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Improving international teacher retention in São Paulo international schools: what can leaders do?

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Abstract

The exponential growth of international schools worldwide has created a high demand for native English-speaking teachers around the world. São Paulo international schools are not exempt from this increase in demand for these expatriate teachers. As international schools typically offer short-term contracts of two years to expatriate teachers that are often not renewed, international teacher retention becomes a significant factor in improving teaching and learning in international schools. High teacher turnover is even more a concern in South American international schools, where teachers tend to stay at their schools for less time than in international schools in other regions and or in Canadian or U.S. public schools.

This study employed an exploratory instrumental case study to uncover what international school leaders in São Paulo are doing and might do better to improve international teacher retention in their schools. Through purposive and snowball sampling, twelve Anglo-Western teachers from three international schools in São Paulo participated in semi-structured interviews to uncover potential reasons for both remaining at or leaving their international school after their current contract. To bring in the perspective of school leadership on international teacher turnover, the findings from teacher interviews were thematically analyzed, then sent to two school heads to examine prior to semi-structured interviews with the school heads to develop insights on improving international school teacher retention.

Study findings reveal that, while there are structural barriers to school leaders improving teacher retention in São Paulo international schools, authentic cross-cultural leadership practices that focus on all teachers, regardless of background, while building a supportive school community through a common language is an effective and viable method to improve teacher retention. Additionally, the study found that there is a vital need for improved communication

between both teachers and administrators as well developing communication and relationships between foreign hire and local hire teachers in cross-cultural organizations.

Summary for Lay Audience

There has been a major increase in the number of international schools that offer an English-language education around the globe that employ native English-speaking teachers. São Paulo has also seen this international school boom. International schools tend to have higher rates of teacher turnover than domestic state-funded schools and South American international schools have even higher turnover rates than international schools in other regions. Through qualitative interviews with international teachers, followed by interviews with school heads, this study investigates the factors that (potentially) heighten teacher turnover in three international schools in São Paulo. This study also examines what school heads can do to improve teacher turnover and what impedes them from improving some of these factors. The findings suggest that there are many factors that impede school leaders from addressing the concerns brought forth by international teachers, such as employment laws and cultural differences between various stakeholders. The findings also recommend that school leaders in international schools can work to improve international teacher retention by improving communication between leaders and teachers, creating a tight-knit supportive community of stakeholders, acting as authentic leaders in cross-cultural contexts, and developing a common language within the school.

Dedication

To my daughters, Carolina and Isabella: You are my reason for everything that I do. I thought of you through this entire process. Thank you for providing me with the motivation to carry on. Loves you lots!

Para minha esposa, Jéssica: Obrigado por tudo… por sua paciência, seu apoio, e seu amor. É por sua causa eu consegui fazer tudo isso. Te amo muito!

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Improving international teacher retention in São Paulo international schools:

what can leaders do?

There are more than 9,000 international schools globally (ISC Research, 2018) and these schools often look to hire teachers who are native speakers of the language in which the bulk of content is taught. As English has become the global language, particularly in business, science, and politics (Kushner, 2003; Ives, 2010), English-immersion international schools have grown in number and prominence as more parents look to provide their children with an education that will prepare them for a globalized world. The necessity to learn English pushes international schools in non-English speaking countries to seek out native English speakers from the West. Thus, many of these schools recruit internationally in an attempt to provide a learning experience for students that is similar to the education found in the country from which the learning curriculum is based and where many international school students plan to attend post-secondary institutions. São Paulo, the most populous city in South America and the southern hemisphere (Geromel, 2013), has been witness to the growth of international schools, hosting at least eleven primarily English-speaking and bilingual international schools with the most recent opening its doors to students in August 2018 (Mello, 2016; Giovanelli, 2018). International schools in São Paulo provide an education based on international curricula in Brazil, a developing country (United Nations Development Programme), as well as the local curriculum. The primary stakeholders in these schools are the children of the "elite of [the] country" and expatriates that are in São Paulo as business leaders or diplomats (Desroches, 2013, pp. 27-28). Retaining quality international educators in South American international schools has been shown to be a key challenge (Desroches, 2013).

High teacher turnover in international schools has been evidenced in several studies that have looked at both worldwide figures and figures relating to specific geographic regions (Chandler, 2010; Mancuso, 2010; Odland & Ruzicka, 2009; Hardman, 2001; Desroches, 2013). South American international schools average higher rates of teacher turnover in American international schools than that of the global average (Desroches, 2013). Since the positive effects of good teachers remaining at organizations are also evident in literature (Ronfeldt et al., 2013; Levy et al., 2012), the rate of teacher turnover in American schools in South America (Desroches, 2013) represents a significant challenge for international school heads and administrators. These schools are private entities and rely on the successes of their students to recruit new students to the schools. By investigating ways to address the issue of teacher turnover, school heads can potentially improve the teaching, learning, and business practices of their schools all at the same time.

While there is a plethora of literature outlining the motivations for international teachers leaving their posts (Chandler, 2010; Mancuso et al., 2010; Odland & Ruzicka, 2009; Hardman, 2001; Desroches, 2013), there is no available literature investigating São Paulo schools specifically. Further, I was unable to uncover any literature that investigated the role of leaders on teacher retention in international schools from the leadership perspective. General recommendations have been made by previous researchers that have been directed at school heads (King, 1968; Mancuso et al., 2011; DesRoches, 2014; Odland & Ruzicka, 2009; Odland, 2007; Amodio, 2015), yet school heads have not been included in the development of these recommendations. These recommendations are quite broad and do not take into account the specific contexts of individual schools. This research aims to study one particular set of schools in São Paulo and examine the practicality of the existing recommendations put forward, as well

as seek new ideas for improving teacher retention within the contexts of international schools in

São Paulo. Understandings/assumptions that guide the study are presented in the literature

review and are listed as follows:

- Teacher turnover in international schools worldwide is similar to or worse than those

  schools that show high rates of teacher turnover in American public schools.

- South American international schools have a higher rate of teacher turnover than the

  world average for international schools.

- High teacher turnover has been shown to have a negative effect on learning and student

  success, as well as high financial costs for schools.

- While there are a variety of reasons for international teachers to leave their jobs at

  international schools, school leadership has been shown to be one of the most common

  causes for turnover the world over.

- Previous research has made recommendations for international school heads and these

  may be applicable to São Paulo international schools.

- Cross-cultural leadership and systems theory inform the conceptual and theoretical

  foundations for improving international teacher retention in international schools.

Personal Connection

I have been employed by a relatively small, long-running São Paulo international school

which has a complement of more than twenty international teachers for eight years. Over the past

eight years I have seen nearly a full turnover of the teachers that were employed by my São

Paulo international school since my first year at the school, including those that were already

members of staff prior to my arrival. While many local teachers that leave the school are

terminated from their positions by the administration, international hires often choose to leave on

their own accord, either following the completion of the standard one- or two-year contract or in rare cases by 'breaking contract.' It should be mentioned, as well, that I have only witnessed one retirement in my organization during these eight years. With such high turnover, I suspect that leadership in my own organization has grappled with how to improve teacher retention. Albeit it has never come up as a discussion point for the school faculty as a whole or even in smaller teacher leader groups. These conversations regarding turnover and hiring only tended to take place in one on one situations between myself and administrators.

In 2015, my organization began an accreditation process through an American accreditation organization that looked at where the school stood in terms of successes and areas to improve. In the final report sent back to the school by the accreditation organization, along with the accreditation, one of the main recommendations for improvement that the school was told to undertake was regarding teacher retention. This report shows that the trend of high teacher turnover in international schools has been evident, and seen as a problem, in at least one São Paulo school.

As an employee in an international school I have seen few steps taken to improve international teacher turnover in my organization. International hires have been offered administrative positions as a means to keep them at the school. Also, certain policies relating to international hires, such as only being provided housing for eight years, have been overlooked to keep international teachers on staff, though few remain for that long. Even after obtaining permanent residency status in Brazil as opposed to using a working visa, either through marriage (as in my case) or otherwise, international hires have been permitted to maintain expatriate benefits, such as housing and flights home, and do not fully transition to local hire status. Through discussions with administrators, I have also learned that steps have been taken to hire

educators who are more likely to remain at the school for longer tenures, such as not employing married couples as, if one partner is unhappy with the school, both teachers will leave, hiring those that have an interest in the school in particular and not simply travelling, and hiring more male teachers who, on average, tend to stay for longer tenures than female international teachers.

Although I am a foreign-born, Anglo-western teacher I was hired in the same manner that a Brazilian citizen would be as I am married to a Brazilian citizen and do not receive the same benefits as international hires. As a Canadian teaching in English I tend to work alongside international hires more frequently than Brazilian local hires, despite my status as a local hire. These experiences have led me to question the reasons as to why international hires, with whom I frequently develop relationships, leave after one or two contract cycles and what school leaders are doing, can do, or cannot do to keep these teachers on staff for longer tenures.

As an educator and local hire in a São Paulo international school, my hope is that improving international teacher retention will lead to more cohesive communities within these schools for both local and international hires as teachers will potentially build stronger relations. I hope to help create long-lasting relationships with fellow expatriates in a foreign land through our work with our students. As a father, I hope that my children will attend an international school and have teachers who are comfortable with the students as well as the local culture and will remain at these schools long enough to create meaningful relationships with their students. These relationships could help lead to better referrals by teachers for students in the future, more engaging classroom environments, and a more positive worldview where the people the students get to know and trust will remain in their lives, possibly leading to a more positive outlook of their own, developing country.

Purpose and Significance

The purpose of this study is to develop insights into how leaders can better support expatriate teacher retention in a set of international schools in São Paulo, Brazil. Specifically, it aims to investigate the steps school heads in São Paulo international schools take and ought to take to address teacher turnover within their organizations. This research will not only gather the views of Anglo-western teachers in São Paulo international schools to uncover the international teachers' perspectives but will also engage the perspectives of school heads and explore the extent to which school heads can influence or improve teacher retention.

The first phase of the study uncovers the perceived motivations behind Anglo-Western teachers leaving their international schools in São Paulo, Brazil through interviews with these teachers. The professional (over the personal) factors that affect teacher retention will be the primary focus, as these will be most prone to be affected by interventions of school administrators. In the second phase, the results of the first phase are shared with administrators to first ground the conversation on retention in the actual perspectives of the teachers in the interviews with the school heads. Ultimately, improving teacher retention is significant to the overall leadership goal of creating better learning environments in school.

The findings from this study will be most relevant to international school heads in São Paulo to inform their practices to retain international teachers for longer tenures. School heads from international schools in other geographic regions might also gain insights on improving teacher retention from my findings. While there may be factors that do not transfer to other international schools and even non-international schools, there may be some factors regarding retention and leadership that do hold relevance across the international school sector.

International teachers investigating international schools in São Paulo will be able to use these findings to have a better understanding of the context and culture surrounding international

schools in São Paulo prior to signing an initial contract. As a result, this can lead to incoming teachers having a better idea of the situation in which they are entering, resulting in fewer surprises when they arrive and begin working in their schools. These teachers might be more likely to stay longer if they are aware of the circumstances prior to arriving at the school. Desroches (2013) recommends that schools should provide a "realistic picture" of the location and the school that new hires will be entering so as to "vaccinate" these teachers against potential negative surprises (p. 153). Accordingly, this study will also illuminate school conditions and challenges that incoming teachers to Sao Paulo international schools can anticipate.

Research Questions

In order to uncover what can be done by school leaders to curb or solve the problem of high teacher turnover, the primary research question is:

- What viable measures can leaders in São Paulo international schools take to improve high international teacher turnover in their schools?

While the primary question aims to take action in the face of teacher turnover it will also be important to investigate the following sub-questions with school heads to ground school heads' responses in the actual conditions of the schools and from the perspectives of the teachers. These sub questions are as follows:

- What concerns put forth by Anglo-western teachers cannot be addressed by São Paulo international school heads?

- What impedes São Paulo international school heads from addressing these concerns?

Before the phase of interviewing leaders, the following questions must be first answered by Anglo-western teachers:

- What factors influence Anglo-western teachers to leave their current school before or at the completion of their contract?

- What factors influence Anglo-western teachers to remain at their current school for at least one more contract?

It is important to bring the experiences of the teachers, both positive and negative, to the school heads to consider what is working well and what can be improved for lengthening teacher tenure.

Definitions of Key Terms

Anglo-Western Teachers/International Teachers/Hires. Teachers that come to São Paulo from primarily English-speaking countries and speak English as their native language "who hold an overseas-hired contract and enjoy full benefits, including housing, air travel to and from home of record, and medical care" (Desroches, 2013, p. 16). These teachers also came primarily for the purpose of teaching at an international school in São Paulo.

Local Hires. Teachers who already obtained permission to legally work in Brazil prior to being hired by their current school. These teachers do not receive housing, working visas, or flights home from their schools. These teachers are Brazilian nationals or expatriates who have obtained residency visas through means outside of their schools, such as through marriage or previous employment.

International Schools. For this study, international schools refers to private schools in the city of São Paulo that offer academic curricula originating from either the United States or the United Kingdom and offer a diploma from those countries as well. These schools hire Anglo-western teachers from abroad and the primary language of instruction is English, although

supplemental classes in Portuguese (language and Brazilian history) may be offered to Brazilian students that wish to remain in Brazil after secondary school.

Teacher Turnover. "At the school level, the combined impact of teacher attrition and teacher mobility" (Odland, 2007, p. 14). Teachers choosing to break their current contract or choose not to seek employment or renew their contract at their current school past their present contract.

Teacher Retention. "The continued employment of a teacher for at least one addition[al] year" (Amodio, 2015, p. 9) past their current contract.

School Head. The individual responsible for overseeing the academic aspects and teacher staff in of all levels of an international school. This person may be referred to as the 'superintendent', 'headmaster', or 'head' within their school context.

Assumptions

This study will be conducted based on several assumptions. It will be assumed that the participating schools normally employ a significant number of Anglo-western teachers. International schools wish to provide an international education that prepares students for post-secondary education in Anglo-Western countries. A way of ensuring this delivery of curricula is to have teachers that have gone through that education system and have experience teaching in the national systems of those post-secondary institutions. This study is motivated to produce knowledge and insights toward a better and more supportive teaching environment for these teachers to practice their vocation.

This study acknowledges that there will be organizations and groups that may hinder the possibility of a school head addressing the concerns expressed in the teacher interviews. These people or groups may be governmental or religious entities or a board of directors that dictate financial decisions. While school heads may make the bulk of the decisions within the school, they are still subject to the demands placed on them by their superiors as well as larger structural conditions such as the value of the local currency (that may affect salaries for example). This study shines a light on the realities of a school head in his/her attempt to address teacher turnover within the specific schools of this study.

This study also assumes that, while school heads look to employ Anglo-western teachers, their primary concern is how the school functions as a living organism to best serve teachers as well as students. This assumption implies that school heads have many other concerns relating to the school apart from Anglo-western teacher retention, including local teacher retention. These concerns may interfere with international teacher retention, unbeknownst to the school heads.

This study holds the assumption that, beyond my focus within the schools, there will be external factors at play in influencing the decisions of international educators as to whether they remain at or leave their schools. These factors may include personal factors, such as family, friends or health, and cultural factors, such as how these teachers relate to the society, cuisine, and social aspects of São Paulo. These factors will be important to consider; however, the primary focus will be on the aspects that school heads are more likely able to influence to improve teacher retention.

As made evident in the literature review, this study also assumes that high teacher turnover is something that hinders student accomplishments academically as well as the growth and well-being of individual schools. As there appears to be a revolving door of international

teachers at these schools, students may fall behind when having to begin new processes with new teachers on a yearly basis. Recruiting from abroad is relatively costly and schools must also provide travel expenses, living expenses, and visas to new teachers. This financial burden prevents schools from spending income on resources that could be used in the school and in classrooms. This study aims to uncover ways to reduce international teacher turnover in the hopes of improving student achievement and reducing hiring costs for international schools.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

In this chapter, I present the relevant literature to outline the growth of international schools and the growing demand for Anglo-western teachers around the globe and in São Paulo. I also identify what an international school is and the role of international schools and their stakeholders. I then look at the rates of teacher turnover in international schools in relation to American domestic schools as well as in the wider international school sector to present the comparative prevalence of teacher turnover. After presenting and comparing the rates of teacher turnover, I then discuss the effects of teacher turnover in schools, showing the negative effects on schools financially and on student achievement in both domestic and international schools. Following the effects of teacher turnover, I summarize the literature suggesting the reasons for teacher turnover in international schools which has been investigated through a number of studies in different regions. I then discuss the recommendations that have been put forth for international school heads to implement in order to improve international teacher turnover. It is noteworthy that there have been no studies investigating the implementation or outcomes of these recommendations in academic studies regarding international teacher retention.

In this chapter I also outline the conceptual framework for this study through discussing transformational leadership, transactional leadership, cross-cultural leadership and Culturally Endorsed Implicit Leadership Theory (CLT) which suggests that different cultures have differing views of what effective leadership is, though there are overlaps that can be identified and used by leaders in cross-cultural organizations, distributed leadership, and authentic leadership. Transformational leadership is recommended to be implemented in practice by school heads in several studies as a means to improve international teacher retention in international schools. In the literature on transformational leadership, it is evident that transactional leadership must also

be implemented as a supplement to transformational leadership. As the majority of employees at international schools must be Brazilian citizens by law, CLT becomes a relevant theory given the intercultural character of the schools. Employing CLT can help school heads to create a positive learning environment and best serve students in a multi- or inter- cultural organization. Distributed leadership is also put forth as a recommendation. Authentic leadership is discussed as a viable method to improve teacher turnover.

I also discuss the main conceptual basis underlying this study: Systems theory. As schools have been referred to as living organisms that take input, perform throughput functions through different subsystems, and create outputs (educated students), this study will apply this theory to acknowledge the subsystems at place and the interrelationships between them as a means to improve international teacher retention.

International Schools

International schools have grown in number and prominence in the last 50+ years. In 1964, there were approximately 50 schools worldwide classified as international schools (Hayden & Thompson, 1995). In the year 2000, ISC Research (2020) reports that there were 2,584 international schools. In 2007, Brummitt estimated that there would be 5,000 international schools around the globe by 2010, which has since been surpassed. In 2013, Brummitt went on to reveal data that presented the existence of 6,401 international schools globally. These schools employed approximately 299,000 staff, more than double the workforce of 145,000 tallied in 2007 (Brummitt, 2013). In 2018, ISC Research showed a dramatic increase of English-medium international schools since 2013 and reported 9,605 schools worldwide with another 104 schools opening for the 2018-2019 school year. In 2020, ISC reported the number of international schools, globally, at 11,451, nearly 2,000 more than reported in 2018. With an enrolment of

more than 5 million students in international schools worldwide, revenues from tuition in 2017-2018 generated more than US$49 billion alone and employed approximately 467,000 teaching staff (ISC Research, 2018). ISC Research (2018) has projected that, by 2028, the number of international schools will continue to grow to approximately 16,000 schools with more than 10 million students enrolled, generating more than US$95 billion in revenue worldwide.

São Paulo has a long history of international schools dating back to 1920. More recently, a new international school offering an American curriculum opened its doors to students in August of 2018 (Mello, 2016; Giovanelli, 2018). São Paulo is host to three schools that are full members of the Association of American Schools in South America (AASSA), five schools which are invitational members of AASSA which means that they must meet AASSA requirements within five years of receiving their invitation to become members (AASSA Member Schools, n.d.), two Council of British International Schools (COBIS) member schools (Council of British International Schools, n.d.) and a handful of other schools that offer an American, Canadian, or British curriculum to students of varying ages that are not official members of international school associations. São Paulo is also home to several other international schools offering instruction in other languages other than English and Portuguese, such as German and Italian. In this study, AASSA and COBIS school teachers and school heads were eligible to be participants.

The exponential growth in international schools around the globe, as evidenced above, will require more fluent English-speaking teachers to keep pace with demand. Wigford (2007) has predicted that this growth in international schools is likely to result in a shortage of international teachers. If this proves true, international schools will hire more non-native English

speakers from within their own borders or hire less effective native English-speaking
international teachers.

Figure 1: International School Growth (1960-2020)
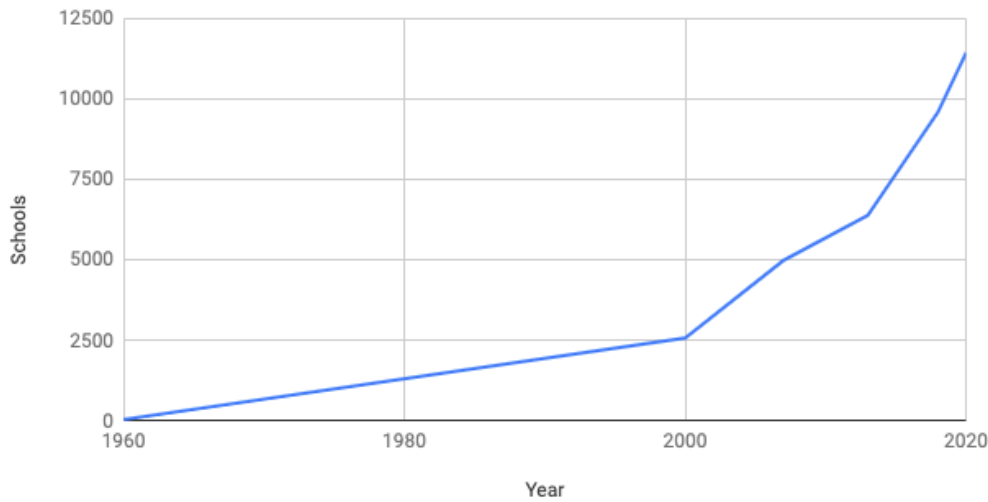
Figure 2: International School Educators Comparison
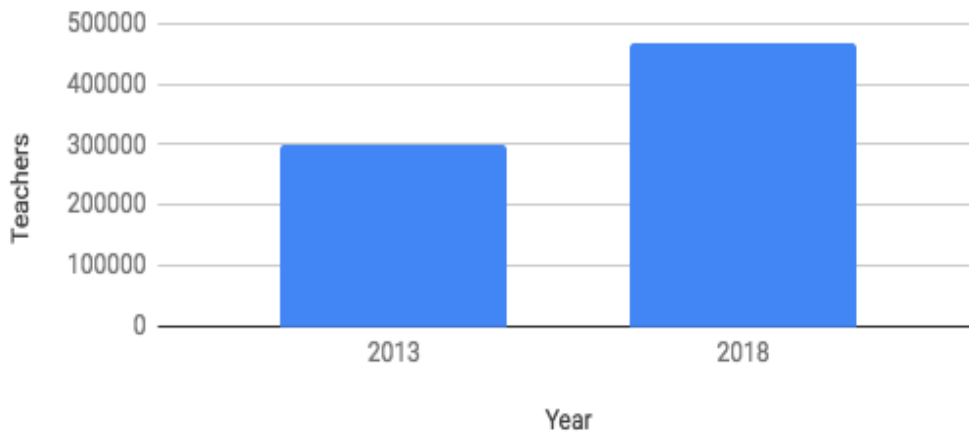
(Sources: Brummit, 2007; Brummitt, 2013; ISC Research, 2018; ISC Research, 2020)

Desroches (2013) suggested that the growth in international schools suggests a demand
for international schools as these schools "provide instruction predominately in English as a

means for their children to gain access to higher education in universities in North America, Australia, and the United Kingdom" (p. 27). A degree from a university in these countries are seen by parents of international school students as "a basic prerequisite for employment in global labor markets" (Desroches, 2013, p. 27). Desroches (2013) also noted that English is viewed by many parents as the global language that gives their children a "competitive edge in today's global society" (p. 27). This paradigm shift toward the use of one global language has been the result of an increase in globalization and multinational organizations. In theory, international schools are meant to cater to expatriate families which the language spoken at home is not the predominant language of the host-country as these families may return to their home country in the future (Mayr & Pari, 2008). The other major demographic of international schools is host-country national students whose families want to provide them with an opportunity to study at a post-secondary institution abroad (Desroches, 2013). The families of both of these groups in international schools can be considered "globally advantaged" (Gardner-McTaggart, 2018, p. 148) as students in international schools will have the opportunity to study at universities abroad, opportunities that many students around the world may not have. International schools also boast a nearly 100% graduation rate with the vast majority of their graduates going onto university (Mancuso et al., 2011).

While individual international schools may differ in the curriculum that they offer, the demographics of the students to which they cater, and the learning and social culture within each school, they all have several common characteristics. While definitions have varied in the literature, Hill (2016) analyzed that literature and came up with seven characteristics of a "pure" international school (p. 12), which directly aligns with what the International School Association (ISA) also considers to be an ideal international school. According to Hill (2016), a pure

international school is privately funded and focused on inclusivity through international mindedness, offering a recognized programme of international education to "internationally mobile" families (p. 12).

Desroches (2013) suggested that, while there is no agreed-upon definition of an international school, there are two more characteristics that are also common in international school, apart from cultural diversity in the student body as Hill (2016) put forth. Desroches (2013) also included in his definition of international schools that international schools have a "cultural distance between the international school and the local host culture, and a high student and staff turnover" which tends to lead to a "highly transient environment" (p. 5).

It should be noted that, although American international schools are established primarily for the purpose of educating the children of expatriates, the US Department of State (2017) statistics on American-sponsored overseas schools (AOS) for the 2016-17 school year showed that only 19% of students in these schools in American Republics (South and Central America) were US citizens while 57% of the students enrolled were host-country nationals. The US Department of State (2017) also reported that, in the 2016-2017 school year, host-country nationals made up 54% of the professional staff in American-sponsored overseas schools in the Americas while US citizens only accounted for 33% of the professional staff. This data suggests that, while these American-sponsored schools will follow an international curriculum, the culture and environment within the school may be more similar to that of a host-country school as host-country nationals, both students and staff, will constitute a majority. The percentage of American citizens studying and teaching in the Americas region is lower than any other region around the world with a global average of 41% US citizens on the professional staffs of AOS, compared to 33% in American Republics, and a global average of 26% US citizens making up the student

bodies of these schools, compared to 19% in American Republics. (US Department of State, 2017). Thus, international schools are increasingly being used by elite nationals over children of expatriates. This is a trend seen in international schools across regions (Brummitt, 2007).

Teacher Turnover in International Schools

Teacher turnover in the United States has been steady at 17% on average for the past twenty-plus years (Ingersoll & Rossi, 1995; Mancuso, 2010). Ingersoll and Rossi (1995) also noted that the highest rates of turnover in the United States occurred in small, private schools, while the lowest rates of teacher turnover occurred in large, public schools. Ingersoll and Rossi (1995) attributed these turnover rates to the fact that public schools in the United States often offer higher salaries and benefits to their teachers than do private schools. Odland and Ruzicka (2009), in a mixed-methods study involving 281 international teachers, stated that "while all teacher respondents agreed that a two-year contract was not long enough, as it compromised student learning, only 48% had ever renewed a contract beyond the initial two-year offering" (p. 7). Henley (2006, as cited in Odland, 2007) reported an average turnover rate of 14.4% in 270 member schools of the European Council of International Schools (ECIS); however, this study also included local hires. Mancuso (2010) investigated international teacher turnover in AOS in the Near East South Asia region through a quantitative survey from 2006-2009 and found that, while schools reported an average turnover rate of 17.3%, teacher feedback reported an average teacher turnover rate of 23%. Desroches (2013) investigated the reasons for teacher turnover through AASSA from 2009 to 2012 and found an average turnover rate of 27.9% with a range from 2.4% to as high as 83.3% for individual schools. The AASSA region, which includes American schools in São Paulo, had a higher turnover rate than public schools in the United

States, and international schools in the Near East South Asia Council of Overseas Schools (NESA) region, and the ECIS.

Effects of Teacher Turnover

High teacher turnover negatively affects schools both financially (Miners, 2007; Synar, 2010; Synar & Maiden, 2012; Cavanagh, 2005; Levy et al., 2012; Desroches, 2013) and in the academic achievement of students (Thurston, 1981; Sparks, 2012; Adnot et al., 2017; Ronfeldt, Loeb, & Wyckoff, 2013; Merrill, 2013; Khawary & Ali, 2015; Hanushek, Rivkin, and Schiman, 2016; Zajac, 2016). While the financial costs of teacher turnover in international schools have never, specifically, been studied, there have been several studies investigating the burden that teacher turnover has placed on school budgets in the United States. Cavanagh (2005) stated that teacher turnover in the United States costed the United States over US$5 billion annually, ranging from approximately US$8.5 million in North Dakota to over US$500 million in Texas. Cavanagh (2005) also noted that more than one thousand teachers leave schools or the profession every day in the United States. In 2007, Miners stated in a 'Quick Fact" in *District Administration* journal that teacher turnover amounted to a cost of over US$7.3 billion annually for the American education system (p. 15). Miners (2007) also noted that this money could have been better spent on other resources and has had a negative effect on "diminishing the education gap" (P. 15). Synar (2010) calculated the overall costs of teacher turnover on mid-sized urban schools in the southern United States between 1999 and 2008 to develop a method of predicting the financial cost of teacher turnover in the future. Looking at the four categories of separation costs, hiring costs, training costs, and losses due to performance productivity, Synar (2010) was able to calculate that the financial loss to southern mid-sized urban schools alone in 2008 was US$3,464,440.67, and, using her instrument known as the "Tulsa Turnover Model," was able to

estimate that the cost of teacher turnover in 2012 would be approximately US$4.75 million. Synar continued her work to develop a model to estimate the financial impact of teacher turnover to develop the Teacher Turnover Cost Model and found that the average cost "per-leaver" in the United States in 2008 was US$14.508.86 (Synar & Maiden, 2012).

Levy et al. (2012) used a Cost of Teacher Turnover model (COT) similar to that of Synar in which they looked at the cost of separation, hiring, training, and ongoing training in Boston Public Schools. Levy et al. (2012) found that teacher turnover accounted for US$12,110,102.00 for the 2006-2007 school year, which constituted 2% of the city's education budget, and each exiting teacher cost the city at least $19,460.00. Barnes, Crowe, & Schaefer (2007) also used the COT model to find that average individual teacher turnover costs ranged from just under US$10,000 in suburban North Carolina to US$26,502 in urban Chicago. Skinner (1998) and Desroches (2013) both suggested that the cost per teacher at international schools is likely to be far greater than that of public schools in the United States as these schools must account for registration, travel, and lodging for administrators when attending hiring fairs abroad, travel, housing, and utilities for the incoming teachers, as well as working visas for each new hire on top of the financial costs investigated by Synar (2010), Synar & Maiden (2012), and Levy et al. (2012).

The effects of high teacher turnover on student achievement is also evident in the literature (Thurston, 1981; Sparks, 2012; Adnot et al., 2017; Ronfeldt, Loeb, & Wyckoff, 2013; Merrill, 2013; Khawary & Ali, 2015; Hanushek, Rivkin, & Schiman, 2016; Zajac, 2016). In 1981, Thurston investigated the effects of teacher turnover on students in arts programs in the United States through qualitative interviews of teachers and administrators and found that, while new teachers can bring new perspectives, teacher turnover negatively affects any educational

program as relationships between teachers and students are paramount in creating and maintaining student interest in the program, in this case, the arts. Sparks (2012) reported on research conducted by Michael Hansen and found that, while the researchers approached the study with the assumption that turnover meant that the less effective teachers would be the ones most likely to leave, this was not always the case. In contrast, Adnot et al. (2017) investigated teacher turnover in District of Columbia Public Schools and found that while teacher turnover, in general, can have negative effects on student achievement, the authors developed a method to identify ineffective teachers to be replaced. This method of assessing teacher effectiveness, termed 'IMPACT', showed that all teachers leaving their schools at the end of the 2009-2010 school year had lower scores than the new teachers that came in at the beginning of the 2010-2011 school year as the IMPACT test identifies teachers that are ineffective educators. Adnot et al. (2017) do admit, though, that effective teachers are difficult to replace and that the District of Columbia is a unique case as the school board is able to employ IMPACT in an effort to identify ineffective teachers. Sparks (2012) reported that weak instructors were not being replaced by more effective teachers and that teachers that remained at their schools, even at low achieving schools, were likely to improve as teachers. Ingersoll & May (2012) noted that teacher turnover can be "both the cause and effect of problems in organizations" (p. 436), meaning that teacher turnover creates a circular effect where turnover causes resources to be allocated to recruitment of new teachers, creating a less than ideal environment for those new teachers, which, in turn, causes more turnover.

Through an eight-year study of more than 850,000 fourth and fifth grade students in New York City schools, Ronfeldt, Loeb, & Wyckoff (2013) discovered that students who experienced high teacher turnover had lower achievement in mathematics and English language acquisition

(ELA) than those students that had teachers who had been at the school in previous years. Merrill (2013) produced similar findings to Ronfeldt, Loeb, and Wyckoff (2013) when comparing the achievement of New York City middle schoolers in mathematics and ELA in schools with high and low teacher turnover for the 2009-2010 school year. Merrill (2013) also demonstrated that New York City middle school students at schools with high teacher turnover felt less safe than those students at schools with low teacher turnover. Khawary & Ali (2015) suggest that teacher turnover causes a disruption in the learning process due to having to learn new classroom behaviours and developing new relationships and severing past relationships, resulting in less interest and engagement in students. Khawary and Ali (2015) also stated that English learners in Afghanistan were constantly exposed to novice teachers who are, themselves, on a learning curve, resulting in students not progressing as efficiently as they could. Hanushek, Rivkin, & Schiman (2016) also found that teacher turnover results in reduced student achievement due to a loss of teacher experience in general, as well as at the grade level when teachers are moved to another class to fill in the teaching gaps, particularly in marginalized neighbourhoods in Texas public schools in the Lone Star district from 1997 to 2001. Zajac (2016) investigated the effects of high teacher turnover on three New England high schools for the 2014-2015 school year and found that high teacher turnover resulted in incomplete staffing, causing students to have less time to develop rapport with teachers, classes fell behind in content and skills learning, curriculum development had stalled, and one school was presented with a district recommendation to close their doors for the entire academic year as the school had become so ineffective as a result of teacher turnover.

Reasons for International Teacher Turnover

Wanderlust. International teachers are often seen as "risk takers or adventure seekers" when compared to teachers who choose to remain in their home country (Desroches, 2013, p. 5). It has also been suggested that, while international teachers will leave their schools to return to their home country, they are also highly likely to leave their schools frequently to teach in international schools in different countries so as to develop a "repertoire of international experience" (Joslin, 2002, p. 34). International teachers tend to exhibit the characteristic of 'wanderlust' (Mancuso, 2010; Mancuso et al., 2010; Desroches, 2013) which can be described as "an urge to wander or travel" according to Webster's New World Dictionary and Thesaurus (2002). Steven Mancuso (2010) used the International Teacher Mobility Survey (ITMS), a modified version of Ingersoll's (2001) analysis of the Schools and Staffing Survey and Teacher Follow-up Survey created by the National Center for Educational Statistics, as a starting point to identify factors that caused international teachers in the NESA from 2006-2009 to both leave and remain at their schools. While Mancuso (2010) focused on three main predictors for teachers staying and leaving: teacher characteristics, school characteristics, and organizational conditions, for the first time in international school research, Mancuso (2010) factored in the concept of wanderlust as a major factor that moves teachers to leave their schools.

Figure 3: Conceptual Map of Mancuso's (2010) Quantitative Study
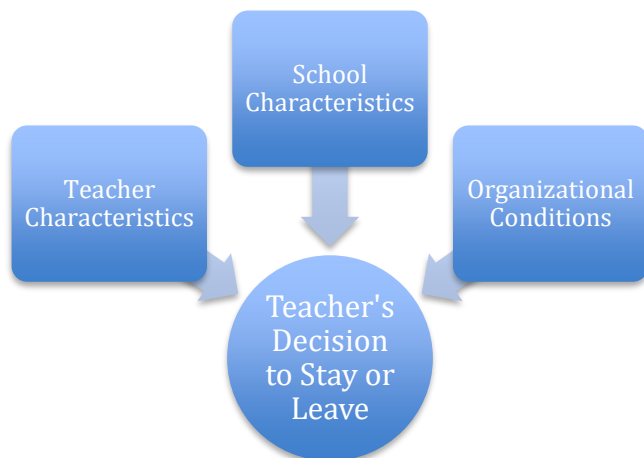
Source: Mancuso, 2010, p. 37.

Mancuso et al. (2011) suggest that, due to teachers exhibiting characteristics of wanderlust, it can be difficult for individual schools to pinpoint reasons for teacher turnover attributed directly to the school and to develop methods to improve teacher retention as these international teachers "seemed to be generally content with their jobs and their quality of life, but apparently the drive that provided the impetus to launch them on an international career trajectory continued to push and motivate them to seek out new experiences" (p. 834). One of Mancuso et al.'s (2011) participants stated that she was "happy here, [has] always been happy, and probably will be happy at [her] new school" (p. 834), suggesting that the desire to travel is important to some international teachers than any other factor when deciding to leave or remain at their current schools. Chandler (2010) suggests, though, that teachers look for more than simply "sticking pins in a map" (p. 225) as a means of satisfying their wanderlust and want more out of their schools than simply an experience abroad.

Leadership. In his 2007 dissertation, Glenn Odland investigated teacher turnover in Council of International Schools (CIS) member schools through a mixed-methods study. While only 257 of 22,080 potential participants (or 1%) completed the Likert-scale questionnaire, the study, nonetheless, provides an insight into the experiences of international teachers in international schools around the globe. Odland's (2007) findings from the quantitative questionnaire showed that the three most common causal factors for international teachers leaving international schools were related to administrative leadership: "communication between senior management and faculty", "support from principal and senior management", and "teacher involvement in decision making" (p. 95).

Table 1: Odland's (2007) Most Common Factors for Teacher Turnover

Rank	Factor	Mean Response
1	Communication between senior management and faculty	3.6
2	Support from principal and senior management	3.56
3	Teacher involvement in decision making	3.22
4	Personal Circumstances	3.18
5	Compensation package	3.15

(Source: Odland, 2007, p. 95)

The qualitative interview aspect of Odland's (2007) study supported the quantitative findings while it also added more specific factors that were not included in the questionnaire. The qualitative interviews revealed that 30% of the interviews revealed reasons for leaving that are linked to administrative leadership such as a feeling of a lack of appreciation from administrators, misrepresentation during recruitment, and ambiguity in the contracts offered to teachers (Odland, 2007).

Mancuso (2010) noted three predictors for teachers leaving were uncovered in relation to organizational conditions: dissatisfaction with salary, perceptions of effectiveness of the school head, and perceived teacher input into decision-making vis-a-vis the school head. Desroches (2013) echoed this sentiment as he found that organizational conditions, including the school head leadership and decision-making by the school head, were important factors when predicting international teacher turnover.

Weston (2014) investigated, specifically, the perception of effective leadership as a predictor of teacher retention and turnover. The top 10% of effective teachers were analyzed separately from the other 90% of international teachers in the study and Weston (2014) found that perceived leadership, and particularly transformational leadership, was a key factor when investigating teacher turnover in the NESA region. The most effective teachers in the region were more likely to choose effective leadership as a catalyst for leaving their school than other teachers.

Salary and Benefits. In 1968 Bob King investigated teacher turnover in AOS and the contexts within those schools that may affect teacher turnover through a quantitative study using a 90-question questionnaire sent to the administrators of 133 AOS. While King's (1968) study is outdated, his research was a first step toward improving teacher retention in international schools and laid the framework for future studies, including this study, and presents data that is still relevant today. King's (1968) study found that Latin America had the highest overall turnover rate compared to all other regions in the world at 43.6% (King, 1968, p. 190), higher than today's rate. King (1968) discussed the recruitment, implementation, and retention of teachers and the aspects involved in each of these phases to lay the framework for future research investigating teacher turnover in international schools. While this data was useful in identifying areas for improvement in international schools to retain international teachers, King (1968) only collected data from administrators, therefore, the results merely indicate the benefits and context within the schools that potentially cause high teacher turnover in international schools. In his report, King (1968) discussed the benefits that responding schools offered teachers, such as re-signing bonuses, medical insurance, and visas/work permits. Schools also reported that they tended to

pay less than American public schools and often in the local currency of the school rather than in American Dollars.

In a mixed-methods study of teachers and administrators from international schools in Indonesia, Tanzania, Egypt, and Argentina, Hardman (2001) investigated the methods that schools employed to both recruit and retain their teachers and the views of those teachers. Thirty teachers and administrators completed a questionnaire and five teachers in Buenos Aires international schools were interviewed on school practices and policies. Hardman (2001) found that the most relevant factors relating to teacher retention were related to professional advancement and financial incentives.

Odland (2007) found that the fourth most common characteristic that pushed international teachers to leave their schools was compensation. Mancuso (2010) also found satisfaction with salary to be an important factor when looking to retain international teachers. While both Odland (2007) and Mancuso (2010) also uncovered other factors that were important to consider, salary is an aspect that continues to surface.

Amodio (2015) looked at the role of incentives on teachers either renewing their contracts at their AOS in Europe or moving on to another school during their terminal year of their contracts with their schools. This study employed two stages: the first where current and former school heads ranked fifteen incentives from most to least important, the top ten of which would be given to the teachers to rank. Teachers identified four most valued incentives when deciding to re-sign with their school: a re-signing bonus of between €5,000 to €10,000, a paid annual visit home, an increase in housing allowances, and a raise in salary. No more than 41% of the participating school heads had a say in whether or not these incentives could be offered or improved, and no school heads had access to an increase in housing. Amodio (2015) also found

that, while school heads and teachers generally agreed on the importance of specific benefits, school heads overestimated the value of paid leadership positions offered to their teachers when compared to the value given to these positions by the teachers.

Personal Circumstances and Characteristics. Personal circumstances such as personal relationships, personal health, and personal preferences were considered to be fourth on Odland's (2007) list of most cited factors for international teachers leaving their schools. Following Odland's lead, Mancuso (2010) found the key teacher characteristics to be the most prevalent predictors of teachers leaving schools were having a spouse who is also a teacher, being in the school for less than seven years, having a greater amount of teaching experience than peers, being middle aged, and two factors related to wanderlust: personal growth as well as professional growth.

As Desroches (2013) studied a specific type of school (AOS) in a specific region (South America), he found that, not only was the turnover rate significantly higher than other regions of the world, but there were more predictors that were evidently significant in predicting whether an international teacher was a 'stayer' or a 'leaver'. The teacher characteristics that Desroches (2013) found to be significant were dependent children, years teaching overseas, and wanderlust relating to developing a worldly education. Desroches' (2013) study also produced several similar findings to Mancuso (2010). Similar teacher characteristics included: spouse as a teacher, years of teaching, both at the school and in general, being middle-aged, and cultural wanderlust.

New Teacher Preparation. King's (1968) findings showed that international schools, at the time, often did not require previous teaching experience prior to hiring that teacher, creating an environment with teachers with little to no experience. This study found that only half of the

administrators that responded noted the importance of preparing new teachers for the culture of the country, school policies, curriculum, language, and how to develop relationships with host country nationals (HCN) prior to arrival and 40% of the responding schools offered language support for new hires making the teachers' adaptation period more prone to culture shock (King, 1968). Bowers, 1991; Odland, 2007; Cox, 2012; Desroches, 2013 also discussed a lack of care taken by schools to fully prepare incoming foreign hires for life in their new school and country.

Budrow & Tarc (2018), through qualitative interviews during an international school hiring fair, investigated what characteristics international school leaders look for in potential international teachers. Budrow & Tarc (2018) found that, after being an effective teacher, participant fit and adaptability into the school and culture was an important characteristic for potential teachers to have. Another important aspect related to 'fit' was for the teacher to be flexible in the pedagogical environment. Teachers who were able to alter their teaching practices and even behaviours to fit with the culture and school were more likely to be successful teachers in international schools.

Relationships with the Local Culture and Population. Hardman (2001) also investigated the contrasting contexts of international hires and local hires within the same schools. Hardman (2001) found that, from the perspective of the international hires, there was a "hidden resentment towards overseas teachers by local members of staff, most commonly the result of differential pay scales and special benefits paid to teachers they saw doing equal jobs to themselves" (p. 128) which may cause friction amongst the staff who are meant to work together to best serve the students. Hardman (2001) related this division between local and international hires to teachers reporting disapproval of school climates in general.

Desroches (2013) built upon Mancuso's (2010) work through his investigation on the reasons for turnover in Association of American Schools in South America (AASSA). Through a quantitative study using a modified version of Mancuso's (2010) version of the ITMS, Desroches (2013) included another characteristic as a potential predictor of an international teacher in an American school in South America either staying or leaving: host country characteristics, an idea stemming from the Mercer Quality of Living Survey (Mercer Human Resource Consulting, 2011). Desroches (2013) felt it imperative to include the context and perceived quality of life for teachers outside of the school environment, even if that was outside of the control of the school. Desroches (2013) also noted that a key factor in predicting overall teacher turnover was the percentage of HCN in the school. The higher the percentage of HCN within the school, the more likely international teachers would not remain for extended tenures.

Along with the relationships developed with HCN, Desroches (2013) also found healthy living to be the only significant factor related to host country characteristics that could predict turnover. Desroches (2013) was able to break healthy living down into six significant subsets: transport and public services, HCN relationships, HCN support, HCN interactions, living conditions, and health services. The predictors put forth through the investigation of host country characteristics provided a much broader scope of the context of international teachers in South America.

Figure 4: Conceptual map of Desroches' (2013) study

Source: Desroches, 2013, p. 52

When investigating how teaching internationally in the global-south changed five Anglo-Western teachers as well as himself, Paul Tarc (2013) put forth two possibilities or scenarios related to the difficulty that Anglo-Western teachers have in building relationships with HCNs. These possibilities are hypotheses and one, both, or neither could be true. The first possibility being that Anglo-Western teachers, while going to other countries with genuinely positive intentions, they, at least at first,

> "often lack understanding of the wider geopolitical and economic conditions elevating their status or competencies as above their host-country colleagues. In failing to appreciate the larger asymmetries, some of these teachers misinterpret in their day-to-day relations with host nationals" (p. 66).

This elevation of their individual statuses could possibly create resentment from host nationals as a result of an inflated sense of self-importance by international hires.

Another possibility for a lack of developing genuine relationships with HCNs put forth by Tarc (2013) could also be that "maybe the host teachers have no problem challenging the expatriate teachers or maybe there is even some xenophobic sentiment aimed at incoming expatriate teachers in certain schools in certain countries" (p. 66). Possibly, along with the first hypothesis put forward, there is a resentment by local hires toward international hires. This could

be caused by a number of factors, the most basic of which being a form of xenophobia to a sense of inequality in that international teachers are offered more benefits and possibly higher pay when compared to local hires.

Tarc & Tarc (2015) also put forth the concept of international teachers 'middling' in their new societies in the Global South. Teachers in their study found themselves to be in an "uncomfortable position as in-between the elite users (families) of international education and members of local populations working in and servicing the school" (p. 44). As many international teachers come from Anglo-western middle-class families, they find difficulty in both teaching the 'elites' within their schools while also trying to find common ground with those on the lower rung of their societies who also work in the schools. Tarc & Tarc (2015) also suggested that, along with class, race and gender were also major factors in the separation of groups within schools and societies surrounding international schools. International teachers, as 'middling actors' become acutely aware of these separations between groups, causing them to leave their schools due to an uneasiness with the social norms in these countries. This dissonance was mentioned by Desroches (2013), though only in describing the populations of students within AASSA schools.

Working for a For-Profit Organization. Odland (2007) also found that, related to compensation, teachers often reported struggles with working for schools that were for-profit organizations. These teachers saw themselves working for a business that was looking to provide clients (parents and students) with a product (a high school diploma and entrance into a high-level university) in exchange for tuition payments and, as a result, profit. Desroches (2013) also found two significant school characteristics as predictors of a teacher being a 'mover', one being whether the next school was a profit or a non-profit.

Factors not related to international teacher turnover. In 2010, James Chandler investigated the role of location in the retention of international teachers in international schools. In contrast to the hypothesis put forward, Chandler (2010) found that the location of the school had little influence on teachers' decisions to stay or remain at their school. This evidence suggests that, while the location of a school is key in the recruitment of teachers, other factors, such as school environment, school leadership, and personal factors, become more relevant to teachers when deciding whether to remain at a school. Mancuso (2010) discovered that individual school characteristics were insignificant in teachers' decisions to stay or leave their schools; however, found that there were several teacher characteristics and organizational conditions that did influence teachers to leave their international school posts. Desroches (2013) also came to a similar conclusion, that school characteristics were not a significant factor in predicting turnover.

It is apparent that there is no specific formula to identify the single most important factor or factors to predict teacher retention or turnover. Mancuso et al. (2011) added the caveat to the final discussion of their study that "the real reasons for moving are difficult to pin down because teachers may not be fully aware of the dynamic operating as they make decisions or they simply may be too embarrassed to reveal their reasons" (p. 838). Reasons for leaving international schools will often be based on perceptions rather than the reality of what was taking place in the school at the time.

Recommendations for School Heads to Improve Teacher Retention

Based on the research investigating the reasons for teacher turnover, researchers have developed several recommendations for international school heads. While some researchers also held the professional title of 'Head of School' or similar and could, therefore, provide a glimpse

into the realities of implementing strategies to improve international teacher retention, no studies brought the findings from teacher data to the heads of schools to discuss the implementation of strategies and what has been done, can be done, or cannot be done to improve teacher retention in specific schools. No specific steps for implementation of the recommendations have been provided in previous research. The recommendations put forth in previous studies remain broad so that school heads can attempt to incorporate these recommendations to best fit their school's context and culture, yet there is no evidence of these recommendations being tested. The recommendations have been outlined in order from most commonly discussed in the limited literature to least discussed.

Leadership. Leadership was shown to be the key factor that caused teachers to either leave or remain at their schools and several recommendations were provided to help administrators to lead in a way that helps international teachers to feel supported, appreciated, and welcome (Odland, 2007; Mancuso, 2010; Mancuso et al., 2011; Desroches, 2013; Weston, 2014). Mancuso (2010) and Mancuso et al. (2011) stated that practicing transformational and distributed leadership, which will be discussed later in the literature review, will trump both school and teacher characteristics when teachers must choose to re-sign for another contract or not. School heads are viewed as the leader of the school and are seen as more of a figure for overall leadership in the school, despite having less proximity to teachers than a principal, this is especially true for the most effective teachers (Weston, 2014). Desroches (2013) noted that the school head was the most important image of leadership for teachers, should not be underestimated. It has been recommended that teacher input regarding decision-making should be valued by school heads (Odland, 2007; Desroches, 2013). Mancuso et al. (2011) suggested

that "teachers who saw their school leaders as effective were less likely to move" (p. 836). The various forms of leadership recommended are outlined later in this chapter.

Recruitment. The recruitment and marketing of the school toward potential new hires was discussed in several studies (King, 1968; Bowers, 1991; Odland, 2007; Cox, 2012; Desroches, 2013). There was agreement among researchers that schools must provide a vivid picture of what it will be like to both live in the new surroundings and work in the new school. King (1968) discussed never understating the disadvantages of coming to the school and/or city as this will help to decrease the chances of culture shock and dissatisfaction with the school. Bowers (1991) suggested that providing this picture of the school and environment will "provide candidates with the opportunity to assess an overseas school's potential to meet their personal needs while also "vaccinating" the candidates against the negative aspects of the job and living environment" (p. 85). Odland (2007) and Desroches (2013) echoed Bowers' (1991) sentiment regarding the 'vaccination' of new teachers as this picture of what the living and working conditions will be like must be as clear and accurate as possible to ensure the school grabs the attention of the candidates that will be the best fit for the school. Cox (2012) further investigated the marketing techniques that should be employed by the school when recruiting teachers and suggested that an accurate image of the school must be presented to potential applicants, demonstrating that the school has developed a positive teaching community, attractive school characteristics and organizational conditions. The school must also make clear the teacher characteristics for which schools are searching.

Teacher characteristics when hiring. Several recommendations have been put forward as to the type of person who is most likely to remain at an international school. King (1968)

recommended not hiring what he uniquely labeled "marginalized persons," meaning those with "marital issues or other personal problems"[1] (p. 185). Bowers (1991) recommended that school heads look to hire those with international school experience before those without if possible. Mancuso (2010) identified the most common characteristics of teachers that remain at their schools are those that are not married to another teacher in the school and teachers with little or a great deal of experience teaching (not in the middle). Desroches (2013) presented similar suggestions to those of Mancuso in regard to married couples and middle-aged teachers, but also included a preference for teachers with children that will attend the school, and teachers that wish to move abroad for worldly teaching and learning experience as opposed to cultural experiences, both of which he categorized as different forms of wanderlust.

Salary. King (1968) noted that teacher salaries in AOS are significantly lower than schools in the United States and recommended that AOS maintain a competitive salary with American schools as well as other international schools. Odland (2007), Desroches (2013), and Amodio (2015) also discussed the importance of a competitive salary when investigating teacher retention. Desroches (2013) noted that "movers listed salary as the most important organizational condition in their decision to leave and it was one of the top three reasons for teachers that decided to stay" and that "75% of movers anticipated a better salary … in the next school" (p. 153).

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[1] King's (1968) research, while outdated, demonstrates the evolution of research on teacher retention in international schools from research that is neoliberal and potentially marginalizing to international teachers, to a field rich with research from talented researchers, scholars, and practitioners looking to improve conditions for all educators within the international school community.

Benefits. Since international teachers will need an incentive to come to the school in the first place and salaries in international schools tend to be lower than American public schools (King, 1968), international schools must provide a competitive benefits package for international teachers to both come to the school and remain at the school. King (1968) recommended developing a retirement program for teachers, providing health insurance as a part of the benefits package, as well as a legal means to obtain American currency if they return to the United States, either for a trip or permanently. Hardman (1991) also discussed the importance of providing a competitive benefits package that was too attractive for teachers to give up. Mancuso et al. (2011) stressed the importance of free tuition for the children of teachers as international schools are private and can be quite expensive. Attractive living conditions and health services were recommended as a must for retaining quality teachers (Mancuso et al., 2011; Desroches, 2013) and Amodio (2015) added that re-signing bonuses and annual flights home were also key benefits that encouraged teachers to remain at their international schools. Desroches (2013) also made it a point to mention that "64% [of movers] anticipate better benefits in their next school" (p. 153).

New arrival support. Researchers put forth the notion that moving to a new country can be difficult for teachers. King (1968) and Hardman (1991) stressed the importance of an orientation period immediately after arrival to help alleviate the chance of culture shock. This orientation period would help the new teacher adapt to both the school as well as the new environment, culture, and language. Desroches (2013) recommended a mentoring program that would help guide the new teacher through their adaptation period and noted that having a HCN assist with that process might be the best way to get a new international teacher better acclimated to their new surroundings. This support would be instrumental in the new teacher feeling

comfortable in the school from the beginning and would set the stage for a positive experience, overall, in their school.

Develop relationships with Host Country Nationals. Desroches (2013) investigated teacher quality of life in their new city/country and found that developing relationships with HCN would greatly help to improve the chances of an international teacher remaining at their school. Desroches (2013) notes that helping teachers to develop a support network in their new home would help international teachers to feel as though they have developed a second home. This can be achieved, suggests Desroches (2013), through social events, assisting the new international teachers with acquisition of the host country's language, and cultural orientation provided by the school. Desroches (2013) also suggests that providing new international teachers with housing in a neighbourhood that would allow the international teacher easy access to socialization with HCN and host country culture and society to better familiarize themselves with this new country and their customs.

Transformational and Transactional Leadership

Mancuso (2010), Mancuso et al. (2011), and Weston (2014) recommended the implementation of transformational leadership practices to improve international teacher retention. While Burns (1978) coined the term "transformational leadership" while presenting the theory in the context of the civil rights movement, Bernard Bass (1990) was the second to put forth the theory of transformational leadership in management theory (Blackmore, 2013) and suggested that, where transactional leadership dictates that followers work for the leader because there will be negative consequences for not doing the work or doing a poor job, transformational leadership opened the eyes of followers to a greater mission than the individual within the

organization, therefore producing more efficient, more creative, and more motivated work from followers. Blackmore (2013) considers transformational leadership, along with distributed leadership, to be the most "socially just" forms of leadership as "both approaches recognize the emotional dimensions of teaching and leading and promise more inclusive practices with their clear focus on teacher collaboration to improve student learning" (p. 140).

Transformational leadership for school leaders follows what Dahlgaard-Park (2015) refers to as the 4 "I"s: "(1) idealized influence, (2) inspirational motivation, (3) intellectual stimulation, and (4) individualized consideration" (p. 3). Idealized influence is the individual charisma displayed and the natural leadership qualities and behaviours inherent in that leader. Inspirational motivation refers to the "quality of the articulation of the vision by the leader and the extent to which it is inspiring, motivating, and appealing to the followers" (p.3). In theory, followers in transformational leadership will see the vision of the leader and, as a result, the organization, as a noble endeavour in which followers will want to work to achieve. Intellectual stimulation refers to the ability of a leader to challenge their followers in order to garner "creativity and innovation as well as with the encouragement of the free flow of ideas within the organization" (Dahlgaard-Park, 2015, p. 3). Individualized consideration is characterized as the ability of a leader to treat each follower as an individual and coaching each individual to succeed toward reaching the vision laid out for the organization as well as the individual. Dahlgaard-Park (2015) also discussed the difference between transformational and transactional leadership and concluded that transformational leadership is far more effective to promote effective production from followers in a more supportive manner. Dahlgaard-Park (2015) also mentions the laissez-faire approach to leadership as an interesting approach to educational leadership, though

potentially difficult to implement should the organization have a clear mission and vision in which all teachers should strive toward.

The literature suggests that transformational leadership could potentially help to improve teacher retention in international schools. Mancuso (2010) suggests that "the data indicate that a leadership style associated with transformational leadership promotes retention" (p. 84) and Mancuso et al. (2011) suggest that implementing "policies that require teacher input into decision making, salaries and benefits, and working conditions would prompt school leaders to follow the transformational leadership model" (p. 839). Weston (2014) found a significant relationship showing that transformational leadership by the school head was shown to improve teacher retention and that "school heads should intentionally and consciously seek to employ transformational leadership practices" (p. 79). Khawary & Ali (2015) also recommend the practice transformational leadership as a means to foster positive relationships between administrators and teachers, leading to better retention in English schools in Afghanistan. Leithwood (1994), using Burns' (1978) definition of transformational leadership, found that transformational leaders fostered a positive image of school conditions by teachers, thus leading to improved teacher job satisfaction.

Leithwood (1994), Menon (2014), Schenck (2016), and Dou, Devos, & Valcke (2017) came to conclusions suggesting that, while transformational leadership could help to improve teacher job satisfaction and/or retention, it is best to implement this style of leadership alongside transactional leadership practices with a focus on situational theories, meaning to maintain an awareness of general school contexts. While transformational leadership could potentially work in some situations, if implemented it must also be supported by transactional leadership as it can be difficult to find school-wide goals that will appeal to everyone in the organization and there

may be teachers that are unwilling to play their part in reaching those goals. In this case, transactional leadership may need to be practiced, particularly in multicultural organizations such as international schools as a transformational leadership methodology may have different effects on different people and cultures. While some followers may buy-in to transformational leadership, others may regard it with cynicism.

While transformational leadership theory intends to incorporate all stakeholders to work toward a common, overarching goal, the theory could inherently hold Western biases which work toward those neoliberal goals in the case of an Anglo-Westerner implementing transformational leadership in a foreign country. As international schools tend to employ teachers from various backgrounds and cultures who educate a multicultural population of students, transformational leadership must be approached and investigated from a critical, cross-cultural perspective, not present in international school literature. The next section outlines how a cross-cultural context requires a critical lens of transformational leadership theory

Culturally Endorsed Implicit Leadership Theory and Cross-Cultural Leadership

International schools in São Paulo, as well as all other organizations that provide salaries in Brazil, are subject to Brazilian Labour Laws; specifically, Article 354 of the Consolidation of Labor Laws, Law Decree 5452/43 (Consolidação das Leis do Trabalho - Decreto Lei 5452/43, § Artigo 354). This law states that in all Brazilian companies a minimum of 67% of the employees must be Brazilian citizens and a minimum of 67% of the wages paid must be paid to Brazilian citizens as well. While smaller companies/organizations with fewer than three employees are exempt from this law, none of the international schools in São Paulo would be exempt. As international schools in São Paulo look to hire native English-speaking teachers from English-majority countries to provide an education that looks to prepare students for acceptances in post-

secondary institutions in English-majority countries, this law suggests that cultural differences in perceptions of leadership will likely come into play when implementing forms of leadership according to Culturally Endorsed Implicit Leadership Theory, originally put forth by Project GLOBE (Javidian et al., 2006). This law obliges leaders in international schools, regardless of nationality or background, to apply cross-cultural leadership tactics and practices so as to create an efficient and harmonious learning and teaching environment.

Individuals will hold dissimilar views of what effective leadership is based on their particular backgrounds, experiences, and beliefs. Javidian et al. (2006) discuss implicit leadership theory (ILT) as a theory in which "individuals hold a set of beliefs about the kinds of attributes, personality characteristics, skills, and behaviors that contribute to or impede outstanding leadership" (p. 72). This theory shows that in organizations each individual will have their own view of what their leader should be and how their leader should act. Brodbeck et al. (2000) said that individuals have inherent prototypes of what a leader should be and will react positively to someone that fits this prototype of a leader.

When generalized, nationalities and cultures also have their own implicit beliefs regarding effective leadership. Javidian et al. (2006) expanded on ILT through Project GLOBE to include collective cultural beliefs on leadership characteristics referred to as "culturally endorsed implicit leadership theory (CLT)" (p. 73) which include six dimensions of leaders: charismatic/value-based, team-oriented, participative, humane-oriented, autonomous, and self-protective. Javidian et al. (2006) go on to compare Brazilian and American preferences in relation to leadership to outline the discrepancies that may affect leaders in cross-cultural contexts.

Americans and Brazilians differ in what they view as effective leadership in several aspects of leadership as evidenced by Javidian et al. (2006). For example, generally speaking, American employees that hold positions at different levels within an organization have a tendency to be more willing to interact with others in a different role or stratum on a regular basis whereas Brazilian employees tend to interact within their own rank or social status (Javidian et al., 2006). Other significant examples of these cultural differences show that, generally speaking, American companies and employees are more willing to enter into situations that may bring uncertainty than Brazilian companies or employees and that Brazilians are more likely to work toward a harmonious environment for the group as a whole than Americans who would opt for a "speedier decision making process and a higher level of action orientation" (Javidian et al., 2006, p. 76) even if it means bringing uncomfortable issues to the forefront of conversations. While no culture is monologic, these general assumptions can help leaders to understand the various views of effective leadership within a cross-cultural organization.

Successful cross-cultural leadership is possible. Parvis (2003) investigated how to lead in diverse, multicultural workplaces and suggested that the voices of each and every member must be heard and feel as though they are being heard for leadership to work. Brodbeck et al. (2000) also worked through Project GLOBE to examine cultural differences between different European countries in organizations. The authors concluded that effective leaders are able to bridge the gap between disparate implicit views of what effective leadership is and "the ability to build conceptual bridges between cultures will remain a key competence for cross-cultural leadership, not only in Europe, but also worldwide" (Brodbeck et al., 2000, p. 26). Through a survey of employees in companies spanning 38 different countries using the World Values Survey, Schenck (2016) found that transformational leadership can be implemented in cross-cultural

contexts through stage-by-stage implementation where monetary gains, a sign of transactional values, are used yet eventually substituted to create a more creative, supportive workplace, regardless of cultural context. Bauer (2015) also applied CLT to his study of leadership values in Slovak organizations and discovered the similarities in views of what makes an effective leader between Slovak and Hungarian employees. These findings suggest that, while different cultures will have different views of what effective leadership is, there will be similarities that are shared between cultures and these similarities can be used to best serve multicultural populations within organizations. The similarities and differences must be identified in order for leaders to create a positive teaching and learning environment for all teachers and students.

Distributed Leadership

Mancuso (2010) recommended distributed leadership alongside transformational leadership as a means to improve international teacher retention in international schools. Gronn (2000) posits that activity is the bridge between agency and structure" (p. 318). This means that distributing responsibilities between members of an organization can create an environment where followers do not feel as though they are simply a part of a hierarchy and have a sense of importance and a say in how their organization functions. The organization, in turn, becomes an extension of the followers as they have helped to shape it.

David Hartley (2007) outlined the need for distributed leadership in organizations and even claimed that "it has turned into something of a social movement" (p. 202). As transformational leadership seeks out "charismatic hero[es]" (Hartley, 2007, p. 206) as leaders, this characteristic in leaders is often not readily available. Hartley (2007) recommends distributed leadership alongside, or in lieu of, transformational leadership. Distributed leadership in schools can created an organisational culture that allows followers, or teachers in the case of

this study, to develop their version of what their organization should look like while taking into consideration their "social and communal concerns" (Hartley, 2007, p. 204).

Alma Harris (2013) demonstrated that distributed leadership tactics have not only improved teacher satisfaction, but as a result also worked to improve school performance. It is noted, however, that school leaders are necessary to guide and facilitate in distributed leadership (Harris, 2013). While these leaders are necessary, they cannot act alone in achieving "school and system transformation" (Harris, 2013, p. 551). Leaders and followers must work together in distributed leadership for necessary and meaningful changes to take place in organizations.

Blackmore (2013) put forth distributed leadership as a "response to the failure of transformational leadership" (p. 142). Distributed leadership is a collaboration of knowledge in acknowledging that individuals bring various cognition to an organization. Through recognizing these cognitions, leaders are able to use various individuals with different knowledge and skills sets to develop certain subsystems within the organization to improve the system as a whole (see section on systems theory). Blackmore (2013) suggests that

"such approaches will arguably improve collegiality and communication between teachers and encourage them to assume pedagogical leadership. Teacher-led innovation is also more likely to meet the needs of their students with the rising expectations for personalized learning" (p. 142).

In adopting distributed leadership tactics, international schools in São Paulo may be able to create an environment where teachers feel as though they have made an impact on the school. This form of leadership can help teachers to feel as though they are part of a community and feel more pride in their work and accomplishments.

Authentic Leadership

Authentic leadership arose as a recommendation for school leaders within school head interviews. Authentic leadership says that leaders must remain "true to the self" (Leroy et al., 2012, p. 1678). This means that leaders must follow three components of authenticity as a leader, according to Leroy et al. (2012) and Gardner et al. (2011): 1) accept personal responsibility for one's self as well as the organization through admitting mistakes, 2) being sincere with others and not manipulate them in any way, and 3) behave in a way that reflects personal values over that which may be dictated by an organization.

Gunderman & Maas (2014) took on authentic leadership in the field of radiology and noted that authentic leaders must not value reaching the "highest rung on the administrative ladder" (p. 519), but to be the person that they truly are while contributing to their current post as best they can and to "help others do the same" (p. 519). This message of being true to one's self shows that leaders must function in their current role rather than looking to move up in the hierarchies of their organizations. In doing so, leaders will be able to better help their followers and will develop relationships as authentic leaders and authentic followers (Leroy et al., 2012).

While authentic leadership has been cited as a potential form of leadership to help improve teacher retention as it will help to create positive relationships between the individuals both leading and following, Ngunjiri & Hernandez (2017) suggest that authentic leaders must be careful so as to not allow those whose "social identities set them apart from the majority within organizations and society" (p. 394). Ngunjiri & Hernandez (2017) problematize authentic leadership as they claim that, through "Black Feminist Thought informed by intersectional analysis" they explore their "experiences as minoritized women" in organizations (p. 395). As many organizations tend to be predominately white, Ngunjiri & Hernandez (2017) suggest that, if authentic leadership is to be implemented, in these organizations there must be a commitment

to developing diversity within the organization to bring as many minoritized voices to the conversation as possible.

In investigating international mindedness to inform leadership in international schools, Tarc (2018) suggested that authentic leadership in international schools requires leaders to engage in the culture of the place and school. Authentic leadership on its own, in an international school setting, is not sufficient to develop an ethical environment within the school as foreign leaders will likely not have the knowledge or understanding of the local culture. International school leaders must develop their international mindedness as leaders by

> "engag[ing] the cultural politics and sociocultural difference represented in the school environment as the vital context-specific conditions for students' (and teachers') development of international mindedness. Rather than suppress or discipline student engagement with the hidden curriculum, leaders would have to engage and learn from it to seek/perform authenticity in the service of international mindedness, although such learning, as mentioned, will require engagement with social and cultural theory beyond (or at the cutting edge of) the effective leadership discourse" (p. 496).

Schools with authentic leadership can potentially improve international teacher retention as it can create an atmosphere of trust and support between leaders and followers. When combined with other leadership theories, such as distributed leadership, authentic leadership can be even more empowering and supportive to teachers. Should a leader be authentic with a vision which followers can relate to, teachers may be more likely to be satisfied with their role in schools.

Systems Theory to Understand Schooling

Originally developed by von Bertalanffy in 1950 and later translated into the English language in 1968, systems theory describes the interrelationships between subsystems and the elements within those subsystems in order to best support the system or host as an ontological view and the study of those subsystems as an epistemological view (von Bertalanffy, 1968; Reading, 1979; Betts, 1992; Vancouver, 2013; McGee & Warms, 2013; Dorian, 2014; Ruhl, 2014; Schneider et al., 2015; Bronn, 2016; Laughlin, 2017). While von Bertalanffy (1968) originally developed systems theory to explain living organisms, such as cells in biology, he also outlined the potential for the application of the theory in the social sciences as a means to understand how groups of people and organizations can be investigated, explained, and predicted as a result of understanding the interrelationships of the subsystems within those systems. Von Bertalanffy (1968) stated that "systems analysis, for example, of a business enterprise encompasses men, machines, buildings, inflow of raw material, outflow of products, monetary values, good will and other imponderables; it may give definite answers and practical advice" (p. 196). Dorian (2014) and Ruhl (2014) discussed the holistic nature of systems theory in application as the theory looks at causality not in a linear manner, but in a way that shows reciprocation between subsystems and elements in a circular manner.

Building upon von Bertalanffy's (1968) theory, scholars have outlined the appropriateness of systems theory when investigating the effectiveness of organizations and the interrelations between the subsystems and elements that make up those organizations (Vancouver, 2013; Schneider et al., 2015; Bronn, 2016). Vancouver (2013), through a thorough literature review on systems theory in organizations, concluded that systems theory is "widely accepted and, when properly applied, critical to organizational success" (p. 5). Schneider et al. (2015) investigated how organizations respond to their environments by applying systems theory

and found that, often, organizations respond collaboratively to negative environmental variables. Bronn (2016) applied systems theory to his study of how organizations manage their reputations and the effects of the various subsystems on the reputations of those organizations and vice-versa. A key relationship between systems that affected organizational reputations, according to Bronn (2016), was between supervisor and employees.

Schools, as organizations, have also been referred to as organisms that rely on various systems, subsystems, and elements to function efficiently and effectively (Betts, 1992; Peck & Carr, 1997; Banathy, 1999; Duffy et al., 2000; Simon, 2009; Avis, 2009; Kagan et al., 2016; Kim & Rehg, 2018). Betts (1992) took upon the task of identifying the elements that had evolved in education systems through looking at education from a systems approach. One of the key elements in effective schools, suggests Betts (1992), was "intact teams working over an extended period of time (more than a year) to achieve a common goal", alluding to the necessity for schools to retain their teachers as well as a nod to transformational leadership when discussing common goals for teachers to work toward. Peck & Carr (1997), Duffy et al. (2000), Avis (2009), and Kim & Rehg (2018) applied systems theory to investigate the methods by which policy-makers could improve education in various regions and levels of education by identifying the connections between subsystems within the education system and creating strategic plans to improve the public perception of schools, redesigning the education system as a whole, and improving faculty morale and performance in post-secondary institutions. In 1999, Banathy demonstrated that, through systems thinking, education could evolve from being instruction-based to learning-based as this approach forces educators and researchers to look at education from a more holistic viewpoint. Simon (2009) discussed the application of systems theory to nursing education and suggested that the "throughputs" in nursing education must include

feedback to improve the education provided to nursing students. Kagan et al. (2015) investigated early childhood education in the Caribbean and Latin America by applying systems theory to understanding how early childhood education can be improved in the region and the roadblocks to doing so. Kagan et al. (2015) also suggested that researching diverse contexts through systems theory requires researchers to identify their own biases and positionality in relation to the research.

In relation to my project that narrowly is focused on improving teacher retention, systems theory is helpful, such that this narrow objective doesn't overshadow the understanding that teacher retention as a subsystem cannot be isolated from other subsystem within the workings of the whole. For example, should a leader make a decision to improve international teacher salaries as a way to improve retention, this will likely affect other aspects, or subsystems, within the school such as schools having less financial means to purchase teaching materials or provide other benefits for those teachers. As I intend to bring the viewpoints of both teachers and school heads to this study, they will be able to identify how certain changes will affect other subsystems that one group had not previously considered.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has outlined the growing need for international teachers in international schools, the reasons for high international teacher turnover, and the recommendations for practice in international schools put forth by previous academic studies on international teacher turnover in international schools. While no studies have looked, specifically at São Paulo international schools, the literature provides general, very preliminary 'hypotheses' to the primary research question in this study, 1) What measures must leaders in São Paulo international schools take to mitigate high international teacher turnover? Previous studies also

discussed the difficulties of addressing the concerns put forth by international teachers, providing responses to two of the secondary research questions relating to the role of leadership in international schools: 1) What concerns put forth by Anglo-western teachers cannot be addressed by São Paulo international school heads? and 2) What impedes São Paulo international school heads from addressing these concerns? The literature has also provided an in-depth look into the other two secondary research questions for this study, though not specifically for São Paulo international schools: 1) What factors force Anglo-western teachers to leave their current school before or at the completion of their contract? and 2) What factors convince Anglo-western teachers to remain at their current school for at least one more contract? Thus, my literature view guided my thinking in anticipating participant responses and in steering some of the discussion. However, I also, at times, bracketed out the literature review to 'let the data speak' so as to privilege an inductive reading of the data, which ultimately might align or not align with findings of past research.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The purpose of this study was to investigate the realities of how school heads currently and can potentially address the issue of international teacher turnover in international schools in São Paulo, Brazil. This chapter presents the qualitative methods of this study, which is empirically focused on São Paulo international schools and informed by the recommendations for future research put forth by Desroches (2013), Mancuso (2010), and Amodio (2015). These previous studies suggest that researchers: 1) employ qualitative study to examine more in-depth the concerns put forth by international teachers, particularly regarding leadership at their schools, benefits, and salary, 2) investigate the role of gender on the decision of international teachers to leave or stay, 3) select populations from a smaller region [than previous studies], and 4) investigate international schools that prescribe to a non-American curriculum, such as British international schools. The research also takes one step further than previous studies on teacher turnover in international schools by intersecting the perspective of school heads with those of the Anglo-Western international schoolteachers.

In this chapter, I first outline the study, then the specific populations that were selected to be interviewed, followed by how those participants that met the criteria were recruited to take part in this study. I then examine my core assumptions while conducting interviews with participants and coding the data. I also present my researcher positionality relative to the study. I then discuss my chosen methodology, an exploratory instrumental case study and why this methodology was chosen. Next, I discuss how data were collected and analysed to develop conclusions as to why teacher turnover takes place and the role of the school head in addressing these concerns brought forth by international teachers. I then outline the steps taken to ensure

validity and credibility of the study and, finally, the measures taken to ensure that the study was conducted ethically as approved by the Western Research Ethics Board.

Population

The schools contacted to participate in this study met specific inclusion criteria. Participant schools must have: 1) followed a recognized international curriculum in English and provided an international secondary school diploma (non-Brazilian), 2) been located within the boundaries of the city of São Paulo in the state of São Paulo, Brazil, 3) been members of the Association of American Schools in South America (AASSA) or the Council of British International Schools (COBIS), 4) offered International Baccalaureate (IB) and/or Advanced Placement (AP) courses, and 5) hired teachers from abroad, providing them working visas as well as other benefits only offered to international hires. These criteria ensured that participating schools could include experiences of teachers across a full range of grade levels, that all of the teachers had similar experiences and knowledge from living within the same city, and aimed to provide an international experience for their students by hiring international teachers. Four different international schools in São Paulo met these criteria. School heads from these schools were eligible to be interviewed in secondary interviews following interviews with teacher participants. The school head from my own organization was not interviewed to avoid a conflict of interest for myself and the school.

My selection of teacher participants from eligible schools was purposive. International schools look to employ Anglo-western teachers to provide an international education; therefore, teacher participants within the eligible schools also had to meet specific criteria. Anglo-western teacher participants were to be native English speakers who are citizens of an English-majority country, have received their degrees and/or certifications from universities or colleges offering

courses in the English language, and are provided benefits reserved for only foreign hires within

the school such as a working visa, housing or housing allowances, and flights to and from Brazil

at some point within, at least, the first contract. These criteria were chosen as Anglo-western

teachers are deemed the preferred candidates for teaching positions in international schools

offering subject courses taught in the English language by native-English speakers with

appropriate credentials. These are the teachers that current retention efforts are focused on.

Sampling

School heads were contacted directly by recruitment emails through purposive criterion

sampling (Mills & Gay, 2016). The contacts were provided to me through the interscholastic

connections with my own organization. The school heads who accepted to take part in the study

then had administrative assistants send recruitment emails to their foreign hire teachers who

would then contact me to arrange an interview time and place. Snowball sampling (Mills & Gay,

2016) was also employed as I asked the teachers I interviewed to forward my contact

information to their fellow international teachers as this research could, theoretically, as an

exploratory instrumental case study, help to improve both their living and working conditions

while in São Paulo. Purposive sampling ensured that only schools and teachers that met the study

criteria received recruitment emails, though questioning during interviews would provide a

secondary screening to ensure that teachers met the necessary criteria.

Three of the four eligible schools, two AOS and one British school, allowed their

teachers to participate in the study. Twelve international teachers in total agreed to be

participants in the study out of a total of 65 eligible international teachers as reported by the three

school heads for an 18% total teacher response rate. While this response rate is lower than

previous studies, the variety of schools, backgrounds of participants, as well as a qualitative

study design provided information-rich data on teacher contexts and realities when investigating reasons for teacher turnover. School One (S1) provided four participants, School Two (S2) provided two participants, and School Three (S3) provided six participants for the study. The participants were evenly represented by gender: six male teachers, six female teachers, one female school head, and one male school head. The gender ratios are mentioned as I have been told by my own administrators in the past that male teachers are often the first choice in hiring as they have, historically, remained at the school for longer tenures than female international teachers. Steps to ensure anonymity of participants are outlined later in this chapter. The participants, both teachers and administrators, hailed from the United States (9), the United Kingdom (3), Canada (1), and Australia (1). Teachers also represented a range of teaching experience at their current schools, from being in their first year of their first contract to their 25th year at the school. The teacher participants also represented two different divisions within each school, primary and secondary. It should also be mentioned that three of the teacher participants also held junior administrative positions in the school, meaning positions within the school hierarchy that are lower than the head of division, such as an educational coordinator. These junior administrators were all classroom teachers as well. These junior administrators were able to provide insight into the inner workings of schools from both the teacher and leadership viewpoints. Both eligible school heads who allowed their teachers to be interviewed agreed to participate as the key participants in the second phase of the research.

Conceptual Frameworks and Researcher Lens

This study applied systems theory as the main theoretical framework, although chaos theory and complexity theory were considered. As international schools are organizations comprised of various subsystems required to function as a whole organism, the interrelations

between the various subsystems within the organism were studied to identify how those

interrelations affect international teacher retention as well as the effect of international teacher

retention on other systems within international schools in São Paulo. First outlined by von

Bertalanffy in 1968, general systems theory first looked at how various systems in biology

worked together for organisms to function and has since been used to study the social sciences

(Reading, 1979) as well as how organizations function (Vancouver, 2013; Schneider et al.,

2017). The subsystems in this study included those put forth by Deroches (2013) which included

both internal and external systems as well as the elements within the subsystems at work that

affect international teacher retention and also the way an international school functions as a

whole and how the subsystems are interconnected: school characteristics, teacher characteristics,

organizational characteristics, and host-country characteristics. These subsystems and elements

combine to provide a conceptual basis for the analysis of 'teacher retention' in this study.

The data in this study were collected and analyzed in line with a social constructivist

viewpoint perspective. Originally coined by Vygotsky in 1978 to describe the epistemological,

ontological, and methodological elements of knowledge production, Creswell (2014) defines the

social constructivist worldview as one where, while conducting research, the researcher takes

into account that human beings construct subjective meanings through their own interactions

with others as well as their own lived experiences and history. From this epistemological

assumption, knowledge is created through social and historical experiences. I take Creswell's

(2014) definition in privileging the meaning-making of the participants as well as the researcher.

Accordingly, face-to-face interactions between the participants and myself allowed me to better

and more fully understand the contexts and meaning-making of the participants and, in turn,

create meaning based on these interactions. These meanings were created not only using the

words presented by the participant, but the non-verbal communication that developed between myself and the participants. In social constructivist research, the researcher must "actively interact with research participants towards the development of the dynamics of collaborative dialogical inquiry, which leads to the co-construction of meaning" (Kim, 2014, p. 243) meaning that through back and forth conversation, meaning can be constructed by both parties coming to an understanding of the case in question taking into consideration both points of view. Social constructivist theory lends itself to case study research; it allows the researcher to interact with participants to have in-depth conversations to uncover the realities of those participants which will be interpreted based on the interactions between researcher and participant as well as the researcher's own experiences and history. McKinley (2015) stated that "social constructivist theory asserts that two people's ideas coincide with their experiences and that writers build on their socio-cultural awareness, a key point in identity construction" (pp. 1-2). The social constructivist paradigm aligns with the interpretive paradigm of qualitative case study research. As an interpretive paradigm allows the researcher to involve themselves in the stories of the participants to interpret meaning based on their own experiences and knowledge and my focus was on interpretation and illumination, I also attempted to bring my own critical thinking in terms of how leadership theories coming from Western contexts may be in need of adaptation or contestation in inter-cultural contexts such as international schools.

A social constructivist approach to educational research also requires the researcher to acknowledge and understand their own positionality in relation to the study and the participants (Creswell, 2014). In this study, I assumed an insider-outsider position (Merriam et al., 2000; Humphrey, 2007) while conducting interviews and coding the transcripts created through the interviews. As a Canadian citizen who works in an international school in São Paulo, a cultural

bond between myself and the participants was easily developed in interviews as we had similar experiences working in organizations situated outside of our own countries and cultures (Merriam et al., 2000). This bond was a possibility for both the teacher and school head interviews as we could discuss common frustrations that we have experienced within our organizations and living abroad as well as the positives of living and working in São Paulo.

While I was an insider culturally, professionally I was an outsider in my researcher role and potentially because of my local hire status. Despite having Canadian citizenship, I am a local hire at an international school who does not receive a working visa, housing, or other benefits reserved solely for international hires. This outsider positionality, while it may cause discomfort for international teachers to discuss their benefits with me, can also help to better probe and uncover the contexts in which the teachers and school heads work and live as I had to ask further questions in semi-structured interviews to fully understand what the participants were saying. I was forced to "activate the hyphen" in insider-outsider positionality to create rapport between myself and the participants so that the participants were willing to share their experiences with me while also actively seeking to understand their contexts, as an outsider looking in (Humphrey, 2007).

While a social constructivist lens is valuable in that is explains how knowledge is created through relational acts, it must also be acknowledged that there are biases at play as I created knowledge not just through observation, but through interaction. The act of having an interview with me was an artificial or constructed context that shaped how the participants spoke about their experiences and viewpoints. Later in this chapter I discuss how I took steps to limit my biases as well as the response bias from participants.

Exploratory Instrumental Case Study

Case studies are designed to provide a descriptive portrait of a current phenomenon within specified contexts, often aiming to provide an explanation for that phenomenon (Mills & Gay, 2016). An *instrumental* case study is employed with the objective of using the information uncovered "as a comparative point across other cases in which the phenomenon might be present" (Grandy, 2010, p. 3) and, therefore, help lead to action in the future. Instrumental case studies and their methods used are used to improve the conditions that arise through collecting data from participants (Grandy, 2010). Instrumental case studies can also be used in comparison with other organizations or contexts experiencing similar situations (Grandy, 2010). This choice for my case study methodology works with systems theory to test the theory in comparison with other, similar cases. Bringing findings from the international teacher interviews to discuss with school heads showed that this was a study that aimed to shed light on the situation for both the international teachers as well as the school heads.

This novel approach informs the design as an *exploratory* case study, meaning to explore a "what" question (Yin, 2014) through investigating a particular phenomenon, in this case, "What can leaders do to improve international teacher retention?" In this study, the set of international school heads and teachers in the particular kinds of schools indicated above represent the particular "case" to be studied. This study used participants from three different international schools in São Paulo to provide a snapshot of current practices and contexts within São Paulo international schools from the perception of both international teachers and school heads to inform leadership practices of reducing international teacher turnover. Langston (2012) used an instrumental case study to determine the effectiveness of professional learning communities in two different schools to identify practices that both work and need to be improved within a specific region in schools experiencing similar phenomena.

Merriam (1998) characterized case studies as particularistic, descriptive, and heuristic. This case study was particularistic as it focuses on the phenomenon of international teacher turnover, specifically in international schools located solely in São Paulo, Brazil. The interviews look to provide information-rich descriptions of the realities of both international teachers and the school heads of international schools. This study was also heuristic in nature as it looks to present new insights into the restraints that school heads face when tackling the issue of international teacher turnover. Building upon the recommendation put forth by Amodio (2015), employing a qualitative case study rather than a quantitative study allowed for participants to provide thicker details and more insight into their experiences, opinions, and feelings when discussing the reasons for teacher turnover as opposed to the more generalizable, but 'thinner' findings, produced through quantitative methods.

Data Collection

In this study, 14 semi-structured face-to-face interviews, each lasting between 25 and 65 minutes, were conducted in two stages. The first stage included twelve teachers (n=12) from three international schools between January and August of 2018, following which the data from these interviews were coded and the results were sent to the second stage interviewees, the school heads, to read prior to the second stage interviews taking place. In the second stage of data collection, two (n=2) school heads from separate São Paulo international schools were interviewed in January and February 2019. The semi-structured interview questions can be found in Appendices H and I. As outlined under 'Sampling' earlier in this chapter, the teachers and school heads must have met specific criteria to be considered as the "case" of particular stakeholders in this specific geographical region and type of organization.

Interviews were recorded using voice recording technology and saved on a password-protected hard drive until transcripts were created by using speech-to-text typing on Microsoft word the same day as the interviews were conducted. As speech-to-text typing simply dictates the wording that is to be typed, edits were made to the typed print as well as formatted to ensure that the data could be coded. Interviews with teacher participants took place in a location of the participants choice at an hour of their convenience to ensure anonymity. Participants were informed of their rights as a participant and that their participation was entirely voluntary and that they could withdraw at any time throughout the process. Participants were also assured of their anonymity at the beginning and end of the interview, as well as throughout the interview when questioned about their negative experiences within their current workplaces.

The interviews began by confirming that teacher participants met the specified criteria. I then looked to learn more about the characteristics of that teacher such as the number of years of experience at the school, age, family, and their job descriptions as well as develop rapport with the teachers. Following the questions to learn about the characteristics of the teachers, open-ended questions were asked to learn more about the teachers' experiences at their current schools and allow for teachers to provide as much detail in their answers as possible or as much as they feel comfortable. Creswell (2014) suggested that, in qualitative data collection, "the more open-ended the questioning, the better, as the researcher listens carefully to what people say or do in their life settings" and that the "questions must be broad and general so that the participants can construct meaning of a situation" (p. 8).

While open-ended questions were asked regarding the participants' views and experiences of living in São Paulo and working in an international school, open final questions were asked to allow participants to provide me with any information that may not have been shared as a result

of my questioning or our discussions. The first open-ended question was, "If you were to be given the opportunity to give advice or feedback to your school's administration team, what would it be?". The second, and final question was, "Is there anything else you'd like to add or mention before we conclude?" These questions ensured that participants had the chance to include any experiences that may not have seemed relevant to participants when asked about the factors that might cause them to stay or leave their schools. Participants were asked if they would like to participate in member checking their data following the interview so that they could review and possibly revise their responses in the two weeks following the interview to ensure that no responses were taken out of context or misstated when read on paper. One participant requested the opportunity to review their responses. This lack of interest in member-checking could be a result of participants trusting me as a researcher or simply not being concerned about the outcomes of the study.

Summaries of the data collected from teachers were compiled as well as recommendations to improve international teacher turnover from previous studies and saved as password-protected Microsoft Office Word documents and emailed to school heads to arrange meeting times to discuss the data and the realities that international schools face when facing international teacher turnover. These interviews took place in the school heads' offices and took 40 and 65 minutes, respectively. Schools heads, like teachers, were informed of their rights as participants, that their participation was anonymous and voluntary, and that consent to participate could be revoked at any time throughout the process. Schools heads were first asked a series of questions to better know who they are and their experiences in their current schools, then asked open-ended questions related to the data that they received and what their school has done, can do, or cannot do to improve international teacher retention. The prescribed questions were open-

ended to allow the participants to provide as much detail as possible, while more pointed

secondary questions were asked throughout the responses to better understand the responses and

provide more detail to the open-ended questions. As in the teacher interviews, responses were

recorded, transcribed, and edited using speech-to-text technology on Microsoft Office Word and

hand-coded.

In social constructivist theory, the researcher must include him or herself and their

experiences in the research and make observations regarding the environments and processes

within the participant organizations helped to allow for a deeper understanding of the contexts in

which teachers and school heads work and live. While biases certainly come into play in

participant observations, I attempted to see the observation from the perspectives of both the

teacher and as someone who was a minor administrator in the school. Direct observations also

supplemented the teacher responses to better understand the meaning of participant responses.

Observations were noted in participant interview transcripts immediately after the observation to

add contexts to participant responses. Given the short-time frames of the observations, they were

considered secondary to the data generated by the interviews.

Data Analysis and Coding

Coding of the qualitative data collected from meeting observations as well as interviews

with both teachers and school heads occurred parallel to data collection and transcription of

interviews and was hand-coded using the coding manual developed by Saldana (2009). In the

first cycle of coding for each stage of this study, descriptive coding was employed (Saldana,

2009). In descriptive coding, also known as "topic coding", topics are identified by section or

question in qualitative data, which will then be used as the primary vocabulary for later coding

(Saldana, 2009). In the second cycle of coding, focused coding was employed to put the codes

created in descriptive coding into categories, such as "reasons for coming", "reasons for staying", and "reasons for leaving" for teacher interviews, as well as "what has been or is being done", "what cannot be done", and "what can be done" by administrators to improve teacher turnover. This method of coding allowed for the qualitative data from all participants to be used to find common topics, themes, and categories in order to more inductively come to conclusions to be triangulated with academic research and field observations.

Validity

The main forms to assuring validity was member-checking and triangulation. I discuss each in the following subsections.

Member-checking. Member-checking was employed in this study to ensure that the data collected and transcribed were presented in the manner in which the individual participant had intended. Participants were asked at the beginning of the interview if they would like to receive a copy of their interview transcript and to verify that the transcript had, indeed, portrayed their views, or the participants could make alterations to the text. The question was repeated at the end of the interview to verify that the participant did or did not wish to receive and possibly revise their interview transcript. Interviews were recorded and transcribed using Microsoft Office Word and sent to participants who requested the review their transcripts on a password-protected flash drive by a secured city courier. If no revisions were received within two weeks of receiving the transcript, it was assumed that no revisions were necessary. Participants were also offered the opportunity to receive a copy of the final product of the doctoral thesis.

Data triangulation. Data triangulation was also employed to ensure validity of this study. This study used data from teacher and school head interviews, academic research to inform my questions and questioning, and my own experiences working in a São Paulo international school to better understand participant contexts. Using these multiple sources of data, outliers in the findings will become evident as the three sources must converge upon the same, or similar, findings. Findings from previous studies on the topic of international teacher turnover, the interviews with both teachers and school heads, as well as my professional and personal experiences in São Paulo international schools and interactions with international teachers and administrators were used simultaneously to provide more credible conclusions than if only one source of data had been used in the study. Triangulation of the three sources of data develop a "singular reality" through the convergence of these sources as well as increase confidence that the "case study rendered the [phenomenon] accurately" (Yin, 2014, p. 122).

Ethics Approval

Risks and benefits. Several of the teacher participants had pre-existing relationships with me, having worked together in the same organization. These relationships were acknowledged in the outset of each interview along with the assured anonymity of the participants. As a junior administrator in my organization, it was ensured that no international teachers who could be seen as subordinate to me were used as participants in this study. The two school heads had no previous relationship or connection to me and, therefore, no institutional power dynamics existed between the two parties. The voluntary nature of participating in this study were stressed in both the recruitment emails and in the interviews. There were little to no anticipated risks related to participating in this study.

No monetary or material benefits were offered to participants of this study. The benefits of this study are evident in the purpose of this study as looks to improve teacher retention in São Paulo international schools. The potential longer-term benefits for the school heads are potentially longer tenures for international teachers which could benefit schools, teachers, and students.

Participant anonymity, consent, and data security. Participants were made aware of their rights as participants and must have signed the consent form to continue with the interview. It was emphasized at least twice during interviews, at the beginning and end, that consent could be revoked at any time should participants feel uncomfortable with participating in the study due to the questions asked or the nature of the study. Participant anonymity was stressed to participants in both the recruitment emails as well as several times before and during interviews and steps were taken to best ensure anonymity. Participants were provided a participant number on the interview script/notes (eg. S1A23) in order to maintain anonymity. All participants were assigned pseudonyms in the presentation of the findings and identifying features of participants were not shared. Transcripts were created and saved on a password-protected external hard drive. Participant consent forms were maintained separate from interview scripts and researcher notes in a locked cabinet accessible only by me. All data will be expunged after five years.

Alterations and renewal. Alterations were made to the study following the original ethics approval and ethics approval was also renewed. In July 2018, alterations were made to the population sampled as, initially, I did not plan on using teachers from my own organization. The alteration to the study allowed for teachers from my own organization to be used to allow for more voices from Anglo-Western teachers to be heard.

Strengths and Limitations

Qualitative interviews. The qualitative design of this study allows for participants to provide rich detail regarding the phenomenon of international teacher turnover from specific aspects of their jobs to their home lives while working in São Paulo. Patton (2002) stated that "qualitative methods facilitate study of issues in depth and detail" and researchers can "approach field work without being constrained by [which] contributes to the depth, openness, and detail of qualitative study" (p. 14). Whereas previous quantitative studies examined the specific reasons for teacher turnover, qualitative methods will allow for both teachers and administrators to tell their full story and provide further explanations for why they would be willing to leave or stay at their current schools.

Researcher bias. In qualitative research, researchers must identify their own positionality and biases. As an employee of an international school in São Paulo, I am subject to my own personal biases and opinions on international teacher turnover. This is particularly true as someone who is seen as an insider-outside in that I am an insider in the culture of expatriate teachers, but I am an outsider in that I do not receive the same benefits. It is possible that I hold a hidden resentment toward these teachers as Hardman (2001) has discussed. To minimize researcher bias, I ensured that I did not have a direct working relationship with any of the participants, including those that work in the same organization as me. The participant selection process also required that teachers first contact me directly so that I could not pick and choose who I would be interviewing. Participants were also well-informed of their rights as participants and understood that they could withdraw consent at any time during the process and were given the opportunity to member-check their responses to questions.

Response bias. Participants may exaggerate or alter the truth for either personal gain or fear of repercussion for participating in the study. While bias is inherent in any qualitative study, conducting the interviews with international teacher in neutral locations reduced any necessity to alter their points of view due to the possibility of someone seeing or overhearing the interview take place. I also provided participants with pseudonyms and ensured that they were familiar with their rights as participants. As someone with a minor administrative role in an international school, I also ensured that there were no institutional power relations present between myself and any participant. Any teachers from my own organization worked in another division or department than my own.

Sample size. My focus for this study, with the qualitative-interpretive paradigm, was to generate information-rich data from the emic perspective of participants. As the primary focus of this study, two school heads agreed to participate in interviews to discuss the teacher responses. This response rate, while drawing from a small pool of potential participants, provides a glimpse into the inner workings of half of the eligible international schools when investigating international teacher turnover. Triangulation of data through previous literature and my personal experiences in a São Paulo international school also helped to build validity in the small sample size.

Generalizability and transferability. Using only three schools and a small number of participants in case study research means that findings cannot be generalized. While the specifics of this case may not transfer to other regions of the world, the methods used to uncover this knowledge can be transferred to investigate international teacher turnover in other schools, cities,

countries, and regions, and be used in comparisons. Further the findings might resonate where similar factors and forces are in play in other international schools with similar features.

Conclusion

This chapter outlined the methodology employed in this instrumental case study. An instrumental case study allows me to identify next steps for international school leaders to improve international teacher retention through detail-rich data from both international teachers and their school heads. Participant populations as well as sampling techniques that were used to ensure that the participants meet the specified criteria to best answer the research questions were discussed in detail. While the sample size was relatively small, the variety of backgrounds, divisions, genders, and experience surfaces multiple points of view within the São Paulo international school community. The theoretical framework as well as my ontological worldview and, thus, the lens through which data were collected and analysed was then described. The methods for collecting and analyzing/coding data were also outlined to show how conclusions were developed. These methods are consistent with instrumental case studies, systems theory, and research looking through a social constructivist worldview supplemented by interpretive and critical paradigms. The steps taken to ensure validity of the study were then discussed. The strengths and limitations of the study were also discussed at the end of the chapter.

The following chapters present the findings from the data collected, observed, and analyzed in this study. The findings are then used as a basis for my discussion chapter. I will then conclude the thesis to outline what has been learned through this study and future considerations when investigating international teacher turnover in international schools.

This chapter presents the findings based on the interviews with international teacher participants and school heads, triangulated with researcher's experience. First, findings from teacher interviews are outlined. I present the reasons that these teachers came to their current schools in the first place and then the characteristics of their professional and personal lives that would potentially influence their decisions to stay or leave their current assignments. These factors are outlined in order from most to least commonly discussed amongst the twelve teachers. Findings from the discussions with the two school heads are then presented in order, beginning with factors that both school heads found to be most pressing for their schools to those less pressing, or that school heads were unable to discuss to maintain privacy for their schools (such as specific budgetary concerns, for example). To protect anonymity, pseudonyms were assigned to each of the participants; see the chart below.

Findings from Teacher Interviews

The international teacher participants discussed a variety of factors that (would) affect their decisions to both stay and leave their current positions in São Paulo international schools. To begin this section, teacher characteristics in relation to likelihood to stay or leave are discussed. These characteristics are followed by reasons for teachers coming to their current school in the first place, and finally factors that influence teachers to either stay at or leave their schools. Stay and leave factors are interrelated as they could affect teachers positively or negatively depending on how the school approaches these issues in the future. It should be mentioned that out of the twelve teacher interviews, only Gerard was certain he was not going to sign on for another contract. Another participant, Jennifer, was planning to leave unless she were

offered a Head of Department position. The remaining teacher participants were either certain

that they would remain at their schools for at least one more contract or had not yet decided on

their plans beyond their current contract.

Participant characteristics. This section attempts to give some breakdown of the

teacher characteristics, but it is important to note that with the small numbers, this attempt to find

correlations remains a very tentative gesture. The main purpose of this section is to provide a

better sense of the participants in the study and a tentative glimpse of how characteristics *might*

line up against decisions to stay longer in a school.

Table 2: Teacher Participant Characteristics

	Pseudonym	Sex	Nationality	Division	Years at School	Admin Role
Teacher 1	Alice	Female	UK	Secondary	1	No
Teacher 2	Jennifer	Female	Canada	Secondary	2	No
Teacher 3	Sandra	Female	Australia	Primary	1	No
Teacher 4	Jim	Male	UK	Both	2	Yes
Teacher 5	Stephanie	Female	USA	Secondary	2	No
Teacher 6	Laura	Female	USA	Primary	2	No
Teacher 7	Frank	Male	USA	Secondary	7	No
Teacher 8	Linda	Female	USA	Primary	3	No
Teacher 9	Nathan	Male	USA	Secondary	25	Yes
Teacher 10	Gerard	Male	USA	Secondary	7	Yes
Teacher 11	Stephen	Male	USA	Secondary	2	No
Teacher 12	Samuel	Male	USA	Primary	3	No

Of the diverse characteristics displayed by the twelve teachers interviewed, the only

correlating factor that demonstrated a tendency for teachers to stay in their positions at their

current schools was gender. Men, on average, had been at their schools longer than their female

counterparts. Nationality, division in which teachers work, and age showed no correlation with

length of tenure at the current São Paulo international school. While those with administrative

roles, on average, had been at their schools longer than those not in administrative roles, it is likely that administrative roles were awarded to those who had shown loyalty to their current schools by remaining at their current schools for consecutive contracts. Administrative roles can also be awarded to convince teachers to remain at the school, resulting in these teachers having longer tenures at their schools. Men were also the only teacher participant to also occupy junior administrator positions within their schools.

In my interviews, I noted that primary school teachers were much more positive when discussing their current organization than secondary teachers. The same can be said about non-administrators compared to those in junior administrative roles. Teachers who were new to their position (first contract of two years) were also much more positive in their discussions regarding their schools and leaders. These observations provide a glimpse into the dispositions of the teachers who were interviewed when discussing their current workplace.

Reasons for coming to a São Paulo international school. The teacher participants were first asked why they decided to sign on with their school. The responses to this question helped to identify reasons as to why they might leave their current schools, as they may have similar motivations to go to a different school, city, and/or country. Or if their expectations were not met, then this mismatch might push teachers away from renewing their contract for an additional term. Responses also reflect why they may or may not be satisfied with their current position in relation to their expectations coming into their schools and/or the environments compared to their previous schools and locations.

Wanderlust. The most commonly cited reason, for 11 of 12 participants, to come to their current school was the desire to get out into the world and to reside in a foreign country. The

desire to travel is seen as a common characteristic of international teachers in the first place as they likely would not have left their home country had they not wanted to experience different countries and cultures. In my experience working in a São Paulo international school, it is commonplace to hear international teachers discussing their travels and all the places in which they have either visited or lived.

Destination Brazil. Some participants particularly were drawn to Brazil. For example, one participant, Sandra, mentioned that she likely would have signed an initial contract for longer than two years if that was an option as she was excited about the prospect of moving specifically to Brazil. Gerard stated that, "There is a mystique and the reputation of Brazil is what really drew me here." Brazil is a tropical country with a reputation for having a fun, festive atmosphere from images of soccer matches, samba, and carnival parades and parties with beautiful people. International teachers will likely have an initial perception of Brazil as a place where they can have fun. In my personal experiences, I have worked with international teachers in the past who have either grown weary of this lifestyle and later preferred to settle down elsewhere or have had it seep into their professional lives as well. Samuel noted that he "wanted to go to Brazil anyway" when deciding on a contract, so other factors relating to pay or benefits became secondary when choosing a place to go.

Cultural familiarity. While teachers wanted to experience Brazil as a foreign location, they also came to Brazil for its familiarity in comparison to other areas of the world. Frank and Sam mentioned that having a similar alphabet, similar religious holidays, and a time zone close to that of their home country were pull factors bringing them to Brazil. Frank called it a "*cultural*

familiarity" that pushed him to choose Brazil over offers he received from the Middle East and China. Sam had a similar response, noting that the Middle East didn't "excite" him.

Exiting previous situations. This factor also came into consideration as several teachers were looking to leave their previous situations in other countries. These teachers did not adapt well to the culture of their previous country and wanted to come to a place that was more similar to their home country. Gerard left his previous country as he "saw that the future of public education in [previous location] was getting grim" and he wanted to leave before further cuts to education and other negative changes, in his opinion, to the education system were put into place. Alice spoke frequently about how much better her new living and working environment is than when she worked in China. She had an administrative role, yet was very unhappy with both her professional and personal life in China

Attractive schools. Participants also noted that they were impressed by the image put out by the school during recruitment that presented the type of school in which they would like to teach. These participants felt as though the school presented a clear vision of the school's expectations and goals. These participants saw the schools as forward-thinking and on top of current educational practices and research. Alice and Jim, in particular, mentioned that their school seemed like a good fit even before they stepped foot in Brazil. Alice discussed her thoughts when researching her current school:

> "My first school was wanting to be abroad and this school was looking at the reputation of the school, what it was about, and the ethos of it. I liked that it was non-profit, I liked that it was more focused and had a stronger mission statement than my previous school. I want to be in a good place."

Relationships. Three participants mentioned that they came to and/or remained in Brazil based on personal or familial relations. Nathan mentioned that he came to Brazil to continue a relationship. Stephanie said that she came here to get to know her family history as a relative had lived in São Paulo in the past. Another teacher, Frank, said that he likely would not have remained in São Paulo had he not married a Brazilian citizen after coming to Brazil.

Religious calling. Two participants, Stephanie and Laura, discussed what they both described as a religious "calling" to come to their São Paulo international school. Laura specifically stated that she

> "felt God saying that I want you to go overseas… I first said no and was very against it and I had set myself on going to an English-speaking country and I kept praying about it and I felt good about it when I signed my contract and I liked the ideals that the school stood on and in conversations with admin I just got a good feeling that this is where God wants me."

This "calling" could potentially lead them elsewhere as well.

Language learning. Unique in her reason, was Linda who wanted to learn Portuguese. She reported having an affinity for languages and thought that the best way to learn a new language was to immerse herself in a culture. Coming to Brazil would force her to speak Portuguese and she would be able to become fluent in yet another language while also becoming knowledgeable about the culture of Brazil.

Economic saving potential. Samuel was the only one to bring up the financial benefits of coming to Brazil. He noted that there was greater *saving potential* in Brazil than in other countries where international teachers were offered positions. While Brazilian international

schools do not offer the highest salaries to international teachers compared to other regions such as Asia, there are also regions that offer lower salaries than Brazilian international schools, such as many European schools. This, combined with the saving potential due to a relatively low cost of living due to housing, travel, and utilities benefits, provided a better means to save money while employed at their school when compared to other regions.

Factors relating to teacher turnover from the perceptions of international teachers. In the interviews, teachers were questioned regarding their perceptions of the teaching and learning environments in their schools and the 'push and pull' factors that would affect their decision to leave or stay on at the schools. It was made clear that their responses could relate to the school, their interactions with others around them, both in school and in public, and their views of living and working in São Paulo in general so as to allow all experiences and contexts open to discussion and analysis. Teachers were also provided an open-ended question at the end of the interview to anonymously provide feedback to their school head on how to improve the school and international teacher turnover. In the coming sections I organize their responses into four themes: leadership, benefits and salary, interrelationships, and host country characteristics.

Leadership. The theme of leadership was common in many of the participant interviews when discussing factors that bring dissatisfaction with teachers' roles within the school. While many teacher participants mentioned that they had good relationships with their school heads and other administrators, several concerns relating to school leadership surfaced during interviews. As evidenced in the literature review, leadership has been shown as a major factor in teachers' decisions to leave international schools.

Role of school head. Participants that had an administrative role and those teachers that do not hold administrative roles frequently differed in their views of the role and efficacy of their school head. The majority of non-administrative teachers discussed a general satisfaction with the support that they receive from their school head, though did not provide any specific examples of the support provided to them, only reporting satisfaction with the jobs and benefits. Teachers who hold junior administrative roles discussed their interactions with the school head, often in negative terms. Gerard said that he saw the school head as much "more of a public relations figure" for the school as opposed to someone who has a hand in moving the schools forward academically. According to junior administrator participants, school heads often only include themselves in school or divisional decisions to say 'no' to whatever the new idea is as the school head may only see the possible negatives for changes to the school or has not truly looked into the possible changes and might prefer to maintain the status quo within the schools. The school head is often not present in schools due to various meetings, conferences, professional development, and recruiting trips, creating a divide between the top administrators, junior administrators, and teachers. This creates a perception by teachers of the school head being out of touch with what was going on within the school. Nathan had a solution for what he sees to be a problem: " I wish admin would also teach at least one class. That would keep them more grounded." When asked what pushed him to decide to leave his current school at the end of his contract, Gerard immediately said, "Superintendent. Anything she puts her fingers in goes to pot. She doesn't inspire any confidence, but also doesn't have much of a say and never goes to meetings. Maybe she's ostracised but speaking with her can be painful." This view of a school head that is not a hands-on leader that is involved in key school decisions has brought a great

deal of frustration to junior administrator participants, Gerard and Nathan, resulting in dissatisfaction and even teachers leaving their posts.

Support from leaders as representatives of an organization. While all the participating international schools are non-profit organizations, they still rely on tuition fees to function, resulting in leaders walking a fine line between supporting their teachers and pleasing their client base: parents and students. According to participants, Jennifer and Steven, school leaders appear to see students and parents as clients who must be satisfied rather than educated. Jennifer, in particular, was disappointed in her role in her organization as she felt as though she was "maintaining the socio-cultural status quo in Brazilian society" by working for an organization whose main goal seemed to be to ensure that students who are already in the top fraction of the 1% of Brazilian society remain there. Schools advertise themselves as institutions that help to get students into top international universities, therefore, schools put pressure on teachers to achieve top grades so that these can be reported and advertised, creating more demand for international schools. In the perception of a handful of international teachers, these schools that take in a great deal of currency each year do very little to assist the greater community around them, particularly in a developing country such as Brazil.

Along with providing quality education to already privileged students, teachers also noted that the homogenous student populations (wealthy Brazilian students) in the schools often made creating a transformational environment difficult as there is little diversity of thought amongst student populations, even if teacher ideologies differ from those of students. Jennifer was quoted as saying that these families feel as though "[they're] rich because they deserve to be rich," and the inverse is seen to be true as well. This was a major factor in this teacher planning on leaving her school as she felt little pride in the job.

In some cases, teachers have felt powerless when interacting with upset students and parents. Relying on administrators to assist with disciplining students was seen as a sign of poor instruction on the part of the teacher. When parents were contacted by the school to discuss student behaviour, teachers were, at times, called in to justify their actions and their classroom instruction. Stephen said that he has come under

> "a lot of fire from admin, parents, and students. I'm glad the students have someone on
> their side [but] I hate that I have to answer to 12 different people as to why I gave the
> student a specific grade. I would like some more support from counselors and admin
> when having a student issue brought up. I'd like to just have to do my job."

There is also a perceived lack of support from leadership when faced with the stress of students performing so as to provide clients (parents and students) with a quality product of high standardized test results and university acceptances. Some teachers felt as though the educational rigor needs to be enhanced at these schools as well. The teachers work to help students to obtain an International Baccalaureate diploma or AP credit and teachers often feel as though they are treated as paid-for employees by families expecting a product, being acceptance into a good college, rather than as educators. The students are taught to do well on the tests and can get a high school diploma and entrance into a good college due to possible inflated grades all the way through the system, "from kindergarten all the way through high school" according to Gerard. Teachers feel pressured to have their students obtain these scores on standardized tests which happen several times per year with major examinations coming at the end of the school year for secondary school. Jennifer reported her disillusionment with the teaching methods:

> "[It is a] terrible way to teach English because it reduces literature, poetry, and drama to
> what specific literary devices are being used and what are the metaphors… explain the

simile… They're taking away from something so beautiful. Like if you have to explain a joke it's not funny anymore. If you have to explain the mechanics of a poem it loses its soul… based on the socio-cultural environment and the class system of Brazil, a 7 on an IB course and admission into an Ivy league college is the same as a Chanel bag or a Mercedes car. It's the top standard of a given commodity. Which they should have the right to by virtue of being born rich in a corrupt, elitist society. And the understanding is that they deserve it and merit it based on the family that they were born into."

The success of students on countless standardized tests tends to fall on the shoulders of the teachers. This responsibility creates stress for the teachers and a tendency to teach to those tests (IB exams, for example). As for parents, student success is typically measured by the final grade on exams. There can be unrealistic goals set by parents and students and these expectations can be seen as being enabled by school administrators. Data review of standardized tests are commonplace in professional development sessions. Test scores are presented for the academic staff to view and discuss and are often compared to other schools' results and world averages. Teachers with low standardized test scores often feel as though they have indirectly been put on notice by administrators. Stephen claimed that he has "grown as a result of stress and pressure and the high level of the kids causes my work to be scrutinized constantly. I go back and my kids won't care" and continued to admit that he "doubt[s] [he'll] stay in education too much longer" as a result of the constant scrutiny from students, administrators, and parents alike. This pressure and stress put on the shoulders of teachers with, seemingly, little support from administrators has been a factor to not only push Stephen away from the school, but out of teaching entirely.

Communication. Participants stated that, often, major school decisions are made conversationally and not all teachers are made aware of those decisions, resulting in frustrations when teachers are reprimanded for not being aware of certain policies or decisions. This was discussed by participants as a cultural difference where Brazilians will often make decisions with a handshake rather than have it written on paper. There was some discussion about certain school rules and regulations that had come up that teachers were unaware of until they had already broken that rule or didn't fill out the proper paperwork, resulting in the reprimanding of teachers. Gerard discussed this concern at length:

"Bureaucracy can be an issue, but you get through it. Things happen conversationally and off-the-cuff. I got in trouble for not having a field trip form done properly, but nobody told me that there was supposed to be a field trip form. There always needs to be some sort of blame put on someone if anything ever goes wrong. It can never just be that something [bad] happened."

Jim commented that the

"Sharing of information [by administrators] is not great. Sharing information about kids… It has been difficult to access the information which is essential. I need to know medical issues, like dyspraxia or something like that. I absolutely need to know about that. I feel like I'm chasing my tail trying to find this information. The school has it… it just doesn't share the information."

The direction and mission of the school is not always clear for teachers, either. Teachers would like to see this made more specific and open to all stakeholders and for administrators to put their own mark on the direction and accomplishments of the school. Teachers mentioned that the mission and vision of the schools are quite broad to those with knowledge of education and,

while they may sound attractive and idealistic, taking steps toward following the school missions or visions does not take place, resulting in different teachers and departments not working toward common goals in schools. Through experience, I have been caught off guard by seemingly instant decisions by leadership in the past, resulting in uncertainty in staff members of the direction of the school. If teachers are unsure about what is expected of them within their organization, they may feel stressed or unsure what to expect from the organization, resulting in a higher likelihood to leave.

Along with communication, participants mentioned that feedback either does not come their way or is overly positive. Teachers also mentioned that they sometimes see their peers who are local hires receiving feedback on what they need to work on. Some teachers said that they think that if there is no negative feedback coming from parents, then the school somewhat leaves you alone to teach. This was also a concern of teachers as they want to improve their instruction wherever possible. While they enjoy the autonomy provided to them as well as following curricula such as the IB and AP classes, they would also like more professional support and guidance from their administrators before they begin to get caught in ways that might not reflect the best possible practices. Teachers would like to see their leadership take a more personalized role in the direction of the school as well as the practices taking place inside the classroom. Linda was very clear on her view of receiving feedback in her São Paulo international school when asked what feedback she would like to give her administrators: "Give us hard feedback! Brazilians get hard feedback and we don't. That's not only not fair but doesn't help us. Often the feedback comes from a secretary. It should come from the person." From personal experience, I only received feedback from observations three times over my eight-plus year career in

international schools and never from a school head, only division leaders. The feedback has also often been overly positive when I still felt inadequate about my instruction methods.

In-school professional development. The teachers interviewed said that they felt as though the education staff was professional and trying to follow education trends, although they were unsure of the follow-through in the implementation phase. One participant, Nathan, mentioned that the professional development that takes place at the school often seemed superficial and was, essentially, used to fill the time allotted for professional development on the school calendar. He continued to say that "once-a-month meetings are forced and we are looking for things to do. The professional development is repetitious or doesn't really move along … Some things, I just think that … things [should] be run differently. Fewer meetings. It should run more smoothly." In my experience, often time dedicated for in-school professional development is dedicated to completing paperwork originally assigned to administrators. This lack of opportunity to grow as an educator could be frustrating to teachers who may look elsewhere for employment if they feel as though they will be more likely to improve their vocation.

Lack of diversity of voices in leadership. Two of the junior administrators also discussed the lack of diversity of opinion on administrative boards within schools. In administrative meetings, there is little debate and a great deal of backslapping and applauding themselves and one another. One junior administrator, Nathan, noticed that there is a large majority of women on the administrative boards of his school who seem to be there to further themselves by simply agreeing with whoever is in the position of power. Any and all disagreements or dissenting voices are shot down quickly as being negative voices when trying to improve the school. The same junior administrator felt as though "there needs to be more of a male influence" on administrative boards.

Follow-through on plans for improvement. Nathan felt as though, while there is a great deal of discussion on improving policies and practices, very little is accomplished to move his school forward. The majority of teacher participants seemed generally positive about the direction the schools were taking in implementing practices in the school and classrooms, but many felt as though they have yet to see any new ideas come to fruition. There seemed to be a concern that new ideas would remain ideas that were often discussed but never truly put into practice. Through observations, there is a great deal of busy work that occurs during professional development time that could be better used to truly improve instruction and teaching systems.

Benefits and hospitality.

Benefits. The most cited factor relating to participants deciding to stay or leave after their current contract was the benefits package. The majority of participants of my sample spoke positively of their benefits. Alice was also quite blown away by her benefits package:

> "I like the way everything was set up. Even our apartments. It seemed like there was a lot of background research put into that, so that was great. We get surveys before we come, like, what do we want in an apartment and what is important, and they own different apartments within a 20-minute walk, and they try to place you in a good one. I feel like my apartment is fit for me and for each person."

Participants were provided with apartments in upper-class neighbourhoods close to their schools that seemed to be matched to their taste and personalities based on surveys they completed prior to moving to Brazil. These locations help them to feel relatively safe in São Paulo. Having their accommodations covered obviously increases the saving potential of their salaries as utilities such as electricity, water, gas, and condominium fees are also provided to international hires. Sandra said that her "apartment is just me, but it's two bedrooms so people

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can visit me, so that helps and brings less homesickness." This indicates that the apartments provided are more than simply a place for international teachers to sleep while they live in Brazil, but schools try to provide a home in which they can feel comfortable and even have family and friends stay with them in extra rooms should they come visit. Another major benefit to cut down on what Sandra called "homesickness" is the one flight provided by each school per school year. While this is meant to serve as a flight home, it can also be used as a flight to travel elsewhere to potentially quench teacher wanderlust. Stephen said that he is "basically babysat being down here." This means that there is very little that he needs to think about in terms of day-to-day payments or needs.

In my experience, international teachers are quite content and even impressed with the benefits package offered by their international schools in São Paulo. I have also seen fellow educators turn down other opportunities as they realize that they would lose housing benefits should they leave their current school. Often international teachers feel guilty when discussing benefits in front of local hires who receive similar pay, but do not receive the same benefits. Some schools have written into their contracts that this benefit is only provided for a specific number of guaranteed years, eight according to Gerard in his school, but many international teachers do not remain at their schools this long. This rule, though, is often overlooked if a teacher would like to stay longer than eight years as this would be a major factor in participants leaving should this benefit be taken away as they would be offered these benefits if they chose to go to another country.

Linda also mentioned that the benefit of "maternity leave is much better [in Brazil]" than in the United States and, therefore, would like to have children in Brazil should she decide to have children. The government mandates that mothers take four months of paid leave before

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returning to work with protections against dismissal during and after pregnancy and maternity as well. While these benefits may not compare to the benefits offered in Canada or certain European countries, they are far better than maternity leave regulations in the United States.

Several participants mentioned that they felt welcomed as soon as they arrived in São Paulo as they were picked up at the airport by a driver hired by the school and the refrigerator in their apartment was already stocked with approximately one week's worth of food. One aspect that several participants mentioned which could be improved is to have their accommodations better prepared with utilities, such as internet, when they arrived. Jim mentioned that new international teachers arrive with no way of contacting people at home and would have liked to have been able to get online as soon as they arrived: "There's a guardian angel but there are certain things that should be set up before... like having internet in your apartment. Communication now, you need that right away. Allow people to make a phone call back home as soon as they arrive."

Another aspect relating to arrival was that some participants felt overwhelmed by all the new information, such as events that were planned for them as well as beginning to plan lessons in a new school and education system. These participants felt that if they had more time prior to the beginning of the semester to be acclimated to the city and the school, they would have felt more comfortable beginning their first semester. Having a difficult first few days or weeks could set the tone for the remainder of the teacher's tenure at the school. Alice said that there was

> "often too many organized events when you first get [to the school]. [There was] a lot of information overload and people felt exhausted. People felt as though they were out of the loop and think more about the adjustment period. Having a long enough time before the term starts would also be beneficial."

Once again, assistance with arrival would relieve some of the pressure felt by incoming international teachers.

Professional development opportunities. Teachers discussed that one of the benefits often provided by schools, professional development opportunities, are certainly available, however, teachers pointed out that it is the teacher's responsibility to create a proposal for the professional development, whereas at previous schools they were often presented with professional development opportunities. While schools rarely say no to professional development proposals, teachers first need to develop a certain comfort level with their division leaders and school heads prior to asking for professional development opportunities. These benefits provided to teachers can, at times, seem hidden away by the administration to prevent teachers from requesting professional development opportunities. Jim discussed the matter of external professional developments and agreed that, while it is the responsibility of the teacher to apply for professional development and create a rationale for attending, professional development opportunities are rarely rejected by administrators: "One big thing is that for PD you really have to sell yourself. Although [admins] are very receptive to it, it is totally on you.". Through experience, external professional development has been made available to teachers, though, as Jim discussed, teachers must go out of their way to apply for the professional development opportunities which may not be granted to teachers. The willingness of schools to grant professional development opportunities to teachers is a key factor in retaining teachers and a means to improve instruction and structure within the schools. Teachers want opportunities to improve in their vocation and should those opportunities not be provided or made more difficult to obtain, teachers may find other schools that will provide professional development opportunities.

Professional/Vertical growth within the school. Another common aspect why participants might be willing to either stay or leave their schools related to professional development opportunities is the potential, or lack thereof, for career advancement within their current school. Participants mentioned that they want to grow professionally. Many participants have found that, while other international teachers seem to come and go, often the administrators have been in place for several years or are hired externally, making it difficult for them to rise in their respective school hierarchies. This can create frustrations or tensions with those teachers looking to move up the ladder at their schools. Career advancement also brings financial incentives to those in administrative positions in international schools such as salary raises or stipends for those positions. When teachers see little chance of vertical growth in their school, they are less likely to remain at their school. Alice discussed a potential lack of potential for growth:

> "I would definitely like to progress at some point and definitely in the area that I want. I'm very much pastoral. I think it's a lack of opportunity. These schools that have good retention don't tend to have those positions come up as much. But that would be one thing, definitely."

Jim also mentioned being "ambitious" regarding his role at the school and would like to have more responsibility in the future. Linda mentioned, as well, that there are opportunities for "growing professionally because people have left" as a reason to remain at her school.

Through experience, it is not always clear who will be promoted to administrative positions or when it will happen. By promoting local hires to administrative positions more frequently than international hires, schools have minimized the risk of an administrator leaving the school. While this may be justified, it can be a push factor for some international teachers in

deciding to seek a new school assignment. On the other hand, I have also witnessed international teachers being offered administrative positions as an incentive to sign on for another contract.

School structure and learning materials. Participants expressed satisfaction with the overall structure of their schools and the support materials with which they were provided. Samuel said that he was "never wanting" in terms of materials required for their classroom. Jim commented on the facilities being more than one could hope for in a school, including technology, athletic fields, gymnasiums, and pools. Other participants also discussed the software and electronic platforms that are used to align curricula, communicate student growth with administrators and parents, and plan and execute lessons are more than sufficient to provide a high-level education for students. Through my experiences, schools provide ample materials for teaching and learning as well as the physical structure and learning technology to assist teachers. This is likely related to the funds available from high tuition rates so that families see that their investments are going toward learning materials. Students do not need to provide anything in classes, from pencils, to paper, to textbooks. This is a factor that could work to improve teacher turnover, particularly those teachers coming from situations where learning materials can be scarce.

Salary - workload. While teachers were generally satisfied with their salaries, they were acutely aware that other schools, particularly in other countries, offer much higher salaries. At the same time, the teachers mentioned that the benefits provided to international teachers make up for the salary discrepancies. These teachers are also aware that there are places where they would make less money with fewer benefits as well. Teachers would like to see a better balance between responsibilities and the compensation that goes along with those responsibilities. Frank mentioned that while there were opportunities to take more responsibilities within his school, the

pay simply did not make the time and work commitment to the role seem worthwhile and said that "the balance between the work and compensation" simply does not correlate in his opinion. Samuel mentioned that there are many tutoring opportunities within and outside of the school as a way to improve teacher income in São Paulo. Nathan blatantly stated that he would leave for another school "if [he] had a similar job offering with a significant salary increase at another school."

Jennifer discussed the workload in her current position and connected it to the salary factor when deciding whether to remain at her school for one more contract:

"Although I'm paid handsomely by Brazilian standards and adequately by Canadian standards, I can work a 40- or 45-hour work week, but if I'm working 50 or 55 hours a week, I would need double my salary. That extra 15 or 20% is worth double the income. I'm not willing to work those hours for a teacher's salary. I'm a teacher, not a stockbroker. I'm a teacher because I wanted those hours and I'm happy to give up that money for the time off."

As teachers have chosen their profession based on an assumption of what their role will be and the downtime that comes with the role, teachers will be more likely to look for higher-paying positions and schools should they be asked to do more work for the amount of money that they were originally paid.

Relationships.

Host country nationals. While teachers said that they felt as though they were supported by fellow teachers and administrators, they did feel as though there was a disconnect between the international hires and the local hires. While no participant discussed this as a major point of contention, several did mention the difficulty in the language barriers and knowing that local

hires do not receive the same benefits that international hires receive such as housing and some utilities paid for in a very expensive city as well as occasional flights home in some schools. This disparity, some teachers felt, resulted in a feeling of animosity toward international teachers from local hires. These teachers that mentioned this feeling of animosity also mentioned that it was likely simply their own opinion as they felt as though they might gather feelings of resentment if the tables were turned. This, in turn, causes many teachers to feel as though there is not a cohesive community in and around the schools.

International teachers frequently said that they realize that it is their responsibility to develop these relationships and to learn the language that is spoken in Brazil (Portuguese), but there is difficulty as some felt as though the support in learning Portuguese is not sufficient to be able to work with their peers who only speak Portuguese and does not allow for foreign hires to feel secure in using Portuguese in public or a professional setting. Working in international schools means that they work and function mainly in English and are not required to use the language as much as they would like to use it due to living in their "bubble" in school and within the expatriate community around the school. Human Resources staff at international schools will often act as secretaries for international teachers, booking appointments with doctors, arranging the utilities in their homes, and helping with banking in Portuguese. The international teachers that have taken an interest in developing relationships and learning Portuguese were more likely to remain at their schools. Frank mentioned that, while there seems to be a divide between local and foreign hires, after several years in their school, they feel as though this divide is based on languages spoken rather than any animosity toward the other group. Frank said that when he first arrived in Brazil he "thought there was a bit of animosity" between local and international hires but feels as though what he calls "hybrid" teachers, foreign-born teachers married to Brazilians

and hired as locals, are bridging the gaps between the two groups. These "hybrid" teachers share a common Anglo-Western culture with international hires, while also receiving the same benefits as local hires. These interrelationships help to bring an understanding of what it is like being a local hire and not receiving certain benefits. When discussing the disconnect between international teachers and local hires, Stephen mentioned that the cultural disconnect "is off putting, but I don't know that it's a reflection of the school so much as it's a reflection of culture. It's weird that maids have a different entrance [to apartment buildings]. That's classism. That's uncomfortable."

In my experience, there certainly is a divide between many local and foreign hires in terms of creating lasting relationships past formal interactions within a school setting. Local hires are aware that foreign hires receive more employment benefits and this difference can create resentment, although it is not discussed directly. I have been treated differently by fellow local hires after they find out that I am not an international hire. There seemed to be more of an openness to me once local hires discovered that I received the same benefits that they do.

Family and personal relationships are another factor for participants to both leave and stay at their current schools. International teachers interviewed who have developed and maintained intimate relationships (dating or marriage) with Brazilians during their time in Brazil have shown no intention of leaving their current school or, at least, not leaving São Paulo. Gender appears to influence relationships between Anglo-Westerners and Brazilians. Three of the six male participants were in long-term romantic relationships with Brazilians with two other male participants being in relationships with other expatriate teachers. Only one female teacher was in a long-term relationship with a Brazilian which has since ended. I have been to a handful of weddings where the groom was an expatriate and the bride was Brazilian, but never

the inverse. In my eight-plus year teaching career I have only seen one female Anglo-Western teacher maintain a long-term relationship with a Brazilian male, who also worked at the same international school. Frank mentioned that likely the only reason he remained in Brazil past his second contract is because he married a Brazilian. Marrying a Brazilian national who has already established roots and a career in São Paulo limits the mobility of international teachers who, previously, maybe have been more likely to want to exercise their wanderlust.

Anglo-Western colleagues. Other international teachers leaving the school is also a factor that presents an unfortunate cycle for international school teachers and administrators. Given high turnover of expatriate teachers, several participants mentioned that it can be difficult to develop meaningful relationships with these colleagues. If other teachers have been at the school for some time, they may not be interested in getting to know new teachers as they realize that they are likely to leave after one or two contracts. New teachers may also be more likely to leave earlier if they are unable to develop these relationships with the teachers that have had a longer tenure at their school as well and are unable to create or contribute to the larger school community past simply working together. For example, Alice stated that, "If other teachers stay, I would be likely to stay as well. If the social aspect is constantly changing, it's difficult to feel comfortable where you are."

Figure 5: Cyclical Effect of International Teacher Turnover
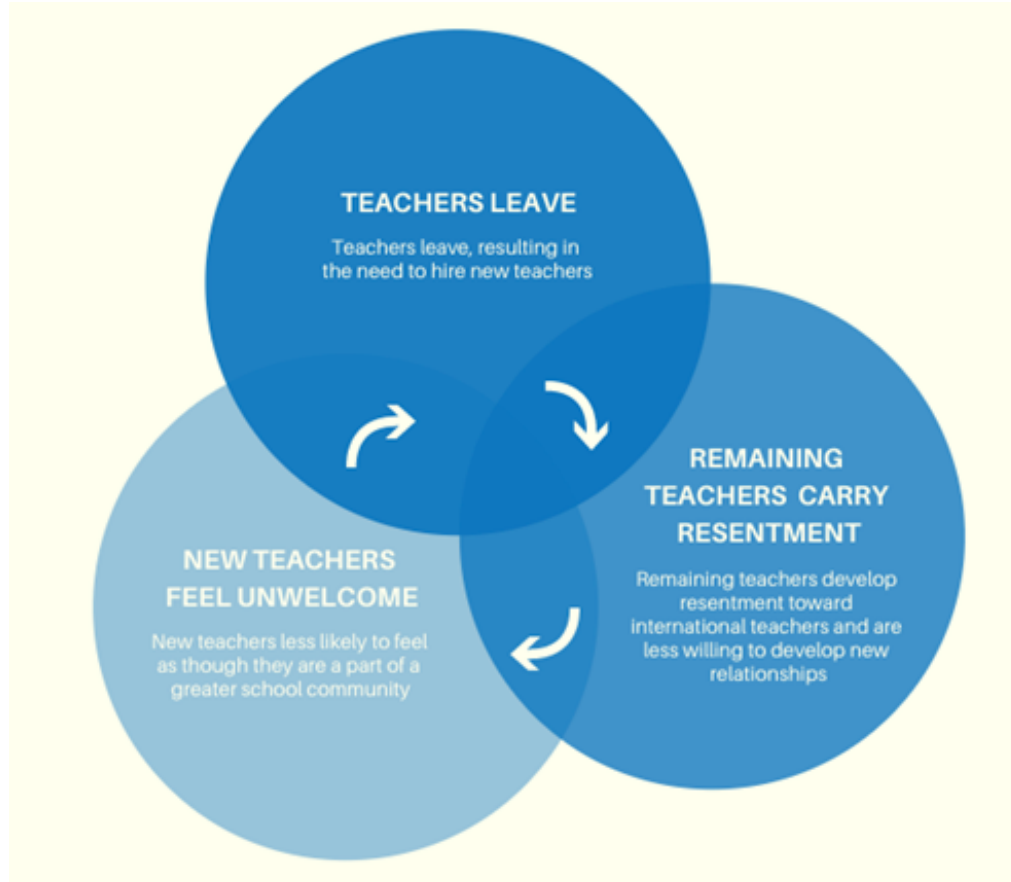
Relationships abroad. Teachers are also compelled to leave due to family issues back in the home country. Teachers mentioned a few of these issues that could pull them back to their home countries, such as the following: caring for aging parents, being closer and physically more connected to family. Linda stated that her "parents [are] getting older" and that "if something serious happened [she] would be home tomorrow." Stephen also discussed the fact that he originally had planned to only come to Brazil for one two-year contract as his parents have mental and physical disabilities and he wants to return to the United States to take care of them. His girlfriend signed a two-year contract during his second year and so he decided to sign on for one more year before returning home. Sandra mentioned that one issue living in Brazil is the fact that it is difficult and expensive for their family to come visit them, demonstrating another factor

that could cause teachers to leave as they may not receive the family and friends that they had originally hoped for when first coming to Brazil.

   Host country characteristics.

   Language. Teachers in this study seemed well aware of the fact that they were coming to another country where the local population speaks another language and wanted more support from their own organizations to learn the local language. Teachers found that they struggle greatly with the language barriers both in and outside of the school, particularly when they first arrive. Teachers mentioned that they would like to receive more intensive Portuguese lessons from the school as the weekly lessons offered by all three schools often are not enough to keep up or become fluent in Brazilian society. Laura, in particular, discussed the idea of better language training for teacher offered by the school: "I would like if, on a break, the schools would set up an intensive Portuguese course. I love to talk, and I would love to learn the language. I have classes once a week which is tough after you just taught all day." Participants felt as though this may help to improve personal relationships between international hires and local hires as teachers from both groups would be better able to communicate and find commonalities which would help them to feel as though they are part of a community which they would not want to leave.

   Safety. São Paulo is a large city with a great deal of crime that can be daunting to newcomers and those not familiar with the culture and language. Several teachers discussed their unease at remaining in a city where, if they haven't been robbed or assaulted yet, there is a high likelihood that they will be at some point during their time in São Paulo. Samuel admitted that he is somewhat concerned about

"general safety in Brazil: personal safety and political insecurity. It has been strange

watching the news at the gym. I've had my phone stolen and got jumped but it was my

own fault really. [This threat to safety is] day-to-day and everyone just shrugs off

you getting robbed here. It's very common here."

All the teachers were generally willing to go out into the city, but some said that they would like

to feel safer in their environment and many believe that they and their families would be safer

living in their home country. In my own experience, I have known many teachers in São Paulo

who have been robbed and there have been situations in the past where my peers have been

kidnapped. The threat of robbery and kidnapping can be daunting for anyone, let alone someone

who is not well versed in the language. For someone from a much smaller, safer area in the

United States, for example, this danger can make international teachers feel as though they

would rather be back in their hometowns.

Findings from School Head Interviews

Two school heads, referred to as Mary, from the United Kingdom, and Philip, from the

United States, were interviewed following my initial reviews of the teacher interviews. Mary and

Philip were each provided an outline of the factors affecting teacher turnover as evidenced by the

teacher interviews, the literature review, and my own experiential understandings. Mary and

Philip were also provided with a list of recommendations put forth by previous studies for school

heads to improve international teacher retention in international schools. Mary was a relatively

new school head in her fourth year, while Philip had been at his school for more than 25 years,

21 as an administrator. School heads are responsible for overseeing the functions and educational

policies for the entire school, meaning all divisions, including hiring and staff decisions. The

interviews investigated the issues or barriers that schools face when looking to improve

international teacher retention, what schools have done to reduce teacher turnover, and what steps must be taken to improve international teacher retention.

   School head general views on international teacher turnover. The school heads interviewed both mentioned that, while teacher turnover is a consistent aspect that school heads must investigate on a regular basis in order for their schools to best function, it is not a grave concern for their schools. These school heads claim that they and their boards have come to understand that international teachers, characteristically, come to their schools assuming that their placement is temporary. They articulated that both schools have systems in place that have evolved over time to hire new international staff and have relatively low turnover rates, with teachers staying, on average, approximately four years in Mary's school and just over seven years in Philip's school as reported by the school heads. Despite these decent result's the average at Mary's school of 4 years, it likely means significant numbers of teachers do not renew past their initial 2-year contract. Philip discussed that at approximately 4 years, in his estimation is when he tends to identify teachers as "most effective" and will begin to really "make institutional changes." If teachers leave, then it takes three full years before a teacher can really make an impact on their organization. If teachers leave before this time, new teachers will begin anew and will take at least three more years to reach this 'sweet spot'. There are also theories for why the eight-year rule is in place for receiving benefits as, after a teacher has accumulated experience within a school, it makes more sense from a financial standpoint, to hire a new, younger teacher. In Philip's school, they have been able to retain teachers past the 'sweet spot" of 4-8 years but few remain much longer. In contradistinction to some of my teacher participants, Mary and Philip attribute their relatively high average tenures to strong school missions and visions and having a clear vision of what the school is, does, and can offer to all stakeholders.

Actions taken to improve teacher retention.

Investigations on teacher turnover. Both Mary and Philip noted that, as a means to improve and maintain low teacher turnover, their organizations have performed studies on teacher turnover within their schools to hire the best candidates that are more likely to remain at the school as well as ways to improve the retention of those teachers already employed by the schools. These studies were performed through data review by human resources departments at schools, interviews with current teachers, and exit interviews with teachers leaving the schools. School heads investigating teacher turnover on their own has yet to surface in the literature.

Hiring practices. Both Mary and Philip discussed the measures taken to ensure that the best teachers who are also most likely to stay for a longer period are hired to their staff. Through data review and exit interviews, Mary's organization noted that there were trends in the types of people who were more likely to remain at a school, both by demographics as well as how these teachers responded to questions in hiring interviews. An example provided by school heads, and supported by previous literature was that teachers arriving as a married or dating couples were more likely to leave after one contract as, if one member of that partnership was unhappy, then both teachers would leave, rather than the unhappy individual leaving as an individual. Both school heads also noted that they have developed rigorous hiring processes. Mary stated that, "We make our candidates work quite hard in the application process. As a result, I think we explore the motivation [for wanting to teach at Mary's school] better than we used to." Both school heads stated that the motivation for coming to their school was crucial to maintaining low teacher turnover. In teacher interviews, both school heads looked for motivation related to

education and teaching in their specific school as opposed to teachers wanting to travel and see the world. While school heads realise that any teacher willing to relocate to another country, such as Brazil, is likely to want to travel and see the world, this shows school heads that they will be serious about their jobs as well.

Philip said that, when interviewing potential candidates, he looks for teachers who are willing to "embrace the grey" of living in Brazil, meaning to be flexible both in and of school in how things are accomplished. He said that:

"there is a lot in Brazil that is not black and white. Even within our schools we have to mesh multiple curricula … You have the American mindset but also the Brazilian curriculum and you need to triangulate all of those to take care of the different curricula and there is give and take and the person has to have an open mind to understand that they probably won't do things the same way as their previous school and their ability to do that impacts their longevity. I see that as more of a factor than pay or benefits because they already know the pay and benefits coming into the job."

According to school heads, gender does not play a part in their hiring practices. Similar to the teacher participants interviewed, Mary's school reported that, on average, male teachers stay for longer tenures than female international teachers, although, Mary noted, this does not factor into the hiring process. Philip was not aware of any difference in the comparative average tenures of male and female international teachers, but claimed that he hires female teachers more frequently simply because there are more female teachers that apply for teaching positions, not due to a preference for female teachers or any likelihood that they may stay for a longer period than males. In contradistinction to school head reports on hiring practices, through my own personal experiences and discussions with my own administrators, gender can play a role in

hiring in at least one other São Paulo international school. I have had administrators tell me that they would prefer to hire men as they are more likely to stay at the school longer.

Mary suggested that a common practice in her school is to hire international teachers who have already developed a footing in São Paulo rather than hiring abroad. Mary stated that, "There's actually quite a protective HR environment here which means we can't hire very many more [international teachers]. I know some schools do have more expats than we do, but our favourite people are local expats, so people who have come here and gone local." In hiring locally acquired expats, schools are able to employ native English speakers without having to provide the extra benefits that come along with hiring a teacher internationally such as housing, work visas, and travel expenses. This has become commonplace in other international schools in São Paulo as well. These local hires are not always certified teachers, but Anglo-Westerners with university degrees who are asked to obtain further degrees in education when hired.

Community building. A key element to maintaining teachers is to create a supportive community in which teachers feel comfortable and included. Mary and Philip have worked to take steps to help build their school communities. Mary stated that one of her biggest goals was to remove any hint of an "us and them" culture within the school, meaning local and international teachers viewing one another as the 'other' and functioning as two separate groups. Philip discussed the use of the larger Evangelical religious community as a means of creating one community within the school. School and staff events such as barbecues and leisure activities such as 'rounders', a game similar to baseball, have been planned and implemented as a means to bring the larger school communities together.

Language and language acquisition have also played a major role in developing larger, stronger school communities in which international teachers can feel comfortable. This also

reduces an "us and them" mentality within the school. While international teachers have, traditionally, been offered weekly Portuguese lessons, international schools have recently developed English language lessons for local hires as many school meetings and events are often presented in English. Assisting local hires with their English has also been a method of helping international hires feel welcome within the school as they have not had the chance to yet learn the local language. These benefits offered to local hires are a way of reducing local hire turnover and, as a result, allowing international teachers to develop relationships in a common language with local hires.

School heads have also taken measures to develop individual relationships with everyone within the school community. As Philip has been an administrator in his school for more than twenty years, he has purported to have developed the skills to be able to communicate with all members of the school's staff in both major languages used within his school. He has also developed the knowledge of social cues and norms to be able to develop relationships with all teachers. Mary has made strides to learn the Portuguese language so as to be able to communicate well with all teachers in her school, making herself available to all staff. Both school heads noted that this can be difficult as an outsider to be able to best communicate with all staff as they are not native members of the local culture. Being approachable by all staff has been integral to creating a supportive and caring environment. Mary discussed the steps she has taken to integrate herself into the larger school community:

"I try to be myself. I think that when you're a leader you should be as authentic and you should just be yourself and you should engage with everyone as well as you can and I try to do that. And it is hard when either they don't feel comfortable speaking my language or I'm not able to speak their language with them. I try, when we have a big staff meeting, to

say a few words in Portuguese to, kind of, make people see that I'm doing my best to integrate."

In my experience, while schools have taken steps to develop and build stronger, more cohesive school communities, it has often fallen apart as teachers of similar backgrounds, languages, and interests tend to stick together and rarely stray from their comfort zones. Often, communities have been attempted to be built by administrators through get-togethers and staff parties that, while appreciated, fail to provide teachers with a sense of belonging or a higher purpose to work toward as a large group.

Improved conditions for arrival of new teachers. Through interviews with teachers both remaining and leaving their schools Mary and Philip reported developing ways of ensuring that new international hires are as comfortable in their new settings as possible by streamlining procedures and making living spaces already livable. School heads are aware that the first few days in a new country can be a whirlwind of information and can be somewhat stressful. School heads have taken measures to make sure that these first days go as smoothly as possible by having drivers meet the new hires at the airport and ensuring that the apartment has necessities such as a refrigerator full of food, bedding, electricity, and towels. Mary discussed the issues that have arisen during the first days as, quite often, the school forgets the small items that new hires may require while taking care of the larger issues. Mary mentioned that, while the refrigerator was full of food, including exotic Brazilian fruits and vegetables, they have, in the past, forgotten to provide the new hire with utensils to cut said fruit. They have also, recently, provided new hires with a moving stipend and a trip to a local furniture provider with which international teachers can try to make their new apartment a piece of themselves and more comfortable within the apartment. These measures help to make the new hire feel at ease in a new country.

Mary and Philip both discussed expediting the process of acquiring government registration and identification in Brazil. The process, which formerly took months to complete before a Registro Nacional de Estrangeiro (RNE) (National Foreigner Registry) number and a Cadastro de Pessoas Físicas (CPF) (Physical Person Registration) number for taxation purposes, now takes mere weeks at most. Mary said that the process has been improved further as her organization now outsourced government registration measures to a third party that is experienced in immigration law. While international teachers cannot open a Brazilian bank account or have any utilities in their names until they have these documents, this expedited process means that the wait time for teachers is a fraction of what it once was.

Both school heads, Mary and Philip, have also implemented measures to better orient new international hires. These measures include an orientation session to explain the important places and contacts that they will need to know, such as government buildings, and emergency contact numbers, such as ambulance and police services should they require these services. Both schools have also developed mentoring programmes where a local hire will assist a new international hire with issues that may arise both in and out of school and provides a go-to person if the teachers faces these issues. These measures have also helped new arrivals to feel more comfortable in their new settings.

Teachers coming to São Paulo from abroad are now coming from a different generation than in the past, causing school heads to alter their approaches to interacting and working with their teachers. Philip discussed the difference in ideologies of new teachers going abroad compared to teachers from the past. Philip stated that

"working with young teachers is becoming more and more challenging. The difference between millennials and how they view the world and how they view what an

organization owes them and what their responsibilities are, it is just different than when I

first came into the position. It's a very different mentality and relationship with the

organization. I'm having to change the attention given to younger teachers than in the

past. You have to be aware of that. In general, there are things that they care about more

than other generations care about."

Philip also mentioned that newer teachers are far more interested in "theoretical stuff", such as

various political ideologies, for example, that is "not going to help in a classroom when [the

teachers] feel overwhelmed and dealing with kids and other adults." Philip was under the

impression that newer teachers do not leave education programs with an ability to teach, but to

fill out paperwork and push ideological agendas.

Barriers to improving teacher retention

Laws. One of the biggest barriers to school heads improving international teacher

turnover is Brazilian employment and immigration law as this prevents schools from offering

certain benefits as well as providing a more international experience. Philip discussed the road to

permanent residency in Brazil as the rules for residency for foreigners has changed in the last ten

years. Whereas, in the past, an international teacher had to wait several years to be eligible for

permanent residency, the wait time is now only one year. When an international teacher obtains

"permanencia", this means that they do not have to renew their visa for ten years as opposed to

annual or biennial work visas. With this "permanencia", schools are also required by law to

provide the same or similar benefits to those international teachers as are offered to the

international teachers that are hired as local hires with the same job description. This means that,

by law, those international teachers would lose their housing allowances and flights home. While

schools often find loopholes in the law to still provide these benefits to people who were

originally hired as international hires, this law requires many schools to put limits on how long

benefits will be provided to international hires. 8 years was an example that was put forward by

one participant school of a limit put on foreign hire benefits by one school. As Philip stated,

regarding the residency status of international hires and the benefits provided to them:

"Expats becoming locals and benefits has changed in the last 8-10 years. Whereas it used

to be that teachers would stay longer at their schools, but, throughout Brazil, and

especially in the international schools, you're seeing tenure dropping, not always because

teachers are leaving, but because schools are saying that 'this is how long you're allowed

to stay.' And this has had an impact. It isn't necessarily a bad thing, but it changes your

school when you have a higher turnover rate."

International schools in Brazil also struggle to provide an "international" environment for

teachers and students as a result of Brazilian law. Brazilian law states that a minimum of 67% of

employees in Brazilian organizations must be Brazilian citizens and a minimum of 67% of the

total salaries paid in a year must also go to Brazilian citizens. While school heads would like to

provide an international schooling experience for all students and staff, the lack of a truly

international staff means that the international hires will be a minority within their schools which

makes it somewhat difficult to create a more comfortable or desirable environment for

international hires. Providing the local curriculum is also a requirement for all schools in Brazil,

regardless of whether they are a domestic or international school, which also creates schools that

have a majority of Brazilian teachers and students.

Financial frustrations. While salary was a minor issue brought up by only one teacher,

school heads discussed the difficulties they face when convincing teachers to both come to and

remain at their schools due to the currency used and the cost of living in São Paulo. In Brazilian international schools the Brazilian Real is used as the payment currency and material goods are often far more expensive than in Anglo-Western countries due to high tariffs on imported goods. Salary is not an aspect that can be impacted greatly by school heads as raising salaries will mean a rise in tuition and, potentially, losing students. Specific amounts paid were not discussed, although Philip discussed living in Brazil and São Paulo as making it difficult to retain international teachers:

> "One of the things I've found is getting harder and harder is that life in São Paulo is getting more and more expensive so your purchasing power has decreased, costs have increased, so the teachers coming down here, what they anticipated being able to put aside or save and lifestyle they would have is different than what it looked like 5 to 10 years ago and schools, because of the economy, where our monthly tuition has increased, commiserate to the inflation, it doesn't feel like you're keeping up. It's tough…. People come down her and say, 'I lived in country X or Y and I made pretty much what I'm making here but I was able to buy so much more.' The 'custo Brasileiro' [(Brazilian cost)], at times, can weigh on expats as their money doesn't go as far."

Security. São Paulo is a large, dangerous city in a developing country with a relatively high murder rate of 7.3 homicides per 100,000 people and petty thefts and "express kidnapping" or "quick-napping" being commonplace in São Paulo (United States Department of State: OSAC, 2018). While schools do their best to provide foreign hires with sufficient security while on school grounds as well as providing secure apartments in relatively safe neighbourhoods, schools cannot provide security around the clock wherever teachers may travel. International

teachers come to Brazil and wish to see the rest of the city and the country which brings risks along with it.

São Paulo culture and society. The concept of language arose several times with both teachers and school heads in interviews as making it difficult for international teachers to adapt to São Paulo. Schools can recommend programmes to assist new international hires in learning the language, however, putting the language into practice can be difficult when one is not immersed and, therefore, new hires will still struggle when they first arrive in São Paulo. New international teachers will not have access to practical uses of the language until they arrive and, even then, conversational Brazilian Portuguese can be very different than learning through online language programmes. Philip remarked that, "It's not an easy language and, because Brazilians all claim to speak English but since it is not used in day-to-day life, people that don't speak a decent level of Portuguese, life can be challenging, whereas other countries have a higher level of English." Mary mentioned that Brazil can be a "very alien environment" for new international hires and that the "language is very difficult for them" and so getting around and doing things for yourself in Brazil can be difficult, but learning the language prior to immersion into the Brazilian culture is difficult. The lack of cultural understanding also makes interactions with locals difficult as, Philip states, "Brazilians are keenly aware of the faults of their country but are also very proud of their country. Very nationalistic. If you come here as a foreigner and just put the country down you're not going to be looked at favourably… You have to joke about it. It has to be funny.*"* This failure to communicate across cultures can build barriers to creating supportive communities within schools and create a difficult environment for international hires.

São Paulo is a large, metropolitan area with a population of more than 12,000,000 inhabitants just within the urban area, not including suburbs, by far the largest city in Brazil

(IBGE, 2017). Living in São Paulo can be draining both physically and emotionally for inhabitants, including international hires, many of which come from small towns. Philip discussed the fine line of being careful not to push their teachers too much, particularly at the beginning of their contracts as he and his organization realize that "the drain of living in São Paulo is something we have to be careful of… The weightiness of São Paulo, like traffic [is exhausting]. Before I think about going anywhere, I think about when I should leave and the best route to get there." The traffic and lack of space is, at times, an aspect that does tend to weigh on foreign hires and it is something that school heads, while they can create a comfortable bubble within and around their schools, cannot change.

Connecting to the stress of living in São Paulo, as teachers Jennifer and Stephen suggested, parents of students can create further stress when it comes to the academic success of their children, even if it is not seen to be deserved by educators. Education is seen by many in Brazilian society as a product that can be purchased. Philip said that, while schools are constantly making advances in practice, the students now are "much [needier] than in the past" both academically and psychologically as a result of these expectations placed on students and schools by parents which creates stress for students, teachers, and administrators. Philip stated that "the expectations of parents is pushing the envelope. The human cost in the staff… I see that at times. That's out of our hands. We have to be careful in schools that we're not driving people from education." The sense that wealthy Brazilian families can buy an education from an international school is cultural and, while it can be dealt with at an individual level, it is difficult for schools to alter cultural mindsets on education. Schools still require tuition payments for schools to function and, at times, that requires school heads, administrators, and teachers to step on eggshells when interacting with parents. Through observations, teachers have been blamed in

the past, often unfairly, for the poor performance of students and even for bad behaviour in and out of the classroom to placate parents.

Differences in gender roles in Anglo-Western countries and Brazil are also a cultural factor in which schools have little influence. According to Philip, women are hired more frequently since there are more female teachers in general and, due to the differences between Anglo-Western and Brazilian culture, often females have a more difficult time than male teachers adapting and feeling comfortable in Brazilian society. While Mary reported that women tend to stay for slightly shorter periods of time, there was no discussion regarding why that might be. Philip was willing to discuss the experiences of female teachers in São Paulo:

"They come to Brazil and Brazilian men tend to live with their families for longer and it may look a bit less mature. They aren't seen as a possible partner… [In terms of] the dating culture and relational culture, gender discrepancies are much more so than in the US, and, for Americans, it's harder for them."

There was also discussion regarding Brazilian men being more aggressive when interacting with potential female partners than what Anglo-Western women are accustomed to which can be off putting for Anglo-Western women. This is also a factor in which schools can have little to no influence.

Potential measures to improve international teacher retention.

Improve language learning. While both school heads have made strides to improve language learning for both local and international hires, both agreed that more could be done to improve fluency sooner, thus assisting in creating relationships among the staff and a comfortability for international hires when interacting with the city and others within it. As recommended by several international teachers, school heads were open to an intensive

Portuguese learning programme for their new international hires. Philip recommended that a trip be planned for an international hire to go somewhere with local hires so that the Portuguese language would be forced upon that teacher. Mary recommended that several international schools band together to create an intensive course over the week before classes begin or during a long weekend close to the beginning of the school year to immerse new international hires into the culture and language.

The barriers for this intensive course, however, are the timing in which it could take place. Mary mentioned that, often, new teachers had only finished their school year in their previous country one or two weeks prior to the beginning of her school's first semester and, therefore, teachers are unable to come long before the semester to take this course. Philip said that, as an organization, while they orient their new teachers to be able to function in São Paulo, they are also more concerned about mentoring teachers in their roles as teachers, so an intensive course would have to wait a few months to occur. This could prove to go against the main goal of immersing teachers into the culture and language as soon as possible and helping them to feel more comfortable sooner, as opposed to a transition period of "typically six months to two years," according to Philip.

Investigate hiring practices to optimize 'fit'. Although both school heads have already investigated their own hiring practices, they both understand the value in continuing to do so to work to hire teachers who are more likely to remain. Mary discussed working with other schools to continue to investigate and pinpoint the demographics of teachers who are more likely to remain at their schools longer than one or two foreign hire contracts (2-4 years). Philip's idea of teachers having to "embrace the grey" and making it evident in hiring interviews will help schools to identify those teachers willing to remain at their schools for longer tenures. As Philip's

school has an average tenure of international teachers remaining for more than seven years on average, his school can be identified as a model for hiring and retaining international hires.

Work to develop close relationships with all teachers. Both Mary and Philip discussed the importance of building and maintaining close relationships with their teachers. Mary mentioned that she tries to be friendly and even sit with different groups of teachers at lunchtime and that "even though I know they speak English… conversation dries up." Teachers who feel comfortable discussing issues directly with the school head will, as a result, work with their school heads to improve conditions within their schools and in the aspects where they may be struggling in their lives in São Paulo. School heads working to improve their language skills in Portuguese and the language learning of all teachers within the school will also contribute to better relationships between all staff members and the school heads as there is less likely to be a division between local and foreign hires if everyone can understand one another.

Create community of both local and international hires. While both school heads have worked to improve the feeling of community within the school, both Mary and Philip realize that more can always be done to create a more cohesive bond between all stakeholders within the school and this must begin with them. Mary mentioned that working to improve her Portuguese will help to create a more cohesive community as her being able to better communicate with local hires could create less tension between local and international hires. Both school heads noted that they have planned more extracurricular events for all staff members to come together as one school community and that these must happen more frequently for a sense of unity. Mary mentioned a specific recent community building event where the administration put together a "barbecue, or churrasco, for all of the faculty and they played a game of rounders". Both school

heads also mentioned that they could have their mentoring programmes evolve so that local

hires, or international hires who have been at the school for several years, could show new hires

around the city outside of school hours to help new hires create a community outside of the

school environment. This would also help new hires be immersed in Brazilian culture and

society and improve their spoken Portuguese sooner when arriving in São Paulo.

I end this chapter with an overview of how the teacher and head perspectives on turnover

compare (see chart below). In the next chapter I will discuss the significant features of this

comparison and I will also connect my key findings to past findings of the literature.

Table 3: Teacher and School Heads Agreements/Disagreements on Turnover Issues

	Teachers mention	School Heads mention	High agreement	High disagreement
Role of school head	X			
Organizational support	X	X	X	
Communication between school heads and teachers	X	X		X
Professional Development	X			
Diversity of voices in leadership	X			
Follow-through by leaders	X			
Benefits	X	X	X	
Vertical growth	X			
School structure and materials	X			
Salary and workload	X	X		X
Relationships with HCNs	X	X	X	
Relationships with Anglo-western colleagues	X			
Relationships abroad	X			
Language Acquisition	X	X	X	
Safety	X	X	X	
Teacher gender		X		
Personal characteristics and circumstances		X		
Differing cultures		X		
Authentic leadership		X		
Brazilian law and bureaucracy		X		
Life in São Paulo	X	X		X

Chapter Summary

This chapter outlines the key findings from interviews with Anglo-Western teachers from three São Paulo international schools. It presents their reasons for coming to São Paulo in the first place, and their speculations on what basis they might decide to stay or leave after their current contracts. The findings from the teacher interviews were then shared with school heads from two São Paulo international schools and were discussed in semi-structured interviews with the school heads to discuss their views on the findings from teacher interviews. The discussions with the school heads centred on what can be done to support teacher retention, what has been done, and what challenges are beyond the heads' locus of control. While these interviews were quite different in scope, similar discussions occurred relating to several aspects from the teacher interviews while one school head had much more to say in relation to certain aspects and vice-versa.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The purpose of this exploratory instrumental case study was to identify viable steps that São Paulo international school heads can take in order to improve international teacher retention in their schools. The interviews with Anglo-western teachers provided a plethora of information regarding factors relating to their decisions to either stay or leave their current schools to discuss in the interviews with the school heads. Much of this information complemented the research performed by King (1968), Hardman (2001), Odland (2007), Mancuso (2010), Desroches (2013), Weston (2014), and Amodio (2015) on international teacher turnover in various parts of the globe. At the same time, the teacher interviews also shed light on aspects that were either not emphasized in previous studies.

In this chapter, I first outline how my findings align with previous literature, followed by the new findings that arose. I then discuss the disagreements or tensions between teachers' and school heads' responses. Next, I outline the answers to the primary research question regarding what viable steps São Paulo international school heads can take to improve international teacher turnover. Research questions two and three will then be discussed from the viewpoint of systems theory by identifying interrelations between subsystems within schools that affect international teacher turnover. These discussions will be based on the findings seen in the previous chapter and will lead to recommendations for practice in the final chapter.

Connections to the Literature

My study confirmed several of the findings in previous studies. The main similar findings when comparing my study to previous studies are teacher perceptions of weak leadership as a predictor of high turnover and particularly ineffective communication between leadership and

teachers. Another key finding that connected to the previous literature was the importance of relationships with HCNs as a factor that affected job satisfaction and, in turn, affected retention.

This study also uncovered two aspects that were similar to the findings in previous studies relating to the positives that schools bring to their international teachers: salary and benefits, and relative happiness in teachers' current roles and situations. This study found that, generally speaking, teachers were satisfied with their roles in their schools. The salaries and benefits provided them by their schools were not raised as a core factor that would push them to leave their current roles.

While the concept of wanderlust was discussed in the findings as well as the literature (Joslin, 2002; Mancuso, 2010; Mancuso et al., 2011; Desroches, 2013). This concept is seen more as a reason for teachers to become teachers in international schools. It can be assumed that international teachers do feel some form of 'wanderlust' as eleven of the twelve teacher participants in this study discussed a desire to travel.

Leadership. Leadership as a factor connected to teacher turnover surfaced several times in teacher participant interviews. Gerard and Nathan commented on the ineffective leadership present in their organizations. Gerard as well as Jim also commented on the ineffective "communication between senior management and faculty" (Odland, 2007, p. 95) which Odland (2007) reported as the number one most common factor for teacher turnover in international schools. Mancuso (2010) and Desroches (2013) also presented findings where international teachers reported ineffective leadership and poor decision-making by the school head as factors influencing teacher turnover in international schools. Mancuso (2010), like Nathan, also discussed perceived teacher input into the decision-making process of the school head. While this study did not evaluate teachers on their effectiveness as educators, Weston (2014) suggested

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that the most effective teachers were more likely than less effective teachers to be pushed away from their international schools due to perceived ineffective leadership.

Relationships with HCNs and the local culture. While teacher participants noted that they generally had good relationships with Brazilian staff members within their schools, several teachers did note a disconnect or division between international and local hires. Relating to this disconnect, Hardman (2001) noted that there was a feeling of a "hidden resentment towards overseas teachers" (p. 128) by local hires as felt by international teachers. This division can create a lack of a feeling of community within the school where international teachers will spend most of their time. As international teachers will tend to interact more with fellow international teachers as a result of similar language, experiences, and interests, teachers may notice that they tend to be drawn toward their own culture while they are abroad, potentially influencing them to return home. Mancuso (2010) and Desroches (2013) also reported difficulties developing relationships with HCNs as factors that cause international teachers to leave their schools.

Two of the longest tenured teachers, Nathan and Frank, both mentioned that they had ongoing long-term relationships with Brazilians which are the reason why they decided to remain in Brazil for as long as they have, which is 7 and 25 years. While romantic relationships are not discussed in previous literature and are the most culturally embedded form of relationship, these provide an example of how developing strong relationships with HCNs can help to lead to higher international teacher retention in international schools.

Salary and benefits. King (1968), Hardman (2001), Odland (2007), Mancuso (2010), and Amodio (2015) found compensation and benefits to be crucial to retaining international teachers. My findings aligned more with Desroches' (2013) study that said that international teachers are generally satisfied with the salary and benefits offered to them by their schools.

Salary and benefits are more important after a teacher is already looking into moving to another country or school as they expect to receive a higher salary and/or better benefits from their next employer. Desroches refers to this 'salary importance' and 'benefits importance.' My findings indicated that it is not necessarily the numeric value of salary or benefits, but that the teachers have a qualitative reaction to feeling like they are well taken care of materially, which includes benefits and salary but is also centered on the small things, like what is in their fridge upon arrival, the assistance provided by HR representatives when booking medical appointments, etc..

Relative satisfaction. With the exceptions of Jennifer and Gerard, while teachers had small concerns about their current situations, they were, overall, relatively happy with their roles and their lives in São Paulo. Teachers generally felt satisfied and I often had to push teachers through questioning to find aspects of their lives in São Paulo that they find challenging. This might link back to the concept of wanderlust, which could explain why teachers would be content with their current arrangements, yet still choose to leave. Mancuso et al. (2011) noted that the concept of wanderlust makes it difficult to pinpoint factors which schools can change to improve teacher retention as there may not be a way to retain these teachers in the first place as a participant in their study stated that she was happy in her current role and always had been and would likely be happy in her next school as well.

Teacher participants were also in agreement with Mancuso's (2010) and Desroches' (2013) findings that showed that teacher participants were happy with their school characteristics such as the physical buildings and facilities and the teaching materials available. Samuel mentioned that he is "never wanting" and was very happy with how supported he felt when he required teaching materials. High tuition rates certainly help to ensure that educational materials are readily available.

Teaching the "elites" of São Paulo. Jennifer discussed having difficulty coming to terms with working for a school that caters to the wealthy of São Paulo. Stephen also discussed his discomfort with the lack of connections between different societal classes in Brazil. Stephen felt an uneasiness about maids having to use a different entrance than everyone else in his apartment building and was even somewhat uneasy with having a maid in the first place, though this is commonplace in nearly all middle-class and higher households in São Paulo. These findings relate to Tarc & Tarc's (2015) finding that many international teachers find difficulty in being "middling actors" (p. 45) in their new countries. Having little to no power to do anything to change the society, these teachers become "frustrated," particularly as individuals brought up in countries with large middle-class populations and who experience little poverty directly in their day-to-day lives. This aspect is beyond the reach of school heads outside of the school, though within the school, developing a more tight-knit community between all employees and shareholders could be a goal for school leaders.

New Findings

Four new findings in international school research surfaced in this study. This study introduced the novel approach of presenting the data from teacher interviews to school heads prior to their interviews to get their viewpoint on the concerns raised by teachers. Through these discussions based on the data from phase one, new themes emerged that affect the way school leaders administer their schools and influence their decision-making. Teachers, parents, and students may not be aware of the constraints put on school leaders. The conversations with school heads allowed them to discuss how addressing certain concerns put forth by international teachers could also affect other aspects of the school negatively.

Authentic leadership. While transformational, transactional and distributed forms of leadership were discussed in previous literature regarding international teacher turnover in international schools (Mancuso, 2010; Mancuso et al., 2011, Weston, 2014), my study found the concept of authentic leadership theory to be important in international school leadership, in the domain of teacher retention. Mary emphasized that she tried to be as "authentic as possible" in the way that she administers her school and "engage with everyone as well as [she] can", noting that, with her knowledge and experience, she is aware that she still has much to learn about interacting and leading cross-cultural populations in Brazil. She noted the difficulty in being an authentic leader in a cross-cultural setting as a foreigner in Brazil as well. She said that she always does her best to speak in Portuguese to try to show Brazilians that she is trying to integrate and is willing to admit that she is aware that she has a great deal to learn about leading in a Brazilian cross-cultural context. Mary's view of her own brand of authentic leadership aligns with recommendations put forth by Ngunjiri & Hernandez (2017), in that she takes into consideration the cross-cultural context in which she is a leader by trying to relate to Brazilian staff members and attempting to understand their culture and language. This also follows Tarc's (2018) recommendations relating to international school leadership where leaders must engage in the complex cultural politics of the international school community, to learn and to evolve their authentic leadership within a cross-cultural context.

Cross-cultural leadership. As previous studies focus solely on international teacher retention from the point of view of international teachers, the concept of cross-cultural leadership has yet to surface prior to this study. In São Paulo international schools, both local and international hires work together within the same organizations and require different approaches as they come from different backgrounds and receive different benefits. Both Mary and Philip

discussed that they look to lead all their staff members as best they can regardless of their backgrounds and that international and local hires do require different approaches when interacting and leading each group. Philip mentioned that as he has been in Brazil for 25 years, he has developed an understanding of how to interact with Brazilian teachers and mentioned that speaking the language certainly helps. He also noted that he has been able to develop a sense of humour similar to that of a Brazilian as, often, bad news or difficult conversations must often come out of a place of humour as Brazilians often do not like to hear negatives coming from foreigners, particularly about their own country.

In the case of my international school, though not discussed by teachers or school heads, a method of developing a connection between foreign hires, both school heads and teachers, has been hiring middle management who are Brazilian citizens. These middle managers (principals) have experience in teaching, leading, and/or learning abroad and, therefore, can be a go-between in cross-cultural organizations. These leaders provide foreign-hire school heads with information when interacting with local knowledge as a means to develop their authentic leadership qualities and be able to work to assist not only international hires, with whom they may share common characteristics and ideologies, but also the local hires to build a more inclusive environment for all teachers. Albeit in my study, the cross-cultural dynamics emerging from the local middle management seemed to produce miscommunications between locals and expats.

Leading millennial teachers. A generational divide between new teachers and school heads regarding how teachers work and interact in their place of employment was a new theme that arose from my interview with Philip. Philip discussed, in-depth, the aspect of having to lead relatively new teachers that come to his school. A new generation of teachers is entering these schools. Philip mentioned that it can be difficult to work with them professionally as they seem

to be ill-prepared for working in a classroom setting and seem far more focused on their next personal trip rather than focusing on their jobs at times. Younger teachers, Philip said, seem to be far more focused on learning, discussing, and teaching based on their ideological views rather than practicing effective teaching of skills that will be important in the future. He made specific mention of Millennial teachers not having the ability to control a difficult classroom. Millennials, according to Twenge et al. (2010), Myers & Sadaghiani (2010), and Kuron et al. (2015) tend to expect more out of a job for less work than previous generations. Whereas Generation X was happy to be employed, Millennials or 'GenMe' look for jobs that provide them with an opportunity for ample downtime for socializing and entertainment while still receiving the benefits of having full-time employment. These teachers, according to Philip, are less likely to focus on their craft in the classroom and can, often, take feedback personally and as an insult. It is suggested that it is likely futile to try to change Millennial employees and that workplaces will have to change to adapt to this new generation (Twenge et al., 2010). This generational shift will continue to be an issue for school heads as teachers from Generation X and Y are retiring and teachers from GenMe are taking their places.

Millennial teachers are also more likely to be 'people of colour' as second generation immigrants entering a traditionally white environment of expat teachers (P. Tarc, personal communication, December 7, 2019). Backgrounds, experiences, and ideologies are changing and leaders, as those who tend to be more experienced in education, must follow Twenge et al.'s (2010) recommendation of adapting to teachers rather than forcing teachers to change to fit into the leader's (potentially archaic?) vision of an exceptional school. In the future, Millennial teachers will become principals and school heads and teacher populations will become more and more diverse. It would behoove school leaders to be ahead of the curve in adapting their schools

to these changing populations. I predict that there will be further research to come investigating Millennials in the workplace and in education in particular.

Brazilian employment law. Both Philip and Mary discussed the fact that, in many cases, employment law in Brazil prevents them from taking certain steps to improve international teacher retention and must find ways to work around legal requirements for their organizations. As previous studies did not investigate teacher turnover from the point of view of school leaders, this aspect has not been discussed. According to Brazilian law, most employees must be Brazilian citizens (67%), requiring even expatriate school leaders to understand Brazilian culture and create working environments that make local hires feel comfortable. Brazilian employment law also sets a maximum amount of time that an expatriate can be in the country on a working visa, which is two years according to Philip. When expatriates become permanent residents, they lose their entitlements to foreign hire benefits, causing many teachers to leave after their first contract. To retain international teachers, benefits can be maintained in some international schools through loopholes in the laws. Of course, one of the features of many international schools has been working out the international or transnational (read: independent above national law or custom) character of the school as situated within a particular national context (P. Tarc, personal communication, December 7, 2019)

Agreements Between Teachers and School Heads

Culture. International teacher participants and school heads agreed that Brazilian culture can be difficult to manoeuvre, particularly for someone unfamiliar with the language and cultural norms. Brazilians can, at times, be quite proud of their *'jeitinho'* [little way – pronounced zhay-cheen-yo] in which there is an understanding that there is always some way to work around the rules to accomplish what individuals or groups would like to accomplish. To Anglo-westerners,

this can, at times, be frustrating as it can be seen as dishonest and possibly conniving, but to many Brazilians, it is seen as necessary. São Paulo is also a large city where people can tend to walk over those who will not do the same.

Safety. Philip mentioned that he understands why some Anglo-Westerners would not enjoy living in São Paulo due to the safety issue. He mentioned having to meticulously plan out his routes and the time he leaves whenever he has to travel anywhere, even within the city, as safety is almost always a concern in São Paulo. Several teachers included safety as an issue in São Paulo, but not necessarily as a reason to leave as they all seemed to have done their research on the city prior to arrival. This factor, though, is an aspect that they are aware of as they travel and attend social gatherings within São Paulo and Brazil as a whole.

Language. A handful of teachers mentioned that they struggle with the language and believe that learning it would improve their experiences in Brazil. One teacher, Linda, also mentioned that she moved to Brazil, specifically, to learn the Portuguese language. Both school heads agreed that learning and using the Portuguese language was essential to both improving Anglo-westerners' Brazilian experiences, but also to improve the school community. If everyone within the organization is speaking the same language, there will be better communication and commonalities can be discovered and relationships built. Teacher participants often noted that it was their responsibility to learn Portuguese as they came to Brazil by choice and should not expect locals to cater to their inabilities to speak the local tongue. Mary mentioned that she is still learning the language and tries to use it where she can in her professional life. Philip was certain that his ability to speak Portuguese has contributed to developing a tight-knit community in his school where both local and international hires feel supported and can speak with him.

Preparations for arrival. While they were happy with their accommodations, teacher participants mentioned that more could be done to assist them upon their arrivals in Brazil. Jim mentioned that they had no working phone and no internet to connect with people when they first arrived. Mary agreed that more can always be done to make new international teachers feel welcome and prepared and noted that it is often the small things that her school misses when new teachers arrive in their apartments, such as a knife to cut the fruit that was provided to the incoming teacher in their new apartment. Mary also noted the importance of making the incoming teachers as comfortable as possible in their new homes, so a stipend is provided to these teachers to purchase some new furniture and/or decorations at a local home furnishings shop.

Support with students and parents. Philip agreed that it can be difficult to interact with parents and students as put forth by Jennifer and Stephen. Philip had what seemed to be a deeper understanding of these interactions than what the teachers described. Whereas teachers felt as though they were being treated as hired hands, Philip presented an argument that looked at the issue from a broader, macro perspective. Students today are needier than they have been in the past. As students are more stressed than they have ever been to succeed in class, Philip seemed to understand that teachers feel the pressure as well, but believed that, as educators, it is up to administrators and teachers to help the students in any way they possibly can to get through difficult times while still learning the skills and content being taught. What can be interpreted by teachers as school heads taking the side of parents or students could also be school leaders looking for ways to best help students in difficult situations as students must come first in education. This tension also relates to the issue of communication that was raised by teachers. Teachers need to understand that leadership is looking to assist students and not feel as though

they are being singled out as an ineffective teacher. Stephen even went as far as claiming that he was planning to leave the field of education following his current contract as a result of his interactions with parents and students and feeling as though he was not being supported by administration.

Sense of community. A sense of community is something that Jennifer felt was lacking and that both school heads explained that they were working to improve. Other teachers felt as though they were a part of a strong school community; however, culture certainly divides groups within schools. Research has shown that a sense of belonging (Mancuso, 2010; Desroches, 2013) to the culture and the organization can help to improve teacher retention as teachers would feel more at home and less likely to leave an organization that has built supportive, comfortable communities for its teachers. Mary mentioned that the school has several activities and events that take place each year to bring teachers together. Philip talked about his school having a higher calling that his teachers work toward together. As Philip's school has a very high retention rate of teachers, this subsystem of a common 'calling' should be considered further by other school heads, even if not a religious calling.

Disagreements Between Teachers and School Heads

The most telling aspects in relation to the teacher and school head interviews are the aspects where there was disagreement between the two groups. This indicates a difference in vision and approach from the two groups and suggests that there could be a disconnect, creating tensions that lead to reduced teacher retention. The three aspects where there were disagreements related to the communication within the school, the workload taken on by international teachers, and the general way of life in São Paulo.

Communication. School leaders and international teachers took different viewpoints when discussing communication. Teachers, as supported by the literature (Odland, 2007), were more concerned about being kept in the loop by administrators as they felt as though this affected their job and could even result in them facing negative consequences due to not being informed about certain policies and decisions. School heads looked at communication as a positive in their organizations. This stems from the importance of communication between the school and shareholders such as parents and potential parents. Both Mary and Philip discussed the mission and vision of the schools that are presented to the school community as being clear, concise, and inspirational, resulting in a demand for their schools. This disconnect between what good communication is between school leaders and teachers demonstrates that teachers are looking to work in a synergistic organization where all levels are on the same page, where school heads are more concerned about maintaining a student body through communication with parents. School heads also seem to be looking at the bigger picture of maintaining a school, whereas teachers are more focused on their own interests and duties as an educator.

Workload. Jennifer and Frank discussed a lack of correlation between the workload and the compensation for their work. Jennifer noted that she became a teacher because she did not want to work the hours that those in other industries that tend to have higher salaries work. She felt as though if she was being asked to work longer than 40 hours a week, she should find another job elsewhere. Philip related this back to leading Millennials, who, according to the research, tend to be somewhat entitled in their expectations of what they expect from their employers when compared to the work they provide to their employers and value their free time more than previous generations, which the school heads are a part of (Twenge et al., 2010; Myers & Sadaghiani, 2010; Kuron et al., 2015).

Life in São Paulo. Teachers and school heads disagreed on the effect of living in São Paulo on teacher decisions to stay or leave. While Philip discussed the difficulties of living in São Paulo and the rat race that is living in São Paulo, teachers seemed to be quite content with their surroundings and their way of life in São Paulo. This disconnects suggests that daily life outside of the school has far less of an influence on teachers leaving their schools than school heads believe. Even after mentioning that São Paulo can be difficult, teachers would discuss their satisfaction with their social lives and the available entertainment options. School heads underestimated the importance of the work life of international teachers.

In the following section I return to my research questions. For the first research question, I outline the viable steps that can be taken by school heads to improve international teacher turnover based on teacher concerns put forward as well as the knowledge that school heads added to provide a broader view of what is involved in running a school. For research questions 2 and 3 I employ systems theory as a lens to identify the concerns that cannot be addressed by school heads to improve international teacher retention and the subsystems involved that impede school heads from doing so. As stated earlier, in systems theory there is a reciprocal relationship between the various subsystems and elements within each system (Dorian, 2014; Ruhl, 2014). In Betalanffy's (1968) vision of systems theory, energy is shared among the subsystems and when one subsystem is provided with more energy, it is at the expense of at least one other subsystem to maintain, at the very minimum, homeostasis, if not improve the organism. While this was originally intended for biological organisms, this explanation can be seen as an analogy for organizations as well (Vancouver, 2013). If one subsystem is provided more attention and/or funding in an organization, other subsystems will suffer. The role of the school head is to ensure

that providing more attention or funding to these subsystems improves the effectiveness of the school as a whole organism that provides a high-level education to its students.

Research Question 1

The primary research question for this study was, "*What viable measures must leaders in São Paulo international schools take to improve or solve high international teacher turnover?*" This primary question asks international school leaders to consider the barriers placed before them by both internal and external factors as well as the interrelationships between both internal subsystems and external systems related to the schools. This systems approach is appropriate as a means to identify faults in school subsystems to develop viable steps to work to improve international teacher retention within their own schools (Betts, 1992; Peck & Carr, 1997; Banathy, 1999; Duffy et al., 2000; Simon, 2009; Avis, 2009; Kagan et al., 2016; Kim & Rehg, 2018). Both school heads have relatively low turnover rates in their schools and, therefore, can be used as models to explore how other schools in the area could potentially improve their international teacher retention.

As there are several barriers in place preventing school heads from addressing many of the concerns put forth by international teachers, an authentic, cross-cultural approach to the style of leadership employed was a method put forth by school heads that must be further implemented by the school heads and division heads within the participating schools. The viable steps arrived at to improve international teacher retention have been deemed by school heads as actions that will not take energy (attention or funding) away from other elements within the school to decrease the effectiveness of the organization as in systems theory. These viable actions that can be taken by school heads can be broken down into two connected domains: teacher support and community building. These actions include more intensive language support

in Portuguese, improved new arrival support, improved support regarding students and parents, improved communication and feedback from school heads, and improved workload for teachers. In relation to workload, an interesting new factor that is not present in previous literature came to light through Philip's interview: leading millennials in school environments.

Implementing the concept of authentic leadership in order to accomplish these actions takes on a different form in cross-cultural contexts as predicated by CLT. As the majority of faculty in São Paulo international schools, by law, will be Brazilian, the concerns voiced by international teachers must be heard by school leaders, but school leaders must also take into consideration the voices of HCN. In identifying the cultural propensities present within the school and finding common ground between them, tensions between different groups can be minimized. If HCN or local hires feel as though they are being treated unfairly it will also be difficult to build a cohesive community of educators working together. School leaders face an immediate challenge in developing a cohesive community as international teachers come into schools with benefits not awarded to local hires.

While administrative support for teachers is something that is universally required in schools and most people would appreciate a lighter workload, communication and feedback is something that can be viewed in contrasting manners between Anglo-Western teachers and Brazilian teachers. For example, as Javidian et al. (2006) discussed, Americans tend to be much more upfront with challenging discussions, whereas in Brazilian culture, difficult conversations are often eased into or the real issue is avoided as much as possible. These differences in preferred leadership qualities in cross-cultural contexts can make the implementation of authentic leadership necessary, as Tarc (2018) put forward, leaders must engage the culture and society of the school and geographic location to best learn about and understand how to lead the

population within their international school. This still does not solve the issue of leader-teacher communications as there will be times where individual attention cannot be given to every teacher by the leader and that leader must address the faculty. The study of CLT and cross-cultural leadership can aid in this, though there may not be any easy fix. Addressing the communication concern with international teachers may cause an unwanted rift between local hires and international teachers and, therefore, the school environment. Leaders must investigate the values held by their teachers and themselves to best develop ways of communicating with their teachers. Interestingly, teacher participants and school head participants viewed communication from different perspectives. Teachers saw an issue with leader communication with teachers, whereas school heads believed that communication was strong as they felt as though families were clear on the mission and vision of the school, not taking into consideration the view of international teachers. I see this as a disconnect between the micro and macro factions within the schools. Where school leaders look to best communicate with the greater community and teachers feel as though better communication between them and the school leader will help the school to function better as a whole. In factoring in teacher understanding of how a school functions when communicating school norms or changes, all stakeholders within the school will be closer to being on the same page, creating a more cohesive community that includes, leaders, teachers, parents (including potential parents), and students.

Another step that school heads can take is to continue to investigate hiring practices through their studies of trends in who leaves and after how much time as well as through exit interviews or surveys. Mary mentioned that her school works with other schools to develop profiles of ideal teacher candidates who are more likely to remain at their schools for extended tenures past the first or second contracts. Schools performing their own research as opposed to

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research that combine several schools may provide a more specific insight into the ideal profile of a teacher for her school. On the other hand, such an approach may not get forthright answers as a more 'outsider' or multi-school study.

Research Questions 2 and 3

The second and third research questions asked which concerns raised by international teachers were beyond the scope of leaders' actions. While school heads tend to have the final say in many matters concerning how a school functions, school heads cannot improve on aspects relating to the personal lives of teachers, the local environment and culture surrounding the school (São Paulo), or completely alter the foundational beliefs or practices of school actors. First, school heads must still answer to boards of directors and/or external governing bodies. While school heads are unable to be the sole actor in addressing these concerns put forth by teachers, these concerns and suggestions can be taken to those boards of directors and/or external governing bodies for consideration. From the lens of systems theory, these aspects are deemed as too damaging to the organism (school) should they be altered. In these situations, as in systems theory, an alteration based on the feedback provided by international teachers could potentially be too devastating to another aspect of the school for the school to improve as a whole. This prevents school heads from being able to fully address these issues as an alteration could go against Brazilian labour law, affect other populations/demographics negatively, or hurt the school as an educational institution whether financially or in providing an education to students.

While teachers were generally satisfied with their salary and benefits, several said that they would leave their jobs for higher salaries and better benefits, as with Desroches (2013). In systems theory, any alteration in one subsystem requires reciprocal action from at least one other subsystem. An alteration to salaries for international teachers would require an increase in local

hire salaries as well, or potentially dissatisfaction from local hire teachers could rise. Competition between international schools in São Paulo was discussed in my interviews with school heads. While tuition costs do go up every year, increasing teacher salaries would require even higher tuition costs which could push students to other international schools.

The school heads claim that they have not seen a great deal of student turnover as a result of new schools appearing. If parents are forced to pay more for tuition, they may send their children to a school that has similar tuition fees but may be regarded as a more sophisticated school or is closer to home for these families. Teacher benefits fall into the same situation. If benefits are increased, tuition may need to be increased. Benefits are already seen as a point of tension between international hires and local hires and improvements in benefits for international hires would require an improvement in local hire benefits or cause dissatisfaction among local hire teachers, potentially resulting in higher turnover of local hire teachers. At the same time, not improving salaries and/or benefits could send effective teachers to other schools that provide more of a financial and beneficial incentive. While there are no cultural variables in relation to salary and benefits, the difference in what international and local hires receive in salary and benefits can create tensions that can potentially supersede any type of leadership. However, my findings suggest that being sensitive to small-scale benefits and hospitality can go a long way to improve the satisfaction of international hires, particularly upon first arrival in São Paulo.

It is interesting that, while teachers often discussed their satisfaction with salary and benefits but would consider a better salary when looking into a new position, salary was deemed an important factor by school heads. It appears school leaders need to justify the salaries that they offer their teachers as a part of their job portfolio. This brings the larger or structural

constraints much more into view for the heads, whereas for the teachers it is much more of an individual issue and apart from their day-to-day professional responsibilities.

Philip also discussed employment law in São Paulo being a factor when addressing teacher benefits despite international teachers not mentioning Brazilian employment law as a factor when considering leaving their current post. After two years in Brazil, the length of an initial international hire contract, those in Brazil on a working visa are now considered to be permanent residents as they have spent a great deal of time in the country and have invested in the country as well. In legal terms, these teachers are expected to receive the same benefits of local hires. While schools overlook these laws frequently as removing these benefits would mean even higher international teacher turnover, this is a topic that also creates tension between those who began teaching in the school as a permanent resident and those that became permanent residents during their tenure at the school and still maintained international hire benefits. The difference in the treatment of the different groups within the school can lead to tension and high turnover of both international and local hires, suggesting that the implementation of authentic leadership with an understanding of cross-cultural factors could work in international school contexts. As previous studies investigated reasons for teacher turnover, employment law was not discussed as a roadblock to improving teacher retention.

Another aspect in which school heads have little to no control is life in São Paulo for international hires. Several studies noted the importance of painting a clear picture of the school for incoming teachers (King, 1968; Mancuso, 2010; Desroches, 2013), but a clear vision of life in São Paulo may be just as, if not more, important for incoming teachers to evaluate their fit prior to coming to São Paulo. This education on the city could also be an opportunity for local and international hires to come together to experience the city and become a starting point for

new arrivals to learn the language in an immersed context and develop cross-cultural relationships.

Aspects Not Discussed by School Heads

There were several concerns that were voiced by teachers that were not discussed by school heads: working for a private organization, teaching elites, teacher personal factors, professional development opportunities, the role of the school head, vertical growth within the school, and the possibility of not wanting international teachers to stay for extended periods of time. There are several possible motivations for school heads not discussing these aspects. It can be assumed that the school head may have little to no influence over many of these factors and, therefore, was not worth their time to discuss. It can also be assumed that these topics could potentially be polarizing within the school community. It can also be assumed that these aspects may not be seen as something that concerns them at the current moment in time.

These schools are private organizations, but leaders can work to implement authentic leadership in a cross-cultural setting to develop supportive communities. If schools are working to help the greater community in some way, then the idea of an organization looking to make a profit may be less pressing for teachers (Odland, 2007). Philip, as the head of a religious school, indirectly discussed this as many of his teachers seem to have a 'higher calling' to work toward and his turnover rate is quite low compared to the rest of the region.

Teacher personal factors are also an aspect where school leaders can have little to no impact on teachers and, possibly, therefore school heads did not wish to discuss these factors. As using personal factors to identify who would make a best fit can be seen as a form of hiring prejudice, this may also be a reason for avoiding the topic of the type of person that schools wish to hire. Admitting a preference for someone based on their personal life could generate a

negative view of an organization. Philip was very clear that, as someone familiar with Brazil and Brazilian culture and society, he does not look at personal factors, but a potential teacher's ability to be flexible and "embrace the grey" when living and working in Brazil. Budrow & Tarc (2018) also suggested that this was an ideal characteristic of potential international teachers according to Canadian international school heads. Embracing the grey refers to the ability of teachers to be flexible and never expect things to happen the way they should. Teacher characteristics when hiring were discussed by King (1968), Bowers (1991), Mancuso (2010), and Desroches (2013). King (1968) was especially forthright in discussing the types of people that should not be hired, stating that "marginalized persons [with] marital issues or other personal problems" (p. 185) should not be hired by international schools.

The availability of professional development opportunities was also not discussed by school heads. Professional development is available to teachers, particularly in-house training. Jim and Linda mentioned that, while it was available, professional development was on the teachers to pitch their ideas for professional development to administration. It is possible that schools do not wish to send teachers to an exaggerated amount of external professional development sessions as these can be quite expensive. Deciding on who can go to what professional development courses can also be something polarizing within a school community. Mancuso et al. (2010) discussed how international schools differ in their views on internal and external professional development opportunities.

While both school heads discussed how they interact with both international and local hires and noted that they try to be the same with both groups, the overall role of a school head was not discussed specifically. It is possible that the role of a school head is far too complex to be able to discuss every aspect of how a school functions. It may also be difficult to define

exactly what a school head does in a complex, dynamic, cross-cultural system such as an international school in São Paulo. Defining specifically what a school head is and does may handcuff school leaders to specific tasks and responsibilities in environments that are constantly changing. Mancuso et al. (2011) and Desroches (2013) discussed, in-depth, the necessity of having school heads who are present and involved in day-to-day life within schools and to be seen by teachers as an ally, however, this does not describe specific ways of interacting with their teachers.

Vertical growth for teachers within a school was also not discussed by school heads. As teacher turnover occurs, it can be difficult to say who will be promoted to certain positions and why. Promotions have also been used in the past to get teachers to remain at schools. Through my observations, there is little transparency when it comes to decisions regarding administrative roles within the school. Often teachers are chosen by school leadership for roles without offering a chance for others to apply for the position. Without specific methods for choosing who is chosen for vertical growth opportunities within schools, there are too many variables for leaders to discuss in reference to why these decisions are made: qualifications, experience, personality, and possibility of losing that teacher should they not be offered a position to name a few. Bowers (1991) found that vertical growth by teachers in international schools is seen as far more important than teachers in domestic American schools and, therefore, could be an important aspect to investigate further in international teacher retention research.

Another aspect that was mentioned in teacher interviews but not school head interviews was the possibility of schools wanting a turnover as it was mentioned that at least one participant school has a rule where foreign hires only receive foreign hire benefits for up to eight years. As I have witnessed international hires continue to receive these benefits past their eighth year of

employment, it seems possible that the halt of benefits after eight years at a school could be a way to bring in new teachers as education is constantly changing. While school heads would rather not have to hire several new teachers from abroad every year, fresh ideas and faces can be helpful to organizations as well (Adnot et al., 2017). Finding an amount of time where teachers have potentially worked past their potential as an educator in a school may be a key to maintaining or improving the education in a school. Philip noted that at four years an international teacher begins to truly make an impact on their organization but did not discuss a point in a teacher's tenure when that teacher becomes burdensome financially or stagnant in their evolution as an educator.

Problematizing International Schools

In investigating international teacher turnover in São Paulo international schools, two points of contention arose between social groups: inequality between or lack of different groups of teachers and international schools maintaining the status quo for elites in a developing country. Apart from being split evenly by gender, all of the participants were white, native English speakers, showing a homogeneity in international hires in international schools and, as a result, a lack of diversity within international schools in São Paulo. This study also presents another issue related to international schools, native-speakerism (Holliday, 2018). While I was careful not to use language to place a group as more important than any other group within international school settings, the image of native speakers of English taking priority in international schools over locally hired teachers is difficult to avoid. It is possible that this divide is present within international schools as local hires feel as though they are not as valued as international hires, even beyond the benefits gap.

While the teacher participants in this study were split evenly by gender, it was interesting to note that men had more experience in their schools on average than women and that, of the three teacher participants who were also junior administrators, none were female. These facts present an interesting "chicken or the egg" scenario. Do women tend to stay for less time than their male counterparts, as evidenced in this study, as a result of their experiences in Brazil? Were these male junior administrators hired as a result of their loyalty for remaining at their schools or have they remained at their schools as a result of being offered these positions, potentially as they may be valued as male educators. Further investigations into the experiences of both male and female international teachers in São Paulo international schools with a focus on gender would be interesting to supplement the data presented in this study.

A further problem that arises in investigating international schools is the reproductive nature of these schools in maintaining the status quo, often in developing countries, by catering to the "elites" of that country. These schools provide world-class education to the privileged few of that country which will, in turn, help them to get accepted into elite universities, and help to maintain these students as the "elites" of society. While the general populations of these schools would be difficult to change, steps could potentially be taken to make these schools more transformative in nature through interactions with the wider communities surrounding these schools. Creating scholarships for underprivileged populations in São Paulo as well as working with local teachers, students, and community leaders to develop charitable relationships with the broader community would be a positive step in international schools helping the greater good rather than simply maintaining the status quo in a city with a great deal of poverty. Wright & Lee (2014) discussed the growth of International Baccalaureate schools in China being reserved for the elite minority in Chinese society to help ensure that these students remain elites after being

accepted into universities abroad. Song (2013) has also discussed English-medium international schools in South Korea as status symbols in Korean society. Hayden (2011) suggests that, globally, elite families see international schools as a means to provide their children with a "competitive edge in a globalised market" (p. 211). Tanu (2018) argues that becoming internationalised within an international school in Indonesia is synonymous with westernization and is used as a means for elite families to maintain their status in Indonesian society. São Paulo international schools cater primarily to the elite of São Paulo and boast acceptances into high-level universities abroad. It is critical to question the role of international schools in São Paulo society from a broader perspective.

Recommendations for Practice

Although the two participating schools have relatively low international teacher turnover rates, there is still room for improvement in international teacher retention in these schools. These schools can also act as models for other international schools to use that may be experiencing frustrations in retaining international teachers. The recommendations put forth focus on authentic leadership practice and promote more equitable practices relating to local hire teachers through a systems theory approach.

The first recommendation for practice is to investigate CLT to develop communication between administrators and teachers and build a community within the cross-cultural environments of international schools. Through systems thinking, it has become clear that separating groups within schools exacerbates the feeling of not belonging to a community and, as a result, leads to higher teacher turnover. While different cultures and demographics may have different visions of what leadership is and should look like, CLT suggests that there are ways to find an agreement between different cultures regarding how organizations are run.

School heads must work to ensure that there is an overarching goal which all faculty members, regardless of background, can prescribe to. This goal can also contribute to creating a feeling of a tight-knit, cross-cultural community of educators and, in the end, result in lower teacher turnover for both international and local hires. Teachers will feel connected with others who are also working toward the same goal that is seen as something that helps the greater community as opposed to just a division, the school, or a small group of people.

School leaders must work to make leadership practices as equitable as possible for all teachers, both international and local hires. The perception of a division between local and international hires is present as different benefits are offered to each group, generally favoring international hires. Further differential treatment of international hires can lead to further divisions between teachers, leading to a lack of a feeling of belonging to a tight-knit community that has been shown to convince international teachers to remain at their schools for longer tenures (Cox, 2012). Due to the hegemony of English, foreign hires require some form of enticement to come to these schools, generally in the form of housing benefits in a new country. School leaders must investigate methods to change this from being a point of contention with local hires. School leaders could investigate further benefits for local hires that may not be offered to international hires.

School heads must continue to investigate hiring practices. Philip seems to have found an excellent barometer by which he hires his teachers: whether applicants can demonstrate their flexibility to change and potential disorganization. As times and cultures change, school leaders will have to continue to investigate the characteristics and responses which can help identify effective teachers who are more likely to remain at their schools for more than one contract period.

Limitations

There were multiple factors that limited the study's breadth and depth of findings. One of those limitations was the fact that international schools are private entities that need to market themselves as successful. This characteristic of the schools suggests that school leaders may not want their employees discussing negative experiences that occur within the school with outsiders. This 'airing of dirty laundry' could be bad for business, causing school heads to prefer to not want their schools or teachers to participate in the study. School heads were also hesitant to provide specific details regarding their staff, hiring practices, and school characteristics that needed improvement in order to improve teacher retention. The limitation of schools being private entities was also evident in the fact that only school heads of schools with relatively low turnover rates wished to participate in this study.

Another limitation is that I chose to interview only international teachers as these teachers are sought after by international schools. According to Brazilian law (Article 354 of the Consolidation of Labor Laws, Law Decree 5452/43 [Consolidação das Leis do Trabalho - Decreto Lei 5452/43, § Artigo 354]), at least 67% of all employees within any organization in Brazil must be Brazilian citizens and at least 67% of all salaries paid must go to Brazilians. This law suggests that there will be a plurality of perceptions regarding leadership in these schools and that there are other points of view to take into consideration when investigating teacher turnover in São Paulo international schools that may influence the teaching and learning environment. This is particularly relevant given that the relations between Brazilian and expat teachers was one of the challenges for building community as an important factor for teacher retention.

Another limitation is that only school heads and teachers were interviewed, leaving out middle management such as principals. These leaders might be able to act as an integral link in the communication chain between school head and teachers. The information that could be provided by middle management might be able to fill the gaps in the available knowledge where there are issues with miscommunication. Since both the school heads and teacher participants are Anglo-Western educators, including principals and other middle management would be especially helpful if they are Brazilians as they could provide an insight into the cultural differences between local and international hires as I did not interview local hires.

As the EdD program is time-sensitive, the number of participants that could be interviewed or contacted was limited. International teachers, including myself, are in the midst of their semesters and, often, international teachers travel during their school holidays. It was difficult to find teachers that have the time to spare to participate in an interview. São Paulo is also a large, busy city and it is difficult to find time to participate in interviews.

I was successful in managing these limitations within the context of the study. I created the time to interview all interested participants and made the best possible use of the time available to speak with them. While interviewing Brazilian teachers was not possible in this study, the topic of intercultural interactions and cooperation within the schools was discussed in interviews, though I was unable to bring in a local Brazilian perspective.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I discussed the importance of the role of the school head in retaining international teachers in São Paulo international schools. Through an instrumental case study looking through an insider-outsider social constructivist lens I was able to compare the findings from the interviews I conducted, my own observations within São Paulo international schools,

and the academic literature surrounding the topic of international teacher retention (King, 1968; Hardman, 2001; Odland, 2007; Mancuso, 2010; Desroches, 2013; Weston, 2014; Amodio, 2015). The findings from teacher interviews informed the direction of questioning for school head interviews to better understand the context of school leaders facing the ever-present issue of teacher turnover in international schools, specifically in São Paulo, Brazil.

I first outlined the findings that confirmed previous studies, followed by the new findings that arose from this study. Then, I discussed the aspects affecting teacher retention which school heads can have a direct impact through their own actions within the school. Recommendations were made for school heads to take into consideration in the future as a means to improve international teacher retention. These recommendations were developed through discussions with two school heads, Mary and Philip, as well as previous literature and through observations I have made throughout the study period in a São Paulo international school. These factors related to leadership and developing improved lines of communication and support with the school community as a whole and investigating hiring practices to ensure that teachers who are more likely to remain at their schools are hired.

International school heads have the final say in the majority of school decisions, although there are several aspects in which they either do not have an immediate effect or require board of directors or governance committee's permission. While direct change may not be possible, through authentic leadership with a focus on developing a more supportive, cohesive school community built around good communication in a cross-cultural context, these issues can also be alleviated. It has been shown through research that millennials are a new brand of employee requiring individual consideration and care, different from previous generations (Twenge et al., 2010; Myers & Sadaghiani, 2010; Kuron et al., 2015). The recommendations put forth for these

issues are theoretical, though they are based on the previous literature as well as the discussions with school heads and my own observations and experiences.

Through an insider-outsider positionality, as a foreigner who was hired as a local hire, and a junior administrator within my own organization, I was successful in identifying the concerns raised by teachers that were both able to be addressed or not addressed as well as viable steps to address any and all of the issues. It would be naive to think that these sociological issues can be solved solely through administrator interference, however, steps have been laid out in an attempt to improve teacher retention as wanderlust remains a psychological concept embedded in the vast majority of foreign hires. These steps are specific to São Paulo international school heads, though, as an instrumental case study, can potentially be implemented in other contexts as well.

In the next, and final, chapter I will draw from my findings to identify the implications of this research and suggest recommendations for future research. I will also reflect upon my journey and consider my own theoretical and conceptual frameworks. I will also provide closing comments regarding international teacher turnover in São Paulo international schools.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This study assumes the necessity for international schools to identify areas of need in order to retain international hires. Improving international teacher retention improves the overall education in schools and reduces recruitment costs for international schools, proving more funds to be allocated to other purposes such as salaries, infrastructure, or learning materials (Miners, 2007; Synar, 2010; Synar & Maiden, 2012; Cavanagh, 2005; Levy et al., 2012; Desroches, 2013; Thurston, 1981; Sparks, 2012; Adnot et al., 2017; Ronfeldt, Loeb, & Wyckoff, 2013; Merrill, 2013; Khawary & Ali, 2015; Hanushek, Rivkin, & Schiman, 2016; Zajac, 2016). As a foreign teacher and also a local hire who is also a minor administrator within my school, I was provided a detailed picture of the contexts of both the international teachers as well as the school heads. My interviews were extensive conversations about leading, teaching and living in São Paulo and Sao Paulo international schools. They provided detail-rich data to inform the findings and discussion of those findings.

Implications

Through a systems theory approach and looking at the problem of practice through a social-constructivist lens in an interpretive paradigm, the complex nature of the role of school heads in São Paulo international schools is evident. As in systems theory, each and every decision and action made by a school leader will have an effect on other subsystems and/or elements within an international school through interrelationships. This study brings a fuller image of the contexts of school leaders to the forefront whereas previous studies have looked at international teacher retention from the viewpoint of international teachers. While steps have been laid out to work to improve international teacher retention, the factors that impede school

leaders from simply addressing the concerns put forward by international teachers are also discussed.

A critical view of Anglo-Western styles of leadership in cross-cultural contexts is necessary to identify the practicality of recommendations put forth as strategies to improve international teacher retention. As these leadership theories can be seen as forms of Western neoliberal ideals, taking into account the ideals of the host city and/or country, in this case, São Paulo, Brazil, it is essential to bring different views and ideologies to the table so as to improve the overall environment and policies within the schools. When looking to improve a certain aspect of the professional life of international teachers by communicating in a certain way, the school leader may be glancing over the ideals and culture of local hires (as well as under-acknowledging his own). This oversight of various cultures, in turn, according to systems theory, will not positively affect the overall system to improve the school as focus will simply be transferred.

The findings from this study support international school heads as well as international hires, both current and future. International school heads can use this case study as a resource to investigate teacher turnover within their own schools and how they might improve in this area. School heads can also compare results from other regions and schools to work as a network to improve international teacher retention. These results can potentially be used to identify teachers who are more likely to remain at their schools for longer tenures. The qualitative methodology of this study also allowed for both teachers and school heads to be more specific when discussing the various aspects relating to international teacher turnover, including personal factors that may influence them to either stay or leave their schools. Some of these factors are outside the influence of school leaders.

This study also uncovered another aspect related to international teacher turnover that had not been discussed by previous researchers which was leading Millennial teachers in international schools. School leaders must investigate the research available and look to adapt to generational changes in order to retain new international teachers from 'GenMe' (Twenge et al., 2010; Myers & Sadaghiani, 2010; Kuron et al., 2015). This characteristic of teachers is unlikely to change soon and must be approached head on should school heads with to improve teacher retention. More broadly it suggests that teacher retention is a phenomenon that changes across historical time as schools and teachers themselves change.

Only school heads from schools that have relatively low turnover rates were willing to participate in this study. As a result, the findings from the school head interviews tended to be more focused on what these schools have been doing to retain their educators as opposed to the original intent of this study which was to ideate ways to improve teacher retention. This focus on current practices can help with the transferability of the findings of this study to other schools and regions as well as a framework for how to lead international schools.

Teachers can also use this study to better understand the environments in which they will work and live should they choose to come to a São Paulo international school. This enhanced understanding could, potentially, lead to applicants who are better suited to São Paulo international schools than have previously applied and been hired by school heads. Should the study be emulated in other regions, teachers can compare the results to find their best fit for a future teaching position either in São Paulo or elsewhere.

Recommendations for Future Research

While this research has opened the doors to identifying steps by which São Paulo international school heads can improve international teacher retention, there are several ways in which future research can build upon and extend the research presented in this study:

1. As this study only identified measures that can be implemented to improve teacher retention, research should, in the future, follow up on the measures put in place by school heads and assess the effectiveness of those measures on individual school teacher retention rates.

2. As generational and, therefore, ideological changes in teachers from previous generations was introduced in this study, it is pertinent that future researchers investigate how school leaders can best work with and potentially adapt to Millennial teachers in order to best retain them as previous generations are moving on from their teaching jobs.

3. While this study used participant teachers from three different schools and school heads from two schools to identify commonalities in São Paulo international schools regarding international teacher turnover, it would be valuable to use individual schools to be more specific with the factors affecting teacher turnover as these factors will differ from school to school.

4. As this study only interviewed international teachers and school heads, giving a voice to a greater number of administrators, such as division heads (principals) would provide a more detailed picture and a wider variety of perceptions on the factors that influence international teacher turnover. The three teachers who were considered to be minor administrators were able to provide a better glimpse into the realities of what occurs within a school than just teachers or school heads and, therefore, other administrators would be a valuable source of information.

5. As local hires, or host country nationals, are also affected by and influence teacher turnover, it would behoove future researchers to include the perceptions of local hires in studies.

6. This study only investigated international schools in São Paulo. Conducting the study in different regions and schools can provide a comparison of the realities being faced by school heads in other regions and what can be done by them to improve teacher retention since, as the literature suggests, international teacher turnover is an issue in international schools worldwide.

7. This study was time-sensitive and interviewed teachers and school heads at times at the earliest possible convenience for the participants. Interviewing both teachers and school heads immediately after the time that they are asked to renew their contracts with their schools will provide a better view of why teachers chose to either renew their contracts or leave their schools rather than general views of their schools

Final Remarks

The exponential growth in international schools around the globe is bringing with it heightened competition between those international schools. While school characteristics such as salary, benefits, and location are pull factors that initially bring teachers to international schools, there are other factors that will help to keep teachers at their schools. This study uncovered some of these factors at play within three São Paulo international schools and how they can be addressed, if at all, by school heads. A failure to retain international teachers will result in international schools failing to offer the best education possible to their students.

While teachers in this study often did not fully understand the role of school heads and the complexity of that role, the role of school heads cannot be understated in retaining teachers

as previous literature has shown and the impetus placed on school leadership in retaining teachers in this study. This thesis argues that, while school leaders are often handcuffed in what actions can be taken to improve international teacher turnover by governing bodies as well as certain laws and regulations in Brazil, school leaders can improve their international teacher retention through the practice of authentic and cross-cultural leadership and focusing on individual educators, particularly those who fall within the category of "Millennial". In the context of a São Paulo international school, leadership must incorporate individual attention to their teachers, an awareness of cultural visions of effective leadership and communication, supportive feedback for teachers, and clear lines of communication between administrators and teachers. The students in these schools come from the elite families in a developing country and will have opportunities to help improve to improve their country in the future. São Paulo international schools must retain quality teachers to ensure that these students see the value in remaining in Brazil and working to develop the country for the betterment of everyone.

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   bin/ezpauthn.cgi?url=http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/docview/1801982892
   ?accountid=15115

Appendix A - University of Western Ontario Ethics Approval

Western Research

Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board
NMREB Delegated Initial Approval Notice

Principal Investigator: Dr. Paul Tarc
Department & Institution: Education\Faculty of Education, Western University

NMREB File Number: 109685
Study Title: Improving international teacher retention in Sao Paulo international schools: What can leaders do?

NMREB Initial Approval Date: November 28, 2017
NMREB Expiry Date: November 28, 2018

Documents Approved and/or Received for Information:

Document Name	Comments	Version Date
Western University Protocol	Received November 6, 2017	
Recruitment Items	Email to Teachers	2017/11/03
Recruitment Items	Admin Emails	2017/10/09
Letter of Information & Consent	School Heads	2017/11/24
Letter of Information & Consent	Teachers	2017/11/24
Instruments	Admin Interview Questions	2017/11/03
Instruments	Teacher Interview Questions	2017/11/03

The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the above named study, as of the NMREB Initial Approval Date noted above.

NMREB approval for this study remains valid until the NMREB Expiry Date noted above, conditional to timely submission and acceptance of NMREB Continuing Ethics Review.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario.

Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB.

The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.

Ethics Officer, on behalf of Dr. Randal Graham, NMREB Chair or delegated board member

EO: Erika Basile __ Grace Kelly__ Katelyn Harris __ Nicola Morphet __ Karen Gopaul __ Patricia Sargeant __ Kelly Patterson __

Western University, Research, Support Services Bldg., Rm. 5150
London, ON, Canada N6G 1G9 t. 519.661.3036 f. 519.850.2466 www.uwo.ca/research/ethics

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Appendix B - University of Western Ontario Ethics Amendment Approval

Western Research

Date: 10 August 2018

To: Dr. Paul Tarc

Project ID: 109685

Study Title: Improving international teacher retention in Sao Paulo international schools: What can leaders do?

Application Type: NMREB Amendment Form

Review Type: Delegated

Full Board Reporting Date: 07/Sep/2018

Date Approval Issued: 10/Aug/2018 12:57

REB Approval Expiry Date: 28/Nov/2018

_____

Dear Dr. Paul Tarc,

The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the WREM application form for the amendment, as of the date noted above.

Documents Approved:

Document Name	Document Type	Document Date	Document Version
REB Protocol Revised Clean	Protocol	25/Jul/2018	Clean

REB members involved in the research project do not participate in the review, discussion or decision.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario. Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB. The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.

Please do not hesitate to contact us if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Katelyn Harris, Research Ethics Officer on behalf of Dr. Randal Graham, NMREB Chair

Note: This correspondence includes an electronic signature (validation and approval via an online system that is compliant with all regulations).

Appendix C - University of Western Ontario Ethics Renewal Approval

Western Research

Date: 13 November 2018

To: Dr. Paul Tarc

Project ID: 109685

Study Title: Improving international teacher retention in Sao Paulo international schools: What can leaders do?

Application Type: Continuing Ethics Review (CER) Form

Review Type: Delegated

Meeting Date: 04/Dec/2018

Date Approval Issued: 13/Nov/2018

REB Approval Expiry Date: 28/Nov/2019

_____

Dear Dr. Paul Tarc,

The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board has reviewed this application. This study, including all currently approved documents, has been re-approved until the expiry date noted above.

REB members involved in the research project do not participate in the review, discussion or decision.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario. Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB. The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.

Please do not hesitate to contact us if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Daniel Wyzynski, Research Ethics Coordinator, on behalf of Prof. Randal Graham, NMREB Chair

Note: This correspondence includes an electronic signature (validation and approval via an online system that is compliant with all regulations).

Appendix D - Recruitment Email for School Administrators

Subject: Request for Participants in Study Regarding International Teacher Retention

----

Dear School Head,

My name is Christiaan Rombaut and I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Western Ontario in the education program focusing on educational leadership.

My dissertation intends to look at international teacher retention in São Paulo international schools and will take place in two phases. During the first phase, I plan to interview international hires from these schools to discuss their work experiences in São Paulo. In the second phase, I plan to bring the general findings from these interviews to the school heads to discuss teacher turnover in their respective schools and what has been done, can be done, or cannot be done to reduce teacher turnover.

I ask for your permission to contact the international hires in your school through an administrative assistant and to conduct the follow-up interview with you as the head of the school. While most studies regarding teacher turnover only look at the reasons teachers leave their schools, I intend to give the school heads a voice regarding the topic. Following ethical protocol, anonymity for the teachers, your school, and yourself is guaranteed. Each interview will take place at a time and location convenient to the participant and will last between 30-45 minutes. These interviews will be audio-recorded and are voluntary.

I would be happy to answer any questions you may have regarding this study.

Thank you for your time and I hope to speak to you further,

Christiaan Rombaut
Doctoral Candidate - University of Western Ontario
██

Study supervisor: Dr. Paul Tarc
███████████████
Associate Professor, Faculty of Education, University of Western Ontario

Appendix E - Recruitment Email for International Educators.

Subject: Participants Needed: Study Regarding International Teacher Retention
----
Dear International Educator,

Christiaan Rombaut is the Social Studies Department Head at Chapel School and a Doctoral
Candidate at the University of Western Ontario focusing on Educational Leadership.
Mr. Rombaut is looking to interview international hires in São Paulo to discuss their experiences
teaching in international schools to identify factors for international teacher turnover which will
then be discussed with school heads to address teacher turnover. Following ethical protocol, your
participation will be kept confidential and individual responses or identifiable characteristics will
never be discussed with anyone. Each interview will take place at a time and location convenient
to the participant and will last between 30-45 minutes. These interviews will be audio-recorded
and are voluntary.

If interested and you are a native English-speaking teacher from an English-Speaking country
who has been hired and provided a working visa by an international school in São Paulo, please
contact Mr. Rombaut at ████████████ to arrange a short meeting time or to ask any
questions regarding the study.

Alternatively, you may contact Mr. Rombaut's supervisor, Dr. Paul Tarc, for further information
at ██████████.

Appendix F - Letter of Intent and Consent for School Administrators

Western Education

Project Title: Improving international teacher turnover in São Paulo international schools: What can leaders do?

Researcher

Christiaan Rombaut, Social Studies Department Head, █████████████████████████

Doctoral Candidate (EdD), University of Western Ontario, London, Canada

████████████████   ████████████████

Supervisor

Dr. Paul Tarc, Ph. D

Associate Professor, Faculty of Education, University of Western Ontario

████████████   ████████████

Purpose of the Research

This research looks to uncover the reasons as to why high international teacher turnover occurs in international schools in São Paulo and to discuss these reasons with school heads in an effort to find ways to reduce this turnover.

Procedures

Interviews will take place in the administrator's office. These interviews will last 30-45 minutes and will be recorded on an audio recording device. This audio will then be transcribed prior to being analyzed by the investigator using speech to text technology on Microsoft Word. A copy of the transcript will be provided to the participant on an encrypted flash drive if the participant so desires to ensure that what the participant means to say is what is presented in the findings.

Risks and Benefits

There are no known or anticipated risks or discomforts associated with participating in this study. While some conversations may include criticisms of the school or teachers or administrators all participating schools and teachers will remain anonymous and non-identifiable in any sharing of the results. Your responses can help uncover ways of improving teacher retention in international schools.

Voluntary participation

Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer will not influence the relationship you may have with the researchers (Mr. Rombaut and Dr. Tarc) or the nature of your relationship with Western University either now, or in the future. You do not waive any legal right by consenting to this study.

Withdrawal from the study

You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, Western University, or any other group associated with this project such as your place of employment. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible. You may withdraw from the study by contacting the researcher (Rombaut) or his supervisor (Dr. Tarc).

Confidentiality

Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law. Participant's name, nationality, visa status, and organization will be collected as identifiable information so as to ensure that the participant meets the requirements for the study. This information will be accessible only by the researcher and his supervisor. The researcher will keep any personal information about you in a secure and confidential location for 5 years. A list linking your pseudonym with your name will be kept by the researcher in a secure place, separate from your study file. Representatives of The University of Western Ontario's Non-Medical Research Ethics Board may require access to your study-related records to monitor the conduct of the research. Any and all information provided by participants will be generalized so that individual participants cannot be identified. When consenting to be a participant, you understand that direct quotes from participants may be used in the secondary interviews and/or final publication of this research. The researcher will ensure that these quotes will, in no way, identify individual participants.

Questions about the research?

If you have any questions about this study, you may contact Dr. Paul Tarc at ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮. If you have any questions concerning your rights as a participant in this study, you may contact the Office of Human Research Ethics ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮, email: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮.

This letter is yours to keep for future reference.

Project Title: Improving international teacher retention in São Paulo international schools: What can leaders do?
Researcher
Christiaan Rombaut, Social Studies Department Head, ████████████████████████
Doctoral Candidate (EdD), University of Western Ontario, London, Canada
████████████   ████████████

Supervisor
Dr. Paul Tarc, Ph. D
Associate Professor, Faculty of Education, University of Western Ontario
████████████   ████████████

Legal rights and signatures	**Yes**	**No**
I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me and I agree to participate. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to be audio-recorded in this research. I consent to the use of unidentified quotes obtained during the study in the dissemination of this research		

_____
Printed Name of Participant

_____   _____
Signature of Participant   Date

_____
Printed name of person obtaining consent

_____   _____
Signature of Person obtaining consent   Date

Consent Form – Researcher's Copy

Project Title: Improving international teacher retention in São Paulo international schools: What can leaders do?

Researcher

Christiaan Rombaut, Social Studies Department Head, ████████████████████

Doctoral Candidate (EdD), University of Western Ontario, London, Canada

████████████████   ████████████████

Supervisor

Dr. Paul Tarc, Ph. D

Associate Professor, Faculty of Education, University of Western Ontario

████████████   ████████████

Legal rights and signatures	**Yes**	**No**

I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me and I agree to participate. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to be audio-recorded in this research.

I consent to the use of unidentified quotes obtained during the study in the dissemination of this research

_____

Printed Name of Participant

_____   _____

Signature of Participant   Date

_____

Printed name of person obtaining consent

_____   _____

Signature of Person obtaining consent   Date

Project Title: Improving international teacher turnover in São Paulo international schools: What can leaders do?

Researcher

Christiaan Rombaut, Social Studies Department Head, ███████████████████████████

Doctoral Candidate (EdD), University of Western Ontario, London, Canada

██████████████   ██████████████

Supervisor

Dr. Paul Tarc, Ph. D

Associate Professor, Faculty of Education, University of Western Ontario

██████████████   ██████████████

Purpose of the Research

This research looks to uncover the reasons as to why high international teacher turnover occurs in international schools in São Paulo and to discuss these reasons with school heads in an effort to find ways to reduce this turnover.

Procedures

Interviews will take place at a comfortable location chosen by the interviewee outside of the school. These interviews will last 30-45 minutes and will be recorded on an audio recording device. This audio will then be transcribed prior to being analyzed by the investigator using speech to text technology on Microsoft Word. A copy of the transcript will be provided to the participant on an encrypted flash drive if the participant so desires to ensure that what the participant means to say is what is presented in the findings. The anonymized data provided by teachers will be provided to the school heads.

Risks and Benefits

There are no known or anticipated risks or discomforts associated with participating in this study. While some conversations may include criticisms of the school or teachers or administrators all participating schools and teachers will remain anonymous and non-identifiable in any sharing of the results. Your responses can help uncover ways of improving teacher retention in international schools.

Voluntary participation

Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer will not influence the relationship you may have with the researchers (Mr. Rombaut and Dr. Tarc) or the nature of your relationship with Western University either now, or in the future. You do not waive any legal right by consenting to this study. Agreeing to participate, or not, will not have any effect on your employment.

Withdrawal from the study

You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, Western University, or any other group associated with this project such as your place of employment. In the event you withdraw from the study, all

associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible. You may withdraw from the study by contacting the researcher (Rombaut) or his supervisor (Dr. Tarc).

Confidentiality

Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law. Participant's name, nationality, visa status, and organization will be collected as identifiable information so as to ensure that the participant meets the requirements for the study. This information will be accessible only by the researcher and his supervisor. The researcher will keep any personal information about you in a secure and confidential location for 5 years. A list linking your pseudonym with your name will be kept by the researcher in a secure place, separate from your study file. Representatives of The University of Western Ontario's Non-Medical Research Ethics Board may require access to your study-related records to monitor the conduct of the research. Any and all information provided by participants will be generalized so that individual participants cannot be identified. When consenting to be a participant, you understand that direct quotes from participants may be used in the secondary interviews and/or final publication of this research. The researcher will ensure that these quotes will, in no way, identify individual participants.

Questions about the research?

If you have any questions about this study, you may contact Dr. Paul Tarc at ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮. If you have any questions concerning your rights as a participant in this study, you may contact the Office of Human Research Ethics ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮, email: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮.

This letter is yours to keep for future reference.

Consent Form – Participant's Copy

Project Title: Improving international teacher retention in São Paulo international schools: What can leaders do?

Researcher

Christiaan Rombaut, Social Studies Department Head, ███████████████████████

Doctoral Candidate (EdD), University of Western Ontario, London, Canada

███████████████   ███████████████

Supervisor

Dr. Paul Tarc, Ph. D

Associate Professor, Faculty of Education, University of Western Ontario

███████████   ███████████

Legal rights and signatures	**Yes**	**No**
I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me and I agree to participate. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.		
I agree to be audio-recorded in this research.		
I consent to the use of unidentified quotes obtained during the study in the dissemination of this research		

_____

Printed Name of Participant

_____   _____

Signature of Participant   Date

_____

Printed name of person obtaining consent

_____   _____

Signature of Person obtaining consent   Date

Consent Form – Researcher's Copy

Project Title: Improving international teacher retention in São Paulo international schools: What can leaders do?
Researcher
Christiaan Rombaut, Social Studies Department Head, ██████████████████████
Doctoral Candidate (EdD), University of Western Ontario, London, Canada
████████████   ████████████

Supervisor
Dr. Paul Tarc, Ph. D
Associate Professor, Faculty of Education, University of Western Ontario
████████████   ████████████

Legal rights and signatures	**Yes**	**No**
I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me and I agree to participate. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.		
I agree to be audio-recorded in this research.		
I consent to the use of unidentified quotes obtained during the study in the dissemination of this research		

_____
Printed Name of Participant

_____   _____
Signature of Participant   Date

_____
Printed name of person obtaining consent

_____   _____
Signature of person obtaining consent   Date

Appendix H - Semi-Structured Interview Protocol for Administrators

GENERAL INFORMATION – Administrator Interview

Date:

Place:

Interviewer: Christiaan Rombaut

Participant ID:

* Note: Findings from the teacher interviews will have already been shared with administrators

INTERVIEW SCRIPT/NOTES OF WELCOME TO INTERVIEWEE:

"Thank you for participating in this interview. The purpose of this study is to understand the reasons for Anglo-Western teachers, meaning foreign hires that learned English as their native language, both remaining at their international schools and leaving their schools and how this is can be addressed by their schools. I want to assure you that your individual responses will not be shared with teachers or other administrators, but generalized information will through the final study results. They will never know exactly what you, as an individual participant, said in this interview, nor will anyone else but the researchers and, possibly, the Research Ethics Board. I also want to remind you that you may choose to decline to answer a question or stop the interview at any time. I will be using an audio recorder to record your responses and will transcribe this interview later using speech to text and I can provide you with a transcript in a week or two to go over your responses and let me know if you feel as though something may have been taken out of context. This interview should take between 30 and 45 minutes. Shall we begin?"

1. Where are you from originally?

2. How long have you been an administrator at this school?

3. Were you a teacher at your school prior to becoming an administrator?

4. Prior to seeing the results from teacher interviews, did you see teacher turnover as an issue in your school? Why or why not?

5. What were your initial reactions to the findings that I shared with you a few weeks ago?

6. Based on what you have heard, what do you think can be done, if anything, to address the issues raised by the teachers?

7. What, if anything, impedes addressing the issues that could not be addressed?

8. Do you see a difference in how you interact with international hires and local hires? If so, how do these interactions differ?

9. How do you think your own style of leadership either exacerbates these issues or helps to minimize them?

10. Finally, are there any other comments or thoughts you would like to share?

"Thank you, once again, for agreeing to be a part of this study. Would you like for me to send you a transcript of our interview within the next two weeks? Would you like to receive the final results?"

Appendix I - Semi-Structured Interview Protocol for International Educators

TITLE: Improving International Teacher Retention in São Paulo International Schools: What can Leaders do?

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

GENERAL INFORMATION – Teacher Interview

Date:

Place:

Interviewer: Christiaan Rombaut

Participant ID:

INTERVIEW SCRIPT/NOTES OF WELCOME TO INTERVIEWEE:

Pre-Screening questions:

Explanation:

"Hello and thank you for participating in this interview. The purpose of this study is to understand the reasons for Anglo-Western teachers, meaning foreign hires that learned English as their native language, both remaining at their international schools and leaving their schools and how this is and can be addressed by their schools. I want to assure you that your individual responses will not be shared with administrators, but generalized information will. They will never know exactly what you, as an individual participant, said in this interview, nor will anyone else but the researchers and, possibly, the Research Ethics Board.

I also want to remind you that you may choose to decline to answer a question or stop the interview at any time. I will be using an audio recorder to record your responses and will transcribe this interview later using speech to text and I can provide you with a transcript in a week or two to go over your responses and let me know if you feel as though something may have been taken out of context. This should take between 30 to 45 minutes. Shall we begin?"

1) How long have you been at your current school?

2) Why did you choose to come to your current school in the first place?

3) What are your perceptions of the teaching and learning environments at your current school? (May need to ask them to elaborate)

4) What factors may cause you to remain at your current school for at least one more contract? (provide examples if necessary)

5) What factors, if any, may convince you to leave your current school or not re-sign for another contract? (provide examples if necessary)

6) Finally, if you were to be given the opportunity to give advice or feedback to your school's administration team, what would it be? I want to reiterate here, that your individual response will only be heard by me.

Thank you, once again, for agreeing to be a part of this study. Would you like for me to send you a transcript of our interview within the next two weeks? Would you like to receive the final results?"

Christiaan Rombaut

Education
EdD in Educational Leadership   **2015-2020**
University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada
Dissertation title: Improving international teacher retention in São Paulo international schools: what can leaders do?
Public Lecture:

MEd in International Education   **2011-2013**
Framingham State University
Framingham, Massachusetts, USA

BSc in History   **2009-2011**
University of Mount Olive
Mount Olive, North Carolina, USA

Professional Experience
Metacognitive Thinking and Writing Teacher (São Paulo, Brazil)   **2019-Present**
- Presented lessons on writing and metacognitive thinking

Department Head and Secondary Lead Teacher (São Paulo, Brazil)   **2011-2019**
- Social Studies Department Head
- Lead Teacher for Grades 11 and 12
- Secondary Social Studies Teacher
- New Teacher Mentor
- Student Advisor

English Language Instructor (São Paulo, Brazil)   **2010-2011**
- Taught the English language to Brazilians of all ages and abilities