YEMEN

Teacher Nationality and Classroom Practice in the Republic of Yemen

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Teacher Nationality and Classroom Practice in the Republic of Yemen

Abstract

Classroom observation and teacher self-reported data were used to investigate the extent that local and expatriate teachers in the Republic of Yemen differed (1) in their beliefs about what classroom practices lead to higher levels of student achievement and (2) in their actual classroom practices. Findings indicate statistically significant and meaningful differences in both pedagogical beliefs and actual classroom practices. Policy implications for developing countries making heavy use of expatriate teachers are discussed.

Teacher Nationality and Classroom Practice in the Republic of Yemen

Over the last two decades, many developing countries have experienced explosive growth in student enrollment in primary education, faster than teachers could be recruited or trained. These countries have had to choose between limiting enrollments (a politically unpopular strategy), allowing less qualified teachers into the system (which, over time, results in drop in educational quality), or seeking qualified teachers from other countries. The use of expatriate teachers, while avoiding the negative political consequences of the first two alternatives, has offered a powerful supplemental benefit. Expatriate teachers are often funded by the sending countries as a form of foreign aid and development assistance. Hence, the use of expatriate teachers helps the receiving country's economy while addressing the teacher shortage. If, however, the use of expatriate teachers becomes widespread, governments encounter a counter pressure: concern on the part of parents that their children are receiving less effective instruction at the hands of foreigners. In virtually all countries that make extensive use of expatriate teachers, the "localization" of the teaching force has become an important political issue. Ministries of education in these countries are caught on the horns of a dilemma -- while granting credence of the political concerns, government still can not easily dismiss the economic factors that led to the dependence on expatriate teachers in the first place.

The argument over the appropriate level of dependence of expatriate teachers within a country is essentially a political debate, to be resolved by appeal to collective judgment. There are, however, important empirical dimensions that have not been adequately considered. Specifically, to what extent do expatriate teachers and local teachers differ in their beliefs about what constitutes good teaching and to what extent they differ in their actual classroom practices?

The Yemen Arab Republic offers a particularly appropriate setting in which to test the differences in the classroom practices of expatriate and local teachers since, over the last decade, it has been the country placing the greatest dependence on expatriate teachers. At present, approximately 60 percent of all primary teachers are expatriate. Most of these teachers are from Egypt, Sudan and other Arab countries. They speak the same mother tongue (Arabic) and are generally funded directly or indirectly by their own countries.

BACKGROUND

The formal education system in Yemen was established after the 1962 revolution which marked the change from monarchy to a republic. Despite the limited financial and human resources of the country, the schooling system expanded dramatically over the following 27 years, largely due to high birth rates, a growing social demand for education, and the government's strong commitment to provide education for every Yemeni citizen. For example, primary school enrollment increased by 1658 percent between 1963 and 1988 (from 61,335 in 1963 to 1,078,673 in the 1987/19 88 academic year). Between 1964 and 1988, the number of schools increased by 353 percent (from 919 in 1964 to 6236 in 1988) (Government of the Yemen Arab Republic, 1988).

The teacher training system also underwent impressive development. Enrollment in post-primary teacher training institutes in 1988 was ninety-four times greater than in 1970; eighty-six times greater at the university level training institutes (Government of the Yemen Arab Republic, 1988). This expansion resulted from measures the government took to attract more Yemeni teachers into the system, such as the provision of monthly stipend, free housing, exemption from military service for prospective teachers, and the 1983 Teacher Act which provided better compensation and service incentives for those already in teaching (Selvaratran and Regel, 1991). However, the expansion of teacher training was unable to keep pace with the accelerating demands for schooling, resulting in a progressively worsening teacher shortage.

The response of the government to overcome the gap between available teachers and the growing demand was to employ expatriate teachers from Arab countries, mainly Egypt, either through secondment (which operated as a form of foreign aid from the teachers' home country) or through direct contract. The number of expatriate teachers increased at an annual rate of about twelve percent per year between 1971 and 1982, leveled off at about 87 percent expatriate between 1982 and 1986, and only began to drop in 1988 (Table 1). Over the last twelve years, Yemen has had the highest proportion of expatriate teachers of any country.

TABLE 1

The Proportions of Expatriate Teachers at the Primary Level in Yemen Schools 1970/71 - 1987/88 Academic Year

Year	Expatriate teachers as a percent of all teachers
1971	3.0%
1972	1.5%
1973	4.7%
1974	5.6%
1975	4.0%
1976	4.8%
1977	4.8%
1978	14.5%
1979	35.5%
1980	60.8%
1981	74.6%
1982	87. 1 %
1983	84.7%
1984	84.7%
1985	84.7%
1986	80.0%
1987	67.0%
1988	60.0%

Source: Government of the Yemen Arab Republic, 1988.

The high reliance on expatriate teachers has resulted in growing public concern about the relevance, quality, and stability of education. These concerns generally fall into four categories:

1. *Lack of teacher commitment:* Most expatriate teachers are short-timers, on a fixed contract, with every intention of leaving at the end of their assignment. Consequently, they may lack motivation to develop ties to the local community or to get involved in educational improvement efforts. The situation often is exacerbated by difficult working conditions. They work in poorly equipped schools, often in rural areas isolated from friends and countrymen, teaching a curriculum with which they may not be familiar. Expatriate teachers may feel isolated, uncomfortable with both the curriculum and school environment, perceive themselves as strangers and, as a consequence, be unwilling to engage in meaningful social and educational interactions with students, parents, and local officials. For some, the convergence of these factors leads to low commitment to Yemeni schooling which, in turn, may result in different, if not indifferent, teaching practices compared to Yemeni teachers.
2. *Differential pay:* Expatriate teachers receive a higher average salary (YR 80,000 per year) than Yemeni teachers (YR 53,450). This differential in pay plus other benefits (e.g., free housing in rural areas) lead to a sense of frustration, dissatisfaction and, in turn, higher attrition among Yemeni teachers. The expression of these resentments may serve to further isolate expatriate teachers and reduce the probability of collegial sharing of ideas with the foreign teaching staff. This, in turn, tends to reduce the convergence of teaching methods that might occur if rapport was high.
3. *Fragility of supply:* The continued flow of expatriate teachers is contingent on Yemen's political ties to the sending countries. Disruptions in international relations can have immediate, serious consequences to both the foreign teacher supply and the willingness of sending countries to pay for them, as illustrated by the recent Gulf crisis. During the Gulf crisis, the education system suffered from a sudden acute shortage of teachers, particularly at the secondary level, due to cuts in subsidies from Arab oil countries and the recall of their citizens.
4. *Uncertain relevance:* There are meaningful differences between the cultures of the sending countries and that of Yemen, difference often not fully understood by foreign teachers. Consequently, expatriate teachers generally are unable to relate lessons back to the everyday Yemeni experience. Parents worry that this lack of cultural knowledge may lead to less relevant and lower quality instruction. Indeed, expatriate teachers, coming from different cultural and educational backgrounds, may hold attitudes that are different from those of students and local community members on such matters as student discipline, student participation in learning activities, and acceptable levels of student performance. Of these, the concerns most pronounced at the community level are over the relevance of the instruction their children receive. This is the focus of the present study.

This study investigated (1) the extent to which Yemeni and expatriate teachers held different beliefs about what instructional practices constitutes effective teaching and (2) the extent to which Yemeni and expatriate teachers actually differ in their classroom practices. Both are important considerations in the debate over the appropriateness of using expatriate teachers though, contrary to popular belief, the extent that beliefs and practices are related is arguable (Chapman and Snyder, 1992; Fuller and Snyder, forthcoming).

The most direct concern of parents is whether there are differences in the practices of local and expatriate teachers such that pupils taught by expatriates receive lower quality instruction. Depending on their own educational experience and training, expatriates may differ from Yemeni teachers in their use of instructional materials, student discussion, discipline, and homework. Differences in pedagogical practices that favor local teachers would be powerful evidence against reliance on expatriate teachers. The value of the foreign aid component would have to be discounted by the less effective pedagogical practices of the teachers. Results favoring the teaching practices of expatriates would suggest that the loss of these teachers could undercut educational quality, a tradeoff that would need to be evaluated against the issues of nationalism and public preference for a local teacher.

Community attitudes toward expatriate teachers are not shaped just by how they teach, but by how they talk about their teaching. Indeed, community members may be more familiar with what teachers say about schooling than how they actually operate in the classroom. The opinions teachers express in their conversations with parents and other teachers is probably a major factor in how easily they are accepted in the school and community. Beliefs that are quite different from the normative views of the community or other teachers in the school may be the source of suspicion, even friction. Such differences can lead to questions about the appropriateness of using expatriate teachers, separate from how teachers actually teach.

It is widely assumed, however, that teacher beliefs about good teaching guide their actual classroom behavior. Often it does, though not always. Recent classroom-level research in Botswana found that, despite differences in teachers' beliefs about what constituted effective teaching, there was a surprising level of similarity in how teachers actually operated in the classroom practices (Chapman and Snyder, forthcoming; Fuller, Snyder, Chapman, and Hua, 1991). In the words of Fuller and Snyder (forthcoming), schools are "sticky institutions," their pedagogical practices appear to be hemmed in by peer and parent notions of what constitutes good teaching. If teachers express beliefs widely divergent with school or community norms, they invite suspicion, resentment, and sanction, regardless of the instructional methods those teachers actually employ. The implication of this is that differences between groups in teacher beliefs and practices need to be investigated separately. Differences between groups in their beliefs about teaching does not necessarily mean those teachers actually operate differently in their classrooms.

It was expected that if teachers' nationality is a determinant of classroom beliefs and practices, then there should observable differences in classroom practices of Yemeni and expatriate teachers. If this expectation was not confirmed, it would suggest that the negative pedagogical effects attributed to expatriate teachers are more likely to be an issue of anticipation than reality. However, if differences in teaching practices and beliefs favored Yemeni teachers, it would support the importance of the Yemenization of the teaching force. If the differences favored expatriate teachers, then serious questions would have to be raised about proposed national policies that might discourage the use of expatriate teachers in Yemen.

It should be noted that the scope of this study was to investigate the extent of differences in beliefs and practices between Yemeni and expatriate teachers, not to make claims about which pattern constitutes the most effective instruction. Which pattern is better is arguable and depends heavily on the contribution of each pattern of instruction to student performance, an issue

beyond the scope of this study, given the weak achievement measures currently available in Yemen schools and current debates over the most appropriate dimensions of achievement to be measured. Lacking achievement measures, which group is favored by observed differences between groups will be addressed in relation to the international research on teaching effectiveness, a discussion that is presented later.

THE STUDY

During late 1990, classroom observations were conducted of Yemeni (N=37) and expatriate (=23) teachers in 23 primary schools in the Yemen cities of Sana'a and Taiz. At the same time, these teachers completed the Yemen Teacher Questionnaire which collected data on respondents backgrounds and beliefs about effective teaching. Discriminant analysis was used to test the significance of differences between Yemeni and expatriate teachers on both their classroom pedagogical practices and their beliefs about what instructional practices constitute effective teaching.

Sample: This study was conducted as part of a larger research project which involved a sample of teachers of Arabic, mathematics, and science in grades six and seven in two provinces of Yemen (Sana'a and Taiz) during the 1990/91 academic year. A cluster sampling procedure was used to randomly select schools and teachers within those schools. Since research had found differences in pedagogical practices of Yemeni teachers who differ in the amount of pre-service training they received, the present study included only those teachers who had graduated from a teacher training institute (diploma teachers).

Instrumentation: The classroom observation protocol was adapted from a protocol designed by Snyder, Chapman and Fuller (1989). The protocol collected observation data in four areas: (1) the availability and use of instructional materials; (2) the nature and frequency of teacher-student, student-teacher, and student-student interactions; (3) teachers' pedagogical practices; and, (4) observers' post-class appraisals of classroom dynamics. Given the limited degrees of freedom in the analysis, the 25 items used to collect these data were reduced to the 11 scales presented in Figure 1.

The Yemeni Teacher Questionnaire is a 30 item instrument, of which 14 items collect respondents' beliefs about effective teaching. Items were borrowed, with minor modifications, from earlier work by Snyder, Chapman and Fuller (1989). These 11 items were reduced to five scales using principle components analysis to accommodate the limited degrees of freedom available in the discriminant analysis (Figure 2).

Classroom observations were conducted by eight research associates drawn from the Ministry of Education and the Sana'a University who had considerable experiences in both teaching and conducting research. These research associates participated in two two-day training sessions on the use of the observation protocol, undertaken to help increase inter-rater reliability (so that variation among teachers could be interpreted as differences in their classroom behaviors rather than as differences among raters).

FIGURE 1

Variables and Their Scales of Measurement
Classroom Observation Protocol
(Teaching practices)

1. **Use of activities** (frequency count of number of occasions event occurs)
   * teacher is presenting information
   * teacher is requiring class to read/recite/write
   * teacher is reading/writing something
   * teacher is requiring class to explain/give examples
   * teacher is requiring class to discuss something
2. **Use of discussion** (frequency count of number of occasions event occurs)
   * teacher directs students to discuss a topic
   * students are discussing topic with teacher
3. **Use of assignments** (frequency count of number of occasions event occurs)
   * teacher is assigning homework
   * teacher is assigning in-class exercise
4. **Use of teaching aides** (1=none to 7=great amount)
   * observer rating of teachers' use of materials
5. **Teacher use of discipline**
   * teacher speaks to discipline, regain order, or quiet students (frequency count)
   * teacher maintains discipline and order during instruction (1=none to 7=great amount)
6. **Classroom lecture** (frequency count of number of occasions event occurs)
   * teacher speaks to entire class
   * teacher encourages students to give examples
7. **Elaboration and use of examples** (frequency count of number of occasions event occurs)
   * teacher gives an example to illustrate a point
   * teacher encourages students to give examples
8. **Use of questions** (frequency count of number of occasions event occurs)
   * teacher asks questions with one correct answer
   * teacher asks questions with more than one correct answer
   * teacher responds to a question by a student
9. **Focus and goal orientation**
   * teacher introduces lesson content (1=no, 2=yes)
   * teacher has provides an overview of what is to be covered (1=no, 2=yes)
   * focused, direction, and goal oriented (1=none to 7=great amount)
10. **Quality of presentation**
    * logical presentation of material
    * teacher preparation
11. **Use of feedback**
    * teachers' use of feedback

FIGURE 2
Variables Sets and Their Scales of Measurement
Teacher Questionnaire
(Beliefs about teaching)

Importance in raising student achievement of:
(1=none to 7=great amount)

Use of student questions

* encouraging students to explain or give examples of a concept
* encouraging students to ask questions
* maintaining discipline and order

Use of teacher questions

* ask many questions
* require class to recite something
* ask questions with more than one correct answer

Student seatwork

* monitor student seatwork
* make in-class assignments

Varied activities

* use varied classroom materials
* plan varied activities
* ask questions with many answers

Lesson preparation

* prepare a lesson plan
* state clear objectives

Data Analysis: Discriminant analyses were used first to test the extent that Yemen and expatriate teachers differed in their classroom practices and, second, to test the extent teachers differed in their beliefs about effective teaching. Previous research in this area is too scant to support a clear expectation of the magnitude of the relationships to be expected. However, most inputs (e.g., expenditure per pupil, amount of teacher training) account for relatively small amounts of variance in either teachers' classroom behavior or in student achievement. For example, Chapman and Snyder (forthcoming) found that amount of teachers' preservice training explained about 26 percent of the variation in teachers' pedagogical practice. Fuller's (1987) review of the literature on what factors raise student achievement indicated that few variables accounted for more than 10 percent of variation in student achievement. Based on the results of similar studies in other developing countries, group membership was expected to explain between 15-30 percent of the variation in beliefs and in classroom practices.

RESULTS

The discriminant analysis of the differences in classroom practice yielded one significant function with a canonical R_c of .56 ($F = 4.85$; $P < .001$). Thirty-one percent of the variation in teachers' pedagogical practices could be explained by whether they were expatriate or Yemeni (Table 2). As indicated by the item-to-function correlations, the function was defined primarily by differences in amount of teacher talk, use of questions, use of assignments, use of discipline, and use of class discussion. Expatriates tended to rely more on teacher talk and to assign more in-class exercises and homework. In contrast, Yemeni teachers asked more questions and employed more class discussion, but spent more time disciplining students.

TABLE 2
Summary of Discriminant Analysis of Classroom Practices of Yemeni and Expatriate Teachers

Source of Variation	Yemeni X	Expats X	Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients	Item -to- Function Correlat
Questions	10.24	7.67	1.73009	.43302
Organization	16.60	17.10	-1.52575	-.05573
Assignments	.25	.39	-0.71110	-.27101
Management	2.68	3.32	0.39342	-.15831
Discussion	.43	.36	0.25618	.13664
Feedback	3.64	3.15		.16437
Varied activities	3.63	3.97		-.21488
Presentation	17.56	19.21		-.15907
Examples	2.33	2.63		-.20798
Teaching aids	.13	.02		.15207
Focus	3.12	3.30		-.27460
Group Centroids:				
Yemenis	.51			
Expatriates	-.83			

The discriminant analysis of differences in expatriate and Yemeni teachers' beliefs about effective teaching yielded one significant function with a canonical Rc of .39 (F - 3.20; P .03) (Table 3). Fifteen percent of the variation in teacher beliefs was explained by whether the teacher was Yemeni or expatriate. As indicated by the variable-to-function coefficients, the function was defined primarily by the importance teachers assigned to student questions, the use of student seatwork, and to varying instructional activities during the class period.

TABLE 3
Group Means and Discriminant Analysis of Beliefs About Teaching of Yemeni and Expatriate Teachers

Source of Variation	Yemeni X	Exps X	Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients	Item -to- Function Correlat
Varied activities	16.9	18.5	.61464	.62235
Seatwork	10.6	12.4	.58556	.74046
Student questions	26.3	25.6	-.50509	-.36435
Teacher questions	14.7	16.3		.22485
Lesson preparation	13.4	13.3		-.11400
Group Centroids:				
Yemeni	-.32			
Expatriate	.52			

Expatriate teachers assigned the most importance to student seatwork and assigned greater importance to the use of varied instructional activities as an effective pedagogical behavior. In contrast, Yemeni teachers tended to believe that encouraging students to ask questions, engaging in class discussion, and providing good examples were important in increasing student learning.

DISCUSSION

Nationality and Classroom Practices

Teachers in this study worked in essentially the same school contexts, taught the same general student population, and experienced similar constraints. Yet, Yemeni and expatriate teachers differed significantly in their classroom practices. The instructional practices that differed the most between groups centered on teachers' use of discussion, lecture, and classroom discipline. Yemeni teachers made greater use of questions and class discussion, and tended to discipline the class more than did expatriate teachers. Expatriates were more likely to engage in more teacher-talk and make greater use of in- and out-of-class assignments. Overall, classes taught by Yemeni tended to use more interactive methods; classes taught by expatriates were more teacher centered and were characterized by less active student involvement. Beyond these differences, Yemeni and expatriate teachers employed generally similar instructional practices.

One explanation for the observed differences is that the more teacher centered practices of expatriates reflected their own experience as students and training as teachers within their home country. Another possible explanation is that the pattern reflects a defensive reaction to being in a foreign setting. Perhaps expatriates, being foreigners and less aware of the culture, were less comfortable interacting with students. Yemeni teachers, with their better understanding of the culture, may have felt more inclined to engage in discussion directly with individual students.

Results of this study indicated that the instructional practices employed by Yemeni and expatriate teachers were different. The findings provide an empirical basis for the concern of Yemeni parents that the instruction their children receive from expatriate teachers is different from that which they would receive from Yemeni teachers. Which is better is arguable. Presumably, the instructional method resulting in the greatest student learning would be deemed the best. Lacking achievement data, an international research literature offers some basis for speculation about the advantages of each method. In general, greater levels of active student participation (in the form of discussion, answering questions, and small group work) encourage the development of higher order cognitive and problem solving skills. Skill in problem solving aids the pupil in applying the learning to new and novel situations. Lecture, on the other hand, is effective in disseminating facts, but pupils are often less effective in generalizing from their learning to address new situations (see, for example, Clark and Voogel, 1985). Based on these earlier findings, the pedagogical practices of Yemeni teachers would appear to offer the type of classroom experience more often favored in the international literature on effective teaching. The practices which most differentiated Yemeni from expatriate teachers (greater student-teacher interaction as opposed to a more teacher-centered approach) are among those identified in the research literature as promoting higher levels of student achievement.

Such generalizations have to be treated with caution. The effectiveness of any particular set of instructional practices in promoting achievement vary considerably across situations and are not applicable to all students, grade levels, or school settings (Stallings, 1980; Fuller, 1987; Lockheed and Komenan, 1989). For example, student seatwork was positively associated with student achievement in Swaziland, while it had no effect on achievement in Nigeria (Lockheed and Komenan, 1989). Whole class lecture has been found to be more effective for students at higher grades, while small group instruction has been found to be more effective for students at lower grades (Stallings, 1980; McDonald, 1976; Berliner and Tikunoff, 1976). Second, what method raises pupil achievement depends heavily on how achievement is measured. If it is measured as low-level recall of discrete facts (as is often the case on national examinations in developing countries), straight lecture-recitation methods of instruction may yield the best results. If the test requires application of principles to new situations, then instructional methods that involved greater cognitive complexity and problem solving would yield better results.

The findings suggest that Yemeni teachers tended to employ a more interactive approach (in emphasizing discussion, questions, and more active student participation), while the expatriate teachers tended to follow a more teacher-centered approach. While both approaches find support in the literature on effective teaching, Yemeni teachers' practices may be somewhat more effective than those of expatriates, given (1) their greater reliance on class discussion and (2) the strong correlation between discussion and student achievement reported in the literature (Stallings, 1980; Anderson, 1989; Anderson, Ryan and Shapiro, 1989). However, since little is

known about what approach best raises achievement in the Yemeni context, such claims are suggestive at best. Which methods contributes to higher achievement depends heavily on how achievement in measured. If the emphasis is on problem solving, use of discussion and questions are favored; if recall is emphasized, then structured classroom instruction may provide an advantage.

National testing in Yemen tends to favor recall over problem solving. This poses a possible paradox. Students who received instruction predominantly from expatriate teachers would be expected to do better on this type of test. This could lead to the claim that expatriate (as opposed to Yemeni) teachers contribute more to the internal efficiency of education, as evidenced by achievement measures. However, to the extent that students who received instruction from Yemeni teachers have stronger problem solving skills, they may be better equipped to enter the workplace. Instruction from Yemini teachers, then, would favor the external efficiency of education. However, this only emphasizes the earlier point, that measures of internal and external efficiency of education (as indicated by student achievement scores) may be an artifact of testing as much as a consequence of instruction. While the effect of Yemeni and expatriate teaching practices on student achievement still needs to be investigated, these speculations suggest that considerable caution needs to be exercised in that undertaking.

The goal of this study was to empirically test the claim that Yemeni and expatriate teachers teach differently, as part of a larger argument about the appropriateness of Yemen's heavy reliance on expatriate teachers. The purpose was not to make claims about which set of teaching practices is better, but to identify the extent that there were observable differences between teacher groups and the nature of those differences.

Nationality and Beliefs

While teachers' instructional practices are thought to make the greatest difference in student performance, the beliefs teachers express about teaching may have the greatest impact on how they are regarded in the larger community. This study found that Yemeni and expatriate teachers differed significantly in beliefs about what practices would raise student achievement, generally in the same pattern as characterized the differences in their actual classroom practices, though the differences in beliefs were less pronounced than the differences in observed behavior. Yemeni teachers assigned greater importance to student-teacher interaction (asking questions, giving good examples to illustrate ideas) while expatriates assigned more importance to more instructional materials-focused, less interactive strategies (student use of seatwork).

In some countries, teachers' beliefs about what practices constitute effective teaching are not consistent with their pedagogical practices. Often this reflects environmental constraints (lack of instructional materials or headmasters who do not support their ideas) that inhibit teachers from operating in the manner they were taught. The general correspondence of beliefs and practices found in this study suggests that the observed teaching practices were a reasonable expression of what teachers though was effective pedagogy, and not just an artifact of a restrictive work setting.

Policy implications

Findings from this study yield policy implications for both teacher recruitment and instructional supervision.

Teacher recruitment: The pattern of differences in both teachers' beliefs and their pedagogical behavior suggests a basic difference in teachers' notions of effective instruction, one that may fuel the political controversy about the relative merits of expatriate versus Yemeni teachers. Yemeni parents and government officials who suspect students receive a somewhat different educational experience when taught by an expatriate teacher are largely correct. At one level, this difference does not appear to strongly favor one particular group over the other. Both of these approaches are valid and consistent with effective teaching practices. There are advantages to pupils in either classroom--Yemeni teachers may offer a more cognitively challenging experience, while the expatriate teachers may cover more content.

From an immediate policy perspective, the results provide no evidence to support national policies that might discourage the use of expatriate teachers. Expatriate teachers do not represent a threat to the quality of instruction or provide less relevant instruction than do Yemeni teachers. The use of expatriate teachers helps reduce the teacher shortage while contributing to the receiving country's economy. Given current economic factors, the use of expatriate teachers remains a highly credible alternative to meet development needs of the education system while avoiding the negative consequences of other alternatives such as allowing less qualified teachers into the system.

Instructional supervision: School supervisors at the national level issue annual imperatives telling the teachers what curriculum to teach. Supervisors at the regional level pay on-sight visits to ensure teachers teach according to directives. As in many countries, instructional supervision visits are aimed at monitoring compliance with ministry regulations more than at providing in-service upgrading of teaching practices. Consequently, neither school nor regional supervisors do much to address the particular pedagogical approach teachers use. Closer supervision of teachers, at least as it is presently done, will not result in diminished concern over the differences in the instruction pupils receive from Yemeni versus foreign teachers. Supervision does little to address the level at which the real differences emerge.

Results do, however, provide a basis for a more informed discussion among government officials, educators and parents concerned with both the provision of a sufficient teaching force and the influence of expatriate teachers on the educational experience of their pupils. The pattern of differences in the classroom practices of these teacher groups allows for a more explicit consideration of the trade-offs imbedded in Yemen's use of expatriate teachers.

Notes

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