant lifestyle was preferable to their own.

In the end, Miguel noted, the way a person conducted himself in another country would determine his level of success. "You have to go with a vision," he explained. "For example, I'm not going to go just to hang out and lose myself there, right? No, you have

to carry a vision. Because just like so many [migrants] have gone and accomplished a lot, many have gone and haven't done anything." Miguel's comments reflected the complexities and contradictions surrounding the migration process: some migrants were successful in their quest for socioeconomic mobility, others weren't; some went with a clear vision, others didn't; some were respected and admired for their hard work, others weren't. Ultimately, however, teachers saw migration as having implications at both the individual and the collective level, not only in terms of the economic and social possibilities, but also with respect to the cultural and political implications. Accordingly, I now examine the question of how identity and citizenship were affected by (or not affected by) migration and globalization. This section will explore two of the subthemes addressed in the previous chapter: (1) El Salvador's lack of an educational identity (Section 2.2), and (2) the impact of neoliberal globalization in fostering a culture of dependency and possessive individualism (Section 2.3).[71]

2.2 Lack of an Educational Identity: 'We're always imitating other countries'

Following Castells' (2011) work on identity in the so-called "information age," teacher identity can be conceptualized in two distinct but overlapping spheres: (1) teachers' specific roles as educators and (2) their individual and collective identities as social actors. This chapter has already addressed the concept of teacher roles, which Castells (2011) has argued are largely determined by norms structured by a society's institutions and organizations, such as schools. Identities, however, are a source of deeper meaning and experience. While identities can also originate from dominant institutions, they become identities "only when and if social actors internalize them, and construct

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[71] The subtheme of transculturation that emerged in La Armonía was not as evident in Las Esmeraldas, and thus does not warrant extended discussion here. Instead, this section focuses on the two subthemes that came across most strongly in teacher interviews.

their meaning around this internalization" (p. 7). Grounded in an understanding of public schooling as a dominant social institution, this section examines the conflicts and tensions that emerge as teachers attempt to construct meaning around public education.

2.2.1 'You have to apply it to the actual needs of the country.' As one of society's principal social institutions, schooling can serve as an important source of collective identity. In Latin America, for example, citizens have traditionally derived a sense of national belonging and group identity through public education (Arnove, 2013; Morrow & Torres, 1994). However, this had not been the experience of teachers in Las Esmeraldas. In their view, the current education system did not reflect the interests and needs of its people, primarily because it had not developed organically. Instead, teachers asserted, curriculum and instruction were based on foreign models considered to be superior in form and content. However, in adopting these foreign models, policymakers had not taken into account what was best for their own citizenry.

Describing an experience at a recent professional development workshop, Miguel noted that the instructional models and curricular content being promoted were not applicable to the Salvadoran context. He explained:

> I went to a training and it was based on a Japanese model. Some Japanese came and they said, 'Let's change the curriculum and teach this instead.' And they taught us like they do there. For example, in mathematics there's a unit where we were looking at algebra. From algebra, we passed to arithmetic. But there's no continuity. So I saw all of this and thought, 'We're here for this?' 'Well, yes,' they said, 'The Chinese [sic] know more than us.'

In addition to highlighting the foreign influence on Salvadoran education design, Miguel's comments also illuminated a perceived inferiority among Salvadorans about their own system. Based on an assumption that the Japanese were more intelligent, their model for teaching math was accepted as superior and applied wholesale without regard

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for its relevance to local conditions. Miguel, for one, took issue with this practice. In his opinion, "They might know it, but you have to apply it to the actual needs of the country."

Carlos was also critical of MINED's approach to education reform, particularly its efforts to impose advanced models on underprepared schools. "Unfortunately, the curriculum of El Salvador is going a bit in the wrong direction because we're always imitating other countries," he said. "This is detrimental because we aren't prepared for such a widespread knowledge, like from the Japanese or the Chinese. So these super advanced knowledges come to us, including the activities and the contents that come with the program." He went on to describe how both teachers and students struggled to keep up with the changes – a particular challenge in a school like El Diamante where resources were already limited.

Concerns like those expressed by Miguel and Carlos highlighted teacher anxieties amid pressures to adapt to a global education agenda. On the one hand, they recognized the need for education reform, yet on the other they feared the consequences for their work and their ability to provide quality, relevant instruction. This conundrum shed light on what teachers viewed as the source of many of the tensions within the education system – the influence of neoliberal globalization that had forced them into a state of dependency and fostered a culture of possessive individualism. Accordingly, we now direct our attention to the second subtheme of this section, which addresses these issues in more detail.

2.3 Dependency and Possessive Individualism: 'There isn't a [social] pact'

Drawing on Macpherson's concept of possessive individualism, Torres (2002) has highlighted the tensions that emerge within a neoliberal model that promotes individual autonomy on the one hand while simultaneously suggesting that citizens have public responsibilities. Such a model places the aims of the state in direct opposition to the aims of the market, creating a fundamentally unstable consensus between the state and its citizens. Clearly cognizant of these tensions, teachers in Las Esmeraldas spoke frankly of the implications for schooling and for society.

2.3.1 'Only one very privileged group is part of this globalization.' One aspect of neoliberal globalization with particular relevance for education was its impact in engendering a sense of dependency and helplessness. In terms of the larger picture, teachers felt as if the country had been forced to enter into disadvantageous social and economic agreements in order to comply with a global hegemony. "In reality, I feel that we have begun to sign a mountain of international agreements without having the necessary social conditions to adapt ourselves to them," explained Joel, alluding to El Salvador's participation in the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA), as well as a number of USAID and World-Bank-led initiatives. However, he went on to say that as a developing country, El Salvador had little choice but to accept the conditions proposed by international governments and multilateral organizations.

Joel's concern that El Salvador was ill prepared for impending changes brought on vis a vis participation in the global capitalist economy recalled Stiglitz's (2002) oft-cited analogy likening small countries to small boats. Set loose on a rough sea by liberalizing capital markets, these small boats are destined to founder. In Stiglitz's (2002)

example, "Even if the boats are well captained, even if the boats are sound, they are likely to be hit broadside by a big wave and capsize. But the IMF pushed for the boats to set forth into the roughest parts of the sea before they were seaworthy, with untrained captains and crews, and without life vests" (p. 18). Using Stiglitz's analogy as a metaphor for the Salvadoran education system, one could say that teachers have taken on the role of ship captains, being thrust into a sea of education reform and policy change without having been properly trained or provided with the necessary equipment.

It should also be noted that for teachers at El Diamante, neoliberalism and globalization were essentially one and the same – a finding that is not necessarily surprising, given their firsthand experience with top-down processes of globalization. Regardless of the specific term used, teachers were highly critical of both processes, particularly their roles in exacerbating existing social and economic disparities.

Referencing the region's deepening inequality, Joel observed, "Globalization has affected all of the Latin American countries somewhat negatively because only one very privileged group is part of this globalization. The majority of the Salvadorans, of the population, remain helpless against international monopolies." In his opinion, the political and economic elite had essentially abandoned the rest of the country, resulting in a society sharply divided between rich and poor. Supporting these claims, Karl (2003), whom I quote at length, has described a process of dualistic development across the region linked to a history of political and economic inequality:

> The clear result of Latin America's history of high inequality, low growth and concentrated political power has been dualistic development, the coexistence of two distinct but linked worlds within the same national territory: the rich (along with portions of the middle class and some workers) and the poor. What distinguishes these two groups, besides a huge disparity in wealth, is the enormous social distance between them, despite their close proximity. The

wealthy have built their own schools, attend their own churches, and segregate themselves in walled neighborhoods. The poor have had no schools at all or schools of poor quality, especially in rural areas; they attend separate religious institutions, have virtually no social services, and live in urban shanty towns which are physically proximate to wealthy neighborhoods but worlds apart in every other way. (p. 146)

According to teachers, this dualistic development had contributed not only to economic divisions, but also to social fractures, with important implications for national solidarity and group identity. Noemy described how, in her experience, not all citizens were subject to the same rules or guaranteed the same rights. "I believe that neoliberalism allows the people with power to have whatever they want under rules that don't take into account the classes that are the most affected by this neoliberalism," she commented.

Miguel also saw class divisions as contributing to a weakened sense of solidarity. He offered the following view: "The problems begin in the lowest classes, but they affect the higher classes. The middle class wants to live like the upper class, but this is a problem, because we're never going to be able to live that way because the resources are limited. You can't stretch a salary of $600." Carlos agreed, sharing a piece of advice he would often give his co-workers: "Sometimes one isn't rich or poor because of what he earns but because of what he spends." He explained how he had seen many people get into serious trouble due to poor financial decisions. Many times, he lamented, they were forced to resort to objectionable activities in order to meet their basic needs. This brings us to another aspect of neoliberal globalization, namely the emergence of a consumer culture where everything, including education, had become increasingly commodified.

2.3.2 'The problem is that they're conformists.' As has been discussed elsewhere in this dissertation, neoliberalism has contributed to a fundamental shift in the mission and aims of public schooling in El Salvador. Initially rooted in a

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conceptualization of public education as the realization of basic human rights, schooling has now become a market-determined system of human capital formation. As Dello Buono (2011) has explained, "Above all, neoliberalism sought to end the special status of education in an effort to more fully commodify it and place it beyond the reach of public scrutiny. In the Latin American context, this embodied a strategic element of increasing foreign control and a metaphor for the entire neoliberal logic of imposing consumerism as 'citizenship'" (p. 13). Dello Buono's (2011) analysis highlights the ways that citizenship has increasingly been defined in the context of purchasing power and commodification of social services. According to teachers in Las Esmeraldas, consumerism had become an important element of citizenship for many Salvadorans.

Carlos spoke of the importance of keeping up appearances and maintaining a particular image, a trend he attributed to the influence of globalization and mass media. But, as he explained, many times these appearances were misleading. "Perhaps we have maintained an appearance of living well. For example, perhaps we dress better than the people who have money or we want to have nice shoes, but it's an appearance. Sometimes we only have enough to buy this shirt or to have these shoes. There are people that don't have money to eat, but they have Internet, they have cable. When we see how nice they look, we begin to imitate it. "

Anita and Miguel associated this kind of irresponsible consumption with a lack of autonomy. Noted Miguel, "The problem is that they're conformists. Not all of them have that vision." Added Anita, "The character also has a lot to do with [consumption]. It can motivate it or focus it." A common belief among teachers was that this had contributed to the emergence of possessive individualism, or what they described as a culture dominated

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by egoism and self-interest. Accordingly, the next section explores what participants saw as the origins and implications of this phenomenon.

2.3.3 'There's a common social selfishness.' In talking to teachers at El Diamante, it was clear that the possessive individualism witnessed in La Armonía had also permeated El Salvador's remote villages. Teachers spoke of lack of community support for the school, a general social insensitivity, and a burgeoning sense of individualism that had drawn young Salvadorans away from group activities and a collectivist mentality.

Lack of a common goal and shared responsibility for the well being of others was a major concern voiced by teachers. Anita noted that the school had difficulty securing community support, explaining that people were often concerned with how a project could benefit them individually, rather than thinking about the larger picture. "The communities always function under a monetary condition," she said. "They want money. If not, they don't give their support. It's like I told you, there's a common social selfishness."

Joel had a similar outlook, recounting his anguish at seeing a mother and her young son begging on a street corner in San Salvador. He and a colleague had been headed to a MINED training at the department's headquarters when they stopped at a light. "There was a woman on the corner with a small boy, black with smoke. They were begging. It was horrible," he recalled, adding, "To arrive at these extremes is when the population is no longer sensitive to the pain of its people. There's this social insensitivity." In Joel's view, the state's inability to ensure basic human rights for all of its citizens, coupled with a lack of social conscience, had contributed to the further

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marginalization of the country's most vulnerable populations. More importantly, he and his colleagues feared that this trend had already been passed on to younger generations.

According to teachers, a lack of social solidarity was also evident in the attitudes and behaviors of El Diamante's students. Miguel explained how, in contrast to when he had attended school, today's youth rarely spent time in groups, preferring instead to stick together in small, closely-knit units. "They always walk around in pairs," he observed. "They never come in groups of four, or five, or six. Only two." In Miguel's view, this was further evidence of the breakdown of a collective consciousness and sense of unity among Salvadoran youth.

A final point related to possessive individualism can be seen in the fact that teachers expressed a very different view when discussing how migrants conceptualized cultural identity and social solidarity as opposed to how Salvadorans at home understood these concepts. Drawing on the example of his father, Miguel explained how group solidarity was an important survival strategy among migrants. In his experience, Salvadorans at home tended to stick to themselves and were generally uninterested in the plights of others. In contrast, upon arriving to the United States, his father had formed close bonds with migrants from Nicaragua, Honduras, and Venezuela. Explained Miguel: "They helped each other. If the Honduran didn't have anything, they brought him food. If my father didn't have any, the others would help. He began to change his point of view and way of seeing things. Because sometimes we have to suffer to get along better with another person, and that's what sometimes as Salvadorans, we don't have."

According to research on migrant communities, Miguel's father's experience was not uncommon. For example, in a study of the Chicano barrios of San Jose, California,

Flores (2003) found that immigrants formed tight community bonds and shaped a collective memory through shared stories and experiences. Through sharing tales of the past, popular culture, life histories, and cultural practices, migrants spawned the creation of a joint narrative that served as a marker of collective identity and an important space in which to enact their struggle for rights.

Conversely, within El Salvador collective identity and a struggle to protect basic rights appeared to have virtually disappeared. According to teachers, this was largely a result of neoliberal patterns of globalization that had fractured social solidarity along class lines. In closing, Miguel offered this final thought: "There isn't a pact, and there should be. There should be pacts so we can move forward." He paused to reflect for a moment before continuing. "Emotionally, economically [migrants] are better off, right?" he concluded. "Better than us." Miguel's comments offer a convenient segue into the final section of this chapter, which returns to the question of migration and how teachers perceived the current challenges and opportunities, as well as the future possibilities.

3. Opportunities and Challenges

The final aspect of the teaching experience in Las Esmeraldas that this study sought to explore was how teachers viewed the impact of migration in either providing opportunities or creating obstacles. I was interested to learn how teachers at a small, rural school articulated their hopes and fears for the future, not only for their students but also for themselves. I also wanted to know whether they shared a similar outlook on social and educational ideals and realities, given the fact that migration did not play a major role in daily life at Centro Escolar El Diamante.

3.1 Hopes and Fears

As has been stated throughout this chapter, youth migration was not nearly as common in Las Esmeraldas as in La Armonía. According to teachers, community members who did migrate were generally older and past school age. Miguel recalled the names of two or three former students who had migrated, but added that teachers weren't particularly close with or connected to them. "We don't have much of a relation with them," he said. "They go, and who knows who has gone or to where." Accordingly, teachers' hopes for their students were generally not tied to migration.

3.1.1 Hopes: 'The most practical is to finish high school and start to work.' The dominant assumption among teachers was that higher education was not a feasible option for the majority of students from Las Esmeraldas, largely due to economic factors. Among those who did have a desire to pursue further schooling, most lacked sufficient resources. Anita described a typical situation:

> Let's say a student has a vision of improving through his studies, here in this country, right? For example, a student who lives only with his mother, and the mother perhaps works in nothing more than selling plants from the orchard. So the child doesn't think of the future or of earning a degree at the university. The most practical is to finish high school and start to work, right? To help his mother or to make himself independent.

Anita's comments were representative of the widely held perception among teachers that the only real postsecondary option for El Diamante's students was immediate entry into the workforce. While these sentiments undoubtedly reflected the reality of life in rural El Salvador, they also offered little hope of expanded possibilities for youth.

Like Anita, Miguel also believed that most students would remain in the community. However, in his view, this reflected a lack of ambition among Las Esmeraldas's youth. "If they stay here, they only devote themselves to agriculture," he

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explained. "They help their parents, and they stay here until they die. They don't have any further aspirations."

However, not all teachers expressed such a deterministic view. Joel, for example, felt that he had a responsibility to expand students' horizons. "What I can do for these children is make sure they stay in school, make sure to give them a little more than what school has traditionally given," he proposed. He went on to explain that students at El Diamante were not necessarily lazy or unmotivated – they simply hadn't been given the right opportunities. "What's lacking in El Salvador is the opportunity of instruction," he said. "We are all learned; we are all learned. If here in El Salvador they instructed the people, if they worked harder in human capital, we could transform into a great nation in less than 10 years."

Recalling the words of his counterparts in La Armonía, the vision put forth by Joel was virtually identical to that imagined by Adrian. Both men believed that with sufficient political will and the proper allocation of resources, the country, and its education system, could provide more opportunities for its citizens and offer greater hope for the future. However, despite this optimistic outlook, Joel and his colleagues faced some serious challenges. In an effort to uncover and understand those challenges, I now examine teachers' fears about the future of Salvadoran schooling and society.

3.1.2 Fears: 'We have to change.' Teacher fears about the future generally fell into two categories: fears of not being be able to keep up with global changes, and fears that local responses would negatively affect the delivery and aims of education. Speaking on the first point, Joel drew on the example of the school's computer program. "When they give Salvadoran teachers a computer, it scares us," he said. "It's a total ignorance.

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They're afraid – 'what does this do?' – they get nervous." He emphasized the importance of changing this kind of mentality and encouraging teachers to learn new skills. "A teacher has to teach things that he himself cannot do, and he has to learn things that he believes are impossible," he said. Ultimately, Joel believed, "We have to change, because the world is changing and if we don't change, a small child is going to leave us behind just like that, out of date." Joel's comments echoed the concerns of Franklin in La Armonía, who felt as if Salvadorans were sprinting to catch a train that had already left the station.

Along with fears that schools would not be able to keep up with the demands of a global knowledge society, there was also doubt about teachers' sustained commitment in the face of increasingly difficult working conditions. Noemy noted that this was especially true at poor rural schools like El Diamante. Having worked in several institutions across the district, she had seen firsthand the effects of teacher disengagement. She described one school where teachers were more concerned about catching the bus home than with providing quality instruction:

> The teachers come to work nothing more than to fulfill the hours and '*adiós*.' There isn't a commitment with the community. And many of these teachers aren't from the community. When teachers come from another place, from San Salvador, for example, they come from the capital to a small town. So they're not interested in developing their community. No, they only care about fulfilling their work schedule, fulfilling their lesson planning, and '*adiós*,' because the bus is going to come and they have to get home.

Although Noemy was adamant that this was not the case at El Diamante, she feared that the trend could become increasingly common. She worried about the consequences of weakened teacher-community solidarity, envisioning a situation where rather than fostering the potential for individual and collective development, school would instead

become a place where students and teachers went to merely fulfill a schedule and pass time.

A related teacher fear had to do with the overall message students were receiving about life in El Salvador. Noemy noted that a seemingly constant barrage of negative images was being transmitted to Salvadoran youth, both through media and in classrooms across the country. She worried that this negative message would ultimately encourage youth to leave the country. "We're always attacking society," she said. "That there's so much violence, that there's no employment. But sometimes we only prepare [the youth] to go to look for work, not to be creators of work. So we're saying that there's no work and there's no means of communication, too. There's no work, the violence is bad, so is the economy – well, [students will think] it's better that I leave. I'm going to work over there. I'm going to earn money and I'm going to send it home." With a focus on the role of migration, Noemy's comments offer a fitting transition to the next discussion point: how teachers perceived their own possibilities for personal and professional growth.

3.1.3 Possibilities for teachers: 'I have the American Dream.' Although youth migration in Las Esmeraldas was minimal, teachers viewed their own migration opportunities in quite different terms. While they did not foresee migration as a likely option for their students, several teachers harbored their own migration aspirations. In an effort to explore these tensions, I posed the same question to each participant: "Have you, personally, ever migrated, or ever seriously considered migrating?" Their responses were illuminating.

Both Miguel and Carlos were quick to affirm that, given the opportunity, they would migrate without hesitation. Miguel said that he had planned to go this past year, to

reunite with his father in Houston. Explaining that the salary he earned as a teacher was not enough to cover basic needs, he cited economic factors as the main motivation to leave. According to Miguel, any job in the United States would be an improvement over his current situation. "Look, I'm going to be cleaning bathrooms, I'm going to have to mop, I'm going to clean," he acknowledged. "But there it's $10 an hour, it's $8 an hour, it's $5 an hour. And here it's $15 for eight hours." When I asked whether he would miss working in a professional capacity as a teacher, he responded, "No, all work is dignified when it is well-paid."

Carlos also had visions of migrating, and he too was troubled by the economic hardship that came with being teacher. As public employees, teachers in El Salvador undergo a lengthy and complex hiring process, with 50 or more individuals often competing for one position. In order to obtain tenure, a teacher must secure an "official" or "permanent" post, something Carlos had not yet been able to accomplish. As a result, El Diamante was the seventh school he had worked at in as many years.

Carlos explained that repeatedly having to seek employment was taking its toll. "I am a teacher, graduated seven years ago," he said. "But I remain without work every year, so every year I have to renew the contract and go looking for schools. This is making me desperate." He went on to say that if unable to retain his current post, he would likely migrate. He described the situation in the following terms:

> More than anything, the lack of employment here in the country is what is making me desperate. ... I'm working here now, but the position is already contested. About 40 teachers came to apply for one position, so 39 of us are going to be without work. This has motivated me to think that perhaps next year I'll leave. I'd have to go *por tierra* (by land) because there's no other way. But I prefer to make this sacrifice of one or two or three months because I know that the reward, God willing, if I arrive safely, will be better. I have the American Dream in my mind.

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Carlos noted that if he got the position at El Diamante, he would stay, but added that he was not hopeful about his chances.

However, while Miguel and Carlos believed that any economic opportunity in the United States was preferable to their current situation, not all teachers shared their views. Noemy, in particular, was determined to make the best of life at home, focusing on the importance of her professional status and preparation as a teacher. In her view, migrating would represent a step backward, both professionally and personally. "Imagine how much I've studied, all that I've learned and that I still have to learn," she said. "There (in the United States), I'm not going to be able to practice like I do here, because I don't have the opportunities there. For example, how am I going to be a teacher there? I'm going to make money, yes, but maybe make money cleaning bathrooms or washing dishes. And I would feel stagnant as a professional. There's no personal satisfaction."

Anita also spoke of her desire to remain in El Salvador as opposed to seeking opportunities elsewhere. "I feel that here I have a career," she explained. "I was able to find a job for what I studied, so I'll stay here – even though I earn little, even though it's only enough to get me through the month." When Miguel joked that Anita didn't aspire to any higher goals, she answered simply, "I have ambitions to be with my family and to be in the country." Their exchange highlighted the differences in teachers' personal migration aspirations. While the younger male teachers expressed a desire to migrate, females and older teachers were more likely to remain in El Salvador. Following well-documented migration trends, migration ambitions were also linked to marital status, with single teachers like Carlos and Miguel more likely to want to migrate than married teachers like Anita.

From examining teacher perceptions of how migration affected their life and work possibilities, we return to the question of how life actually was. The next few pages examine the dialectic of educational ideals and realities, as perceived by teachers in Las Esmeraldas. In exploring the inherent complexities and contingencies, I endeavor to shed light on the ways that teachers made meaning of discrepancies between where they were and where they aspired to be.

3.2 Ideals and Realities

As has been noted previously, teachers' values and beliefs about their country's education system often reflect the deeply held values and beliefs of a given society (Arnove, 2013; Sadler, 1912). This understanding serves as a guiding principle for this section, in which I asked teachers to reflect on their own truths and myths, as a means of gaining insight into the truths and myths underlying national education policy.

3.2.1 Ideals: 'They have to teach our people to be entrepreneurs.' In Las Esmeraldas, it was a bit more difficult to get a sense of teachers' perceived ideals. While many spoke about improving the country's economy or doing away with corrupt institutions, it was hard to articulate what an ideal situation would look like. At times, teachers were so deeply entrenched in their present reality that current constraints were difficult to escape, even as a mental exercise. However, two distinct themes did emerge in relation to educational ideals: developing an entrepreneurial spirit and fostering social cohesion.

One the one hand, teachers felt that economic growth was contingent on people having the proper knowledge and tools to participate in a capitalist economy. While El Salvador's integration into the global economy was generally seen as disadvantageous,

participants acknowledged that it was important to learn how to navigate the system. Joel felt that education could play a role in fostering the entrepreneurial spirit that he saw as essential to promoting growth. "They have to teach our people to be entrepreneurs," he commented. "They say that we are undercapitalized capitalists. Well, they say we're capitalists, but no, here we're poor. A capitalist is someone who has capital and who can manage it, even if it's just a little bit. The person selling candy in the Centro[72] is more of a capitalist than the majority of our population."

Joel's allusion to the candy vendor highlighted the important role of El Salvador's informal labor market, which was a source of employment for many urban and rural poor. But, he added, with more education people would be more prepared for integration into the formal economy, which generally offered better wages and working conditions. Reflecting this point of view, he said, "I think that if this person were more prepared, he wouldn't be selling candy. He'd be doing something bigger."

The second theme that emerged with respect to teacher ideals was that social cohesion was integral to creating a more equitable society. Teachers felt that overcoming the dominant paradigm of possessive individualism and fostering a sense of collective well being would create better life and work conditions for more of El Salvador's citizens. However, they also acknowledged that, given the country's strict class divisions, fostering solidarity would be a difficult challenge.

In Miguel's vision, society was in need of a paradigm shift. "The people who have money here in El Salvador, they live life worrying about increasing their capital,

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[72] The Centro refers to San Salvador's downtown marketplace, which covers several city blocks and where hundreds of informal vendors line the streets in makeshift kiosks, selling everything from fruits and vegetables to discount clothing and pirated DVDs. In October 2012, the city's mayor ordered the dismantling of nearly 1,000 of these stalls, citing security and public safety concerns.

and the people with less resources don't matter to them," he began. "I think that if El Salvador and the education system reform, and if society stops thinking in this form that I call '*egoísta*'[73] ... if one day we are able to overcome this, El Salvador could have a little bit of remedy." While Miguel's vision for future development was generally hopeful, his response also reflected the realities of living and working in a culture dominated by neoliberal principles and possessive individualism. It is to these realities that we now turn, in an effort to place teacher ideals within the context of their current social reality.

3.2.2 Realities: 'There are two types of professionals in El Salvador.' In contrast to teachers' difficulties in articulating their ideals, they were much more straightforward when it came to describing El Salvador's realities. In Las Esmeraldas, the most prominent issues were the weak economy and unemployment, both of which had particular significance for teachers. Carlos explained that jobs were hard to come by in all sectors. "The reality of the country is very difficult," he said. "Even for the professionals, it has become very hard to find work. And now, a youth of 18 years old, with only a high school diploma... for him it's even more difficult." Carlos' comments highlighted the challenges facing youth from places like Las Esmeraldas, where the opportunities were limited and resources scarce. If professionals could not find work, he reasoned, the task was even more daunting for those with only a high school education.

Another reality with specific implications for teachers was that there were simply too many of them in El Salvador. Joel attributed the expansion of teacher education programs to the relatively easy curriculum and short time to degree (three years versus four or five for most other majors). The over-proliferation of people entering the

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[73] Egoistic or selfish.

profession had led to a saturation of the teaching market. According to Joel, there were sometimes as many as 400 applicants for one position.

In addition to the overabundance of credentialed teachers, those who did find work were not necessarily rewarded with high pay or respected status. In Joel's view, "There are many professionals in El Salvador who live worse than a day laborer in the United States." He gave the example of a neighbor who was a doctor but worked long hours, made a minimum salary, and was constantly fighting with his wife over money. Joel's theory was that there were two distinct classes of skilled workers in El Salvador. "There are two types of professionals in El Salvador," he asserted. "There are professionals that come from classes of high income or that have more economic resources, and the professional that comes from the middle and lower class. ... So this professional that comes from the middle and lower class has economic problems, because they thought that by being engineers or by being doctors they were going to improve their lives, but later they come and they offer us the salaries..."

In the middle of his commentary, Joel stopped to ask Miguel how much he had been offered to teach at El Diamante. Upon hearing the response, he retorted, "$300? After having earned an engineering degree? And with such a demanding schedule? It's like being a manual laborer." His comments reflected that fact that many teachers felt they had been exploited and left without adequate compensation for their professional training and preparation.

Yet in the midst of a seemingly grim situation, some teachers retained a sense of humor. As a final commentary, I conclude this section with an exchange between Carlos

and Miguel. The topic at hand was the difference in the lifestyles of Carlos' brother, who worked as a custodian in the United States, and Carlos, a teacher in El Salvador.

> Carlos: "So you say, 'How is it possible that in seven years ... he's already built a house, he's bought a car.' And in that same seven years that I've worked here, I don't even have a steady job."
> Miguel (aside to interviewer): "He doesn't have a vehicle or a wife either."
> Carlos: "There's the comedy, right? So what I have is unemployment, this is what I have."

While Carlos and Miguel appeared to be joking, their exchange was underscored by an element of truth. Carlos' brother had obtained what they saw as a better quality of life by migrating to the United States. Meanwhile, Carlos continued working long hours for minimal pay, without job security. Yet while he had expressed aspirations to migrate, Carlos saw it as a decision to be made only after all other possibilities had been exhausted. The fact that he remained dedicated to his work and to his students offered a sense of hope amid an otherwise bleak outlook for the future of Salvadoran education. Drawing on his example, I would like to end this chapter with some final thoughts about what can be learned from the teachers of Las Esmeraldas.

Concluding Remarks

By way of a conclusion, I offer my reflections about the essence of the teaching experience at El Diamante. It was clear that teachers had experienced their share of both successes and challenges when it came to confronting migration and globalization. Teacher roles and responsibilities, along with their notions of identity and citizenship, had all been affected in some way by processes of migration and globalization, even in this relatively isolated rural village. As a result, teachers found themselves having to redefine and reinterpret their work in ways that were not always easy or welcome. But

since this chapter has already dwelled much on difficulties and challenges, I prefer to close by discussing the possibilities for progress and change.

Again I draw on the question of how collective imagination can translate to social action. I argue for the importance of the social imaginary, which can be understood as a way of thinking shared by ordinary people in a society. According to Rizvi (2010), the social imaginary comprises the common understandings that make everyday practices possible, giving them meaning and legitimacy. He has written that, "a social imaginary is both implicit and normative: it is embedded in ideas and practices and events, and carries within it deeper normative notions and images, constitutive of a society" (p. 229). Viewed through the framework of a social imaginary, teachers can be envisioned as the base around which Salvadorans can begin to construct a new understanding about what it means to belong to their society. This is particularly relevant in the context of migration and globalization, which have led to fractures in national solidarity and group identity.

Rizvi (2010) has posited that a social imaginary is passed on through myths, parables, stories, legends, and other narratives. As such, teachers can play a key role in ensuring the transmission of past and present realities, as well as future ideals. Furthermore, the ways in which those messages are transmitted can have considerable bearing on the direction of El Salvador's education system and of its society as a whole. Lastly, if a shared social imaginary makes possible relations and sociability among strangers in the same society (Rizvi, 2010), then teachers are integral to fostering a sense of belonging and collective understanding. Thus the social imaginary provides a powerful way to think about the ways in which teachers in places like Las Esmeraldas can play an active role in determining the future direction of their society.

I would like to end this chapter in the same fashion as the previous one, by privileging teachers' voices. The goal of this research, after all, is to tell teachers' stories and to make meaning of their experiences. Accordingly, I conclude with a statement made by Joel, after I asked him how he envisioned the future of migration in El Salvador. Here is what he had to say:

> I believe that if the countries of origin, like the United States, Spain, Italy, and other countries that are the principal focus of immigration, helped El Salvador – not by giving us a bag of beans, not by giving us a bag of corn, but helping with technology, helping with human capital... During the war, they sent consultants to make war. Today they send consultants to confront the economic crisis. But they should educate us instead. And with that, these countries would suffer less from immigration and perhaps the necessity to migrate would be less urgent.

Chapter Six

Conclusions and Implications

"*Immigration is constitutive of the human experience: It makes and remakes the world. It is written in our DNA, in our neo-cortex, in our bipedalism, and in our stereoscopic vision. It has left a deep imprint in our shared archeology.*"

— Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010, p. 549

In this final chapter, I present a summary of my research, emphasizing the key similarities and differences that emerged between the communities of La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas. From further analysis of my findings, I draw several conclusions related to the research questions and guiding themes. I also discuss the implications of this study, particularly its significance for teachers and schools, curriculum and pedagogy, teacher training, education policy, alternative models of education research and planning, and new models of community-driven development. Finally, I offer suggestions for future research in comparative and international education that will build upon and expand the issues and ideas explored in this dissertation.

Discussion

This phenomenological study sought to understand the effects of migration on the roles and identities of teachers in two public schools in El Salvador. Through in-depth interviews with 19 participants, I examined the meaning-making processes adopted by teachers as they endeavored to make sense of the tensions between educating global citizens and preparing students for engagement with local issues and contexts. By delving deeper into the politics of education in El Salvador, this study advances migration and globalization discourse beyond broad-based categorizations in order to examine how

changes in an increasingly internationalized and multicultural world society are affecting local actors.

My work builds on the rich literature on Latin American education, grounded in the tradition of scholarship set forth by scholars including Robert Arnove, Carlos Torres, Pablo Gentili, and Terry Karl. Drawing on this foundational framework, I have layered my own insights and analysis about what it means to be a teacher in a sender country like El Salvador, filling a perceived gap in the literature. Highlighting this gap, more than a decade ago, Vandra Masemann (1999) issued a call for qualitative research that took a more micro-level approach to understanding educational processes. She pushed for work that would explore the inner workings of culture (and politics) in classrooms and schools, and give voice to marginalized and peripheral populations that were generally muted or ignored in large-scale comparisons. In the time since, several scholars have heeded Masemann's call. Yet the void still looms large.

This study offers a response by providing a grounded theoretical perspective through which to view the dialectics of education and emigration in El Salvador. Highlighting the major contributions of this research, I offer in the following sections some conclusions about how my findings relate to larger issues and themes, as well as what they reveal about the commonalities and discrepancies between teacher experiences in La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas. I first share some general observations, then move to a more specific discussion related to the three main research questions.

General observations. In the process of collecting and analyzing data, it became clear that local context played an important role in how Salvadoran teachers experienced and viewed their work. In other words, although teachers in La Armonía and Las

Esmeraldas shared some common struggles and successes, the overall teaching experience in each community had a distinct and unique essence. Certainly some degree of variation in individual responses was expected, with differences in age, gender, marital status, teaching experience, and personal migration experience taken into account. Furthermore, in line with its phenomenological design, my study was largely concerned with developing a "theory of the unique" that reflected the unique and particular circumstances of teachers in each community (van Manen, 1991, p. 150).

Upon closer review of the findings, I realized that two distinct narratives had emerged – one, the story of teachers who had tacitly accepted the school's prevailing pedagogy of migration (as was the case in La Armonía), and the other, a tale of teachers actively promoting a pedagogy of staying (as observed in Las Esmeraldas). However, it is important to note that these two pedagogies need not be viewed as fundamentally and diametrically opposed. That is, teachers who subscribed to a "pedagogy of staying" did not necessarily openly rebel against the idea of migration. Instead, they made use of teaching and learning models that they felt offered students improved opportunities at the local level. Likewise, teachers with a "pedagogy of migration" mindset did not exclusively focus on global issues and contexts, but felt that they had little influence over students' decisions to migrate and thus tended to approach their practice with a sense of disengagement or detachment.

Seeking to make meaning of these findings, I concluded that the emergence of two distinct pedagogies could be viewed as a product of several intersecting and overlapping factors, including the communities' socioeconomic makeup, their migration profiles, and the overall school culture, particularly the messages about migration

conveyed through teacher attitudes and practices. In sum, what I observed was the emergence of two unique models of teaching and learning, which I saw not as a reflection of individual teachers but as a result of some key differences between the two communities.

A major area of contrast between the communities related to their size, urban-rural composition, and access to media and technology. For example, La Armonía was a mid-sized, semi-urban *pueblo* with regular access to Internet and telecommunications services. In terms of economic development and social institutions, it was relatively modern compared with the rest of El Salvador, with several banks, a shopping center, and Internet cafes throughout town. Travel to San Salvador and other urban hubs was frequent and relatively uncomplicated, with buses leaving La Armonía at regularly scheduled half-hour intervals throughout the day. Furthermore, the town's long history of international migration and role as a strategic site during the civil war were salient features of the community's identity.

In contrast, the economy and people of Las Esmeraldas were still largely centered on subsistence agriculture. Lacking Internet access and regular telecommunications service, the small village, or *cantón*, remained relatively isolated. Unlike in La Armonía, there was little evidence of formal commercial enterprise, and most economic and social exchanges were based on more traditional methods. Although it was closer to San Salvador distance-wise, transportation was not as readily available as in La Armonía, with only one bus into and one bus out of the village each day. Absent a strong tradition of migration and with little lingering impact from the war, life for many of Las Esmeraldas' citizens was much the same as it had been decades ago.

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Understanding these differences between the communities is crucial to understanding the differences in teacher experiences. Furthermore, there were also some key differences between the two participant groups. Firstly, while the vast majority of teachers in La Armonía lived in the community, none of the Las Esmeraldas teachers were local residents. This added another level of complexity to the analysis process and further contributed to differences in the teaching narratives of each community. While the teachers from La Armonía saw themselves as state missionaries with the aim of forming national citizens, teachers in Las Esmeraldas were commuters who were more concerned with developing human capital. However, in both cases, teachers maintained a belief in the notion of progress through education, and the idea that if one worked hard, studied, and obtained a degree, then social mobility would be made possible.

A second, and more important, difference was related to the level of experience among each group of teachers. Recalling that the La Armonía group had on average three times as much experience as the Las Esmeraldas group – 22.6 years as opposed to 7.6 years – it was clear that seniority played an important role in shaping their perspectives on teaching and learning. In general, older, more experienced teachers tended to give more standardized, uniform responses about their roles and responsibilities, typically aligned with the traditional nation-building spirit of education. In contrast, younger teachers with less experience saw their roles as linked to a human capital model of public schooling.

In analyzing these differences, I return to Lakoff's work on framing, which has suggested that human beings make sense of their roles through the use of metaphors. These metaphors, which are essential to human understanding, help us to create social

realities, as well as guide future action (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Thus present experience can be understood in terms of its relation to past and future experiences. When our actions "fit the metaphor," it ultimately serves to "reinforce the power of the metaphor to make experience coherent" (p. 156). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have further argued that in this respect, metaphors can be self-fulfilling prophecies.

The concept of the guiding metaphor is particularly useful when considering the responses of teachers, who as experienced public employees are often quite adept at employing ruling narratives and offering standard answers when asked to discuss the nature of their work. Thus the ways in which teachers have dealt with their own lives can color how they view their roles as educators. In terms of this particular study, there was a distinct tension related to seniority and teachers' perceptions of their own social and economic capital. In other words, while they had secured a prestigious, respected position within the community, they were also coping with the stresses of a strenuous and tedious job that resulted in marginal economic gains.

Furthermore, while more senior teachers, due to their own life experiences, maintained a belief in education as a source of socioeconomic mobility, the same was not necessarily true for their younger counterparts, nor for their students. This realization, reinforced by the lack of labor opportunities within El Salvador, had compelled teachers to confront a significant tension: although they believed in what they were doing, they also acknowledged that it wasn't working. The rise in youth migration – and in some cases the migration aspirations of teachers – was further evidence that schooling was not seen as either a sufficient or necessary condition for upward mobility.

Having shared my general observations about La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas, I will now offer some conclusions related to the three primary themes addressed in this dissertation: teacher roles and responsibilities, teachers' understanding of identity and citizenship, and teacher perceptions of opportunities and challenges related to migration.

Teacher roles and responsibilities. On the question of how teachers perceived their primary roles and responsibilities, there was both consistency and diversity. Areas of consensus included lack of financial and technical support from government and policymakers, frustration with unclear and seemingly ever-changing expectations (for teachers and for students), and uncertainty about the fundamental mission and aims of public education. Yet amid their many frustrations and critiques, teachers in both communities also had a distinct sense of their own roles in promoting development, at both the local and national level. In this sense, teachers saw themselves as important social actors with a collective commitment to push for change, even though they were not always optimistic about the outcomes.

However, along with these general comparisons, I also observed a clear divergence in terms of how participants from each community viewed the primary objectives of schooling. While teachers in La Armonía noted that education for citizenship and democracy was a priority, teachers in Las Esmeraldas rarely mentioned these aspects of their work. Furthermore, the teacher's role in transmitting local culture and values and promoting social integration was emphasized to a much greater degree in La Armonía than in Las Esmeraldas. In contrast, teachers in Las Esmeraldas were more concerned with preparing students for entry into the workforce and helping them develop

the tools to participate in modern society.[74] Thus locality played a key role in how each group of teachers understood and went about their work.

In making sense of these areas of divergence, I again point to the social and economic differences between La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas. In La Armonía, processes of migration and globalization were seen as contributing to a breakdown of local culture and values – a trend that was clearly reflected in teacher perceptions of their primary roles. In contrast, public schooling in Las Esmeraldas was more attuned to addressing immediate economic and household needs. Furthermore, while teachers in Las Esmeraldas acknowledged the role and impact of the global family, they felt that their work was more geared toward preparing students to confront local realities than toward preparing them for participation in a global knowledge society that they saw as having a nominal impact on daily life.

Similarly, differences in the communities' migration profiles may well be linked to variations in teacher attitudes about their work. In La Armonía, teachers emphasized the need for moral and ethical education amid what they saw as a loss of traditional values. Explaining how migration was often linked to family and social problems, including delinquency and gang violence, they offered this as evidence of a moral decline among the youth and deterioration of long-established value systems. In contrast, the theme of moral-ethical and/or cultural values did not feature prominently in teacher interviews at Las Esmeraldas. The social tensions related to migration cited by La

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[74] In making these observations, I do not mean to imply that teachers at either C.E. La Independencia or C.E. El Diamante were limited to performing only the functions and roles highlighted in this dissertation. Clearly teachers' work is multilayered and complex, encompassing a variety of roles, many of which are fulfilled on a simultaneous and ongoing basis. My aim here is to point out the most salient aspects of the teaching experience in each community in order to draw meaningful conclusions about their fundamental essence.

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Armonía teachers were less seldom referenced by participants in Las Esmeraldas, likely reflecting the fact that they were not experienced as saliently in the rural community. These kinds of disparities highlight the important role that teacher perceptions and experiences played in shaping how they viewed and went about their work, a conclusion consistent with Mercado's (1991, 2002) *saberes docentes* model, which privileges teachers' experience and subsequent reflection on that experience as important aspects of pedagogy and practice.

In a related finding, the clearest difference between the communities related to teachers' classroom responses to migration. In chapter 4, I examined the feelings of powerlessness expressed by La Armonía's teachers regarding the loss of students to migration, a phenomenon I termed a "pedagogy of migration." In Las Esmeraldas, I witnessed a quite different trend, with the emergence of a "pedagogy of staying" – the main focus of chapter 5. Clearly these represent two distinct models of and approaches toward schooling, with teachers taking on either a passive or an active role depending on their perceived level of agency.

The sense of confusion and powerlessness expressed by La Armonía's teachers was reminiscent of Durkheim's (1933) notion of anomie, used to describe the anonymity felt by many individuals amid a rapidly changing modern urban society. In Durkheim's model, society is held together by a central value system and set of social norms, based on collective consciousness (Giddens, 1973; Slattery, 2003). These social guidelines, or norms, provide a basic framework and set of expectations that help to direct and control a society's members. Anomie is the result of the absence of such norms, particularly in times of social transition – as is the case in present-day El Salvador, with shifts in social,

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political, and economic power intensified by processes of migration and globalization – and societal disruption, exemplified by El Salvador's twin crises of youth delinquency and gang violence.

Whether or not El Salvador has reached the stage of complete social disorder, or "sickness," predicted by Durkheim is topic for another paper. Nevertheless, the concept of anomie provides a useful construct through which to view the dilemma of teachers in places like La Armonía. Connected with normless-ness, rapid social change, disruption of traditional values, and the rise of individualism over communal or social concerns, anomie offers an apt description of the status of public schooling, at least as seen through the eyes of the teachers.

Furthermore, the experience of La Armonía's teachers offers empirical evidence of what Torres (2000) has referred to as an "unstable consensus" between teachers and the state. Changes in the role of the state, coupled with a decline in teachers' overall living and working conditions, have led to new notions about teachers' role in implementing state educational aims and objectives. These tensions have been further heightened in the context of globalization, which has contributed to changing conceptualizations of citizenship and identity amid the creation of new transnational systems and networks. Accordingly, we now turn from a discussion of overarching teacher roles to a more specific aspect of the teaching experience: how migration and globalization affect teachers' notions of identity and citizenship.

Identity and citizenship. As was the case with the first guiding theme, areas of comparison and contrast emerged in relation to teachers' understandings of identity and citizenship. However, in this case, age and teaching experience, as opposed to locality,

were more strongly correlated with particular teacher views. For example, in both communities older teachers tended to have a stronger sense of "being Salvadoran," while younger teachers adopted a more transnational view of citizenship and identity. In a similar vein, older teachers expressed more negative attitudes toward migrants, while younger teachers, particularly those in Las Esmeraldas, tended to adopt a more favorable stance. Participants in both communities noted a growing culture of consumerism and dependency, which they saw as linked to neoliberal politics and policies, along with the growth of possessive individualism.

Yet going beyond what teachers had in common, some key differences emerged as well. For example, teachers in La Armonía were more critical of processes of transculturation,[75] which they saw as contributing to a loss of historical memory and a diminished appreciation for the country's past. For them, identity formation was largely rooted in an understanding of the characteristics and qualities that made an individual uniquely Salvadoran. Likewise, citizenship was generally understood as the exercise of certain civic rights and responsibilities within the borders of the nation state. Once people migrated, they were seen as having given up a certain degree of Salvadoran citizenship. This is an important finding that offers interesting possibilities for future research, in terms of how Salvadorans, particularly students, at home and in host countries like the United States conceptualize and enact elements of citizenship. The potential for a future

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[75] As explained in chapter 4, transculturation refers to mutual transformations that take place as a result of relations and interactions between different cultures (Hernández, Millington, & Borden, 2005; Ortiz, 1978). As a result of this intermingling and exchange of different peoples, a new, common culture emerges that reflects elements of each of the original cultures.

research agenda focusing on these themes will be addressed in a forthcoming section of this chapter.

In contrast, teachers in Las Esmeraldas did not perceive such a fixed relationship between national territory and national identity. While they saw a clear difference between Salvadoran culture and identity and Western, or American, culture and identity, they were not as critical of the latter as teachers in La Armonía. In addition, rather than looking to the past to guide the direction of their work, they were more future-oriented, thinking about how they could best prepare their students to engage with modern technology and skills. Thus in Las Esmeraldas, citizenship was not necessarily conceptualized according to country of residence but rather in terms of an individual's ability to enjoy basic universal rights, such as access to education, opportunities for employment, and the ability to participate in social and political processes.

Certainly these discrepancies could be traced, at least in part, to socioeconomic and historical differences between the communities. However, they were also representative of a larger ideological struggle over identity and citizenship, in particular questions about the continued relevance of the nation state in an internationalized and globalized world society. Among others, Manuel Castells, Alain Touraine, and Carlos Torres have argued that globalization – and, I would add, migration – represents an assault on traditional notions of society and the nation state, dramatically altering the very nature of citizenship and social change (Torres, in press). Highlighting the role of migration in contributing to these changes, Marcelo and Carola Suárez-Orozco have noted that in the United States, an estimated 14.6 million people live in some sort of mixed-status home, where at least one member of the family is undocumented (Passel,

2006; Suárez-Orozco, C., Yoshikawa, Teranishi, & Suárez-Orozco, M.M., 2011). In the United States, 1 in 10 children grows up in such a household (Passel, 2006), while in sender countries like El Salvador many parents make the decision to leave their children behind, contributing to growing numbers of transnationally separated families (Suárez-Orozco, C. et al., 2011). Thus, as Marcelo Suárez-Orozco (2011) has written, "immigration is the human face of globalization – the sounds, colors, and smells of a miniaturized, interconnected, and fragile world" (p. 1).

Focusing on the impact of these global flows and transnational linkages, proponents of transnational theory go a step further, contending that the nation state no longer provides a valuable unit of analysis or comparison in today's world (Beck, 2000; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2003). However, based on my findings, I argue that the nation state continues to play an important role, at least as an ideological construct and source of national identity and collective meaning making. As the next few pages will demonstrate, my research suggests that teachers in La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas saw elements of both nation and state as important to the development of their theories and practice.

To begin with, migration and globalization have had important implications for instrumental culture, namely the skills, competencies, and social behaviors needed to live in and contribute to society (Meyer, 2000). This was most clearly evidenced in Las Esmeraldas, where teachers saw their main roles as modernizers and job trainers. Meanwhile, these processes have also had an impact on expressive culture, or the values, worldviews, and patterns of interpersonal relations that give meaning to one's sense of self (Meyer, 2000) – a trend highlighted in the critiques of teachers in La Armonía. Yet

teachers in both communities articulated a clear distinction between Salvadoran culture and what they viewed as a global or Western neoliberal culture. Thus I would argue that for many of them, identity and citizenship remained closely linked to national contexts and state boundaries.

My findings also support previous work on the role of the nation state in forming notions of citizenship and identity. In her study of transnational migration in El Salvador, Mahler (1999) argued for the central role of human activities and their historical and spatial contexts, writing that, "borders, nation states, and national identities still exist and are of consequence" (p. 692). Likewise, Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004) have warned that the dismissal of national borders has been premature, and that the nation state is unlikely to disappear in the near future.

Accordingly, this dissertation challenges the notion put forth by scholars like Appadurai (1996), who has written that, "the nation state, as a complex modern political form, is on its last legs" (p. 19). While it may be true, as he has suggested, that the nation state makes sense only as part of a complex, interactive system, such a view minimizes the significance of struggles like those experienced by teachers in La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas. Indeed, politics is always local, as is existence for the majority of people.

In further understanding how teachers saw their relation to the nation state, it is important to make a distinction between the concepts of nation and state, which have become tightly intertwined and often conflated, both in the literature and in people's consciousness. Tsuda (2010) has provided a useful framework for understanding this distinction, differentiating between elements of the nation (collectively shared national cultures) and civic elements, or those related to the state (common political institutions

and territory). Thus nationality is based on common ancestral descent and shared cultural heritage, whereas statehood is based on shared legal and political principles and institutions, as well as residence in a common territory (Brown, 2000; Tsuda, 2010). While these elements co-exist in all nation states, they are in constant tension, with one or the other becoming more dominant under various circumstances during different historical periods (Tsuda, 2010; Zimmer, 2003).

My conversations with teachers in both communities reflected these tensions. That is, they saw their work as weaving together elements of both nation and state. Many participants expressed a strong sense of "being Salvadoran"[76] and felt that historical and cultural knowledge had an important place in public schooling. In terms of civic elements, some were more open than others to the idea of transnational communities and/or citizenship. However, the underlying theme was that they were Salvadorans first, global citizens second. Drawing on these observations, I argue that increased flows of people and ideas across national boundaries do not necessarily negate or devalue the unique history, traditions, and cultures of individual nation states, nor do they render irrelevant existing political, legal, and territorial associations.

Transnational theory rejects the idea that society and the nation state are one and the same (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). However, I contend that by shifting our gaze exclusively to what goes on beyond and across national boundaries, we run the risk of overlooking what goes on within them. True, there is much to be gained by broadening

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[76] This emphasis on the importance of national identity echoes the perspective of British historian and political scientist Sir Alfred Zimmern, who did not see the concepts of "we" and "sense of peoplehood" as linked to geography or legal definitions. Writing in 1918, he stated: "Nationality, like religion, is subjective; statehood is objective. Nationality is psychological; statehood is political. Nationality is a condition of mind; statehood is a condition in law. Nationality is a spiritual possession; statehood is an enforceable obligation. Nationality is a way of feeling, thinking and living" (p. 51).

and deepening our analytical lens. However, we must be careful that in widening our scope of inquiry we do not miss opportunities to examine what is happening closer to home. While identities may have become more multiple and fragmented, it is clear that that where we come from still matters, especially in light of the fundamental transformations taking place vis a vis forces of migration and globalization.

Opportunities and challenges. The final area I will explore in this section relates to the third guiding question of this dissertation: the opportunities and challenges teachers perceived as being brought on by migration. A common thread across interviews was an acknowledgement of the difficult living conditions faced by both Salvadoran teachers and students. Poverty, unemployment, violence, and overall lack of opportunity were cited by participants in both communities as major obstacles. Yet while teachers felt constrained by their social reality, they also acknowledged the importance of equipping students with the tools to confront it. However, rather than taking a critical approach that challenged patterns of oppression and injustice, most teachers saw their role as limited to working within the existing system. That is, "giving students the tools to confront reality" was conceptualized in practical and economic terms (e.g., getting a job, contributing to family income, avoiding involvement in gangs) rather than in terms of the struggle for social justice and equality. In this sense, I would characterize the theories and practices of most teachers as conventional, rather than as critical, radical, or revolutionary.

Another common theme in both La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas was the need for an increased sense of social conscience, which they felt would lead to improved opportunities for all citizens. However, reflecting their own sense of powerlessness, teachers also noted that the key to real development lie with the country's elite. In this

sense, teachers' individual and collective struggles were indicative of broader center-periphery tensions being played out at the global level. Drawing on the metaphor of globalization's "winners" and "losers" (Lechner, 2009), teachers clearly saw themselves as the "losers," while the corporate and political elite constituted the "winners." This growing disconnect between social groups was seen as both a contributor to and a result of migration. Lacking opportunities for socioeconomic mobility at home, youth from places like La Armonía increasingly sought them out abroad. Likewise, economic gains made possible through migration contributed to deepening inequality at home.

Herein lies one of the major differences between the participant groups: the question of for whom migration was considered a viable possibility. Having spent most of their lives in La Armonía, teachers at C.E. La Independencia generally expected to remain there for the duration of their careers. In this case, it was *their students* who were likely to migrate and for whom the future opportunities and challenges had the most direct consequences. Conversely, in Las Esmeraldas migration was not viewed as a common pathway for youth. Instead, it was the *teachers themselves* for whom it offered a potential alternative. Owing to these differences, teachers expressed very different perspectives on the migration process and the opportunities and challenges it presented.

What's missing? Before moving to the implications of my findings, I would like to offer one last reflection about teacher roles and identities. This dissertation has already addressed much of what teachers have said and how I have interpreted their comments and critiques. However, I believe that it is also important to examine what was *not* said, in order to explore the silences that surround Salvadoran education and education policy.

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While there was much talk of the importance of certain knowledge and skills in terms of their potential economic returns, there was a notable absence of discussion of what might be termed education's higher purposes. Teachers were primarily focused on developing students who could "confront life's problems," which generally meant using their knowledge and skills to generate income and support their families. A much less frequent topic of conversation was the emancipatory or liberating potential of education. While most teachers saw themselves and their students as embedded within an oppressive and unjust system, they also seemed resigned to working within existing social, economic, and political structures rather than questioning them and pushing for change.

Implicit in this view was a sense of fatalism, underscored by the belief that teachers did not possess any real potential to change their own social realities. It also reflected the harsh living conditions of many teachers, who themselves earned barely enough to meet monthly obligations.[77] Thus teachers' work was guided by two joint perspectives – on the one hand, a sense of duty and professional responsibility, on the other a sense of hopelessness and despair. Given this scenario, perhaps it should not come as a surprise that education's higher purposes often took a backseat to more immediate tasks and responsibilities. However, the fact that these themes were not a focus of interviews does not necessarily mean that they were absent from teachers' consciousness. Instead, I would argue that they represent yet-to-be-explored avenues of research and new opportunities for social action.

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[77] Gentili (2007b) has referred to teachers in Latin America as "the poor who must educate the poor, in the context of the progressive impoverishment of teaching conditions" (p. 34)

Personal Reflections

"Being back in El Salvador has reminded me why and how I fell in love with this country in the first place. ... Life in La Armonía for the most part is the same. Of course there have been some changes – new stores, children have grown up, but mostly things are the same as when I left [in 2009]. And I think there's something to be said for that. Being here again, even for just a few months, feels like coming home. ... I truly do love mi querido El Salvador."

— Field journal entry, February 24, 2012

Before turning to the specific implications of this study, I would like to share some of my own learning gleaned through the process of researching and writing this dissertation. Following Freire's vision of human beings as "incomplete and unfinished," and as creatures that are always in movement, constantly shaping themselves, learning, and interacting with others and with the world (Torres, in press), I see myself, and this research project, as an ongoing journey of discovery and analysis. In this section, I offer some reflections about how my experiences in conducting this research have impacted my own knowledge, identity, and voice.

In writing this dissertation, I have sought to understand and make meaning of teachers' experiences with migration and globalization. In doing so, I examined how teachers in two communities viewed their primary roles and responsibilities, how they conceptualized identity and citizenship, and what they saw as the opportunities and challenges of living in a migratory society. Yet in addition to its focus on the experiences and identities of teachers in La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas, this study has also been a narrative of my personal development and growth.

As I reflect on the personal significance of this dissertation, it is clear that the process of collecting and analyzing data, along with the subsequent reporting of findings, has been much more than just another step toward obtaining a doctoral degree. For me,

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conducting research about and alongside Salvadoran teachers has also been a personal journey that has led me to reconsider and redefine some of my own deeply held values and beliefs. Thus in the process of making meaning of teachers' experiences and identities, I have also come to make meaning of my own. I would like to focus on four specific areas that I feel have been significantly impacted by this research project. These include my roles as a researcher, as a teacher, as a woman from the United States, and as a global citizen.[78]

As a researcher. This study has contributed to my understanding of myself as a researcher on several levels. First and foremost, it has shown me the merit of and need for more of this kind of empirical work. Teachers were eager to share their ideas, beliefs, and recommendations for their education system and for their society; on a whole, their chief critique was that too often their input had been overlooked or dismissed. I do not mean to overstate my role in "giving voice to the voiceless" or to position myself as the author of a grand narrative; rather my aim is to point out the value of incorporating diverse viewpoints and frames of reference into our own research. In essence, I saw myself as a "secretary" of teachers' stories. My status as a researcher from a world-class university allowed me access to channels of communication and resources through which teachers could share their knowledge and experiences with a broader audience.

I have also learned a great deal about the research process, as well as my own role within that process. This being my first major phenomenological study (in truth, my first

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[78] I would be remiss not to acknowledge my own position as a highly educated, white, North American woman at a top-ranked research university in the United States. I am well aware of the advantages and privileges that accompany status as an elite in the world system, as well as how this may be perceived in contrast to the status of Salvadoran teachers, who do not enjoy many of the same advantages and privileges. However, rather than focusing on the distance between myself and study participants, I prefer to focus on our commonalities, while retaining a critical awareness of our differential positioning within the world system.

phenomenological study of any kind), I was naturally anxious about my ability to collect sufficient and meaningful data. Would these teachers want to talk to me about their lives and work? Would there be some kind of connecting thread or would the teachers each have their own sets of issues? Would they even have anything to say? I soon realized that these fears were unfounded. As I listened to teacher after teacher share his or her thoughts, I began to identify several common themes. What's more, their responses echoed the findings of numerous other studies I had read as part of my literature review. I began to realize that the issues facing Salvadoran teachers were important issues for teachers throughout Latin America. And, many of their concerns were the same ones that had been raised for decades. Through my involvement in this project, I have become part of a collective and ongoing process of knowledge-production that seeks out and interprets patterns of meaning from the many voices and narratives that constitute Latin American education. I have realized that doing this kind of work inevitably changes not only the researcher and his/her participants, but can also impact the kind of research we do, how we do it, and for what purposes.

Erickson (2012) has written that part of the responsibility of the qualitative researcher is "to go beyond what the local actors understand explicitly, identifying the meanings that are outside the awareness of the local actors, and revealing the hidden curriculum so that it can be faced critically by teachers and students" (p. 1453). Through qualitative inquiry, teachers' theories and practices can be further analyzed, codified, deconstructed, and disseminated. Said another way, an effective critical researcher can make sense of seemingly disorganized and disconnected insights, and re-communicate the knowledge of the people in a more systematic and organized fashion (Torres, in

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press). Through this ongoing process of interpretation and re-interpretation of knowledge, the producers of knowledge (local actors) are able to "appraise, reinterpret, and rethink their own knowledge and insights, both conceptually and practically" (Torres, in press). Thus, comparative and international education research has an inherent responsibility to continue to explore what is happening in classrooms and schools across Latin America and around the world. We must continue to ask the difficult questions and raise the tough issues. At least, this is how I see my role going forward as a researcher and scholar.

As a teacher. As an educator myself, this research has prompted me to reconsider what it means to teach and what it means to be a teacher. Having taught in both U.S. and Salvadoran schools, I had prior experience in both contexts before conducting my dissertation research. However, in talking with teachers on a more personal and in-depth level, I began to rethink some of my own notions about schooling and education, again questioning my role in the larger process. I started to think more critically about my work and refine my own theories of education, paying closer attention to how local realities shape and guide our practice. For example, building on my findings from this project, I would like to further examine the ways that education systems reflect the values, beliefs, and structures of the world outside school walls, in particular the similarities and differences that exist between the U.S. and Salvadoran systems. I have also begun to think more critically about why we teach certain knowledge and skills, and perhaps more importantly, why we don't teach others. Finally, I have more deeply contemplated questions of power and justice, and the role that schools should play in the pursuit of social justice, as well as the differences between education and schooling, and how education as a process differs from education as an outcome.

Conducting this study has also brought me into solidarity with my Latin American colleagues. It has opened my eyes to the unique tensions and challenges faced by teachers in developing countries, while also revealing our shared struggles. For example, teachers worldwide face pressures due to unrealistic expectations, lack of resources, weak administrative support, too much work, too little pay, and being held responsible for all of society's ills. At the same time, the challenges I face as a teacher in the United States (e.g., high-stakes testing, funding tied to school performance) also differ significantly from those faced by my Salvadoran counterparts (e.g., loss of culture and historical memory, fragmented sense of national identity). Yet we share a common responsibility to educate future generations to the best of our abilities.

As a North American woman. In terms of identity and citizenship, this dissertation has demonstrated the importance of context in determining how we are viewed by others, as well as how we view ourselves. In my own case, I see identity as inherently local, as fluid and malleable, able to adapt to a given context or situation. For example, at UCLA, I am Meredith, a doctoral candidate and graduate student researcher. I speak and write the language of academic English and position myself as an expert on Salvadoran migration. As a woman in higher education, I am no longer the exception, but in fact part of a growing majority. Meanwhile, in La Armonía, I am Mariana, a colleague, co-worker, and friend. I speak *campesina* Spanish, drink *horchata*, and eat *pupusas*.[79] As a woman, I am at times confronted with outwardly sexist language and behaviors.

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[79] *Horchata* and *pupusas* are typical Salvadoran cuisine. The former is a traditional Mexican beverage made of rice or almonds and sweetened with sugar and cinnamon; the latter is El Salvador's national dish, which consists of a thick corn tortilla filled with a blend of cheese, beans, and cooked pork meat.

Although I am ostensibly the same person in both scenarios, I am cognizant of the fact that my actions and behaviors, my patterns of thought, and even their meanings, have different connotations according to whether I am in Los Angeles or in El Salvador, whether I am Meredith or Mariana. What this all means and how to theorize its implications is subject for another dissertation. However, I see this study as a first step in understanding the local significance and contextuality of my own identity.

Another main focus of this dissertation, and another area where my prior understandings have been challenged, is the notion of citizenship. Intellectually, I recognize that I am a U.S. citizen. I was born in the United States, thus I am afforded certain rights and responsibilities. However, a part of me also identifies as Salvadoran. True, I cannot claim to be a citizen in the traditional sense of possessing civic rights and privileges. Yet my experience in the Peace Corps and the four-plus years that I lived and worked in El Salvador have led me to develop a strong emotional and spiritual connection to the country and its people. Perhaps these tensions can be best understood through the Spanish phrase "*gringa de nacimiento pero salvadoreña de corazón.*"[80]

The issues that emerge as I attempt to reconcile this sense of dual identity/dual citizenship highlight yet another way in which this dissertation has impacted me on a personal level. This also dovetails nicely into the final area I would like to address: my role as a member of a global community.

As a global citizen. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, this study has shown me the inherent value of personal relationships and the importance of fostering authentic human connections across contexts and borders. The conversations and dialogues I

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[80] American by birth, but of Salvadoran heart.

shared with teachers were not just opportunities to collect data, they were opportunities to learn about and form real bonds with Salvadoran teachers.

Yet this observation also raises an important question: How do we quantify this kind of learning and ensure that our research has a meaningful impact? Some might point to the publication of books and journal articles, the presentation of findings at conferences of international and comparative education societies, the content of lectures at universities and other institutions of higher learning, or the writing of grants for future research. True, these are all important outlets through which to share our findings.

But for me, the intrinsic value of my research is of another nature. It lies in the honest human connections that are formed between researcher and participant. It is realized in those moments when the understanding gleaned through phenomenological inquiry allows us to better comprehend the knowledge and experiences of another individual, or another group, enabling us to understand one another on a deeper, more human level. It is actualized every time that we stop to think about how someone else might view an issue or how a different actor might respond to a challenge. For me, that is the real value of this research – when we stop viewing each other as researcher and participant and begin to see each other as partners in the struggle for democracy and social justice.

I am not unaware that these claims may come off as politically and/or intellectually shallow, given my relatively comfortable position in the world. However, I want to be clear that I do not see my work in terms of charity or benevolence. What I mean to convey here is that the ways in which this research has changed me (intellectually, spiritually, emotionally, etc.) have also served to strengthen my

commitments to social transformation and social justice education. That is, I see my own voice and identity – as a researcher, a teacher, a U.S. woman, and a global citizen – as inextricably linked with the political struggles of larger groups in the world system. In the tradition of critical theory, I am more convinced than ever that the analytical and political dimensions of research cannot be easily separated. Keeping this in mind, I now turn to the more specific implications of my work and its contributions to education research, policy, and practice.

Implications

With its focus on the interrelationship of migration, globalization, and education, this study has implications for diverse stakeholders with a multitude of interests and needs. Salvadoran teachers, students, and policymakers have all been affected by global transformations influencing world politics, economies, societies, and cultures. My research offers insight into the local implications of these changing contexts, in particular the ways in which teachers seek to make meaning of their roles and identities amid multiple and often conflicting notions of citizenship and belongingness. Understanding the experiences of teachers in La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas can help us to understand how local actors either reflect or resist global patterns and trends. Accordingly, this study has significance not only for local teachers, students, and schools, but also for policymakers and planners at the regional, state, and even international level.

The specific implications of this research can be categorized into several distinct yet related domains. Some of the key areas where I feel my work can make a meaningful contribution are:

- presenting a framework for knowledge production by and about local community leaders and organizations, including teachers, activists, worker unions, and others interested in promoting democratic models of local development

- suggesting an alternative model of research, policymaking, and planning that enhances the role of "studied" populations in education agendas and policies (Torres, 2002)

- envisioning a framework for national solidarity and social cohesion that is not wholly determined by the state but instead represents a social compact among the state, civil society, and social movements

- offering insight about how to use both economic and social *remesas* as collective resources to enhance local community and culture

- proposing a rethinking of dominant theories of identity, belonging, and citizenship to help teachers make sense of their roles in a global, transnational society

Furthermore, my findings are relevant at several levels of the educational ladder – for teachers, students and schools; for curriculum and pedagogy; for teacher training; for education policy; and for the development of new research models in comparative and international education. I also see a role for this kind of work in promoting alternative models of community-driven development. I will briefly address each of these areas before offering some suggestions for future research.

Teachers, students, and schools. This study adds to the already rich literature on teaching and learning in Latin America, with a goal of expanding the current narrative through the stories of teachers affected by recent surges of emigration. Building on Ginsburg's findings (1995) on the political dimensions of teachers' work, this study has

highlighted the ways that Salvadoran teachers negotiate the tensions of carrying out multiple and often conflicting roles – a delicate process that includes transmitting cultural knowledge and values, educating for citizenship and democracy, providing job and skills training, and promoting local and national development. At the same time, they are expected to engage with global knowledge, values, and skills. By shedding light on teachers' daily thinking and work processes, this study aims to balance discussion of large-scale changes in education systems and institutions with insight into how they affect specific local actors.

In addition to teachers, students are also facing new pressures and demands as a result of El Salvador's increasing migration rates. In fact, some students could be said to experience a double migration effect – initially with the departure of their parent(s), and later when considering whether to leave home themselves. Student attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs about the role (and value) of education, as well as their academic achievement and learner identities, are all directly impacted by their understandings of and experiences with migration. Greater awareness of the ways in which teachers respond to changes brought on by the migration process may allow students to better make sense of their own circumstances.

While this dissertation did not directly focus on student experiences, it nonetheless has implications for youth in El Salvador and across Latin America. Students who remain in sender countries are often treated as passive receptors of the impact of migration rather than as unique social actors with a serious stake in its outcomes. This study takes the latter view, positing that if migration changes teacher attitudes and perceptions, then it must also play a role in mediating student beliefs and behaviors.

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Hence a better understanding of teacher roles and identity can provide valuable insights into how and why students act and react in certain ways. The discussion could extend further still, encompassing youth who are either not in school or who leave school due to migration. It follows that this study has implications for all actors within the schooling context, as well as for those who remain on the margins.

Curriculum and pedagogy. While teachers and students constitute the primary actors within schools, curriculum and pedagogy are the primary ways in which they relate to and interact with one another. This study also offers valuable insights in these areas, particularly in terms of promoting dialogue about the ways in which certain knowledge and skills are taught and/or learned. A decade ago, Tedesco (2001) foresaw a pivotal moment for re-conceptualizing pedagogies, instructional methods, and teaching and learning models, writing, "we have already passed the institutional density stage, now comes the moment of pedagogy, the moment of teaching, the moment of finding the methods, the procedures, the appropriate forms to change the processes of teaching and learning" (p. 60). This study helps to fill some of the gaps in our understanding of the everyday experiences and meaning-making systems that have a direct impact on teachers' pedagogical and instructional choices.

Pointing to the importance of this kind of research, Torres (2001) has written that, "we know very little about what happens daily in the classroom and therefore it is necessary to implement greater educational research at this specific level of the system, both in terms of curriculum and pedagogy" (p. 42). Hence studies like this one play an increasingly valuable role in contributing not only to educational research but also to the development of new theories, methods, and epistemologies emanating from the global

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South. Taken together with other research in this area, this study provides important insights into how teachers and students experience and understand El Salvador's current curriculum.

In a similar study of Salvadoran youth, Dyrness (2011) examined the impact of migration and transnationalism on student perceptions of identity and citizenship. Her findings showed that Salvadoran youth exhibited elements of a nationalistic identity and expressed an eagerness to learn more about and delve deeper into their historical roots. Yet while her study portrayed youth as eager to fill a gap in their knowledge of Salvadoran history and culture, my research suggests that teachers were either unaware of or unwilling to acknowledge these traits in their students. This points to a serious pedagogical disconnect, where messages about what students should learn and what teachers should teach have become increasingly muddled. However, with more research focusing on these issues and increased communication among scholars, teachers, students, and policymakers, we may uncover some important commonalities in our thinking about public schooling.

This study can help to promote an open and honest dialogue that takes into account the kinds of learning deemed important by students, as well as the teaching models deemed most effective by teachers. This could constitute a next stage of this line of research, where teachers and students join together in participatory action-oriented projects that allow for better communication and understanding. It may also lead to the development of more inclusive teaching and learning paradigms that encompass both modern and traditional ways of knowing.

Finally, this study has implications for the conceptualization and implementation

of citizenship education in Salvadoran schools. Among others, Dyrness (2011) has argued for an approach that reflects the changing nature of citizenship in the context of migration and globalization, as young people increasingly express a sense of belonging that transcends national boundaries. Such a model is based on the premise that citizenship does not necessarily imply assimilation to national identity.

Yet for teachers in La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas, citizenship and national identity were closely intertwined, at times framed as one and the same. In fact, many participants were of the mind that territory and identity (or state and society) *should* coincide, in which case migration posed a serious threat to the national collectivity. As teachers saw their culture and identity becoming more multiple and fragmented in the context of migration and globalization, they felt pressure to "hold onto" their Salvadoran-ness. Viewed from this perspective, the creation of a transnational cultural community was less desirable than preserving the traditional Salvadoran cultural narrative. That is, teachers sought to promote a homogenous discourse of Salvadoran identity as a means of combating cultural ruptures brought about by migration.

Much remains to be explored with respect to the social and political dimensions of the cross-border ties resulting from processes of migration and globalization. However, taken together with previous studies on the impact of migration on citizenship education, my findings present an opportunity for meaningful dialogue about the significance of these issues for curriculum and pedagogy, not only in Salvadoran schools but also in other sender countries experiencing similar tensions.

Teacher training. A third area where this study can make an impact is teacher training, which has becoming increasingly important in the context of the cropping up of

numerous private, for-profit universities – often of questionable quality – across El Salvador and the rest of Latin America. Amid El Salvador's glut of teachers, there is a distinct need for educators who are not only knowledgeable and informed about local and global contexts, but who are also able to critically reflect on their own social realities. Arnove, Franz, and Torres (2013) have suggested that Latin American universities can play an important role in creating these kinds of professionals, namely through programs rooted in local knowledge and democratic knowledge production. They have outlined their approach, which calls for the creation of rural-based education centers, in the following terms:

> Building a university education around the knowledge generated by rural-based centers would contribute to the formation of professionals who, because they had a more realistic understanding of their society, would be better prepared to address its most pressing problems. Moreover, the work of such centers would contribute to empowering the 'producing majority' to become major historical actors involved in the transformation of an unsatisfactory status quo that has marginalized and exploited them. (p. 333)

Their recommendations echo concerns articulated by study participants, who bemoaned the fact that what their students needed most were practical, applicable knowledge and skills that would help them to better understand and engage with their world. Yet teachers' initial training and professional development opportunities did not provide them with the tools or resources to effectively fulfill these objectives. A revamping of El Salvador's teacher training program, grounded in an approach that recognizes teachers as important historical actors, would represent a step toward a more community based and locally relevant public education.

Education policy. Along with teacher training, education policy was one of the aspects of schooling most heavily criticized by teachers in both La Armonía and Las

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Esmeraldas. It also represents another area where this study can make a contribution. It is no secret that education policy has typically been slow to respond to social change, at times lagging years or even decades behind important socioeconomic, political, cultural, or ideological shifts. Highlighting this dilemma, Carnoy and Rhoten (2002) have noted that despite the profound transformations taking place in global society, "education appears to have changed little at the classroom level in most countries – even in those nations most involved in the global economy and the information age" (p. 2). Their assessment brings to light the inherent problematics of linking research and policy agendas.

Yet it is clear that by overlooking the importance of teacher behaviors and role construction within any education system, we risk overlooking key components of the change process. At the most fundamental level, teachers are the ones who make meaning of education reforms and enact them on a daily basis. They are expected to change their attitudes and behaviors, and work to integrate prior knowledge and experience with new expectations and demands. It is only logical that they should have a say in how education policy is constructed and carried out. Highlighting this point, Villegas-Reimers and Reimers (1996) have been critical of reform discourse that has been more focused on "learning" than on "teaching," arguing that many policy decisions lack a solid research base grounded in the experiences and understandings of teachers. Studies like this one can help to overcome these deficiencies.

Writing a decade and a half ago, Torres and Puiggrós (1997) noted that teachers' training, their political views, and their technical skills were central for educational reform in Latin America. Their statement still holds currency today. If Latin American

countries are serious about improving their public education systems, teachers will need to be an integral part of the reform process. Yet as Morrow and Torres (1995) have reminded us, we must also take into account underlying structural and institutional principles. We cannot ignore the links among education, the state, and society, nor their political, economic, and ideological functions. We must also consider the influence of external processes and phenomena, such as migration, globalization, and the hegemonic neoliberal agenda.

Rist (1994) has described policymaking as "a process that circles back on itself, iterates the same decision issue time and again, and often does not come to closure" (p. 3). Such analysis further highlights the value of studies like this one, which can provide policymakers with greater knowledge of teacher and student needs, as well as their responses to decisions about resource provision, curricular change, and evaluation/assessment models, and the effects (both anticipated and unanticipated) of various reform efforts. While the primary aim of this study is not to effect large-scale policy change, its findings nevertheless may be useful in guiding policymakers' responses to the changing needs of Salvadoran schools. The results of this study can help policymakers make decisions about allocation of resources, curriculum development, assessment/evaluation, and teacher training. This study also further illuminates questions about the effectiveness of current education models and the need to create new ones that reflect changing global and local conditions.

Alternative models of education research and planning. Another area where this study can make an impact is through the development of new models of education research, policymaking, and planning, rooted in the knowledge and experiences of

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"studied" populations (Torres, 2002). The implications here are particularly salient, given the fact that social problems and conditions do not stand still, nor does social change take place in a vacuum (Mazawi, 1994; Rist, 1994). Education research is continually adapting and evolving to reflect new theories, methods, practices, policies, and epistemologies. Likewise, education policymakers and planners regularly seek to keep up with the latest developments in the field, relying on "expert" research to help make decisions about all aspects of public schooling, including financing, management, oversight, and assessment and evaluation. Yet a good deal of this research has come to reflect a hegemonic neoliberal bias. With bilateral, multilateral, and international agencies and organizations such as the World Bank, IMF, USAID, and UNESCO setting the global education agenda – as well as delivering the funds to support new initiatives – developing countries often have little say over the direction of their national education systems.

Highlighting this paradox, numerous scholars have echoed the call for an increase in research emanating from the global South. In particular, the question of migration deserves a more inclusive examination, an observation reflected in Levitt and Jaworsky's (2007) statement that, "there is an emerging consensus among scholars that we can no longer study migration solely from a host-country perspective" (p. 142). Instead, they have posited, we must rethink our prior assumptions about identity and belonging, especially in terms of what these concepts mean for individuals and families who do not migrate themselves but are nevertheless embedded in transnational social fields. Likewise, Waldinger (2011) has noted that with comparative studies few and far between, "we also know too little about the ways in which connections to migrants affect the

behavior and attitudes of their significant others, still living at home" (p. 10). This study is an example of how bringing new voices and understandings to the forefront can also lead to new ideas and possibilities for education policy and planning.

Indeed these same goals have been articulated in El Salvador's national education plan, which envisions a public education that is "humanistic, more developed and participatory, more prosperous and just, more unified and equitable, more educated and cultured, and more respectful of life and the environment" (MINED, 2012, p. xvi). It goes on to present a vision of a society "in which respect for the dignity and identity of persons and in which all persons have an equal opportunity to realize their potential and serve their fellow human beings." However, these goals will be difficult to attain if decisions continue to be made based on the same kinds of research and policy suggestions that have traditionally dominated the global agenda. Arnove, Franz, and Torres (2013) have written extensively on this point, arguing:

> If a more satisfactory consensus is to be achieved between the various protagonists and antagonists over how economic and social development is to occur and the nature and role of education systems in contributing to a more desirable future for the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, it will not be the result of the beneficence of the multinational corporations and international organizations, nor even of popularly elected governments. It will be the outcome of the sustained, collective efforts of these grassroots movements inspired by alternative visions of the future. (p. 335)

Their statement dovetails nicely into the last area in which I see this study as having a potential impact, namely the possibility for new models of community-driven development.

Alternative models of community development. My dissertation is grounded in the premise that El Salvador's teachers possess a powerful potential as agents of social change. Yet my findings suggest that despite a recognition of this potential, they are

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either unsure of or unequipped for how to actualize their collective agency. In previous chapters, I used the concepts of collective imagination and the social imaginary to examine how teachers might harness their shared energies and commitment to achieve social change. I expand on that notion here by offering a framework for utilizing new transnational connections and networks as fuel for action – a model that may also serve to connect social movements and actors across contexts and boundaries. In addition, I also envision opportunities for new patterns of remittance use, where *remesas* are utilized as a collective resource to promote overall well being and human development.

This study takes a broad view of development, with education encompassing only a small part. In focusing on human development as a whole, it follows the model proposed by Deneulin (2006) in her examination of the effects of remittances on overall well being in Salvadoran society. Focusing on the relationship between remittances and individual agency, her work framed migration as primarily an "exit strategy," which promoted the expansion of individual freedoms for some (through the improvement of household income due to *remesas*), but did not improve the quality of life for all citizens. Based on these findings, she argued for a more internally focused development model, governed by the Aristotelian notion of the common good and pursuant of "the whole of the conditions of social life which enable people to live flourishing human lives" (Deneulin, 2006, p. 51).

A common-good model is community-centered, prioritizing improved quality of life for all citizens over the well being of individual families. In this model, *remesas* would represent a collective resource, challenging the notion of possessive individualism that teachers saw as having come to characterize their society. Furthermore, while

adopting a common-good model could play a key role in effecting meaningful change in the classrooms, schools, and communities of El Salvador, it also represents a powerful framework from which to construct my own research agenda. Following Deneulin's (2006) approach, I take a long view of the research process. Thus I envision this project as the beginning of a broader research agenda that encompasses a larger, comparative international study of teacher roles and identities. Accordingly, the next section of this chapter addresses some possibilities for future research on the impact of migration and globalization, in El Salvador and beyond.

Research Agenda for the Future

I see this dissertation as a steppingstone toward a long-term and comprehensive research agenda that continues to explore the myriad tensions within the dialectics of migration and education. I envision three main areas for future research: (1) longitudinal studies that explore how teachers' perceptions and attitudes about migration change throughout their careers; (2) more comprehensive studies that examine how students, parents, policymakers, and government officials conceptualize the relationship between public schooling and identity and citizenship; and (3) international comparative studies that reflect the experiences of teachers who have migrated to the United States, either from El Salvador or from other sender countries. All three areas provide rich opportunities for deeper theoretical and empirical work.

In terms of the first area, a logical follow-up would be to examine what happens with study participants in the next 5, 10 or even 20 years.[81] A series of longitudinal

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[81] A classic study of this nature, the Malmö Diet and Cancer study, tracked lifestyle and nutrition patterns of more than 50,000 men and women living in Sweden over a 10-year period. While my follow-ups with teachers would clearly encompass a much-smaller scale, the general model of the Malmö study offers valuable insights about research design for future studies. For example, the

studies could follow teachers from La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas as they progress throughout their careers and even into retirement. While many of the participants in this study were well into their careers (20 years of experience or more), several were just starting out, including three who were in their first year of full-time teaching. It would be particularly interesting to follow up with these younger teachers to see whether their views on migration changed at different stages of professional experience.

Another rich, and somewhat related, area of empirical investigation could focus on participants making the decision to migrate (recalling that at least two teachers in Las Esmeraldas expressed serious intentions to leave the country in the near future). Future studies could trace their journeys and explore the outcomes if and when they did leave El Salvador. Yet another fruitful area of longitudinal research could examine whether teachers' notions of citizenship and identity change at different points in their careers or in response to major local, national, and international events, such as presidential elections, changes in immigration policy, and/or shifting economic conditions.

A second avenue from which to expand this current research could take a closer look at the experiences of education policymakers and planners within El Salvador, to understand how and why certain decisions are made and to what extent migration and globalization play a role in determining state education policy. In recent years, the guiding philosophy has shifted from a focus on productivity and international competition to "democratization of knowledge" and the "construction of a more

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practice of following the same participants over an extended period of time with regularly spaced "check-ups" could be replicated by conducting interviews at 3-, 5-, and 10-year intervals. However, potential complications of conducting this kind of study in El Salvador include: teachers who may leave the profession or migrate, high teacher turnover rates at participating schools (more likely in Las Esmeraldas than in La Armonía), and decreased researcher access due to changes in school leadership.

equitable, democratic society" through the development of national identity, solidarity, tolerance, and civic virtues. Examining the purposes and rationales behind these changes can lead to a better understanding of El Salvador's education system, as well as help teachers understand their own roles within that system.

A different yet related angle of inquiry might explore the impact of migration on local communities, extending the participant base to include students and parents. For example, future studies could examine how Salvadoran youth, both at home and in host countries like the United States, negotiate the tensions between national identity and global citizenship. Following the premise that the family is the most fundamental and enduring root of migration (Suárez-Orozco, 2011; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010), ongoing research could incorporate the knowledge and experiences of Salvadorans on both sides of the migration path.

Extending the scope of inquiry beyond El Salvador to host countries like the United States is another key area that deserves further attention. As Marcelo Suárez-Orozco and his colleagues (2010) have astutely observed, "the future fortunes of many high-income countries will be tied to successfully linking our youngest citizens to the educational and social opportunity structure, to civic belonging, and full democratic participation in the countries of immigration" (p. 548). Thus adding the voices of diverse stakeholders such as students, parents, and policymakers can help to construct a more inclusive narrative on the impact of migration in El Salvador and beyond.

Lastly, a third area of potential research could focus on the experiences of former teachers who have themselves migrated. With nearly a million Salvadorans living in the greater Los Angeles area, UCLA would provide an ideal jumping off point for this kind

of work. It is relatively safe to assume that among the hundreds of thousands of migrants living in Los Angeles, at least a few have prior experience as educators. The possibilities connected to this kind of work are seemingly endless, as future studies could follow teachers who migrate then return, or explore the experiences of migrant teachers from other countries, in an effort to develop more general theories about the impact of migration, globalization, and transnationalism on teachers worldwide. Just as this study drew some conclusions about what citizenship and identity mean for Salvadoran teachers, future research could explore whether they have similar meanings for teachers from Argentina, Bolivia, or Costa Rica, to name a few.

The possibilities for future research are abundant, and the opportunities for discovery vast. That being said, this study represents merely the opening act in a lifelong production of theory, methods, data, and analysis that will continue to enrich my own research agenda, as well as the larger body of comparative and international education research. As a means of bringing this particular act to a close, I would like to offer some final reflections about my work and my hopes for the future of El Salvador's teachers.

Concluding Remarks

In concluding this dissertation, I return to the notion of education and development for the common good. Conceptualizing development in these terms has significant bearing on what it means to be a teacher, not only in El Salvador but also across Latin America. In a common good model, teachers, students, and community members all play a crucial role in ensuring individual freedoms and national solidarity. Furthermore, development based on collective human well being requires that government officials, policymakers, and educators work together to re-conceptualize the

teacher's role and re-imagine the possibilities for social change. By seeking to understand the effects of shifting sociopolitical, economic, and cultural conditions on education, my study offers a new perspective on Salvadoran migration. It is my hope that this research contributes to a greater understanding of the experiences of Salvadoran schoolteachers and aids in the construction of a more complete narrative – one that tells the stories not only of dominant trends of migration and globalization, but also of the individual local actors who must negotiate and manage the ensuing tensions on a daily basis.

To say that teachers are affected by migration is undoubtedly an understatement. On the contrary, teachers – in any society, but particularly in major sender countries like El Salvador – are among those most affected by migration. They interact on a daily basis with youth whose parents, siblings, neighbors and/or friends have migrated, and who may be considering migrating themselves. Teacher-student relationships, curricular content, instruction, and pedagogy are just a few of the aspects of schooling that have taken on new meaning in this "age of migration" (Castles & Miller, 2009).

Indeed, great expectations have been placed on the shoulders of Latin America's teachers. Highlighting some of the key pedagogical challenges, Gentili (2007a) has written that, "teachers are seen as responsible for the crisis confronting education systems, poor learning conditions, high rates of repetition, lack of labor opportunities, violence in and outside of school, and lack of civic participation" (p. 35). Yet in addition to the formal context of schools and classrooms, youth in transnational families are also enmeshed in a series of informal learning contexts. This has given rise to a new generation of potentially multinational children and/or global citizens, whose knowledge and learning take place largely through cross-border relationships (Hershberg & Lykes,

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2012; Levitt, 2001). At the same time, teachers may have limited knowledge about how their students' transnational family relationships impact their learning experiences in and outside of the classroom (Hamann & Zúñiga, 2011; Hershberg & Lykes, 2012).

This "organic crisis" in Latin American education was a key focus of Torres and Puiggrós' 1997 book *Latin American Education: Comparative Perspectives*. In their analysis, they examined the ways in which transnational channels had facilitated access to the so-called global culture, contributing to an increasing cultural gap among different sectors of the population, not the least between the youth and older generations. The authors warned of a rapid disintegration of national cultures, writing that the "discourses of traditional teachers no longer articulate the discourses of the new pupils" (p. 15). Perhaps not surprisingly, these were precisely the same concerns articulated by teachers in my study. Thus amid changing values and attitudes among younger and older generations, the cultural narratives of those who teach and of those who learn are becoming increasingly foreign to one another.

Political philosopher John Gray has written that the deepest need of all human beings is "a home, a network of common practices and inherited traditions that confers on them the blessings of a settled identity" (Gray, 2010, p. 309). This study has explored what happens when that notion of home becomes fractured and concepts of identity and belonging extend beyond national borders. Gray (2010) has argued that without a framework of common culture, individual freedom has little meaning. He has further stated that as an inherently familial and historical species, human beings can only flourish when they share a collective memory of the past and a sense of the common life. For Gray, the meaning of life is an inherently local matter. Based on my findings, the teachers

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of La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas would likely agree.

As a final commentary, I draw on the interrelation of social consciousness and social reality. It has been said that our social consciousness changes according to how our social reality sinks in. This was certainly true for teachers in La Armonía and Las Esmeraldas, where the tacit acceptance of, or active resistance toward, migration was integral in shaping their personal and professional responses. When teachers felt ineffective or disempowered, they tended to adopt an attitude of indifference and a decreased sense of social consciousness, hence La Armonía's pedagogy of migration. In contrast, when they felt empowered to make a difference in their students' lives (as well as their own), they were more easily able to imagine possibilities for social change, as evidenced through the pedagogy of staying that prevailed in Las Esmeraldas.

These observations offer an appropriate segue as I reflect on the larger significance and broader impact of my work. I am reminded of some brief remarks from former Costa Rican President Oscar Arias, shared in a video message at the opening session of the 2012 Western Regional Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society. In a short welcome address to conference attendees, Arias stressed the importance of promoting dialogue about and among teachers, envisioning better communication as an important step in combating growing feelings of isolation, disenchantment, and hopelessness among the world's teaching corps. Framing the underlying issue as a question of identity, Arias noted that many of us today do not feel a strong attachment to the global family, given the separations and fractures that have resulted from processes of migration and globalization.

In his address, Arias pointed to the increasingly important role of inter- and cross-cultural dialogue, which can help us to bridge these gaps, repairing existing fractures or perhaps re-imagining connections in more inclusive and representative ways. I agree that issues of identity, citizenship, and the role of public schooling demand increased and continued dialogue – across El Salvador, throughout Latin America, and around the world. If we forego this opportunity, we risk contributing to feelings of isolation, disenchantment, and powerlessness, and further distancing ourselves from potential allies in the struggle for equality and social justice.

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Appendix A

Approximate Locations of Field Sites

Appendix B

Sample Participant Consent Form

La Universidad de California, Los Ángeles

PERMISO PARA PARTICIPAR EN LA INVESTIGACIÓN

¿Educando por Exilio? El Papel Cambiando de los Docentes Salvadoreños

Está solicitado su participación en una investigación dirigido por Meredith Hermance, candidata Ph.D., Dr. Carlos A. Torres, Ph.D., y sus colegas de la Escuela de Educación y Estudios de Información, en la Universidad de California, Los Ángeles. Usted ha estado seleccionado como un participante potencial en esta investigación por usted es un/a maestro/a actualmente trabajando en una escuela primaria en El Salvador. Su participación en esta investigación es completamente voluntario.

¿Por qué se esta realizando esta investigación?

El propósito de la investigación es examinar los efectos de la migración con respeto al papel de los maestros públicos en El Salvador. Intenta de entender las maneras en lo que la vida y el trabajo de los maestros están cambiando como una consecuencia del aumento de la migración internacional.

¿Qué pasará si participo en esta investigación?

Si usted se alista como voluntario en esta investigación, el investigador le pedirá que haga el siguiente:

- Participar en dos o tres, entrevistas formales. Las entrevistas se estarán realizadas por la investigadora en un lugar privado, por ejemplo en la escuela o en su casa. Cada entrevista durará aproximadamente una hora y es posible que estará grabado.

- Las preguntas de las entrevistas incluirán preguntas sobre sus papeles y responsabilidades como un/a maestro/a; sus ideas, opiniones y creencias sobre la migración internacional y sus experiencias personales con la migración. Si usted la requiere, la investigadora le dará una lista completa de preguntas anticipadas.

- Dejar que la investigadora visita a su aula para hacer observaciones por lo menos tres veces. Las observaciones durarán aproximadamente 45 minutos a una hora. Durante las observaciones la investigadora se sentará en silencio en el fondo del aula y tomará notas sobre el arreglo físico del aula, las actividades de aprendizaje,

el currículo de las lecciones y las practicas y el comportamiento del maestro. Notas estarán escritas en el diario personal del investigador.

¿Por cuánto tiempo estaré una parte de la investigación?

Su participación en la investigación durará un total de tres horas durante un periodo de cuatro a seis semanas.

¿Hay algunos riesgos o molestias anticipados que debería esperar de esta investigación?

No hay ningún riesgo o molestia anticipado.

¿Hay algunos beneficios potenciales si participo?

No recibirá ningún beneficio directo a través de su participación en la investigación.

Los resultados de la investigación contribuirían al conocimiento sobre los efectos de la migración en la educación en los países remitentes como El Salvador. Nos ayudarían a lograr un mejor entendimiento de las relaciones entre los maestros y la escuela y los procesos de la migración internacional y también a desarrollar un modelo nuevo para examinar las causas y las consecuencias de la migración. Además la investigación podría ser útil en la formación de las políticas educativas en el futuro y podría ofrecer nuevas perspectivas a los cambios en el trabajo de los docentes salvadoreños.

¿Recibirá algún forma de pago si participo en la investigación?

No recibirá ningún pago por su participación.

¿Estará mantenido confidencial la información sobre mi y mi participación?

Cualquier información obtenido en conexión con esta investigación y que puede identificarse a usted estará mantenido confidencial. Solamente estará revelado con su permiso o como requerido por la ley. La confidencialidad estará mantenido por el uso de los seudónimos para todos los participantes, sus escuelas y sus comunidades. Ningún dato que se puede identificar a los participantes, incluyendo sus nombres actuales, las edades, los lugares de residencia o los puestos de trabajo estará usado en el informe de los resultados. Las notas del campo y las grabaciones estarán en la posesión de la investigadora en todos momentos y nadie con la excepción de ella tendrá acceso a los datos recogido durante la investigación. Usted tiene el derecho de volver a examinar, editar o borrar las grabaciones y las notas de su participación en completo o en parte.

- **Cesación de participación por la parte de la investigadora**

La investigadora se lo puede cesar su participación en la investigación si presenten las condiciones que lo merece. Si la investigadora se siente que su participación en la

investigación esta teniendo un efecto negativo en la realización de su trabajo (por ejemplo la perdida del tiempo, la energía, la motivación, etc.), es posible que tuviera que retirarse, ni modo si le gustaría continuar. La investigadora tomará la decisión y le avisará si no será posible continuar. La decisión podría estar tomado porque la investigadora no quiere que la investigación afecte sus obligaciones y sus responsabilidades profesionales.

¿Qué son mis derechos si participo en esta investigación?

Podría retirar su permiso en cualquier momento y descontinuar su participación sin pena o el perdido de los beneficios que hubiera obtenido de otro modo.

Usted tiene el derecho de decidir si quiere participar en esta investigación. Si se alista como voluntario/a en esta investigación, se puede retirar en cualquier momento, libre de cualquier tipo de consecuencia. No está renunciando sus derechos legales si elige participar en la investigación. Se puede rehusar a contestar las preguntas que no quiere contestar y todavía mantenerse en la investigación.

¿Quién puede contestar mis preguntas sobre esta investigación?

Por cualquier pregunta, comentario o preocupación sobre la investigación, se puede comunicarse con uno de los investigadores. Favor de contactar a la investigadora principal Meredith Hermance a (310) 903-8829 o mhermance@gmail.com. También podría comunicarse con el patrocinador del cuerpo docente Dr. Carlos A. Torres a (310) 206-5791 o catnovoa@aol.com.

Si desea informarse sobre sus derechos como participante en esta investigación o si desea llamar la atención a algunas problemas o preocupaciones que tiene sobre la investigación a una persona que no sea uno de los investigadores, favor de llamar a la oficina de Human Research Protection Program a (310) 825-7122 o escribir a la oficina de Human Research Protection Program, UCLA, 11000 Kinross Avenue, Suite 102, Box 951694, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1694.

FIRMA DEL PARTICIPANTE

Entiendo los procedimientos antedichos. Mis preguntas han estado contestadas a mi satisfacción y estoy de acuerdo en participar en esta investigación. He recibido una copia de este documento.

_____

Nombre del Participante

_____   _____

Firma del Participante   Fecha

FIRMA DE LA PERSONA CONSIGUIENDO PERMISO

En mi estimación el participante está voluntariamente y intencionalmente dando su permiso informado y posee la capacidad legal para dar el permiso informado a participar en esta investigación.

_____   _____

Nombre de la Persona Consiguiendo Permiso   Numero de Teléfono

_____   _____

Firma de la Persona Consiguiendo Permiso   Fecha

Appendix C

Sample Interview Guide

In conducting interviews with teachers, I followed the general format outlined in this appendix. However, it is important to note that due to the semi-structured and relatively open nature of interviews, not all questions were asked of all participants. Thus the questions listed here provide a general overview of the interview process rather than a strict transcription of my interactions with participants.

Interview 1: *Focus on teaching experience*

1) How long have you been a teacher? Which grades/subjects do you teach?

2) Describe how you decided to become a teacher. What was your primary motivation and what type of training did you receive?

3) What do you consider to be the most important role(s) of teachers in El Salvador?
   - What is the teacher's role in terms of developing students' academic, personal and/or occupational future?
   - What about the role of teachers in national development?

4) Could you explain your main responsibilities as a classroom teacher? Who determines those responsibilities – the state, the school, you, someone else?

5) List what you consider to be the most important knowledge and skills for today's students. Why do you think these particular knowledge and skills are so important?

6) What are your general opinions about public education in El Salvador?
   - What do you see as the main function of schooling?
   - Do you feel that it does a good job of fulfilling those functions?

7) What do you think are the main strengths and weaknesses of public education in El Salvador? What about the strengths and weaknesses of your particular school?

Interview 2: *Focus on migration and globalization*

1) In general, what are your feelings about migration?
    - Do you know people who have migrated? How would you describe their experiences?
    - Have you ever migrated or considered migrating – why or why not? If yes, could you share some of your personal experiences?

2) What would you say to a student or colleague who asked for advice about migrating?

3) What does the term globalization mean to you? Can you give some specific examples?

4) In general, what are your feelings about globalization? How do you think it has affected your community? Your school? Yourself and your family?

5) Are you familiar with the term neoliberalism?
    - Could you explain, in your own words, how you define neoliberalism?
    - How do you think it has affected El Salvador – politically, economically, socially, culturally, etc.? Please give specific examples, if possible.

6) How has your community changed in the past 10 years?
    - Do you think any of those changes are linked to migration and/or globalization? If so, in what ways?

Interview 3: *Focus on relationship between education and migration/globalization*

1) What are some ways that teaching has changed since you first became a teacher? How do you feel about those changes – have they been positive, negative, a bit of both – and can you give specific examples?

2) Given what you have said about your work as a teacher and given what you have said about migration, how do you believe migration affects you as a teacher?"

3) How would you explain to an outsider how migration has affected the education system in general?
    - How would you describe the influence, if any, that migration has had on what you teach or on the way that you teach?
    - Can you provide some specific examples of how it has affected your teaching, positively, negatively, or both?

4) How would you describe the influence, if any, that globalization has had on the education system? Has it impacted the content, structure, and/or function of schooling, and, if so, in what specific ways?

5) What happens to your students once they leave school?
    - Do they remain in the community or seek opportunities elsewhere?
    - Why do you think that is the case?

6) Thinking about your students and their futures, how well do you feel the education system prepares them for their personal and occupational futures?
    - What do you feel the current system is preparing them for (to stay in El Salvador or to migrate)?
    - What roles do teachers play in fulfilling these goals?

7) How well do you feel that the education system prepares students to be successful in Salvadoran society? What about in a more "global" society (specifically, for life in the United States)?

8) What about your own economic and occupational future? How do you envision your own possibilities going forward? Would you, yourself, consider migrating in the future?

Appendix D

Study Participant Profiles

La Armonía Participants

Name	Age	Grade and Subject Taught	Years of Teaching Experience	Marital/Family Status	Previous Migration Experience?
Franklin	46	middle school English	20	single	no
Alicia	49	middle school English	29	married (to Raul), 5 children	no
Raul	54	middle school generalist	28	Married (to Alicia), 5 children	no
Adriana	23	kindergarten/first grade English	1	single	no
Luis	45	vice principal	29	married (to Nancy), 2 children	no
Nancy	44	middle school English	21	married (to Luis), 2 children	no
Angel	38	middle school English (also principal at another school)	15	married (to Milena), 3 children	yes (4 years in U.S.)
Milena	39	first grade generalist	15	married (to Angel), 3 children	no
Dora	46	kindergarten generalist	28	married (to Cristian), 2 children	no
Cristian	47	school principal	30	married (to Dora), 2 children	no
Diego	42	student support classroom	16	married, 3 children	yes (2 years in U.S.)
Norena	48	student support classroom	27	married, 3 children	no
Adrian	50	middle school generalist, former principal	30	married, 2 children	no
José	52	vice principal	28	married, 2 children	no

Las Esmeraldas Participants

Name	Age	Grade and Subject Taught	Years of Teaching Experience	Marital/Family Status	Previous Migration Experience?
Joel	43	vice principal, middle and high school English	18	married, 2 children	no
Miguel	35	high school, electricity workshop	1	single, 1 child	no
Carlos	30	high school social studies and language	7	single	no
Anita	33	first grade generalist	11	married, 2 children	no
Noemy	26	special education, NGO provider	1	single	no