

# **The roles and positioning of non-English speaking background overseas-trained teachers in the Australian public school system**

**by Germana G. I. Eckert**

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for  
the degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy (Education)**

under the supervision of Dr Jacqueline Widin  
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March 2022

## Certificate of original authorship

I, Germana Eckert, declare that this thesis, is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy (Education) in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Technology Sydney. This thesis is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis. This document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution. This research is supported by the Australian Government Research Training Program.

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21 March 2022

***This research is supported by an Australian Government Research Training Program***

## Acknowledgements

I commenced my PhD research project five years ago with a slight sense of trepidation for what it would be and what I would make it become. The process has, of course, fundamentally changed me and the experience has afforded to me the opportunity to develop. As Bourdieu would say, I was afforded entry to the field, and I brought to the field my habitus and capital. Through my navigation of and experiences in the field I have accrued capital and my habitus has been broadened. It is an enormous privilege to have been given.

I am grateful to the many individuals who generously supported me through my development of this thesis; the agents in the field who not only took part in my game but who helped me to advance at every step. They have guided me to learn more than I could ever have imagined. In particular I would like to thank and acknowledge:

- My wonderfully wise and ever supportive supervisor Jacqueline Widin. Thank you for your empathy. You have always treated me as a peer, and provided the balance between supporting me and allowing me to get there myself; thank you for your patience in waiting for me to figure out when I was ready. Thank you also for sharing with me your knowledge of Bourdieu and Bourdieu's conceptual lens, and opening up another way of seeing for me.
- My co-supervisor John Buchanan. Thank you for your insight and experience. I am grateful for the time you have given to reading my work, and your invaluable feedback, always delivered in a positive manner, and through which I could learn and grow.
- My research participants who gave generously of their time and who entrusted me with their experiences. I thank you for your candour in sharing part of your lives with me.
- The New South Wales Department of Education, and the schools I visited to conduct the interviews, without whose permission I would not have been able to access the data.

- My colleagues for their intellectual contributions. Thank you, Ross Forman, my initial primary supervisor. I wish you could have been here to see the outcome. Thank you also to Nick Hopwood for your support, helpful guidance, and encouragement. Thank you to the wonderful people who work behind the scenes in the UTS FASS Faculty Research Office. Thanks also go to Liam Morgan and Jennifer Hammond for their support at the outset of this project.
- I am extremely grateful to Russell Walton (University of Wollongong) for his professional editorial work in formatting and APA 7 editing of the final document.
- My brother-in-law Nigel Cadogan and friend Suzanne Cole who gave generously of their time to read sections of my writing. Thank you for tackling my writing on Bourdieu's concepts.
- My parents for teaching me the value of language, culture and education, and my siblings for always reminding me to keep my feet on the ground.
- My children, Stefanie Greta and Eve Vittoria, who are my constant inspiration and my biggest fans, encouraging me daily and setting me realistic targets to write some more words for my "big book".
- My husband Paul, for his endless patience and support. Thank you for sharing the magic coffee table load, and thank you for always supporting me to chase my dreams.

And finally, thank you to Pierre Bourdieu, whose contribution to my studies and conceptual lens were invaluable in developing my understanding of the world. Loïc Wacquant (2003) wrote in Bourdieu's obituary of "the thousands of scholars and countless citizens across the globe whose way of looking at and acting in the social world were altered by his thought and works, in ways big and small they have yet to fully comprehend" (p. 480).

## Statement indicating the format of thesis

This is a conventionally formatted thesis structured as a series of chapters. These chapter titles can be found in the table of contents from page ix.

## Publications and presentations

- Eckert, G. (2020). Strategies used by plurilingual international educators in the Australian education field. In P. Iida, T. Reagan, J. W. Schwieter, C. T. McGivern, & J. Man-Bo Ho (Eds.), *Readings in language studies Volume 8: Critical perspectives on teaching, learning, and society* (pp. 152–171). International Society for Language Studies.
- Eckert, G. (2020, October 30–31). *The linguistic markets of Sydney primary schools: Language practices de/valued; mis/recognised; and under/utilised* [Paper presentation]. 15th International Conference of the Association for Language Awareness (ALA), Melbourne, Australia.
- Eckert, G. (2019, June 20–22). *Language use in linguistically diverse classrooms in Australia: Monolingualism versus plurilinguals' language rights* [Paper presentation]. International Society for Language Studies Annual Conference, Hong Kong.
- Eckert, G. (2018, September 8). *New trends in approaches to language in Australian schools: What kind of lingualism is this, anyway?* [Paper presentation]. New Trends in English Language Teaching Conference, Istanbul, Turkey.
- Eckert, G. (2018, June 27–30). When heterogeneity meets homogeneity: Non-English-speaking-background overseas-trained teachers' language use and cultural awareness within the Australian public school system [Paper presentation]. SS22 Sociolinguistics Symposium, Auckland, New Zealand.

## Abstract

This thesis focuses on bilingual/plurilingual school teachers who are working in the Australian education field. The research investigates the ways in which these teachers are differentially denied or allowed access to the Australian education field, and ways in which these teachers, rich in plurilingual and pluricultural experience, are legitimated once they are employed in the public school system.

Bourdieu's key concepts of fields of power, capital and habitus provide the primary analytical lens for this research; Fairclough's critical discourse analysis is a complementary tool for an investigation into how the teachers are positioned in the field. This qualitative research draws on analyses of institutional documents pertaining to Australian education as well as case study interviews with teachers.

Much has been documented concerning the challenges and hurdles facing non-English-speaking-background (NESB) overseas-trained teachers in Australian schools. This research explores where these teachers are located in the field; the habitus of these teachers; the strategies these teachers have demonstrated to accumulate capital, and; how, or indeed whether, these strategies have changed the logic of practice in the field. The study investigates various forms of cultural capital, for example, language awareness and ability, and cultural awareness or understanding, and how these are accumulated and valued in the field. The research maps the linguistic markets within the schools and across communities.

The study found that the hegemonic practices of the field, such as the use of English as the solely legitimated language and the ways in which languages other than English are subjugated, are successful in maintaining their dominance over the field and thus delegitimate dominated languages and cultures in the field. The study's findings and analysis illuminate the impediments facing bilingual/plurilingual teachers in Australia. The thesis provides great insight into the teachers' dispositions and how their habitus continually shapes and is shaped by the field; it shows how the power relations in the field are established through the interpretations made by dominant agents in the sites

of practice. The research uncovers how the logic of practice and doxa of the field are open to interpretations due to the unclear and at times contradictory messages around language practices at the policy/political level. Ultimately, the thesis also shows the ways in which the IEs themselves uphold the hegemonic practices of the field through their misrecognition of the logic of practice of the field.

# Table of Contents

Certificate of original authorship .....	ii
Acknowledgements .....	iii
Statement indicating the format of thesis .....	v
Publications and presentations .....	vi
Abstract.....	vii
Table of Contents .....	ix
List of figures.....	xiv
List of tables .....	xv
List of Extracts .....	xvi
Glossary .....	xvii
Chapter 1: Introduction .....	1
1.1 Overview .....	1
1.2 Motivation: The trajectory that brought me to this study .....	2
1.3 Background to the study.....	7
1.4 Overall Aim of Research.....	9
1.5 Overall research question.....	10
1.5.1 Research focus 1: Legitimate and illegitimate languages and recognition of capital in the field.....	11
1.5.2 Research focus 2: The linguistic habituses of the IEs.....	11
1.5.3 Research focus 3: The strategies of the IEs as they navigate the field.....	12
1.6 Significance of the study .....	12
1.7 Thesis structure .....	14
1.8 Chapter 1 summary .....	15
Chapter 2: The Conceptual Framework.....	16
2.1 Introduction .....	16
2.2 Why Bourdieu? .....	17

2.3 Bourdieu's theories as applied to diversity and language .....	18
2.3.1 Bourdieu's concepts: <i>The Field and the Field of Power</i> .....	20
2.3.2 Bourdieu's concepts: <i>The logic of practice (le sens pratique)</i> .....	23
2.3.3 Bourdieu's concepts: <i>Capital and habitus</i> .....	24
2.3.4 Bourdieu's concepts: <i>Linguistic habitus and linguistic markets</i> .....	29
2.3.5 Bourdieu's concepts: <i>Legitimation and doxa</i> .....	31
2.3.6 Bourdieu's concepts: <i>Illusio</i> .....	34
2.3.7 Bourdieu's concepts: <i>Struggles in the field, symbolic violence, and strategies of the dominant and dominated</i> .....	35
2.4 Critical discourse analysis (CDA) .....	40
2.5 Chapter 2 summary .....	42
<b>Chapter 3: Context and Literature Review.....</b>	<b>44</b>
3.1 Introduction .....	44
3.2 The field of power.....	45
3.2.1 <i>Multicultural Australia</i> .....	45
3.2.2 <i>Multilingual Australia</i> .....	58
3.2.3 <i>Multilingual education in Australia</i> .....	62
3.3 The logic of practice of the field .....	68
3.4 The agents operating within the field.....	72
3.4.1 <i>The international educators</i> .....	72
3.4.2 <i>The naming and positioning of IEs as reflected in the research</i> .....	75
3.5 Chapter 3 summary .....	78
<b>Chapter 4: Methodology.....</b>	<b>79</b>
4.1 Introduction and overview .....	79
4.2 Research design .....	81
4.3 Data collection methods.....	84
4.3.1 <i>Case study interviews</i> .....	84
4.3.2 <i>Critical discourse analysis</i> .....	87
4.3.3 <i>Case studies: Ensuring trustworthiness and credibility</i> .....	90
4.4 Participants and site selection .....	92
4.4.1 <i>Participants: The international educators (IEs)</i> .....	92
4.4.2 <i>Sites</i> .....	94

4.5 Researcher roles .....	95
4.6 Data collection procedures .....	98
4.6.1 Recruitment .....	98
4.6.2 Interview procedures .....	99
4.7 Data analysis .....	102
4.8 Ethics .....	109
4.8.1 Informed consent .....	109
4.8.2 Data storage .....	110
4.8.3 Anonymity .....	110
4.8.4 Risk minimisation .....	111
4.9 Limitations of methods used .....	111
4.10 Chapter 4 summary .....	112
<b>Chapter 5: Findings – The field .....</b>	<b>113</b>
5.1 Introduction .....	113
5.2 The field Part 1: Analysis of institutional documentation .....	113
5.2.1 Critical discourse analysis of the selected documents: Three levels of analysis .....	119
5.3 Summary of the field Part 1: Analysis of institutional documentation .....	156
5.4 The field Part 2: The international educators .....	157
5.4.1 The capital to which the IEs had access when navigating the field .....	158
5.4.2 The IEs' accumulation of capital .....	169
5.4.3 The logic of practice of the field from the IEs' perspectives .....	176
5.4.4 Shifting fields, transforming habituses and becoming fish in water .....	180
5.5 Summary of the field Part 2: The international educators .....	183
5.6 Chapter 5 summary .....	184
<b>Chapter 6: Findings – The Linguistic Habituses of the IEs .....</b>	<b>186</b>
6.1 Introduction .....	186
6.2 Linguistic habitus: Agnes .....	187
6.2.1 Growing up .....	187
6.2.2 Language and teaching .....	187
6.3 Linguistic habitus: Asha .....	194
6.3.1 Growing up .....	194
6.3.2 Language and teaching .....	196

6.4 Linguistic habitus: Joy .....	205
6.4.1 <i>Growing up</i> .....	205
6.4.2 <i>Language and teaching</i> .....	208
6.5 Linguistic habitus: Sada.....	213
6.5.1 <i>Growing up</i> .....	213
6.5.2 <i>Language and teaching</i> .....	214
6.6 Chapter 6 summary .....	219

## Chapter 7: Findings – The strategies of the IEs ..... 223

7.1 Introduction .....	223
7.2 Collaboration .....	225
7.2.1 <i>Agnes</i> .....	226
7.2.2 <i>Asha</i> .....	228
7.2.3 <i>Joy</i> .....	232
7.2.4 <i>Sada</i> .....	238
7.3 Defiance .....	243
7.3.1 <i>Agnes</i> .....	243
7.3.2 <i>Asha</i> .....	247
7.4 Acquiescence .....	250
7.4.1 <i>Agnes</i> .....	250
7.4.2 <i>Asha</i> .....	258
7.5 Subversion .....	260
7.5.1 <i>Agnes</i> .....	260
7.5.2 <i>Asha</i> .....	264
7.5.3 <i>Sada</i> .....	264
7.6 Chapter 7 summary .....	267

## Chapter 8: Discussion ..... 269

8.1 Introduction .....	269
8.2 Key findings.....	272
8.2.1 <i>Institutional perspectives on language</i> .....	272
8.2.2 <i>The position of languages in the field</i> .....	284
8.2.3 <i>The struggles in the field</i> .....	292
8.3 Linguistic markets .....	295

8.4 Chapter 8 Summary .....	302
<b>Chapter 9: Conclusion.....</b>	<b>304</b>
9.1 Overview .....	304
9.2 Languages, cultures and context .....	304
9.3 Key findings.....	306
9.3.1 Key findings: Institutional perspectives on language .....	307
9.3.2 Key findings: The position of languages in the field .....	310
9.3.3 Key findings: The struggles in the field.....	312
9.4 Summary of findings .....	314
9.5 Contribution of the research .....	315
9.5.1 Contribution of the research design .....	315
9.5.2 Contribution of the conceptual and analytical frameworks.....	318
9.5.3 Limitations of the research.....	319
9.6 Implications of the research .....	320
9.7 Future research.....	324
9.8 Reflections and conclusion .....	327
<b>Reference List.....</b>	<b>330</b>
<b>List of Appendices .....</b>	<b>361</b>
Appendix A Documents analysed using CDA.....	362
Appendix B Table 1: CDA document categories .....	365
Appendix C Details of IE interviews .....	366
Appendix D IE Semi-structured interview protocol for IEs.....	367
Appendix E Sample IE interview transcripts .....	368
Appendix F Capital and strategies sample mapping tools.....	387
Appendix G Ethics approvals .....	392
Appendix H Informed consent for IEs.....	395
Appendix I Extracted pages of documents analysed using CDA.....	396
Appendix J Readings in language studies Volume 8, 2020, pp. 153-171.....	416

## List of figures

Figure 1 Selection of labels given to overseas trained teachers in the literature .....	76
Figure 2 The four elements of research (Crotty, 1998, p. 4) .....	81
Figure 3 Examples of informative text types in the documentation (NSW DoE, 2017; 2020b; 2020d; 2020g) .....	123
Figure 4 Examples of persuasive text types in the documentation (NSW DoE, 2020b; 2020d; 2020g) .....	124
Figure 5 The linguistic markets and agents operating in the school/classroom .....	298
Figure 6 The linguistic markets and agents operating in the workplace .....	299
Figure 7 The linguistic market of the school .....	300
Figure 8 The linguistic market of the workplace .....	300

## List of tables

Table 1 CDA document categories.....	89
Table 2 General information on the four IE participants .....	93
Table 3 Text types contained in the documents analysed .....	121
Table 4 Macro-level analysis.....	126
Table 5 Instances of lexis mentioned in the multicultural report (NSW DoE, 2019b) .	146
Table 6 IEs' linguistic markets, structures and agents within them .....	298
Table 7 Monolingual and multilingual views (Cenoz, 2019, p. 74).....	323

## List of Extracts

Extract 1 Multicultural report (NSW DoE, 2019b, p. 2) .....	116
Extract 2 Multicultural report (NSW DoE, 2019b, p. 6) .....	117
Extract 3 Multicultural report (NSW DoE, 2019b, p. 8) .....	118
Extract 4 Inclusion strategy (NSW DoE, 2018, para. 1).....	132
Extract 5 Multicultural plan (NSW DoE, 2020f, p. 6) .....	132
Extract 6 2019 annual report (NSW DoE, 2020b, p. 121) .....	138
Extract 7 2019 annual report (NSW DoE, 2020b, p. 122) .....	139
Extract 8 Inclusion strategy (media) (NSW DoE, 2018, para. 1) .....	140
Extract 9 Inclusion strategy (NSW DoE, 2020d, para. 11).....	140
Extract 10 EAL/D advice handbook (NSW DoE, 2020e, p. 20) .....	149
Extract 11 EAL/D advice (NSW DoE, 2020e, p. 57) .....	151
Extract 12 EAL/D overview (ACARA, 2014, pp. 22–23).....	155
Extract 13 EAL/D overview (ACARA, 2014, p. 23) .....	156

## Glossary

ACARA	Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority
BICS	Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills
BOSTES	Board of Studies, Teaching and Educational Standards. The NSW Education Standards Authority (NESA) replaced BOSTES on 1 January 2017.
CALD	Culturally and linguistically diverse
CALP	Cognitive academic language proficiency
Capital	Bourdieuian concept. The values and resources a person possesses. See Chapter Two for further details.
Casual relief teacher	A teacher accredited to teach in NSW public schools, but who does not have a permanent position in a school. A casual relief teacher is called in by the school or a teacher to relieve a permanent classroom teacher when they are away from their class.
Casual teacher	See Casual Relief teacher
Community Languages Program	This program is managed by the NSW Department of Education and offers tuition in approximately 60 languages to NSW school students from Kindergarten to the final year of schooling in NSW, Year 12. Classes are offered to students outside of school hours. However, if there is a sufficiently large community group in one school, that school can apply for additional funding through the Community Languages Program and the classes are offered to students of that community background during school hours.
EAL/D	English as an additional language or dialect. The acronym is used in NSW schools to identify students who are from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds and who speak, or whose carers speak, a LOTE at home.

EAL/D learning progression	Describes the progression of English language learning typical of students learning English as an additional language or dialect. It is designed to be used by all teachers to understand the diverse phases of English language learning. It is thus also used to ascertain and monitor students' location and progression through the phases.
ELICOS	English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students. Under Australian legislation, international students in Australia who are studying English must study ELICOS-registered courses in ELICOS registered colleges.
ESL	English as a Second Language
Field	Bourdieuian concept. The setting in which agents are located. See Chapter Two for further details.
Game	Bourdieuian concept. The practices which occur in fields. See Chapter Two for further details.
Habitus	Bourdieuian concept. A person's dispositions and values. See Chapter Two for further details.
HSC	Higher School Certificate matriculation exams
IEs	International Educators
L1	First language
Leave	Holiday, maternity, carer's, etc.
Linguistic capital	Bourdieuian concept. A person's knowledge of language/s. See Chapter Two for further details.
Linguistic market	Bourdieuian concept. A symbolic marketplace where different languages have different values. See Chapter Two for further details.
LGBTQI	Acronym used to identify people who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, queer/questioning, or asexual
Logic of practice	Bourdieuian concept. The ways in which people are predisposed to act in different fields. See Chapter Two for further details.
LOTE	Languages of the Earth; Languages Other Than English

NESB	Non-English-speaking background
NESA	NSW Education Standards Authority
Newcomers	Bourdieuian concept. See Chapter Two for further details.
NSW	New South Wales. Australia's oldest and most populous state.
NSW DoE	New South Wales Department of Education (State level)
Players	Bourdieuian concept. The agents/people who play the game in the field. See Chapter Two for further details.
Regular classroom teacher	A teacher who teaches mainstream Kindergarten to 6th grade classes
RFF	Release from face-to-face teaching
SAE	Standard Australian English
Site of practice	Bourdieuian concept. The specific sites within a field. See Chapter Two for further details.
Special needs students	Students who have learning and support needs, including students with intellectual disability, mental health issues, autism, physical disability, sensory impairment, and students with learning difficulties or behaviour disorder.
Teacher accreditation	Before teachers are able to teach in NSW public schools, they must go through an accreditation process, where they need to show evidence of their qualifications, ongoing teaching experience, and ongoing professional development and professional learning.
Teaching in blocks	When casual teachers (see Casual teachers in this glossary) are called in to teach a class or work at a school for more than a few days. The 'block' period can be anything from several weeks to a year.
TESOL	Teaching English as a Second or Other Language
Withdrawal groups	EAL/D students are withdrawn from class in groups to do intensive English learning. These groups are informally called withdrawal groups.



# Chapter 1: Introduction

## **1.1 Overview**

This thesis addresses the nature of the impact of international educators in NSW public primary schools. The findings from my research have been analysed using the conceptual tools of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. This first chapter begins with my motivation for undertaking research into the values and positioning of both overseas educators and languages in NSW primary schools. This initial chapter also presents a background to my study; an overview of the Australian linguistic landscape and the values attributed to languages and speakers of languages other than English in Australia.

This introductory chapter then presents the overall aim of my research and the core research themes which guided me through the study and towards answering the research question. Following from this, the significance of the study is presented, after which the form and structure of the thesis is outlined.

The final section consists of an overview of the consolidation of the findings and discussion chapters, followed by a summary of the dissertation. Due to the fact that the conceptual framework for my research is based on Bourdieusian concepts, in this introductory chapter these concepts have been italicised, indicating that a brief explanation of each concept is included in the Glossary. More detailed discussions of the concepts and their applicability to my research can be found in Chapter Two.

## **1.2 Motivation: The trajectory that brought me to this study**

Reflecting on the trajectory that led me to this research takes me along a path to the stories I have heard my family tell since I was old enough to listen. These stories are the steppingstones in the journey to who I am (my *habitus*), why I was drawn to research on language and otherness in Australian education, and why Bourdieu's thinking tools were so appropriate for my conceptual framework. Here I present the most significant of these stories, the largest of those steppingstones, and their applicability to my trajectory and my adoption of Bourdieu's notions.

The experiences recounted to me by the participating international educators resonate with my own experiences and *habitus*. My family's voyage from post-war Europe to Australia was, like most in the mid-1950s, long and uncomfortable. My sister was cranky that my parents had jumped at the offer to migrate to Australia instead of waiting to see if approval from Canada was forthcoming. My Italian mother, Bibi, was cranky that she, my sister, and my brother were bunking in one part of the ship while my father, Herbert, was in a different part of the vessel with all the other men. Herbert was bewildered that he had had to pay not only for his passage but also for that of his wife and two children: As a German national, Australia would not pay his fare. Then, when Bibi had married him, she had had to renounce her Italian citizenship and take on that of her husband, so Australia would not pay for hers either, or that of my two siblings. My family was already showing signs of complexity and otherness.

My sister's crankiness is for me a symbol of the randomness of their choice of Australia, and the urgency to start a new life on what my parents might have thought was a more solid footing. Bibi's crankiness and Herbert's bewilderment reflect their frustration at not being treated the same as other

migrants might be treated, especially given the family had had to pay for their passage.

My family were travelling to a new life; newcomers to a new *game* with possibilities of advancing in the *field*, of changing the *logic of practice* of the *field*. I am not sure of the extent to which they realised they would not always be treated the same as other *players* in the *field*. I wonder at their process of becoming aware of the *capital* to which they had access: How much of their playing the *game* was calculated, and how much was made up as they went along, relying on need and determination to have their *capital* recognised as valuable in their new country.

Early in the voyage to these new *games*, the ship's crew asked the passengers if any of them could speak English. Herbert, the polyglot, said he could, and so he was recruited as the ship's English language teacher. He was instructed to teach the passengers to sing 'How much is that Doggy in the Window' in English. My sister and brother stared, mouths agape, when they first heard Herbert speaking English. They had had no idea he could. My family often laugh at the ridiculousness of the crew's request, of the subject matter of the lessons, of the sheer number of passengers Herbert was expected to teach. Our *linguistic capital* allows us to realise the ludicrousness of the idea of Herbert as the English teacher, teaching this nonsensical song on the migrant ship as part of what the ship's crew considered to be a language lesson for migrants soon to be living in an English-speaking country.

During the war as a communications officer, Herbert had learnt French, Russian, Spanish, English, and more. First, he would read a foreign language book while using a bilingual dictionary to look up each new word. Then he would go and sit in a bar or café and eavesdrop on people speaking to each other. And so, Herbert learnt to speak other languages fluently. His motivation may have been to survive the war, but it was also born from an intrinsic desire

to connect with others. His ability to speak other languages also set him apart from other soldiers. "Watch out for him! He can understand what you're saying." the bar owners would warn their patrons when Herbert walked in, thus simultaneously setting him apart from the other *players* in that particular *game*, and giving him access to the *capital* needed to deal with being a newcomer in any future *game* he chose to join.

When Herbert and Bibi met and fell in love, language barriers were the least of their problems. Herbert was German, in love with an Italian girl, who was equally in love with him, at the end of the war. 'Gnoccho' (Dumpling) was one of the most disparaging of Italian terms for a German person, and this is what Bibi's family called Herbert for the rest of his life. It was a constant reminder; for Herbert that he was different and was not to be accepted; for Bibi of the 'wrong' choice she had made; and for us kids of our apparently less than ideal heritage. In the *site of practice* of our Italian side of the family, we had access to almost no *capital* of any value. Bibi and Herbert showed us that we should laugh away any absurd notion that we should actually care about that particular *site of practice*.

Soon after Herbert and Bibi met, Herbert got word he was being shipped out. Weeks passed, and Bibi was resigned to the fact that she would never see her German love again. But soon after Herbert shipped out, his company had been captured by Russian soldiers and taken to a prisoner of war camp in Poland. On his first night in the camp, Herbert and another soldier escaped and sought refuge at a nearby farm. The farmer gave them food and shelter for the night, and the morning after Herbert started the long walk back to Italy and Bibi. A few weeks later, Bibi, who had lost all hope of ever seeing Herbert again, was walking with her father in the main piazza. Herbert had just arrived in town, and when he spotted them, he walked up behind them, stood between them, put his arms around both, and asked in Italian "So, how is everything?"

Herbert never spoke of that walk from Poland to Italy as being a difficult one. But neither did he talk about the choice he made to *play* the more challenging *game*. I think for Herbert, it was an easy choice of a more exciting life; a life open to broader possibilities and ideas, people and experiences. He did not fear being the newcomer or the 'other', rather he revelled in the discovery of the new.

Bibi was the same. She had chosen to be the wife of a German man, and in post-war Italy, Herbert had to travel all over Italy for work, leaving Bibi alone with a newborn, and lonely. She too had chosen the more difficult path. Yet, in Australia she always bemoaned the monotony of the country; from the cuisine to the landscape. When their ship finally pulled into Fremantle, as far as the eye could see were rusty corrugated iron shacks. Bibi took one look at all the boring monotony and wailed "I want to go home now!"

Yet stay they did, and not only did they *play* the *game*, but they were part of the post-war wave of migrants who changed the *game*, the *logic of practice*, and the *field* in Australia. They advanced their positions in the *field*; Herbert became an architectural draughtsman for the NSW Electricity Commission and designed many of the largest power stations still in use around NSW. Bibi, (who became known as Vinnie in Australia because Bibi was just too difficult to pronounce) became a teacher and taught Mathematics and Art at secondary school and Italian with the Community Languages Program.

They succeeded in the *game*.

When you look at me you see what you might say is the stereotypical Aussie. I am white. I have blue eyes, dark blonde hair, and I speak English with an Australian accent. I am a proud Sydneysider; I was born here. Yet through the *habitus* of my family which is built into my own *habitus* I have lived what it is to be different. All these experiences of otherness and connection, of hardship and opportunity make up my *habitus*. They are a part of me and lived by me.

My first language is Italian, closely followed by German and English. As a little girl my father read bedtime stories to me in French, and I took lessons at the Alliance Française. My lunches were fresh ham sandwiches on crusty rolls, or freshly baked Italian focaccia bread, while my friends had white sliced bread with margarine, processed cheese, and iceberg lettuce. At primary school some of the boys would tease me by goose-stepping around me; I did not understand what they were doing, but I knew that I was being singled out as different.

I have lived the unfairness of being treated differently because of who my parents were and who I am. I have lived the feeling of knowing that I am other or new to the *game*, and of figuring out what I need to do to be accepted into the *game*. I have lived the knowledge of what it means to really speak a language (compared to learning how to sing a song in a language you do not understand). I have experienced the motivations for learning another language, the elements required to acquire that new language, and all the nuances of language use, pragmatics, and language practices that are wrapped up in speaking another language.

I have also lived the possibilities and opportunities on offer in Australia. As the daughter of newcomers who *played* the *game* and changed the *logic of practice* of the *field*, I have had access to opportunities to reach high. My German father, the English teacher on the migrant ship and architectural draftsman, and my Italian mother, the International Educator, placed those initial steppingstones for me so that I could one day continue with my own.

This dissertation is just one of my steppingstones. In it, the threads of otherness, of newcomers, of language, and of the changing Australian society which exist in my trajectory have been woven together and examined through Bourdieu's conceptual lens.

### **1.3 Background to the study**

When I began this research Australia's Prime Minister at the time, Malcolm Turnbull, announced changes to the skilled (457) visa process. The Australian media were full of opinions on these changes, with many declaring that making it more difficult for people to obtain Australian permanent residency and citizenship would be good for Australia (7 News Melbourne, 2017; SBS News, 2017; White, 2017).

The 2020 COVID pandemic saw yet another surge of nationalistic fervour (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2020; Peucker, 2020; Woods et al., 2020) with many Australians declaring that those same skilled visa holders should not be given any support from the Australian government, despite the fact that they pay taxes in Australia. Rather, these workers should just return home now that the jobs for them have gone and so many Australians are out of work (Berg & Farbenblum, 2020; Carland, 2020; Peucker, 2020).

The Australian Federal Government's proposal to test the English of people wanting to live in Australia on spouse visas (McNeill, 2020) further emphasises Australia's critical cosmopolitan paradigm (Holliday, 2011) where governments imprint their ideologies onto the approach towards and values attributed to Australian multiculturalism and multilingualism. The main reasons against migration are never clearly elaborated on, but the general tenor is that any changes to migration policy should help to keep Australia as it is now. Mostly this argument seems to be based on a resistance to globalisation, and thus a nationalistic fervour; a sense that we should remain as we always have been, and not have any changes thrust upon the 'Australian way of life' and values as a result of transnational skills migration. There is a sense that Australia should somehow strive to be normative, and that allowing skilled workers to come into our country, or supporting those

tax-paying workers through a pandemic, will create change and a new pluralism which has not been seen before.

A different perspective is offered by Brahm Levey (2019), who argues that Australia's current multicultural policy is neoliberal in its approach, with migrants bearing the sole responsibility for their adjustment to Australian society. As such, the Australian government's current policy on multiculturalism has been "mainstreamed" (Brahm Levey, 2019, p. 457), to the point where support for multiculturalism and for culturally and linguistically diverse Australians is no longer required. Australian multiculturalism has been deemed a success by the current Government because they believe that differences have all but disappeared, and Australia has become a normative society (Brahm Levey, 2019).

However, cultural diversity, especially in cities, is not new (King, 2016), and many have argued that "multilingualism has been normative for millennia" (Adams, 2003; Blanc, 2008; Mullen & James, 2012, as cited in Sachdev & Cartwright 2016, p. 17). Furthermore, those cities which are most successful are the ones which attract multinational corporations and international employees:

During the millennia since Athens first attracted the finest minds of the Mediterranean world, cities have grown by attracting people from diverse cultures. The most successful cities today – London, Bangalore, Singapore, New York – still connect continents. Such cities attract multinational enterprises and international expatriates. Immigrants are often a vital part of their economic model, both at the top and bottom ends of the pay scale. (Glaeser, 2011, p. 251)

Those same people who have heralded these 457 visa changes and supported the treatment of these 457 visa holders during COVID would probably also

agree that Australian multiculturalism pervades almost every section of our society. In fact, without transnational movement of peoples from non-English-speaking countries Australia would not be able to fill the current shortage of positions in vital sectors such as education (Collins & Reid, 2012; McKinnon, 2016; Reid et al., 2010, 2014). Furthermore, researchers have also noted that teachers with global, plurilingual and intra-and inter-cultural awareness are an asset to those countries in which they choose to settle (Guo & Singh, 2009; Miller, 2007, 2008a, 2008b; Murray et al., 2014; Reid et al., 2014).

Each change announced by our successive governments tends to re-ignite strong opinions from Australian society in general. “Debates about the merits of cultural diversity and the policy of multiculturalism in Australia” (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010, p. 34) started long before that announcement from Prime Minister Turnbull, and studies and works cited by Dandy and Pe-Pua (Ang et al., 2002; Ang et al., 2006, as cited in Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010) have shown that Australian society is “ambivalent about the value of cultural diversity” (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010, p. 35), and there exists merely a practical tolerance to multiculturalism. Piller (2016) and Weinmann et al. (2020) also describe Australia’s ambivalence towards the ways in which Australian multilingualism and monolingualism coexist. To what extent this is reflected within NSW Government departments and, specifically, the NSW Department of Education (NSW DoE) and individual NSW public schools, is not known. This dissertation presents my research on non-English-speaking background and overseas-trained teachers (henceforth referred to as International Educators, or IEs) and their experiences working in NSW public schools.

#### **1.4 Overall Aim of Research**

The research I have undertaken is a qualitative study into the experiences of International Educators in the sites of practice in the *field* of education in NSW. In my research, I have used Bourdieu’s *thinking tools* as the basis of my conceptual and analytical frameworks. The relational nature of Bourdieu’s

concepts has enabled me to analyse and draw conclusions regarding values and positionings of International Educators in the *field* of education in NSW without the need for subjective comparisons of the agents in the *field*. Analysing the *field* and the agents in the *field* through a Bourdieusian lens also allowed for analysis of the ways in which the diverse forces at play within the *field* operate with and against one another to form the status quo, or in Bourdieusian terms, the *logic of practice* of the *field* (further explanation of which is provided in Chapter Two).

The research investigates how International Educators are differentially allowed and denied access to the education *field* in NSW and how such people are legitimated or delegitimated. In doing so, the research draws conclusions regarding the linguistic markets in the sites of practice of the *field*, as well as the extent of changes in the *logic of practice* in the *field*. Consequently, conclusions are also drawn regarding the positioning of language in the *field*.

### 1.5 Overall research question

The question guiding this research is:

***What are the positionings and power relations between the structures and international educator agents operating within the field of education in Australia, and specifically NSW?***

My research question looks specifically at the language practices, positionings and power relations of agents within the *field* of education in NSW primary schools. Given the relational nature of Bourdieu's thinking tools (further explained in Chapter Two) it was necessary to analyse;

- the *field* of power
- the *linguistic habituses* of the International Educator participants in my study, and

- the strategies these International Educators demonstrated when navigating the *field*.

My research question led me to investigate the experiences of IEs in order to show what these experiences reveal about the approaches towards and positioning of language and culture in NSW public schools. In addition, analysis of these experiences sheds light on the extent to which these plurilingual and pluricultural teachers may have changed the *logic of practice* of the *field* of education in NSW.

The research was then organised into three research focus themes, allowing me to draw conclusions which directly refer to my main research question.

These three themes are listed and elaborated on below:

#### *1.5.1 Research focus 1: Legitimate and illegitimate languages and recognition of capital in the field*

The focus here is on the IEs' experiences when they first came to Australia in terms of the legitimacy of their linguistic & professional *capital*. In addition, document analysis revealed the positioning of the main institutions and structures (See Chapter 2 for more on Bourdieu's notion of structures) in the *field*, along with their attitude towards languages in the *field* of education in NSW. Thus, this theme revealed information on the extent and ways in which policies and approaches towards multiculturalism and multilingualism have affected the experiences of IEs in Australia.

#### *1.5.2 Research focus 2: The linguistic habituses of the IEs*

Here, the research focussed on the linguistic environments of the IEs' upbringings, and their language use in their workplaces in interactions with students and parents. This second theme therefore shed light on the value of, positioning of, and approach towards language and multiculturalism in the

*field* of education in Australia/NSW. In addition, this theme identified the linguistic markets of the field.

### ***1.5.3 Research focus 3: The strategies of the IEs as they navigate the field***

This final focus investigated the strategies displayed by the IEs in relation to language and language practices when navigating the *field*. Consequently, this theme revealed data on the extent to which the multicultural and multilingual profile of stakeholders in the *field* has been able to change the *logic of practice* of the *field*.

## **1.6 Significance of the study**

My research seeks to add four case studies to the body of research into non-native and non-English-speaking teachers working in NSW public schools, and more specifically into language practices in educational contexts in Australia. This study documents the experiences of four vastly diverse IEs working in NSW elementary classrooms, and the research is approached from the perspective of the value these IEs bring to their roles as teachers. These IEs are more often regarded in terms of their deficits, rather than the value which they bring to the Australian context. This is evidenced by the overly complex and confusing pathway into teaching in Australia for these thousands of teachers, with only one bridging course in Australia currently offered for IEs in Australia (Dunn, 2021). This study also adds to the growing body of research utilising Bourdieu's conceptual lens to analyse contemporary struggles. As Bourdieu (1990b) notes:

The object of social science is a reality that encompasses all the individual and collective struggles aimed at conserving or transforming reality, in particular those that seek to impose the legitimate definition of reality, whose specifically symbolic efficacy

can help to conserve or subvert the established order, that is to say, reality. (p. 141)

In this way, the relational nature of the Bourdieusian approach has enabled me to examine the experiences of the participating IEs not in a vacuum but within the context in which they practice as teachers. The use of Bourdieu's thinking tools (Grenfell, 2004; Wacquant, 1989, p. 50) has allowed me to analyse not only the IEs and their experiences, but the machinations of the Australian education context. In this way, my research moves away from seeking what Bourdieu terms "'objective' truth" (1990b, p. 136; inverted commas as per original) and towards a study:

in the determination of the collective classification of and the hierarchy of the fiduciary values set on individuals and groups ... [where] the dominant groups are able to impose the scale of preferences most favourable to their own products .... Moreover, the representations that agents have of their own and other agents' positions in social space ... are the product of a system of schemes of perception and appreciation which is itself the incorporated product of a class condition .... based not only on the indices of the collective judgement but also on the objective indicators of the position really occupied in the distributions, which the collective judgement already takes into account. (1990b, pp. 139–140)

As such, my research moves beyond a study simply of the IEs and their experiences to a study of the "ontological complicity" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 10) between the lived experiences and dispositions of the IEs and the Australian education context in which they find themselves.

If, as Bourdieu believed, sociological analysis can affect change in the world (Grenfell, 2004), then I am hopeful that my research and findings have the potential to instigate changes in the *field*.

## 1.7 Thesis structure

This thesis comprises nine chapters. In the second chapter I present the conceptual framework for my research, give definitions and explanations of the notions through which I have analysed my findings, and relate each of these notions to the context of my study.

Chapter Three presents the wider context of my research through a historical overview of multiculturalism and multilingualism in Australia and Australian education and presents a review of the literature concerning IEs in Australia.

In Chapter Four I present the research methodology I used and the design of my research. In this chapter I also present information about the participants, the selection of research sites, as well as data collection methods and the analytical framework I utilised to analyse my data.

In Chapters Five, Six and Seven I present the key findings of my research, organised according to the three research themes which support my research question.

Chapter Five focuses on the *legitimate* and *illegitimate* languages and recognition of *capital* in the *field*. It presents key findings around the IEs' experiences when they first came to Australia and the legitimacy of their linguistic and professional *capital*. This chapter also presents key findings from the analysis of documents around the *logic of practice* in the *field* of education in NSW.

In Chapter Six I move on to present the findings related to the theme of the linguistic *habitus*es of the IEs, the linguistic environments of their upbringings, and their language use in interactions with students and parents. This chapter also presents findings around the IEs' attitudes to and experiences with language practices in the *field*, along with the *linguistic markets* of the *field*.

In Chapter Seven I analyse the strategies exhibited by the IEs in relation to language and language practices when navigating the *field*. These three findings chapters all contain and elaborate on elements presented in conference papers presented and chapters published through the course of my study.

Chapter Eight consolidates the findings presented in the three preceding chapters, namely the legitimate languages in the *field*, the IEs' *linguistic habituses*, and the strategies displayed by the IEs when navigating the *field*. The chapter presents a discussion around the legitimate and illegitimate languages in the *field* which answers my overall research question on the linguistic markets of NSW public schools as sites of practice in the *field* of education in NSW, and the positionings and power relations between the structures and agents operating within the *field*.

Chapter Nine presents a summary of the key findings of the study. The final chapter then discusses the contributions of the research design and conceptual and analytical frameworks. Implications of the study are then considered, and future research directions proffered. The thesis concludes with a reflection of the study.

## **1.8 Chapter 1 summary**

This introductory chapter has outlined my motivations for undertaking the study. In addition, the background to the study as well as the rationale has been presented, along with the overarching research question and the three main research foci.

This introduction has also situated my research in the context of Australia's linguistic landscape, in addition to the challenges faced by International Educators when seeking to enter the *field* and become valued *players* in the *game*. The introduction has also positioned my research in the realm of similar current research using Bourdieu's lens.

## Chapter 2: The Conceptual Framework

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the theoretical understandings which have shaped my research. Through my secondary research for the study, I found that Bourdieu's theories resonate with Vygotskian sociocultural perspectives (e.g., Vygotsky 1941/1997), which identify context as a pivotal factor in human activities and development. A key question for this research investigates the relationships between the IE's capital, habitus and field. One of the central elements of Bourdieu's theories is the "ontological complicity" (1989, p. 10) between what he terms habitus and field; in other words, between human dispositions and their context. For Bourdieu, it is impossible to study one without also studying the other, and also studying the relationship between the two. I was able to utilise Bourdieu's thinking tools, taking account of Bourdieu's work across a number of decades, not only to shape the conceptual framework used in the research, but also to shape the analytical framework used to study the "generative" relationships (Grenfell, 2004, p. 27) between the stakeholders and the context in which they find themselves.

In addition, I integrated Bourdieusian theory and critical discourse analysis (CDA) in my analytical framework in order to better understand the tensions, power relations and legitimate practices in the field. I have used CDA to analyse documentation produced and distributed by the institutions in the field who are the dominant agents (also referred to as players) in the field. Both Bourdieu and Fairclough recognise the power of language and the relationship language has with society or fields. Bourdieu regards language as "never 'value-neutral', never used in isolation, but arising in contexts ... seen as dynamic social spaces where issues of power are always at stake" (Grenfell, 2011b, p. 2). Similarly, Fairclough explains that CDA "Combines critique of

discourse and explanation of how it figures within and contributes to the existing social reality” (Fairclough, 2015, p. 6).

The following sections elaborate on the reasons for my use of Bourdieu’s thinking tools and Fairclough’s, both of which have guided me through my research.

## **2.2 Why Bourdieu?**

The underlying theme of my research is that of linguistic and cultural diversity. In broad terms, this thesis focuses on the ways in which these aspects of diversity are managed in the field of primary school education. I was interested in investigating the tensions in the field and the positioning and power relations across language practices and plurilingual primary school teachers. My principal participants are primary school teachers, who I have labelled international educators (IEs), working in NSW schools and originating from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds, each with different approaches to and experiences with a range of cultures and languages.

I was drawn to Bourdieu’s thinking tools as they are eminently suitable for examining the struggles existing between participants in a field. These thinking tools have allowed me to undertake a multifaceted exploration of the competing tensions in the field. The experiences relayed to me by my participating teachers initially seemed both straightforward and quite varied. However, using Bourdieu’s notions of field, field of power, logic of practice, capital, habitus, doxa, illusio, strategies of the dominated, and linguistic markets, has given me a lens through which I have been able to analyse multiple layers of complexity within the participating teachers’ candid recounts of their experiences.

The use of Bourdieu’s concepts as a lens to examine practices and struggles, particularly in the field of education, is well supported by many scholars

(Albright et al., 2018; Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014; Reay, 2019). Grenfell and James (1998, 2004) draw attention to the way Bourdieu's concepts allows the researcher to gain "insights and understanding not readily visible in other approaches" (Grenfell & James, 1998, p. 2). Grenfell (2014) discusses the difficulties researchers have in attempting to represent the complexities of the site of their research. He proceeds to compare the theoretical approach which attempts to "extract, simplify, and hypothesize" (p. 15) with the Bourdieusian approach which "begins with the totality, accepts the complexity and seeks organising structures within it and their underlying generated principles" (p. 15). As such, Grenfell (2014) concludes, a Bourdieusian approach to research is epistemological. Understanding that critiques have been made around the use of Bourdieu (McCall, 1992; Swartz, 2002; Tichavakunda, 2019), I have used a Bourdieusian lens in order to identify the organising structures within the totality of the field of education, and to attempt to uncover those underlying principles.

### **2.3 Bourdieu's theories as applied to diversity and language**

As stated above, the main area of investigation of this dissertation focuses on the experiences of IEs as they navigate the NSW public school system, and specifically their experiences in relation to the languaging practices of the field. However, the broader themes of the research relate to ideas of cultural and linguistic diversity and otherness; the impact which diversity may have on a field; and how language is used in order to give or take away individuals' access to power.

Utilising a framework which employs Bourdieu's theories and ideas allows the research to be structured on multiple relational levels:

- The positions of the players (in this case, the primary school teachers) in the field of power

- the positioning of those players, the relationship between the players themselves, and between the players and the field
- the habitus of the players and the extent to which this habitus has changed the logic of practice in the field. (Thomson, 2008, p. 75)

Although Bourdieu proposed these concepts many years ago, they remain valid in current research. This can be seen in the work of many contemporary academics who have used Bourdieu's thinking tools in order to analyse their findings through Bourdieu's conceptual lens. Bourdieu's framework has been referred to in previous research on IEs (Guo & Singh, 2009; Miller, 2008a, 2008b; Reid, 2005; Reid et al., 2014), as well as research on the movements and migration of people (Erel, 2010; Friedman, 2015; Husu, 2013; Lo, 2015; Thatcher & Halvorsrud, 2015), and educational settings where diversity is present (Byrd Clark, 2009; Valdiviezo & Nieto, 2015; Widin, 2014; Wood, 2014).

However, the studies on overseas trained teachers in Australia which have utilised Bourdieu's thinking tools have primarily focussed on the teachers' capital and habitus. This study explores the data by moving beyond the analysis of capital and habitus. By using a wide range of Bourdieu's concepts beyond but closely linked to the notion of capital and habitus, my research provides a comprehensive examination of the field, as well as a nuanced analysis of the agents operating within it. The Bourdieusian lens through which the findings of the research were analysed has given insights to these findings which may not have been apparent were it not for Bourdieu's thinking tools and his affirmation of the "*primacy of relations*" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 15). Indeed, Bourdieu rejects the idea of needing to choose between substantialism and functional or relational concepts (Bourdieu, 1998). Instead, he agrees with Norbert Elias, who he described as "another resolute advocate of the relational conception of the social" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 15). He adopts the relational perspective of

others such as Piaget, Jakobson, Levi-Strauss, Braudel, Durkheim and Marx in affirming this “relational perspective” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 16). This method of analysing the data in their totality (Grenfell, 2014, p. 15) through the relationship between Bourdieu’s concepts has allowed me to embrace the complexity within the layers of the data and identify maxims, reasons and causes behind those complexities. The following section of this conceptual framework identifies and defines the various theoretical notions and underpinnings proposed by Bourdieu relevant to my study.

### *2.3.1 Bourdieu’s concepts: The Field and the Field of Power*

Bourdieu’s concept of field is central to this research. In his studies on Algeria, Bourdieu developed his ‘theory of knowledge’ (Grenfell, 2004), drawing on Marxist ideas of the importance of the physical environment to human existence, and the fact that humans living in an environment consequently alters that physical environment (Grenfell, 2004). Field, along with habitus and capital, is a “central organising concept of Bourdieu’s work” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 94). Indeed, Bourdieu (1989) discusses the connection between field and habitus as an “ontological complicity” (p. 10). The term ‘field’ relates to the site or context in which research takes place, but the concept of field is much more than this.

Bourdieu defines fields as “objectifiable structured spaces” which “have specific stakes and interests” (1993a, p. 72). A field is “a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97). Furthermore, Bourdieu explains that the “structure of the field is a *state* of the power relations among the agents ... engaged in the struggle” (1993a, p. 73). Indeed, the pivotal idea behind field is relational, not structural. In other words, a field is defined by the dominant or subordinate relations between the players (or participants) in that field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). According to Lewin (1943) field theory is more of a method than a theory. It is a way, or system, of “analysing causal relations and of

building scientific constructs” (p. 45). Furthermore, Hilgers and Mangez (2015) explain that field “does not designate an entity but a system of relations” (p. 5) and put forward Passeron’s (2003, as cited in Hilgers & Mangez, 2015) description of field as the “invisible dynamics between a totality and the elements that constitute it” (Hilgers & Mangez, 2015, p. 5). In Bourdieu’s own words, “the field is a critical mediation between the practices of those who partake of it and the surrounding social and economic conditions” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 105). More recent scholars (e.g., Grenfell & James, 2004; Hartman & Albright, 2018; Widin, 2018) reiterate Bourdieu’s emphasis on the relational nature of the concept of field. It is not sufficient to merely identify players in the field and their positions within that field. Instead, when undertaking analysis in terms of field, Bourdieu (1971, as cited in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) outlines three distinct levels of analysis, or what Albright and Hartman (2018) term “methodological moves” (p. 4), which must be undertaken. These three levels allow for an analysis of the relationship between the diverse concepts of field, agents, capital, habitus, doxa, illusio and strategies demonstrated.

The first of these levels is the investigation of the position of the field within the field of power, which can be presented, as seen in previous studies such as Widin (2018), as both/either the field of power or field of practice. In terms of my research, Bourdieu’s thinking tools will inform the investigation of the position of teachers and educators who are practising within the field of education. In addition, the power relations between the field and field of power are the result of the accumulations of diverse types of capital and habitus by the institutions operating in the field (e.g., NSW Department of Education NSW DoE and associated organisations, such as the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) and the NSW Education Standards Authority (NESA)), and the individual schools.

The second level of analysis in terms of field involves the positions of the players or agents operating in the field. All players within a field seek legitimation, and thus this second move involves an analysis of the dominant or subordinate positions of the players as these agents operating within the field seek legitimation in the field. What this means is that fields are thus a site of differentiation between those agents who dominate and those who are in subordinate positions. Furthermore, differentiation naturally means that fields are a site of struggle. Albright and Hartman (2018) cite Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) in their explanation of the field of power as “an organising principle of differentiation and struggle throughout all fields” (Albright & Hartman, 2018, p. 7). Participants in the field struggle for dominant positions in the field, and these positions of domination are contested on the basis of the capital which is accessible to the agents in the field, and which is recognised by the players in the field. This study involves an analysis of the positions of the teachers in the field in their quest for legitimation as teachers in NSW public schools. This is done through an analysis of the capital which they can access, and which is recognised within the field.

The third level of analysis involves an identification of the habitus the agents bring to the positions they occupy within the field, and their social trajectories through the field. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) describe this analysis as that of “the habitus of agents, the different systems of dispositions they have acquired by internalising a determinate type of social and economic condition, and which find in a definite trajectory within the field under consideration a more or less favourable opportunity to become actualized” (p. 105). Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) argues that when new players come into a field, this causes the positions of all other players already in the field to shift. Furthermore, players who already occupy the field attempt to conserve their existing positions in the field by mis-recognising the power relationships existing in the field, while new arrivals to the field challenge the power relations of the field they have recently entered (Bourdieu, 1977, 1988, 1990a,

1990b; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Albright & Hartman, 2018). In this study, the focus for this third level of analysis is the existence of tension between the habitus of the teachers and the field, and thus the analysis focuses on the strategies which the IEs adopt to navigate the field.

My research question concerns the experiences of IEs operating in NSW public schools in the field of Australian education and calls for an investigation into the positioning of the players in the field, the capital to which they have access and which they accumulate, and the strategies they demonstrate when navigating the field. The first step in answering this research question is therefore to analyse the relations between the agents who operate in the field and where they are positioned in their field of activity, as well as where that field of activity is located in the field of power, which in the case of this research is the field of education. The agents in the field are identified as the institutions governing the field, and the individual schools where the IEs teach.

### *2.3.2 Bourdieu's concepts: The logic of practice (le sens pratique)*

Another concept which is inextricably linked to the field of power is the logic of practice (Bourdieu 1990b). When regarding the field and field of power, it is essential to remember that fields are never static but are constantly changing due to the changing power dynamics between the various agents within the field, as well as the changing relations between the agents and the field. Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1990b, 1998; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) refers to these fields, in which the participants are constantly vying for domination or recognition, as games. He refers to the rules of the game and the practical knowledge which participants in the field need in order to partake in the game as “le sens pratique” (Bourdieu, 1980), which he also describes as the participants’ feel for the game. This “sens pratique” (translated as “the logic of practice”) relates to the ways in which participants in the field operate within that field. In this way, the logic of practice refers to the standard and

expected ways of behaviour (and distribution of capital) within a particular field. As such, the ability for the participants in the game to have a feel for the game and operate as expected in the field is dependent on each participants' habitus and capital:

Social reality exists, so to speak, twice, in things and in minds, in fields and in habitus, outside and inside social agents. And when habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it is like a 'fish in water': it does not feel the weight of the water and it takes the world about itself for granted. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 127)

The logic of practice of the field in this particular study has been explained through investigation of publicly available institutional documentation around the themes of multiculturalism and multilingualism, which positions language and multiculturalism in the field of education in NSW.

### *2.3.3 Bourdieu's concepts: Capital and habitus*

The outcomes of these games, in other words the 'winners' or 'losers' of the game, are a direct result of the values, resources or stakes to which individuals have access within the fields.

Bourdieu proposes the key concept of *capital* to describe the value to which the players of the game have access within fields. Bourdieu uses the term capital not merely in the economic sense (Moore, 2008). He proposes that it is not possible to understand social theory if capital is used only in economic terms (Bourdieu, 1977). Instead, Bourdieu proposes a single market for all capital, whether economic or other, as a way of "guaranteeing the convertibility of cultural capital into money" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 187). In this way, Bourdieu explains that all capital is symbolic, except for economic capital. Bourdieu introduces *symbolic capital* and its sub-type *cultural capital*, to describe the inherent values to which individuals have access.

In this study, the inherent values focused on and to which the IEs have access, and the resources or stakes the agents have in the field (in other words the forms of capital focussed on) are *Symbolic Capital* and its subtype *Cultural Capital*. One type of cultural capital is professional capital, which comprises an agent's work experiences and attitudes towards work. In addition, *Linguistic capital* is recognised as a core component of cultural capital (Grenfell, 2011a), due to the fact that language is so closely linked to culture (Kramsch, 1998), for "language is culture, a product and manifestation of culture" (Branson & Miller, 2000, p. 30). Hence, both language awareness and ability, and cultural awareness or understanding were chosen as the two forms of cultural capital to be investigated.

Another reason for the focus on these two forms of cultural capital is due to their critical importance. Skutnabb-Kangas declares that:

It is not only biodiversity which is a necessity for the planet. Maintaining, developing and sharing the knowledge and potential embedded in all our languages and cultures, supporting linguistic and cultural human diversity, is at least equally important for our survival as a species on this planet. (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995, as cited in Branson & Miller, 2000, p. 28)

Moreover, Pattanayak (2000) warns "Only acceptance of multilingualism and pluriculturalism as a point of departure can save the world from self-destruction" (p. 47).

My research aims to ascertain the level of importance of both of these elements of cultural capital which are held by the public and private players in the game. These agents include the dominant institutions, the individual schools, and the teachers operating in the field. The importance of these two forms of cultural capital which are held by these agents in the field will determine the agents' positioning in the field, and thus determine the

hierarchy of power of the agents in the field. They will also determine where language is positioned within the field of power with regard to languages spoken and used, language practices, and the intracultural awareness the agents in the field possess.

Research which centres on “social differentiation” (Grenfell, 2012) can be framed by way of the strategies displayed by players in the field, the cultural capital they possess, how they are shaped by their circumstances and past, and how their dispositions, values and norms shape present and future practices (Burke, 2015; Byrd Clarke, 2009; Maton, 2008). In my research, capital will be used “to provide an accurate and relational picture of respondents’ positions within social space” (Burke, 2015, p. 21), as it will be necessary to investigate both capital and habitus in order to understand the IEs’ experiences in the field, and any changes to the logic of practice in that field.

Bourdieu stresses the tight connection between field and capital. He asserts that the value of capital is dependent on the existence of the game or field in which capital can be used. The field can be a weapon and a stake in the field, and allows the possessor of the capital to wield power and exist in the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Such is the widespread use of Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus* that Reay (2004) critiques what she calls the overuse and misuse of the concept. Although Burke (2015) agrees that Bourdieu’s theories are used more and more by researchers, he explains this misuse stems from the fact that many researchers use Bourdieu’s concept of habitus to the exclusion of the other concepts which accompany habitus. In other words, it is necessary to study habitus in conjunction with a study of the field of power, as well as that of capital (Burke, 2015).

Habitus is the term used to define each individual participant's experience, background, and value within a field. It relates to the ways in which individuals operate within any given field, as well as the ways an individual can change or redefine a field. Bourdieu's concept of habitus is "primarily a method for analysing the dominance of dominant groups in society and the domination of subordinate groups" (Reay, 2004, p. 436).

As mentioned, according to Bourdieu, when an individual enters into a new field of power, that individual's unique dispositions, their habitus, will define the way they operate and behave within that given field, as well as defining how the field may be altered by those dispositions, or in other words, the extent to which the logic of practice of the field may change. Following from this, a participant's ability to change the logic of practice is based on the *habitus* of the individual and the *capital* which is available to that individual. The key concept of symbolic capital is thus closely linked to habitus.

A useful explanation for habitus is provided by Byrd-Clark (2009), who expounds, "structures get reproduced through strategies, but they can also be transformed through strategies" (p. 19). That is, habitus is structured, is structuring, and is a structure (Grenfell, 2011a, 2012; Maton, 2008). The IEs who participated in this research all possess their individual and uniquely structured habituses. These notions of habituses inform the production of the data collection instruments to determine the extent to which the IEs behave like fish in water when navigating the education field. Bourdieu uses the analogy of different coloured tokens to represent the capital which contributes to each individual's habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The IEs in this study each have a unique combination of different coloured tokens which they use to play the game and participate in the field. Each participant also uses different tokens depending on the positions in and the trajectories through the field. This could be likened to the strategies participants display when playing a game. Bourdieu explains that each individual's strategies:

are a function not only of the volume and structure of his capital at the moment under consideration and of the game chances.... they guarantee him, but also of the evolution over time of the volume and structure of this capital, that is, of his social trajectory and of the dispositions (habitus) constituted in the prolonged relation to a definite distribution of objective chances. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 99)

That is, according to Bourdieu the concept of the IEs' habituses will inform the production of the data collection instruments to also determine the strategies they demonstrate to navigate the field in order to maintain or rise in their positions in the field. However, if we take Grenfell's and Maton's explanations above, habitus is not only structured in terms of different coloured tokens used to play the game; it is also structuring. The players in the game exhibit their game strategies in order to maintain and accumulate their accessible capital "in conformity with the tacit rules of the game and the prerequisites of the reproduction of the game and its stakes" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 99). Yet they can also use that capital, those game tokens, in order to change the rules of the game. This might include changing:

the relative value of tokens of different colours, the exchange rate between various species of capital, through strategies aimed at discrediting the form of capital upon which the force of their opponents rest... and to valorize the species of capital they preferentially possess. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 99)

In this way, the participants in the field will utilise their capital and strategies to play the game in order to alter the field itself. As explicated by Bourdieu, through these struggles in the field participants' habituses are continuously structuring and possibly also reshaping the logic of practice of the field.

In addition, while the transformation of the field can only occur through these struggles in the field, it is important to keep in mind that “a capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 101). The capital to which the participants have access and which constitutes the participants’ habitus is thus a structure which accords power firstly over the field itself, but also “over the materialised or embodied instruments of production or reproduction whose distribution constitutes the very structure of the field”, and lastly “over the regularities and the rules which define the ordinary functioning of the field, and thereby the profits engendered in it” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 101).

The third theme of this research investigates the strategies demonstrated by teachers in relation to language and language practices when navigating the field. As we have seen from Bourdieu, the strategies the IEs exhibit both stem from and are the result of their habitus and the capital to which they have access. Thus, this analysis of strategies displayed is also an analysis of the IEs’ habitus and capital accumulated, maintained and/or accessed by each IE.

#### *2.3.4 Bourdieu’s concepts: Linguistic habitus and linguistic markets*

As a “subset of the dispositions which comprise habitus”, Bourdieu defines linguistic habitus as the “dispositions acquired in the course of learning to speak in particular contexts” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 17). As such, Bourdieu (1993a) views language as the “product of social conditions and ... not a simple production of utterances but the production of utterances adapted to a ‘situation’ or, rather, adapted to a market or field” (p. 78).

Given the relational nature of Bourdieu’s concepts, Bourdieu regarded language practices as having value attributed to them based on the power relations between interlocutors (Bourdieu, 1991). For Bourdieu, linguistic utterances (in other words, speech) are “the product of the relation between a linguistic habitus and a linguistic market” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 17).

The linguistic habitus of an agent in the field determines not only the linguistic practices of that agent in a particular field or site of practice, but also an “anticipation of the value that linguistic products will receive in other fields or markets” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 17)

In this way, the value of languages and linguistic capital to which a player in the field has access is determined by not only the social situation, but also the power relations between the agents in the field or site of practice. Bourdieu (1993a) explains:

There is a linguistic market whenever someone produces an utterance for receivers capable of assessing it, evaluating it and setting a price on it. Knowledge of linguistic competence alone does not enable one to predict what the value of a linguistic performance will be on a market. The price that the products of a given competence will receive on a given market depends on the laws of price formation specific to that market. (p. 79)

Following from this, within diverse linguistic markets, languages and language practices are rendered either legitimate or illegitimate (Bourdieu, 1991).

This research utilises the notion of linguistic markets as this enabled me to understand beyond the mere fact that the agents operating with the IEs in the sites of practice in which they taught may have been multilingual. Indeed, Moraru (2019) adopts Bourdieu’s concept of linguistic markets to analyse the heterogenous nature of the language practices of multilingual speakers, stating:

“the concept of linguistic habitus becomes central, as it can potentially shed light on the emergence of linguistic heterogeneity while taking into account the immediate power relations that come embedded in this phenomenon. From this perspective, the difference between bilingualism and multilingualism becomes

redundant, as the focus is no longer on fixed, countable codes. Instead, a redefinition of multilingualism from the Bourdieusian perspective enables an emphasis on the linguistic practices produced as a result of the power-laden relations established between a linguistic habitus and multiple linguistic markets. (p. 6)

As such, the research draws conclusions around the IE's language practices in specific linguistic markets through the analysis of their experiences and their capital and habitus. This consequently enables me to draw conclusions around legitimate and illegitimate language practices in specific linguistic markets within the sites of practice and the field.

### *2.3.5 Bourdieu's concepts: Legitimation and doxa*

As presented in the preceding sections of this chapter, Bourdieu likens the behaviour of participants to a game being played, the outcomes of which are decided based on the individual participants' habituses and capital, which therefore influence the symbolic capital to which those participants can access. Further, Maton (2008) proposes the idea of a field–habitus match. Bourdieu explains that “both concepts of habitus and field are relational in the additional sense that they function fully *only in relation to one another*” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 19; italics as per original):

A field is not simply a dead structure, a set of “empty places”, as in Althusserian Marxism, but a *space of play* which exists as such only to the extent that players enter into it who believe in and actively pursue the prizes it offers. An adequate theory of field, therefore, requires a theory of social agents:

There is action, and history, and conservation or transformation of structures only because there are agents, but agents who are acting and efficacious only because they are not reduced to what is ordinarily put under the notion of individual and who,

as socialised organisms, are endowed with an ensemble of dispositions which imply both the propensity and the ability to get into and to play the game. (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 59 La noblesse d'Etat)

Conversely, the theory of habitus is incomplete without a notion of structure that makes room for the organised improvisation of agents. (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 19)

The agents who are playing the game in this field are there because of their habitus, and they are usually unaware of the fact that this field-habitus match exists. Bourdieu describes an illuminating moment during a seminar, where he was able to connect the German philosopher and phenomenologist Edmund Husserl's theories of doxa (the unconscious beliefs and values which exist in particular fields) with intellectual beliefs about the social world, and Marxist interpretations of practice, "and to draw out everything concerned with reflexion, opinion, and so many things normally kept separate" (Bourdieu, 1995, p. 34).

Moreover, these agents share the assumptions of what "goes without saying" (Maton, 2008, p.59) within the field. These assumptions could also be considered as the rules, or regularities, of the game, which dictate how participants in the field operate. These regularities are not made explicit to the players (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The competition which is created by the players of the game produces the stakes of the game. The players are there, playing the game and, as Bourdieu (1990b) points out, there is a mutual and unspoken understanding between the agents and the field that the game is actually worth playing: "doxa is the relationship of immediate adherence that is established in practice between a habitus and the field to which it is attuned, the pre-verbal taking for granted of the world that flows from practical sense" (p. 68).

This belief in the stakes and in the game itself is therefore what Bourdieu terms doxa (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In their explanation of the field and these games being played within it, Albright and Hartman (2018) elaborate with an explanation of these games as “struggles for legitimation” within the field, and of “the domination of one set of ideas over others”, which “produces an orthodoxy, or doxa in the field” (p. 8).

In terms of the importance of doxa to this research, Bourdieu et al. (1994) describe doxa as “an orthodoxy, a right, correct, dominant vision which has more often than not been imposed through struggles against competing visions” (p. 15). Bourdieu elaborates on these ideas, stating:

What appears to us today as self-evident, as beneath consciousness and choice, has quite often been the stake of struggles and instituted only as the result of dogged confrontations between dominant and dominated groups. The major effect of historical evolution is to abolish history by relegating it to the past, that is, to the unconscious, the lateral possible that it eliminated. The analysis of the genesis of the state as the foundation of the principles of vision and division operative within its territorial expanse enables us to understand at once the doxic adherence to the order established by the state and also the properly political foundations of such apparently natural adherence. Doxa is a particular point of view, the point of view of the dominant, which presents and imposes itself as a universal point of view-the point of view of those who dominate by dominating the state and who have constituted their point of view as universal by constituting the state. (Bourdieu, 1998, pp. 56–57)

The first theme investigated in this research is that of the extent to and ways in which policies and approaches towards multiculturalism and multilingualism may have impacted on the value and positioning of, as well as

the approach towards, language and multiculturalism, in the field of education in Australia/NSW. The doxa of the field is a critical element of Bourdieu's theory. In the case of this research, the policies and approaches of the NSW Department of Education (NSW DoE) and the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) represent the point of view of the dominant agents and thus can be said to be the doxa of the field.

### *2.3.6 Bourdieu's concepts: Illusio*

From the concepts presented thus far, we can surmise that Bourdieu views all social contexts as a type of game which participants play by following the established doxa of the specific field in which the participants are operating. Each of those participants possesses their own unique habitus, which can change and be changed by the logic of practice of the field. In order for the participants to advance and further legitimise their status in the field, they need to both have the capital available to them recognised by the other participants in the field, as well as to accumulate additional symbolic capital.

As is, it would thus seem that every motivation that players have in playing the game is extrinsic, and every action taken and choice made is merely in order to get ahead in the game. However, this interpretation does not take into consideration the ontological relationship between field and habitus. It is this "complicity" (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 194) which Bourdieu explains is "the basis of entry into the game and commitment to the game" (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 194). The field can only function if it has participants within it who are "socially predisposed to behave as responsible agents, to risk ... to pursue the objectives and obtain the profits which the field offers" (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 194). This complicity and this aim for that which from other perspectives, especially those external to the field, may seem illusory is termed *illusio*. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p. 117) give the synonym of *illusio* as "a specific form of interest". Yet, *illusio* is more than this. It is the "tacit recognition of the value of the stakes of the game and.... practical mastery of

its rules” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 117). Further to this, Bourdieu sees all fields as interconnected (Grenfell, 2004), with each field having its own distinct stakes and unique *illusio* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 1988, in Grenfell, 2004). Bourdieu explains that it is only the outsider to each field who would regard this pursuit and interest in the stakes of the game to be an illusion (Bourdieu, 1990a).

The final point to be made with regard to *illusio* is that each individual participant in the field has their own unique and distinct interest in the game, which is based on each individual’s position in the game, and specifically whether the individual is dominated or dominant, as well as the individual’s trajectory to that position (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

In terms of this research, the third focus for investigation will be the strategies exhibited by teachers in relation to language and language practices when navigating the field. The analysis of these strategies will therefore take into consideration the *illusio* of the IEs in terms of the positions they occupy in the field, as well as the trajectories taken in order to arrive at those positions in the field.

### *2.3.7 Bourdieu’s concepts: Struggles in the field, symbolic violence, and strategies of the dominant and dominated*

According to Bourdieu, participants in the field utilise the capital at their disposal in order to exert their forces in the field. Bourdieu explains that “a field is also a field of struggles” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 101), with agents in the field playing the game in order to transform or maintain the forces at work in the game and therefore to gain or maintain their legitimacy in the game. The positioning of the agents in the game will depend on the class hierarchies existing in the game.

Bourdieu (1991) refers to the domination by some agents belonging to one class over other agents of a different class as symbolic violence. Bourdieu uses

the term symbolic violence to signify non-physical struggles and clashes between agents in the field who all have a stake in the power relations of the class hierarchies of the field. The stakes for the diverse class groups engaged in symbolic violence and the struggles in the field ultimately both result from and result in the players' capacity or lack thereof to create contexts and social worlds which suit their own interests, where the dominant classes "impose the legitimacy of their domination" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 168) on the remaining players in the game. As newcomers to the field, the IEs in my study will have engaged in struggles for legitimacy to first enter and subsequently become players in the game.

These notions of struggles in the field and strategies displayed in those struggles centre on diversity and arise from Bourdieu's research into diversity (Grenfell, 2004); the ways in which people who may be culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD), the newcomers, or the younger agents, can operate in the field of power, and whether strategies they demonstrate are either due to the capital they have access to or result in new forms of capital being available to them.

The relationship between the IEs as agents in the field and their positioning within the field will determine the strategies the IEs exhibit in order to maintain or advance their position in the field and in the relationships with the other participants and the class hierarchy within the field. Bourdieu describes his notion of strategy, along with the notions of habitus, logic of practice and practical sense, as a means for him to move away from structuralist objectivism without needing to instead move towards subjectivism (Bourdieu, 1990a). While the generic term 'strategy' may carry with it some connotation of conscious and explicitly calculated moves, Bourdieu moves away from the idea of consciousness in strategy. He instead describes a player who is adept at or who has a natural aptitude towards

playing the game, making moves not in adherence to the rules of the game, but instead by following the natural feel they have for the game.

Bourdieu expands on this idea while discussing his research into Kabyle marriage (1990b). He describes the analysis of strategy not as an unconscious model but as a notion which cannot be fully clarified without also analysing the relationship between the participants in the field and the positions of the participants in the field and the participants' habitus (and thus naturally the capital at the participants' disposal). This interpretation is important in my study, as I was interested in the ways in which the relationship between the IEs and the field impacted on the natural feel that the IEs had for the game. In addition, the notion of strategy is a useful tool for analysing the data collected in my study, as it will inform the production of my data collection instruments and enable me to see similarities in the disparate experiences recounted by the participating IEs.

Bourdieu divides strategies into several groups. He first identifies those strategies which are "directly oriented towards primary profit" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 109) and thus lead to direct or immediate amassing of capital. These, he explains, are often associated with those strategies which give "apparent satisfaction to the demands of the official rule" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 109). Yet other types of strategies identified by Bourdieu are the officialization strategies which are "aimed at producing practices 'according to the rules'" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 109) which Bourdieu asserts act to legitimate private interests and transform them into collective interests.

Bourdieu (1993a) explains further that those who hold a monopoly over the specific capital of a field, that is, the capital which is most effective for that specific field, utilise strategies of conservation in order to retain the power within the struggles in the field. These *conservation strategies* uphold the orthodoxy. On the other hand, the agents in the field who hold the least power within the struggles in the field (Bourdieu identifies these as the

newcomers to the field, and the younger agents in the field) tend to utilise *subversion strategies*. These strategies of subversion have the effect of causing the dominant participants in the field to defend the orthodoxy with the aim of “restoring the equivalent of silent assent to doxa” (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 73). Bourdieu explains *subversion* as “a sense of using rules to fight other rules or of using the letter of the rules to undermine their spirit” (Bourdieu, 1993b, pp. 83–84).

In my study I have utilised an additional three strategies to analyse the behaviour of the IEs in the field. These additional strategies have been adopted from a study conducted by Büyükokutan and Şaşmaz (2018) which investigated the strategies exhibited by dominated Turkish female intellectuals in navigating the Ottoman/Turkish intellectual field. Drawing on the work of Büyükokutan and Şaşmaz (2018) this thesis takes into account the historical implications of the experiences of the IE participants. The strategies Büyükokutan and Şaşmaz identified are acquiescence, defiance and collaboration. These three remaining strategies are explained as follows:

- *Acquiescence*: Defensive reciprocal exchange for the preservation of one’s current standing rather than for its enhancement. As a form of agency, it is thus a means to adapt rather than to rise. Like collaboration, it constitutes no challenge to hegemonic practices; unlike collaboration, it is incapable of being overt. (Büyükokutan & Şaşmaz, 2018, p. 604)
- *Collaboration*: Overtly and actively supporting the patriarchal rules and values of the field. Like subversion, it is a means of advancing one’s career, but it does so by a lot more fully going along with the status quo. It involves the kind of reciprocal exchange driven toward limited positive gain without jeopardizing hegemonic practices at all. (Büyükokutan & Şaşmaz, 2018, p. 602)

- *Defiance*: Challenging notions of patriarchal bargain and social exchange, openly refusing to go along with hegemonic practices and overtly challenging them. It is not that field rules are rejected in their totality... specific aspects of the status quo, those that are especially problematic for the dominated actor in question, are targeted. In accepting other aspects of the status quo, however, the actors undertaking these actions do not bargain with dominant actors [or] ... frame their challenge to the existing order as the prize they had earned earlier by conforming to that order in other ways. As a form of agency, they are thus, like subversion, offensive rather than defensive—they are about advancing a career rather than adapting it to a closing opportunity structure. Unlike subversion, they are rather more overt—there is little that is silent, subtle, or opaque about them. (Büyükokutan & Şaşmaz, 2018, pp. 606–607)

From the descriptions of these four strategies of subversion, acquiescence, collaboration and defiance, it can be seen that the strategies of acquiescence and collaboration are both conservation strategies which work to uphold the orthodoxy of the field. On the other hand, defiance and subversion are both forms of subversion strategies which challenge the orthodoxy.

Utilising these four strategies offered by Büyükokutan and Şaşmaz (2018) and Bourdieu (1993b) will inform the production of the data collection instruments to identify further layers within the data, and thus to analyse in greater detail the question pertaining to the theme of the strategies demonstrated by the IEs in relation to language and language practices when navigating the field. This move towards an analysis of the struggles of the field and the strategies the IEs display when navigating the field will enable me to utilise the particular capital and habituses of the IEs to ascertain reasons why they demonstrate various strategies. Conversely, I will be able to analyse the

ways in which the diverse strategies the IEs exhibit have impacted on their capital and habituses.

## **2.4 Critical discourse analysis (CDA)**

In the introduction to this chapter, I outlined the ways in which CDA aligns with Bourdieusian theory. This section elaborates on the principles of CDA and its alignment with Bourdieu's thinking tools. The section also discusses my thought processes in my selection of CDA as an analytical tool, as well as the ways in which the principles of CDA were useful for my research, and specifically in my analysis of the field.

The alignment of Bourdieu's thinking tools with CDA is recognised in the literature (Albright et al., 2018; Grenfell, 2011a) and Bourdieusian scholars such as Widin (2018) and Hartman and Albright (2018) have utilised CDA in their investigations of the practices in diverse fields and the ways in which language is used to position players in those fields.

In this chapter I have highlighted the importance of the concept of what Bourdieu terms 'field' and the symbiotic relationship which the field has with the agents operating in it. In planning my research, I have used publicly available documentation published by the institutions in the field to ascertain the logic of practice of the field, and thus the positions of the participating IEs in the field. Thus, I use the language contained in these documents in order to make these determinations around the logic of practice. As Holliday (2011) points out, "language can be many things-a cultural reality, a cultural marker, artefact, a cultural arena and the location of a cultural universe" (p. 263). The terminology Holliday uses to capture the concept of culture aligns closely with Bourdieu's concepts of field and the logic of practice of the field, and the "primacy of relations" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 15). In my research planning, I was then faced with the question of the type of language analysis I should undertake in order to be able to shed light on the field and the logic of

practice of the field. Common language, according to Bourdieu, is “better suited to express things than relations, states than processes” (Bourdieu, 1982, p. 35). Instead, Bourdieu asserts that “the stuff of social reality ... lies in relations” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 15). It was essential that the analysis of the language of these documents should take into account this methodological relationism. My choice of approach to the analysis of these documents and the language contained in these documents needed to adhere “in a rigorous and compelling way” (Thompson, 1991, p. 1) to the observation that language and social life are inextricably linked.

The choice of CDA as an approach to the analysis of the documents has informed the production of the data collection instruments to enable me to move beyond a descriptive analysis of the language in the documents towards analysis which incorporated the notion of social interweaving. CDA contains three levels of analysis; analysis of the text as a whole, analysis of the production and distribution of the text to specific audiences, and finally analysis of the social effects of the language used in the documents (Fairclough, 2003, 2015; Gee, 1999, 2011; Simpson & Mayr, 2010; Wodak, 2008). In this way, CDA moves beyond descriptive analysis of the language features of texts and discourse with the aim of revealing the interconnected nature of language, power and ideology (Fairclough, 2015). However, CDA goes even further, as Fairclough explains, “CDA combines critique of discourse and explanation of how it figures within and contributes to the existing social reality, as a basis for action to change that existing reality” (p. 6). In this way, CDA regards language as being “centrally involved in power, and struggles for power ... through its ideological properties” (p. 51). This CDA approach which takes into account the relationship between language and power, and language and ideology was thus ideal for me to incorporate into my conceptual framework.

## 2.5 Chapter 2 summary

This chapter has outlined the range of Bourdieu's thinking tools complemented by critical discourse analysis model, both of which I have used to construct the conceptual framework of my study. From the concepts presented in this chapter, it can be seen that:

the structure of the field is a state of the power relations among the agents or institutions engaged in the struggle... a state of the distribution of the specific capital which has been accumulated in the course of previous struggles and which orients subsequent strategies. This structure, which governs the strategies aimed at transforming it, is itself always at stake. The struggles which take place within the field are about the monopoly of the legitimate voice (specific authority) which is characteristic of the field in question, which means, ultimately, the conservation or subversion of the structure of the distribution of the specific capital. (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 73)

The chapter has highlighted the relational nature of the selected concepts, given insight into how these concepts relate to my research study, and demonstrated the ways in which the use of CDA alongside Bourdieu's notions of field, field of power, logic of practice, capital, habitus, doxa, illusio, strategies of the dominated, symbolic violence, and linguistic markets are well suited to the study. The chapter has demonstrated the applicability of these concepts to the relational aspects of the game being played by the IEs as they navigate the field and their sites of practice.

In addition, the chapter has demonstrated the ways in which Bourdieusian theory and critical discourse analysis complement each other, and has also outlined Bourdieu's three levels of analysis as well as Fairclough's macro and micro levels of document analysis (introduced in this chapter and further

detailed in chapter 4), and the ways in which these concepts have enabled me to shed light on the hidden complexities of the three main themes of my research:

1. The extent to, and ways in which, policies and approaches towards multiculturalism and multilingualism may have impacted on the experiences, value and positioning of, as well as the approach towards, language and multiculturalism in the field of education in Australia/NSW
2. The linguistic habituses and capital of the IEs, and the positioning of the IEs and languages in the field of education in NSW. The identification of the linguistic markets of the field, and the power relations between the structures and agents operating within those linguistic markets
3. The strategies exhibited by teachers in relation to language and language practices when navigating the field, and the extent to which the logic of practice has been changed.

The outset of this chapter addressed the reasons for my choice of Bourdieu's sociological framework and CDA to form the conceptual framework for my research. The chapter has presented Bourdieu's thinking tools alongside CDA as a way to identify structures and principles within a complete and complex context (Grenfell, 2014). The following chapter outlines the ways in which the methodology for my study has utilised the conceptual framework presented here in this chapter in order to construct the analytical framework utilised to make sense of the data collected.

## Chapter 3: Context and Literature Review

### 3.1 Introduction

Chapter Two outlined the conceptual framework of my research. This chapter links that theoretical framework with the background and context of my research. I present the field in which the participants of the game being played are situated, and therefore establish both the historical context for the field in question, as well as the context in terms of previous research on the field which has informed my study.

As previously stated, in Chapter Two, the underlying theme of my research is linguistic and cultural diversity. As such, my study investigates contrasting elements existing in one sector of Australian society, NSW public schools, and the ways in which agents navigate difference in this specific field of practice. My research also therefore provides a perspective on the ways in which, and extent to which, linguistic and cultural homogeny is present in Australian society and specifically in the NSW public school system.

My first research theme centres on the field of education in New South Wales. As such, the field under investigation is that of public education, whose functioning and central belief system is governed by state and federal governments' approaches and policies. The second research theme focuses on the IEs and specifically the dispositions and values which the IEs contribute to the field. My final research theme centres on the ways in which the IEs navigate the field and the strategies they exhibit to do so.

Following these three research themes, the context and background required to situate my research has been organised as follows:

### The field of power

- The development of Australia's policy in and approach towards language and culture:
  - Multicultural Australia
  - Multilingual Australia
  - Multicultural and multilingual education in Australia

### The logic of practice of the field

- Mapping multiculturalism and the linguistic markets of NSW public schools

### The agents operating within the field

- The educators: IEs and multicultural Australian teachers who speak LOTEs (Languages of the Earth or Languages other than English)
- The naming and positioning of IEs as reflected in the research.

In terms of the field of power, the field of public education in NSW is governed by the ideologies and approaches of the NSW state and Australian Federal governments and their attitudes towards diversity, multiculturalism and language use. In order to map the field of power it is thus necessary to first present an overview of the broader social field in which the field of education is situated. Some of the underlying factors of the paradoxes under which people living in Australia operate can be found through an investigation of the history of Australian multiculturalism, the Australian definition of multiculturalism and of Australia's multicultural policies and principles.

## **3.2 The field of power**

### *3.2.1 Multicultural Australia*

When considering Australia's multicultural environment, there are a few important considerations to note. The first is that Australian multiculturalism

stems from a pragmatic need to build the colonising population in a short time frame during and shortly after the Second World War. Australian multiculturalism was not some idealistic liberal government vision of a pluralistic and harmonious society. Pakulski (2014) describes Australian multiculturalism not as “a product of idealistic liberal reformers” (p. 25), where the main objective is to celebrate cultural diversity. Instead, Pakulski describes Australian multiculturalism as follows:

a pragmatic strategy for dealing with the problems posed by a post-WWII mass inflow to Australia of non-British immigrants. Its key aim was the smooth and effective settlement and integration of these immigrants; the problem was a failure of assimilation policies to secure such an effective integration. (p. 25)

As a British colony, there was a desire on the part of some in power to ‘keep’ Australia British; an unrealistic notion, given the Indigenous peoples who had inhabited Australia long before the British arrived. Jupp (2002) outlines what he calls the “three pillars” of Australian immigration policy: “the maintenance of British hegemony and ‘white domination’; the strengthening of Australia economically and militarily by selective mass immigration; and, the state control of these processes” (p. 6).

The second consideration is that Australia’s multiculturalism is relatively new. The white Australia policy was disbanded only in the early 1970s (Collins, 2012). The white Australia policy is the common name given to the ideology or strong preference of the Australian Government for accepting migrants from Britain prior to the post-war mass migration from Europe, which began in 1947. During that pre-war period migrants from countries other than Britain were dissuaded or even prevented from settling in Australia (Jupp, 2011). Hill and Allan (2004) cite Foster’s (1988) claims regarding inducements being offered to “preferred” migrants, meaning those who were British.

Australia's immigration stemmed from the Government's belief that a larger population would protect Australia from attack or invasion. Prior to 1945 Australia believed that being part of the British Empire imparted some type of protection in that between-war era. However, after the second world war, there came the realisation that the connection to the British Empire could not alone protect Australia from attack. The then Prime Minister Chifley declared that in order to ensure Australia was secure there was an immediate need to increase the population. Australia's first Immigration Minister, Arthur Calwell, stated that the Government faced two alternatives; "populate the country or be overrun by Asiatic peoples" (Wilton & Bosworth, 1984, as cited in Hill & Allan, 2004, p. 981). This quote was subsequently shortened to become the slogan 'populate or perish' (Ardill, 1994).

Despite the Government's approach to immigration, it still clung to the desire to retain Australia as a predominantly British colony. The Chifley government had supported a pragmatic and humanitarian approach to immigration, yet the notion of multiculturalism was never contemplated, with Calwell affirming that "for every foreign migrant there will be ten from the United Kingdom" (Wilton & Bosworth, 1984, as cited in Hill & Allan, 2004, p. 981). This ideology for an Anglo national identity to be created in Australia (Adoniou, 2018) was maintained by Calwell's successor, Harold Holt, who as Minister for Immigration in 1952 declared that "Australia, in accepting a balanced intake of other British people, can still build a truly British nation on this side of the world" (Wilton & Bosworth, as cited in Hill & Allan, 2004, p. 981).

This initial desire to remain fundamentally British began to slowly erode. The waves of migrants accepted by Australia as part of the post-war migration saw Australia first accepting mostly peoples from the United Kingdom, then also those from Northern Europe, and lastly also those from Southern Europe, with overall numbers of migrants decided based on Australian economic needs. Ever so slowly the migrants being accepted into Australia looked less and less

white, and thus Calwell's and Holt's initially strong declarations about the type of migrants coming to Australia grew ever weaker.

As a way to combat this apparent erosion of the British profile of Australia, the notion of assimilation was promoted by the Government. The period between 1947 and 1966 was a time when migrants were expected to assimilate into 'the Australian ways' and where government policies supported such racial exclusion and assimilation (Jupp, 2011, p. 44). It was expected that these newer migrants from Northern and Southern Europe, who more or less "'looked like' Australians ... would rapidly become 'Australians'" (Jupp, 2011, p. 45; inverted commas as per original). Jupp describes as a crude and silly expectation that these New Australians would abandon everything they knew up until that point, and would change their "personality, language, behaviour and beliefs to become 'real Australians'" (Jupp, 2011, p. 45). Indeed, most Australians, both conservative and liberal, regarded the change these New Australians needed to undertake "as a one-way process whereby 'old ways' were abandoned for the much more progressive, democratic and liberal 'new ways'" (Jupp, 2011, p. 45; inverted commas as per original). Kumaravadivelu (2008) describes "proponents of cultural assimilation" (p. 4) as having the expectation that newcomers would "adopt the behaviours, values, beliefs and lifestyles of the dominant cultural community and become absorbed in it, losing their own in the process" (p. 4).

There seemed to be an unrealistic expectation that through this "metamorphosis into somebody with a totally different cultural persona" (Kumaravadivelu, 2008, p. 4), somehow the habitus of these new Australians could be abandoned upon arrival in Australia, and that any reference to their dispositions, backgrounds and past experiences were not required in order for these new Australians to form their own new identities as Australians. Bourdieu's 'fish out of water' notion could be replaced by the notion of fish in new water. There seems to be little to no acceptance of the fact that as these

migrants were to become part of Australian society, they instigated a change in that field.

The natural consequence of this was that according to the agents who held the power in the field, the established and British-background Australians, these new Australians would never be able to convert their cultural and linguistic capital into symbolic capital until they had acquired a new, Australian, cultural and linguistic habitus.

Jupp (2011) discusses the resentment that these immigrants felt as a result of these assimilationist views. Naturally, it was not possible or desirable for these new Australians to abandon their habitus as though they had suffered some sort of collective amnesia, and so just as these New Australians were shaped by their habitus, their habitus caused a change in the logic of practice. Instead of a “monocultural cocoon” (Kumaravadivelu, 2008, p. 5), Australian society began the process of developing into a “multicultural mosaic” (p. 5). In 1964 the Immigration Department renamed its Assimilation division as the Integration Division (Jupp, 2011), despite integration never effectively being defined in public policy (Jupp, 2011).

The monocultural character the British had introduced in Australia was changing, despite ongoing resistance from more conservative sections of society and government who held fast to the white Australia ideology and continued to try to control and organise this emerging diversity. As a means of retaining control, central to the concept of integration was “acceptance of Australian loyalties, the English language, and eventual citizenship” (Jupp, 2011, p. 47). This lack of consensus and clear direction has led to the multicultural paradox still present in Australia today.

Evidence of this ever-present white Australia ideology was reported by Martin (1972b), who identified that the majority of Anglo-Australians shared a common belief in how immigrants should be incorporated into Australian

society. Martin termed these sets of beliefs “the ideology of settlement” (Martin, 1972, p. 14). Overall, Martin (1972) found the majority of Anglo-Australians shared the view that immigrants should assimilate into the “Australian way of life”, and further that they “should be grateful for the opportunity” to be able to assimilate into this “particularly egalitarian society” (Hill & Allan, 2004, p. 982). Further, Martin (1972) found a widespread belief amongst Anglo-Australians that new immigrants should not be afforded any special dispensation just because they were new to the country, and that Australia was a society which would be able to take in immigrants without having to undergo any changes to the Australian social structure. Immigrants were expected to “divest themselves of their cultural distinctiveness and, in particular, their languages. This policy had public and political support, but in practice it simply did not work” (Hill & Allan, 2004, p. 982).

New Australians were also mobilising themselves, forming their own ethnic organisations, and joining trade unions. Contemporaneously, political parties realised that these new Australians were finding their voice, and that they constituted a growing voter base. Australian multiculturalism has been defined by Rizvi (2014) as a state construct in response to the systemic disadvantage and inequality experienced by migrants in Australia. In some respects, the logic of practice had changed, and when Gough Whitlam’s Labor government came into power in Australia in 1972, though its tenure was brief, Whitlam and his ministers put into place policy and reform which changed the direction of the country and rewrote Australia’s shared ideology. The next decade in Australia was one where immigration was brought to the fore and multicultural initiatives which were to continue for the next decade were initiated. From 1972 to 1975 Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, supported by the Minister for Immigration, Al Grassby, put in place a series of amendments which transformed Australian society. Grassby gradually transitioned the nation to multiculturalism, and to a supportive and welfare-oriented approach towards immigrants. In addition, Grassby and Whitlam abolished the

Immigration Department, publicly stating that the Department's commitment to the White Australia policy constituted discrimination. They also eliminated the criterion of race in immigrant selection, thus abolishing the White Australia policy itself (Hill & Allan, 2004).

At least at the federal policy level, the White Australia ideology was dead. Given the complete change in profile of the Australian population from Australia's pre-Second World War population to Australia's population in the 1970s, the new Liberal government, a conservative coalition headed by Malcolm Fraser, was faced in 1975 with the dilemma of whether to pander to any persistent Anglo-Australian white-Australia sentiment, or to continue with the reforms put in place by the Whitlam government. Fraser commissioned the 'Review of post-arrival programs and services for migrants' (Galbally, 1978, cited in Hill & Allan, 2004), from which the Galbally report (1978) was released. One of the major changes brought about by the Galbally report was a focus on support services and welfare provisions for migrants, in a push for a greater level of equity and access within the Australian society. The Fraser government established a variety of programs and services for migrants, as well as the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA). It also commissioned two additional reports: the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council's 'Australia as a Multicultural Society' (1977); and the Schools Commission Committee on Multicultural Education's 'Education for a Multicultural Society' (1979) (both as cited in Hill & Allan, 2004).

Given the bipartisan support for these new initiatives and direction for Australian society, the subsequent Labor government (1983–1991) led by Prime Minister Bob Hawke carried on the initiatives begun by Whitlam and continued by Fraser, until the economic downturn in 1986 forced the government to instigate severe budget cuts to Government-funded multicultural services, programs and organisations.

As well as cutting multicultural services funding, Hawke's Labor government also restructured the government organisations whose remit it was to support multicultural affairs. This restructure altered the original focus and purpose of multicultural affairs from one of support and equity to a focus on supporting Australia's economy. The Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs was disbanded, though Hawke later created the Office of Multicultural Affairs within the Office of the Prime Minister. Hawke's government also consulted with community and the Advisory Council on Multicultural Affairs to produce *The Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services: Don't Settle for Less* (Jupp, 1986). The Office of Multicultural Affairs utilised the themes of this review in its creation of the 'National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia' (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs, n.d., 2020; Australian Government Office of Multicultural Affairs, 1989; Hill & Allan, 2004). The three main dimensions of the National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia were cultural rights, social justice and economic efficiency (Australian Government Office of Multicultural Affairs, 1989). Rizvi (2014) highlights the Agenda's overriding economic aims, stating that in the Agenda "cultural policy is ... shown to be a servant of economic policy, with migrants seen as a human resource which is not being fully utilised to facilitate Australia's economic objectives" (p. 78).

The bipartisan support for multiculturalism faltered slightly in the 1987 Federal election campaign, when opposition leader John Howard briefly attempted to make immigration an election issue. In addition, the Committee to Advise on Australia's Immigration Policies (1988), chaired by Dr Stephen FitzGerald, released a report in 1988 titled 'Immigration: A Commitment to Australia'. The report argued that immigration must be in Australia's economic interests, and that public support for the current immigration program was waning. The report was also critical of multiculturalism, arguing that it was divisive, and that the public instead needed to be shown a "strong sense of Australian identity" (Hill & Allan, 2004, p. 983).

The funding model begun by former Prime Minister Whitlam and his Minister for Immigration, Al Grassby had seen funding for and decision-making regarding ethnic groups given over to respective ethnic groups, and no longer the remit of a central, generic, government-controlled organisation. That funding model had also been adopted by successive governments in continuation of their support of multicultural policy. Finally, in 1996, the Howard government abolished funding for multicultural research and advocacy groups, as well as abolishing the Office of Multicultural Affairs and the Bureau of Immigration Research. The Howard coalition government had also renamed the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs as the Department of Immigration and Citizenship, thus allowing critics of Australian multiculturalism to declare that “multiculturalism was dead in Australia” (Clyne & Jupp, 2011, p. 191).

Jupp’s commentary reveals the stark reality of this turnaround in policy from assimilation to integration and then to multiculturalism and finally post-multiculturalism, when he states that “within a single generation states and individuals have moved from assimilative nationalism and open racism towards the concepts of human equality and cultural variety” (Jupp, 2011, p. 41). One notable result of this fast turnaround is that many Australians, including those in decision-making positions, grew up in a time when multiculturalism did not exist and was not promoted. Those with more conservative ideologies and values might then argue that multiculturalism results in an erosion of Australian values, thus “even quite small changes in the ‘ethnic balance’ may provoke strong reactions” (Jupp & Clyne, 2011, p. xxiii).

One such strong reaction can be seen in the emergence and popularity of the newly formed One Nation Party in Australia in 1996, which ran on a policy platform of abolition of multiculturalism, a return to assimilation, the abandoning of mass immigration, and the cessation of welfare services based

on ethnicity and Aboriginality (Jupp, 2011). One Nation garnered support in the 1996 Federal election mainly in Queensland and rural parts of Australia which have not seen the same levels of ethnic changes as urban areas, and although the party has since been beleaguered by instability from within the party, many of its policy positions were subsequently taken up by the more conservative governments which have since governed in Australia (Jupp & Clyne, 2011). The One Nation party played on people's "anxiety about the future of the nation-state in a globalizing world, and how this plays out at the level of neighbourhood" (Noble, 2016, p. 207).

As well as the more conservative critiques, critics of multiculturalism can be found amongst those with more liberal viewpoints, who may regard multiculturalism as:

a policy of conservative containment for managing immigrant minorities by conceding peripheral and superficial cultural and religious rights (the five Ds of dance, diet, dress, dialect, and devotion) while excluding them from economic, social, cultural, and political power, which remains the preserve of the white 'mainstream'. (Collins, 2012, p. 23)

More recent discussion around Australian immigrants with language backgrounds other than English (LBOTE) centres on their country of origin, time and mode of arriving in Australia, and their religion (Cox, 2015, p. 14).

Australia's approach to multiculturalism has always been bipartisan, with a transitioning from mono-cultural to multi-cultural (Jupp & Clyne, 2011). Another factor at play is that multiculturalism has never been passed into Australian law through parliamentary decree, so it is up to successive governments to interpret and shape the nature of multiculturalism and immigrant settlement (Collins, 2013). The first principle of Australia's current multicultural policy states:

the Australian Government celebrates and values the benefits of cultural diversity for all Australians, within the broader aims of national unity, community harmony and maintenance of our democratic values. (Australian Government Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011)

Carruthers (2013) points out the implications within this principle that “deep ethno-specific and/or extra-national affiliations can only be accommodated to the extent that they do not threaten unity, harmony and democracy” (p.215).

Indeed, in recent years the Australian government’s focus on multiculturalism has gradually deviated from the original intention of the Whitlam government. The more current public debates around immigration often reflect the immigration policy of the government of the time. Misty Adoniou used the name changes of the department responsible for multicultural affairs to outline a shift in focus:

- DIMA Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (2006)
  - DIAC Department of Immigration and Citizenship (2007–2013)
  - DIBP Department of Immigration and Border Protection (2013–current)
- (Adoniou, 2018, p. 274)

The DIBP, which was responsible for immigration, has now been subsumed by the Department of Home Affairs, which was established at the end of 2017. Also included in the Department of Home Affairs’ portfolio is the Department of Social Services, which has responsibility for multicultural affairs (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs, n.d., 2020).

These name changes reflect the fact that Australian multiculturalism has long been connected with immigration, and thus with protecting Australia’s borders from others. Erickson (2004) links Bourdieu’s cultural capitals of different groups of peoples with the boundaries which demarcate those groups. He asserts that “the presence of conflict depends on whether cultural

difference is being treated as a boundary or a border” (Erikson, 2004, p. 41) where boundaries signify some type of cultural difference, while borders are “*social constructs ... political in origin*. Power is exercised across a border” (Erikson, 2004, p. 41; italics as per original). The successive Australian governments’ name changes and use of terms with power connotations such as ‘citizenship’ and ‘protection’ to replace one with more positive connotations ‘multicultural affairs’ shows not only the exercising of the power of the dominant agents in the field over those of difference. It also shows a lack of reflection or understanding of the rich tapestry which multiculturalism has enabled in Australian society. As such, one could argue that the White Australia policy lingers on.

Aveling notes that Australians in general are proud of the fact that they live amongst diversity (Australian Government Department of Social Services, n.d.; Aveling, 2018), in a nation built by planned immigration (Markus et al., 2009, as cited in Collins, 2013). Yet, the “social impact of immigration” continues to be “hotly debated” (Collins, 2013, p. 134). Dandy and Pe-Pua (2010) concur with Collins, stating that there has never been a successful resolution of the ongoing “[d]ebates about the merits of cultural diversity and the policy of multiculturalism in Australia” (p. 34). This is mainly due to a collective anxiety at how such large numbers of immigrants will manage to integrate into Australian society (Collins, 2013, p. 135).

Furthermore, earlier studies cited by Dandy and Pe-Pua (Ang et al., 2002; Ang et al., 2006, as cited in Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010) have shown that Australian society is “ambivalent about the value of cultural diversity” (p. 35), and there exists merely a practical tolerance to multiculturalism. Indeed, at times it could be said that this diversity is so successful that those who are diverse from the notionally white dominant class blend in so well that “their differences (linguistic, cultural and religious) would disappear like invisible ink” (Collins, 2013, p. 136). There are those in Australia with the view that

successful settlement results in a society which is normative, and successful others are those able to or allowed to homogenise, and whose “cultural baggage was to be left at the border” (Collins, 2013, p. 137). The implication is that immigrants must shed their otherness in order to become Australian; they cannot be both.

The conservative population analyst Katherine Betts in 2005 divided the Australian people not into Anglo-background and immigrant-background, but into “‘patriots’ who are strongly attached to Australia” and ‘cosmopolitans’ who are weakly attached and display a preference for internationalism” (Betts, 2005, p. 35). Noble (2011) talks of Australia’s multicultural profile in terms of the “sense of diversity as the juxtaposition of enduring differences” (p. 830). Brahm Levey (2011) adds yet another layer of complexity, explaining that “Australian multicultural policy is highly individualistic .... So, the ‘multi’ in Australian multiculturalism stands not only for diversity among groups but also *within* groups” (p. 77; italics as per original). Collins (2012) has coined the term ‘cosmopolitan multiculturalism’ to encapsulate the heterogeneity which exists within the Australian immigrant group. It seems the declaration that “Australian multiculturalism needs to be re-imagined in a more cosmopolitan form that is relaxed about multiple, fluid national identities” (Beck, 2006; Delanty, 2009, as cited in Collins, 2013, p. 146) still rings true in the 21st century, as does Rizvi’s (2014) observation that:

the cultural practices of the Australian administrative system clearly favour the dominant group, for these practices are arranged around a set of values that assume a distinctive Anglo-Australian way of organising relationships between the public and the public service.  
(p. 85)

Weinmann et al. (2020) concur with this, writing that “monoculturalism-the belief in the superiority and singularity of Western, white and Anglophone culture-remains a focus in Australia” (p. 86). However, Brahm Levey (2011)

somewhat hopefully writes of the dominance of the Anglo-Australian culture, which while maintaining its dominance “is being modified at the coalface” (p. 84). No further elaboration is given, however, as to how this is being done.

This Australian experience seems a perfect example of Bourdieu’s notion of struggles in the field and of habitus both changing and being changed by the logic of practice of the field. Yet, Jayasuriya’s 1990 declaration that “Australian multicultural policies have failed to address important issues such as ... full participation in the structures of society which lay more in the public than in the private domain” (p. 55) can still be seen, for example, in the low numbers of teachers who speak a language other than English at home and/or come from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds.

This section has provided an overview of the complex nature of multiculturalism in Australia, and provides the background for the next section, which focuses on one aspect of that multiculturalism; the multilingual nature of Australian society.

### *3.2.2 Multilingual Australia*

Australia has been described as “one of the world’s most cosmopolitan nations” (Collins, 2012, pp. 17–18). Indeed, cultural diversity seems to pervade almost every section of the society (Australian Department of Social Services, n.d.; Smolicz, 1986). Nevertheless, below the surface of this successful multicultural society lies a monolingual yet multicultural paradox (Adoniou, 2018; Clyne, 2005), and as we have seen with the complexity of Australian multiculturalism, linguistic diversity in Australia is just as complex (Musgrave & Bradshaw, 2014).

Kipp (2008) describes the impact of the policies of assimilation in effect in the early 20th century in Australia, where new Australians were expected to quickly assimilate into a monolingual Australia. So fervent was the desire for Australia to remain monolingual, that in some areas bilingual education was

prohibited, and radio broadcasting in 'foreign' languages was forbidden. In addition, parents were advised by teachers to only use English at home if they wanted their children to succeed in their educational outcomes. The teaching of languages in schools was limited to teaching of 'foreign' languages such as French and Latin.

The liberal outlook of the Whitlam government changed this attitude; community language radio broadcasts had more and more airtime, multilingual radio and television stations were established; community language schools offered an alternative to the foreign language classes which had been offered in schools; services for those who spoke another language, such as the Telephone Interpreter Service, were established and; ethnic language newspapers sprung up.

Those who shared in a vision of a multilingual Australia – including Indigenous groups, academics, teachers, organisations representing ethnic and deaf peoples – all lobbied for an official national policy on languages. Just such a policy was released in 1987, and ever since Lo Bianco's (1987) first National Policy on Languages, the position of languages in Australia has been analysed and debated. Many Australians mistakenly assert that the national language is English. In fact, English is referred to as the standard language in Australia. Yet first and subsequent generations of migrants continue to maintain their home languages (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017). Added to this complexity is the fact that Australia was multilingual long before colonisation, with at least 250 Indigenous languages originally spoken (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2010) by approximately 500 Indigenous clan groups, or nations, each with their own cultures and languages (Smolicz, 1986). While some of these clans have survived as distinct language and culture groups, others were decimated by colonial rulers who adopted policies aimed at eradicating Indigenous peoples. There has been a recent resurgence of the awareness of the need to pass on and learn Indigenous languages. Currently over 300 languages,

including 145 Indigenous languages, are spoken in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017). Yet, overall it is only first and second generation migrants who describe themselves as plurilingual, with third and subsequent generation migrants usually moving to monolingual English speaking practices (Ellis, 2013).

Lo Bianco (1987) has described Australia's multilingual environment as unique. This uniqueness brings with it challenges and complexities to many people who navigate life in Australia. Clyne (2005), Inglis (2011) and Kipp (2008) provide extensive overviews of the history of languages and language use in Australia. Clyne (2000, 2005), Kipp (2008) and Adoniou (2018) all agree that although Australia is a multicultural country, it is still officially monolingual, with Clyne (2005) describing this as a wasted opportunity for the country as a whole.

The initial push in 1982 for a policy on languages (Smolicz, 1986) stemmed from an interest in social justice (Kipp, 2008). However, by the late 1980s economic rationalism overtook any concern for social justice. A select group of four Asian languages, Korean, Indonesian, Chinese and Japanese, were identified as capacity-building for Australia's relations in the region were chosen as focus languages. Community groups who spoke these languages were not included in this initiative, and other groups which spoke other Asian languages were also disregarded. Language use within communities in Australia was also no longer a focus (Kipp, 2008).

More than a decade ago Clyne declared that there was an underutilisation of the language capabilities present in Australia and its population (Clyne, 2005). Indeed, the current reality for many Australian immigrants and plurilingual speakers is that while new Australians have the right to speak another language, they are not encouraged to do so. In this way, Adoniou asserts, Australia practises a form of benign multiculturalism (2018). Ingrid Piller goes further, asserting and questioning the fact that although some communities

and organisations celebrate the linguistic diversity in their ranks, there is a “distinct absence of any public discussion of what this might mean for our social organisation. How does linguistic diversity structure contemporary Australian society?” (Piller, 2014, p. 191).

Looking at the issue from a different angle, Flores and García (2013) contend that “controlling the use of language is a primary way of managing diversity in our current era” (p. 243). Adding to this perspective, Agnihotri (2014) maintains that “amidst the cacophony of the talk of diversity, what is really emerging is a clamouring for standards .... Local multilingualities are marginalised by the relatively more homogeneous dominant multilingualities” (p. 366). Agnihotri cites Phillipson (1992, 2009), who “uses the term ‘linguicism’ to describe the dominance of colonial languages leading to the marginalisation of local languages; these imperial languages become ‘the crucial criterion in the beliefs and structure which result in unequal power and resource allocation’” (Agnihotri, 2014, p. 54). According to Phillipson (1992), “it seems highly likely that in many neo-colonial contexts linguicism has taken over from racism as an ideology which legitimates an unequal division of power and resources” (p. 318).

This unequal division of power impacts negatively on the level of social inclusion of speakers of languages other than the dominant language. Piller (2014) investigates the extent to which language is seen as a contributor to social inclusion, and as a consequence the level of poverty of those speakers. She concurs with Otsuji and Pennycook (2011) and Piller and Takahashi (2011) that “multilingualism is rendered invisible”, and that this “language discrimination can be used to create an underclass to provide cheap labour” (Piller, 2014, p. 201).

My research focuses both on the value and positioning of, as well as the approach towards, language and multiculturalism in the field of education in NSW, as well as the linguistic markets of the schools. It thus investigates these

assertions regarding linguisticism and invisibility of multilingualism at a micro level through the lived experiences of IEs at the sites of practice. The next section centres on multilingual education in Australia, and the place of languages in the Australian education system.

### *3.2.3 Multilingual education in Australia*

The education system in Australia has followed the overall trends of the nation, from the assimilationist approach, through to the embracing of multiculturalism and the subsequent tampering of that approach due initially to a downturn in the economy. Fielding (2016) points out the link between the nation state, national attitudes, and education, writing “how we view languages is ... highly significant for the field of education” (p. 364). Furthermore, most Australian schools, according to Moloney and Saltmarsh (2016), are in urban areas “with high levels of linguistic and cultural diversity” (p. 80). Reid (2017) concurs with this, stating that “diversity ... has become ubiquitous in schooling populations” (p. 2). It is thus imperative that the policies around and approaches and attitudes towards multilingual education in Australia be consistent and based on the most current research.

The period directly after World War II saw schools respond to the arrival of immigrant children in an assimilationist way. Migrant children were seen as a problem, and rather than changing the overall structure of schools, or training teachers to better support these immigrant children schools relied heavily on the goodwill and patience of the teachers to deal with these “problem” students. Further, the scant education research conducted during this period focussed on the deficits of immigrant students (Roper, 1971).

By the 1960s growing numbers of immigrant students were placing greater demands on the education system, and teachers were finding it increasingly difficult to cope with the demands of an ever-greater number of what were then labelled non-English-speaking background (NESB) students. The

Australian federal government responded to these changes in the early 1970s by offering grants to the state-run schools. This enabled the federal government, which controls immigration, to set the agenda in the schools, for which the States have responsibility. In this way, schools shifted from a passive to active assimilationist approach, supported by programs financed through Federal grants. These programs saw the installation of language laboratories, commencement of English as a Second Language withdrawal classes, and introduction of short courses for teachers, in schools with high populations of immigrant and NESB students. Despite the emergence of literature regarding the need for learning experiences to address immigrant student needs and backgrounds, the focus was very firmly placed on training and supporting teachers in the teaching of English as a second language (Hill & Allan, 2004). In this way, schools shifted from passive to active assimilationist approaches to their changing student populations.

As we have seen in the previous section, the Whitlam Government ushered in an era of immense change. In the Australian education sector this resulted in a marked increase in funding of resources to support the change from assimilationist principles to approaches supporting the embracing of ethnic diversity. This change in ethos was summarised clearly by Al Grassby, the former immigration minister:

We are not talking about “migrant” children. We are talking about Australian children of many different backgrounds. Certainly it is irrelevant to talk about migrant education. What we are really talking about is education of all children to fit them for a life in a multicultural and polyethnic society. (Grassby, 1979, as cited in Hill & Allan, 2004, p. 985)

Despite an immense increase in funding, the shift in ethos took at least another decade, with some commentators (Hill & Allan, 2004; Kalantzis, 1987) arguing that the shift was in some cases tokenistic.

By the early 1980s all Australian states had their own multicultural education policies, supported by overall aims of multicultural education, all of which supported a stronger approach towards achieving equality for all students.

In order to support these aims, documentation was produced in the areas of English as a second language education, community languages education, ethnic studies, intercultural education, and multicultural perspectives. The support given to community languages education demonstrated a newly-arrived-at recognition that a multicultural Australia was one where migrants and their children had the right to speak and maintain their home languages. These support materials were designed to promote equity, as much as to recognise that interethnic harmony was necessary in order to achieve a truly multicultural society.

As mentioned above, some commentators were wary of these new policy statements, aims and directions. The main concern was that implementation of ethnic studies, intercultural education and multicultural perspectives was tokenistic and simplified the rich heterogeneous nature of Australian multicultural society. Indeed, Cahill's 1984 Review of the Commonwealth Multicultural Education Program revealed that teachers had not received the necessary training into the diverse ethnic groups which now comprise Australian society. It is little wonder that if teachers did not know about the backgrounds of their students, multicultural displays could not go past the "spaghetti and dance activities" (Rizvi, 2014, p. 75). Others took the view that community language schools promoted ethnic separatism as opposed to integration (Smolicz, 1984). In addition to these criticisms, the integration of ethnic studies, intercultural education and multicultural perspectives was seen by many to lack a coordinated and professional approach, and teacher training providers were also criticised for not adequately preparing their teacher trainees for the demands of their diverse student groups.

An additional criticism of these new policies, aims and materials was that the tokenistic approach which had been taken toward them ignored the racism which had embedded itself in Australian society. There was a growing call for affirmative action in order that immigrant children had equal opportunities in Australian society and specifically in the workforce, rather than singing in their community language while they danced in the dole queue. (Kalantzis, 1987, p. 6).

A greater focus on access and equity was achieved after 1986; the start of the period of economic imperative. Past programs had been found by Cahill (1984) to have not made significant lasting changes to schooling in Australia. Economic imperatives now meant that funding was redirected only into areas which could be seen by the Government to be of economic benefit to the country, and therefore by default, also of benefit to migrants. The establishment of the National Office of Overseas Skills Recognition (NOOSR) meant that migrants who had previously had to settle for blue collar jobs now had the means and opportunity to convert their cultural capital into symbolic capital, with ESL programs assisting them in the transferring of that capital. The approach towards access and equity had become much more targeted and focussed. Alongside this, the government announced a National Policy on Languages in 1987. The previous approach of language maintenance had now been morphed by economic imperative into the Asian Studies Program, which was designed to promote the learning of the languages of Australia's Asian trading partners. In addition, foci on ethnic studies made way for Asian Studies materials, which promoted the understanding of the cultures of Australia's Asian trading partners. Economic rationalism had made its way into education decision making (Hill & Allan, 2004).

It seems that the approach to be taken with students whose first language is not English is still not clear in the 21st century. Almost as if they were bookends to the beginning and current situation in Australia, both Martin

(1972) and Rizvi (2014) discuss the impact of CALD and plurilingual students on the education system in Australia. Martin's work provides evidence that as early as the 1970s there has been an awareness that bilingual education would enhance culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) students' capital accumulation. Martin (1972) writes of bilingual education as, "the most hopeful approach to the problems faced by the migrant child whose command over his own language stops developing- atrophies as it were- before he has developed an ability to think completely in English" (p. 13).

Cummins (1996) also states in support of bilingual education that "nurturing the linguistic and cultural resources of the nation is simply good common sense in light of the cultural realities of the 21<sup>st</sup> century" (p. 291). He asserts that the investment in bilingual programs for all students does not need to be major for there to be a significant contribution to a nation's economic and international priorities.

More recent research (Allard, 2017; Cenoz, 2016, 2017; Duarte, 2016; D'warte, 2014; Garcia, 2017; García & Seltzer, 2015; Otheguy et al., 2015, Wei, 2015) has shifted focus away from bilingual education towards translanguaging pedagogies. The notion of translanguaging extends beyond the concept of bilingualism, describing the unconscious practice of plurilingual individuals to utilise all languages at their disposal. The concept was first used in educational contexts (Lewis, Jones & Baker, 2012) but has since been extended across other fields containing plurilingual agents (Cenoz, 2016). Canagarajah (2011, p 401) describes translanguaging as "the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system." Otheguy, Garcia and Reid (2015) avoid using the term 'language' in their definition, opting instead for the term 'idiolect' (Cenoz, 2016), in order to distance the notion of translanguaging practice away from "socially and politically defined language labels or boundaries." (Otheguy, Garcia and Reid (2015, p. 297). In

multilingual and multicultural classrooms in NSW, translanguaging may have a transformative impact on multicultural classrooms (Cenoz, 2016; Fielding, 2016; Sierens & Van Avermaet, 2013) through pedagogy which “focusses on the functions of multilingual repertoires for negotiating and acquiring knowledge” (Duarte, 2016, p. 14).

However, Rizvi’s (2014) commentary provides clarity in terms of the lack of any impactful change in attitudes towards languages other than English in Australia. Rizvi (2014) asserts that the concept of multicultural education was easily subverted through state governments’ implementation of multicultural education programs in schools, which resulted in “inherently assimilatory and conservative practices ... masquerading as multicultural education” (p. 74). Martin (1972) further explains that in addressing the needs of CALD students “the education system has avoided confronting what the impact of migrant children involves in terms of what it is doing to the school structure as a whole” (p. 13). Martin (1972) points out that multicultural education programs have not fallen short within the practices of teachers in the individual sites of practice. Instead, “what is needed is a more robust official commitment to educational equality for the migrant child .... [which] has however been hampered by ... the ‘ideology of settlement’” (pp. 13–14). Martin’s notion of the ideology of settlement has been elaborated on earlier in this chapter. Martin (1972) reported on the Anglo-Australian belief that new Australians should not be afforded any special treatment or granted additional support upon their arrival in Australia. In addition, they believed that migrants to Australia would not cause Australian society to be altered in any way.

Indeed, the lack of consistent direction in terms of multilingual education in Australia can be traced back to the fact that “the maintenance of different cultural identities was tolerable only in so far as it did not affect the social

cohesion of the nation, that is, altered the framework of the existing political and economic structures” (Rizvi, 2014, p. 74).

This first section of this chapter has established the context of my research in terms of the history of multiculturalism and multilingualism in Australia. This next section examines the field of education in Australia in terms of the dominant values and practices in the field.

### **3.3 The logic of practice of the field**

When examining attitudes towards language and lingualism in the DoE, one must be reminded that not only can hierarchization be present regarding the varieties of English spoken (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1994) such as Aboriginal English, British English and Standard Australian English (SAE), but also with regard to the value and status of the minority languages spoken in Australia. Both Clyne and Kipp speak of the equity of minority and majority languages in Australia in the 1970s and 1980s as a type of utopia (Clyne, 2000; Kipp, 2008). By the late 1980s, the move towards neoliberalism had also begun to have an effect on the value of languages in Australia, with respect to the economic value which certain languages possessed, and how the use and the instruction of these languages could have a positive impact on the economy as a whole (Clyne, 2005; Kipp, 2008). Arber (1999) addressed teacher teaching in Australian schools, writing that “the utopia, the vision, the dream that multicultural policies and practices promised seems to have slipped from our grasp” (p. 310). Lo Bianco (2015) writes that Australian “language education has become decidedly utilitarian, focused on key Asian trade-servicing languages. This means that excluded languages, whether Asian, European, or Pacific, are relegated to heritage maintenance” (p. 609).

Indeed, giving value to some minority languages over others creates two distinct groups of languages other than English; those which are important, and those which are unimportant (Clyne, 2000). Adoniou (2018) has

confirmed that there still exists an inequality in the status of languages spoken in Australia. She presents a five-tiered hierarchy of languages spoken in Australia, with English in the tier 1 position, followed by foreign languages of cultural and trade significance in tier 2 position, community languages taking up tiers 3 and 4 positions, and languages and dialects spoken by Indigenous Australians in tier 5 position (Adoniou, 2018).

According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), schools are sites of cultural reproduction. Hence, the values, beliefs and attitudes of the dominant players in the field are disseminated in schools through the actions and attitudes of the agents in the field. The results of Adoniou's inequality of languages can be seen in practice with the introduction of the Bilingual Schools Program by the New South Wales Department of Education in 2010 (*Curriculum & Leadership Journal*, 2009), whereby students in four schools in NSW began to receive up to 90 minutes of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) tuition per day in a second language. Currently there are still only four NSW DoE public schools where the Bilingual Schools Program is taught as part of the schools' curriculums. The languages which the NSW DoE chose for the bilingual programs at the four schools are Chinese, Indonesian, Japanese and Korean. All four are power languages (García, 2013), or tier 2 languages as classified by Adoniou, so distinguished due to their trade significance (Adoniou, 2018). The NSW DoE refers to these languages as 'priority languages' within the region (NSW DoE, 2021). They are not necessarily representative of the home languages spoken by students of the four schools where the bilingual programs are offered. The NSW DoE's approach towards these different languages reveals the symbolic capital which is valued in the field, and the positioning of the agents (both the students and teachers) who have access to this capital.

Despite the multicultural profile of Australian schools, "policy remains grounded in a monolingual norm" (Fielding, 2015, p. 2). Arber (2012) asserts

that the understandings and behaviours of the field of education which are defined as normal are communicated through school policy and everyday practice. It is through what Arber terms a “hidden curriculum” (p. 465) that norms, values and beliefs are communicated.

Indeed, from the NSW DoE’s (2021) perspective, it would seem then that only the languages which the NSW DoE sees as having value for Australia are English and these priority languages. Clyne (2011) describes a shift in focus beginning in the early 1990s to “English literacy and languages of Australia’s major trading partners” (p. 58). Minority languages and Indigenous languages, which some students may have as their home or community languages, were not afforded the same level of importance as these four languages offered in the Bilingual Program. This leads into a further investigation of what the NSW DoE refers to as community languages, and the Community Languages Program.

According to the NSW DoE, for all other schools not participating in the Bilingual Schools Program, language programs for early Stage 1 to Stage 3 students are optional and delivery of languages programs are at the discretion of individual schools, school staff and the school community (NSW DoE, 2020c). Schools can make an application to participate in the Community Languages Program when funding is available, the selected language is spoken by the school community, and parental, community and staff support is present (NSW DoE, 2020c). At present in NSW government schools there are 30 community languages being taught by specialist language teachers (NSW DoE, 2020h). This helps to uphold these students’ right to speak their home language (Adoniou, 2018). Both the Bilingual Schools Program and the Community Languages Program might be said to broadly fall into the category of additive bilingualism, where collaborative community participation and transformative pedagogy leads to academically and personally empowered

students (Brisk et al., 2015; Cummins, 1996, 2000a; Flores & Baetens-Beardsmore, 2015; May 2008).

However, upon closer analysis both the Bilingual Schools Program and the Community Languages Program relegate these other languages to be used only at a specific time, or at a specific place (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Sylvan, 2011). There is little to no recognition of the nature of linguicism and language use as a fluid process (García, 2009), which rises above any relegation to specific time and place and foregrounds these home languages. Instead of expanding students' linguistic repertoires through additive multilingual programs which support bilingual and multilingual development (Brisk et al., 2015; Sierens & Van Avermaet, 2013), the NSW DoE's approach to language education and maintenance falls squarely in the realm of subtractive bilingualism. Flores and Baetens-Beardsmore (2015) explain subtractive bilingual education as:

a form of bilingual education that targets language-minoritized populations living in societies where their home languages are either completely excluded from, or minimally included in, public spaces. The goal for these programs is to develop student proficiency in the dominant language of society, with little or no interest in the development of the home language. (p. 208)

This section has presented the approach to languages taken by the NSW DoE. It has shown that English language capital is valued most highly in the field, with languages other than English valued less highly, depending on their economic value to the Australian nation. The next section focuses on the international educators (IEs) teaching in NSW DoE schools. The positioning of IEs in the field is presented, bearing in mind the value the dominant agents bestow on languages and the symbolic capital to which the IEs thus have access through their navigation of the field.

### **3.4 The agents operating within the field**

#### *3.4.1 The international educators*

Australian multiculturalism pervades almost every section of urban society. In fact, without transnational movement of peoples from non-English-speaking countries Australia would not be able to fill shortages of positions in vital sectors such as education (Collins & Reid, 2012; McKinnon, 2016; Reid et al., 2010, 2014). Furthermore, researchers have also noted that teachers with global, plurilingual and intra-and inter-cultural awareness are an asset to those countries in which they choose to settle (Guo & Singh, 2009; Miller, 2007, 2008a, 2008b; Murray et al., 2014; Reid et al., 2014).

This research initially stemmed from my work as an assessor for the now-superseded Professional English Assessment for Teachers (PEAT). Overseas-trained and International Educators (IEs) who wish to be accredited to work in NSW public schools must provide evidence of their English language proficiency, and there have been a handful of studies into this gate-keeping process, which not surprisingly focuses primarily on the PEAT assessment itself (Elder & Kim, 2013; Murray et al., 2012), or the comparison of PEAT with other English language proficiency ratings (Merrifield, 2008; Murray et al., 2014; Wylie, 2010).

When investigating the experiences which the overseas trained teachers have after they pass the PEAT test, gain entry to the field, and begin working in NSW public schools, one must cast a wider net. Much previous research has grouped together all overseas trained teachers, whether of native English-speaking background or not. My preliminary investigations of overseas trained teachers focussed on research about the experience of overseas trained teachers in the Australian, UK and New Zealand contexts. With regard to the choice of UK and New Zealand contexts, it was decided that these linguistic contexts were most similar to the Australian context, in that there exists only

one power, or dominant, language, and several minority and Indigenous languages. This is in contrast with Canadian and USA contexts, where two power languages exist in each context; English and French in the case of Canada, and English and Spanish in the case of the USA, with Indigenous and minority languages then present in both contexts (Cummins, 2000a, 2007; García, 2013).

While there is some research into the specific group of IEs in the Australian context, as Reid et al. (2014) note, much of the research is “dated and narrow in focus” (p. 36). The research into IEs in the Australian context undertaken by Reid et al. (2010, 2014), presents a comprehensive and more recent overview of the statistics and experiences of IEs in Australia. Much of what is presented in the literature with regard to the experiences of IEs focuses on the challenges, hurdles, and barriers they face both in terms of obtaining accreditation to teach, but also once they start teaching (Collins & Reid, 2012; Guo & Singh, 2009; Reid et al., 2014; Santoro et al., 2001). When the research does include reflections on the value of this group of teachers, and the value that these teachers bring with them to their new teaching and learning environments, it tends to be presented either in a much shorter subsection of a paper, or as a recommendation for further research (Miller, 2008; Murray & Cross, 2009; Murray et al., 2014; Reid et al., 2014). Murray et al. (2014) include a reflection from principals of IEs regarding the value the latter bring to their schools, while Reid et al. (2014) recommend that more research needs to be done into the Capital that these teachers bring, despite the fact that the primary focus of their publication seems to be the difficulties of becoming, and the frustrations of being, an IE in Australia.

With regard to the more general theme of cultural and linguistic diversity of teachers in NSW schools, Moloney (2018) points out that there is a dearth of information on the languages spoken and backgrounds of these plurilingual and multicultural teachers. There is thus little known about the impact these

teachers' capital might have on the schools in which they teach. In fact, as Moloney also points out, the "first account of the linguistic diversity of the NSW teaching population" (p. 142) was presented in 2013 by Watkins et al. as part of a three-year project jointly conducted by the University of Western Sydney, the New South Wales Department of Education and the NSW Institute of Teachers. In the first report on the project, Watkins et al. concluded that the rich multilingual and multicultural repertoires of NSW teachers was not recorded on their teaching accreditations. There is also no information on whether or how individual sites of practice in which these teachers work recognise and assign teachers to duties which require them to access their linguistic and cultural capital. Furthermore, Ellis (2013) writes that "the languages that teachers speak ... have so far received little attention in the literature" (p. 447). Moloney (2018) concurs with this view, writing that this rich linguistic and cultural capital to which the teachers had access is "often unacknowledged in research about the teaching profession" (p. 142).

Cruickshank (2004, 2015) also presents research on IEs, identifying the fact that much previous research has focussed on the IEs' perceived deficits (2015). In response to this, Cruickshank's 2004 and 2015 papers both focus on what the IEs themselves say they require, and the impact that the field and sites of practice have on their experiences. Cruickshank (2004) focuses on Australian teacher training programs for overseas trained IEs, and the elements they identify as important in such programs. Cruickshank (2015) also focuses on the individual sites of practice in which the plurilingual teachers in his study worked in order to ascertain the elements in those sites of practice which promote inclusive practices.

My research investigates not only the IEs, their habituses and the capital they have access to in the field. Following Bourdieu's 'ontological complicity', my research investigates the field itself, the logic of practice of the field, and the

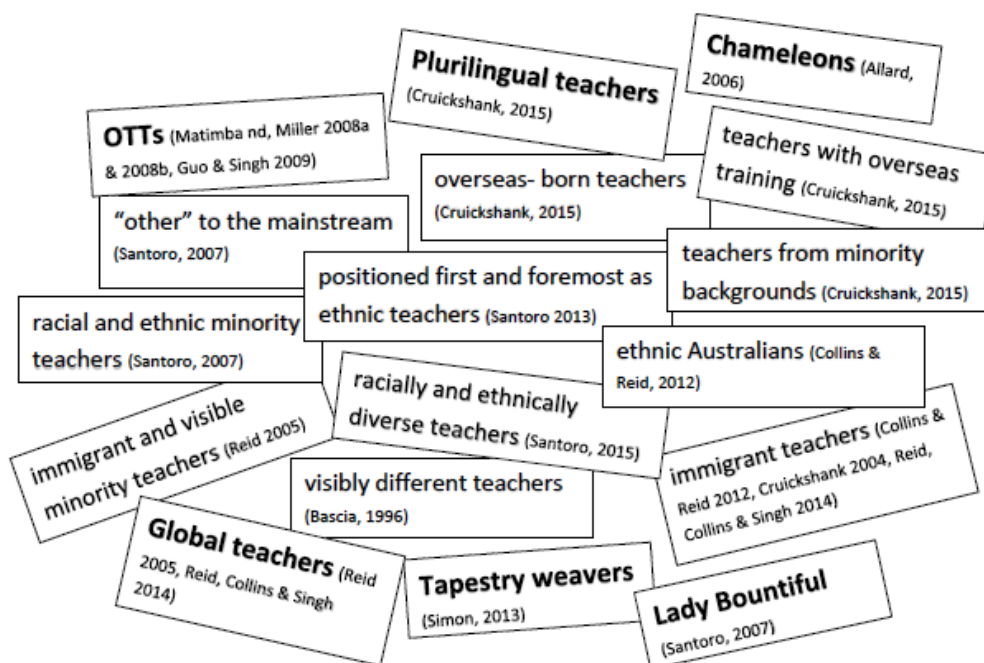
ways in which the rules of the game impact on the experiences of the IEs as they navigate the field.

### *3.4.2 The naming and positioning of IEs as reflected in the research*

While examining the literature on overseas trained teachers, and especially that of non-English-speaking-background overseas-trained teachers, a recurrent theme which emerged was the labels given to these teachers by the researchers:

The category 'non-English-speaking background' (NESB) defines these internationally educated teachers by what they are not. There is no recognition of a category such as 'World English speakers.' Further, this label gives no recognition to any other linguistic capabilities they might have. This is an English-centric deficit approach to teachers' language competence. (Reid et al., 2014, p. 92)

As can be seen in Figure 1, some researchers choose to give neutral labels to this group of teachers, however there is evidence of other labels which could be interpreted as negative, and only a handful of labels which may be said to convey a more positive impression.



*Figure 1 Selection of labels given to overseas trained teachers in the literature*

As discourse shapes our thinking, our actions, and our identities (Hall & Du Gay, 1996, in Byrd Clarke, 2009), this observation led to the questions as to how the existing research positions the IEs, how the IEs portray themselves in the existing research, and the identity/ies of the IEs which is portrayed in the research.

At the 2016 International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL) Conference, one of the keynote speakers, a non-English-speaking background (NESB) English as a Second Language (ESL) teacher named Silvana Richardson gave a plenary where she introduced other notable plenary speakers by outlining to the audience their achievements in the TESOL field. She then introduced herself, asking the audience “What quality am I emphasising by saying that I am a non-native-English-speaking teacher?” (Richardson, 2016). In the quote at the beginning of this section, Reid et al. (2014) agree with Richardson’s sentiment, asserting that the label NESB defines teachers by what they are not, instead of defining them as internationally educated. Kamler et al. (1999) also agree, asserting “unfortunately difference is too often perceived as ‘deficit’” (p. 58).

Differences thus “mark some languages ... as being more prestigious and knowledgeable than others” (Weinmann & Arber, 2017, p. 173). The question is then of the ways in which the labels given to these IEs affect their capital accumulation, and the value of their habitus and capital in the Australian education field.

Many overseas trained teachers, when asked about their experiences in the system focus on everything they are not, instead of talking about what strengths they have that could be utilised (Collins & Reid, 2012; Reid, 2005; Santoro, 2015). This may depend on the questions they are asked and the phrasing of those questions (Collins & Reid, 2012; Reid, 2005). However, from what is reported in the literature it could be concluded that it is the IEs who frame themselves negatively, and it is the IEs who focus on frustrations of being defined as everything they are not. Edgeworth and Santoro (2015) discuss belonging as the state of social inclusion, as well as a pedagogy of belonging. While their article focuses on students’ states of belonging, the ideas they present can just as well be applied to teachers. The question then becomes one of how some of these labels attributed to this group of teachers foster any belonging or sense of feeling they are fish in water after they have gained entry to the field and are legitimated as players in the game. In a separate paper, Santoro (2015) qualifies the labels used by stating “I am also acutely aware of the ways in which ‘naming’ is a discursive practice that serves to produce the subject rather than simply reflect it ... I cautiously name the teacher-participants ... as ‘culturally diverse’ when I refer to them collectively” (p. 862).

However, the discourse, whether qualified or not, still works to frame these teachers’ identities, and thus also may affect these individuals’ value, and the ways in which they navigate the field. Weinmann and Arber (2017) present findings on research on languages teachers in Australia, concluding that these teachers’ identities are “shaped by the normative terms and conditions of an

understanding of languages and languages education that is rooted in parochial and monolingual norms and behaviours” (p. 178). The final label to be discussed in this section is “Lady Bountiful” (Santoro, 2007). Santoro discusses the notion of “Lady Bountiful” as “a representation of the White lady missionary or teacher that emerged during the time of British imperialism” (Harper, 2002, as cited in Santoro, 2007, p. 88). Santoro goes on to say, “her image lives on in the practices and ideals of some white middleclass teachers who judge others by their own middleclass standards and expectations” (p. 88). This research hopes to bring a more contemporary meaning to the “bountiful” label and present perspectives which show that to be bountiful and to have access to valued capital in the field is not only in the realm of the white, middle class teacher.

### **3.5 Chapter 3 summary**

This chapter has established the context and existing literature in the field of my research. The chapter has presented the background to and logic of practice of the field, in terms of the nature of multicultural Australia, of multilingual Australia, and of multilingual education in Australia. The chapter has also presented relevant literature on international educators in Australia. The following chapter outlines the methods adopted in my study and the analytical framework used to make sense of the data collected.

## Chapter 4: Methodology

### 4.1 Introduction and overview

This methodology chapter outlines the design of my qualitative study in terms of how Bourdieu's thinking tools were utilised in order to investigate the field, the agents within the field, and the logic of practice of the field. Bourdieu's conceptual framework (presented in detail in Chapter Two) was eminently suitable for this investigation of the social field. Through the use of Bourdieu's lens my analysis was able to extend beyond the experiences of the participants to investigate the extent of impacts of the International Educators (IEs) in the field. I utilised Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence in the context of this study of newcomers to a field and the ways in which the field and agents in the field adapt to changes in the field. In this way I was able to analyse not merely the experiences of the IE participants, but also Bourdieu's relational aspects of the agents in the field. In addition, Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis (CDA) (presented in detail in Chapter Two) was chosen as a framework for analysing institutional documents. CDA complements Bourdieu's approach as it proceeds beyond descriptive analysis of text to reveal the ways in which linguistic devices used in texts can impact on social practices and norms. Through the use of these two complementary analytical frameworks, data which could have remained buried came to light.

The data collected was utilised to provide further information on the three research themes/foci:

- *Research focus 1*: Legitimate and illegitimate languages and recognition of capital in the field. This theme looks at the extent to which and ways in which policies and approaches towards multiculturalism and multilingualism may have impacted on the value and positioning of, as well as the approach towards, language and multiculturalism in the field of education in Australia/NSW.

- *Research focus 2*: The linguistic habituses of the IEs. This theme investigates the linguistic habituses of the IEs and the power relations between the structures and agents operating within the linguistic markets of the field.
- *Research focus 3*: The strategies of the IEs as they navigate the field. This theme investigates the strategies displayed by IEs in relation to language and language practices when navigating the field.

The first research theme centres on the field of power and the dominant agents' approach to language. I chose to investigate this area using a combination of document analysis and case study interviews. A range of publicly available NSW Department of Education (NSW DoE) as well as associated Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) documents were analysed using CDA. A full list of documents analysed can be found in Appendix One. I also conducted case study interview series using semi-structured interview questions with four IEs in order to collect their experiences around the logic of practice of the field and their views on legitimate and illegitimate capital in the field.

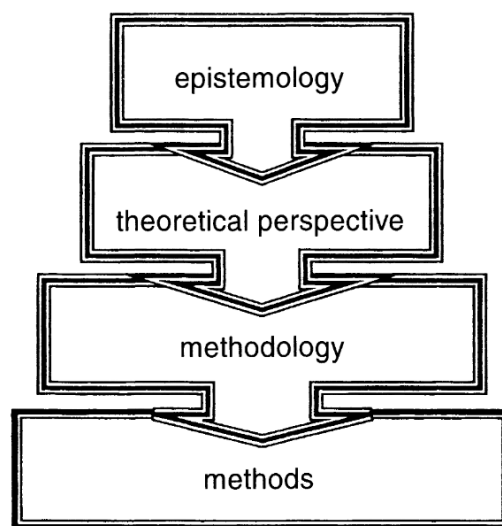
The second and third research themes centre on the experiences of IEs with regard to language practices in the schools in which they taught and the ways in which the IEs navigate the field. I again used data collected through the case study interviews with the four IEs in order to investigate these themes. Each interview was an average of approximately 30 minutes in length, and each teacher was interviewed between 2 and 5 times, depending on the length of each interview and the amount of rich data which was collected from each interview. The conceptual framework provided by Bourdieu allowed me to construct an analytical framework using Bourdieu's thinking tools. The interviews were then analysed using this analytical framework.

To summarise, in my research I chose CDA and case study interviews as the most appropriate methods for collecting the data required to investigate my

three research themes. The approaches taken with CDA and Bourdieu's concepts complemented the methods of data collection chosen, as can be seen in the next section which outlines the design of my research.

## 4.2 Research design

The approach taken in the design of the research was instigated through Crotty's (1998) key questions to ask when developing research proposals. These questions concern the choice of method and methodology, the theoretical perspectives behind that methodology, and the epistemology informing those theoretical perspectives (Crotty, 1998). Further to these two questions is the question of the purpose for the research, which in turn informs the justification for the choice of methods and methodologies. Thus, all four questions inform each other (Crotty, 1998). Crotty's visual representation of that relationship between and amongst these elements can be seen in Figure 2.



*Figure 2 The four elements of research (Crotty, 1998, p. 4)*

Bourdieu's sociological epistemology is based on the work of French sociologist Gaston Bachelard (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In Bourdieu's 1973 work with Chamboredon and Passeron, *Le métier de sociologue*, they propose a formula, based on Bachelard's ideas on the production of

sociological knowledge, of three stages for the acquisition of sociological knowledge, writing that “facts are conquered [through rupture with common sense], constructed, confirmed (*les faits sont conquis, construits, constatés*)” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 95). The focus on facts in this formula is key here. Bourdieu regarded theory as too removed from practice in the pursuit of much scientific knowledge (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), writing that:

theoretic knowledge is worth noting but ... we must know its limits and accompany all scientific accounts with an account of the limits and limitations of scientific accounts: theoretical knowledge owes a number of its most essential properties to the fact that the conditions under which it is produced are not that of practice. (p. 70)

Further to the relationship (or gap) between theory and practice, Bourdieu states that “an adequate model of reality must take into account the distance between the practical experience of agents (who ignore the model) and the model which enables the mechanisms it describes to function with the unknowing ‘complicity’ of agents” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 70).

With regard to knowledge, Bourdieu asserts that pure knowledge must coexist with “a sociological critique of the conditions of validity of epistemology” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 181). Indeed, according to Grenfell, Bourdieu describes his theory as “*constructivist structuralism* or *stucturalist constructism*” (Grenfell, 2004, p. 26; italics as per original). Grenfell explains that Bourdieu was a student of the phenomenologist Merleau-Ponty, and that Bourdieu’s use of the term *structure* is thus meant in the phenomenological sense of the structures which humans construct in their interactions with the world (Grenfell, 2004). In other words, humans are constantly attempting to make sense of their world and make subjective meanings regarding their experiences in the contexts in which individuals operate. As such, in terms of

current epistemological approaches, Bourdieu is best described as a social constructivist (Creswell, 2003; Crotty, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 2000).

Social constructivist knowledge makes the claim that; meaning is created through the experiences of individuals; those individuals make sense of the world based on their lived experiences, in other words their habitus; the context, or field in which experiences occur is important for understanding, and; meaning-making is social and relational (Creswell, 2003). The methodology thus utilised for my research themes is that of Naturalistic Enquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), which has as its aim the study of “participant’s views of the situation” (Creswell, 2003, p. 8).

The methods used in this research are qualitative and involve case studies and document analysis. The cases studies comprise series of interviews with diverse participants over a period of several months. As a data collection tool, interviews were used (Stake, 1995) in order to collect open-ended information which emerged through the course of those interviews. That open-ended information was then analysed through a Bourdieusian lens, and this Bourdieusian analytical framework allowed several themes to emerge from the data (Creswell, 2003).

Using CDA as a tool for the analysis of data also befits social constructivist knowledge claims, with texts seen as “social spaces in which two fundamental social processes simultaneously occur: cognition and representation of the world and social interaction” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 6). Further to this, Fairclough’s assertion that discourse is shaped by social structures, but that it also has the power to shape those social structures (2015) mirrors Bourdieu’s ideas around language use and the relationships between agents and the fields of power in which they operate and use discourses at their disposal (Grenfell, 2011a). One final point to note is that Fairclough uses the term *discourse* in CDA “to refer to the whole process of social interaction of which

text is just a part” (2015, p. 57). This highlights again the social constructivist nature of discourse analysis as a method for the collection of data.

### **4.3 Data collection methods**

As has been discussed in the Introduction and Overview section of this chapter, I used CDA and case study interviews to collect data for this study. In this section of the chapter, I explain in detail both of these data collection methods and their application in my research.

#### ***4.3.1 Case study interviews***

The aim of the case study interviews was to use the data collected to build a picture of each IE’s work life and thus offer a “thick description” (Geertz, 1973, as cited in Holliday, 2007, p. 74; Geertz, 1973, as cited in Stake, 1995, p. 42) of these teachers’ experiences in NSW public schools. The goal was to collect “real-world observations, dilemmas, and questions ... from the interplay of the researcher's direct experience, tacit theories, and growing scholarly interests” (Marshall & Rossman, 1995, p. 16). As such, this research can be best described as naturalistic and qualitative (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In addition, the style of this particular case study can best be described as evaluative, as the research proposes to investigate a number of different cases, or IEs, in order to better understand their experiences in the field (Stenhouse, 1988, as cited in Bassey, 1999). As Stake states, “the interview is the main road to multiple realities” (1995, p. 64).

One key feature of evaluative case studies is that through this new-found understanding, the outcomes of the research can be used to instigate change in the field (Bassey, 1999). This was of particular interest, given that Bourdieu’s ideas, including that of symbolic violence, informed the conceptual framework for the study. In this research, the IEs were all newcomers to the Australian field of education. Through my use of a Bourdieusian lens, I was able to analyse not only the IEs’ isolated experiences, but also any effects that

their entry to the field may have had on the field, and the sites of practice in the field.

For each IE participant, a series of interviews was conducted over a period of between one and five months. With each interview session, rapport was built (Marshall & Rossman, 2011), and the participants began to feel more at ease and comfortable enough to speak more openly and confidently about their experiences (Glesne, 2016). The series of interviews enabled me to ask for elaboration on what has been discussed in previous interviews, and thus allowed me to obtain a thick description (Glesne, 2016) of the IEs' experiences. The series of interviews with each participant thus enabled me to design research which was more participatory.

The iterative process of the research allowed me to continually build clarification and construct a more accurate understanding of the field through the experiences the IEs recounted to me. In addition, the rapport I built with the IEs meant that my positioning of them as authorities in the field may have been viewed by the IEs as more authentic. I am hopeful that this put the IEs at ease, and they felt that they could be more open with me about their experiences. In this way, the design of the data collection tool was able to be utilised to mitigate any form of symbolic violence which may have occurred between myself and the IE participants during the course of the interviews. Smyth (2015) discusses research with minority groups in the field of education and cites Meleis' (1996, as cited in Smyth, 2015) criteria for what she terms "culturally competent research" (Smyth, 2015, p. 59). These criteria include the researcher's understanding and awareness of participants' contexts as well as researcher identity in relation to the participants. As such, the selection of four IEs for a study of this nature and time frame allowed for more time to be spent with each participant in each setting, thus meeting the principle of prolonged engagement. Moreover, through this prolonged engagement I was able to increase my understanding of the participants'

contexts, as well as work towards “horizontal relationships” (Smyth, 2015, p. 59) with my participants. Other aspects of Meleis’ (1996, as cited in Smyth, 2015) criteria which I was able to achieve through the interview series were an understanding of the participants’ communication styles, flexibility in terms of the time taken to carry out the interview series, and capacity to build trust between myself and the participants.

Smyth (2015) proposes an adaptation of Cummins’ model of intervention for collaborative empowerment in the research process, and Meleis (1996, as cited in Smyth, 2015) also argues that culturally competent research should meet mutual goals for both the researcher and participants, and that the participants should feel empowered as a result of the research process. Although my research was not designed to measure the extent of any empowerment the participants may have felt through taking part in the research, it is hoped that through my research the participants have felt empowered, and that their participation in the study has been transformative for them. This hope of mine has in turn compelled me to reflect on my own habitus and values (Creswell & Creswell, 2018) as I have utilised Bourdieu’s concepts to analyse the data in this qualitative research process.

In a more practical sense, through the use of semi-structured interview questions and conducting series of interviews rather than only one interview with each participant, I was able to clarify items discussed in previous interviews. As such, participants were asked to check my interpretation of data collected, and the data were therefore member checked. The nature of doctoral research also meant that I was able to subject the data to peer debriefing through discussions and meetings with my supervisory panel.

All interviews were semi-structured, with a number of questions probing main themes prepared before the commencement of the interview, and then additional questions being asked as and when required during the interview. The semi-structured nature of these types of interviews allowed me to extract

more information in greater detail (Berg, 2009; Lichtman, 2013; Marshall & Rossman, 2011) and to “reveal how case study participants construct reality and think about situations, not just to provide the answers to a researcher’s specific questions and own implicit construction of reality.... [which] provides important insights into the case” (Yin, 2012, p. 12).

The “thick description” (Geertz, 1973) of the experiences and perceptions of these teachers in their fields of practice in turn enabled me to utilise the tools provided by Bourdieu in order to analyse the IEs’ capitals and accumulation of capital, their habituses, the strategies they display in the sites of practice, and the linguistic markets of the sites of practice. This information was subsequently utilised to analyse the three main themes of my research; the positions of dominance and dominated in the field; the linguistic markets of the field, as well as; the strategies the IEs demonstrated when navigating the field.

#### *4.3.2 Critical discourse analysis*

Qualitative research utilises a wide variety of data; descriptions of behaviour, events and institutions, accounts of interviews and audio, as well as talk and documents (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Holliday, 2007; Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Texts may be used to understand experiences, perceptions, and other details regarding common practice or doxa (Braun & Clarke, 2013). They can provide a reflection of the values and perspectives of stakeholders in the field. Marshall and Rossman (2011) also agree that documents are excellent supplementary data sources for the values and beliefs of different groups of participants in the field. Clarke (2001), Silverman (2006) and Braun and Clarke (2013) all mention the use of texts to explore the socio-cultural aspects of particular contexts.

Fairclough (2015) asserts that “social practice is in an active relationship to reality, and it changes reality .... Social structures not only determine social

practice, they are also a product of social practice. And more particularly, social structures not only determine discourse, they are a product of discourse" (p. 68). Creswell (2003) lists several advantages of using documents as data collection types. As well as the advantages already mentioned in the first paragraph of this section, he also states that documents "enable the researcher to obtain the language and words of participants" (Creswell, 2003, p. 187). The use of CDA as a tool therefore allowed me to interpret the social practices in the field of education through the analysis of publicly available institutional documentation. CDA enabled me to analyse the values and perspectives of some of the dominant stakeholders in the field, namely, the NSW DoE and ACARA. My first research theme centres on the institutional value and positioning of, as well as the approach towards, language and multiculturalism in the field of education. I decided to utilise CDA as a tool to investigate this theme, and chose publicly available official policies, procedures, frameworks, standards, annual reports, and future direction documents as the texts to be analysed. I had decided that the specific documents to be analysed would depend on the data which emerged from the interviews. However, I also began to select and analyse documents pertaining to the field prior to interviews in order to gain knowledge of and familiarise myself with aspects of the field which might have been discussed in the interviews (Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Yin, 2011). The documents selected were concerned with diversity, multiculturalism and language/language practices in NSW public schools.

The analysis of these documents enabled me to shed light on the ways in which the discourse utilised by the NSW DoE frames the social practices and structures of the field of education in NSW. This analysis (in combination with Bourdieu's concepts) of the publicly available institutional documentation thus enabled me to better position the IEs in the field of power with regard to the relationship between the IEs and the NSW DoE as agents operating within the field of power.

Yet another important advantage of document analysis, according to Braun and Clarke (2013), is that the data obtained through document analysis, and in the case of my research, CDA, is not affected by any researcher input. That is, the methods used, and the questions posed by the researcher do not influence the data at the time of collection. Following from this, another more practical consideration for the choice of CDA as a data gathering tool is that it results in minimal disruption to the participants and the setting (Marshall & Rossman (2011). The documents fell into three broad categories (see Table 1).

A separate reference list of the documents analysed can be found in Appendix A (these also appear separately in the formal reference list), and a copy of Table 1 can also be found in Appendix B.

**Table 1 CDA document categories**

<i>Title</i>	<i>Reference</i>
<i>1. Documents pertaining to overarching strategies and directions of the NSW DoE</i>	
NSW Department of Education Strategic Plan webpage	(NSW DoE, n.d.a)
NSW Department of Education Annual Report 2019	(NSW DoE, 2020b)
NSW Department of Education Strategic Plan printable pdf	(NSW DoE, 2020g)
<i>2. Documents pertaining to multiculturalism, diversity and inclusion in the NSW DoE</i>	
Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority Languages and Student Diversity Webpage	(ACARA, n.d.a)
Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority Student Diversity Webpage	(ACARA, n.d.b)
NSW Department of Education Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2018–2022 Media Release	(NSW DoE, 2018)
NSW Department of Education Multicultural Policies and Services Program Report 2017–2018	(NSW DoE, 2019b)
NSW Department of Education Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2018–2022	(NSW DoE, 2020d)
NSW Department of Education Multicultural Plan 2019–2022	(NSW DoE, 2020f)
NSW Department of Education Workforce Diversity webpage	(NSW DoE, 2020i)
NSW Department of Education Workforce Diversity Policy	(NSW DoE, 2020j)
<i>3. Documents pertaining to languages spoken in the sites of practice</i>	
Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority The Shape of the Australian Curriculum (Version 4)	(ACARA, 2012)
Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority EAL/D Overview and Advice Handbook 2014	(ACARA, 2014)
Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority EAL/D Learning Progression: Foundation to Year 10	(ACARA, 2015)
NSW Department of Education Using the English as an Additional Language or Dialect (EAL/D) Learning Progression in NSW Public Schools pdf	(NSW DoE, n.d.b)

NSW Department of Education Supporting EAL/D students in schools pdf	(NSW DoE, 2017)
NSW Department of Education About Community Languages Schools webpage	(NSW DoE, 2020a)
NSW Department of Education EAL/D Advice for Schools handbook	(NSW DoE, 2020e)

### *4.3.3 Case studies: Ensuring trustworthiness and credibility*

Two key aspects of case study are the number of data collected, and the context or setting in which the data are collected. There needs to be a satisfactory corpus of data collected so that the researcher is able to identify key features and propose their own interpretations. In order to be able to adhere to these key aspects, case study research must be “conducted in-depth in natural settings” (Bassey, 1999, p. 47). Other key considerations in case study research are the notions of trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and fuzzy generalisation (Bassey, 1999). Qualitative approaches involve the collection of the impressions and evaluations on the part of both the researcher and the research participants. In order to ensure the trustworthiness of the data collected through qualitative methods, Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose the principles of credibility, dependability, confirmability and transferability. These principles can be met through prolonged engagement, member checks, and peer debriefing (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Creswell (2003) concurs, adding that high validity can be achieved through thick description, prolonged time in the field, and peer debriefing.

In this study, the series of interviews ensured a level of prolonged engagement in the field with the IEs. In addition, the interview series allowed for member-checking, as I could follow up with the IEs and ask for clarification on things they had stated in previous interviews. As this research was conducted for my Higher Doctorate Research studies, I was able to conduct peer debriefing through conversations with my Supervisors, as well as discussions with academics at conferences where I presented my findings.

Member checking was the main tool used to ensure trustworthiness of the data. By asking the IEs their interpretations of and experiences in events, as well as by recounting to the IEs my interpretation of what they said in previous interviews, I was able to achieve member checking. Through member checking I was able to validate the findings by combining IEs' opinions and responses, and to see the ways in which different data came together.

Another element which was included in my research is what Richardson (1997) terms *crystallisation*. As opposed to the more rigid idea of triangulation, crystallisation follows from the idea of "prisms that reflect externalities and refract within themselves" (Richardson, 1997, p. 92). Thus, through crystallisation, data are collected through and from multiple perspectives. Using Bourdieu's method of three levels of analysis (see Chapter Two for further details) I therefore have been able to collect different data from a range of sources. I interviewed IEs of diverse backgrounds, with diverse habituses, as well as conducting document analysis.

Yet another element which could affect validity is the reporting of discrepant information (Creswell, 2003). In the data in my study, discrepant information constitutes an important element of Bourdieu's ideas regarding misrecognition, where the established order is maintained through the misrecognition by dominated agents of the effects of that established order on their positioning in the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). For further detail around Bourdieu's concept of misrecognition, see Chapter Two.

Through the principles outlined in this section, I have been able to ensure the trustworthiness and credibility of the data collected in this study. Through the consideration and use of a range of diverse strategies as outlined above, I have been able to achieve high validity of the data collected.

## 4.4 Participants and site selection

### 4.4.1 Participants: *The international educators (IEs)*

The participants for this study were recruited through a process of snowball sampling (for more on recruitment, see Section 4.6.1 of this chapter). They are NSW public school teachers who were born outside Australia in countries where English is not the dominant language. The sites of practice were NSW primary schools. Thus, the teachers selected needed to have experience working in NSW primary school settings and needed to not have been born in Australia.

As already mentioned, the research was designed as an in-depth case study, and four IEs participated in my study. These participants differed in many aspects, including background, country of birth, length of service teaching in their home countries, length of time teaching in Australia, and length of time living in Australia. Table 2 gives an overview and preliminary general information about the four participating IEs. The profiles of the four IE participants in this study, as can be seen in Table 2, are vastly different in terms of their cultural and linguistic backgrounds, their qualifications, and experience both within and outside Australia.

Out of the four IEs, Agnes is the most recent arrival to Australia. She has a Russian background and completed an Advanced Diploma in Education and Translating/Interpreting in Russia before migrating to Australia. Once in Australia she completed a certificate in training and assessment, enabling her to work as a TESOL teacher in English language colleges. During the course of the interview series Agnes was in the process of completing her Masters in Education and obtained approval to teach in schools.

Asha has been in Australia for 14 years. She is Fijian-Indian and had completed her teaching diploma in Fiji and worked in schools there for 14 years. Within two weeks of arriving in Australia she had become a community languages

teacher, teaching Hindi at Saturday school for heritage-background children. She continues to work as a community languages teacher. In addition, Asha has been a casual teacher in Australia for almost 14 years, working at a variety of schools to cover permanent teaching staff when they are unable to teach due to leave or illness. In that time, Asha has undertaken two degrees in Australia; an undergraduate teaching qualification, and a Master of TESOL degree.

**Table 2 General information on the four IE participants**

<b>IE Pseudo-nym</b>	<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Languages Spoken</b>	<b>Qualifications</b>	<b>Overseas experience</b>	<b>Australian teaching experience</b>
<b>Joy</b>	Indian	Hindi, English, Local dialect	Dip Ed in India, University bridging course in Australia	Teaching in India 10 years	Teaching in Australia 30 years
<b>Asha</b>	Fijian Indian	Hindi, English, Local dialect	Dip Ed in Fiji, Master's Education and Master of TESOL in Australia	Teaching in Fiji 14 years	Teaching in Australia 14 years
<b>Sada</b>	Lebanese	Lebanese, English	B. Ed and BA (Languages and Literature) in Australia	Completed first semester of undergraduate study in Beirut	Teaching in Australia for 20 years
<b>Agnes</b>	Russian	Russian German English	Dip Ed in Russia, Master's Education in Australia	Practicum placement in Russia Experience studying in Germany	Teaching ELICOS in Australia approx. 5 years. Casual teaching approx. 1 year in Australia

Joy has been in Australia the longest of the four IEs interviewed. She is Anglo-Indian and completed her teaching qualification in India before working there for approximately 10 years before migrating to Australia. She has been teaching in Australia for 30 years, after first needing to complete an Australian university qualification to have her teaching experience and qualifications recognised.

Sada is originally from Lebanon. She started studying literature at university in Beirut before migrating to Australia, studying English for one year before completing an undergraduate university qualification, and then a second undergraduate degree in language and literature. She has taught in Australia for 20 years as a regular classroom teacher as well as an Arabic languages teacher.

Previous research asking overseas trained teachers to reflect on their experiences working in Australian schools has resulted in teachers often focussing on their negative perceptions of the accreditation process and the challenges and hurdles faced when settling in (Collins & Reid, 2012; Guo & Singh, 2009; Reid et al., 2014; Santoro et al., 2001). According to Watkins et al. (2016) and Watkins et al. (2013), the average length of service as of 2011 for NSW primary school teachers was 15.4 years. The IEs who participated in my study encapsulated a range of lengths of service, which thus provides a broader cross section of representation of IEs in the NSW public school teaching force.

#### *4.4.2 Sites*

The participants taught at a range of schools across different areas of west, southwest and south Sydney. As the schools were in urban areas, the schools all had a multicultural profile with a mid to high percentage of their students coming from homes with a language background other than English (Watkins et al., 2013). In 2019, 55.3% of students enrolled across all Sydney schools were from language backgrounds other than English (LBOTE). However, in western Sydney 69.9% of students were from LBOTE, and in Sydney-West, Sydney-South and Sydney-South West, 60% were from LBOTE (Centre for Education Statistics and Evaluation [CESE], 2019).

It is important to note that the selection process was targeted at IEs and not at individual schools. In the Bourdieusian sense, the settings only exist

through the agents who are operating within the sites of practice, hence the relativity of the agents is of more interest than the physical settings.

The majority of the interviews were conducted at the schools in which the IEs taught, thus the individual settings constituted the real-life, contemporary contexts (Yin, 2009) in which the participants taught. Due to the “emergent” (Creswell, 2003, p. 181) nature of qualitative research, the initial plan to hold interviews in IEs’ schools needed to be amended for two participants, and a few interviews instead needed to be conducted at a public location chosen by the participants. In one case, this was the university where one of the participants studied, another interview was conducted in a private study room of a local library, and in another case the interviews were conducted at the school the participant’s child attended and where the participant was a parent. Nevertheless, the majority of the interviews were conducted at the schools where IEs taught, and those that were not, were conducted at locations chosen by the IEs in order that the settings be convenient and comfortable for them. Creswell (2003) points out that conducting interviews in a “natural setting” (p. 181) allows for a higher degree of involvement and understanding of the participants’ experiences on the part of the researcher.

#### **4.5 Researcher roles**

Bourdieu asserts that in the process of conducting research, all interviews are sites of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1988; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). That is, the interviewer is in a position of power over the interviewee. As such, a reflexive stance is required on the part of the researcher in order that the interviewer is able to take stock of their position. The notion of bias and power in interviews has been the focus of much research into researcher roles. Lincoln and Guba (1985), for example, contend that all research is bound in the values of the researcher. My habitus shapes my assumptions, values and perspectives, and thus, undertaking this research and analysing the data has required me to reflect on my assumptions, values and perspectives. I

have done so through the use of Bourdieu's thinking tools. According to Creswell (2003) it is important for the researcher to be clear about any bias they might bring to a study. Stake (1995) presents bias in another way, discussing the possible ramifications of interpretation in qualitative research. Stake suggests that the role of the researcher is to maintain "vigorous interpretation" (Stake, 1995, p. 9) during the course of the research. This interpretation, Stake (1995) argues, is the researcher's act of striving to understand the experiences and views of the participants, and that "the qualitative case researcher tries to preserve the *multiple realities*, the different and even contradictory views of what is happening" (p. 12; italics as per original).

Bourdieu tackles the question of bias through his approach to reflexivity. Grenfell (2014) describes Bourdieu's notion of reflexivity as "an epistemological necessity" (p. 30), while Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) call it his "signature obsession" (p. 36). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) outline the differences between others' concepts of reflexivity and Bourdieu's concept of reflexivity, which "aims at increasing the scope and solidity of social and scientific knowledge" (p. 37). In his discussions on reflexivity, Bourdieu offers three different biases which the sociologist researcher may hold. The first is the bias caused by the "social origins and coordinates ... of the individual researcher" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 39). Such biases might stem from an individual researcher's social class, gender, race, and other background factors.

The second bias, according to Bourdieu, is caused by the position the researcher holds in the academic field. Bourdieu (1992) asserts that social scientists hold dominated positions within the field of power and are thus "under the sway of the forces of attraction and repulsion that bear on all symbolic producers" (p. 39). Bourdieu labels the third bias the intellectual bias. He states that this intellectual bias may cause the researcher to view the

world as a spectacle open to the researcher's interpretations. In making these interpretations through the research process, the researcher may forgo practical logic for the sake of theoretical logic.

Regarding the first bias, as has been mentioned in Chapter One, I am a first-generation Australian, a child of European post-war migrants. My upbringing can be best described as multilingual and multicultural. My first language is not English, despite being raised in Australia. As a child of migrants, I also have lived experiences of otherness.

With regard to the remaining two biases, Bourdieu's theory of practice and my use of Bourdieu's analytical tools has allowed me to synthesise subjectivity and objectivity within the study, and Bourdieu's terms have been "used as the instruments of analysis which stabilise language, recognizing its relativity, while using it to ground objectifiable statements but preserve the potential for generalisability" (Grenfell, 2004, p. 177). In fact, by taking on a Bourdieusian lens in my role as researcher, and by utilising a number of Bourdieu's thinking tools, as opposed to cherry-picking only one or two, to analyse diverse aspects of the relationships existing within and with the field of power, I have been able to strengthen my research. I am aware of my position in the field, and the potential symbolic violence of that position in the field. I have also been able to remain in control of the content of my research and to couple that with an awareness of the process of my research. Lastly, I have an understanding of the power relations in the field and how these may influence the data.

I have in this chapter presented the epistemological base of my study as one of social constructivism. This role of researcher as interpreter, striving to understand experiences and preserve these multiple realities of the participants, is an important one from the point of view of constructivism. As outlined in Section 4.2 of this chapter, I have approached the study from the belief that human knowledge is constructed, and that each individual's

construction of knowledge stems from an individual's unique experiences, which then inform an individual's beliefs. Chapter Two has discussed at length the Bourdieusian concepts of agents operating in a field all possessing unique habituses and having access to diverse types of capital. These habituses and capitals impact on an agent's navigation in the field and on the extent to which an agent's capital will be valued by others in the field, that is, their legitimisation in the field. The agent's experiences in the field are then recounted to and interpreted by me, the researcher, through the use of Bourdieu's thinking tools.

It would be folly of me to present any interpretation I make as the reality of the situation, which brings us to the question of what is meant by 'reality'. Stake (1995) talks of three co-existing realities. Stake explains that the role of the case researcher as constructivist is not to discover reality number one, universal reality, as this would be impossible. Instead, the role of the case researcher is to "construct a clearer reality #2", an individual's version of the first reality, and a "more sophisticated reality #3" (Stake, 1995, p. 101), a universe of integrated interpretations, our rational reality.

## **4.6 Data collection procedures**

### ***4.6.1 Recruitment***

Teachers were recruited through a process of voluntary participation. The call for participants was advertised through my researcher and teaching colleague networks, as well as on Sydney teacher Facebook groups. Snowball sampling (Berg, 2009; Braun & Clarke, 2013; Lichtman, 2013; Marshall & Rossman, 2011) was also utilised in identifying and locating participants. Braun and Clarke (2013) warn of the difficulties of locating participants belonging to "hidden populations" (p. 58), and explain that these populations include groups who may not be visible, could in some way be stigmatised by the majority, or who are difficult to engage in the research process. The number

of LOTE background employees in NSW public schools in 2019 was 11.5% (NSW DoE, 2020b, p. 121), and the NSW DoE maintains that they do not keep individual records of the language backgrounds of their staff (Watkins et al., 2013). As such, the IE participants I was looking to recruit were both members of a hidden group and a minority group of teaching staff. The recruitment of participants for my study was what Braun and Clarke (2013) describe as “an involved process” (p. 59). Potential participants were identified as being members of several Facebook teaching groups, and thus advertising on those groups informed potential participants of the research.

Despite case study research being applicable for anything from one case study upwards (Marshall & Rossman, 2011), I decided that between three and six participants should be recruited for the study. This decision was made in order that an element of the notion of “maximum variation” (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 111) be achieved. In addition, snowball sampling meant that my strategy was for random purposeful sampling to be achieved in order to add credibility to my sample (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). This combination of interviews with a relatively small number of participants enabled a deeper understanding of individual contexts and thus allowed me to provide a thick description (Geertz, 1973).

#### *4.6.2 Interview procedures*

The majority of interviews were conducted at the participating IEs’ places of work. I therefore prepared two separate participant information sheets; one information sheet for participating IEs, and one Information sheet for principals of the participating IEs.

- Information sheet for participating IEs – given to potential participating teachers so that they had some information about my study.

- Information sheet for Principals of participating IEs – created to inform principals that I might be on school grounds and conducting interviews with their teachers in times which were convenient to the teachers.

The information sheet for principals did not disclose to principals who the participating teachers were, and this fact was made clear to the participating IEs. In the cases where the principal was informed, there was more than one IE working at the school, hence it was difficult for the principal to know which teacher was taking part in the interviews. Also, participant IEs were free to disclose to their principals that they were taking part in the study, if they wished to do so.

My initial contact with participating IEs was through email, face to face, or via telephone text messages. The mode of communication was chosen by the participants, as I felt that this might help to put them at ease and build rapport (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Three of the four teachers asked me in advance for the types of questions I would be asking in the interviews, and while I generally gave an overview of the topics we would be discussing. Also, at the end of each interview I generally gave the IEs a rough plan of the themes we would be discussing at the next interview, and then I would start that subsequent interview with an overview of what was discussed in preceding interviews and what general areas I wanted to focus on for that interview. The interviews were designed to be conducted as a series, so that each interview could build on the last and so that the rapport and familiarity between the IEs and interviewer would develop over time (Marshall & Rossman, 2011).

I was mindful of teachers' heavy workloads and so at the outset gave teachers an approximate overall number of hours for each interview series. In fact, I was not completely sure of how many hours of interviews required in order to collect sufficient data. For this reason, I probably overestimated the total amount of time required for each interview series. The final length of each

series of interviews, frequency and number of interviews was thus dependant on the individual IEs, their schedules, and the way that the rapport developed between each IE and me. Two interviews were conducted with Agnes, with each interview lasting approximately 40 minutes. Two interviews were also conducted with Asha, with each interview lasting approximately 45 minutes and 50 minutes. Four interviews were conducted with Sada, and each interview lasted approximately 20 to 25 minutes. Five interviews were conducted with Joy, with one interview lasting approximately 15 minutes, and the remaining interviews lasting between approximately 20 and 30 minutes. Interviews with Joy and Sada were generally conducted on a weekly basis, and interviews with Agnes and Asha were generally conducted on a fortnightly basis, with frequency dependant on participant availability. Marshall and Rossman (2011) discuss the need for researchers to be flexible in order to build trusting relationships with their participants. This meant that the total duration of each interview series differed, as did the length of time taken to complete each interview series. Appendix C outlines the number, length and frequency of interviews with each IE.

The interviews drew on Bourdieu's notion of reflexivity to control the situation in order to collect specific data on specific themes or topics (Stake, 1995). To be immersed as much as possible in the setting it was decided that interviews should be audio recorded (Glesne, 2016). While in the setting I was thus able to better interact with my participants.

As soon as possible after each interview I then listened to the interview multiple times in order to focus more on impressions of what had been said and areas for potential follow-up and clarification. Furthermore, as has been noted, during subsequent interviews, some observations and comments from previous interviews were introduced to seek participants' reflections and impressions on specific areas. Lastly, by recording the sessions, the data better reflected the authentic dialogue of the participants, and the diverse

speech functions they used to communicate their experiences and beliefs. (Glesne, 2016, p. 176).

I then edited each interview in order to omit extraneous chit-chat and other rapport-building talk, as well as a few interruptions caused by telephone calls, PA system announcements, and children coming into the interview room. By this stage, the pertinent data from each interview were readily identifiable. I also merged all the interviews from each participant into one audio file for each IE.

Next, I transcribed each interview with the assistance of an Artificial Intelligence (AI) transcription system. After this first draft of transcription, I reviewed the transcriptions again and edited each. I then went back to my research themes and made three separate transcription documents for each IE. The first document was a master document of the entire interview. For the second document, I read through the transcripts and highlighted sections pertaining to the IEs' perceptions of and experiences concerning language use. For the third document, I read through the transcripts again and highlighted sections pertaining to the ways in which the IEs had navigated the field and sites of practice. I then deleted all non-highlighted sections from the second and third transcripts in order to undertake a more detailed analysis of the data which related to my three research themes. Through the data collection stage all notes and audio files were organised and filed securely in order to create an audit trail and to maintain participant anonymity.

#### **4.7 Data analysis**

Given the use of Bourdieu's thinking tools in my conceptual framework, I extended these thinking tools to the analysis of the data collected from my study. According to Grenfell (2014), Bourdieu's key concepts "were intended as instruments or techniques used to frame data analysis" (p. 2). I therefore used Bourdieu's three levels of analysis as my methodological approach.

Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Grenfell, 2014) outlines these three levels as follows:

1. Analysis of the field in relation to the field of power.
2. The relations between the positions which agents occupy within the site of practice in those agents' quests for legitimacy in the field.
3. Analysis of the habitus of the agents operating in the sites of practice within the field.

The first level of analysis was my starting point, and addresses my first research focus concerning NSW DoE policies and approaches. Grenfell (2014) describes the use of document analysis as a means of collecting data for the construction of the field analysis. The second level of analysis investigates the agents operating within the field and the capital to which they have access and which they accumulate. The analysis of this capital is a means for establishing the logic of practice within a field. Next, the third level of analysis focuses on the positioning of those agents within the field, which is determined by those agents' habituses. My remaining two research foci address both the second and third levels of Bourdieu's three levels of analysis. My second research focus centres on the linguistic habituses of the IEs, and my third focuses on the strategies displayed by IEs in navigating their sites of practice. For these two themes I analysed the data from interviews with the IEs using the Bourdieusian thinking tools mentioned in levels 2 and 3 of analysis. Chapter Two outlines the complementarity of critical discourse analysis and Bourdieu's thinking tools, and the following section elaborates on the analytical approach.

With regard to my first research focus, the legitimate and illegitimate languages and recognition of capital in the field, in order to analyse the data obtained from these documents, discourse analysis of publicly available documentation was used. The combination and suitability of using Bourdieu's thinking tools and critical discourse analysis has been expounded in Chapter 2.

The particular sections of discourse to be analysed within these documents was selected on the basis that they related to language, multiculturalism, or language practice.

Following Fairclough's (1992, 2003) approach, the first aspect of analysis of the chosen documents was at a macro level, "focusing upon the intertextuality and interdiscursivity" (1992, p. 231) of the sample documents and texts. Fairclough defines intertextuality as "the explicit presence of other texts in a text" and interdiscursivity as "the constitution of a text from a configuration of text types or discourse conventions" (p. 10) (see Chapter Two).

The next level of textual analysis focussed firstly on the more detailed (i.e. the micro) aspects of the discourse within the samples, and the final level of analysis centred on the "social practice of which the discourse is a part" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 231).

These three levels of analysis did not occur in a clear, straight-arrow sequence. Instead, the analysis flowed back and forth between these different levels. For clarity, however, the document analysis findings are reported based on these three levels.

In terms of the macro-analysis of the chosen texts, interdiscursivity refers to the types of texts or discourses which have been used to create the document being analysed. The questions (whose answers may include a degree of subjectivity) used to frame the macro-analysis of the samples were adapted from Fairclough (1992) and are as follows:

- a. How is the sample produced and distributed?
- b. Who is the intended audience? Are there any indications that the text producer anticipates two or more audience types?
- c. What is the range of genres or text types in the sample?
- d. What tenor and rhetorical modes are used in the sample?

- e. Based on the answers to the questions above, is the sample conventional or innovative?
- f. When looking across the different samples, is it necessary for the reader to make their own interpretations, particularly of specialist language or labels used?
- g. Who are the producers or authors of the sample texts? Is there one author or many?

The micro-analysis of the chosen texts included an analysis of the manifest intertextuality (Fairclough, 1992, 2003) of the sample documents. This manifest intertextuality refers to the level of interpretation required on the part of the reader. Again, questions were adapted from Fairclough (1992) and are as follows:

- a. Was the discourse used in the sample direct or indirect?
- b. Was the discourse use in the sample text more abstract or concrete?  
What instances of discourse supported the conclusions drawn?
- c. How was the discourse around abstract and concrete ideas distinguished?
- d. What types of presuppositions are made in the sample?
- e. Are the readers alerted to presuppositions in the sample?
- f. Are there links from and to other texts within the sample text?

The next stage of micro analysis is the more detailed analysis of the text. Again, based on Fairclough (1992, pp. 234-237) the questions are:

- a. What degree of interactional control do the author and audience have?
- b. What topics are included and how are these introduced, developed and established?
- c. What is the tenor of the sample?
- d. What thematic structures are evident in the sample?

- e. What are the underlying reasons for the main themes chosen in the sample?
- f. How is modality expressed in the sample text?
- g. What key words are used in the sample text?
- h. How do the key words structure meanings, and how does this affect the struggles in the field?
- i. What is the theoretical, cultural or ideological significance of the lexical items used in the sample text?
- j. Are there instances of over-use of the same words or instances of a range of synonyms being used in the sample?

The final level of analysis used answers from the above range of questions in order to ascertain the “nature of the social practice of which the discourse practice is a part” (Fairclough, 1992). This in turn leads to a conclusion on the ways in which the discourse practice evident in the sample texts has an effect on the social practice, in other words, on the logic of practice of the field. The discourse practice can thus lead to an identification of:

- The hegemonic structures existing in the field.
- The values placed on diverse elements and practices in the field.
- The ways in which these discourse structures impact on the relationships between the agents in the field, and the relationships between the agents and the field.
- The impact that these discourses have on the logic of practice of the field.

In this way, the analysis of these documents addresses both the first level of a Bourdieusian analysis and my first research theme concerning the extent to and ways in which policies and approaches towards multiculturalism and multilingualism may have impacted on the value and positioning of, as well as the approach towards, language and multiculturalism in the field of education in NSW. As outlined in Chapter 2, the use of discourse analysis as a tool to

arrive at the findings also addresses Bourdieu's theory of practice, which has as its central theme structure and structural relations in research methodology (Grenfell, 2014).

Bourdieu's thinking tools traverse structural and functional ways of seeing the world. Bourdieu recognised structured structures, but he also acknowledged structuring structures. In other words, he conceived a world where structures exist and structure the society to which they are attached and over which they impose their authority. Bourdieu also recognised that these systems and structures have at their basis a logic of practice which enables a structuring those structures (Bourdieu, 1971).

The remaining two research themes in my study concern this structuring of the structures, and are addressed through the remaining two levels of Bourdieusian field analysis. The themes focus on the linguistic habituses of the IEs in the sites of practice, and the strategies demonstrated by IEs when navigating the field. For these two themes, I turned to Bourdieu's thinking tools in order to construct two separate, but interrelated, analytical frameworks. The first analytical framework relates to the linguistic markets, and the second relates to the strategies exhibited.

My second research theme focuses on the linguistic habituses of the IEs, and the power relations between the structures and agents operating within the sites of practice. In order to investigate the exchanges and relationships in the interview transcripts of the four participating IEs. I first identified all sections of the transcripts which focussed on language and languaging practices. Next, I analysed these sections in order to identify the linguistic markets which the IEs described during the interviews. I identified four linguistic markets (LM) discussed by the IEs in their interviews:

- LM1: School/Class practice/Education/Academia

- LM2: Workplace/Casual Agencies/Policies/Logistics & Procedures/Talking to Parents
- LM3: Training/University
- LM 4: Home & Community-Country of Origin/Australia

For the purposes of my research, I then focussed on the linguistic markets in the sites of practice within the field. Thus, the sites I analysed for my study and which constitute particular linguistic markets are the schools and the workplaces. My next step was to ascertain the structures and agents operating in the linguistic markets, as well as the relationship between those structures and agents. I could then plot on a table for each IE the various structures, agents and power relations within each linguistic market.

In terms of my final research focus, the strategies emerged as a key method of identifying practices and the dynamics of the linguistic markets. As with the previous theme, I focussed on the instances where the IEs talked about navigating the field and their sites of practice. From these recounted experiences I was able to recognise the strategies which the IEs had employed in their navigation of the field: Subversion, acquiescence, collaboration and defiance. I utilised the definitions provided by Büyükokutan and Şaşmaz (2018) and Bourdieu (1993b) (see Chapters Two and Seven for more details) in order to decide which strategies the IEs exhibited. I then analysed each of those strategies in terms of the capital which had both/either caused the IEs to display that strategy or were a result of their display of the strategy. The forms of capital I drew on for my analytical framework were: Cultural capital, in the form of knowledge; economic capital, in the form of wealth and possessions; social capital, in the form of connections and relationships; and symbolic capital, in the form of prestige or reputation. Again, I could then plot on a table for each IE of the diverse strategies they displayed and the capitals to which they may have had access. A copy of this mapping tool can be found in Appendix E.

In this way, my second and third research themes address the capital to which the IEs have access, their relative positions within the field as defined by the value of that capital, the habituses of the IEs, and thus the “ruling principles of logic of the field” (Grenfell, 2014, p. 26).

My use of Bourdieu’s techniques to shape the methodology of my research has enabled me to mediate between theory and practice and has thus enhanced my understanding of the relationship between the two. Further to this, by using the theoretical concepts presented by Bourdieu as tools in my analytical frameworks I have been able to follow in Bourdieu’s own ambition of seeing the world in through a different prism (Grenfell, 2014).

## **4.8 Ethics**

The main ethical concerns in my research were the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants. The risk to confidentiality and anonymity were mitigated through informed consent, secure data storage procedures, and de-identification of data. In addition, potential ethical issues of deception were avoided as the interviews were conducted with me taking an overt role (Berg, 2009).

Ethics approval was obtained from both the UTS Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC), as well as the NSW State Education Research Applications Process (SERAP). Ethics approval numbers are as follows: HREC Approval number ETH17-1574, and; SERAP Approval number 2017516.

### ***4.8.1 Informed consent***

Transparent processes were put in place to gain participant consent. The IEs were asked and/or volunteered to participate in interviews, and informed consent was obtained in writing. In these consent processes, the possibilities of harm and strategies to minimise harm were outlined. Each participant was asked to read and sign the consent form, which also included the right for

participants to withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason. Participants were given an information sheet outlining the research aims, as well as a copy of the blank consent form for their records.

#### *4.8.2 Data storage*

Ethical data storage minimises risk for participants by not making their words and views public. The consent forms, and data collected from the interviews have been kept in a secure location to ensure confidentiality and anonymity and will not be kept longer than necessary (Berg, 2009).

The data associated with this research, including documents, notes and audio recordings of interviews was stored on an encrypted, password-protected USB drive which was stored in a secure lock box in a locked filing cabinet in my home office. No paper copies were kept in storage. One master list of pseudonyms and participants' names is also held on the encrypted, password-protected USB drive. All files on the USB drive will be only be kept for as long as is necessary, and will only be accessed by the researcher when necessary during the study.

#### *4.8.3 Anonymity*

Collection of participants' personal data was limited to private contact details to arrange the research, with no other personal data being requested. In addition, participants were contacted individually. Pseudonyms have been used in reporting data, the names of the schools and universities has also been changed, and any identifiable information about the settings has been changed in order to disguise the participants' places of work.

In addition, all references to individual participants in written texts produced as part of the research have been de-identified. This reduces any potential distress at having personal experiences made public.

#### *4.8.4 Risk minimisation*

The measures outlined above will ensure minimal risk of anyone else being able to identify the participants. Although no harm is intended through this study, embarrassment or distress were potential consequences unforeseen ways. The participants discussed their own experiences, which may have involved some level of personal disclosure. Discussion of experiences involves emotions, and so it is possible, though unlikely, that remembering and retelling experiences may have embarrassed or distressed some participants.

It is also possible that participants may have believed that there was some risk to their job security (e.g., if they provide information that management would be concerned about). However, through informed consent processes participants were reassured that individual results would not be divulged to principals or Head Office, and that pseudonyms have been used when their actual words are used in publications.

Lastly, interviews were held in environments typically seen as safe and non-threatening by teachers. The environments were also known to the teachers, and so were considered to be less threatening.

#### **4.9 Limitations of methods used**

Initially, the main limitation for this study were the constraints of identifying and contacting IEs as a specific group (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Another concern was the potential level of participation by the IEs. Some may have regarded the process as having a potential negative effect on their career progression, while for others there may have been more practical reasons for lack of incentive to participate, as their heavy workloads may have precluded them from participating. Fortunately, I was able to obtain an extension for my SERAP in order to have additional time to interview teachers and work around their heavy workloads. This also enabled me to interview over extended time

frames, which meant I could be more flexible to participant schedules, while at the same time further building rapport with the participants.

Furthermore, the research did not set out to evaluate the teachers against the Australian Professional Standards for Teachers (AITSL, 2018), nor compare them to other teacher groups. Neither did the research set out to evaluate the merits of plurilingual and multicultural education.

Lastly, it was proposed that the data collection be audio recorded as opposed to video recorded. By doing so this will go some way to preserving the anonymity of the participants. Audio recordings could also be less obtrusive. All of these factors assisted with a smoother ethics clearance process in order to avoid any delays in the data collection start date.

#### **4.10 Chapter 4 summary**

This chapter has presented the research design used in the study. The chapter has also presented a methodological justification and rationale for the design choice. The combination of case study interviews with critical discourse analysis has been expounded, and the research participants, data collection procedures, and researcher reflexivity has been discussed. In addition, the methodological and ethical challenges to the study have been presented and explained. The chapter has also highlighted the analytical framework alongside the analytical tools used to analyse the data.

## Chapter 5: Findings – The field

### **5.1 Introduction**

My first research theme investigates the impact on the value and positioning of, and the approach towards language and multiculturalism in the field of education in NSW. More specifically it focuses on the ways in which institutional policies and approaches towards multiculturalism and multilingualism may have impacted on these values, positionings and approaches. Both document analysis and data from interviews with the IEs were used to probe the logic of practice in the field. Document analysis was used to reveal the positioning of the main institutions and agents in the field, along with their attitude towards languages in the field of education in NSW. Data from the interviews spoke to the International Educators' experiences when they first came to Australia and began working as teachers in terms of the legitimacy of their linguistic, social and professional capital.

The chapter has thus been divided into two separate parts. Part One presents the findings from the analysis of a selection of the documents, and Part Two presents the findings in terms of the logic of practice of the field from the perspective of the IEs. By investigating the field from the perspectives of the dominant and dominated players in the field, I was able to better position the IEs in the field of power with regard to the language practices and approaches towards diversity and multiculturalism in the field.

### **5.2 The field Part 1: Analysis of institutional documentation**

The documentation for analysis included official policies, frameworks, standards, handbooks, annual reports and strategy documents. Full-page extracts of each extract mentioned in this chapter can be found in Appendix H. The documents were published online by institutions which hold the position of dominant agents in the field. A full list of documents analysed can

be found in Appendix A, and pages from which the extracts are taken can be found in Appendix H. I selected documents which mentioned languages and languaging practices, culture and multiculturalism, and diversity. Acronyms such as LOTE (Languages other than English), LBOTE (Language backgrounds other than English), EAL/D (English as an additional language or dialect) and CALD (Cultural and linguistic diversity), as well as terms such as 'community languages' and 'home languages' were therefore also common in the texts I analysed. Given that my participants are international educators, I formed the premise that sections of the documents which discussed these themes and mentioned these acronyms and terms might therefore apply to the IEs.

I organised the documents analysed into three broad categories:

- Documents pertaining to overarching strategies and directions of the NSW DoE:
- Documents pertaining to multiculturalism, diversity and inclusion in the NSW DoE:
- Documents pertaining to languages spoken in the sites of practice.

As outlined in the Chapter Four, critical discourse analysis (CDA) of publicly available documentation was applied to analyse the chosen documents. The Conceptual Framework chapter discussed the ways in which this type of textual analysis offers a method of analysing the social and cultural discourses at play within the context (Fairclough, 1995, 2003). Through Fairclough's three levels of analysis, both linguistic and intertextual analysis have been utilised to enhance the findings (Fairclough, 1995). Linguistic analysis is used not only to examine the lexis, terms and other linguistic systems used in the texts, but also to analyse the overall structure and cohesion of the texts. As much as this type of analysis would yield interesting results, it is only with the complement of intertextual analysis (see Chapters Two and Four) that the transformative nature of these texts can begin to be understood (Fairclough, 1995).

This analysis of institutional documentation followed the principle that discourse shapes our thinking, our actions, and our identities (Hall & Du Gay, 1996, as cited in Byrd Clarke, 2009). The analysis thus sheds light on how the dominant discourses of the field position cultures, languages and language instruction, especially when comparing the dominant language, English, with minority languages, and the dominant white Australian Anglo-Saxon culture with minority cultures. Analysis of these documents offers insights into the policies and approaches to inter-cultural and multilingual education in this particular field in order to ascertain the “social, political and ideological context in which the text is created and communicated” (Liddicoat, 2011, p. 199). An example of this positioning of English as the dominant language can be seen in the Multicultural Policies and Services Program Report 2017-2018 (NSW DoE, 2019b). The first section of the document is titled *‘Culturally and linguistically diverse education settings’* (2019b, p.2) and the introduction to this section can be seen in Extract 1, which highlights the breadth of diversity in NSW public schools. Following Extract 1 is a section which presents LBOTE learner diversity, followed by another table listing all LOTEs spoken by students in 2017 and 2018. The subsequent section of the Report, shown in Extract 2, is titled *‘Quality teaching and leadership’* (2019b, p. 6).

NSW is one of the most culturally diverse societies in the world. The people of NSW represent different cultures, languages, beliefs, experiences and perspectives. This diversity is reflected in the department's learning and working environments and across school communities.

In 2018, about a third of the students (282,532 students) in NSW public schools came from language backgrounds other than English (LBOTE). This represents an increase of 3.7% from 2017. In departmental preschools, more than 40% of total enrolments were LBOTE students.

LBOTE students are those students who speak a language other than English at home and/or have a parent/carer who speaks a language other than English at home. This very large cohort includes students from a wide range of cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds both born in Australian and overseas. It includes students who are learning English as an additional language and or dialect (EAL/D) as well as newly arrived, refugee and international students.

**Table 1 – LBOTE student enrolments in NSW Public Schools, 2018**

Student cohort	No. of students	% of total students
LBOTE students	282,532	35.2%
EAL/D students	155,539	20.0%
Newly arrived EAL/D students	6,739	0.9%
Refugee students	8,261	1.1%
Newly arrived refugee students	1,218	0.2%

*Extract 1 Multicultural report (NSW DoE, 2019b, p. 2)*

## Quality teaching and leadership

Leaders are skilled in delivering high quality, culturally responsive educational programs and services

Great Teaching, Inspired Learning is the NSW Government's plan to improve the quality of teaching and learning in our schools. This plan, along with our School Leadership Strategy, provided the context for the continuous development of professional practice for teachers and school leaders.

### Leading culturally responsive learning

Experienced teachers, trained as curriculum leaders at 14 Intensive English Centres and the Intensive English High School, participated in professional learning to lead and support the trial of the revised secondary Intensive English Programs Curriculum Framework.

Experienced EAL/D teachers were engaged as mentors to support teachers of EAL/D students in rural and regional schools.

EAL/D specialists and school counsellors were trained as facilitators to deliver professional learning supporting EAL/D and refugee education in schools across NSW.

The Leading EAL/D Education course supported school staff to enhance the delivery of collaborative, whole school EAL/D education practice and improved outcomes for EAL/D students. In 2017 and 2018, 27 school teams, comprising a member of the school executive and an EAL/D specialist teacher, were involved in the program.

School teams used the EAL/D School Evaluation Framework to reflect on existing EAL/D practices against best-practice benchmarks to lead the implementation of an inquiry-based project to improve outcomes for EAL/D students. Teams participated in three professional learning days and presented their results at the end-of-project showcase. The projects achieved extremely positive results in the schools in which they were implemented. Filmpond movies created by participating schools document the strategies implemented.

*Extract 2 Multicultural report (NSW DoE, 2019b, p. 6)*

It can be seen from the number of instances where EAL/D and English are mentioned in Extract 2 that the evidence provided in the document in order to show delivery of “culturally responsive learning” (2019, p. 6) centres around the teaching of EAL/D. In this short section, EAL/D is mentioned eleven times, and Intensive English is mentioned three times. This emphasis on English and specifically EAL/D is continued into the next section seen in Extract 3.

## **Staff are equipped to meet the specific needs of students and community members from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds**

During 2017-2018, teachers and staff in schools across the state participated in professional learning programs to assist them in responding to the needs of culturally diverse communities. This included training to assist teachers in meeting the needs of specific student cohorts and in promoting culturally inclusion and community harmony.

### **Supporting teachers of EAL/D students**

In 2017-2018, teachers participated in a range of registered professional learning courses and networks to assist them in meeting the needs of EAL/D students:

Registered course	Course code	No. enrolled 2017	No. enrolled 2018
Teaching English Language Learners (TELL) Facilitator refresher	RG00262	0	55
Leading EAL/D education	RG00354	42	86
EAL/D orientation: for teachers newly appointed to EAL/D positions	RG00336	165	172
Teaching English Language Learners (TELL)	RG00225	612	814
Teaching English Language Learners (TELL) Facilitator Training	RG00220	24	25
Using the EAL/D Learning Progression	RG01032	86	736
Investigating EAL/D Education in the secondary curriculum	RG02559	0	30
TESOL Seminars	various	196	379
<b>Total</b>		<b>1,125</b>	<b>2,297</b>

In addition to this, teachers participated in a wide range of non-registered professional learning courses in EAL/D education delivered across the state including Adobe Connect training sessions on a range of EAL/D topics.

New professional learning in the use of the new national Literacy and EAL/D learning progression tools was delivered to support the assessment of EAL/D student literacy, and professional learning was provided for learning and support teachers in rural and regional NSW to assist them in meeting the needs of EAL/D students.

From the content of Extract 3, as well as the location of Extracts 1, 2 and 3 at the beginning of the Multicultural Policies and Services Program Report 2017-2018 (NSW DoE, 2019b), it appears that the dominant agents in the field believe the needs of culturally and linguistically diverse students and community members should be met through EAL/D teaching and learning. In this way, it can be seen from this example that the logic of practice of the field positions English learning and teaching as central to the needs of CALD in the field of Education.

### *5.2.1 Critical discourse analysis of the selected documents: Three levels of analysis*

The following section outlines the three levels of CDA undertaken, beginning with the macro level, and then moving on to the two stages of the micro level of analysis. These three levels of analysis reveal the linguistic and intertextual features of the documents, and consequently perspectives of language, diversity and multiculturalism of the dominant agents in the field. This is in keeping with Bourdieu's analytical tools and enhances understandings of the power relations in the field.

#### *5.2.1.1 Critical discourse analysis: The macro level*

The first level of analysis undertaken was at a macro level, and the next levels of textual analysis focussed on the micro aspects of discourse within the sections of the chosen documents, and the social practices within the field in which the documents are situated.

As detailed in Chapter Four, the questions used to frame the first macro level of analysis focused on the documents':

- production and distribution
- intended audience
- range of genres or text types

- tenor and rhetorical modes
- conventionality
- requirement for the reader to make their own interpretations
- producers or authors.

(Adapted from Fairclough, 1992, pp. 232–238)

With regard to the macro level analysis, the documents are all distributed via the Internet. They have all been produced centrally by the NSW DoE and ACARA. These institutions represent the dominant agents in the field, and they are all operatives of the state. The contents of the documents thus represent the state's "power to constitute and to impose as universal and universally applicable ... a common set of coercive norms" (Bourdieu & Waquant, 1992, p. 112).

The documents are written for a wide audience; decision-makers in other Government departments as well as stakeholders in the education system such as NSW DoE executives and managers, school principals and teaching and administrative/professional staff. As the documents are publicly available, it can also be assumed that anybody with a particular interest in the field of education may access the information contained in the documents. In spite of a few acronyms such as EAL/D and LBOTE, in general at this first macro level of analysis the documents contained non-specialist language, and key terms seemed to all be explained (such as page 2 of the Multicultural Plan; NSW DoE, 2020f). The documents pertaining to language practices contain more instances of specialist language, and the intended audience for these documents is teaching staff. In terms of text types used Table 3 includes information regarding the main genres within the documents that were analysed, as well as information on graphs, tables, dot points, and infographs contained in the documents.

**Table 3 Text types contained in the documents analysed**

	Information Text	Persuasive Text	Contains graphs	Contains tables	Other
Documents pertaining to overarching strategies and directions of the Department of Education:					
NSW Department of Education Strategic Plan webpage (NSW DoE, n.d.a)	X	X			Dot points, one short paragraph
NSW Department of Education Annual Report 2019 (NSW DoE, 2020b)	X	X	X	X	Both
NSW Department of Education Strategic Plan printable pdf (2020g)	X	X			Dot points and only one short paragraph
Documents pertaining to multiculturalism, diversity and inclusion in the Department of Education:					
ACARA Languages and Student Diversity webpage (ACARA, n.d.a)	X				Paragraphs with sub-headings
ACARA Student Diversity webpage (n.d.b)	X				
NSW Department of Education Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2018–2022 Media Release (NSW DoE, 2018)	X	X			Dot points, short paragraph
NSW Department of Education Multicultural Policies and Services Program Report 2017-2018 (NSW DoE, 2019b)	X	School profiles included to demonstrate practice		X	Dot points and paragraphs
NSW Department of Education Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2018–2022 (NSW DoE, 2020d)	X	X			Dot points and paragraphs
NSW Department of Education Multicultural Plan 2019–2022 (NSW DoE, 2020f)	X	x		X	Dot points and paragraphs, as well as infographics
NSW Department of Education Workforce Diversity webpage (NSW DoE, 2020i)	X	X			Dot points and paragraphs
NSW Department of Education Workforce Diversity Policy (NSW DoE, 2020j)	X				Dot points

**Table 3 Text types contained in the documents analysed-Continued**

	Information Text	Persuasive Text	Contains graphs	Contains tables	Other
Documents pertaining to languages spoken in the sites of practice.					
ACARA The Shape of the Australian Curriculum (Version 4) (ACARA, 2012)	X				
ACARA EAL/D overview and advice Handbook (ACARA, 2014)	X				Dot points and paragraphs
ACARA EAL/D Learning Progression: Foundation to Year 10 (ACARA, 2015)	X			X	Dot points and paragraphs
NSW Department of Education Using the English as an Additional Language or Dialect (EAL/D) Learning Progression in NSW Public Schools (NSW DoE, n.d.b)	X				Mostly paragraphs with some dot points
NSW Department of Education Supporting EAL/D students in schools pdf (NSW DoE, 2017)	X				Mostly Paragraphs and just 3 short dot points
NSW Department of Education About Community Languages Schools webpage (NSW DoE, 2020a)	X				Paragraphs
NSW Department of Education EAL/D Advice for Schools handbook (NSW DoE, 2020e)	X			X	Dot points and paragraphs, as well as infographics

### Our performance measures

- Increased proportion of children enrolled in an early childhood education program in the year before school (and proportion who are enrolled for 600 hours)
- Increased proportion of students reporting a sense of belonging, expectations for success and advocacy at school
- Increased proportion of students in the top two NAPLAN bands for reading and numeracy
- Increased proportion of Aboriginal students in the top two NAPLAN bands for reading and numeracy
- Increased proportion of regional and remote students in the top two NAPLAN bands for reading and numeracy
- Increased proportion of students with an HSC, Year 12 certificate or AQF certificate II and above
- Increased number of teachers accredited at the Highly Accomplished and Lead Teacher levels
- Increased number of schools with high value-add
- Improved staff engagement results in the People Matter Employee Survey
- Number of new and upgraded schools and classrooms

(NSW DoE, 2020g, p. 2)

In 2016, over 160,000 students in NSW public schools were learning English as an Additional Language or Dialect (EAL/D).

In NSW public schools, EAL/D students are identified as being in one of four phases within the EAL/D Learning Progression: Beginning, Emerging, Developing or Consolidating. This process allows teachers to assess levels of EAL/D need and determine priorities for allocating available EAL/D teacher support within the school. The EAL/D Learning Progression phase for each student is entered in ERN and collected through the EAL/D Annual Survey. This information is used to allocate the English Language Proficiency equity loading for through Resource Allocation Model (RAM).

(NSW DoE, 2017, p. 1)

Department staff from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds consistently identify as having higher levels of job satisfaction of between 3 and 5 per cent above the average on the Public Service Commission's People Matter Employee Survey.

(NSW DoE, 2020b, p.120)

We use workforce data and evidence such as [People Matter Employee Survey](#) results to inform sustainable decisions and drive inclusive initiatives which in turn develops a diverse workforce embedded in an inclusive culture. Our progress as of November 2019 is:

Areas of focus	Our progress	Our targets
Aboriginal people – in <a href="#">senior leadership roles</a>	2.5%	<a href="#">Increase the number of Aboriginal people in senior leadership roles to 3.0% by 2025</a>
Aboriginal people	3.7%	Maintain the trend growth rate to reach a 4.5% representation across the department by 2022
People with disability	3.1%	<a href="#">5.6% representation by 2025</a>
Culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD)	<a href="#">New Measure</a>	Increase the representation of CALD employees across the department
Women in leadership ? senior leadership roles	55%	Increase the representation of women in senior leadership roles to 60% by 2025
Male teachers	24%	<a href="#">Increase the representation of male teachers</a>

(NSW DoE 2020d, para. 18)

Figure 3 Examples of informative text types in the documentation (NSW DoE, 2017; 2020b; 2020d; 2020g)

Our Vision	Our purpose
To be Australia's best education system and one of the finest in the world.	To prepare young people for rewarding lives as engaged citizens in a complex and dynamic society.

(NSW DoE, 2020g, p. 1)

Our aim of attracting and retaining the best staff is built upon the foundation of an inclusive workplace where people of diverse backgrounds are able to bring their best selves to work and do their best for the students and communities we serve. The department's Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2018-2022 outlines our approach to achieving this. The strategy is informed by our current workforce data, NSW Government priorities and a desire to better reflect the community we serve. As such, it embeds the Premier's Priority to build a world-class public service by 2025 through:

(NSW DoE, 2020b, p.120)

We recognise that diversity encompasses the richness of our backgrounds and includes factors such as: age, carer responsibilities, culture, disability, educational level, gender identity, geographic location, life experiences, marital status, sexual orientation and socio-economic background. Our commitment is to foster a workplace with an inclusive culture, where people of diverse backgrounds are excited to bring all of who they are and do their best work.

(NSW DoE, 2020d, para. 10)

Figure 4 Examples of persuasive text types in the documentation (NSW DoE, 2020b; 2020d; 2020g)

Examples of persuasive and informative text types can be seen in Figures 3 and 4. The most prominent text type contained in the documents is the informative text, which serves to give information either about initiatives (e.g., NSW DoE, 2020b, 2020g, 2020i), or to report on the progress or outcomes of programs and initiatives (e.g., NSW DoE, 2019b). The documents pertaining to language practices are all information texts and do not contain persuasive language, whereas the documents pertaining to overarching strategies and directions all contain instances of persuasive language. The documents pertaining to multiculturalism, diversity and inclusion contain persuasive language, except for the workforce diversity policy (NSW DoE, 2020j).

The next area of macro analysis pertains to the tenor and rhetorical modes used in the texts, whether the texts contained in the documents were conventional or innovative (whether they were traditional in presentation, layout, and modes), the extent to which it is necessary for readers to make their own interpretations of the text, and in particular the specialist language and labels contained in the text, and finally, identification of the author/s of the texts. A summary of the findings can be found in Table 4.

**Table 4 Macro-level analysis**

	<b>Tenor and rhetorical modes used</b>	<b>Conventional or innovative sample</b>	<b>Interpretation required</b>	<b>Authors</b>	<b>Intertextuality</b>
Documents pertaining to overarching strategies and directions of the Department of Education:					
NSW Department of Education Strategic Plan webpage (NSW DoE, n.d.a)	Third person “we” and more formal tenor process analysis, definition & exemplification/illustration	Conventional sample	Use of infinitive and present simple tense leaves little room for interpretation	Unnamed authors. The NSW DoE is the author	The documents in this section are linked through section titles such as ‘Our Vision’, ‘Our Purpose’, ‘Our Goals’ (paras. 1; 2; 4)
NSW Department of Education Annual Report 2019 (NSW DoE, 2020b)	Third person “we” and more formal tenor Part process analysis and part definition, with some exemplification/illustration & comparison and contrast across previous years	Conventional sample	Some interpretation may be required, as not all data is presented together	Unnamed authors. The NSW DoE is the author	The document refers to other NSW DoE plans, policies, reports and initiatives
NSW Department of Education Strategic Plan printable pdf (NSW DoE, 2020g)	Third person “we” and more formal tenor process analysis, definition & exemplification/illustration	Conventional sample	Use of infinitive and present simple tense leaves little room for interpretation	Unnamed authors. The NSW DoE is the author	The documents in this section are linked through section titles such as “Our Vision, Our Purpose, Our Goals”

**Table 4 Macro level analysis Continued**

	<b>Tenor and rhetorical modes used</b>	<b>Conventional or innovative sample</b>	<b>Interpretation required</b>	<b>Authors</b>	<b>Intertextuality</b>
Documents pertaining to multiculturalism, diversity and inclusion in the Department of Education: The Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority: Languages and Student Diversity webpage (ACARA, n.d.a)	Formal tenor definition & exemplification/illustration	Conventional sample	Present simple tense used and low modality (most, many, etc) Little room for interpretation	Unnamed authors	Link to the EAL/D Teacher Resource
The Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority Student Diversity webpage (ACARA, n.d.b)	Formal tenor definition & exemplification/illustration	Sample contains a paragraph of conventional text along with video clips and links to the diverse types of diversity	Medium modality. In the ACARA propositions	Unnamed authors	Links to web pages of the different types of diversity
NSW Department of Education Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2018–2022 Media Release (NSW DoE, 2018)	Formal and Impersonal tenor. Definition mode	Conventional sample	Use of present simple to present information leaves little room for interpretation	Unnamed authors	Diversity and Inclusion Strategy
NSW Department of Education Multicultural Policies and Services Program Report 2017–2018 (NSW DoE, 2019b)	Use of narration accompanied with exemplification/illustration & descriptions from the sites of practice.	Conventional sample	Use of passives and extremely low modality leaves little room for interpretation	Unnamed authors. Frequent use of passive voice	Refers to the Strategic Plan, the Multicultural Plan, NSW Anti-bullying website, Racism. No Way, CESE website

**Table 4 Macro level analysis Continued**

	<b>Tenor and rhetorical modes used</b>	<b>Conventional or innovative sample</b>	<b>Interpretation required</b>	<b>Authors</b>	<b>Intertextuality</b>
Documents pertaining to multiculturalism, diversity and inclusion in the Department of Education, Continued					
NSW Department of Education Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2018–2022 (NSW DoE, 2020d)	Use of “our” in titles creates a more impersonal tenor. Part process analysis and part definition	Conventional sample	Use of present simple to present information leaves little room for interpretation	Unnamed authors	Links to the Multicultural Plan and NSW Government webpages on diversity and inclusion
NSW Department of Education Multicultural Plan 2019–2022 (NSW DoE, 2020f)	Third person “we” and more formal tenor process analysis, definition & exemplification/illustration	Conventional sample	Use of present simple to present information, and the future “will” to present the plan leaves little room for interpretation	Unnamed authors. The NSW DoE is the author	Makes reference to the strategic plan, as well as other Commonwealth, State and NSW Education policies, strategies, statements, programs, and Acts.
NSW Department of Education Workforce Diversity webpage (NSW DoE, 2020i)	Use of question forms in section headings creates more personal tenor. process analysis, definition & exemplification/illustration	Conventional sample	Use of present simple to present information, and the future “will” to present the plan leaves little room for interpretation	Unnamed authors	School Excellence Framework
NSW Department of Education Workforce Diversity Policy (NSW DoE, 2020j)	Formal tenor, definition and illustration modes	Conventional sample	Use of present simple for clarity	Unnamed authors. The NSW DoE is the author	Makes reference to other Commonwealth, State and NSW Education policies, strategies, statements, programs, and Acts.

**Table 4 Macro level analysis Continued**

	Tenor and rhetorical modes used	Conventional or innovative sample	Interpretation required	Authors	Intertextuality
Documents pertaining to languages spoken in the sites of practice. The Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority: The Shape of the Australian Curriculum (Version 4) (ACARA, 2012)	Formal tenor definition & exemplification/illustration	Conventional sample	Present simple and future 'will' tenses indicate low modality with little room for interpretation	Unnamed authors	Links to various ACARA and websites
EAL/D overview and advice Handbook (2014) (ACARA, 2014)	Formal tenor definition & exemplification/illustration	Conventional sample	Medium modality with interpretation required when applying the information in the text	Unnamed authors ACARA EAL/D working group and consulting curriculum organisations listed	Links to various ACARA websites References to other EAL/D NSW DoE /ACARA publications
ACARA EAL/D Learning Progression: Foundation to Year 10 (ACARA, 2015)	Formal tenor process analysis, definition & exemplification/illustration	Conventional sample	Medium modality leaves room for interpretation	Unnamed authors	Makes reference to other EAL/D NSW DoE /ACARA publications
NSW Department of Education Using the English as an Additional Language or Dialect (EAL/D) Learning Progression in NSW Public Schools pdf (NSW DoE, n.d.b)	Formal tenor, despite headings in question form process analysis, definition & exemplification/illustration	Conventional sample	Medium modality-no modality in the process section of the text. Medium modality in the Learner Characteristics section of the text	Unnamed authors	Links to other EAL/D NSW DoE publications

**Table 4 Macro level analysis Continued**

	<b>Tenor and rhetorical modes used</b>	<b>Conventional or innovative sample</b>	<b>Interpretation required</b>	<b>Authors</b>	<b>Intertextuality</b>
Documents pertaining to languages spoken in the sites of practice, Continued					
NSW Department of Education Supporting EAL/D students in schools pdf (NSW DoE, 2017)	Formal tenor process analysis, definition & exemplification/illustration	Conventional sample	Low modality-only a few instances of modals-leaves little room for interpretation	Unnamed authors	Makes reference to other EAL/D NSW DoE /ACARA publications, the “New Arrivals Program, Supporting Refugee Students, and Local Schools, Local Decisions”
NSW Department of Education About Community Languages Schools webpage (NSW DoE, 2020a)	Low formality, mainly due to the video clips Definition, description & exemplification/illustration	Sample contains a mixture of conventional text and video clips of principals taking about the Program	Use of present simple to present facts. Use of some emotive adjectives to present the positive attributes of the Program. Little room for interpretation	Unnamed authors	Link to SICLE webpage for more information on the Program
NSW Department of Education EAL/D Advice for Schools handbook (NSW DoE, 2020e)	Formal tenor. process analysis, definition & exemplification/illustration	Conventional sample	Medium to high modality, leaves room for interpretation	Unnamed authors	Links to other sections of the text, as well as links to external texts & reference list

On the whole, the texts were conventional/traditional in the way they presented information. The NSW DoE (2020a) About Community Languages Schools webpage contained persuasive language in the form of video clips of principals talking about the benefits of hosting community languages programs in their schools such as the relationships developed with the community and the ways in which their school culture has been enhanced. ACARA's (n.d.a) student diversity webpage also used video clips to introduce the theme of diversity in the curriculum.

With regard to the authors of the texts, there are no individuals named as authors of any of the texts. However, ACARA (2014) lists the names of the individuals in the ACARA EAL/D working group, as well as the names of the consulting curriculum organisations.

The documents pertaining to the overarching strategies and the documents pertaining to multiculturalism, diversity and inclusion all employ low levels of modality. This, along with the use of infinitives, present simple tense, and the future 'will' mean that at this first macro level of analysis the information presented in the documents seems to be written to leave little room for the reader to be required to interpret that information. Examples of this low modality can be seen in Extract 4 (NSW DoE, 2018). The extract uses present tense of the verb 'to be' and infinitive verb forms. Modal verbs and other modifiers (some, most, many, and so on) are not used. Extract 5 (NSW DoE, 2020f) also has examples of low modality through the use of present simple verbs to communicate the NSW DoE's goals, coupled with the title 'What we will do', thus indicating a firm plan of action through the use of 'will'.

The Department of Education has today launched a new Diversity and Inclusion Strategy for its workforce.

The strategy values difference in employee background, skills and experience and supports the department's Strategic Plan goal that "Education is a great place to work and our workforce is of the highest calibre".

The department's Secretary, Mark Scott, said respect for diversity was a core value of every staff member in schools and corporate offices.

"If we are to be the best education system in Australia, we need to create a workplace that encourages and supports opportunities for employees of all backgrounds and life experience to achieve, succeed and be their best," he said.

Key priorities over the next five years are to:

- build an inclusive workforce through employee awareness, understanding and engagement
- attract, recruit, develop and retain a workforce which reflects the community we serve
- strengthen workforce data and evidence to inform sustainable decisions and initiatives.

The focus areas, based on current workforce data and NSW Government priorities, are:

- Aboriginal people
- people with disability
- culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) people
- women in leadership
- male teachers.

#### *Extract 4 Inclusion strategy (NSW DoE, 2018, para. 1)*

### What we will do

The actions in this plan describe what we will do to meet the needs of our culturally diverse school communities. They are mapped to our strategic goals and focus areas of the Multicultural Policies and Services Program Framework.

#### **Our goals**

1. All students make a strong start in life and learning and make a successful transition to school
2. Every student is known, valued and cared for
3. Every student, every teacher, every leader and every school improves every year
4. Every student is engaged and challenged to continue to learn
5. All young people have a strong foundation in literacy and numeracy; deep content knowledge; and confidence in their ability to learn, adapt and be responsible citizens
6. All young people finish school well prepared for higher education, training and work
7. Education is a great place to work and our workforce is of the highest calibre
8. Our school infrastructure meets the needs of a growing population and enables future-focused learning and teaching
9. Community confidence in public education is high
10. Our education system reduces the impact of disadvantage

#### *Extract 5 Multicultural plan (NSW DoE, 2020f, p. 6)*

On the whole, the tenor of the documents is mostly formal, with only a few instances of a higher degree of familiarity. There are a few instances where the texts contain linguistic devices which appeal directly to the reader, such as the use of the pronoun 'we' to describe NSW DoE's (2020g) strategic plan and report on achievements in NSW DoE's (2020b) annual report, as well as the use of 'our' to introduce the subheadings in NSW DoE's (2020d) inclusion strategy. In addition, NSW DoE's workplace diversity webpage (2020j) and using EAL/D (n.d.b) document both use question forms for the subheadings. All of these forms work to reduce the distance between the author and readers and to appeal directly to the readers.

In terms of intertextuality, the texts all contain links and/or references to other NSW DoE and ACARA documents, as well as Commonwealth and State documents. Both the NSW DoE 2019 annual report (2020b) and the NSW DoE multicultural plan (2020f) contain headings such as 'Our Vision', 'Our Purpose', and 'Our Goals'. The NSW DoE 2019 annual report (2020b) then continues with this structure, with subsections such as 'Our Students', 'Our Premier's Priorities', and 'Our Performance Targets.' In terms of the documents pertaining to languages spoken in the sites of practice, there are quite a number of different documents concerned with EAL/D. This may cause confusion and frustration for the reader attempting to locate information in one of the documents as all of the documents have the acronym EAL/D in their titles, but each contain slightly different information and have slightly different purposes. Examples are the overview and advice handbook (ACARA, 2014), the EAL/D Learning progression (ACARA, 2015), the using the EAL/D learning progression in NSW public schools document (NSW DoE, n.d.b), the supporting EAL/D students in schools document (NSW DoE, 2017), and the EAL/D Advice for schools handbook (NSW DoE, 2020e).

#### 5.2.1.2 Critical discourse analysis: The micro levels (stages 1 and 2)

This next level of analysis focuses on the manifest intertextuality of the documents. As discussed in greater detail in Chapters Two and Four, manifest intertextuality refers to the level of interpretation required on the part of the reader. The questions used as a framework to investigate the first stage of required interpretation centred on the documents’:

- use of direct or indirect language
- use of abstract or concrete language
- clarity in distinguishing of abstract and concrete ideas
- presuppositions made
- links from and to other texts within the sample.

(Adapted from Fairclough, 1992, pp. 117–118)

Following the analysis of the intertextuality of the text, stage two of micro analysis is a more detailed analysis of the text. The foci at this level are:

- the author’s and audience’s degree of interactional control
- the topics and how these are introduced, developed and established
- the tenor
- thematic structures evident in the sample
- the underlying reasons for the main themes chosen
- how modality is expressed
- use of key words
- how meanings are structured through the use of key words, and how this affects the struggles in the field
- theoretical, cultural or ideological significance of the lexical items used
- instances of over-use of the same words or use of a range of synonyms

(adapted from Fairclough, 1992, pp. 234–237)

The micro level analysis revealed information on the positioning of English and languages other than English in the field. In addition, CDA also shed light on the approaches towards second language acquisition which the dominant agents in the field believe to be legitimate. Through CDA I was also able to ascertain the ways in which the terms used in the documents to describe language practices indicated the ways in which multilingual and multicultural agents might be regarded in the field, and which forms of their capital are ultimately valued in the field.

An analysis of the documents showed values and attitudes towards both diversity, as well as towards those who are from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds. In terms of the first group of documents pertaining to overarching strategies and directions of the NSW Department of Education, the NSW DoE (2020g) strategic plan makes no specific mention of cultural and linguistic diversity. The plan does use inclusive language in the form of the pronouns 'we' and 'our', thus reducing the distance between the document authors and publishers and the readers, and creating the impression that authors, publishers and readers are positioned equally. For example, in the strategic plan (NSW DoE, 2020g, p. 2) under the title 'Equity' is the statement "we respect diversity and the views and contributions of others". In addition, under the title 'Our values' are the statements "we strive to excel and invite the best ideas from everyone in and outside the department" and "we use and share evidence, research and data to underpin policy and practice". Furthermore, under the title 'Trust' is the statement "we respect others' expertise, experience and points of view, and listen with an open mind". These statements give the impression that from the perspective of the highest ranks of the NSW DoE, all agents in the field hold the same positions of authority and legitimation, and that the dominant agent in the field, the NSW DoE, does not regard itself as holding the dominant position over other agents in the field.

I then analysed the selected documents to discover those which included information on diversity, multiculturalism, bilingualism, multilingualism and other language practices, and language. I was also interested to discover what the NSW DoE meant by these overarching terms, and what they included in each of the terms. My analysis of the 2019 annual report (NSW DoE, 2020b) shows that in the 97-page document, the word “diversity” is mentioned three times; once in the statement “Our students represent the diversity of cultural, linguistic and socioeconomic backgrounds across NSW” (p. 7), then in the statement “we also commenced the Aboriginal Teacher Leadership Initiative to align with our commitment of Aboriginal Workforce development and with our Workforce Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2018–2022” (p. 31) and lastly in the section titled “Increasing participation in high-quality vocational education and training” with regard to the NSW DoE running “16 projects across NSW with skill development and diversity targets” (p. 57).

In the appendices to the 2019 annual report (NSW DoE, 2020b), the word ‘diversity’ is then mentioned three times in relation to data on student diversity, workforce diversity, and “diversity targets in NSW Government infrastructure projects” (p. 105). Of note is the fact that no explanation is given in the document regarding what exactly is covered by this term.

Interestingly, the section titled “People Matter Survey” includes:

the survey reported on nine headline themes in 2019. Of the nine, eight of them have improved with the ninth remaining steady. As in 2018, employee development and resolving grievances and questions related to diversity and inclusion significantly affected the overall employee engagement across the department. (NSW DoE, 2020b, p. 114)

However, no further information is provided about the specifics of these questions, the specific types of diversity in question, or how they affected the outcome of the survey.

Another point of note is that the appendices (NSW DoE, 2020b) mention “the Premier’s Priority to drive public sector diversity” (p. 115) in the section titled “Flexible Workplace Practices” (p. 115). This indicates that the scope of diversity being discussed might not relate to cultural diversity, but instead, to gender or age. In fact, a subsequent section of the appendices titled “Workforce Diversity” states that this section:

summarises the Department’s achievements in the 2019 workforce diversity and inclusion programs and initiatives, including those specifically relating to the teaching service. We promote equal employment opportunities for all staff. We recognise that diversity encompasses the richness of our backgrounds and includes factors such as gender, age, culture, disability, carer responsibilities, marital status, gender identity and sexual orientation, educational level, life experience, geographic location and socioeconomic background. (NSW DoE, 2020b, p. 120)

The section (NSW DoE, 2020b, p. 120) then makes reference to NSW DoE’s (2020d) inclusion strategy, and gives further information than what is contained in that strategy, listing the NSW Government priorities of:

- having 50% of senior leadership roles held by women
- increasing the number of Aboriginal people in senior leadership roles
- ensuring 5.6% of government sector roles are held by people with disability.

The last points to be made in this section of the 2019 annual report (NSW DoE, 2020b) begin with the statement “As at 31 December 2019, the department’s workforce consisted of the following” (p. 120) after which data

on women, Indigenous employees, and people with a disability working in the NSW DoE are given. The last point then focuses on Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CALD) employees, stating that:

Department staff from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds consistently identify as having higher levels of job satisfaction of between 3 and 5 per cent above the average on the Public Service Commission's People Matter Employee Survey. (NSW DoE, 2020b, p. 120)

No data on the number of CALD employees in the department is given here. The statistics on employees whose first language is not English are then presented in table format, as can be seen in Extract 6.

**Table 16:** Trends in representation of equal employment opportunity groups as a proportion of the total number of staff, 2015 to 2019

Group	NSW Government benchmark	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Women	50%	76.9%	77.4%	77.8%	78.3%	78.2%
Aboriginal people	5.5%	5.6%	5.7%	5.8%	5.9%	5.9%
People whose first language spoken as a child was not English	23.2%	10.7%	10.9%	11.1%	11.2%	11.5%
People with disability	5.6%	3.0%	5.2%	3.1%	3.0%	3.0%
People with disability requiring adjustment at work	N/A	0.7%	0.8%	0.7%	0.7%	0.6%
<b>Total number of staff</b>	<b>N/A</b>	<b>92,023</b>	<b>95,332</b>	<b>97,076</b>	<b>99,256</b>	<b>108,031</b>

Source: NSW Public Sector Workforce Profile as at 30 June each year. Notes: Representation of equal employment opportunity (EEO) groups is calculated as the estimated number of staff in each group divided by the total number of staff. These statistics, except those for women, have been weighted to estimate the representation of EEO groups in the workforce, where EEO survey response rates were less than 100 per cent. The total number of staff is based on a headcount of permanent and temporary employees.

*Extract 6 2019 annual report (NSW DoE, 2020b, p. 121)*

The report makes no statement referring to the recognition of the low representation rate for CALD employees, despite the fact that with regard to employees with a disability, the department states that they “recognise that additional work is required to achieve a 5.6 per cent representation rate by 2025” (NSW DoE, 2020b, p. 120). In fact, Extract 7 shows that CALD employees are exceeding this particular benchmark. It is only upon closer reading that it is revealed that the data are reporting equivalences in salary levels, and not representation.

## Current workforce

Table 17: Trends in distribution of equal employment opportunity groups, 2015 to 2019

Group	NSW Government benchmark	2015 index	2016 index	2017 index	2018 index	2019 index
Women	100	91	92	92	92	92
Aboriginal people	100	80	82	82	83	84
People whose first language spoken as a child was not English	100	105	104	104	104	103
People with disability	100	98	98	99	98	97
People with disability requiring adjustment at work	100	104	104	105	106	107

Source: NSW Public Sector Workforce Profile as at 30 June each year. Notes: "A distribution index of 100 indicates that the centre of the distribution of the equal employment opportunity (EEO) groups across salary levels is equivalent to that of other staff. Values less than 100 mean that the EEO group tends to be more concentrated at lower salary levels than is the case for other staff. The more pronounced this tendency, the lower the index will be. In some cases the index may be more than 100, indicating that the EEO group is less concentrated at lower salary levels. A distribution index based on an EEO survey response rate of less than 80 per cent may not be completely accurate. The 2019 EEO survey response rate was 76 per cent.

### *Extract 7 2019 annual report (NSW DoE, 2020b, p. 122)*

Between these two tables in the appendices of NSW DoE (2020b) is a section titled 'Strategic Priorities' which refers to the inclusion strategy (NSW DoE, 2020d). The section of the 2019 annual report (NSW DoE, 2020b) then reports on staff diversity networks, mentioning the Aboriginal Corporate Staff Network, the Disability Employee Network, the Young Professionals Network, and the Pride in Education Network (representing LGBTIQA staff).

After both tables above are presented, there follows subsections on women at work, Aboriginal employees, employees with disabilities, and young employees. There is no mention made of employees of cultural and linguistic diversity. This contrasts with the inclusion strategy (media) (NSW DoE, 2018), which includes a photo of a Muslim and an Indigenous principal (Extract 8). The 2019 annual report (NSW DoE, 2020b) makes no further mention of cultural diversity, other than reporting on the data shown in Extracts 6 and 7, in the section titled 'Workforce Diversity' (p. 120).

The Diversity and Inclusion Strategy for the department's workforce was launched today.

03 December 2018



Valuing diversity: Muslim principal Hala Ramadan (left) and Aboriginal principal Fiona Kelly include their students and parents in cultural exchanges.

*Extract 8 Inclusion strategy (media) (NSW DoE, 2018, para. 1)*

In addition, the inclusion strategy (NSW DoE, 2020d) explains that the three areas of focus are on increasing representation of women and Aboriginal people in leadership roles, and increasing the representation of people with a disability in government sector roles. However, the inclusion strategy also makes mention of culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) people, as can be seen in Extract 9.

#### Culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD)

##### *We reflect our communities*

To support and deliver the best outcomes for our students, it is important that we reflect the community we serve. The department has continued to increase the number of employees from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds. We aim to continue this by understanding and tackling systemic barriers to entry and progression, to help improve experiences for all our staff.

*Extract 9 Inclusion strategy (NSW DoE, 2020d, para. 11)*

It can only be assumed that cultural and linguistic diversity does fall under the overarching framework of Diversity, despite the fact that it is not discussed in the same way as other forms of diversity. In addition, this commitment to “understanding and tackling systemic barriers to entry and progression” (NSW DoE, 2020d, para. 11) is not mentioned in the 2019 annual report (NSW DoE, 2020b).

The inclusion strategy (NSW DoE, 2020d) also outlines progress made as of November 2019 in the area of CALD, with a target to “increase the representation of CALD employees across the department” (para. 11) The progress of this new measure gives no qualitative data, instead offering a hyperlink in the words ‘New Measure’ (para. 15). This hyperlink takes the reader to a ‘references’ page (NSW DoE, 2019a), which explains that “Historical data includes Non-English-Speaking Background and English as a Second Language. Measure to be extended to include all CALD data” (para 9). However, in Extracts 6 and 7 above, reporting is still being made on the basis of people whose first language spoken as a child was not English. The impact of this change in measure thus remains to be seen. A decade ago, Santoro (2007) advised that “greater attention needs to be given to recruiting greater numbers [of ethnic minority teachers] into the profession” (p. 92) yet these statistics reflect that this has not occurred. It would seem that the logic of practice of the field has not been significantly altered by the arrival of newcomers in the field, and thus the dominant agents in the field have been able to maintain their dominant positions in the field.

The next section of the 2019 annual report which I analysed at a micro level had the title ‘Multicultural policies and services’ (NSW DoE, 2020b, p. 133). This section immediately refers to the multicultural plan (NSW DoE, 2020f). The first subheading in this section is ‘Students learning English as an additional language or dialect’ (p. 133). What follows are nine dot points, all of which relate to the teaching or learning of English as an Additional Language

or Dialect (EAL/D). In this section on multiculturalism in the 2019 annual report (NSW DoE, 2020b) students are referred to as EALD students, as opposed to other possible terms such as CALD students.

The next subheadings of the 'Multicultural policies and services' section are as follows:

- Refugee students
- International students and temporary residents
- Languages education
- Student wellbeing and community harmony
- Communication, engagement and consultation

(NSW DoE, 2020b, pp. 134–136)

The "*Languages education*" (p. 135) subheading includes information on the Community Languages Program as well as the NSW School of Languages and Aboriginal Language and Culture 'Nests'. The fact that all three of these languages programs are grouped together indicates that the dominant groups may value all three of these programs equally. However, the fact is that the first activity reported on in this 'Multicultural policies and services' (p. 133) section is on English and English language learning. In addition, ACARA's (n.d.b) student diversity webpage includes links to information on students with a disability, gifted and talented students, and English as an Additional Languages/dialect. This would indicate that the dominant agents in the field regard English as either separate from, different from, or more important than, other languages and language practices in the field. The logic of practice thus affords greater legitimacy to the English language than other languages.

Another important element of this 'Multicultural policies and services' (2020b, p. 133) section of the 2019 annual report is that success is reported on based on the numbers of schools, courses, students, teachers, networks, money spent, languages, documents translated, and so on. Even the subsection titled

‘Student wellbeing and community harmony’ (p. 136) reports quantitatively and not qualitatively on the activities of the year.

A notable intertextual element of the 2019 annual report (NSW DoE, 2020b) is the fact that reporting on Indigenous performance targets and priorities (p. 60) is included in the body of the report, while reporting on Workforce Diversity (p. 120) and Multicultural Policies and Services (p. 133) is relegated to the appendices of the 2019 annual report. It is important and commendable that Indigenous languages and culture are separated and afforded their own section in the 2019 annual report. However, while Indigenous issues need and deserve this attention, other dominated groups are not afforded recognition in the substance of the report and are relegated to the appendices. This is in direct contrast to the DoE’s value of Equity, which is elaborated on in a note about the inclusion strategy (2020d) from the Department’s Secretary that:

respect for diversity is a core value of the department. If we are to be the best education system in Australia and one of the finest in the world we need to create a workplace that encourages and supports opportunities for all employees of all backgrounds and life experience to achieve, succeed and be at their best. When we all have opportunities to be ourselves, creativity and innovation will thrive and we will position ourselves to do the best job we can for the students and communities of NSW. (NSW DoE, 2020d, para. 8)

The next documents I analysed at a micro level were the multicultural plan (NSW DoE, 2020f) and the multicultural report (NSW DoE, 2019b). Both documents begin by setting the context of cultural and linguistic diversity in Australia, declaring that:

NSW is one of the most culturally diverse societies in the world. The people of NSW represent different cultures, languages, beliefs,

experiences and perspectives. This diversity is reflected in the department's learning and working environments and across school communities. (NSW DoE, 2019b, p. 2; 2020f, p. 4)

The documents then present figures on the representation of students who speak a language other than English, or who have a parent or carer who has a language background other than English (LBOTE). While approximately one third of students identify as being CALD (NSW DoE, 2020f, p. 4), only 11.5% of NSW DoE staff have a first language which is not English (NSW DoE, 2020b, p. 121).

The multicultural plan (NSW DoE, 2020f) then presents the NSW DoE's targets in relation to "strategic goals and focus areas of the Multicultural Policies and Services Program Framework" (2020f, p. 6), as well as how success will be measured. As was noted in the 2019 annual report (NSW DoE, 2020b), the success for almost all targets in the multicultural plan (2020f) is measured largely by the numbers of staff, students, programs, projects, and there seem to be no qualitative measures of success aside from the goal "Students from all cultural backgrounds report a greater sense of belonging, inclusion and wellbeing at school" (2020f, p. 8), which is measured by the "number of students reporting positive experiences in surveys" (2020f, p. 8). Furthermore, the diversity of staff is not listed as a measure of success for any of the goals. This may reflect the low value that the dominant agents in the field attribute to the cultural capital of the International Educators in the field, or those agents who are culturally and linguistically diverse.

One of the goals in the multicultural plan states "Our staff are well equipped to support the education of students from culturally diverse backgrounds, including EAL/D and refugee students" (NSW DoE, 2020f, p. 8). This goal has as its first action that the NSW DoE will "deliver professional learning that enables school staff to recognise and build on students' cultural and linguistic capital, to enhance transition and learning outcomes" (p. 8). Another of the

goals “Our stakeholders work with us to improve student learning and wellbeing” (p. 12) has as one of its actions “Deliver resources that assist leaders to recognise and harness the cultural and linguistic capital of the school community to support student learning and wellbeing” (p. 12). This reference to cultural and linguistic capital is not explained further or mentioned in any other section of the document, including the “Key Terms Used in this Plan” section (p. 2). Also, it is mentioned only in relation to the students and the school community, and not in reference to NSW DoE staff. This would seem to indicate that the cultural and linguistic capital of students and school community is valued by the dominant agents in the field, whereas the cultural and linguistic capital of staff is not given any credence. Furthermore, the actions listed in the plan are not elaborated on and are thus open to interpretation. For example, for the actions mentioned above, the question of how these are carried out is not answered.

The next document I analysed in greater detail is the Multicultural Policies and Services Program Report 2017-2018 (2019b). As can be seen in Table 5, in this 12,289-word report, ‘EAL/D’ is mentioned 109 times, ‘English’ is mentioned 88 times, the word ‘language’ is mentioned 163 times (including twice in the phrase ‘Content Integrated Language Learning’), with the phrase ‘English language’ making up 24 of those times, and ‘English as an Additional Language’ five times. ‘LBOTE’ is mentioned 21 times, ‘bilingual’ is used 11 times and ‘multilingual’ once.

*Table 5 Instances of lexis mentioned in the multicultural report (NSW DoE, 2019b)*

	<b># of instances</b>
<b>Total Word count</b>	12,289
EAL/D or EALD	109
English	64
English language	24
English as an additional language	5
Language (not including 'English language')	139
LBOTE	21
Bilingual	11
Multilingual/multilingualism	1
Diverse/diversity	57
Culture/cultural/culturally/interculturality	152

This means that in all the instances when language was mentioned, 53.7% of times it was mentioned in relation to English, and 42.6% of times it was mentioned in relation to language in general or language backgrounds other than English. Furthermore, bilingualism or multilingualism was mentioned only 12 times in the entire document, the terms 'diverse' and 'diversity' are mentioned 57 times in the document, and the word culture and all its forms (cultural, interculturality, and so on) are mentioned 152 times.

The frequency of instances of terms pertaining to language, language use, and language practices indicates that in the multicultural report (NSW DoE, 2019b), references to English are made more times than references to languages other than English. In addition, the term 'bilingual' is mentioned only with regard to assistance to school communities, and community language teachers. Consequently, the multicultural report could be said to better reflect an approach of subtractive bilingualism (see Chapter Three for more information on subtractive bilingualism). However, an even greater

concern is that in a report which should focus on multiculturalism, there seems to be a greater focus on the English language rather than on languages other than English or on culture and multicultural perspectives. The logic of practice of the field thus works to maintain the dominance of English in the field. Thus, subtractive bilingual processes uphold the status quo and allow that dominance to be maintained. This leads to the questions of where exactly diverse cultures are located in the field, and the value and positioning of multiculturalism, languages other than English and dominated agents' cultural capital in the field.

These questions then led to the next group of documents to be analysed more closely; those pertaining to languages spoken in the sites of practice. The first document analysed at the micro level in this group of documents is the EAL/D Advice for Schools handbook (NSW DoE, 2020e). This EAL/D advice handbook begins with an overview of the context of EAL/D in schools, and the explanation that "The EAL/D Advice for Schools is an implementation guide for the Multicultural Education Policy" (NSW DoE, 2020e, p. 9). The document explains that "proficiency in Standard Australian English (SAE) is essential for success at school and for further education, training and employment" (NSW DoE, 2020e, p. 9). From this the reader could interpret that the logic of practice of the sites of practice value Standard Australian English (SAE) above all other languages in the field. The document also makes explicit links to seven other policies and resources, three of which are additional documents relating to EAL/D. This means that there is a great deal of information spread across a number of documents, with links to overarching policies and plans.

The EAL/D Advice handbook (NSW DoE, 2020e) offers just over a page of definition of who EAL/D learners are (p. 13), along with a quote from one of these additional documents explaining that EAL/D students "require an appropriate teaching and learning environment which builds English language

skills” (p. 13). The word ‘appropriate’ leaves this statement open to interpretation by the reader.

The EAL/D Advice handbook (NSW DoE, 2020e) also contains a section on principles of second language acquisition, which gives an overview of the stages of second language acquisition. The section explains that the time taken to move through the stages of second language acquisition is dependent on “previous educational experience, literacy skills in the first language and previous learning of English.” (NSW DoE, 2020e, p. 19). This section of the document also contains a table which shows the approximate number of years it takes to develop academic English proficiency based on the level of education in a student’s L1, as well as a statement that “home language competence is often a strong indicator of potential in subsequent languages” (p. 19).

Knowing about concepts in their home language can make learning English easier because a student needs only to transfer knowledge into the new language. If conceptual knowledge in home language is not strong, or the student has had limited or interrupted schooling, learning English will be more difficult as they will need to learn about a concept as well as the English language used to describe it. Students should be encouraged to continue to develop their home language as maintenance of home language enhances learning of a second language.

If you have sorted out the world in one language, it becomes much easier to sort it out again in a second language. Children who arrive at school with a strong command of their first language are thus in a very favourable position to learn English... However, the situation for many bilingual children who have little mother tongue support is that once they start school their mother tongue is gradually replaced by English... they can fall between two languages, with neither the first nor second adequate for learning in school.

*Pauline Gibbons, Learning to Learn in a Second Language, p. 6*

Bilingual, or multilingual, students should be supported to develop CALP across a range of languages.

The goal of EAL/D education is not just to develop students’ English language proficiency, but rather to support students to become bi/multilingual and promote the importance of retaining home language to support learning in English.

*Extract 10 EAL/D advice handbook (NSW DoE, 2020e, p. 20)*

The next page of this section defining who EAL/D learners are can be seen in Extract 10. This section shown in Extract 10 explains the ways in which first language development should not cease when students become EAL/D students. Of note is the fact that the document refers to students' first language as their 'home language'. This brings with it an implication that culturally and linguistically diverse students' first languages are spoken and valued only in the linguistic markets of their homes. In fact, in the Glossary of the EAL/D Overview and Advice Handbook (ACARA, 2014), 'home language' is defined as "the language predominantly spoken in the home" (p. 30). This contradicts the later statement in the Advice for Schools Handbook (NSW DoE, 2020e) that multilingual students should be able to develop academic proficiency across English and their first language, surmising that language spoken in the context of the home will reach Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) proficiency, but not Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP).

The final statement in this section of the EAL/D Advice handbook (NSW DoE, 2020e) is made to stand out by the use of a text box with a blue border (as can be seen in the last paragraph of Extract 10). The statement could indicate that the dominant agents in the field value the multilingual capital of the students whose first language is not English in order that these multilingual speakers can use their L1 as a resource to support their English language learning. In fact, in a later section of the EAL/D Advice handbook (NSW DoE, 2020e) outlining the different types of scaffolding teachers can use, it is suggested that students be grouped according to their first languages as a means to design scaffolding into teaching. Another mention of bilingualism is on page 45 of the EAL/D Advice handbook (NSW DoE, 2020e), in a section titled 'Differentiating Assessment'. It advises that support during assessments may include access to bilingual dictionaries or bilingual instruction. Furthermore, on page 26 of the EAL/D Advice handbook (NSW DoE, 2020e), classroom

teachers' responsibilities are listed as seven dot points. Two of these dot points state that classroom teachers' responsibilities are:

- using the EAL/D Learning Progression phases and learner characteristic statements to identify the language learning needs of their EAL/D students,
- developing and implementing differentiated teaching programs, practices and strategies that address the English language and literacy learning needs of EAL/D students in curriculum areas.

In yet another section of the EAL/D Advice handbook (NSW DoE, 2020e, p. 48) titled "*Key principles for EAL/D teaching and learning*" the Handbook explains that:

having an understanding of learners' prior schooling, language proficiency in first language and language proficiency in English can assist teachers to design teaching and learning opportunities that are responsive to their needs.

Later in another section titled 'EAL/D pedagogy and effective teaching elements' (NSW DoE, 2020e, p. 53) the reader is advised that teachers should become "familiar with their students' cultural understandings" and that they should "also understand the importance of cultural capital, of maintaining first language competency and have an understanding of second language acquisition."

In fact, of interest is the inclusion of the Bourdieu's term 'cultural capital' in the EAL/D Advice handbook's glossary (NSW DoE, 2020e p. 57), which can be seen in Extract 11. The NSW DoE seems to have used the term in the literal sense of equating language and culture. This notion of cultural capital is a pivotal concept in Bourdieu's analytical approach, as explained in Chapter Two. Cultural capital includes all aspects of a person's educational, professional, and linguistic abilities and credentials. No other Bourdieusian

notions are included in the glossary, and the loose use of the term cultural capital here demonstrates a lack of knowledge of Bourdieu's concepts and his notion of the primacy of relations.

<b>Cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1973)</b>	Culturally specific ideas, knowledge and values students have for social and academic purposes that may vary from those in standard Australian English.
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*Extract 11 EAL/D advice (NSW DoE, 2020e, p. 57)*

Next, I turned to the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority EAL/D Overview and Advice (ACARA, 2014) Handbook. This EAL/D Overview handbook lists the related EAL/D publications which teachers can refer to. The document explains that it gives an overview of “the characteristics of students learning EAL/D and their particular needs [and] advice for teachers regarding linguistic and cultural considerations and teaching strategies” (ACARA, 2014, p. 5).

As was the case with the EAL/D Advice for Schools (NSW DoE, 2020e) document, the EAL/D Overview handbook (ACARA, 2014, p. 7) explains that EAL/D students:

already speak one or more languages or dialects other than English. This language knowledge is an advantage when learning an additional language and, along with their life experiences and diverse cultural knowledge, provides learners with resources upon which to build their English language, literacy and educational development.

This point appears to signify that these students' linguistic capital as well as their habitus should be regarded as valuable in the field. The EAL/D Overview handbook also explains that:

as EAL/D students in Australian schools learn through (or in) English they... may have already developed relevant concepts and skills in their first language or dialect. The focus of their learning is transferring these understandings into English. (ACARA, 2014, p. 9)

As well as this, the EAL/D Overview handbook advises that “teachers should recognise that EAL/D students... may have curriculum content skills and knowledge gained in their mother tongue, and that demonstrating these is an important part of their learning” (ACARA, 2014, p. 10).

From these excerpts it could be said that the logic of practice supports the speaking of languages other than English in the sites of practice, and that linguistic diversity and the speaking of all languages is upheld in the field.

The EAL/D Overview handbook then presents “Linguistic and cultural factors that affect EAL/D students’ learning” (ACARA, 2014, p. 12). The document then explains aspects of oral language development, differences in writing systems and text construction, cohesion, sentence structure, as well as aspects of vocabulary. The explanations for each include aspects which second language learners may find challenging when learning English. ACARA (2014) also points out that:

EAL/D students are bilingual learners, and they are already language learners in at least one other language. They are an important resource in developing the language awareness of all students in the classroom. The maintenance of the home language of EAL/D students is important for their English language learning as well as for the preservation and development of their cultural identities and family relationships. Research indicates that bilingual speakers have significant learning advantages over monolingual speakers. (p. 18)

This statement seems to reinforce the idea that the cultural capital of these culturally and linguistically diverse students should be valued as legitimate capital in the field for a number of reasons.

However, in the following paragraph the document explains that EAL/D students may face challenges in using the more formal language and CALP proficiency required in the classroom. The “stumbling blocks” (ACARA, 2014, p. 18) these students may face are then listed in detail. Elaboration on how students’ rich cultural capital could be used in the classroom is not offered. However, what is offered is a page on what these students will find challenging, including the choice of register to suit different contexts. This section seems therefore to have a more subtractive than additive approach to language learning. Indeed, in the glossary, the term ‘code-switching’ is explained as “the ability to change from one language/dialect to another to suit the context” (ACARA, 2014, p. 29).

The next stage of document analysis was to investigate more specific support for classroom teachers around how they could fulfil their responsibilities to EAL/D students. I therefore turned to the EAL/D learning progressions: Foundation to year 10 teacher resource (ACARA, 2015).

This resource presents “broad descriptions of the characteristics of learner groups at each of four phases of English language learning” (ACARA, 2015, p. 5). These four phases, often referred to as progressions, are as follows:

- Beginning English
- Emerging English
- Developing English
- Consolidating English.

My analysis focused on the ways in which use of EAL/D students’ first languages was described or used in these four phases of language acquisition.

The Beginning English phase describes students who are starting to learn English. It explains that these students “can speak one or more languages/dialects other than English and have an age-appropriate level of print literacy in their first language .... Will begin to engage with simple language tasks of the curriculum, particularly with support from a speaker of their first language” (ACARA, 2015, p. 9; ACARA, 2015, p. 16)

Students at the Emerging English progression “continue to benefit greatly from use of first language with peers and teachers’ assistants to clarify and consolidate understanding.” (ACARA, 2015, p. 20).

The next progression is Developing English, and students at this phase of their English language acquisition “can speak one or more languages/dialects.... Their first language continues to be a valuable support, and these learners understand the value of code-switching, that is, the ability to change from one language/dialect to suit the context.” (ACARA, 2015, p. 28).

The last phase is Consolidating English. At this phase of English language acquisition, students “can speak one or more languages/dialects.” (ACARA, 2015, p. 39).

From the documents analysed, it would seem then that the languages which the NSW DoE sees as having value for Australia are these power, or priority, languages, and that minority languages and Indigenous languages which some students may have as their home, or community, languages are not afforded the same level of importance.

Returning to the EAL/D Overview and Advice Handbook (ACARA, 2014), there is a section containing what is described as “an overview of teaching strategies and considerations” for adapting teaching to cater for EAL/D learners (p. 22).

In this section, teachers are advised to support their CALD students by:

- identifying a student's level language proficiency using the EAL/D learning progression
- utilising students' cultural understandings
- building shared knowledge
- making the procedures and expectations of the learning environment explicit. (p. 22)

The next section of the document (ACARA, 2014) continues to present the importance of utilising students' cultural and linguistic resources in the classroom, as can be seen in Extract 12.

**Utilising EAL/D students' cultural and linguistic resources**

It is important to recognise that EAL/D students (and all students) bring a range of cultural and linguistic resources with them into Australian classrooms. These resources can be:

- used to build EAL/D students' English language learning and their curriculum content knowledge
- shared in the classroom for the benefit of all students. When the curriculum directs teachers to consider cultural and linguistic knowledge and attitudes, teachers should look first to the students in their classrooms to make use of the cultural and linguistic resources already present.

*Extract 12 EAL/D overview (ACARA, 2014, pp. 22–23)*

Thus, there is inconsistent mention of utilising students' home languages to support these students, with some sections of the documents analysed not mentioning students' first languages, or mentioning first languages in only a cursory way, and other sections advising teachers to make use of students' first languages. This inconsistency in messaging leads to inconsistencies in terms of the logic of practice of the field and the legitimacy of languages other than English in the field.

Furthermore, in Extract 12, the advice is to utilise students' first languages as a resource in the classroom. The section goes on to advise that students' first languages should be used to support students' learning, as can be seen in Extract 13. Furthermore, the section suggests that students should be invited

to share their first languages and their cultures in the classroom for the benefit of all students.

Teachers should actively:

- invite EAL/D students (and all students) to share their cultural and linguistic knowledge and experiences. This creates an inclusive space for EAL/D students in the school environment, as well as providing opportunities for deep learning and intercultural understanding for the entire class
- allow students to make use of their first language to make sense of English and to facilitate the learning of new concepts. Using a bilingual teaching assistant or more able student from the same language background to explain concepts in the students' home language is encouraged. If the desired outcome is the presentation of knowledge in a report, then allow EAL/D students to undertake part or all of the research in their home language.

*Extract 13 EAL/D overview (ACARA, 2014, p. 23)*

The section proceeds to discuss broadly how shared knowledge can be built with the use of scenarios, excursions, hands-on experiences, visuals and gestures. In addition, there is a warning not to assume shared cultural knowledge or contexts in these activities. The specific question of how students' first languages can be utilised in this building of shared knowledge is not offered beyond the use of a bilingual teaching assistant or students with a shared L1. More specific translinguaging approaches to teaching are not offered, nor is the term 'translinguaging' included in the Glossary of the EAL/D Overview and Advice (ACARA, 2014) Handbook.

### **5.3 Summary of the field Part 1: Analysis of institutional documentation**

From the critical discourse analysis of the selected documents, it can be seen that the mixed messages from the dominant agents in the field may lead to some confusion around the legitimacy of multiculturalism and multilingualism in the field. Furthermore, the messages around use of students' first languages as resources in teaching are opaque and offer no concrete advice as to how this can actually be achieved in the classroom beyond the use of a

bilingual teaching assistant, bilingual dictionaries, or students with a shared L1. Furthermore, there is a greater emphasis on the importance of students effectively code-switching than there is on students utilising their first languages as a resource when learning English.

The confusing messages around the approach taken towards languages and cultures in the field is reinforced by the positioning of English as central to multiculturalism according to the dominant agents in the field. This ideology can then be applied to culturally and linguistically diverse IEs and the value of their capital in the field. It can thus be surmised that the discourses contained within the documents analysed reflect the logic of practice of the field, which work to uphold the patriarchal practices of the field. Furthermore, the confusing messages are a strategy/tactic used by the dominant agents in the field to maintain their dominance of the field, as well as maintaining English as the dominant language in the field. The logic of practice thus acts to delegitimise the capital to which the IEs have access and to sustain their dominated positions in the field.

#### **5.4 The field Part 2: The international educators**

Part 1 of this chapter (Section 5.2) analysed documents produced by the dominant agents in the field in order to clarify the logic of practice of the field. This second part of the chapter analyses the experiences of the IEs in the field (in Bourdieu's words, the dominated agents in the field) when they first came to Australia in order to understand the practices in the field from the perspective of the IEs.

The findings presented in Part Two of this chapter (Section 5.4) focus on the IEs' recounts of their experiences upon their arrival in Australia, as well as their impressions of Australian multiculturalism, and the linguistic, social & professional capital to which the IEs had access and which enabled them to enter the field and maintain their positions in the field. Also included is a

section on the experiences of the IEs in accumulating capital they felt would be valuable for them as they navigated the field, and ultimately their experiences of becoming fish in water.

The findings from interviews with the IEs have been organised into four sections:

- The capital to which the IEs had access when first navigating the field
- The IEs' subsequent accumulation of capital
- The Logic of Practice of the field from the IEs' perspectives
- Shifting fields, transforming habituses, and becoming fish in water

Due to the relational nature of Bourdieu's concepts however, these Bourdieusian terms are referenced across the four sections. It is almost impossible to make distinctions between each of these four sections, as the interview data demonstrates the "ontological complicity" (1989, p. 10) between habitus and field.

#### *5.4.1 The capital to which the IEs had access when navigating the field*

The three main types of capital the IEs identify as having access to when first entering the field are linguistic, professional and social.

During the interviews the IEs spoke about their first languages, the ways in which this linguistic capital contributed to their habitus and the reasons why they either chose to access or not access this capital in the new field. Their responses exemplify Bourdieu's emphasis on the tight relationship between capital and field and his explanation of capital which is accessed by the players in the field being like the different coloured tokens which the IEs use to participate in the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) (see Chapter Two for further information around these concepts).

When asked about her connection to her Russian heritage and language, Agnes is pragmatic in her response. She replies, *"my mother tongue, it's always there."* However, just as was the case with another second language she speaks, German, she shares, *"I was not searching for Russian friends, no ... The first time I met a Russian person was at my first workplace. But she's in exactly the same situation ... We're still friends after so many years ... Her husband is Australian, she's also a teacher, same degree."* Agnes explains that due to her English being at a sufficient proficiency level for her not to need Russian-speaking support networks, she explains *"we were very similar in that sense that we're not seeking Russian speaking community because there's no need for us"* She credits her advanced English language proficiency as the main reason for not needing to join Russian community groups, explaining *"people who are mainly seeking are the ones who have difficulties with language but because we're language teachers we don't have difficulty to communicate. We're not really seeking it. Well, if it comes it comes."* Depending on her position in the field, Agnes makes choices about which tokens she needs to use in order to maintain her trajectory in the game.

In another section of the interviews with Agnes, she seems perplexed at the habitual questioning of people's cultural backgrounds in Australia. However, she also stresses the importance in teaching her children about her Russian heritage. As such, although she describes herself as a *"global person"*, she is also anchored by her country of birth and its culture, explaining of her children that Russian *"is just who they are. It's their DNA."* She thus displays a recognition of her habitus and the contributions of her family heritage to that habitus, saying that her children:

*have to know where they come from ... When I was growing up ... I was always told about my grandparents and where they come from ... and there were many nationalities there, and it was interesting it was fascinating. And it just gives me that*

*information that yes that's where I come from. I think it's the nature of every person to know where do I come from.*

Agnes highlights the importance of speaking Russian as one of the most useful tools in maintaining that connection with her heritage, stating that:

*it's more about the value of speaking the language because you can communicate with your grandparents, who have loads of wisdom and knowledge they can pass on to you. And for me that is the main value because I have a very close relationship with my parents. I mean I can't underestimate the knowledge everything they have given me I don't want it just to stop with me. That's why for me I really emphasize that you need to speak the language to communicate. So that's the priority.*

In this way, Agnes' habitus defines how she operates in the field. However, through Agnes' insistence that her children learn the language of their heritage she is also defining how the field may be altered by her habitus. At the same time as she is puzzled by Australian people's habitual questioning of each other's backgrounds, she also insists that her children have these tokens of the game at their disposal. Agnes' emphasis on linguistic habitus as a tool to accumulate capital which will thus contribute to her children's' habituses is notable, especially when contrasted with Adoniou's (2018) four tiers of languages spoken in Australia (see Chapter Three for more on this) and the ways in which languages spoken in Australia can be hierarchised based on their economic, social and cultural values.

Sada's interviews reveal a similar theme. Although Sada needed to learn English in order to accumulate capital and advance in the field in Australia, she also attributed value to her high level of Arabic language proficiency and Arabic literacy. This is indicated by her taking a second degree in English literature, majoring in Arabic. She explains, *"I didn't really started [sic]*

*teaching ... and I thought 'oh look my Arabic is very good I don't want to lose it. What about if I go back and I'll do something to do with Arabic?'. And I went back I did English literature, major in Arabic ... Another degree altogether."* She explains that she wanted to do something which was known to her, and which was part of her linguistic habitus, and that she wanted to maintain what she considers the high linguistic capital which she had accumulated through her mastery of Arabic. Sada's habitus informs the way she behaved in the field, and through her further studies in Arabic literature it is possible that Sada has also altered the way the field operates in terms of her position in the field. However, what is unclear is whether this has had any effect the power relations in the field.

Sada's habitus was also of value to her when she first began looking for a job as a teacher in NSW public schools. Sada points out that initially she started by *"going to a school, going to different classes ... I mean there was not people like recommending me or something."* Sada was in high demand at Treetops<sup>1</sup> Public School, recalling, *"when I started at Treetops they put my name ... for the casual. I'm always on the board. Even sometime [sic] they don't need me, I'm always there they found something for me to do."* Sada believes that the school saw value in the capital to which she had access *"because we have a big percentage of Arabic people there and so ... they used to use me everywhere ... for ESL, for translation sometimes, for parents, um mainstream, um wherever."* Sada's linguistic and social capital was recognised by the school, and thus she was able to gain experience in the field in a variety of different positions in the school. When asked how she came to be working at her current school, she explains that she began at Treetops school, and then started working at both Treetops and her current school, saying:

*the teacher... knew that I know Arabic and she said, 'why don't you come I want to go overseas ... it's only... two days' ... That's*

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<sup>1</sup> All school names are pseudonyms.

*how I started. Then I did a block. I did it actually while I was teaching at Treetops. Couple of days here couple there at the same time.*

Sada was contacted as a potential relief teacher while the permanent teacher went on leave because her linguistic capital was of value, and this enabled Sada to gain employment. In this way, Sada's linguistic capital was legitimated in the field, and this legitimation may have changed the logic of practice of the field.

In Asha's case, upon her arrival in Australia, she almost immediately started teaching Hindi in the Community Languages Program run in NSW public schools. Asha explains:

*as soon as I came in, I started teaching at a community language school. Language. So, I started in 2000 as soon as I came, two weeks, I started teaching in a community language school. So, I'm still with them.*

Continuing her service as a teacher in the Community Languages Program reflects the breadth of her commitment to the program and possibly also her belief in the importance of maintaining her community language in Australia. In another section of the interview, she speaks about how her children have benefitted professionally from learning Hindi at the community language school. Apart from the motivation to maintain and promote Hindi in the field, Asha's experience in the Community Languages Program would also have provided her with an insight into how the field of education in Australia operates. Thus, while utilising her linguistic capital, Asha was able to collect different coloured tokens representing knowledge of the field in the form of first-hand understanding about and experience working within the education system in NSW. Asha was able to accumulate this valuable capital through the access that she had to her linguistic capital in the form of her Hindi

knowledge, without which she would not have been able to access her teaching knowledge and experience in the field.

In Joy's case, her linguistic habitus and the English language capital she was able to convert to social capital enabled her to quite easily be accepted for migration to Australia. She explains, *"we waited; we got married. They said bring your wife along. So, I went to the [migration] interview."* Further to this, the linguistic capital she was able to access to gain teaching qualifications and experience in India also enabled a relatively smooth migration process. Joy explains:

*they knew I was a teacher and they just said alright just bring her. And that's how I came to Australia. <LAUGHS>. I didn't have to process. They saw my documents and they said yes. That it was one of the things having English and having a qualification you must be qualified whatever you're doing you have to be licenced.*

This meant that for Joy the process of legitimation from an immigration perspective was extremely smooth and fast.

It is interesting to note that Joy attributes her linguistic capital to her ability to convert this capital to economic capital more quickly. The underlying message is that she would have been able to achieve recognition and earn her place in the game, but that the process of legitimation as a player in the game would have taken her longer. When asked if she thinks the process would have been different if it weren't for her language skills, Joy replies. *"Maybe. Then you wouldn't be able to achieve. You know, we were very quick also in getting where we had to because it would have taken much longer."*

However, it seems that Joy places just as much importance on her positive work ethic and teaching skills than on the high linguistic capital which her English language skills have afforded her. She says that people:

*do underestimate ... what people can do and you're always kept there. But you know, you work hard, and you can bring out the best in everything that you want your class to be. That's the bottom line.*

In this way, Joy attributes much of her accumulated capital on her professionalism and her capacity to teach well and develop her students to the best of their abilities. She seems to regard this as more valuable than any other form of capital to which she has access.

Joy's first language is English, and her linguistic capital enabled her to access a high degree of social capital and thus exposure to the pragmatics of Australian English. When asked whether she went through a period of culture shock, Joy replies:

*not really, because I think if you have the confidence with the language it helps ... I had a lot of friends. People were very kind and helpful. We went to church and the church was very lovely ... they were very nice always wanted to help us and just loved us. We were different and they just ... really very nice and helpful to us.*

This in turn enabled her to quickly become a legitimate player in the field.

#### 5.4.1.1 Professional capital

In this section the IEs spoke of the capital they had accumulated and to which they had access in their professional lives as teachers. They spoke of their professional capital; that is, their teaching experience, their attitudes to their work and workplaces, and the qualities they believe they possess which have contributed to the capital which has enabled them to be considered legitimate players in the field (for more on professional capital, see chapter 2). As has been briefly mentioned in the previous section on linguistic capital through

Joy's comments *"work hard, and you can bring out the best in everything that you want your class to be"*, the IEs were keen to highlight their value in terms of their professional capital; their experience and strength as teachers.

I asked Sada what positive attributes she thinks she brings to her teaching, to which she replied, *"I've got the passion I always want to do my best ... if I want to do something ... has to be ... up to scratch. And if I don't, I get upset."* Sada obviously sets high standards for herself, describing herself as:

*not a nosy person. I'm friendly ... Reliable, on time, very organized, I think <LAUGHS> ... I'm always well prepared. I'm the type of person ... everything has to be up to scratch... Everything has to be a hundred percent ... I'm very organised ... I've got my routine. I'm a routine person.*

These attributes are why Sada believes she was in high demand at Treetops Public School, adding, "it reflected of course on my teaching because this is how I am. And then... Treetops kept ringing me and take me from other schools." Sada adds, "I think the kids they used to like me a lot." In addition, as a casual starting out at Treetops Sada says, "I always deal with the problems about the classroom. I don't make a big fuss unless it's major... so from this I think they were relaxed from this side.... some casuals... they make trouble." When asked about her friendly, relaxed nature, Sada explains:

*There was no intention ... to make the relation with a teacher for the sake of work. Work has always been coming to me. This is the truth. I haven't been like searching for work. It's always coming to me. I don't know. Just happened this way.*

Sada explains that Treetops *"found me ... flexible"* and recognised the value that she brought to the school, explaining, *"there was sometimes my name up on the board and I'm there ... what I'm doing? They find me something just ... so they block me not to go maybe to other schools. And this is ... where I*

*stuck.*" This would indicate that Sada had access to the capital which was recognised by the dominant agents in the field and which legitimated her position in the field.

The high standards that Sada sets for herself can also be seen in her teaching style. She explains:

*When I teach, I really like to teach ... just not for the sake of doing my job. I need to get it across correctly ... I can just put something on the board and go 'go and write it down'. They have to know what they are doing. They have to read it ... Even if I'm tired.*

This comment reflects the value Sada gives to her professional capital, and her approach to education. Sada's experiences as a student in Australia are reflected in the approach she takes to her teaching and the lessons taught to those students. Sada talks of the challenges she faced as a student when she first arrived in Australia. However, these challenges enriched Sada's habitus, enabled her to accumulate capital, and thus she was able to establish her positioning in the field. She thus has high expectations of her students, explaining:

*I believe even if they're struggling they are learning. This is how they learn. This is what I tell them. Don't say 'Oh, I don't know'. This is how they learn. They learn something from it even if it's hard. If it's easy, what's the ... There is no ... you know? So I like to be hard on them.*

However, she also realises that those expectations need to be realistic, saying:

*But look you don't expect them to go and write essays ... If they look at something you know they can... have an idea what they're looking at, at least ... I hate when they say oh, oh it's*

*hard ... I say 'You always have to try if you don't try you're not going to get anywhere ... That's why I'm here to help you. You might not get it now. Might not get it next week. But the week after you will. So, just a matter of time and practicing.' I always encourage them too.*

When Sada first came to Australia she realised that first and foremost her English needed improving. Through her studies in Australia, first as an English language students and later at university, Sada was able to experience first-hand the gradual accumulation of capital and development of her habitus. In this way, despite her experience of struggles she has had in the field, Sada is also able to recognise that gradual and relatively small achievements are to be recognised and applauded. These struggles have formed part of Sada's habitus, and she has been able to convert these into capital which she can access in her teaching to position herself in the field.

Asha also highlights her breadth of experience in Fiji with children of all ages, explaining, *"I'm doing ... all key learning areas ... So I'm... trained ... teacher so they used to just call me in the morning in the afternoon whenever ... 'Can you go to this school?'"* In doing so, Asha is emphasising the capital to which she has access and which is valued in the field.

In addition to this capital in the form of her qualifications and experience teaching all stages of primary schooling, Asha also explains other attributes which contribute to this capital, explaining:

*my experience, I've got the strength of class control ... from Fiji ... I have a lot of patience with students because I've been dealing with small students and bigger kids also ... I've got patience with that. And plus ... I am a bit firm ... Have to be here ... when I go to class I want them [to do] what is given to them and play and other stuff later.*

Asha attributes her breadth of experience not only to her patience and her firm classroom management style. She adds, *"I just want that work to be done ... My expectation is they are disciplined; they follow the ... classroom rules. Here we have classroom rules, school rules, behaviour management policies we have to follow."* These comments indicate that Asha is fully aware and supportive of the logic of practice of the field, not only in terms of teaching style but also in terms of the overarching policies and procedures to be followed in schools.

Throughout Asha's interviews it was quite clear that teaching is her passion, and despite the time it has taken her and the sacrifices she had to make to attempt to be recognised as a legitimate player in the field, she has wanted to do whatever it took to be recognised in the field.

Asha's capacity to get through the work left by permanent class teachers and teach to the lesson outcomes when she covers their classes as a casual relief teacher highlights Asha's capital in the form of her teaching knowledge and professionalism. In highlighting her classroom experience in this way, Asha is drawing attention to the fact that in the sites of practice, she draws on the knowledge capital she has accumulated both through her teaching experience and work in schools in Fiji as well as in Australia. In order to do her job well she accesses this capital to be called on again as a casual relief teacher, and thus convert this cultural capital into social and then economic capital. Asha also recognises the capital which the TESOL course and other registered short courses afford her has been useful for her work, and she has been able to integrate what she has learnt in the courses to what she does in her teaching practice. There is thus a distinction made between the capital she has access to and uses in the sites of practice and the legitimisation she needs in order to be admitted to the field.

#### 5.4.2 The IEs' accumulation of capital

The interviews with the IEs revealed that they knew precisely what they needed to focus on when they first arrived in Australia in order to accrue the capital they needed to enter the field and be recognised as teachers. The IEs' recounts of their experiences showed them to be quite pragmatic in the choices they made as to what they needed to focus on if they were to succeed and be recognised in the field.

As well as speaking Russian and English, Agnes also speaks German as an additional language. I asked her whether she had spoken Russian or German since coming to Australia. In her response, Agnes again displays pragmatism around why she had not practised her German, saying, *"I wouldn't blame Australia. I would blame myself because I wasn't really chasing that opportunity.... I was chasing the opportunity to be among English-speaking people because I knew that I need to be fluent very quickly. I am a teacher and I want to work here."* In order to be recognised as a legitimate player in the field, Agnes distinguishes her experience and qualifications as a teacher from her understanding of Australian culture and the pragmatics of speaking and interacting in the Australian context, explaining:

*especially when I started working, I understood, yes I could teach easily. There was no problem for me to teach. I was equipped with all the knowledge and understanding. But when you don't live ... in the country there are so many terms, there are so many traditions, so many little bits and pieces that you don't know simply because you don't live here, or you haven't been here for long enough. That's why for me the first priority was ... as quickly as possible to pick up this culture.*

Her priorities were to be recognised as legitimate in the field of education, and so speaking German was not seen as having any value to her at the time; *"German was not in the equation. It wasn't needed."*

Agnes explains quite clearly what she felt her priorities to be when she first arrived in Australia. She recounts, *"I had to immerse myself so quickly. And I started to work"*. As well as immediately joining the workforce, Agnes was also living with her husband's family, who she describes as being *"fully Australian"*. She explains that living with her husband's family *"gave me a sense of.... being like them. So I had to become Australian very, very quickly, or become a person of this country very, very quickly."* Agnes then goes on to describe the way that she felt she needed to divest herself of her own cultural character and 'become Australian' as she *"understood that that is the only way to be comfortable ... in this environment, and to achieve what you want to achieve."*

She is thus describing this new field as one where she felt that the Russian background, dispositions and experiences which contributed to constructing her habitus would not afford her capital which would be recognised in the Education field. In order to accrue the capital which would be valued in this new field, Agnes says *"I was very placid I was very flexible and yeah that helped me."* This indicates that Agnes did use the capital at her disposal, and this allowed her to be aware of what she needed to do in order to accrue and have access to the capital she required to be a player in the field.

Agnes' experiences once she came to Australia, reveal her awareness of the need for her to understand both the pragmatics of Australian English and the attitudes and behaviours of Australian people in order to gain admission to the field of education and to work in Australia. This therefore indicates an awareness of the legitimate languages and practices of the linguistic markets of schools and workplaces. In addition, it indicates an awareness of what she needed to learn and know in order to accumulate capital which would be

recognised in the field and which would enable her to become a fish in water in the field.

Sada also recognised that in order to be recognised as legitimate in the field she would need to accumulate linguistic capital. Although Sada had studied English in her home country, she had never had cause to regularly use it. Once Sada arrived in Australia, she explains the difference between the English she learnt in her home country and the English that she needed in Australia, *"first year I did English. My God! Because even if I knew some English, but we don't use it on a daily basis. So, I had to do English for one year. That was ... 26 years ago."* After completing her year of English studies, Sada completed the final stage of Australian high school at a further education college. She says, *"after that I did my HSC [Higher School Certificate matriculation exam] at the college as a mature age [student]."* Sada's results in her final high school exams enabled her entry into a teaching degree, despite the fact that her scores for English and Maths were low. Sada explains, *"we are allowed to do English, Maths and because my Arabic was like really the top, it helped me in the exams ... I got 145 out of 150 in Arabic and my English and Maths was 55, 54 just I made [it] and because my Arabic like pulled me so up I got into teaching."*

In this way, Sada was able to access her cultural capital in the form of her Arabic language knowledge and skills in order to gain entry into the field of education.

As a university student in Australia, Sada says *"I struggled a lot as... my English as a second language."* When asked how many other ESL students were studying along with her at that time, she says it was *"not like these days. No. I was really unique"* and that she was:

*lost most of the time trying to cope but ... I always studied hard and always translating. And you know it takes me longer ... the*

*assignments, the exam study, put more effort ... I'm disadvantaged but I made it and really I got good marks ... no fail at all ... and I finished my degree.*

Sada attributes her strong work ethic, determination, and diligence to her success in completing her degree.

However, it was also Sada's interest in languages, and learning the English language when she first came to Australia, which motivated her to take her husband's advice and study a teaching degree. She says, *"I didn't want to do teaching, actually no. It was my husband's advice ... It never crossed my mind one day to be a teacher."* Sada says that her interest in learning English helped her with this decision, explaining, *"actually. I like the language. I like English ... When we started ... it was really interesting ... because I like the English language actually and I got into teaching"*

Moreover, Sada explains that the purpose of undertaking a second degree after she completed her first teaching degree was so that she might further acquaint herself with and adjust to the rules of the game in the Australian field. Sada recalls:

*maybe I didn't have still the confidence because when I came I straight went ... I did my ... English language and then went to do my HSC and then the degree it was straight all up. I was maybe still new to ... the country. Because it happened all quickly year after year.*

As such, Sada therefore felt that a second degree would give her time, space, and additional cultural capital. She explains, *"So I thought maybe if I go and do another degree... of course, it's always good, having another degree, doing assignments ... It was a combination of Arabic and English."* The extra time Sada gave herself to undertake a second degree would also have enabled her

to accumulate the additional capital she felt that she needed in order to successfully navigate the field.

In Joy's case, she maintains that her English language skills assisted her in avoiding culture shock when she first arrived in Australia, explaining, *"I think if you have the confidence with the language it helps."* Joy believes that if she had not had the English language skills, her entry into Australian society would have been quite different, and it would have been a lengthier process. She says, *"you wouldn't be able to achieve ... we were very quick also in getting where we had to because it would have taken much longer."* This indicates that Joy also had some awareness of what was required to be recognised in the field, and an awareness of the value placed on her English language skills by the logic of practice of the field in order that she could more quickly become a "fish in water" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 127) in the field.

Upon her arrival in Australia Joy demonstrated an ability to identify additional skills and strategies she did not possess, and which needed to be acquired in order to increase the capital to which she had access, and which would be recognised in the field. She explains *"even when I came here, I didn't straight start as a teacher."* She describes *"fortunately"* going to a further education college *"because nobody else could help me with what direction I could take or where I could go with my qualifications."* There, she acquired additional capital in the form of computer literacy which she believed would be recognised in the field, stating, *"I went to college I had no technology ... because then we never had computers in the school, no mobiles, nothing. And so, I came here. I joined the college course and I learnt technology."*

While studying at college, Joy met a woman who was able to assist her in her pursuit of an Australian teaching career. Joy speaks vividly of the moment she met this woman, saying:

*So, when I was sitting in college that day our lecturer told us there's a lady coming in from the university and I still remember her name. She was Angela ... we were sitting ... in a U shape and she walked in that door and she just walked straight to me and I was the first person she talked to and she asked me what my name was and what I was doing and ... what's my previous experience and when I told her that she said please come into [the] uni and I'm going to process all your documents and send them off to Canberra.*

*This woman assisted Joy in accessing the university bridging course she needed to have the qualifications to teach in NSW public schools. Joy explains, "I got into uni because I had to meet some criteria to be a teacher here ... I sat an entrance exam. [The course was] either four years part time or two years full time."*

Joy consistently describes challenges, hurdles and successes in a matter-of-fact way; something which was necessary in order to achieve what she wanted to achieve. She manages starting a family in her new home country, Australia, while retraining to be able to teach in NSW, explaining:

*I took the two years and even that was a process. And at that time I was heavily expecting ... I went there and she [Angela] did everything. And the next thing I get this letter saying go and do the entrance exam. I passed that. And then I did two years at the State University and I got my bachelor's and then I finished that.*

Joy does not seem to see any of what she needed to do as challenges. Rather, she is following the "process" that is in place for her to become a teacher in NSW. Once she had gained the qualifications necessary to enter the field she recalls, "the Department employed me straight away as a top-grade teacher.

*They didn't ... start me off as a year one you know those scales, and I was given a position straight away, straight away."* Joy's process of legitimization was complete, and she was thus able to enter the field.

With regard to the process of registering and working in NSW public schools as a regular classroom teacher, Asha has had the opposite experience. Asha explains, *"when I came, I applied for registration."* However, she immediately discovered that the capital she had accumulated in the form of her Fijian teaching qualification and her 14 years' experience teaching in Fiji was not recognised in the NSW education field. She says *"so, the first thing was that they wanted a degree from Australia, so I had to ... That was in ... 2003."* Furthermore, Asha explains that the process of attempting to accumulate cultural capital was lengthy, stating, *"the process of application and all those the stuff it took two years."* In addition, during the time that she was undertaking the Australian degree which she had been told she needed in order to be a player in the game, as well as her work in the Community Languages Program, Asha was also working casually and raising a family. She says, *"I was doing some casual work with the agencies working in factories ... with children ... with family ... So, I was doing that plus all that casual work I used to do. Then I started studying my B.A. 2005, 6, 2007 I graduated B.A."* At the end of the two years during which she accumulated the capital in the form of her Australian undergraduate teaching qualification, she was then told that this capital would still not be recognised. She explains, *"but that wasn't enough because they wanted like something teaching Master's, they wanted Master's degree in teaching primary, so I did Master's also I did that as well."*

Asha subsequently revealed that she has undertaken a second postgraduate qualification, in the form of a Master of TESOL, explaining, *"I'm studying now for the Master's ... TESOL plus I'm doing some registered ... school development courses in schools ... It is useful but ... it's really time consuming."* Asha decided to undertake this second postgraduate qualification after she

had been teaching regularly as a casual for longer sessions of a few weeks to a term at a variety of schools and needed to gain ongoing teacher accreditation with BOSTES (Board of Studies, Teaching & Educational Standards, now the NSW Education Standards Authority (NESA)). In order to gain accreditation teachers must show that they have been working in the field and have also been undertaking ongoing professional development. For more on Asha's process of accreditation, see Chapter Seven.

Despite what Asha calls *"hurdles for accreditation"* she persists with accumulating more and more cultural capital which she hopes will eventually be recognised in the field, saying, *"I thought I'll do that just so and maybe I'll get somewhere."* When asked about her persistence in continuing to work as a casual teacher and undertaking multiple university studies, Asha states, *"I would just take it because I was passionate to teach so I would be ready all the time to be on the move."* Asha adds that the TESOL course has been useful in her classroom practice, and specifically with supporting EAL/D students in withdrawal groups, explaining, *"what I'm studying in TESOL I use with my ESL students because I'm used to just lending support for the students ... so withdrawal groups ... plus I go to classes also."* Asha's comments demonstrate that she is a "responsible agent" who "pursues the objectives ... which the field offers" (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 194). As such, Asha demonstrates an element of *illusio* (see Chapter Two) in her "commitment to the game" (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 194). Asha is keen to continue to accumulate capital in the form of additional teaching qualifications despite the fact that her existing qualifications should be sufficient for her to gain more permanent employment as a teacher.

#### *5.4.3 The logic of practice of the field from the IEs' perspectives*

The IEs also talked about their impressions of Australia when they first arrived. Their comments reveal their understanding of the heterogeneous and diverse layers withing Australian multiculturalism.

Agnes recounts that her assumption prior to coming to Australia was that Australia would be more 'British' than multicultural. She says *"I didn't expect such multicultural and diverse place. I expected to see white Australia."* and she reflects that she *"kind of assumed that Australia would be more like a British kind of country, and more like a white country"*. Following from this, it can also be assumed that she believed that the linguistic practices in Australia are dominated by English. She talks about how she *"knew all the well-known places and things like that, but... didn't know about diversity and multiculturalism."*

Agnes then recounted how she had moved on from these initial perceptions, saying, *"oh no it has changed of course"*. She has now come to see Australian society as one where on the surface every person goes about things in similar ways, but underneath there is a hidden level of complexity. She talks about the fact that although Australia presents as a multicultural country, it is also a homogeneous place where all people who are fish in water are classed as 'Australian'. Indeed, she describes her husband's family as *"fully Australian"*, however later she says her husband's parents *"are actually first generation Australian, and his grandparents were obviously migrants. So, his mum's side they were Scottish and Irish and on his dad's side they were German and Polish."*

Agnes' descriptions of her husband's family demonstrate her understanding of Australian society, where below the apparent homogeneity there is a level of accepted heterogeneity, where even if people speak *"without an accent"* they are still asked about their cultural background. Agnes states:

*I think it's very, very common where you ask someone a question like where you come from... it was very interesting for me to observe when we would go somewhere with my husband and people would ask me where I'm from and... that's understandable you asked me where I'm from because you*

*would hear an accent, but when they ask him, I was like, what!? Why would you ask him? ... he's clearly Australian! He speaks English without any accent! But people were still asking him. And I realised it's basically part of the culture. It's like asking 'Hi how are you?' And then asking where you're from.*

Agnes' observation is similar to what Adoniou (2018) labels as "benign multiculturalism" (p. 282), where people have the right to their own culture and language, but not the right to use it in public. There is a level of acceptance of multiculturalism in questioning others about their backgrounds, and the diversity of answers to that question creates a commonality.

In Joy's case, when she arrived in Australia from India she was able to benefit from almost immediate entry into a supportive community group, in the form of her church community. She says:

*I had a lot of friends. People were very kind and helpful. We went to church and the church was very lovely and ... they were very nice always wanted to help us and just loved us. We were different and they just. [were] really very nice and helpful to us.*

In this way, Joy was welcomed into a group who wanted to get to know her and support her in starting her new life in Australia. She explains, "*they just wanted to get to know us. We were different. And you know they like the warmth that we brought to the church. The friendliness. Yeah. They just took us in literally and you know wanted [us] to be there.*" The capital she had access to in the form of her beliefs and her familiarity with the church enabled her to easily join a supportive group, and this in turn enabled her to become a legitimate agent in the field.

Joy also describes the fact that the profile of people living in the area of Sydney where she settled and worked as a teacher was predominantly white

Anglo-Saxon. Regarding teachers who were not white and Anglo-Saxon, Joy says, *"there were not many, really. I would have been the only one."* She believes that *"now it's changed because if you walk into schools you see many more."* One could almost say that Joy's difference was of value in the field at the time due to her being unique.

When asked about whether she was conscious that she had to blend into Australian society when she first arrived, Sada initially speaks more about herself and her relationship with other players in the field than her perceptions of the field itself. She says that it was relatively simple for her to feel a legitimate player in the field because, *"I'm not like really very strict. I'm flexible... but drinking alcohol or something, of course no. I don't drink it. I can't drink."* Sada's answer reflects her ability to be flexible enough to feel she is a fish in water in the field, yet to still be able to maintain her own values associated with her home country's culture and her habitus. Sada says *"of course I'm part of the teaching team"* explaining, *"I'm not ... really ... isolated myself ... I always go to ... you know how they have the Christmas dinner at the end I usually go with them."* She believes that her flexibility and willingness to socialise and get to know the people with whom she works puts people at ease, explaining, *"of course they'll be more relaxed you know to deal with you too, you know to give and take."* In fact, she believes that it is imperative, saying, *"It's different when you ... doing my job, and that's it ... I don't like that. I've always been in the staff room talking with everyone."* Sada's attitude is one of embracing difference and compromise.

Sada then moves on to talk about the layers of complexity within Australian multiculturalism depending on the specific sites of practice in which she has worked. She believes that in the school where she is currently working, despite there being many Arabic students, there is a much more multicultural profile than in other areas, explaining that it is, *"more multicultural ... mostly young generations ... they hardly carrying any of their culture you know."*

*Because yeah because they've been brought [up] here."* She contrasts this with the first school where she worked in a longer-term capacity, explaining, *"at Treetops ... most parents ... they really got awareness of the culture more than here [at my current school]."* These comments reflect Sada's awareness of the changing and complex nature of Australian multiculturalism, not only when considering the number of diverse cultures and countries which make up Australia's multicultural profile, but also the diverse values and approaches which exist within cultural groups.

#### *5.4.4 Shifting fields, transforming habituses and becoming fish in water*

Agnes has an awareness that her habitus, the social and cultural capital to which she has access, and both the Russian and Australian fields in which she participates as an agent are continuously shifting. Agnes explains that these shifts have *"been always happening and I think it will probably always happen."* However, unclear is the extent to which Agnes believes that the field is being changed by the other agents operating in it and entering into it. For her, the emphasis is on her as a person and what she describes as her ability to be flexible in the field. Agnes states:

*if I get to the point where I can say I've lived in Australia for longer than I've lived in Russia ... can I say that I'm now Australian? I don't know. The thing is, as time goes by, I change my perspective, I change who I am. Russia changes as well. Everything changes. So, I don't know if I ever will decide who I am and if I actually have to decide. You know. So, I think at this stage ... I just pretty much have to be who I am. And global is probably more accurate.*

This self-described flexibility represents her capacity for awareness of the rules of the game and ability to thus follow those rules of the game.

I also asked Agnes about whether she feels more aligned to Russia or Australia. Agnes is aware that she no longer fits into Russian society, explaining, *"even when I went there [to Russia] a year after ... people were looking at me. It's like you're not local. Not any more. You're not Russian."* However, Agnes does not align herself with Australia either. Instead, she says *"thinking about it now, I understand who I am now. I am actually a global person."* She also describes her capacity to mould herself to or be moulded by the field of power in which she finds herself. She has the capacity for flexibility, explaining, *"back then I was pretty much as I said I was being flexible ... just making myself into who I needed to be at that time."* Agnes seems to be aware of the capital to which she has access, which allows her to define herself. She asserts *"You know, I was my own maker."* She also believes that as her own person, she has the capacity to feel she belongs in the game, stating, *"I know that I can now be comfortable wherever I go. It's not the place that makes me who I am. When I decide who I want to be. It doesn't matter where I am."*

Agnes has the potential to feel she is a fish in water, with knowledge of the rules of the game, and the moves needed to either keep her place in the game or rise to the top of that game, no matter the country, which is one of the most powerful elements of Agnes' habitus. However, her knowledge of whether or to what extent this capital is recognised by other agents in the field is unclear. Also unclear is the understanding of the extent to which her experiences in Australia have shaped that capital. Agnes concludes by saying, *"kind of like clay. I was a piece of clay. In my own hands. In the hands of this beautiful country."*

Sada also reflects on her changing habitus. She explains, *"Now because I live in my country ... 20 ... years. I was 21. I have all the basics there and I always can implement it in my [Arabic language] lessons."* This comment exemplifies the nature of an individual's habitus, and the ways in which Sada is able to access

the capital accrued many years ago in another field and utilise this capital in the field in Australia. Sada reflects, *“to tell you the truth now, I'm more to this culture more than mine. 'Cos I lived here more than I did back there ... But ... when you have the basics you'll never forget it. You've got it. It will never go away.”* Sada also talks about the ever-changing nature of fields, stating, *“Life changes everywhere and I think there is changes like overseas sometimes ... there's big changes”* However, she also adds that there are some elements of the logic of practice of a field which are more static, explaining, *“but I mean the basics are still there like the family values and the respect and all this.”*

In Joy's case, as well as her English language skills and her capacity to quickly understand the pragmatics of the language in Australia, Joy attributes her ability to quickly fit in to Australian multicultural society with the fact that she had migrated from India. She explains that the linguistic markets in which she participated in India were also based upon participants from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Joy describes the multicultural profile of her church group in India, saying:

*Coming from India ... in our church group [in India] they were so multicultural. Lots of people, even the languages ... They needed interpreters. Because now everybody speaks English, but then they couldn't. So, if somebody spoke in the state language, someone would have to interpret. For us ... everything would get so much more longer [sic], because of that.*

She therefore regards her experiences of growing up in multicultural India as giving her the ability to feel a fish in water in multicultural Australia.

When asked about the other agents in the field, Agnes goes so far as to say that if they have only ever lived in Australia, they can never refer to themselves as global, despite the fact that Australia is multicultural. She therefore makes a distinction between those who have two or more in-

country experiences and those who have only ever lived in Australia. Agnes says of people born in Australia or those who have never lived in another country, that they will never experience that feeling of being a global person, explaining:

*You would only experience that if you make a conscious decision to move to another country and live there. And it's not about you being Anglo-Saxon. So I call those people Anglo-Saxon I don't call them Australian. Because it's more like Anglo-Saxon background. If you look at it historically ... It's like who am I? Where am I? Where am I from? Yes I have two citizenships but, who am I really? I don't know. So only a person who has experienced ... moving to different places can actually say, 'okay, am I global person or not?' But if you are just from one country, doesn't matter which country it is, it's a whole different thing.*

In this way Agnes differentiates herself from other players in the field, believing that her experience as a newcomer to the field affords her more valuable capital than Australians who have never had the experience of being fish out of water and having to seek legitimation to become fish in water.

## **5.5 Summary of the field Part 2: The international educators**

The data presented here have shed light on the different types of capital to which the IEs had access when they gained entry to the field, and subsequently in their navigation of the field.

The IEs utilised the capital they could access in order to accumulate the capital they believed that they required in order to feel fish in water in their new field of education in Australia. In this way, the IEs' capital and habitus enabled them to make decisions regarding the capital they needed to accrue to advance their positions in the field.

The data from the interviews with the IEs reflected their understanding of the nuanced nature of Australian multiculturalism. There was also an understanding, as newcomers to the field, of the need for acceptance and flexibility in their navigation of the field, interactions with others, and instances of symbolic violence in the field.

In addition, the IEs were aware that their habitus is a solid foundation for their values and beliefs. However, they could also identify the aspects of their dispositions which evolved through their navigation through the particular fields in which they were positioned. Lastly, they were conscious of the fact that the fields to which they had access were not static.

## **5.6 Chapter 5 summary**

The data which emerged through these analytical frameworks were then used to draw conclusions regarding the ways in which social practice might have been influenced by the documents. In other words, the textual analysis of these documents has enabled me to draw conclusions about the logic of practice of the field.

In addition, accompanying this textual analysis, data from the IE interviews was also used in order to establish the logic of practice in the field. More specifically, data regarding the IEs' habitus, capital, and experiences as new players breaking into and playing the game was included in this analysis of the field and the conclusions regarding the logic of practice of the field.

As outlined in the Chapter Four, these conclusions regarding the logic of practice of the field include conclusions around:

- the hegemonic structures existing in the field.
- the values placed on diverse elements and practices in the field.

- the ways in which these discourse structures impact on the relationships between the agents in the field, and the relationships between the agents and the field.
- The impact that these discourses have on the logic of practice of the field.

These conclusions regarding the logic of practice in the field reveal the attitudes and values of the agents and institutions in the field, and the positioning of the IEs in the field. Chapter 6 will present information around the IEs' linguistic habituses and chapter 7 will present information around the strategies demonstrated by the IEs. Given the central notion of "ontological complicity" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 10) the findings from all three research focus areas, presented in chapters 5, 6 and 7, are then consolidated in chapters 8 and 9, the discussion and conclusion chapters, to reveal the key themes emerging from the research.

## Chapter 6: Findings – The Linguistic Habituses of the IEs

### 6.1 Introduction

The second research focus investigated the linguistic habituses of the IEs. As outlined in Chapter One, this theme focused on the linguistic environments of the IEs' upbringings, their language use in interactions with students and parents in Australian schools, and their plurilingual capital.

The data gathered around these themes illuminated the value and positioning of the IEs in the sites of practice. Moreover, data gathered around the IEs' linguistic habituses was used to ascertain the languaging practices in the sites of practice and in Chapter Eight these are correlated with the logic of practice as upheld by the dominant agents in the field.

By the very definition of the IEs, it can be seen from the findings presented in this chapter that they have had exposure to linguistic markets rich in language varieties, where monolingualism is the exception. From this it can be deduced that the IEs linguistic habituses are filled with a wide range of pluricultural, plurilingual and translanguaging exposure and opportunities.

The linguistic habituses of the IEs have been presented individually in this section. First, a discussion of each IE's linguistic practices in their upbringing is presented. After which, there follows a presentation of the ways in which the IEs draw upon their linguistic and cultural habituses and capital in their roles as teachers.

The findings presented in this chapter subsequently assist with the analysis of the power relations between the agents and structures of the linguistic markets of the school and workplace which is discussed in Chapter Eight.

## 6.2 Linguistic habitus: Agnes

### 6.2.1 Growing up

The data from Agnes' interviews shows a marked difference between the linguistic markets she experienced as an English language learner and those she experienced later as an English language teacher in Australia. Agnes' Russian university degree was in teaching and translating, and she majored in German, English and Russian. Agnes recalls learning English as a beginner student and the discord between her experiences as an emerging bilingual and the English-only "*dogma*" that was presented to her when she undertook her Certificate IV in TESOL when she first came to Australia. During her studies, she travelled to both Germany and Australia to immerse herself in the languages in order to further her studies, given that Russia has one official language, Russian. The Russian linguistic market in which she operated meant that a translanguaging approach was used in her German classes, with Russian used as a resource for learning the target language, English. She recounts how once she had reached an intermediate level of proficiency in the languages, she travelled out of Russia to both Australia and Germany in order to experience full immersion in the language.

### 6.2.2 Language and teaching

With regard to her experience as a language teacher, Agnes offers an additional perspective reflective of her habitus. Agnes describes herself as having experience teaching English. In Russia "*English is not the first language*", so she taught English as an additional language to beginner level students. In her view, "*there is no really difference between*" EAL/D students in primary and secondary school in NSW, as in both "*you would start from the basics.*" Thus, Agnes believes that her experience with English beginner students in Russia is valuable in her teaching practice in Australia, as according to her, most students learning EAL/D in Australia are at the beginner level. She

says, “*that’s the kind of teacher I am*”, thus describing her capital as valuable in the education field in NSW.

Agnes also reflects on the efficacy of approaches to teaching English in the school context in NSW. When asked about the English-only approach to teaching, Agnes explains that her:

*perception was probably influenced by completion of that certificate IV in TESOL. and the idea was that if people are coming here to study English they have to be completely exposed to and immersed into the environment and they just have to understand the situation in English. And at that time, I agreed with that completely because that's how I learnt when I went overseas to Germany and when I came to Australia. I thought, exactly I agree with that completely.*

However, her habitus as a plurilingual speaker has led her to question the previously popular English-only approach. She explains that at that time “*English-only policy was absolutely everywhere.*” Initially she believed that this immersion approach was the correct way to learn an additional language. However, she explains, “*and then after years I was like okay wait a minute but how did I learn English? There was no way I would understand everything [if] it was all in English. If you know nothing what ... will you understand?*”

Agnes realised that on her trips to Australia and to Germany she was already at what she describes as an intermediate level of proficiency. Her experience as a plurilingual speaker has enabled her to question this approach from a personal perspective, and to question the complete immersion concept in language learning and teaching. Agnes continues to explain:

*what I didn't understand then is that when I came to ... Australia my English was at quite a sufficient level where I knew all my basics ... I didn't know some words which you'll learn over time,*

*but you could ask questions, you can speak, you can communicate. And I could do all that.*

These experiences as a language learner have formed part of her habitus. She has been able to convert these experiences into capital which she draws on in her teaching to better position herself in the field.

She began to reflect on the differences between her students, newly arrived in Australia, and herself when she was a new arrival. She says of her time teaching teenagers and young adults in English language colleges, *“further and further with my practices I realized that ... I have students who have not completed their degree, some of them haven't even completed school.”* This reflection led her to realise that the English-only approach is not always effective. She reflects:

*I work with refugees and how are they supposed to understand difficult words. The only way for them is to translate and at that time I was really strict about dictionaries. I was really sick of my Chinese students who were with their dictionaries all the time, constantly translating every single word. And they would say a word to me which ... I don't even know what it means! I had to look it up because their dictionary would give me some sort of sophisticated word ... all out of context or ... relevant time.*

Through her experiences in Australia *“working with older students ... and also talking to other teachers who had more experience or are more educated”* Agnes says *“I realized that we have to change our approach. We can't have English-only policy because this is how they understand the basics.”* She concludes by saying *“my perspective has changed.”*

Agnes' statement that *“sometimes you need that first language to even feel comfortable around a topic. So you can't just completely eliminate one*

*[language]*” reflects the translanguaging approach to language teaching (see Chapter Three for further discussion on translanguaging).

It is thus Agnes’ habitus as a plurilingual speaker which has enabled her to realise the effectiveness of utilising one language in the learning of a second language. She explains, *“that’s where I started to say to my students, ‘If you’re discussing something in your little groups, if you need to use a little bit of your language just to get ideas that’s absolutely fine. But then you have to present it to the class in English. So we use L1 just to help you build your knowledge.’”* Consequently, Agnes says, *“that’s basically how it changed.”* This new perspective has enabled Agnes to amend her teaching practices to not only empathise with her students’ use of dictionaries but also to encourage them to use their first language towards the acquisition of English in her classes. She explains, *“now I’m trying to balance, so not completely for L1 because I still understand how important immersion is.”*

In accepting students’ first languages into her lessons as a resource for learning, Agnes negotiates with her students on acceptable languaging practice for the classroom, saying, *“I explain to them [the students] how it has to work. So ... we’re not using it for you to chat about your personal things.”* Agnes thus distinguishes the use of languages which are not the target language English as a resource for learning the target language in her classroom. She explains this negotiation with her Chinese students, saying, *“you can imagine if you tell them Chinese is fine... they’re just going to go and speak Chinese all the time ... [I] really emphasize that it is for educational purposes only. And they will get it.”*

This negotiation with the students is an acknowledgement that the students’ knowledge and schemata are not linked to the English language and can be used to scaffold the learning of the target language, English. As a plurilingual speaker, Agnes recognises the value of separation of ideas and English, and the importance of communicating this to the students. In this way, Agnes has

validated her students' use of all languages at their disposal in their learning. Agnes explains of her students that *"even acknowledging... prior knowledge is so very valuable and so important."* Agnes recounts that she tells her students *"we want to acknowledge... I understand that you guys might be much smarter in your engineering stuff... we are professional in all our areas, but ... your English is not sufficient enough."* She explains to the students that with their life experience she wants to *"generate some ideas, and then with my help you'll ...present it in English."* Agnes describes how she likes to *"explain ... in the early stages"* of initial lessons with new classes that when they *"start working together they use [L1] if it works."*

Agnes explains that although in general she has taught monolingual Non-English-speaking background (NESB) classes in Australia, it would also be possible to teach using the translanguaging approach in classes of mixed cultural and linguistic backgrounds. She says, *"I think it's doable ... It would be slightly different."* Agnes surmises that the decision for mixed language background classes is because in her *"experience ... with mixed classes the idea is actually.... English only policy. So, we actually would mix classes and make sure that different nationalities worked together so they practise English."*

She continues her explanation, saying that *"if we're working with a very basic class then yes, we would to want to put same nationalities together."* However, her experience also leads her to assert:

*I still think because... I like to balance both, I would make sure that we mix. We would work with two nationalities together. But then when they are ready to present something we'll mixed them with different nationalities and so they do get to practise their English. So that would be the approach.*

Additional aspects Agnes spoke of in terms of plurilingual approaches in the classroom and her ability to draw on aspects of her habitus in the classroom are the rapport-building activities of comparing expressions in English. She says that sometimes the students teach her some words or expressions in their first language *“just for fun and just to like really warm them up and ... just say look I have no idea how to say this and this, you know, yes, I speak English, but you know I don't speak your language.”*

In addition, she describes the bonding and rapport building between teacher and students when students understand that their teacher has also been an English language learner and may be more able to empathise with some of their experiences. Agnes explains *“when I tell them that I studied English as a second language they are like 'What!!!?'”* Agnes continues this conversation with her students, explaining to them *“Yes! So I know that's where you come from.”* Agnes explains that having this conversation about her own linguistic capital and habitus *“actually warms them up and they're like oh ... you understand what we going through. And that helps them as well, you know, and they understand that you were also a student.”*

When asked about the importance of sharing this information with her students, Agnes replies:

*I personally can say that I understand my students. I understand where they come from. I understand what they're experiencing, the challenges they're going through. With their language. With the culture shock. With being away from families. So all of this I can say 'Look, I've been there, guys. That's why you can share with me I'm not just a teacher for you. You can actually talk to me.'*

I also asked Agnes about the value she believes she can bring to Anglo-Australian background monolingual students. She replies, *“I haven't really*

*thought deeply but I would say ... I first need to analyse what they need at this stage ... like a needs analysis ... what do we want to achieve at this stage? What do they want? What do parents want?"* Through this, Agnes can access her accumulated capital in order to best help her students learn according to their needs as well as the goals and objectives of their learning. Agnes says, *"I think it will become inevitable that I will start sharing my experience and saying OK, I believe that this way, we will achieve it better."* Thus, Agnes' habitus supports her to access the capital she needs for all Australian students, regardless of their background and needs.

Agnes states, *"I think any experience is going to be beneficial. So, for me as a teacher having my experience with multicultural people is going to definitely help with experience working with local kids. I mean, I don't think you can separate it."* She believes that the pivotal element is to *"do something really, really well. I don't know, bake beautiful cakes. And I don't think it cares [sic] which party you go to."* This metaphor reflects Agnes' belief that recognition of hard work and determination results in a job done well. She continues, saying, *"If you can do something really well, it's going to be appreciated. I mean it's a given. You can't say no to a good deed."*

Agnes is pressed on whether she might utilise her Russian language knowledge when teaching non-Russian speakers in the Australian classroom. She appears to be able to see the value of students speaking their first language in her classrooms in order to learn the target language. She explains that she would use Russian in her classes if she *"had Russian children who are struggling to understand English."* She reiterates her previous statement around translinguaging approaches in her classes, stating:

*like I was saying ... I do actually allow my students to use L1 in their class. It would probably be the same way ... if I had children who spoke Russian, and they were new migrants and they didn't understand anything, I would definitely help them. I mean if*

*they were a few of them who needed to speak. Absolutely go for it. You know if there were two kids from China who needed to speak Chinese to understand something some concept.*

However, she is less clear on how or why as the teacher she might include her first language in her classroom, other than to build rapport with the students. When asked if she would teach her students any Russian, she replies, *“Haven't done that. Don't know. Maybe. I mean it could be a good example just to show them that look, you know I've learned another language and let's just maybe share some words you teach me yours, I'll teach you mine ... Would be a fun experience. Would be a fun task.”*

However, more than merely being a fun task to do in class, Agnes explains:

*whenever I share my personal experience it just opens them up and it shows them that I am not just a teacher I'm a human. You know I tell them that I'm a mum, and I'm a student, and you just tell them who you really are, it just opens them up and it allows us to have like better relationship ... just building rapport. It's always good.*

In this respect it would seem that Agnes' experiences being a speaker of a first language other than English is shared with many of her EAL/D and Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CALD) students. This shared habitus should be of high value in the field.

## **6.3 Linguistic habitus: Asha**

### **6.3.1 Growing up**

Asha's background is Hindu Indian. She grew up in a Muslim community in Fiji. She describes how English was learnt at school, and how English proficiency was necessary for capital accumulation in the context of schooling and further

employment. The linguistic markets of her upbringing were thus varied with multiple languages and cultures existing together. Asha explains, *"I learned Arabic because I grew up in a Muslim community. I went to a Muslim school. So, we know how they pray, how they wear clothes and everything."*

Asha talks about how in Australia she uses her knowledge of other languages with her students, explaining, *"sometimes they'll greet me in their own language and I know how to reply. 'Oh she knows Arabic!'"* Asha says her knowledge of another culture and elements of another language has helped her with rapport-building, particularly with students who, like her, are from a culturally and linguistically diverse background. Asha explains, *"it has [helped] ... when I talk about their culture or they ask me about their culture. 'Do you know this culture?' I said 'Yes I know'. 'How do you know? How do you know? Are you Muslim? Fasting mam? Are you fasting Miss?' and what-not."* Asha's ability to know more about a language and culture other than her Fijian and Australian cultures should be recognised as valuable to not only her students in the sites of practice, but also to the field.

Asha herself sees the value in having languages other than English in one's repertoire. She explains that it *"is also beneficial yeah. That's like when we have translations and ... there were students who came from other countries who didn't know the English language."* Thus, in Asha's experience languages other than English can be recognised as having value in the field. She says, *"so I knew my language and they would speak that language, so ... I could translate."* Asha describes knowing a language but choosing to not use it as a waste. She says, *"if I have that language why not use it? Not only in schools. Wherever you go, like legal and everything."* She gives the example of her son, who learnt Hindi in the Community Languages Program from primary through to high school and was able to then use his knowledge of the language in a professional capacity. She recounts:

*My son, he knows Hindi. He did HSC in Hindi ... he's just completing his law degree ... he was working with a judge and there was a person from India who didn't know English, so he did all the translation in his language ... He did formal [study] in High School Certificate he did Hindi ... So, because ... he didn't drop his Hindi when he started here ... he knows that ... he could use that in his profession also.*

Through this explanation of her son's experience, Asha demonstrates her perspective on the high value of languages other than English in the Australian field. In this way, Asha demonstrates that were it not for the dominant agents in the field who work to uphold their dominance in the field, community languages in what Adoniou (2018) describes as lower tier positions could be afforded Tier two positions of economic value (for further information on Adoniou's four-tiered hierarchy of languages in Australia, see Chapter Three).

### *6.3.2 Language and teaching*

Asha describes her teacher training experience in Fiji. She says, *"we had two years in teachers college ... we just got teachers certificate ... we came out and ... we went for two practicums in Fiji ... two different schools."* At the conclusion of her studies, Asha explains that:

*as soon as we came out, we were bonded with the government ... one year was on probation and then we were just put on permanent after that depending upon our performance. I taught 14 years in total in Fiji ... we have starting from year 1 to year 8 in primary school. So I taught ... nearly all of the classes.*

Asha thus highlights what she believes to be her high cultural capital in the form of her rich and wide-ranging experience as a teacher in Fiji.

Asha also talks about the ways in which her work as a Community Languages Program teacher and a teacher's aide in Australia has enabled her to further accumulate capital in the form of knowledge of the school system. She believed that the experiences she would accrue working in the Community languages Program and as a teacher's aide would assist her with her ultimate goal of becoming a primary school teacher in Australia and continuing with her passion; teaching. She says:

*I thought if I want to I'll have to do it. I had my passion. That was my passion since I was a school girl. So I achieved that back in my country when I came here I got into ... community language and then I did teacher's aide for about six months. I got to know the school system and everything.*

It is, however, unclear whether or how this type of capital is recognised in the sites of practice. In addition, Asha discusses the ways in which the players in the field of education in Australia are not legitimated in the field of power in the same way as their counterparts in Fiji. She then goes on to say that those teachers who are from another culture, country or background have even less legitimacy in the sites of practice and the field. In response to my comment that she was very driven, she replied:

*the children here are quite different from our country. They don't have respect for teachers here. There's not much respect for teachers and if you're from another country another culture or background ... I have been to so many different areas. It's basically the same.*

Asha talks about the sacrifices she had to make in order to have the capital to which she had access in the form of her Fijian teaching experience recognised and legitimated in Australia. She says that her experience:

*did contribute but then I had to sacrifice everything for studies. I had to be with my family I had three ... little boys. At university, school holidays, I used to take them to lectures.*

When asked about whether she has formed networks or communities of practice with other teachers, Asha explains the distinction made between the legitimacy of permanent teachers and casual teachers in the schools in which she has worked. This further substantiates the differences between capital necessary for entry into the field as a whole and capital which is recognised and accessed within the sites of practice. Asha explains, *"We've got teachers from all around but ... some schools you go, the teachers said, 'oh that's a casual teacher'; they wouldn't talk to you ... you'll feel neglected."* Asha seems to focus more on the fact that she is a casual teacher, rather than the fact that she is a culturally and linguistically diverse teacher, when asked about her legitimacy as a teacher in Australia. Perhaps this is because she has been in Australia for so many years now that, like Agnes, she too feels more Australian than Fijian.

Asha was then asked whether she has kept in contact with her Fijian teaching colleagues. She explains, *"we meet sometimes but not all ... sometimes I when I go back to my country, I go see them."* She talks about the positive way she is regarded by them due to her current habitus which has been shaped by her further education in Australia and the fact that she has continued to teach in Australia, saying, *"they know that I'm a teacher here. I've been trained and ... they look upon [up to] me."* She proceeds to compare herself to others who have migrated to Australia, *"people who were principals who ... came to this country and they couldn't take up their education because they couldn't take the challenges here."* She explains that she is held in high regard because these others *"haven't trained themselves to be teachers here. They have dropped. They became taxi drivers, businessmen ... They say, 'Oh you've done it, you could do it.'"* This contrast between Asha's agency as a teacher in the

two fields serves to highlight the hegemonic practices at play in the Australian field and the effect that these practices have on Asha's legitimacy.

Asha was asked specifically whether she believes that Australian teaching staff or principals see her with the same regard (as her Fijian counterparts), Asha replies that staff do fail to recognise her value. She says, *"I don't think so, not many ... I don't know why ... some of them do, but some of them no, they don't really care."* Asha's reply highlights the importance to her of the lack of legitimacy of casual teachers in the field, over and above the lack of legitimacy which originating from outside Australia brings. Asha compares the attitude towards teachers in general in Australia and in Fiji. She says, *"I think back in Fiji teachers were valued. Community valued [teachers]. Children valued [teachers]."*

However, for Asha being a casual teacher carries with it hope that her value will be recognised, and she will eventually be legitimated. It has given her the legitimacy to become a player in the field within the sites of practice, even if she is still working and striving to have her legitimacy as a teacher in the field completely recognised. When asked if 'casual' is the worst label, Asha replies:

*I don't think ... because when you do a great job like day to day and they look upon you. This teacher has done this ... she has completed what I wanted, left the classroom clean, tidy and then look into all those details and then they look upon you and they'll say we want you to come back again. They do see the value.*

Of interest is the fact that as a multilingual speaker, when Asha is first asked about language practices in schools, she separates language use into different domains at different times of the day. She explains, *"we use English to communicate but then when they have the community language classes, they go to their own language teacher and they speak in their own language,*

*language 1 ... the teachers have that language.*" This is quite an outmoded way of thinking about bilingual practices as those which relegate language use to specific times and places. However, this seems to be one approach which is legitimated by the confused messages around language practices in schools and thus upheld by the logic of practice of the field.

When asked to elaborate on Community Languages Program classes, Asha explains that *"some students are from that language background but don't... have their own language, like formal ... [It's very] home based."* This is an interesting distinction to make, as it raises questions about the purposes for students to learn community languages. The fact that Cummin's (2000b) notions of Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) exist not only in English but in all languages is important when considering Adoniou's tier 2 languages for economic advancement and trade.

Asha was then asked more specific questions to draw out her experiences and views about language practices in the classroom. Asha says that:

*language integration ... [It] would help if they [students] had their own language. Sometimes they don't understand and students in English class they start talking in their own language because they don't understand what's going on.*

As well as newly arrived students speaking in their L1 with students sharing that L1 in order to scaffold their learning, Asha explains that as a teacher she modifies her language to the students' level of proficiency, saying, *"We have to simplify the language."* Asha also explains that she provides differentiation in her lessons for those newly arrived students, explaining, *"we have to simplify everything for them."* and that she allows students to explain to each other in their home language as well.

Asha also explains that *“some schools, some classrooms are told, students are told don't speak that language. No language in the classroom.”* Thus particular sites of practice have delegitimated languages other than English (LOTE) to such an extent that they are not to be spoken in the classroom. Instead, Asha explains, *“they have their community language. That's when they can speak.”* This approach exemplifies the idea that the mixed messages from the dominant agents in the field around languaging practices in schools results in the logic of practice upholding the hegemony of English and resisting change.

Asha gives several reasons why students should not use their L1 in their regular classes, explaining *“in that instance some students use language that's not appropriate also. Because the teachers they don't know the language so they use swear words and other stuff. That's why they are not allowed to say that in the classroom.”* This issue seems to be more of a classroom management issue than a translanguaging issue. Another reason Asha gives is that *“too much of that”* home language is spoken if teachers allow students to use L1 in the classroom, and thus not enough English is practised in class. Again, this issue may be more of a classroom management issue than an issue around language use (Kirwan, 2013). Asha goes on to demonstrate her high capital in the form of knowledge of how translanguaging practices can be effective in the classroom. She made a distinction between diverse uses of L1 in the classroom, explaining, *“we allow students to do peer support, peer discussions, discussing with friends.”* She says that students are *“allowed to mix around”* between languages, but that everything that's reported back to the whole class *“is in English”*.

When asked about the school's use of LOTE in signage, assemblies, and so on, Asha says *“All in English, mostly English I don't think we have got Arabic signage. No. No. It's all English.”* She goes on to make the point that schools may not want signs in other languages *“because there's different students from different cultural backgrounds”* and the schools must be seen to cater for

all languages, not only the languages spoken by larger community groups; *"I think because there's minority groups. So, the majority would rule but... schools don't want that."* This therefore makes it difficult to know just how many and which languages to include in any signage. However, she says that at some schools *"for multicultural, for harmony day, we have speeches in Vietnamese, in Chinese and then we have the translation on the side also."* This is done in order that the entire school community *"do understand"* the cultural elements of the different community groups showcased at the school. In this way, cross-cultural understanding can be fostered.

Asha also raises the issue of community languages taught in schools being dependent on the number of students from particular backgrounds being present in the schools, as was presented in the examination of the field in chapter 5. Her point highlights the positioning of languages in the field, in that these community languages are only seen to be of value if there is a large enough group of students from that language background. This means that due to pragmatic decisions, minority languages may be ignored and undervalued in the school system. She explains a situation in one school where she has taught. She discusses the ways in which the school values the teaching of community languages, explaining that *"from next year we don't have Vietnamese because there is a drop in students ... Arabic would continue because that particular school has large number of Arabic students."* Thus, through an analysis of the positioning of these languages it can be seen that community languages are not valued in terms of the cultural capital that they contribute to all dominated agents in the field but rather for their economic capital (see Chapter 2 for further discussion on economic capital).

Asha is asked whether she believes that the main focus in the NSW public school system is for students to achieve a satisfactory level of English proficiency. Asha replies, *"I think because of the... NAPLAN [National Assessment Program-Literacy and Numeracy] result."* Asha thus attributes the

teaching of EAL/D to the attainment of high test scores, which are then linked to school funding. However, Asha believes that the attainment of high results has more to do with the positive attitudes towards schooling of students from language backgrounds other than English, rather than a push for an English-only model in schools. She explains:

*I think community language plays a lot of part. Students are ... from this background so they perform better, their attitude is better, their respect for the teachers ... And they're applied in the class ... whatever work you give them they just do it. They go to Aussie classes they go to selective school and everything ... And then from out of school they have their tutoring schools they have a lot of tutoring, depending on their group, which language background they are, because parents want ... to push their student. I have some students who'll say 'I didn't have any holidays I have to go to tutoring I have to go to this I have to go to that. I don't have time for like holiday'.*

However, although Asha does agree that English dominates in Australia, she says this is not necessarily a negative aspect of Australian society. For Asha, English language capital “depends upon the context where you want to use English.” She explains that there is a distinction between those who need English because they want to get ahead in the game and those who do not have English because they do not (or believe they do not) need it, saying, “If you don't have English that's a drawback on you. But if you have English you need it, use it. That's a bonus for you.” Seen in the context of her son's ability to use Hindi in his profession, this perspective is one where no tiers of languages exist. Rather, Asha seems to view language use and multilingualism in terms of the various linguistic markets where diverse languages hold varying levels of worth dependent on those markets.

When asked about what the future holds for her, Asha's immediate response is:

*There's more people around to help each other. Teachers value each other. As teachers we value each other also. And then ... what relation you have with the teachers. You have to perform you have to get that positivity from them.*

Asha's response centres on the school community's as well as other teachers' recognition of her value on the basis of her performance in the classroom. The underlying message in her reply is of her hope and desire to be part of the communities of practice within schools, and to be recognised and valued for the work that she does.

I also asked Asha directly about whether she could see herself settling down in one school. I wanted to explore her desire to work in a long-term teaching role as opposed to the short casual contracts she has been undertaking since she started working as a NSW public school teacher, despite the two postgraduate teaching qualifications she had completed in Australia. She said, *"quite a bit. Somewhat, yeah. Um, I think to be settled in a particular school would be good."* Her reply was immediately hopeful in terms of permanent work, followed by a more restrained rejoinder. I then asked her about the likelihood of that happening, to which she replied, *"maybe, who knows."* Asha's uncertainty reflects her perceptions of the legitimacy and value of her cultural and linguistic capital. As such, this devaluing reflects her dominated position in the field as a casual teacher whose first language is not English. Perhaps she does not dare to be too hopeful. Perhaps she does not want to be defeated yet again. Perhaps in her response she is weighing up the years of disappointment, hard work and hopefulness she has experienced.

The final reply she settles on is a type of resignation; whatever is in store for Asha in the future will probably not be of her doing.

*"Maybe. Who knows."*

Not Asha. After all these years, although her value as a casual relief teacher has been recognised by colleagues in the sites of practice, her value as an ongoing teacher in a more permanent capacity is still not recognised, no matter the actions she takes in the field in order for recognition to occur. Therefore, despite all her efforts, Asha remains both a fish in water and a fish out of water.

## **6.4 Linguistic habitus: Joy**

### *6.4.1 Growing up*

During our interviews, Joy recounts her life growing up as a member of an Anglo-Indian family in India. Joy describes the many languages that she was exposed to as a girl growing up in India. She explains that the linguistic market of her home, family and friendship networks was predominantly English, however Joy also says there were "a lot of linguistic things" in her life, indicating a linguistic market where multiple languages were used. Joy explains, *"we spoke English at home because we're Anglo-Indian we live the Western style in India"* and describes her ancestors as *"very multicultural"*, and that *"it was all inter [sic] with a lot of wars and things going on a lot of multi multicultural."* Joy is reluctant to share more about her family background than to say that English was spoken in her multicultural family. Graddol (2010) explains that *"the British successfully restricted the English language to an elite class. Subsequently it became a means for that elite to maintain their status in independent India"* (pp. 64–65). This maintenance of status may account for Joy's reluctance to go into further detail. Aside from English being spoken at home, Joy explains that they interacted more with other Anglo-Indian families. She says, *"we always had an Anglo association so there would be people in charge and they would have meetings and have functions, but not multicultural. Just Anglo Indian."* She explains that as a child

her and her Anglo-Indian siblings were somewhat of a minority group, *“just a couple of children ... but then when we went to boarding school we had a few more because they would come from all different places that never had high school. So then we were quite a few of us. It was good.”* Joy’s Anglo-Indian habitus thus gave her access to high capital in the form of an elite class with access to more prestigious education options, however in terms of the wider society she felt that she was part of a minority.

Once at school, Joy was more exposed to a range of diverse Indian cultures and peoples. She says, *“we knew the ones that were Anglos and ... you know there were all kinds of cultures. We had the Punjabis, Sikhs. So many, Gujarati ... You could tell, people’s culture ... when you look at them ... but it was good.”* Joy also describes how she needed to learn the state language Odia at primary school, and then at high school she needed to learn the state language Bihar, as well as Hindi and Sanskrit. Thus, it could be surmised that the linguistic markets of Joy’s schools included multiple language use. However, the one example she gives of using these LOTEs in school is when she explains, *“if you sang the national anthem, it was in the national language not in English.”*

The use of these languages thus seems to be confined to school events, language classes and academic achievement. The languages Joy learnt at school were not used by her for communication with the speakers of those other languages. However, Joy’s recount of her days as a student in her prestigious convent boarding schools indicates that the linguistic capital of English alone was not sufficiently high to do well at these elite schools, where the language of choice was English and LOTE was seen as additional. Students were required to accumulate a high level of capital in the state languages, Hindi and Sanskrit in order to succeed in their schooling. From this it could be argued that the academic structures in place afforded almost as much proficiency in languages other than English as they did in English proficiency. Indeed, according to Kumar and Sharma (2019, para. 1), “a well-established

education system existed in India in the pre-colonial era.” The British recognised the need for students to continue to learn local languages such as Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit and Urdu, and Hindu and Muslim culture, as well as English (Kumar & Sharma, para. 8). However, it is interesting that as an elite English speaker Joy seems to not give more value to these other languages. Rather, they are seen as purely academic pursuits. Joy explains:

*we have to learn at school other languages ... the state language was compulsory ... we had to learn the national language as well; Hindi. Everyone in India has to learn Hindi and the state Language ... [at] high school and secondary we had to learn Sanskrit ... and the national language. So, there's a lot of linguistic things. It wasn't easy but ... I was a very ... hardworking student and I did achieve very good results. I could do it, but it was a real difficult task for students ... we had a teacher on duty who'd come and support us with our subjects if we had difficulty ... they taught you languages and you learn them and if you couldn't you'd have a private tutor if you had difficulty.*

Joy's description of the linguistic markets of the convent and boarding schools which she attended and in which she worked indicates that agents who had a high proficiency in English had access to relatively high capital in terms of gaining employment as general mainstream teachers in prestigious convent schools. However, teachers who were proficient speakers of state languages, Hindi and Sanskrit, also had access to a high level of capital as language teachers in those schools.

Joy proceeds to describe the linguistic markets which operated outside the schools, in the communities in which she lived, with people firstly addressing others in the State language, because of the fact that most did not know English, as it was the language of the elite only. In the linguistic market of her community, Joy explains that “*automatically people would see you and they*

*are going to talk the state language ... because not everybody knows English."*

This indicates Joy's awareness that English was not available for all.

When asked about her language practices outside of the linguistic market of the school in India, Joy describes how *"coming from India ... in our church group they were so multicultural. Lots of people, even the languages."* She explains that because speakers of different languages attended her church, *"they needed interpreters. Because now everybody speaks English. But then they couldn't ... someone would have to interpret ... everything would get so much more longer [sic], because of that."* In this way Joy describes an equality in the power relations between the structure of the local Catholic church and the agents participating in this linguistic market.

#### *6.4.2 Language and teaching*

As for the question of language practices and English language support in schools, Joy compares the current system with her experience of teaching all students in one large group, irrespective of their additional needs. Joy recalls that *"years back they never had all that. All [students] in the one room, all learning the same thing. No help. No support. Then, everything was in the class. No children were taken out."* Joy goes on to talk about the benefits and disadvantages of withdrawing students into smaller support groups for English language learning.

She first talks about the number of diverse groups of CALD students, and the labels given to children in each group. She says, *"now they have so many ... New Arrivals program ... ESL which is ... now called the EALD ... Before, children were not labelled. We just had to teach them all in our classroom they were not withdrawn."*

Joy maintains that withdrawing children *"is a good thing."* However, she then states, *"but then they miss out what's in class and then these children become very demanding because... when they work in a small group of four and then*

*they come back to the 23 or 24 then they want you to sit with them.*" In terms of advantages, Joy explains that the students *"have to be withdrawn to bring them up quickly with their levels of English so they will cope"* with the required level for their stage of learning. On the other hand, Joy also says that reaching the required level of proficiency in English in order to successfully achieve the overall curriculum goals for their stage takes a few years regardless of these intensive withdrawal classes. She says, *"It'll take a couple of [years] you know, the literacy the language they require is really high. And I don't think they can achieve it so quickly even though they're withdrawn one or two hours."* In addition, Joy describes the current system as an overload for these students, who begin to not enjoy being withdrawn from class as it means they miss other aspects of the learning that their peers and classmates are taking part in. Joy explains:

*when they first come, they're targeted and it becomes too much for them, because then they don't want to ... if we're in drama, if we're doing art they don't want to go [to EALD withdrawal classes]. If we're doing sport. If we're doing assembly, these are the times they're withdrawn. So it's pretty tough on the children. Too much overload of the language, too. So what do you do? That's the way they do the EAL/D now. Too much of withdrawing.*

Thus, for Joy there is a trade-off between the importance of having high levels of English language proficiency and the classroom experience and the sociocultural aspect of learning from which the students may not be able to fully benefit due to the withdrawal classes. She believes:

*they can do numbers ... but when it comes to problem solving they're going to struggle because of language. They need it but sometimes ... they also need the classroom experience ... They don't like to go, but they have to because you've got to get*

*better in English. That's all we can tell them, and it's not only the speaking it's also the written ... they need that skill for their further, higher education.*

When asked about the social aspect of school, and the interpersonal language of EALD students, Joy describes the development of this aspect of the students' English language proficiency as a similarly slow process. Joy mentions the use of L1 in order for students of the same language background to support one another in the playground. She says that in the playground, *"in the beginning they tend to cling on to each other ... because they know [the first language] and we try to keep them in pairs at least ... they won't be lost. If they want to explain something ... the other can help them and speak, so they manage the playground. They speak in English... they slowly get the idea.... all spread off into different classes... they seemed to be... gaining more English and able to express themselves a bit."* Interestingly, for Joy the playground is a space where students' first languages can be used, but this resource is not mentioned in terms of the students' classroom learning. For Joy, the use of students' first language in the playground then gives these students the confidence to use English in the classroom. She explains that these students are encouraged to *"play with other children and learn English ... That helps them. But they slowly get the idea. And once they're all spread off into different classes, they seemed to be ... gaining more English and able to express themselves a bit."* Joy therefore makes no distinction between the linguistic market of the playground and that of the classroom. For Joy, the confidence students gain in the playground can then transfer to the classroom, where the students start to more actively participate in the learning experiences. Moreover, Joy explains that students become more motivated to learn and to complete the work which they have missed due to being withdrawn from class for intensive EALD instruction. She explains:

*they're getting better. They put their hand up. They start taking a great interest in their writing ... they come back from EAL/D and if they see we finished ... something and they think they've missed out ... they come back and say 'can we do this?'. And I say 'OK when we finish this, you can go and do this.' So they are taking interest and they do love to read and to write ... they're coming along. It is a slow process and they are speaking more. They are trying their best and improving as they go along.*

Joy explains that the students' motivation "could be cultural or maybe you know... oh they love this topic or they love story writing. They want to do it because everyone else is doing it." Joy explains that these EALD students have "got all the skills" required of their stage of learning, and that their English language proficiency "is the barrier."

When asked about her students' home languages, Joy immediately relegates these to the home setting. She says of one student's first language, "he gets that at home. You know, with the family. Because both the parents especially dad doesn't have much [English] ". In doing this, Joy indicates an English-only approach to learning at school, where the home language is not used as a resource for the students to learn English in the classroom. This is notable, given she does mention students using L1 in the playground to negotiate social situations and gain the confidence required to learn through English in the classroom. In addition, the use of the student's home language is deemed by Joy to be necessary due to the parents' poor English proficiency, and not for the purposes of cultural and linguistic maintenance. Joy does not elaborate on this point, so whether she affords equal value to these diverse forms of cultural capital is unclear.

Joy also discusses the learning of languages other than English in Australian schools. She explains that at the school where she teaches, languages other than English and community languages are taught in the times when main

classroom teachers have release from face-to-face teaching (RFF-see Glossary for further information). She explains that *"At our school we use it as RFF."* This attitude relegates the teaching of languages other than English to a space where the students have to be given something to do while the teachers are relieved of their face-to-face classroom duties for a certain number of hours a week. This attitude speaks to the legitimacy of LOTE and thus of home languages in the sites of practice. She likens the learning of English in Australia to her experience in India, where students *"had the languages they had to learn"*. In Joy's experience, the learning of languages is directly related to school achievement and success. She also mentions that *"probably it will be more a high school thing where children really take up a language because they want to go... and study in a different country."* This statement is an indication of the high levels of hegemony of English as the legitimate language used in multicultural Australia. Joy's attitude also reveals a lack of clarity around the reasons for students to learn language and reflects the unclear messaging from the DoE around multiculturalism, LOTE learning and home language maintenance.

Joy also talks about the difficulties of learning languages in schools despite Australia being such a multicultural country. To Joy, the reason for learning languages is to pass school subjects, and for the ultimate goal of becoming fluent in another language. For this reason, Joy surmises that language learning is better suited to high school, where students can learn one language throughout their high school studies and become fluent in that language. Joy says:

*It's very hard though ... my daughter started German [at primary school]. But then when she went to high school they had the teacher for year seven. She was doing really well and then they said there was no more German do you want to take you know Japanese, or something. So, then it becomes very hard. You need*

*that continuity. So it's more high school if they want to continue that subject. But in primary they use it as RFF. They could do anything with that but they use it as a language program. Otherwise they could just use it as an art program. But no teacher wants to take art so many times a day isn't it?*

While Joy is quite dismissive of the teaching of languages other than English, her attitudes towards these languages is at times quite contradictory. She believes that language learning is necessary to do well at school, but that language learning also needs to be a longer- term proposition in order to achieve fluency and high proficiency in that language. In this way, Joy's attitudes towards language practices at school reflect the confusing and contradictory messages from the dominant agents in the field with regard to language practices in schools.

## **6.5 Linguistic habitus: Sada**

### **6.5.1 Growing up**

Although Sada does not talk directly about the linguistic markets in her hometown of Beirut, she does discuss the different backgrounds of her Middle Eastern students and the multiplicity and heterogenous nature of Arabic linguistic and cultural markets in Australia. This awareness indicates a knowledge of multiple linguistic and cultural markets existing in her home region. In Chapter Five, the data from Sada's interviews also revealed her love of languages, and her high capital in terms of her knowledge of Arabic, which motivated her to study Arabic literature at university in Australia. In addition, Sada is originally from Beirut, where she had begun an undergraduate degree in English Literature before moving to Australia 26 years ago. From this it can be surmised that Sada has access to a high level of linguistic capital as well as a rich linguistic habitus. She explains: *"I am from Lebanon, from Beirut. I finished my high school leaving certificate and then I started my uni just few*

*months towards half year ... English literature ... and then ... I travelled and I came to Australia."*

### **6.5.2 Language and teaching**

Once Sada began to teach as a casual relief teacher in primary school, she recalls the value of the capital to which she has access in terms of the scope of her usefulness in the school in which she first worked. As was presented in Chapter Five, Sada's linguistic habitus, which comes from her experiences both in her home country as well as Australia, enables her to demonstrate versatility and thus employability and thus the conversion of her linguistic and cultural capital into economic capital. She says of the first school where she began her teaching as a casual relief teacher, *"I think ... because we have a big percentage of Arabic people there, they ... used to use me everywhere ... for ESL, for translation ... for parents, ... mainstream, ... wherever ... they ... found me ... flexible."*

Through her teacher colleagues operating with her in the field, Sada was able to gain employment as an Arabic language teacher at high school on the outskirts of Sydney which had a high percentage of Arabic students. Sada describes how she was not keen to take this work, but the agents in the field convinced her to do so. This demonstrates a recognition on the part of these other agents in the field of the value of the high linguistic capital to which Sada has access. She recounts:

*I had this call from Orlington High School. I used to teach at Treetops School ... there is an AP [Assistant Principal] there who lived in Orlington and he used to work there but he took a year off came to Treetops ... and he knew me and he gave my name to this school at Orlington. It's a high school ... to call me because they need an Arabic teacher there. I said 'No way! ... I don't want to work!' ... they said 'Oh come on it's only one day*

*and you'll love it.' And I said 'oh maybe that's a good idea, one day maybe I'll keep ... in touch with the Department [of Education].'*

Sada discusses how much she loved working with high-level Arabic language high school students, saying *"so I started there and I liked it. I love the teaching with all the kids and knew them... here all the kids they lower level but there ... refugees, new arrivals and they really know the language."* For Sada the linguistic market of the high school, with students whose Arabic linguistic capital was high, was what she relished. She continues to discuss working with high school students preparing for their high school leaving exams, explaining, *"I loved it. Just only one year I was there."* She was then called by a school closer to her home which had a large Arabic student population. She says, *"they wanted someone, ... called me, 'What about if you work two days?' I said 'Oh, I need to think about it. Let me think about it ... I remember she [the principal] gave me her mobile and said just call me."* The ability to work part time and closer to home convinced Sada to start working at this primary school.

Sada discusses her experience as an Arabic language teacher in the high school context compared to the primary school context. The high school students were at a higher proficiency level, and Sada sees this as much more challenging and enjoyable work. In contrast, Sada describes teaching Arabic at this particular primary school as less enjoyable. She explains, *"I like the kids, but I prefer working with the older ones now because ... they are more responsible ... There's more give and take ... more mature probably and they know what they're doing. So, it's more challenging ... because they know they perform better."*

She explains that at the primary school the students:

*don't know [the language] so it's more struggle for them and if you struggle you don't enjoy things. We've tried to do it in an enjoyable way as much as we can. But most of them are like they're not bad. But it's just it's a struggle for them." Therefore, although Sada designs programs in order to be enjoyable for the students, they struggle more with their Arabic language learning. For Sada, the challenge of teaching higher proficiency language students is much more enjoyable.*

When talking about her own position in the field and the capital to which she has access in the field, Sada recounts the challenges she feels she faced as a mainstream classroom teacher before she began working as an Arabic language teacher in both primary and high schools. Of her initial teaching work in mainstream primary classes, she says:

*the language ... I must admit it was a barrier ... I always had this fear ... if I had to come and teach, I used to go early very early in the morning and prepare well and be ... on top of it. I can't just walk into the class ... It's not like now I have to be ... I need more time to prepare.*

When asked to give further details of what she felt she needed to prepare, Sada explains, *"if there was any ... things that I'm not ready for and students will ask me. So, I'll go look at the lesson plan, make sure everything's covered."* Sada seems to be unsure of her English language capital and consequently she feels the need to over-prepare for every eventuality. She is not sufficiently confident in her English language capital to trust herself to think on her feet during her classes. Sada explains, *"just recently ... the last I would say 6 years, I've been like doing ... Arabic. But ... in teaching Arabic ... on the spot I can ... create a lesson."* This seems to indicate that despite her completion of two university degrees in Australia, as well as her years of experience working in Australia, Sada still believed that her English language capital is not high. Now

that she is working as an Arabic language teacher in primary school, she feels much more in control. She says, *"It was a strength ... I'm good in both languages now, English and Arabic."* Sada explains that both her English and Arabic language needs to be strong, explaining that:

*even though we are teaching Arabic whether or not in high school. It has to be both as well. It's not completely Arabic. No! It's half, half. Because we've got new arrivals but completely Arabic they're struggling because some questions it's in English and they have to answer in English. And you've got the people who is here they're struggling with Arabic. This is the system.*

As an Arabic languages teacher Sada feels she can access both the Arabic and English language capital to which she has access, and this plurilingual capital gives her additional confidence in her teaching. She explains that when teaching the high school students, she needs to be strong *"in both ... You can't just the fully good in Arabic and go. You'd be lost. No! But you have to ... speak half Arabic half English."*

In contrast, in the primary school language classroom where she currently teaches Sada describes the need for a different strategy while still using both English and Arabic. When describing the students, she says that the *"primary school they're all fairly low level ... the level was completely very basic ... It's different than the high schools because [at] the high school, we've got the new arrivals."* As a consequence, Sada explains, *"you can't literally speak fully Arabic with them. You put more English into it."* The example Sada gives of using more English in the classes, is to say, *"the instructions in English."* In contrast, when giving instructions at the high school, she explains, *"I would say it in Arabic."* In this way, Sada describes the translanguaging practices she uses in her Arabic language classes.

Furthermore, Sada explains that in the primary school, because the students have lower levels of Arabic language proficiency, she says, *"I prefer to say things [in English] ... I repeat myself in Arabic I don't know they might get."* In this way, Sada is utilising the students' knowledge of English as a resource in their Arabic language acquisition. Sada explains, *"I tell them even if we don't understand but in time, you're going to grab some words here and there and you'll get used to it."* Again, she gives an example of what she means by this, saying *"we'll put stories to listen to on the smart board we put it in Arabic even though ... it's translated in English so I'm pretty sure from always listening and reading they're going to grab words here and there."* Sada explains that the overall goal is not for the students to be fluent in Arabic, saying *"you don't expect them to be."* Instead, her goal for her students is to know *"just the basics, every day, hopefully."* In this way, Sada utilises both English and Arabic in her current primary school classes. English seems to be used more predominantly, with Arabic used in order to give the students gradual exposure to the language. In the linguistic markets of the schools, translanguageing thus occurs in Sada's classes teaching languages other than English.

Sada gives another example of the way in which she has been able to utilise her cultural capital as a Lebanese-born Arabic speaker. She describes how she has been able to access this capital in the school context in her interactions with parents. She talks about instances when she needs to speak with the parents of her Arabic-language students. She says, *"I think they are very comfortable, and they can talk to me like openly and ... I could, I could respond to any questions because I've got ... the culture."* Her knowledge of both the shared language and culture enables her to achieve clarity in her communication with parents through having a shared starting point. She explains:

*I could understand because, sometimes if they're speaking to someone, someone won't get their points if they're speaking [to] someone from here ... They can't relate to it. But I can. Not the language, the culture as well. I know the way they think.*

She also gives an example of how she utilises her habitus in the site of practice at her current school. She says that parents of a similar background to hers are more comfortable around her due to the fact that they share the same cultural background and expectations and behaviours. More specifically, the parents feel freer to speak to their children in a way that non-Arabic-background teachers may not find appropriate. She gives an example of what she means by this:

*one of the parents was telling his son off in front of me ... telling him off badly. But ... if it's ... an Aussie [teacher] ... they will think this is abuse ... and you can't do that. But I could understand where he's coming from ... it's not really abuse for me because this is how they ... deal with their kids. It's not ... [that] they hate them or they're going to hurt them or anything ... it's not a big problem ... there is this understanding ... [about] expectations.*

Through these interactions with the parents of her students Sada has her capital recognised by the agents in the field, and more specifically by those agents who hold more power over the game and its outcomes.

## **6.6 Chapter 6 summary**

Through the experiences recounted by the IEs during our interviews several themes emerged. As was foreground in the introduction to this chapter, all four IEs had rich plurilingual and multicultural habituses. However, this plurilingual capital to which the IEs have access was not always legitimated in the field. Sada sees her Arabic language capital in the sites of practice (and specifically in her classes) as equal in value to her knowledge of English,

despite the fact that she is currently working as an Arabic language teacher. Within the classrooms, and in their interactions with similar-background teachers, as well as with students, parents or caregivers, the IEs' plurilingual and multicultural capital is of value. Asha, Agnes and Sada recount the ways in which these shared knowledges between teachers, parents, colleagues, and students has resulted in their ability to access this capital and successfully navigate the field. Asha and Agnes use their positions as International Educators in order to build rapport with their students, though in Asha's case this has not assisted her in securing more stable employment. Sada uses her habitus to build rapport with the parents and carers of her students so that they may feel more comfortable in the sites of practice. Indeed, Sada's habitus and capital is valued to such an extent that she is able to find work at schools where that habitus and capital is valued by teaching colleagues and the schools, and ultimately she is able to shift from working as a mainstream class teacher to an Arabic language teacher in schools; a role in which she seems much more comfortable and confident. In this way, the IEs also demonstrate their awareness and understanding of symbolic violence in the field, and the ways in which domination of some agents over others can occur.

The data from the interviews demonstrate the wide variety of attitudes amongst the IEs towards first language use in their classes. Agnes and Asha's interview data revealed an acknowledgement that first language can be used as a resource when learning English, while Sada's interview showed how she uses English as a resource when teaching low level students in her Arabic language classes. These experiences show that the IEs understand and utilise translanguaging perspectives in the learning experiences they create for their students.

The data from Joy's interviews revealed her positioning as an English as a first language speaker. However, growing up in India Joy's habitus is also rich in multicultural and multilingual experiences. Joy reveals that she learnt

additional languages at school, as part of her academic requirements. This attitude towards dominant and additional languages can be seen in her perspectives on the importance of English for her students, and the reasons why people learn additional languages. Also, having 'elite' English as her first language means that Joy supports the status quo and sees additional languages either as spoken in the home in Australia, or to be spoken fluently overseas in the countries where those languages are the dominant languages. Lastly, despite not being fully supportive of withdrawal classes for intensive English tuition, Joy ultimately believes that her students will not succeed without satisfactory levels of English.

In this study language practices are central to identifying how linguistic markets work. Another key finding centres around the ways in which some of the IEs describe languaging practices. 'Home' or 'community' languages are relegated by the IEs to being spoken at a particular time and place. Comments such as "they speak that at home" and "they have their community language classes" reveals that even the IEs who showed an understanding of translanguaging practices and the use of first language in the English-language classroom revert to outmoded notions of an individual's language use, where certain languages are spoken in specific domains and those languages never cross over or share the same space and time.

It is only Asha who talks about the diverse levels and registers of 'home' or 'community' languages. Asha, a long-term Community Languages Program teacher of Hindi, speaks of languages and their usefulness to a specific individual. Her habitus allows her to understand that notions of BICS and CALP (Cummins, 2000b) are not relegated to English only, and that in a multicultural country such as Australia any language can become at least a tier 2 language (Adoniou, 2018), depending on the individual and how they choose to use the language.

This chapter has presented findings around the linguistic habituses and language practices of the IEs. The following chapter presents findings on the strategies demonstrated by the IEs. The findings from all three research focus areas, presented in chapters 5, 6 and 7, are then brought together in chapters 8 and 9, the discussion and conclusion chapters, to reveal the key themes emerging from the research.

## Chapter 7: Findings – The strategies of the IEs

### 7.1 Introduction

This section outlines the findings in relation to the beliefs International Educators (IEs) have regarding their own positioning in the field. As outlined in the Conceptual Framework, the data from IE interviews were analysed through the lens of the four strategies of subversion, acquiescence, collaboration and defiance (presented in Chapter Two) which the IEs employed in order to navigate their positions in the field.

As discussed in Chapter Two, that which Bourdieu terms “struggles within the field” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 99) are negotiated by the agents in the field through strategies they employ as they navigate the field and these struggles in it. I analysed the data and identified clear instances of Bourdieu’s (1993b) strategy of subversion, along with Büyükokutan’s and Şaşmaz’s (2018) strategies of acquiescence, collaboration, and defiance. These four strategies are explained as follows:

- Acquiescence: When the IEs demonstrated this strategy, they did so in order to preserve their current position in the field. They chose to not act overtly or challenge the dominant agents and practices in the field. Instead, they adapted to the situation in their wake.
- Collaboration: When the IEs exhibited collaboration as a strategy, they openly and actively supported the patriarchal practices and values of the field. By choosing to collaborate, the IEs were able to slightly advance their standing in the field.
- Defiance: The IEs who demonstrated the strategy of defiance overtly refused to go along with specific aspects of the logic of practice and actions of the dominant agents which were problematic to them. In this way, the IEs advanced their positioning in the field rather than

adapting to the struggles in order to maintain their existing positions in the field.

- Subversion: When the IEs demonstrated the strategy of subversion, they did so by using some rules in order to fight other rules in the game.

The situations which caused the IEs to exhibit particular strategies were then analysed to distinguish the types of capital which had either caused the IEs to exhibit each particular strategy, or which had resulted from the agents' display of the strategy. A sample capital and strategies mapping tool can be found in Appendix E

Significant instances of the four strategies recounted by the IEs were mapped in terms of the types of capital which the IEs had access to or which the IEs were able to accrue upon utilising the strategies. This mapping exercise revealed that the IEs used different strategies at different times, depending on the situation and the risk to their positioning which a situation or struggle might cause. The findings presented in this chapter represent clear examples of each of the strategies. A summary of strategies displayed by each IE is given, followed by a more detailed presentation of the significant instances of these strategies as displayed by the IEs.

Agnes' interview data indicates an even distribution of the display of all four strategies. Agnes' habitus may have led to a higher number of instances of subversion and defiance in her navigation of the field of education. In particular, her status as an ELICOS teacher to international students, has helped to shape to her habitus. However, her realisation of her status as 'other' or 'non-Australian' has meant that some of the strategies which might have been categorised as collaboration have instead been classified as acquiescence. Agnes' interview data also included instances of defiance and subversion.

Data collected from Asha's interviews shows that Asha utilises two main types of strategies in her navigation of the field; acquiescence and collaboration. Further to this, interviews with Asha revealed one significant instance where she used Subversion and one other significant instance where Defiance was used. Both these instances of Subversion and Defiance were the result of the cultural capital which Asha has access to within the field and which were regarded as having value by some agents in the field. However, it should also be noted that this cultural capital did not afford her an advance in position in the field, nor could she readily convert this cultural capital to economic capital.

Data from interviews with Sada indicated a major predominance of display of the collaboration strategy. The data collected showed no significant instances of acquiescence exhibited as a strategy to navigate the field, and no significant instances of defiance employed. In addition, the data gathered from Sada's interviews identified only two significant instances of subversion as a strategy.

The data from interviews with Joy revealed that she used only collaborative strategies when navigating the field. She was able to utilise her capital and habitus, and specifically her English language capital and her Anglo-Indian upbringing in order to advance her position in the field, all of which she did while maintaining the status quo.

In this chapter the instances of each strategy have been grouped together in order to also ascertain the types of capital the four IEs accessed in exhibiting each strategy, as well as the type of capital they accrued through the demonstration of each strategy.

## **7.2 Collaboration**

Collaboration was by far the most demonstrated of the strategies amongst the four IEs, with all four IEs displaying the strategy of collaboration while navigating the field in Australia. The IEs demonstrated collaboration as a

strategy by overtly upholding the hegemonic practices in the field. This strategy allowed the IEs to either gain entry to the field or advance their positions in the field, if only marginally. The first significant instance of collaboration from all four IEs was to undertake initial courses and university level re-training as teachers in order to gain admission to the field.

### 7.2.1 Agnes

Agnes was encouraged to do a Master of Education by her teacher colleagues, many of whom were also doing a Master of Education at the time. Agnes' choice to undertake further postgraduate study demonstrates a strategy of collaboration where she has gone along with her colleagues' recommendations in order to advance her career. She explains, *"originally I did it because many other teachers were doing that. And I was encouraged to do that not by my management, [but] by my colleagues."* She points out that the managers at the ELICOS college at which she was working were not the agents in the field who encouraged her to pursue further education.

Her reasons for undertaking this qualification were *"because the industry is developing, and the requirements are higher now. And I thought, well if I just stay with what I have I won't be as employable ... [I] thought it would be beneficial for me to have Master's degree. That's why I did it."* However, through undertaking the course, Agnes says:

*I could see that there are lots of other benefits so I ... have learned new things and I've just confirmed the existing knowledge. It was very interesting at some point when I was studying something I was thinking 'I actually ... do that in class but I never knew what the terminology for that was'. And it was really good to learn those things.*

Agnes explains that her previously acquired cultural capital from the Certificate IV in TESOL was in the form of the *"new modern methodologies*

*which I haven't learned in my main degree.*" In addition, Agnes elaborates on the new knowledge she has acquired from her studies in Australia. She says these courses have taught her:

*a more communicative approach ... because ... in our classical education we were more focussed on ... a teacher centred approach. In here, learning more about ... student centred ... I can see lots of benefits of communicative approach because it's pretty much the approach that we all use nowadays and even in mainstream schools it becomes more and more popular.*

Agnes also discusses the fact that her Australian and Russian education has enabled her to be more confident in the classroom. This accrued capital she has available to her allows her to act in the interests of her students, and shows that one of the stakes of the game which is valuable to her is her ability to recognise and utilise theoretical principles presented in her Australian university courses and relate them to her classroom practice for the benefit of her students. These stakes have thus far not helped her to advance her career, and thus although they are of value to her, they have not enabled her to activate capital available to her in the field. In the section titled Acquiescence, Agnes says "*nobody even looked at my [Russian] degree ... They just asked do you have Cert IV in TESOL.*" She recalls that:

*It felt strange because you think 'okay all this work was not really valued and appreciated.' But at the same time, I knew what it was worth for me personally. And I knew that walking into the classroom and teaching gave me confidence like all that knowledge gave me confidence not the completion of a couple of months of TESOL to be honest. What I've learned from Cert IV TESOL the new modern methodologies, which I haven't learned in my main degree.*

Agnes has avoided challenging hegemonic practices by not insisting on having her Russian qualifications recognised, and instead has exhibited the more collaborative strategy of activating the cultural capital that is available to her in order to obtain a higher level of capital within the broader education field. She has accrued capital in Australia which she believes is of value to her, though whether this capital can be converted to symbolic capital in the field is questionable.

### 7.2.2 Asha

Asha's demonstration of collaboration as a strategy in several significant instances was both the result of as well as resulting in Asha's cultural capital in the field. She spoke of her life-long "*passion*" to become a teacher. She explains, "*That was my passion since I was a schoolgirl. So, I achieved that back in my country.*" Asha also says that her work in the Community Languages sector and as a teacher's aide contributed to her knowledge of the Australian school system and thus enabled her to activate the cultural capital available to her; "*When I came here, I got into ... community language and then I did teacher's aide for about six months. I got to know the school system and everything.*"

As outlined in Chapter Six, at the time of the interviews Asha was still working as a teacher in the Community Languages Program. Her lengthy service as a community languages teacher is yet another significant instance of collaboration. Her willingness to almost immediately start teaching community languages might be partly attributed to a low economic capital as she and her family had just recently migrated to Australia and were starting their new life there. However, this enthusiasm to start teaching community languages can almost certainly be attributed to her desire to continue to teach and familiarise herself with the Australian education system, thus contributing to an increase in her cultural capital in the broad field of Australian education. Furthermore, the fact that she continues to teach

community languages indicates a high level of cultural capital which in the community languages site of practice has been valued and thus converted to symbolic capital. However, this recognition is confined to the community languages site of practice, and in the field as a whole it is not necessarily recognised.

Asha also talks of the qualifications she had obtained in Fiji, followed by her years of experience teaching in schools in Fiji. She says:

*we had two years in teachers' college ... we just got teacher's certificate ... We ... went for two practicums in Fiji ... two different schools. And then as soon as we came out, we were bonded with the government ... One year was on probation and then we were ... put on permanent after that depending upon our performance. I taught 14 years in total in Fiji ... in Fiji ... we have starting from year 1 to year 8 in primary school. So, I taught ... nearly all of the classes. Yes, I did.*

Asha also explains that after coming to Australia she needed to re-train in order to enter the teaching profession. She explains, “when I came, I applied for registration ... The first thing was that they wanted a degree from Australia, so I had to ... The process of application and all those the stuff [sic] it took two years.” She reiterates, “I have a passion for teaching,” and so she retrained despite great sacrifice, saying, “I was doing some casual work with the agencies working in factories, chicken factory ... with children ... with family.” As well as caring for young children and working in factories, Asha adds, “I was asked ... as soon as I came [to Australia] ... two weeks ... I started teaching at a community language school language ... I'm still with them ... I was doing that plus all that casual work I used to do ... Then I started studying my B.A.”

Despite her frustration at not becoming a permanent teacher, Asha still feels a sense of satisfaction in teaching, and continues to accrue more capital. She says, *"But that [first degree] wasn't enough because they wanted like something teaching Master's, they wanted Master's degree in teaching primary, so I did Master's also I did that as well ... I just did I thought if I want to [teach] I'll have to do it. I had my passion."*

During the interviews, Asha describes the process she had to go through to be reaccredited as a teacher. Part of that process of reaccreditation is based on evidence of ongoing teaching work. Another part of the reaccreditation process is to demonstrate evidence of ongoing professional development and training. Asha says, *"I was accredited in 2015 ... so I'm given seven years from now to maintain that...I'm studying... for the Master's now for the TESOL plus I'm doing some registered courses. We do school development courses in schools ... when I had hurdles for accreditation, I thought I'll do that ... and maybe I'll get somewhere. So, I'm nearly there."* In this way, Asha exhibits the strategy of collaboration to not merely comply with the requirements and undertake professional development training in schools. Instead, she also undertook a second Master's degree, this time in TESOL.

In another section of the interviews, Asha highlights her dedication to the teaching profession. She explains, *"I'm there [in the schools] because I want to help the students ... I change their lives. I mean something to them, and they mean something to me. If I can do something for them, even for a day."* This cultural capital in the form of her knowledge, passion and willingness to have an impact in various roles within the field result in Asha's support of the patriarchal rules and values of the field and her unwillingness to challenge hegemonic practices. The classification of collaboration over acquiescence here can be explained through Asha's more overt act of going along with the status quo.

Asha's strategy of collaboration has also resulted in her obtaining cultural capital within the casual teaching field due to her teaching in a range of diverse schools and environments. In the area of casual teaching, Asha has experience in a range of different schools, from kindergarten to year 6, and she is available at short notice. This accumulated capital is thus regarded as having high value in the realm of casual teaching. Of her role as a casual relief teacher, Asha says, *"It's good to see all different schools, different cultures, different procedures."* These comments indicate that Asha is able to accumulate capital. She continues, *"We go to different schools ... learn different ways of teaching ... pick up this, pick up that."* She explains that she is not only exposed to materials and lessons from the teachers for whom she is providing relief but that she is also introduced to the different procedures and protocols of the different schools into which she goes. She says of individual school communication modes, *"When I go to classrooms, I look around to see if there are any phones ... that in the long run helps me."* Her exposure to different systems enables her to take these new *"ways of teaching"* and add them to her repertoire. This exposure to different schools also assists her in knowing the most important elements to be aware of when going into a new classroom; for example, a telephone in case she needs to call for help or needs assistance. These practices thus contribute to her capacity to activate a high level of cultural capital in the field of casual teaching.

When asked about why she is in such demand as a casual relief teacher, Asha refers to her Australian university training, her ability to both follow the materials set for her as well as to teach students effectively, her understanding of the diverse procedures and protocols she must familiarise herself with at the different schools, and her breadth of experience and flexibility. Asha has been able to access this capital and have it recognised by the dominant players in the sites of practice to the extent that she is called on as a casual relief teacher. However, in spite of her accumulation of the

necessary capital, Asha has not been recognised in the field, and thus has not been able to obtain more permanent teaching work.

Another significant instance of collaboration identified in the interviews with Asha centres around her positioning in the Fijian community. In addition to the capital she has accumulated through her length of service as a teacher on the Community Languages Program, Asha's Fijian teaching colleagues also hold her in high regard. She says, *"they know that I'm a teacher here. I've been trained and ... they look upon me ... because people who were principals [in Fiji] came to [Australia] and they couldn't take up their education because they couldn't take the challenges here ... they haven't trained themselves to be teachers here. They have dropped. They became taxi drivers, businessmen ... They say, 'Oh you've done it, you could do you it.'"* Asha's positioning in the Fijian community indicates a high symbolic capital within the Fijian community both in Australia and in Fiji. This strategy can be classified as collaboration, as Asha is actively supporting the rules of the field by accepting the value that agents in the field assign to her. At least in this field, she demonstrates that she has advanced her career by succeeding in becoming a teacher in Australia where others who had been in higher positions such as principals in Fijian schools had failed and instead *"dropped"* to become *"taxi drivers and businessmen"*.

### 7.2.3 Joy

Joy discusses the fact that in India the teaching methods were more traditional. She says, *"It was still teaching... but a few things were a bit more different [sic]. There ... It was just through ... your knowledge because they didn't have ... the amount of money that they could spend in their schools ... they just had basics."* She also talks about elements of her Australian teaching degree, and specifically the fact that the Australian curriculum was *"a little bit different."* In addition, she says of her Australian teaching degree that *"it's good to know the processes that they have at the schools ... those things."* In

terms of the approach to teaching literacy and numeracy, Joy says that in India, *"it was all there, but they did a lot with elocution competitions, debating in literacy. Maths was as normal you taught your maths."* However, she admits that the Indian approach was *"not as much hands on."* as opposed to *"all the games and things."* which form part of students' learning in Australian schools.... Not so much of that all... the teacher focussed things. They are taught specifics, how to do these things. She recalls that in India, *"they all had a maths book and an exercise book, and they had to work out and learn. Here [in Australia] we have a lot of hands on."*

Joy's awareness of the diverse teaching styles in the two contexts in which she has taught indicate a high level of cultural capital based on her training and experiences in India and Australia. She openly follows the dominant teaching style in Australia, and as such exhibits the strategy of collaboration.

In addition, Joy's access to high cultural capital in the form of her teaching experience resulted in her immediate status as an experienced teacher in the field once she started teaching in Australian schools. She explains, *"after I did the course, they didn't treat me as... a first-year teacher out. They put me up a few steps, so I wasn't ... [a] new teacher, not at the base level."* Joy explains that this was because her experience *"was taken into account, but only after meeting their criteria ... so I did the two years full time. At City<sup>2</sup> Uni."* This statement indicates that Joy chose to go along with the status quo, despite having had to *"meet the criteria"* of having an Australian teaching qualification. This shows that initially Joy's qualifications were not recognised, yet after she had obtained the legitimate capital in the field, the experience which she gained from her illegitimate qualifications was viewed as legitimate. On this occasion, Joy demonstrated the strategy of collaboration.

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<sup>2</sup> all university names are pseudonyms

Yet another significant instance of collaboration was the result of the capital to which Joy had access, and also resulted in Joy accumulating additional capital. Immediately after she married, Joy went for an interview at the Australian embassy in India. Her husband had applied to migrate to Australia, and so the Embassy wanted to interview Joy. She recounts, *"I went to the interview and they knew I was a teacher and they just said, 'alright just bring her.' And that's how I came to Australia. <laughs> I didn't have to process. They saw my documents and they said, 'Yes.'"* She goes on to explain why the process was so straightforward, saying, *"having English and having a qualification, you must be qualified whatever you're doing you have to be licenced."* For Joy, the high capital she has access to in the form of her English language proficiency and her qualifications resulted in an uncomplicated approval process at the Federal level.

However, after Joy arrived in Australia, she says:

*I didn't straight start as a teacher; I went to [college]. I had no technology ... we never had computers in the school, no mobiles, nothing. And so, I ... joined the [college] ... course and I learnt technology. So that when I get into uni.*

In this way, Joy exhibited the strategy of collaboration. There is also an aspect of illusion in Joy's reasons for first attending college. She believes that she will be able to accrue capital to which she has not had access previously and that this capital is valuable to her. She explains that she first went to college to learn, *"just general things like ... computing ... Australian history ... to better acquaint myself."* and that she attended college *"because I had to meet some criteria to be a teacher here ... I took ... two years and even that was a process."* She goes on to explain:

*So, while I was at college doing a course I shouldn't have been doing but I did it just to gain some, meet some friends and meet*

*people and get to know things and how they operate in Australia. I was doing a basic course because I had no computer skills or technology, because we never had them in [India] ... We were just starting here in Australia. This is 30 years ago.*

The computing skills of which Joy did not have the opportunity to gain knowledge and experience in India, as well as the opportunity to network, were both areas in which Joy believed she needed to accumulate capital. However, she did not have specific plans for how this capital would be converted to symbolic capital in the field.

As part of the college course, Joy explains that *“whatever job you wanted to choose, it gave you a choice at the end of the course for a week to go if you a teacher to a school or whatever. I went to Arundel public school ... For ... work experience.”* Joy recounts this experience as a valuable one which gave her:

*a first impression. It was good because I was already doing a few tutorials. I was teaching at a business college just teaching English, ESL ... at a business college to adults ... they gave me the job because they thought I'd have experience coming from another country, India, with teaching ESL children ... they gave it to me, and it worked very well.*

Joy explains that through her college course she was able to access agents in the field who could assist her in accessing the capital available to her. She says, *“Fortunately, I went to college because nobody else could help me with what direction I could take or where I could go with my qualifications.”* She explains, *“I was ... trying to get my documents processed ... then they tell you ... where's your next step in your job ... they offered me two years full time or four years part time study to meet some Australian standards or criteria [for teaching].”* In this way, Joy overtly and actively supported the dominant rules and values of the field. Despite being a trained teacher with experience, and

despite speaking English as a first language Joy went along with the status quo and undertook two years of university study in Australia.

Another significant instance of collaboration strategy can be seen through Joy's attitudes towards languages and language practices in the Australian school system. When asked about the teaching and learning of languages other than English (LOTE) in schools, Joy replies, *"At our school we use it as RFF."* Mainstream classroom teachers in NSW are entitled to a certain number of hours per week away from face-to-face teaching. This is commonly known as Release from Face-to-Face teaching (RFF). During this time, regular classroom teachers leave their classes to prepare and complete other administrative responsibilities. Another teacher is provided for each class, and some schools offer Art, Drama, Music or Languages during this RFF time. For Joy, the LOTE learning seems almost like a way to merely fill the time during RFF so the students have something to do. She explains that *"probably [languages] will be more a high school thing where children really take up a language because they want to go... and study in a different country."* Joy's attitude towards LOTE learning in schools indicates that she is actively supporting the rules and values in the field. She compares language instruction in India with that of Australia, saying *"India had the languages they had to learn. Here it's English. So ... they just use it as rff."* Her display of this strategy around LOTE practices means she does not disrupt the hegemonic position of English language in the field.

This strategy of collaboration can also be seen when Joy is asked about her culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) students who need to be withdrawn from class for intensive English tuition. She talks about how *"too many children ... have to be withdrawn because they're below [the required English language proficiency]."* As well as the fact that *"they have to be withdrawn to bring them up quickly with their levels of English so they will cope"* and that the students *"are going to struggle because of language."*

Joy's use of lexis such as 'below', 'cope' and 'struggle' reveal her support of the dominant values of the field. She concludes by saying that the students who need to go to withdrawal classes *"don't like to go. But they have to because you've got to get better in English ... They need that skill for their further, higher education."* However, Joy's overt support of the logic of practice does not enable her to advance her own position in the field.

The final significant instance where Joy demonstrates the strategy of collaboration refers to the way in which she selected her teaching specialisations when she retrained as a teacher in Australia. She says, *"I did take a couple of subjects which would take me into the school."* She explains that at the college where she first studied after her arrival in Australia, she was able to go out and get some work experience of her choice in Australia. She says:

*being a teacher, my work experience was to go into schools, and one school I went into was a special needs [school]. And then I did a week at one of the local mainstream [schools] ... So that's how I thought when I go to uni, if I get the opportunity, I should do this because they were telling me there were a lack of teachers in ... special needs ... That's how I took up that subject.*

In this way, Joy has exhibited the strategy of collaboration to advance her career by choosing a specialisation which was in demand. In addition to teaching Special Needs students, Joy says, *"I took ESL as well because I thought with the migrant intake and... having a background of ... other languages might help ... I chose that because at that point there was a lot of work with ESL."* Joy continues, explaining:

*I haven't had this training even though I came from another country.... I thought [ESL] would be good because I've had that prior experience in India. Every child was ESL and I could teach*

*them and relate to them and help them with their learning and slow the whole process of learning down until they get it. So, it helped me a lot because I it was my background, so it is nice sometimes to do subjects that are also familiar.*

Joy explains her approach of selecting a specialisation which she believed was in demand and another in which she believed she already had experience. In this way, she demonstrates the strategy of collaboration to advance her position in the field. In her own words, she says, *“Something to challenge, something new, and also because ... if we all try to go to mainstream, and I was a mature age student. I was wondering ... will there be a position.”*

Joy’s collaboration strategy enabled her to successfully secure a permanent position immediately upon graduating from university. She says, *“when I did ... special needs ... I didn't have to wait long. Actually, the school that I was working casual in ... and I did a prac there, they just gave me a job straight away. It was permanent. And the department had given me a job too. It was in Arundel Heights straightaway. So, it was ... because of these added skills which nobody else was taking on. The challenging children. And I took them on.”* The utilisation of collaboration ensures that Joy did not need to challenge the status quo, and her own recount of the approach she took reflects a type of reciprocal exchange.

#### **7.2.4 Sada**

Sada appeared to exhibit collaboration as her main strategy. There were significant instances where collaboration was utilised as a result of her high cultural, economic or social capital, as well as a few significant instances where collaboration was the strategy displayed due to a lower level, or perceived lower level, of cultural capital to which Sada had access.

The first instance of the way in which low cultural capital led Sada to exhibit the strategy of collaboration was when Sada first came to Australia. As seen in

Chapter Six, Sada arrived in Australia six months after starting her undergraduate degree in English literature in Beirut. She first studied English for one year before studying at high school level and completing her high school leaving exams in Australia. She says, *“first year I did English my God! because even if I knew some English but we don't use it on a daily basis ... I had to do English for one year ... after that I did my HSC at the college as a mature age [student].”* In this way, Sada was able to advance her career by supporting and going along with the rules of the game, even though she had completed high school and one semester of university in Lebanon before migrating to Australia. She used neither of these accomplishments towards her studies in Australia.

Sada then recounts that when she undertook her Australian university teaching degree, she had to work harder and for longer than other students as she describes herself as ‘disadvantaged’ due to English not being her first language. She says:

*I struggled a lot [with] ... my English as a second language ... I was really unique and lost most of the time trying to cope but ... I always studied hard ... always translating. And ... it takes me longer ... the assignments, the exams, study, put more effort ... I'm disadvantaged but I made it and really, I got good marks ... no fail at all ... and I finished my degree.*

Again, this is an example of how Sada has displayed the strategy of collaboration to increase the value of her cultural capital in the field. By collaborating and actively supporting the rules of the game, she was able to advance her career and therefore activate the capital available to her.

Aside from these two significant instances of low cultural capital being used to initiate collaborative strategies, Sada also used aspects of her high cultural capital to adopt similar collaborative strategies. After completing her first

degree, Sada went on to undertake a second degree at a different university in Australia. She says:

*I didn't really start teaching ... and I thought, 'oh look my Arabic is very good. I don't want to lose it. What about if I go back and I'll do something to do with Arabic?' And I went back. I did English literature major in Arabic ... Another degree altogether ... it was only two years.*

Sada was able to gain advanced standing for her second degree on the strength of the completion of her first degree, and therefore this second degree took only two years to complete full time. Sada explains that the reason for taking this second degree was that she did not “*want to lose*” her Arabic. She realised that for her, the capital she had accrued through her knowledge of her first language was valuable to her, and thus she activated that capital available to her in order to undertake a degree in Arabic literature. She says, “*Well because I didn't want to lose my language I thought and plus its only two years because I've got exemptions one year because I had a degree. and as both to strengthen... my language... my education.*”

There is an element of *illusio* involved in this collaboration strategy, as Sada identifies not losing her language as one of the reasons for undertaking this second degree. She is acting in her own interest as she identifies the stake of retaining her first language as valuable to her. However, she also identifies that strengthening her linguistic capital will also strengthen her education, and thus this instance of collaborative strategy bridges collaboration for the stake of advancing her agency in the field as well as the stake of personal self-interest, or *illusio*.

Sada studied English for one year upon arrival in Australia before going on to complete her high school matriculation exams and then two undergraduate degrees. During that time, she also had two children. This might indicate that

Sada was able to activate a high level of both economic and social capital in order to access additional cultural capital in the field. Sada describes having her children while she was studying, and how her husband's family was able to look after the children while she studied, before she put the eldest into childcare. She explains:

*I got into teaching. I did my first year ... at ... University ... while I was pregnant with my first baby ... I took a year off and then went back to finish my second and third years ... my second degree was my second [baby] ... I used to leave him with my mother-in-law ... When he was three years old, I put him in a childcare and continued my studies.*

Another significant instance where Sada demonstrates collaboration as a strategy is an instance mentioned in Chapter Six. Sada talks about how language was initially a barrier for her and caused her to become quite apprehensive about her teaching. She says, *"I'm a mainstream I'm not Arabic teacher to start with."* As a mainstream teacher she felt she needed to be ready for any contingencies. She explains, *"I can't just walk into the class ... I need more time to prepare."* However, in the last six years she has moved from being a mainstream classroom teacher to an Arabic language teacher. Although she feels more confident in preparing her lessons due to her greater confidence in Arabic, she feels that her language proficiency needs to be at a high level in both Arabic and English.

Sada also has access to high social and cultural capital within the sites of practice in which she is employed. She talks about her awareness of the need to be flexible. She describes herself as *"not ... really very strict. I'm flexible."* When asked about her interactions with her teacher colleagues, she explains, *"I'm part of the teaching team. I used to go to dinner. I'm not ... really ... isolated myself. No I always go ... you know how they have the Christmas dinner at the end I usually go with them."* She is aware of the need to make

the teachers around her feel relaxed. She says, *“of course they’ll be more relaxed ... to deal with you to ... to give and take. It’s different when you ... OK I’m doing my job, and that’s it. No, I don’t like that. I’ve always been in the staff room talking with everyone.”* This high social and cultural capital allows Sada to exhibit the strategy of collaboration when navigating the sites of practice, and to thus maintain or even advance her position in the field.

The significant instances of collaboration strategy presented here reflect the value that the IEs themselves place on their own capital, as well as the legitimacy of that capital from the perspective of the logic of practice of the field. The experiences recounted by the IEs which form part of these collaborative strategies also reveal the complexities of the field as a whole with its numerous sites of practice. This complexity can be seen clearly in Asha’s positioning in the field. As a casual relief teacher, she is in high demand due to her experience as a casual relief teacher. However, the capital she has accrued through that experience is not valued sufficiently highly to enable her to seek and attain a position as a permanent teacher with her own mainstream class in one school. Thus, within the various sites of practice within the field her capital is valued differently.

Upon first arriving in Australia all the IEs collaborated in order to accrue the legitimate capital required to enter the field. Some of the IEs then used collaboration to accrue even more capital in the form of further qualifications and professional training. The qualifications (or part-qualifications in Sada’s case) the IEs had obtained overseas were not used by the IEs in the Australian field, and thus the capital the IEs had accrued through obtaining those overseas qualifications was not legitimated. However, the IEs used their overseas experiences and habitus in their own classrooms, thus demonstrating an element of *illusio* in their navigation of the field.

The strategy of collaboration enabled the IEs to enter the field, as well as slightly advance their positions in the field. Agnes was able to attain her NESA

registration in order to teach in NSW schools. Asha was able to enter the field and continue to work as a schoolteacher in NSW schools. Joy was able to obtain a permanent teaching position as soon as she completed her Australian teaching qualifications due to her selection of ESL and Special Needs teaching specialisations as part of her Australian teaching degree. Sada was able to complete two undergraduate degrees in Australia and move from being a mainstream teacher to an Arabic language teacher in NSW schools.

### **7.3 Defiance**

As a strategy, defiance is demonstrated by agents when they overtly go against what they perceive as problematic elements of the hegemonic practices of the field with the ultimate aim of advancing their positions in the field. When analysing the interview data, both Agnes and Asha spoke of significant instances of defiance they both used because otherwise they would have been denied access to the field and would not have been able to further pursue their careers as teachers in the Australian education system. In this way, both were forced to exhibit the defiance strategy as a means of advancing their entry to and positions in the field.

#### **7.3.1 Agnes**

Agnes recounts several significant instances of defiance strategies in her navigation of the fields of ELICOS and public education, as well as within the Australian higher education system.

When asked about whether Agnes activated the capital which her Russian qualifications had made available to her when she decided to apply to study a Master's in Education, Agnes instead focuses her answer on the requirement that she sit the English language proficiency test, IELTS, for entry into her Master's degree. She explains, *"that was something ... that was an interesting experience ... They told me I have to do IELTS ... That was painful experience."* Agnes recounts that she rejected this requirement due to her working as a

TESOL teacher for the same university at which she applied to do her Master's degree. She says, *"That was just really something. Just to explain to them, 'Look I'm an English teacher too ... a teacher at ... this university now. Right now, I teach students.'* This indicates that Agnes is able to access a high level of symbolic capital in order to challenge the hegemonic practices and doxa of the field. Further to this act of defiance, Agnes also displays this strategy of defiance when she is told that she is not able to activate the capital which she has gained from her experience of teaching in Australia as a TESOL teacher towards her application for her Master's degree. She says, *"they did make my life difficult but, in the end, I managed to prove and give them enough evidence."* She was told by the university that her teaching experience would not be taken into consideration in her application. Agnes describes it as *"interesting"* that:

*there was a gap in my teaching because when I when I applied I only taught for about maybe under a year and before that I was on maternity leave for a year and they said 'you need to have at least two years' experience' and ... so at first the argument was that I need to prove [to] them ... that I taught enough and then they said 'okay well you have been teaching' ... and then ... 'oooh there is a gap here.'* And I said, *'Well, I was on maternity leave'.* And after that my argument was basically *'well, do you think that if people were out of the industry for like a year due to life circumstances like pregnancy or there is any trauma that might happen in people's life and all that years of experience is not considered?'* And then they [were] like, *'Okay we need to reconsider the situation and we'll call you back'.* And after that, *finally they accepted everything and approved my application.*

Agnes was asked in the interviews about her response and sense of the rejection of her initial claim for recognition of her teaching experience. She explains:

*that actually made me feel ... not angry but actually I was more upset not just about me but ... about other people. Okay, fair enough, it happened to me but there are many other people who go through the same situation and they're being treated unfairly.*

Agnes explains in detail the conversation she had with one University staff member when negotiating her recognition of teaching experience. She explains:

*I was on the phone with one lady ... she was probably the first person who was listening to me and hearing what I was saying, and I said, 'look, you hear me ... you hear that I can talk to you. You know that I'm teaching. You ... see all this evidence.' And she said, 'you know what, I completely agree with you. And we actually have professors coming from other countries, people with experience and just purely because they were born in another country, they have to do it and why?' ... I ... got to the point where I really wanted to... officially ... write a letter and just say, 'look this was my case but what if there are other people who are going through the same thing? Don't you want to help them?' ... you can't just divide people into left and right, black and white. There has to be an individual approach, and I actually worked... as a student advisor... I was dealing with cases like that ... where students were ... say[ing] look I can't do this and this and I couldn't just say 'okay' or 'sorry' ... our policy says a, b and c. You have to have a different approach. You can't just*

*simply say 'no' or 'yes' to something. So ... I said, 'look you have to ... change it. It doesn't work like that.'*

I then asked Agnes if she thought they had changed the way in which they dealt with cases similar to hers, and she replied, *"I don't think so. It's such a large organization and ... one person can't just go against."* Agnes' description here of the strategies she demonstrated when she had to deal with the doxa of the field shows that she openly and overtly refused to go along with the hegemonic practices and instead openly challenged them. She activates the cultural capital she has available to her as a former student advisor to state that the rules of the game need to be navigated on an individual case by case basis, and not applied across the board. However, although she has challenged the rules for her own case, she does not make a more official complaint, saying that as an individual she would not be able to go up against a large organisation. She has challenged the rules which were problematic for herself but has not challenged the existing order. Thus, she has been able to exhibit the strategy of defiance to further her own career solely.

Another significant instance of Agnes' display of defiance as a strategy can be seen in her rejection of what she calls the 'dogma' of the 'English-only' approach in EALD classes based on her own experiences of learning English. She activates the high level of cultural capital she has available to her through her experience as an English language learner in order to demonstrate this strategy of defiance. Agnes spoke of how she had learnt about the communicative approach through her studies in Australia. She refers to both the *"classical education"* she had in Russia and the communicative approach she was taught in Australia as *"both dogma."* She explains what she means by this:

*Over the years as I developed my knowledge and experience, I felt that I could use both because in some ways I felt a little bit brainwashed at the beginning. After Cert IV in TESOL it's like,*

*'okay that's the best. That's the one I should use.' And I was very much into that kind of approach it's like, you don't know any other language in the classroom just English, and then over the years I could see that 'oh wait a minute.' English-only policy was absolutely everywhere. And then ... after the years I was like 'okay wait a minute but how did I learn English? There was no way I would understand everything. It was all in English.' ... If you know nothing ... what will you understand?' And [I began] thinking about it and thinking about my students the same way ... So, it changed a lot. My practice changed a lot.*

Agnes describes how through reflection on her own experiences she realised that the “*brainwashing*” that she had undergone to believe the “*dogma*” of the English-only approach was not practical and was not how she, and therefore many English language learners, had learnt English. She thus describes how her “*practice changed a lot*” as she began to refuse to go along with the patriarchal practices concerning the use of L1 in English language teaching. Through her habitus, she was able to defy the practices she had been taught in her Certificate IV in TESOL course and begin to understand how she could use her students’ first languages as a resource in her English language lessons.

### 7.3.2 Asha

During the interviews Asha recounts an experience which could be described as pivotal. She explains that she had been working regularly as a casual relief teacher in a range of different schools over a five-year period from 2009 to 2013. At times, she would work single days to cover teachers who were sick. At other times, she was called in to cover ‘blocks’ of teaching for anywhere between several weeks to a whole term. This usually happens when a permanent teacher is on leave. She says:

*I did ... lots of casual [work] ... I got blocks ... in different schools ... that was good. And then, we had to go for accreditation with the BOSTES [Board of Studies, Teaching & Educational Standards]. I was in the school and I used to ... be called ... every day [by] the principal 'come you've got this class, you've got this block.' But then when the time came for accreditation there was a glitch. They didn't want to do it for me.*

Being a casual teacher, Asha had kept records of the days and schools in which she had worked. She knew she would need this information in order to gain her accreditation. Without it, she would not be able to continue to teach in NSW public schools. She had requested that the principal at whose school she had worked 300 days in the given period sign her documents as proof of her ongoing teaching. Without this principal's signature, it would have been unlikely that Asha would gain the accreditation she needed to continue to work as a casual teacher. Unfortunately, the principal had refused to sign. In the interviews Asha was asked why. She replied:

*I don't know because I was doing everything right but then I wrote to BOSTES. I said this has been happening and ... the principal is refusing to sign ... But then they looked at the days I did at the different schools because I had the record and everything ... I collected information, evidence and everything, and then ... I sent it to them which schools, how many days [I] did. So ... they'd replied, 'I'm emailing this to that school. They have to sign for you because you did so many hours and so many days. You did over 300 days in that particular school.' ... [The school] had to do it.*

She thus exhibited the strategy of defiance by contacting BOSTES to have this principal sign the necessary documents. Asha states “*I was doing everything right*”, which indicates a sense of justification. This aspect of the game had

become problematic for Asha, and so in this instance, she overtly refused to go along with the hegemonic patriarchy.

In a subsequent conversation, I recorded in my field notes that Asha had admitted that she was never asked to return to teach in that school again. Thus, although her strategy of defiance allowed her to continue to work in the field as a casual teacher, it also meant that in that particular school any symbolic capital which she might have been able to activate through her work at this particular site of practice was immediately devalued by the agents at that site of practice.

Clear and significant strategies of defiance have been outlined in this section through the experiences recounted by Asha and Agnes. In situations where the IEs had no other options available to them, and the risk to their maintaining their positions in the field was so great, the IEs had no other option but to defy the rules of the game.

For Agnes, her chance of entry into a Master of Education course was threatened. This jeopardised her entry to the field. If Agnes had not used defiance to question the rules around her entry to that course, at best her entry to the field might have been delayed, and at worst it could have been denied her.

Asha was placed in a similar situation. If she had not exhibited the strategy of defiance, she risked her capacity to maintain her position in the field. Asha contacted the accreditation body BOSTES directly, and as such defied the actions of the principal; an agent who held a dominant position over Asha in the field. By defying the rules and contacting the governing body, which held the most dominant position in this situation, Asha was denied entry to that particular school where the principal worked. However, by demonstrating the strategy of defiance Asha could maintain her position as an accredited teacher in the field.

This greater risk of total exclusion thus provided the impetus for both Agnes and Asha to exhibit the strategy of defiance. They were able to remain as players in the field. However, demonstrating this overt strategy did not enable them to advance in their positions in the field.

## **7.4 Acquiescence**

Through their display of the strategy of acquiescence, the IEs were able to adapt to situations they were faced with in order to maintain their positions in the field. Agnes and Asha both spoke of significant instances where they had demonstrated the strategy of acquiescence in their navigation of the field. For both IEs this strategy was displayed in order to maintain their positions in the field. Agnes felt that the capital to which she had access was low, and thus undertook further studies in Australia. She did not access the capital she had accumulated through her Russian qualifications to advance her position. On the other hand, Asha has access to capital through her experience as a casual relief teacher in schools. Her positioning as a casual relief teacher in the field causes her to exhibit the strategy of acquiescence, and in doing so she is able to maintain her position as a casual relief teacher, but she does not advance her standing in the field to seek a more permanent teaching position.

### **7.4.1 Agnes**

Agnes displays the strategy of acquiescence in order to adapt to the field of education in Australia. Despite having the cultural capital through her Russian teaching qualifications, upon her arrival in Australia in order to be recognised as a teacher of English, she avoided challenging the hegemonic practices to attempt to gain recognition of those qualifications, instead she explains, *“my first job was actually here in Australia, as an ESL teacher ... when I moved here I completed Cert IV in TESOL ... it was one of the requirements in order to teach English.”* Her negotiation of the field in order to obtain the necessary qualifications also indicates that she was able to activate a high level of

cultural capital in order to act quickly and expediently in order to start working in the ELICOS field as soon as possible. When asked whether her five years of university study in Russia was not sufficient, Agnes replies, *“No. In fact nobody even looked at my degree ... They just asked do you have Cert IV in TESOL and that's it ... and I was like, ‘Oh yeah I do.’ So, [I] walked into a classroom.”*

Once Agnes arrived in Australia, she discovered that one of the main requirements to teach English in private ELICOS colleges was the Certificate IV in TESOL qualification. Agnes did not challenge the hegemony and enquire as to whether her five-year full-time Russian university qualification would be recognised. She also did not apply for recognition of prior learning for certain modules in the Certificate IV in TESOL on the basis of her Russian teaching qualifications. Instead, she simply acquiesced, completed the Certificate IV in TESOL and did not show her previous Russian qualifications at any stage.

The data from interviews with Agnes revealed that she had exhibited acquiescence as a strategy due to her low assessment of her own cultural capital within the field of education in Australia. Rather than activate the cultural capital which was available to her in the form of her overseas qualifications she undertook a much shorter, Australian based qualification which she found to hold much more value in the field than her extensive five years of university study in Russia. It could also be claimed that this shorter qualification held more value to her due to the expediency it afforded her in obtaining the qualifications she needed to activate her capital in this field and in a short time convert that symbolic capital to economic capital in the form of working as a teacher in the ELICOS industry.

In fact, Agnes saw her overseas qualification as holding such little value in the Australian education field that when she applied to do further university study (a Master of Teaching degree), and subsequently to obtain her teacher accreditation through NESA, she did not use those overseas qualifications as

evidence towards her accessing either. She explains, “Do you mean if I got any credit? I didn't even apply ... Because I've heard so many stories where people wouldn't get a credit ... I thought I'll just do everything, and I get my Master's at the end.”

In this way, Agnes decided that as her end goal was to have the Master's degree, the easiest way was just to do everything required in that Master's degree. So low was the value Agnes believed would be afforded to her Russian qualification that she did not even attempt to utilise that qualification as a way of activating the capital she required to apply for her Australian Master's degree.

Furthermore, she was able to utilise her Certificate IV in TESOL qualification as well as her experience as an ELICOS teacher in Australia, as opposed to her Russian qualifications and practical classroom experience in Russia, in order to not have to do the Practicum subjects as part of her Master's degree. She recounts:

*Even when I was doing my Master's at some stage last year, I've been actually asking that question many times if I need to do practicum. And oh my ...! I've heard so many different opinions about it. And still it was to the point ... I don't know if I need to do practicum or not because some of them say you need to do because it's a part of your degree. But then it says if you already have a qualification in TESOL and you're a teacher don't need to do it and I'm like, 'I have Cert IV TESOL would that be okay?' 'Yes, okay.' It was just ... a bit of back and forth.*

Agnes used her Certificate IV in TESOL qualifications to obtain an exemption from the practicum subject as opposed to her Russian Teaching Diploma qualifications and experience. This is another instance of where Agnes has demonstrated the strategy of acquiescence as a result of the low cultural

capital she believes that her overseas qualifications would be afforded by Australian higher education. Instead, she has used her Australian Certificate IV in TESOL in order to adapt to the field and utilise her agency as an English language teacher in Australia.

In addition, Agnes recounts that she has not shown her Russian qualification when she has approached public schools for work. She says:

*I haven't really shown that to any of the schools because I kind of assume that because I've gone through NESA and department and they received all this paperwork ... technically they need to be aware of ... that's why when going to all the school interviews my assumption is that OK if I have this number it already means that everything has already been checked. That's my assumption because they say okay well now technically you are an employee of the Department of Education. So, all you need to do is just go to schools and apply. That's what I've been told.*

She adds that in the future she will just show her Australian Master of Teaching qualification when she eventually completes it. She explains, "I'm now hoping that I'm now two subjects away from finishing with my Master's and I can just show my Masters. So, I've got Master of Education in TESOL and that's acceptable." When speaking about the value of her Certificate IV in TESOL in enabling her to avoid re-doing her Practicum subjects, she says, "It has relevance to private sector. But when I went to my first interview school and I told them that I have Cert IV in TESOL and showed them ... she looked at it and said, 'What is it?' So, it seems like schools are not familiar with that." Again, the hegemony in and doxa of the field had led Agnes to believe that obtaining an Australian teaching qualification would be the simplest and most expedient way to activate the capital available to her in order to convert that capital to economic capital through teaching in the public school system. She

does not seem to see any value in holding two teaching qualifications, due to one of those being an overseas qualification.

Further to this, Agnes also expresses doubts about her ability to convert the cultural capital she will gain through her obtaining her Master's degree into economic capital. She says, *"I've got Master of Education in TESOL and that's acceptable. Although technically, younger students who've just completed their Bachelor's degree in Education have more chances to start a job at a school than me."* These doubts stem from the fact that as an agent in the field Agnes identifies as non-Australian. She continues, *"Because <SIGHING> because they're Australian.... Because.... You know, they, they belong here ... It's interesting. But I, I, it feels that way. It feels that way [that younger students with no experience have more chances to start a teaching job]."*

Agnes is asked whether this is her personal impression or if she thinks others feel the same way. She replies:

*It's my impression. But also... I've done a few courses with some teachers ... and just having conversation and hearing ... how easily people can walk into a job just after completing their degree. And to me just feels like I am just starting like I am as if like them we just completed my degree and starting and it's all new. So it seems like all my experience is not really being considered.*

If it had not been for these comments from Agnes, the strategies she has demonstrated here might be categorised as collaborative. Instead, Agnes expresses a realisation that she is adapting to this new field rather than using a postgraduate qualification to advance her status in the field. Her feeling that none of her experience is considered adds to the sense that the strategy she exhibits here is acquiescence rather than collaborative; she realises her experience is not recognised by the players in the field and accepts this rather

than displaying defiance as a strategy to challenge this hegemony. She expresses the feeling that she is just starting, and that act of expressing this feeling also leads to the categorisation of this strategy as acquiescence rather than collaboration; she is not overtly and actively supporting the patriarchal rules and values. She says:

*It is what it is and I'm just going to keep trying. And I know that once I walk into a job and once I start implementing my practices I know it will be considered. Because I know that I know my stuff. It's just going to take some time ... I'm just going to get exactly right. It's going to get my foot in the door I'm just going to step into it.*

In this way, she expresses a sort of resigned disappointment mixed with a hope that she will eventually be able to activate the cultural capital at her disposal.

Agnes' decision to acquiesce, undertake a Certificate IV TESOL, and subsequently undertake a part-time teaching qualification in Australia while working and as mother to two young children also stems from a low to mid-level economic capital she has access to in the field. Upon her arrival in Australia, she undertook the most expedient route to allow her to begin to activate her cultural capital and gain work in the field of ELICOS. She was subsequently able to begin her university studies in Australia through the economic capital she had access to in order to continue to activate the cultural capital of which she had access in the broader field of Australian education.

Agnes also comments that she could have obtained NESA accreditation, which signifies approval to teach in the public school system, when she first came to Australia. She explains, *"Well in fact when I was going through this accreditation last year, I thought technically I could have done that back then*

*because I had everything ... because all they needed is my degree ... and my TESOL and I had it."* However, she goes on to say that she did not do so as she had been able to activate the capital available to her through her completion of the Certificate IV in TESOL in order to attain a higher level of economic capital in the field. Due to the fact that Agnes migrated to Australia on a spouse visa, she did not need to show evidence of qualifications at a Federal level as part of her application. She explains that when she went through the NESA accreditation process, *"they didn't ask me for anything extra. Maybe the fact that I'm doing a Master's now. Because they do ask for any local qualification like post-grad qualifications, but back then my Master's was still not completed, I was in the middle of it so but maybe because I'm doing it, maybe. And because I have experience maybe it made any difference. Don't know ... But at that time, I had a job. Everything was working fine for me, and I wasn't really thinking about changing."* It should be noted that Agnes' comments also suggest a lack of transparency from her perspective on the process of obtaining NESA accreditation.

Agnes now has her NESA accreditation to teach in the public school system and at the time of the interviews was completing the final semester of her Master of Education. However, despite having all the approvals required to start teaching, she had not yet been able to secure a teaching position in the public system. She describes how she had planned to start a new career in the public system, but that she would need to consider taking any work which was offered to her. She explains, *"It's more ... frustrating because it takes time and because I don't know whether I'm just going to keep waiting and waiting and waiting or I'm going to take another job opportunity if it comes up."* This indicates a low level of economic capital which may cause her to demonstrate the strategy of acquiescence in order to preserve her current standing as a teacher; any type of teacher. She continues, *"I can just keep applying for a job within the ESL industry and if I get something just take it. But at the same time, I don't know ... if I want to ... My plan was ... just, that's what I'm*

*stopping. I'm starting my new career in a way. But I can't just keep waiting and sitting without any work."* In this case, it could be said that Agnes may be forced into adapting to the situation rather than being able to use the capital she has available to her to enhance her value in the field.

The final significant instance of acquiescence can be found in Agnes' recount of her move away from teaching into educational administration. She explains, *"from 2007 since 2011 I worked at a few different colleges, a few different schools."* She says that the main reason for working at a number of schools is because *"it's not a stable industry as you know, you just, just go from college to college wherever you can get jobs."* However, Agnes sees the benefits in working at a range of English language colleges, explaining, *"in a way it allowed me to experience different levels different ages you know meet many different other teachers share expertise and methodologies and stuff. So that was. That was super beneficial for me gave me confidence."* Agnes goes on to explain:

*after 2011 I decided to step away from teaching ... because I felt ... that I got everything I wanted from ESL. And as a teacher I felt like I ... tried everything in this industry. I wanted to see how it works inside, how it's all set up. And I got a different job as a student adviser at an online education company 'cos I wanted to really see ... where does it all come from, and I wanted to get my experience in other areas. That was interesting as well.*

Although Agnes explains that this move was the result of a desire to experience another facet of the ELICOS industry and to gain experience in another area of the industry, she also talks about the fact that her work as a teacher did not constitute stable employment. Agnes concludes:

*But then in 2016 I went back to teaching because I realized okay enough of admin work. I've seen everything at that stage and*

*then I went back and started teaching again. So, these last two years I've been with [the] uni and I've been teaching academic English so and that again opened more new doors and more new interesting tricks about English teaching and that's when I started my Master's degree, and again I've learned.*

Despite the strategy outlined here enabling Agnes to learn more about the ELICOS industry, it has been classified as acquiescence rather than collaboration since these strategies have enabled Agnes to adapt to the field rather than advance her career. In addition, Agnes' focus is on the confidence from moving around between different facets of the industry, schools, levels, ages, and course foci. In this respect, it can be said that Agnes' actions can also be analysed through Bourdieu's notion of *illusio*. Agnes has resolved these experiences and acts to be in her own interests. The stakes of her personal development and learning for her work as a teacher are valuable to her alone. However, they do not contribute to the capital that she is able to activate in the field.

#### 7.4.2 Asha

Asha's use of acquiescence was both the effect of, and caused by, her high social capital within the casual teaching field. She explains, *"I'm doing TESOL. What I'm studying in TESOL I use with my ESL students because I'm used to just lending support for the students ... so withdrawal groups. Kindergarten ... I had year three [to] six ... plus I go to classes ... I'm doing... all key learning areas."* Asha also cites her broad experience, *"I'm... trained ... so they... call me in the morning, in the afternoon, whenever they[ve] got time ... 'Can you go to this school?'"* Through her access to these two forms of capital, Asha negotiates the field in order to be employed almost full time as a casual teacher. She recounts, *"I would just take it [the casual work] because I was passionate to teach so I would be ready all the time to be on the move ... I mean I am so flexible"*. This also indicates that in the area of relief teaching

Asha has utilised her capital in that realm through the networks she has formed from individual schools, teachers and assistant principals, and by using casual teacher agencies. Through her work as a casual teacher, she has been able to transfer her social capital to symbolic capital in that field, as these agents in the diverse sites at which Asha teaches value the work that Asha performs as a casual teacher and she continues to be in demand in that role.

This high symbolic capital in her position as a casual relief teacher for the past 14 years has allowed Asha to exhibit the strategy of acquiescence, and thus to avoid challenging the hegemonic practices in the field. Asha has used her agency as a casual teacher to adapt to the conditions of the field and maintain her position as a teacher in the field to the point where she continues to be employed casually, but not to the point where she has been able to secure a permanent teaching role. Asha explains, *“some schools you go, the teachers said, ‘oh that’s a casual teacher.’ They wouldn’t talk to you ... you’ll feel neglected.”* Further, Asha’s comment here demonstrates that she feels dominated by other agents at the various sites of practice. As a casual teacher in the subsection of the field, namely, casual teaching, she has been able to activate the high symbolic capital that is available to her. However, as a casual teacher in the field of education, her symbolic capital drops to a lower level.

Another significant instance of acquiescence can be seen in Asha’s response to the question of why she thinks she has not become a permanent teacher. She believes, *“who you know is what they apply [the way they decide] now. What can we do? It’s not in our hands.”* In fact, in informal follow-up conversations which were recorded in my field notes, Asha admits that she has not applied for permanent teacher jobs, such is the level of acquiescence regarding her inability to obtain high symbolic capital as a teacher in the field of power.

These experiences recounted by the IEs are significant examples of acquiescence. The IEs adapted to situations and challenges in the field in

order to maintain their positioning in the field. Rather than Agnes insisting on recognition of her overseas qualifications, or Asha moving on to apply for more permanent teaching positions, they both chose not to overtly challenge the dominant practices of the field, but to go along with the hegemony and adapt to preserve their current status.

An initial analysis might resolve that these experiences could resemble collaboration. However, the IEs communicated in their recounting of their experiences a sense that the capital which they had accumulated was not valued in the field. This delegitimation of their capital meant that the IEs needed to adapt to overcome the challenges they faced. Also, with collaboration, the IEs were able to advance their positions in the field, if only slightly. In these instances of acquiescence, the IEs are able to maintain their current positioning in the field.

## **7.5 Subversion**

The IEs demonstrated subversion strategies to disrupt the rules. Subversion was used by the IEs when they used some rules of the game to fight or undermine other rules. Agnes, access and Sada all spoke of clear instances of subversion during their interviews. All three utilise their high linguistic capital and habitus to practise subversive strategies in their navigation of the field. The language and cultural knowledge which Asha and Sada share with their students, along with Agnes' capacity to relate to her students as speakers of English as an additional language enables all three IEs to utilise subversion.

### ***7.5.1 Agnes***

The data from interviews with Agnes demonstrated significant instances of subversion as a strategy. These instances were recounted when Agnes spoke of her identity and agency in the field in Australia. In the first significant instance described by Agnes, she uses her status as an English language learner to activate the cultural and social capital that is available to her. In this

way, she challenges the English hegemonic practices of the TESOL field by using the rules around getting to know her students and creating a positive classroom atmosphere in order to challenge notions of native English speaker superiority which may be prevalent in her student cohorts. In the Defiance section above (Section 7.3), Agnes exhibits the strategy of defiance to go against what she terms the dogma of the English-only approach, and this section presents an example of how she extends on this theme and uses the rules to subvert other rules in the game.

Agnes describes the certificate in TESOL training she received as following “*the dogma ... [of] English only.*” She recalls that when she began working as an ELICOS teacher “*English only policy was absolutely everywhere.*” She says that after a few years she began to reflect on this policy, asking herself, “*how did I learn English?*” She recognises that “*there was no way I would understand everything. It was all in English.*” In this way, she says, “*my practice changed a lot.*” Agnes describes the ways in which she encourages her students to use their first languages in her classroom. She says, “*sometimes we do that ... just for fun and just to ... really warm them up ...*” She recounts the type of conversation she has with her students around language use, “[I] say, ‘look I have no idea how to say this and this ... Yes, I speak English, but you know I don’t speak your language.’” In this way, she displays the strategy of subversion to break away from the English-only dogma which her students may have become more used to. She also uses subversion when she reveals to her students that she too learnt English as an additional language, explaining, “*When I tell them that I studied English as a second language they are like ‘What!!!?’ [and I reply] ‘Yes! So, I know that’s where you come from. I know!’*” In this way she is using subversion to break away from the idea that teachers of English as an additional language should be a ‘native’ English speaker. She uses this shared experience and knowledge in order to foster a positive rapport in her classes, and thus she is using the rules around positive class rapport to break other rules. She explains, “*that actually warms them up and*

*they're like 'oh really? ... You understand what we're going through?' And that helps them as well ... and they understand that ... you were also a student."*

Agnes also demonstrates the strategy of subversion when she talks about the knowledge which she needed to acquire when she first arrived in Australia in order to gain employment. Agnes speaks Russian, German and English. As discussed in Chapter Five, when asked about whether she has utilised her German language skills in Australia, she says, *"I wasn't really chasing that opportunity ... I was chasing the opportunity to be among English speaking people because I knew that I need to be fluent very quickly. I am a teacher and I want to work here."* This indicates that she had a clear purpose and understanding of the capital she had to acquire or activate in the field of power in order to be able to convert the symbolic capital available to her into economic capital. In this way, she uses the rules about what she thought was required to fight other rules concerning her status as a new arrival to Australia. She says, *"That's why for me the first priority was to as quickly as possible to pick up this culture."*

Agnes' next description of the way she felt she needed to adapt, change and demonstrate flexibility upon her arrival in Australia is almost poetic. As already presented in Chapter Five, she says *"You know I was my own maker. Kind of like a clay. I was a piece of clay. In my own hands. In the hands of this beautiful country."* Agnes describes how she realised that she had to *"become Australian very, very quickly"* in order to achieve what she wanted to achieve. By being immersed in her husband's 'Australian' family she was able to realise that she was initially different. She was thus able to analyse the ways in which she had to mould herself in order to *"be comfortable in this environment"*. She goes on to describe her initial arrival in Australia when she *"was being flexible ... just making myself into who I needed to be at that time"*, comparing that to how she describes herself now, as a global person. She describes herself as an agent who actively decides her own identity instead of passively allowing her

context to decide what her identity should be, explaining, *"I know that I can now be comfortable wherever I go. It's not the place that makes me who I am. When I decide who I want to be. It doesn't matter where I am"*. In this respect, she uses some of the rules of the game to subvert other rules in the game, and as a result, describes herself not as a Russian Australian but as a global citizen.

Further to the instance of subversion described above, Agnes also describes the shifting nature of identity, explaining *"As time goes by, I change my perspective, I change who I am."* In addition, she considers the equally changeable and fluctuating contexts in which she might find herself, saying *"Russia changes as well. Everything changes."* She reflects on when and indeed whether she might ever be able to call herself Australian, saying *"So I don't know if I ever will decide who I am and if I actually have to decide. You know. So, I think at this stage as I said I just pretty much have to be who I am. And yeah, global is probably more accurate."* This state of flux depends as much on the Australian context in which she finds herself as the Russian context she has left behind. In this respect, she questions whether she ever really needs to decide who she is, and therefore, she explains, the label of *"global citizen"* fits her most comfortably. Agnes also talks about the advantages of being able to be a truly global citizen, which through the strategy of subversion, she says she can call herself. She has played the rules of the game in order to adapt to life in Australia, and in this way, she has activated the capital available to her to be able to become internationalised, as opposed to becoming 'Australian'.

Lastly, Agnes describes how this capital she has access to can be utilised in her classrooms:

*I personally can say that I understand my students. I understand where they come from. I understand what they're experiencing, the challenges they're going through. With their language. With*

*the culture shock. With being away from families. So, all of this I can say 'Look, I've been there guys. That's why you can share with me I'm not just a teacher for you. You can actually talk to me.'*

Agnes' habitus enables her to be more easily and readily identifiable to her students, as well as to create learning experiences that more closely align with the needs of her students due to the global experiences she has had.

### 7.5.2 Asha

Asha spoke of a clear and significant instance where the strategy of subversion could be identified. As was discussed in Chapter Six, during the interviews Asha spoke of the enormous value placed on English at some of the schools in which she had worked, to the point where some teachers had banned the speaking of other languages in their classrooms. She then explained that in some instances, she greets the students in their first languages. She says, *"Sometimes they'll greet me in their own language, and I know how to reply. Oh! She knows Arabic."* Though Asha did not specifically explain whether this took place in the classes where first languages had been banned, she was still aware of the hegemony of English in the wider field of power. In this respect, the act of greeting students in their own languages can be classified as an act of subversion, where Asha knows the perhaps-unspoken rules of the game but nevertheless connects with the students through the use of their first languages. This strategy of subversion then allows Asha to use her knowledge of another language, culture and customs to activate some level of symbolic capital at the site of practice, namely the classroom group where the first language has been spoken.

### 7.5.3 Sada

Sada's interviews revealed significant instances where she describes the ways in which she utilises her cultural capital in order to subvert the rules and

advance her position in the field. Sada accesses her linguistic capital as well as her understanding of Arabic culture in order to advance her positioning in the field.

When Sada re-sat her Higher School Certificate matriculation exams (HSC) exams in Australia, she selected Arabic as one of her subjects for the exams. She says:

*I did my HSC at the college as a mature age [student] so we ... do English, maths and because my Arabic was ... really the top, it helped me in the exams ... I got 145 out of 150 in Arabic and my English and Maths was 55, 54 just I made [sic] and because my Arabic ... pulled me up I got into teaching.*

By utilising the high linguistic capital of her Arabic language proficiency in a field where English is the dominant language, she has used the rules to subvert other rules. In this way she was able to gain entry to undertake a teaching degree.

In addition to this, Sada expresses an awareness of the fluidity of her own cultural belonging. She explains:

*because I live in my country ... twenty years ... I have ... the basics there and I always can implement it in my lessons, but to tell you the truth now I'm more to this culture more than mine 'cos I lived here more than I did back there ... But... when you have the basics, you'll never forget it. You've got it.*

She is also aware that her country of origin has changed since she left, although there are some elements of her Lebanese culture which form an integral part of her habitus. She explains, *"life changes everywhere and I think there is changes ... overseas ... I hear things ... There's big changes, but ... the basics are still there ... the family values and the respect."*

This awareness of the constantly changing fields leads Sada to categorise the families of her Arabic-language students as either traditional or modern. She explains of the current school where she is teaching, *“Well most of the parents they're all brought up here.”* She then goes on to describe the Arabic families at her current school and her previous school, Treetops. She recalls:

*when I used to teach in Treetops we had ... the percentage of parents still living with their culture ... But I noticed here more parents ... We don't have ... the old generation now ... we still have some but I noticed that there is difference. I don't know if it's a mixture here ... More multicultural ... What I mean that people ... mostly young generations ... they hardly carrying any of their culture ... because they've been brought [up] here ... but at Treetops ... most parents ... they really got awareness of the culture more than here.*

Sada's awareness of these cultural nuances within the families of her students forms part of her high cultural and social capital. She is able to access this capital to display the strategy of subversion when interacting with her students' parents and caregivers. Chapter Six presented data on the ways in which Sada utilises her habitus to effectively communicate with parents and caregivers. When explaining these interactions with parents and caregivers, she says, *“I know the way they think.”* In this way, Sada is utilising her linguistic capital and her understanding of Arabic culture in order to follow the rules around parent-teacher collaboration, and thus she is subverting the rules to follow other rules.

These significant instances recounted by the IEs clearly spoke of their capacity to draw on their habituses, and specifically their capital in the form of their shared experiences as speakers of other languages, as learners and speakers of English as an additional language, and as multicultural and global citizens. This enabled them to build rapport and forge connections with their students,

and parents and carers of their students, in order to subtly subvert other rules of the game around hegemonic language practices in the field. In this way, they used some rules of the field, and as a consequence fought other rules of the field, and specifically those around the linguistic markets of the sites of practice.

## **7.6 Chapter 7 summary**

The notion of the strategy of subversion (Bourdieu's 1993b), complemented by the strategies of acquiescence, defiance and collaboration (Büyükokutan & Şaşmaz, 2018) have enabled me to analyse the experiences and attitudes recounted to me by the IEs in terms of the ways in which they have navigated the field. The habitus and capital to which the IEs have access, and the capital which they have accrued in the field, is presented in Chapters Five and Six. This chapter has built on these findings from Chapters Five and Six in order to more clearly understand the ways in which the IEs have accessed this capital in order to maintain their status or advance their positioning in the field.

The strategy most commonly exhibited by all four IEs is collaboration. In contrast, the strategies of acquiescence, defiance and subversion were not demonstrated by all IEs. This indicates that the IEs more readily follow the logic of practice of the field to advance their careers by supporting the patriarchy. In this way, the hegemonic practices of the field are not threatened.

Both Agnes and Asha recount instances where they exhibited significant strategies of defiance and acquiescence. Both Agnes and Asha use defiance when faced with situations which threaten their ability to enter the game or their capacity to maintain their positions in the field. Both IEs use acquiescence in situations where they need to preserve their status and adapt to the game being played.

Agnes, Asha and Sada all exhibit the strategy of subversion in instances recounted in their interviews. Their habitus and their cultural capital (including their linguistic capital) enables them to use rules of the game to fight other rules in the game.

Joy alone displays only the strategy of collaboration in the experiences she recounts during the interviews. As an Anglo-Indian whose first language is English, she most easily and readily accepts the status quo and supports the legitimate practices and values of the field.

Through the use of these analytical tools, I have been able to uncover details around the particular strategies the IEs demonstrated to navigate the field, and the ways in which and reasons why they either confront or avoid confronting struggles in the field. As with the findings presented in Chapter Six, the findings presented here also reveal the IEs' awareness of the symbolic violence in the field, and the ways in which dominant agents display their dominance over the other agents in the field.

Through this analysis of the strategies exhibited by the IEs, I have thus also shed light on the hegemonic practices of the field, and the ways in which the agents operating in the field navigate the field, and in doing so uphold the logic of practice and the patriarchal values of the field.

This and the previous two chapters have presented the findings around the three research focus areas which support the research question. The next chapter, the discussion chapter, will consolidate these findings, and drawing on the ontological complicity of these concepts, the linguistic markets of the sites of practice are then presented.

## Chapter 8: Discussion

### 8.1 Introduction

At the outset of this study, the focus was on the experiences of four International Educators (IEs) working in NSW public schools. The study set out initially to identify the barriers to participating in the education field which the IEs encountered, and the strengths IEs bring to their work with the diverse student population in NSW. As has been described in Chapter One, this original focus developed through the course of my study as I began to deepen my understanding of Bourdieu's concepts and the ways in which I could use Bourdieu's lens in my research. In order to understand the experiences of the IEs it was necessary to map the field and the legitimate and illegitimate practices (see Chapter Two for further information on these concepts). Since identification of the power relations is integral to a Bourdieusian analysis, I thus began to more closely investigate the power relations between the stakeholders in the field, and more specifically on Bourdieu's concept of linguistic markets (see Chapter Two for further explanation/discussion), as this concept is a powerful notion to address the ways in which power relations in the field operate. In the study, the stakeholders were identified as the IEs, the institutions of power in the field, the field itself, and languages spoken in the field. The data shed light on the linguistic markets which exist in the field, legitimate and illegitimate languages in the field, and the experiences of IEs in the field.

The mapping and study of the field were made possible through discourse analysis of a range of NSW DoE and ACARA documents. This analysis unpacked the terminology used and approaches adopted by these institutions to speak about language and languaging practices in the sites of practice. The multilayered analysis of the documents laid bare the organisation of information contained in those documents. Specifically, the analysis

uncovered how and in which sections of the documents languages and themes around languages were presented.

The interview data gave deep insight into the experiences and beliefs of the IEs as recounted in semi-structured interviews. The data collected from these interviews concentrated on how and to what extent the IEs' cultural capital is recognised and legitimated, the linguistic capital to which the IEs have access, and the IEs' linguistic and professional habituses. The interviews also revealed information on the strategies which the IEs demonstrated when navigating the field. These strategies (presented in detail in Chapter Two and used to analyse the findings in Chapter Seven) were identified as follows:

- Acquiescence: “defensive reciprocal exchange for the preservation of one’s current standing rather than for its enhancement. As a form of agency, it is thus a means to adapt rather than to rise” (Büyükokutan & Şaşmaz, 2018, p. 604).
- Defiance: “challenge notions of patriarchal bargain and social exchange, openly refusing to go along with hegemonic practices and overtly challenging them. As a form of agency... they were about advancing a career rather than adapting it to a closing opportunity structure” (Büyükokutan & Şaşmaz, 2018, pp. 606–607).
- Collaboration: “overtly and actively supporting the patriarchal rules and values of the field” (Büyükokutan & Şaşmaz, 2018, p. 602).
- Subversion: “a sense of using rules to fight other rules or of using the letter of the rules to undermine their spirit” (Bourdieu, 1993b, pp. 83–84).

From the key findings identified across the three focus area of my research, three key themes emerged:

- Institutional perspectives on language
- The position of languages in the field

- The struggles in the field

These three themes enabled me to address the research question of this study:

***What are the positionings and power relations between the structures and the international educator agents operating within the field of education in Australia, and specifically NSW?***

This discussion chapter presents each of these three themes emerging from the key findings. Each theme is introduced with a summary of the section of the conceptual framework used to analyse the associated findings. Next, those themes are explicated through an analysis of the key findings using Bourdieu's conceptual framework. Following the presentation of these themes, the chapter addresses the main research question of the study; the positioning and power relations of those in the field. The discussion chapter then presents an overview of the linguistic markets of the school and workplace of the IEs, and concludes with a summary of the findings presented.

The conceptual framework used in this research is discussed in detail in Chapter Two. However, a summary has been presented at the beginning of each theme in this chapter in order to further contextualise the discussion around the findings of the study. In Bourdieusian terms, the study investigates struggles in the field and the tensions, positionings and power relations between agents in the field. I approached the data collection and analysis with Bourdieu's key concepts of field, field of power, logic of practice, capital, habitus, doxa, illusio, strategies of the dominated, and linguistic markets at the forefront of my thinking (see Chapter Two for further explanation of these terms). This analysis using a Bourdieusian lens enables me to identify multiple layers of complexity within the data collected from what, at face value, might

have been regarded as seemingly uncomplicated and forthright experiences of the IEs.

My research constitutes an in-depth, rich study, as the use of a Bourdieusian conceptual framework has enabled me to investigate not only the experiences of the IEs as agents in the field with their own dispositions. I have also been able to analyse those IEs within their cultural and social context in their sites of practice; the schools in which they work. As Grenfell (2014) notes, the use of Bourdieu's concepts allows the researcher to embrace the complexities of the site in which the agents operate and uncover principles at work in the field. As discussed in Chapter Two and Section 8.1 above, the use of Bourdieu's concepts constitutes an investigation on multiple relational levels. The first of these is the positionings of the IEs in the field of power. The next level considers the relationship between the players, between the players and the institutions controlling the field, and between the players and the field. The third and final level examines the habitus of the players and the extent to which this habitus has changed the logic of practice in the field (Thomson, 2008, p. 75).

## **8.2 Key findings**

### ***8.2.1 Institutional perspectives on language***

The first focus area for the research centred around an investigation of the field and the logic of practice of the field. More specifically, this investigation of the logic of practice of the field concentrated on the languages deemed legitimate and illegitimate within the field, as well as the recognition of capital in the field.

This investigation of the logic of practice of the field was undertaken through data collection from two sources; documents and interviews. Publicly available documents published by the NSW DoE and ACARA were analysed. A full list of the documents analysed can be found in Appendix One.

As presented in Chapter Four, document analysis was used as one of the appropriate tools to analyse the social practices in the field (Creswell, 2003). The documents offer insights into the policies and approaches to intercultural and multilingual education in this particular field in order to ascertain the “social, political and ideological context in which the text is created and communicated” (Liddicoat, 2011, p. 199). The discourse used in these documents enabled an understanding of the NSW DoE’s construction of social practices and structures of the field. The discourse analysis undertaken on the selected documents centred on particular elements of social practices of the field; the approach towards language, language practices and multiculturalism in the field.

The perspectives on language presented by the NSW DoE and others in the documentation analysed offered a clearer understanding of the logic of practice of the field. The logic of practice is presented in Chapter Two as one element of the conceptual framework of my study, with a summary also presented here. The concept of the logic of practice is linked closely to that of the field. Bourdieu reminds us that the field is never static due to the ever-changing relationships between the agents in the field, and between agents and the field. As the field changes, the agents in the field constantly navigate the field in order to maintain their status, or rise or fall in status, depending on the relationships between the agents in the field. Bourdieu likens this navigation of the field to a game being played. These games that are played in the field have rules, and the players of the game have particular knowledge in order to be admitted to and to play the games. Bourdieu refers to this knowledge of the game and its rules as ‘le sens pratique’ (Bourdieu, 1980, 1990b). The expected (and standard) behaviours of the players of the game is what Bourdieu calls the logic of practice. In this study, NSW DoE and ACARA documentation was analysed in order to ascertain the expected and standard behaviours pertaining to the approaches to languages in the field.

The discourse analysis of the documentation was conducted on three levels. The first level of analysis was at the macro level and focussed on the intertextuality and interdiscursivity (see Chapters Two and Four for further explanation of these concepts) of the documents. The next level of analysis focussed on micro aspects of discourse within the documents, and the final level of analysis focussed on how the discourse in the documents shapes the social practices, or the logic of practice, in the field.

At the macro level, the analysis centred on how and where the areas of English, community languages and languages other than English were presented in the documents. At the micro-level, the analysis centred on the terminology used by the document authors to talk about language and languaging practices.

At the final level, the analysis was centred on the hegemonic structures existing in the field, the values placed on the different elements and practices in the field, the ways in which these discourse structures impact on the relationships between the agents in the field and the relationships between the agents and the field, and lastly, the impact that these discourses have on the logic of practice of the field.

When undertaking a textual analysis focussing on the overall structure (Fairclough, 1995) of the documents, the first thing to note is that English as an Additional Language or Dialect (EAL/D) does not have its own section on the NSW DoE website. Further, in the Curriculum area of the NSW DoE website, information about supporting English language learners falls under the Multicultural Education section. Similarly, EAL/D is reported on in the Multicultural Policies and Services section of the appendices of the NSW DoE Annual Report 2019. There is some mention of EAL/D in sections of the Annual Report 2019 titled 'Improving Teaching Quality and Other School-based Programs'.

The separate placement of EAL/D, English and Languages in the documents and website works to immediately make a distinction between L1 English and other languages, highlighting that English is the dominant power language and all other languages are relegated to the area of Bilingual Education or Community Languages. In addition, separating the languages indicates an approach to language learning that current theories suggest are out-dated. Slembrouck and Rosiers (2018) present a history of these theories, explaining that “the concept of translanguaging is predated by that of code switching” (p. 166), and asserting that “the concept of code switching has for a long time been implicated in a sociolinguistics of separate languages” (p. 167). On the other hand, García (2009) explains that translanguaging as a concept “goes beyond what has been termed code switching ... although it includes it” (p. 45). This extension of code switching is elaborated by Wei (2011), who indicates that “translanguaging creates a space for multilingual speakers which “bring together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitudes, beliefs and performance” (p. 1223). Moreover, Slembrouck and Rosiers (2018) point out that the term “translanguaging” evolved out of the educational context of Welsh bilingual classrooms, and thus it can be argued that translanguaging is “first of all about the optimization of the educational interactional environment for purposes of learning” (p. 168).

Examination of recent research (Creese et al., 2015; Cummins, 2018; García et al., 2015; García et al., 2018; Heugh, 2018; Kramsch & Huffmaster, 2015; Little & Kirwan, 2018; Lo Bianco, 2018; Luk & Lin, 2015; Ollerhead et al., 2018; Otsuji & Pennycook, 2018; Sierens & Ramaut, 2018; Slembrouck, Van Avermaet & Van Gorp, 2018; Soltero, 2016; Wei, 2015) shows that individuals who speak more than one language or dialect utilise their knowledge of all of the languages at their disposal when communicating. By separating English from all other languages, it could thus be surmised that the NSW DoE is

treating the teaching and learning of languages as a type of plural or multiple monolingualism (Agnihotri, 2014).

In addition, this separation of English from other languages can be seen to be extremely Western-centric, despite the fact that Australia is situated in the centre of the Asia-Pacific region. Pattanayak (2000) approaches the issue of the diversity of languages by comparing the East's (us) and the West's (you) attitudes towards plurality. He states:

for *you* one language is the norm. Two languages are a quantum leap .... Three or four languages are intolerable, and many languages are absurd. For *us* many languages are the norm. Any restriction on language use is intolerable. Two or three languages are barely tolerable and one language is absurd. (Pattanayak, 2000, pp. 46–47; italics as per the original)

By situating EAL/D separately from the teaching and learning of other languages, the NSW DoE is suggesting that one language is the norm, despite the fact that 36% of NSW public school students in 2019 were registered as having a language background other than English, and these students represent a vast 240 different language backgrounds (Centre for Education Statistics and Evaluation [CESE], 2019). The documentation thus supports Adoniou's (2018) assertion of Australia as a benignly multilingual country (see Chapter Three for further discussion on this).

Furthermore, there is a range of NSW DoE documents available, with each document giving slightly different information about EAL/D teaching and learning. This means that teachers need to either operate across a range of different documents or choose which documents to use and which to ignore in order to appropriately cater for their EAL/D students. This therefore adds to the confusion around what exact approach and method the NSW DoE advocates towards the teaching and learning of EAL/D.

The micro-level analysis of documents centred on the terminology used by the document authors to explain language and languaging practices. Overall, the analysis of methods and frameworks for discussing language and languaging practices presented in the documentation seems to differ from those which are presented in the literature. Sierens and Van Avermaet (2013) present a comprehensive overview of three strategies “for responding to linguistic diversity in schools: a constructive language policy; raising language awareness; and facilitating functional multilingual learning” (p. 204). Furthermore, they argue that English-language immersion where students’ first languages “has no place in the classroom or elsewhere in school and is not included in the curriculum” (p. 206) constitutes a monolingual education model. They argue that supporters of language immersion programs, and thus monolingual education models, are:

convinced that the use in school of home languages of children from underprivileged immigrant backgrounds will obstruct the development of proficiency in the language of schooling, a thorough knowledge of which is preconditional for educational success and integration in the labour market and in society in general. (p. 206)

In contrast, proponents of bilingual and multilingual education models, where students are encouraged to use their first, or home, language in combination with the dominant language of the school argue that these models are more beneficial for these students’ wellbeing, as well as for minority languages which might otherwise not survive (Sierens & Van Avermaet, 2013). As such, through multilingual education models “the native languages of non-native students are valued for what they are, independent languages, and not simply as a useful crutch to support the learning of [the dominant language] or improve students’ wellbeing and involvement” (Sierens & Van Avermaet, 2013, p. 207).

In addition, while there are some references in the documents analysed in my study to the use of home languages, these references do not explicitly state how teachers should be utilising home languages in their classrooms to scaffold learning. One example of how this is done can be found in Kirwan (2013), which presents a case study of a school in Ireland where teachers in multilingual classrooms used the diverse languages of their students to explore aspects of language. This resulted in increased learning opportunities for students, as teachers “began to cultivate language awareness in their pupils in such a way that the learner is enabled to be curious about, explore, analyse and reflect on language” (Kirwan, 2013, p. 191). The study found that through encouraging students to choose which language to use in oral and written tasks, students’ first or home languages were valued and supported, and monolingual students were able to be exposed to multilingual contexts. For example, in written tasks, students wrote in their first language as well as the dominant language of the school. In this way, through formal and informal discussions with their class and peers, students can begin to make connections between languages (Kirwan, 2013). One notable outcome of the study is that students add to their individual plurilingual repertoires, and as such feel a sense of ownership towards all languages in their individual repertoires. Sierens and Van Avermaet (2013) explain Functional Multilingual Learning as an approach which uses the linguistic repertoires of students as a form of “didactic capital that is deliberately exploited to foster personal development and increase ... chances of educational success. The first language may serve as a stepping stone to the acquisition of the second language” (p. 217). In such a model, students interact in home or first languages while undertaking tasks, the resources for which are in the dominant language of the school.

In contrast, another important consideration in the document analysis of my research is the way that students’ first language is presented in the documents. Use of terms such as “maintenance of the home language”

(ACARA, 2014, p. 18) indicate that those first languages should still be spoken in the home, and so the onus is on the parents to maintain a student's home language to support English language learning. There is no specific mention of how first languages might be used by the classroom teacher in order to scaffold second language learning apart from the reference to the learners at the emergent level on the EAL/D learning progression, who are characterised by their "use of first language with peers and teachers' assistants to clarify and consolidate understanding" (NSW DoE, 2020e, p. 79). Consequently, at these lower levels of EAL/D proficiency there might be other students or a teacher assistant in the classroom who share students' first language and can thus support them. Use of translanguageing or a functional multilingual learning approach would not necessarily require a staff member in the classroom who shares the students' first language, and language learning can then become a journey of mutual discovery shared by the teacher and students. Sierens and Van Avermaet (2013) note that in the functional multilingual learning (FML) approach, current monolingual curriculum can be utilised, and teachers do not need to know the home languages of their students. Instead, "the most important aspect of the discussion is the recognition of linguistic diversity at school as an added value rather than a 'problem' or 'deficit'. Linguistic diversity should be used to a maximum to create the best learning opportunities for all children" (pp. 218–219).

It should also be noted that many teachers may have a fear of losing control of their classrooms if students are able to speak in their first languages. Sierens and Van Avermaet (2013) highlight the fact that through prohibiting some languages from being spoken in the school and classroom, student proficiency in the dominant language does not necessarily improve. Instead, prohibition "stigmatises the home languages and linguistic varieties of students" (p. 215). Sierens and Van Avermaet (2013) also assert that in schools which invite the use of students' multilingual repertoires, students use the dominant language of the school "spontaneously ... as their conversational

lingua franca” (p. 215). Thus, by giving students the choice, all languages become legitimated, and students choose to instead of being forced to use the dominant language in certain situations.

In addition, in the various documents analysed for my study, first or home languages are only mentioned at the emerging/beginning English phase of learning. There is, therefore, a presumption that when an English language learner leaves the initial emergent phase of English language proficiency they no longer need to call upon or utilise their knowledge of another language in the learning of the target language, English. This omission from all phases except the emerging phase delegitimises the impact that a student’s first language literacy has on overall learning and target language literacy.

In terms of other labels used in the documents to describe language, the EAL/D Advice for Schools handbook (NSW DoE, 2020e) cites Gibbons’ (1991) research into bilingualism when discussing the maintenance of students’ home language supporting learning in English, stating that students’ schema can be activated by knowledge gained in their first language in order to build the field of knowledge of a topic in the learning of the target language. While the advice given in the documents is that teachers should understand the importance of activating schema and understanding Second Language Acquisition theory, these aspects are not elaborated on. Furthermore, current theories and approaches such as Functional Multilingual Learning invite not just the knowledge of a topic into the language classroom, but also the language used in talking about that topic. The more current approaches and research into language practices and use presented earlier in this section are absent from the documents. In addition, the notion of bilingualism is not explained further, and thus there is no consideration of the impact of additive and subtractive bilingual approaches, or that both additive and subtractive bilingualism either begin or end with monolingualism. Flores and Baetens-Beardsmore (2015) declare that the most subtractive form of bilingual

education is immersion, where the use of home languages are forbidden in the sites of practice. According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), the vast majority of students who speak a minority language are subjected to this form of subtractive bilingual education. According to Flores and Baetens-Beardsmore (2015), another form of subtractive bilingualism, transitional bilingual education, utilises the students' home languages only at the lower levels of dominant language proficiency. As such, the home language is merely a tool towards the development of dominant language proficiency.

Thus, bilingualism is not a useful term to refer to when discussing the notion of current languaging practices of individuals (Blackledge et al., 2013; García, 2009). In educational contexts, the underlying assumption of subtractive bilingual education programs is that:

in order for language-minoritized students to become full members of society, they must give up their home language and replace it with the dominant language of society.... It is important not to mistake the goals of these programs as anything other than the transition of students from their home language to the dominant language. (Flores & Baetens-Beardsmore, 2015, pp. 208–209)

Yet another naming practice in the documents at emerging levels of competence is 'maintenance'. The documents present the idea that the maintenance of a student's home language supports learning in English. Instead, this model presented in the documents more closely fits García's (2009) description of transitional bilingualism, where a student's first language is only used until the student is capable of speaking enough English to enter a monolingual, English-only classroom environment. In contrast, García (2009) describes maintenance bilingual programs as those where both languages are used throughout a student's education. Furthermore, in the documents analysed other similar approaches for using a variety of languages within the

classroom are not presented, and nor is research into plurilingual competence or translanguaging practices and approaches in learning contexts.

Another point to note is the NSW DoE's use of the term 'emerging English' to describe EAL/D students. This contrasts markedly with García and Kleifgen's (2018) description of 'emergent bilinguals', as well as the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) description of plurilingual competence where "all knowledge and experiences of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact" (Council of Europe, 2018, p. 157).

While the term 'translanguaging' is not mentioned at all in the NSW DoE documentation analysed, code-switching is mentioned in terms of students knowing what language is suitable to use in which context. Instead, translanguaging and Functional Multilingual Learning allow students to actively use both languages in the same context (García & Sylvan, 2011), thus encouraging a greater fluidity of languages used.

Moving on to the third level of analysis of the documents, it can be seen that the logic of practice of the field regards English as the dominant language in the field. Furthermore, other languages are only regarded as legitimate in certain times and sites of practice in the field. Consequently, these other languages cannot be regarded as legitimate languages in the field, as at most times and in most sites of practice in the field they are illegitimate.

In addition, while there is mention of the importance of community, home or first languages in the documentation, this tends to disappear after the beginner stage of learning. The approach taken by the document authors is that intermediate and advanced learners of English seem to not need to call upon their community, home or first language when studying the target language. As such, the documentation demonstrates a limited understanding of plurilingual and functional multilingual approaches to language use.

The investigation of the field has revealed that overall, there is a continued advocacy at the department level for a bilingual approach to languages, or what Agnihotri (2014) terms 'plural' or 'multiple monolingualism', and there continues to be support of an approach entailing elements of subtractive bilingualism, where students are benignly encouraged to favour English at the inevitable expense of their home language. Flores and García (2013) concur with this view. They contend that the term bilingualism is approached by nationalist and colonial language ideologies from a 'monoglossic perspective' which use language as a tool to "impose static language forms and erase linguistic heterogeneity" (p. 245).

Lo Bianco (2015) summarises Australia's language policy development as having been "beset by changing priorities, inadequate and inconsistent implementation, and contested aims and purposes" (p. 609). The main issue, according to Rizvi (2014) is that Australian attitudes towards multiculturalism, and thus also languages other than English, have not changed. This failure to see any meaningful development towards heterogeneity is due to the fact that "while social and economic structures remain unchanged, it was unrealistic to presume that through learning about cultures and lifestyles alone, attitudes could somehow be changed in anything but the most minimal sense" (Rizvi, 2014, p. 74).

Due to the inconsistent messaging around language practices in the different documents in the field and the sites of practice, as presented in Chapter Five, this allows for differing views and realities about the value of English and the value of other languages. The implications in Bourdieusian terms are that the logic of practice of the field, which regards English as the dominant language, remains in control of the language practices within the field, and English thus retains its domination of the field.

This inconsistent messaging is, however, consistent with a Bourdieusian critique, where struggles about languages striving to remain dominant at the

same time lessen the value of other languages in the field. In this case, the value of the other languages in the field is lessened through the use of inconsistent messaging about language practices in the field. Thus, the dominant language is able to hold its position of dominance and exert symbolic violence over dominated agents in the field, the logic of practice does not change, and the hegemony prevails.

### *8.2.2 The position of languages in the field*

The position of other languages in formal documents was shown to uphold the hegemonic practices in the field. This contrasts with the experiences of the IE participants in this study. The following section, which discusses key findings from the interviews with the IEs, expands on the theme discussed in the previous section. Data specific to the IEs' experiences with and attitudes towards language and languaging practices in the field was analysed. These excerpts build a picture of the IEs' experiences when they first came to Australia and entered the field of education in NSW, and their subsequent experiences teaching in Australia. The data thus offers a "thick description" (Holliday, 2007 p. 74; Stake, 1995, p. 42) of these teachers' experiences with language and language practices in NSW public schools.

The previous theme of the NSW DoE's perspectives of languages in the field centred around an analysis of the logic of practice of the field. In this next theme, the linguistic capital and habituses of the IEs are discussed. A full explanation of capital and habitus can be found in Chapter Two, with a brief summary given here.

Bourdieu proposes the term cultural capital, with linguistic capital as a component of cultural capital (Grenfell, 2011a), to describe the values, resources or stakes to which agents in the field have access. As we have seen in the discussion of the first theme, the logic of practice controls the game played in the field, as well as the outcome of that game. It is the capital to

which the players of the game have access which determines whether they can enter the game, as well as the outcome of the game for those players. These values and resources to which the IEs have access are shaped by the experiences of the IEs, as their experiences shape their dispositions. Bourdieu refers to these dispositions as *habitus*. These dispositions do not merely determine the ways in which players in a game operate and behave in that field. They also shape the field, and can change the logic of practice of the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

In order to ascertain the linguistic capital and habituses of the IEs, I analysed the sections of their interviews which discussed the linguistic environments of their upbringings, their experiences when they first entered the field in Australia, and their language use in interactions with students and the parents of their students.

By the very definition of the IEs, it can be seen that they have had exposure to linguistic markets rich in language varieties, where monolingualism is most likely to be the exception. The teachers grew up in communities or regions where multiple languages were spoken and/or studied; German, English, Arabic, Hindi, Sanskrit, and local or state dialects and languages. In addition, all the IEs learnt English in their home countries as part of their schooling. From this it can be deduced that the IEs' linguistic habituses are filled with a wide range of plurilingual and translanguaging exposure and opportunities.

The data from the interviews reveals that the teachers learnt and spoke additional languages through immersion in their local communities, but that more of a translanguaging approach was also adopted, where the IEs' first languages were used as a scaffold for learning additional languages. Agnes describes the contrast between how she learnt English and German, and the dogma of an English-only approach presented to her in the TESOL course she undertook in Australia. She explains that a target-language-only approach is appropriate at an intermediate level of proficiency, but prior to that L1 is also

needed. This aligns with the NSW DoE's documents calling for students' home languages to be used at the beginner and emerging stages of English proficiency. However, there is an implication in the NSW DoE documents that after these initial stages L1 is not of use in the school context. By contrast, Agnes talks about how it is not possible to take L1 away completely, as it is always there as part of a person. García (2017) argues that teachers need to develop critical multilingual awareness (CMLA); an awareness of "plurilingualism and developing linguistic tolerance for multilingual citizens, and ... the understanding that language is socially created, and thus, socially changeable to give voice and educate all students equitably" (p. 268). In order to develop this CMLA in teachers, there needs to be a realisation that plurilingual students use all the languages at their disposal to make sense of their worlds. In addition, García (2017) asserts one element of this Awareness is that "teachers value the students' translanguageing as an important semiotic resource" (p. 270). Agnes' reflection on the fact that L1 cannot be invisibilised (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002b) shows an awareness of critical multilingualism.

In my study, the motivations for learning additional languages were also varied. The IEs needed to learn English and other languages as part of their schooling in order to accumulate a high level of cultural capital in the form of knowledge of additional languages in an academic context. However, the IEs also learnt and used additional languages which were spoken in their communities, thus accumulating social capital in the form of ability to communicate in their communities. In Joy's case, although her home language is English, she needed to know and use state languages in her interactions in the community, because at that time English was the language of the elite, and so not as many people were able to speak it.

Another indicator of the richness of their linguistic habitus is the fact that the IEs' habituses included their knowledge of English to the point where they were able to access the linguistic capital in the form of their English

proficiency in order to undertake further studies and/or employment as teachers in their home countries. In this respect, all four IEs attained a Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) level of English (Cummins, 1979, 1981). Joy was able to attend and then teach at a convent boarding school due to the high level of cultural capital to which she had access, in the form of her English proficiency. Agnes trained as a teacher, specialising in German and English languages, and thus also had access to a high level of linguistic capital. Asha also trained as a teacher and then taught in Fiji, where English was the medium of instruction. Thus, Asha too had access to a high level of cultural capital in the form of her English language proficiency. Sada learnt English and began her university undergraduate degree in English literature before coming to Australia (See tabulations of each participant in Table 2 for more information). She therefore also had access to a high level of cultural capital in the form of her knowledge of the English language.

However, it is not merely this high level of English proficiency which affords all four IEs a high level of linguistic capital. It is their multilingual capacities and experiences which bestow on all four IEs a richness of linguistic capital which should be of value in multilingual and multicultural Australia, and particularly in NSW public schools where approximately a third of students are from LOTE backgrounds. As can be seen from the examples presented in the previous section (Kirwan, 2013; Sierens & Van Avermaet, 2013), it is not necessary for teachers to know the languages of their students. Rather, it is the approach towards language and multilingualism which is most important.

The following paragraphs discuss the experiences of the IEs when they first arrived in Australia and entered the field of education. Despite the experiences being quite varied, analysis of the data through a Bourdieusian lens enabled me to identify several patterns across these varied experiences.

In terms of the length of time they have been in Australia, Joy has been in Australia the longest, then Asha, then Sada and lastly Agnes. Joy talks about

the fact that she and her husband were accepted immediately by their church community and regarded as not only newcomers, but also unique and almost exotic. She recalls that although Australia was multicultural, she did not recall at her time of arrival in Australia (See tabulations of each participant in Table 2 for more information) the same level of diversity and heterogeneity that exists in Australia's multicultural profile today. In contrast, Agnes, who was the most recent arrival, recounted her shock as her first impressions of Australia were of a multicultural nation where she had expected a more 'white and British' country. On the whole, the IEs also demonstrated an understanding of the heterogeneity of culture and values in Australia, and they aligned themselves more with Australia than with their countries of birth.

Joy also recounts the relative ease with which she was able to migrate to Australia, enter the field, and obtain a permanent tenured position as a teacher in NSW primary schools. In contrast, Asha, Sada and Agnes have not been able to obtain tenure. Asha is a casual teacher who works at a range of different schools, and is offered teaching blocks of one or two terms from time to time. Both Sada and Agnes are teaching at schools where they have been offered either blocks or one-year teaching contracts. The IEs all retrained in order to continue in their profession, and thus maintain their status in the field of education. In fact, Agnes and Asha not only retrained but also completed postgraduate teaching qualifications in order to accumulate additional capital they hoped would be recognised and valued in the field.

In addition to their formal teacher training, all four IEs recognised the importance of familiarising themselves with and understanding both the pragmatics of Australian English and the cultural values, attitudes and behaviours of the Australian people. In short, they knew what they needed to be able to fit in and be players in the game. When all four IEs came to Australia, they immediately enrolled in further education to give themselves the opportunities to understand the capital to which they did not have access

but which they needed to accumulate in order to be players in the game and to maintain their status as teachers in the field. This means that they were also aware of the legitimate language of the field, and were able to access the means in order to legitimise their own language practices in the field.

The IEs were also able to survey the field and the sites of practice in order to assess the capital which would be most in demand in the sites of practice. In this way, they were able to make strategic decisions around the specialisations which would enhance their habitus both in their studies and on the job at the sites of practice. These specialisations are thus a form of additional capital the IEs are able to gain access to in the field. In Joy's further studies in Australia, she specialised in ELT and special needs students as she saw there was a shortage of special needs teachers, and she concluded that almost all the students she had taught in India were ESL speakers. Agnes specialised in TESOL, Asha specialised in community languages teaching and TESOL, and Sada accessed the linguistic capital to which she had access to become a teacher in high demand at schools where her L1 was spoken by the school community, as well as where Arabic was offered as a LOTE or community language.

In summary, the IEs understood what they needed to do in order to be recognised as legitimate in the field, they knew that they needed to acquire knowledge about the pragmatics of the field and they understood that in order to maintain their status in the field of education they needed to be strategic in terms of the cultural capital they needed to acquire and which they would be able to access in order to be legitimate players in the game.

Turning attention to language use and languaging practices in the field, when asked about the use of LOTE in their classrooms, the IEs emphasised that proficiency of English was the most important skill for students of language backgrounds other than English (LBOTE) to possess. Ellis (2008) argues that when teachers are experts only in English, the result for mixed language

students is that those students develop a monolingual habitus (see also Gogolin, 1994). As such, the IEs have become complicit in upholding the hegemony in order to remain players in the game. Nevertheless, a few IEs spoke of the benefits of encouraging students with knowledge of LOTE to contribute their knowledge in the class group. Agnes explained that the students' schema was inextricably linked to their home languages, and that their schema, and therefore their home languages, were valuable resources for learning. In contrast, Asha recounted that at schools in which she had worked languages other than English (LOTE) were banned by some teachers in classrooms and some principals in schools. Despite some understanding of the translanguaging practices of individuals, the interview data analysed in terms of the strategies the IEs exhibited when navigating the field indicated that overall, the IEs collaborated with the status quo. As such, the students were able to speak their home languages in their home environments and their community language classes, and thus they should not have a need to speak their home languages in their regular classes.

In addition, Joy spoke of the disadvantages of the withdrawal system used in NSW public schools. In some primary schools in NSW it is common practice for EAL/D students to be withdrawn from their regular classes to undertake intense English language instruction in small groups. Despite being adamant that the students needed English in order to succeed, Joy spoke of the students then becoming more demanding when they re-entered the larger class group after becoming used to smaller groups with higher levels of scaffolding from the teacher. Joy also spoke of the EAL/D students being withdrawn and thus missing out on sociocultural aspects of learning with their classmates. Despite having access to rich linguistic capital and working in highly multicultural and multilingual sites of practice, the fundamental principle of monolingualism is thus reinforced and perpetuated by the IEs.

In contrast, as well as the advantages presented in the previous section around students' heightened awareness of languages and language use, accompanied by an improvement in their wellbeing, the promotion of cosmopolitan multiculturalism through inviting home languages to be spoken in the classroom would enhance the sense of fluidity of an individual's cultures. In this way, migrant and Australian identities can become what Blackledge et al. (2013) refer to as heterogeneous and unique mixtures, which could uniquely encapsulate a sense of being Australian. This fluidity of identity would therefore also heighten a sense of belonging in the classroom. In addition, translanguaging or functional multilingual learning models of education may be the means to "reorientate approaches to languages education and develop a more sustainable and socially just approach to teaching in Australian schools" (Weinmann and Arber, 2017, p. 178).

In addition, use of home languages in the school context accompanied by formal tuition in home languages in community language classes would halt the relegation of these LOTE students' L1 skills to the home contexts. Instead, as Asha explains there is a distinction to be made between interpersonal community language proficiency and academic or professional community language purposes and proficiency levels. This extension of Cummins' (1979, 1981) concepts of BICS and CALP to LOTE therefore raises the esteem of these home languages from languages spoken in the home with the sole purpose of communicating with family members to languages which can be used in professional and academic contexts. The positioning of these LOTE in the field would thus change, and speakers of these LOTE would have access to more valued capital in the field.

In summary, the key findings from the experiences and attitudes towards language and languaging practices of the IEs are that the emphasis on English-only instruction prevails despite the highly multilingual and multicultural contexts of the schools, and despite the students and some teachers being

plurilingual. In addition, despite the highly multicultural profile of the schools and despite NSW DoE bilingual and community languages programs, English continues to dominate as a power language, with other languages given less importance and approached in a parallel monolingual way, where languages are seen as “separate, bounded entities (Blackledge et al., 2013) rather than students using all the languages at their disposal to communicate as effectively as possible (Blackledge et al., 2013; Jørgensen et al., 2011). A parallel monolingual approach relegates community languages and LOTE to specific times and places. In fact, the banning of LOTE in some classrooms by principals and teachers relegates LOTE to spaces outside the school environment, and thus those speakers remain incapable of moving from basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) to cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) levels and of being capable of having their linguistic capital recognised, legitimated and valued. Thus, the hegemonic practices present in the field prevent a change in the logic of practice of the field.

### *8.2.3 The struggles in the field*

This section investigates the interview data to shed light on the strategies IEs use to negotiate the field and will therefore provide a clear picture of the power relations between agents in the field.

The previous sections investigated the logic of practice of the field and the habitus and capital of the IEs in the field. As with the concepts discussed in Sections 8.2.1 and 8.2.2, the concept of strategy is discussed in Chapter Two, and a brief explanation is also provided here. The games which are played in a field are struggles between the agents in the field who navigate the field with a view to either maintain or raise their status in the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). It is the relationship between the agents in the field which determines the outcome of the game for each player, as well as the strategies the agents in the field use in order to play the game (Bourdieu, 1993a). These strategies, Bourdieu explains, are not conscious moves. Instead, they emanate

from the feel that the agents have for the game being played (Bourdieu, 1990b).

Bourdieu (1993a) defines these strategies as either conservation or subversion strategies. The strategy of subversion is defined by Bourdieu as the sense of using rules to fight other rules or of using the letter of the rules to undermine their spirit (Bourdieu, 1993b). In terms of additional strategies, I adapted those strategies identified by of Büyükokutan and Şaşmaz (2018), who identified defiance as an additional type of subversion strategy. In addition, Büyükokutan and Şaşmaz (2018) identify the strategies of Acquiescence and Collaboration as conservation strategies. I considered it important to include all four of these strategies in my analysis. Defiance and subversion challenge hegemonic practices, while acquiescence and collaboration constitute no challenge to the hegemony. On the other hand, acquiescence and subversion result in no advancing of positioning in the field, while collaboration and defiance do result in agents advancing their positioning. Lastly, collaboration and defiance are both overt strategies, while acquiescence and subversion are not.

The strategies of Acquiescence and Collaboration work to uphold the orthodoxy of the field. In contrast, Defiance and Subversion are strategies which challenge the orthodoxy. The display of these four strategies has enabled me to analyse the data in greater detail and to identify the multiple layers or multilayered meanings within the data around the struggles in the field. These nuances resulted in a more accurate conclusion regarding the capital the IEs themselves believed to be valuable in the field, which in turn enabled them to or hampered them from displaying the strategies. This in turn provided me with information around the capital which the IEs regarded as valuable or less valuable in the field, and the practices which they perceived as legitimate and illegitimate in the field.

From the findings it can be seen that the logic of practice of the field was extremely effective in controlling the strategies exhibited by the IEs, and that the hegemonic practices present in the field prevent the teachers from changing the logic of practice of the field. The domination of some agents over the IEs, as recounted by the IEs in the interviews, indicates instances of symbolic violence that occur in the field.

In order to preserve their status as teachers, the IEs did not exhibit the strategy of defiance to demand that their overseas qualifications and experience be recognised. Instead, all four IEs used acquiescence by undertaking further study in Australia as a means of having their capital valued in the field. Furthermore, the teachers upheld the field's hegemonic practices through their display of collaborative strategies. The IEs supported and used the new knowledge, ideologies and methodologies learnt through their further studies, with the purpose of enhancing their careers, and in doing so also reinforced the hegemonic practices in the field.

It can also be concluded that the IEs rarely defied the rules of the game either covertly or overtly, and if they did defy the rules of the game, they chose specific rules in order to gain advanced standing for themselves, not for all players of the game.

In addition, the IEs who displayed defiance as a strategy were forced to do so by the more powerful agents and the hegemonic practices in the field. At the point of demonstrating this strategy, the IEs had only two options; to use defiance, or to risk losing not only their status in the field but also entry to the field. It is important to also note that the IEs used defiance as a means of rejecting aspects of the status quo which affected them personally, as opposed to defying the existing order as a means of changing the status quo for all agents in the field. In Agnes' case, defiance was displayed in order to gain a place in a Master of Education course in order that she could enter the field and become accredited as a NSW public school teacher. In Asha's case,

defiance was exhibited in order to retain her accreditation as a teacher in NSW public schools.

The IEs displayed the strategy of subversion when accessing the cultural capital which was available to them and not valued highly in the field. They did this in order to advance the social and cultural capital to which they had access and which did have value in the field. The IEs utilised their language and cultural awareness in order to build rapport with their students and the parents of their students, or to gain access to cultural capital in the form of further education.

In summary, the IEs rarely defied the rules of the game either covertly or overtly. In addition, if they did defy the rules of the game, they chose specific rules in order to gain advanced standing for themselves, and not for all players of the game. From this analysis it can be seen that the hegemonic practices present in the field operate to prevent the IEs from changing the logic of practice and the hegemony is upheld.

### **8.3 Linguistic markets**

The three themes presented thus far in this chapter were then used to ascertain the positioning of languages in the field, as well as the legitimacy of the IEs' linguistic and professional capital in the field.

The analysis of NSW DoE and ACARA documents was combined with the analysis of interview data, and specifically the instances where the IEs discussed language use. The domains in which that language use took place were identified as follows:

- the school or classroom
- workplace, and
- home and community
- professional learning.

In terms of each of these domains, the school or classroom is used to denote language practices used in classroom practice and in interactions with or between/among students. The workplace is used to denote the language practices used in the IEs' workplaces. This included any casual teacher employment agencies the IEs used to find work, any workplace policies, procedures and rules, workplace logistics, as well as responsibilities including liaising with colleagues and parents or carers. The home and community domain is used to identify the IEs' home language practices, as well as the language practices of the IEs' community and friendship groups, both in Australia or in their countries of origin. The training domain describes the language practices used in any college or university, or other professional training the IEs undertook.

As outlined in Chapter Four, I utilised two separate analytical frameworks to investigate the linguistic habituses of the IEs and the strategies they exhibited when navigating the field. The data from the interviews were analysed to identify sections which centred on language and languaging practices. Next, I identified four linguistic markets from these sections of the interviews. These were:

- LM1: School/Class practice/Education/Academia
- LM2: Workplace/Casual Agencies/Policies/Logistics & Procedures/Talking to Parents
- LM3: Training/University
- LM 4: Home & Community-Country of Origin/Australia

Following this identification, as described in Chapter 4, I was able to focus my findings on the sections of the interviews pertaining to the school, classroom, and workplace domains. By grouping the instances where the IEs spoke of language practices, I was able to clearly identify those instances when the domain of the language practice was the school or workplace. By also including a home and community language practices domain, and a further

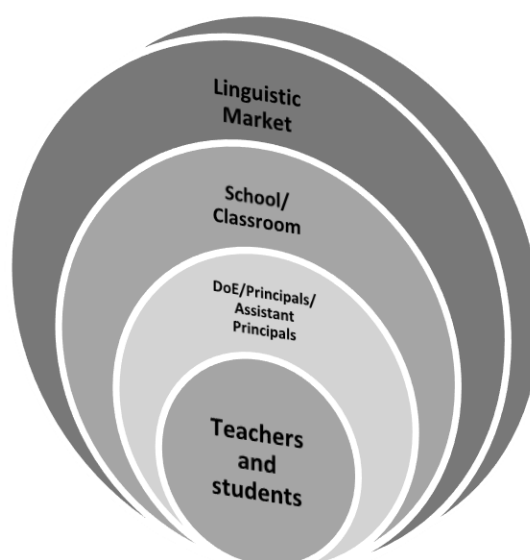
education language practice domain I was able to identify the IEs' linguistic habituses and capital in their totality. In addition, I was able to make clear decisions about the instances when the language practices discussed by the IEs related to school and workplace domains, and then focus on these in order to address my main research question.

I was thus able to undertake a detailed analysis of these domains in terms of the linguistic markets of the schools in which the IEs operated. Taking the pertinent sections of the interview data, I identified the structures and the agents operating in those linguistic markets, as well as the power relations between structures and agents. Further, I was then able to analyse the linguistic habitus of the IEs and the capital which they were able to access while operating in those linguistic markets. Table 6 provides a summary of this analysis, while figures 5 and 6 provide a visual representation of each linguistic market.

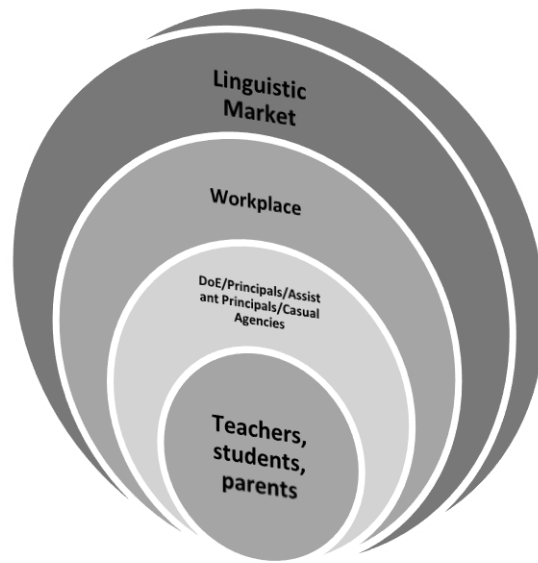
*Table 6 IEs' linguistic markets, structures and agents within them*

	<b>LM1: School (Classroom)</b>	<b>LM2: Workplace (Schools, Casual Agencies/Policies/Logistics &amp; Procedures/Talking to Parents)</b>
Identification of structures	NSW DoE School Principal and APs	NSW DoE School Principal and APs Casual Agencies
Identification of agents	Teachers Students	Teachers Students Parents
Power relations between structures and agents	Structures dominate the agents. Teachers dominate the students	Structures dominate the agents. Teachers dominate the students

The Linguistic markets of the school and the workplace overlap in that the IEs' workplaces are either schools or, in one instance, schools and the casual employment agencies through which one IE is offered work at schools.



*Figure 5 The linguistic markets and agents operating in the school/classroom*



*Figure 6 The linguistic markets and agents operating in the workplace*

The main distinction between the school as linguistic market and the workplace as linguistic market is that of the structures and agents involved in the language practices in each of those linguistic markets.

The linguistic market of the school concerns the language practices in the classrooms, or more broadly speaking the language practices between the IEs and their students. The structures of this language market can be identified as the NSW DoE and the principals of the individual schools. On the other hand, while the linguistic market of the workplace has as its structures the NSW DoE and the school principals, it also includes the casual teacher agencies through which the IEs may be or have been employed. In addition, the agents involved in the linguistic market of the workplace are teacher colleagues, other school staff, students and parents of the students. In this way, the sites of practice encompass two separate domains of linguistic markets, governed by the typical interactions which occur between typical agents using typical language/s in each domain. Figures 7 and 8 show the linguistic markets and the agents and structures of each, as well as the power relations between the agents and structures.

### LM1:

#### School/class practice/education/academia

Identification of structures:	NSW DoE School principals and assistant principals
Identification of agents:	Teachers Students
Power relations between structures and agents:	Structures dominate the agents Teachers dominate the students

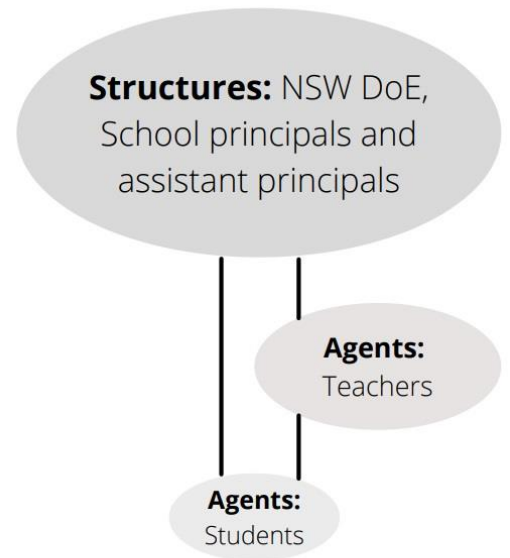


Figure 7 The linguistic market of the school

### LM2:

#### Workplace/casual agencies/policies/logistics & procedures/ talking to parents & caregivers practice/education/academia

Identification of structures:	- NSW DoE - School principals & assistant principals - Australian economy & workplace
Identification of agents:	- Teachers - Students - Parents
Power relations between structures and agents:	- Structures dominate the agents - Teachers dominate parents & students - Teachers & parents dominate students

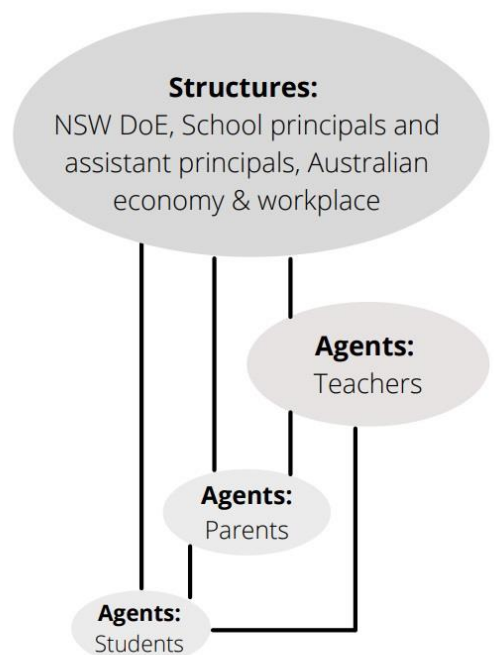


Figure 8 The linguistic market of the workplace

Identification of the agents and structures involved in transactions and exchanges which the IEs discussed in the interviews ensured that the grouping of those transactions and exchanges into suitable linguistic markets was relatively straightforward. It is evident that the types of transactions and exchanges which take place in each linguistic market then led to an analysis of the legitimacy of languages used in each linguistic market; the value of each language, compared to other languages; and whether languaging practices include an exchange of languages or translanguaging practices between agents.

The institutional documentation foregrounds the hierarchical nature of languages in Australia, as argued by Adoniou (2018) in her four tiers of languages in Australia. By aligning EALD with multiculturalism and at the same time separating LOTE, community languages, English, EAL/D and Multiculturalism in the documents, Adoniou's assertion of Australia as a benignly multilingual nation, as well as Kipp's (2008) and Clyne's (2000, 2005) assertions of Australia as a multicultural nation with a strong monolingual mindset, ring true.

Turning to the findings from interviews, the IEs reported that the emphasis on English-only classrooms prevails. This is despite the highly multilingual and multicultural contexts of the schools, and despite the students (and some teachers) being plurilingual. In fact, one IE recounted that the use of LOTE was banned from some schools and classrooms where she had taught. The IEs' comments also indicated a traditional approach towards bilingualism, where different languages are segregated to different times or places.

Despite the fact that these plurilingual IEs have personal experiences of the multilingual capacities of individuals' languaging practices, the approach taken by the NSW DoE as communicated in both the documentation and the interviews with the IEs emphasises a segregation of languages based on time and place instead of understanding that all languages are active

simultaneously within an individual's thought processes, as has been discussed in the previous sections of this chapter. In an interview with Francoise Grosjean, Ofelia García quotes a young bilingual student who was asked to distinguish between their use of English and Spanish, and replied "Spanish runs through my heart, but English rules my veins" (Grosjean & García, 2016). This simple explanation demonstrates the inextricable nature of languages spoken by an individual. Agnes expressed this duality when she asserts that individuals cannot simply switch off one of the languages they speak.

Furthermore, the NSW DoE and ACARA present an inconsistent message in the field with regard to the approach which should be taken in NSW public schools. However, as has also been presented in this chapter, this is in keeping with the Bourdieusian perspective around struggles in the field, where the agents who dominate strive to remain dominant, and simultaneously work to devalue other agents in the field.

Consequently, the logic of practice of the field, where English is dominant, is more effective at controlling the behaviours, strategies and language practices demonstrated and used by the IEs. Hence, the logic of practice retains control of the language practices within the field, and English retains its domination of the field. Against the hegemony of English and the hegemonic practices present in the field, LOTE spoken by plurilingual teachers and their students are not legitimated in the field.

## **8.4 Chapter 8 Summary**

Bourdieu's notion of the logic of practice of the field provided the analytical tool for understanding how the language education field, and the subsequent linguistic markets work. While the fields are in a constant state of flux/change, power relations often remain static. Fields are constantly changing due to the changing power dynamics between the various agents within the field, as well

as the changing relations between the agents and the field. However, in the case of this study, changes in the field do not come about through the ways in which the IEs navigate the field. The conclusion to be drawn is that any changes in the field are instigated through the ways the field operates in the interest of the field of power and the broader political dimension in which the field is situated, and only marginally by the way the IEs navigate through the field and the strategies they demonstrate to do so.

In addition, research such as this study which centres on social differentiation (Grenfell, 2011a), can be framed by way of the strategies displayed by players in the field, the cultural capital they possess, how they are shaped by their circumstances and past, and how their dispositions, values and norms shape present and future practices (Burke, 2015; Byrd Clarke, 2009; Maton, 2008). In this study the strategies exhibited by the IEs has been used “to provide an accurate and relational picture of respondents’ positions within social space” (Burke, 2015, p. 21).

The findings are significant as they show that the IEs are not merely controlled by field, but because of the relations between the agents in the field, the IEs uphold the hegemonic practices in the field. The conclusion to be drawn from this study is that against the hegemonic practices present in the field, the value of plurilingual, international educators is not legitimated in the field.

## Chapter 9: Conclusion

### 9.1 Overview

This final chapter of my thesis presents a summary of my research and findings and reiterates the main findings of the research which have been presented in Chapter Eight. This concluding chapter has been organised into four sections. The first section presents a summary of the relationship between language, culture and context in the field. Next, I present the key findings as they relate to each of the three main themes or focus areas of the research. In the subsequent section is an evaluation of the contribution of the design of my research and the suitability of using Bourdieusian and critical discourse analysis frameworks in the study. The final section presents the implications of my research findings and suggests directions for future research into the areas of the value of the capital to which culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) teachers have access, the ways in which linguistic and cultural capital is valued in the field, and how languages are positioned in the field.

### 9.2 Languages, cultures and context

Not long after I had begun my studies, I found myself on a packed morning train reading Claire Kramsch's book 'Language and Culture' (1998). A woman wearing a hijab sparked up a conversation with me and spoke passionately of the importance to her of her language as a marker of her culture. Later, in my research into Ofelia García's work (García, 2015; García & Seltzer, 2015), I remembered how similar this Muslim woman's attitude was to García's example of the eleven-year-old bilingual child who so eloquently spoke of his Spanish running through his heart, while English ruled his veins.

Around the same time as my train conversation, I was asked by two acquaintances about my research. Both were born in Australia, one of British

convict stock, and the other whose parents had come to Australia from Europe in the 1950s. After I had given them an overview of my study, they both responded with “but why is valuing other languages important?” How does one effectively explain to those who speak a dominant language and see themselves as members of a dominant culture that linguistic rights are an integral element of human rights? This key issue has not yet been resolved in the field of education in multicultural Australia.

It is, of course, easy to preach to the converted. A much more difficult task is to enable those who do not believe themselves to have a multicultural or multilingual habitus to feel what it is to live more than one language. Indeed, Agnes in her interview data presented in Chapter Five posed the question of how one can describe something to someone who has never and perhaps will never have the same experience? This is where I have found Bourdieu’s notions, and specifically that of “ontological complicity” (1989) immensely useful.

It is through the investigation of the field itself, the dominant agents in the field, and the ways in which legitimation and delegitimation impact on those in the field, that my research has been able to shed light on the practices in the field and the impacts these practices have on players in the field. By not focussing on merely the players themselves I remove the dichotomy of the diverse and the norm; minority and majority; established player and newcomer. In doing so, any propulsion towards subjective comparison is also removed. In this way, instead of focussing on individuals and their differences, the focus becomes a more holistic one, where the relationships which exist in the field as a whole are examined.

The use of Bourdieu’s thinking tools (Grenfell, 2004; Wacquant, 1989, p. 50) also shifted the focus from the individuals in the field, and their differences, to the language and language practices in the field. This shift in focus from the agents in the field to the languaging practices and legitimate linguistic capital

in the field also helped to achieve a study which did not seek to make comparisons between different agents in the field, and thus did not attempt to group agents in some way or perpetuate a false dichotomy.

The following section of this chapter presents the original research question alongside the three focus areas of the research. Next, the key findings which emerged from the study are discussed, and finally a summary of these key findings is presented.

### 9.3 Key findings

The objective of the study was to answer the research question:

***What are the positionings and power relations between the structures and international educator agents operating within the field of education in Australia, and specifically NSW?***

In order to answer this question, three themes were identified as the focus of the study:

- *Research Focus 1: Legitimate and illegitimate languages and recognition of capital in the field.* – The first research focus centred on the experiences of the IEs' upon their arrival in Australia, specifically with regard to the legitimacy and value of their linguistic & professional capital. This research focus also examined NSW education institutional documents in order to ascertain the logic of practice of the field (Bourdieu, 1980; Bourdieu, 1990b), including the legitimacy of languages in the field. The findings from this focus allowed me to draw conclusions around the ways in which the experiences of international educators (IEs) are affected by the logic of practice of the field.
- *Research Focus 2: The linguistic habituses of the IEs* – The second research focus investigated the IEs' linguistic habituses and capital, as well as the linguistic markets of the IE's school and workplaces. This

second focus thus allowed me to draw conclusions around the value and positioning of languages, and the approach towards languages in the *field* of education in Australia/NSW.

- *Research Focus 3: The strategies of the IEs as they navigate the field.* – The final research focus explored the strategies which the IEs displayed in their navigation of the field. This third research focus examined the capital to which the IEs had access and the capital which they accumulated while displaying the strategies. From the findings I was able to draw conclusions around the extent to which the IEs had been able to change the logic of practice of the field.

From these three focus areas key findings emerged:

- Institutional perspectives on language
- The position of languages in the field
- The struggles in the field.

These key findings are presented in Chapter Eight, and a summary of each is provided in this concluding chapter.

### *9.3.1 Key findings: Institutional perspectives on language*

The most obvious form of organized language management is a law established by a nation-state (or other polity authorized to make laws) determining some aspect of official language use: for example, a requirement to use a specific language as language of instruction in schools. (Spolsky, 2009, p. 5)

The data collected from the document analysis revealed the dominant agents' construction of social practices in the field, as well as the legitimacy of different languages in the field. The analysis investigated the placement in the documents of English and languages other than English, as well as the terminology used to discuss plurilingual speakers and their language practices

in the field. Analysis using a Bourdieusian lens thus revealed the hegemonic structures existing in the field, and the values placed on languaging practices in the field, as well as the ways in which the discourse used by the dominant agents impacts on the power relations of the agents in the field. These elements thus revealed the extent of the impact of these values and positionings on the logic of practice of the field.

The discourses of the dominant agents in the field, through analysis of the institutional documents, showed that languages are treated as separate entities, with English given more importance than other languages. This indicates a Western-centric attitude to English and its relationship with other languages, despite the fact that one third of students in NSW public schools are plurilingual. It also indicates a monoglossic perspective (Flores & García, 2013) towards languages and language practices. Where other languages are cited, these are discussed in a number of diverse ways depending on their classification or positioning in Adoniou's (2018) tiers. In relation to students learning an additional language at school, in the Bilingual Schools Program, languages are taught not in order to "nurture the linguistic and cultural resources of the nation" (Cummins, 1996, p. 291). Instead, the Bilingual Schools Program has identified languages of potential benefit to the Australian economy; Adoniou's (2018) tier two languages. This separation of some languages over others perpetuates the hierarchy of languages in the field and works to delegitimise some languages other than English (LOTEs) over others.

With regard to the home languages of culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) students, these languages are frequently referred to in the documents as 'community' or 'home' languages; Adoniou's (2018) tier three and four languages. In addition, these CALD students are frequently referred to as EAL/D students. This emphasis on English works to delegitimise and silence the minority languages these students may speak, thus also delegitimising and

silencing the speakers themselves. Also, the main recommendation in the documents is that these first languages be used as a tool in students' acquisition of the dominant language, and that at a certain point the students' first language is no longer required. In fact, according to the participating IEs, in some schools and classrooms students are prohibited from speaking their first languages. This linguistic invisibility (Kramsch, 1995; Piller, 2014; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002a) results in the expunging of linguistic heterogeneity in the field, which reinforces the hegemony of English (Flores & García, 2013).

In other sections of the documents analysed, the reader is told to pay heed. EAL/D students may be at risk of not acquiring satisfactory levels of English, but also of neglecting their first languages in order to acquire the English they need to succeed in school. These students, the documents warn, are thus in danger of not having satisfactory levels of proficiency in either language. This can result in their not being able to adequately communicate existing content knowledge, and thus not reach their full potential. However, the documents do not elaborate on these issues, or provide advice on how to avoid this situation. Thus, a clear, defined approach to be taken when teaching these plurilingual students is not provided.

In addition, the terminology used in the documents analysed reinforces the hegemonic practices in the field. The documents misappropriate terms pertaining to language and language acquisition, such as 'emergent'. In the research García and Kleifgen (2018) use the term "emergent bilinguals" to describe students who are in the process of acquiring two or more languages. In the institutional documents analysed as part of this study, the term 'emergent' is used to describe students on their progression to English language proficiency. In fact, the learning progressions for these EAL/D students end in monolingualism. Furthermore, while the documents refer to 'bilingual' and 'multilingual' speakers, as well as 'code-switching', there is no reference to more current ways of regarding language, such as

translanguaging and functional multilingual learning. This indicates that dominant agents' understandings about language and plurilingual speakers may not be consistent with the current research into plurilingual speakers' use of all languages at their disposal to make meaning of the world and build knowledge.

In the documents, the confusing and contradictory messages regarding language practices equate to confusion around the doxa of the game being played. The agents' "struggles for legitimation" in the field are thus controlled by the "domination of one set of ideas" (Albright & Hartman, 2018, p. 8) and this confusion serves to uphold the hegemony of English in the field. As a result, any "competing visions" (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 56) in the field are quashed, and the hegemony prevails.

### *9.3.2 Key findings: The position of languages in the field*

The IE's interviews, along with the document analysis, enabled me to draw conclusions around the position and legitimacy of languages in the field. As has been discussed in the previous section on institutional perspectives of language, the value of languages other than English is dependant on the capacity for those languages to be instrumental in Australia's economic progress. The data collected from interviews with the IEs add complexity to this issue, as other languages can only be of value to the Australian economy if basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) in those languages can be transitioned to cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP). If these languages remain in the realm of 'home' or 'community' languages, their value remains unrecognised. The labels 'home' and 'community' languages thus work to ensure that speakers of these languages can never transition from BICS to CALP proficiency in these languages, which serves to maintain the illegitimacy of these languages, and their tier three and four status (Adoniou, 2018). This can be seen with Asha's lengthy status as a community language teacher. The capital she has accrued through her experience as a

community language teacher is not recognised in the wider field of education in NSW, and thus her experience, knowledge of this language at a CALP level, and status as a speaker of the language, is not valued in the field. By using the labels 'home' and 'community' to describe these languages, the dominant agents in the field can ensure that these languages remain illegitimate, symbolic violence is benignly exerted, and thus English hegemony prevails.

In addition, the interview data showed that the IEs had a first-hand understanding of the diverse communication skills required in order to have their language skills legitimised when they first arrived in Australia. They sought out different ways to accumulate capital in the form of the pragmatics they needed when speaking English in Australia. Without this knowledge of the pragmatics of the language, the IEs would not have been able to enter the field and advance their status to become teachers in NSW public schools. Their very status as plurilingual speakers ensures that the IEs have a heightened understanding and awareness of languages and language systems, which the dominant agents who consider themselves monolingual would not possess. This awareness thus is not recognised or legitimated in the field, as it does not constitute part of the dominant agents' capital.

The findings also demonstrate that plurilingual teachers who translanguage are an important resource in the classroom. Whether the teachers share knowledge of students' LOTE is not important. Instead, the shared knowledge of being plurilingual, and learning English as an additional language, affords teachers additional capital in the sites of practice in interactions with their students and their students' caregivers. The IEs' attitudes towards languages and their plurilingual habituses and capital indicate that they have an understanding of the legitimacy of languages other than English, especially with regard to learning an additional language. The IEs also utilise their knowledge of other languages and experience learning other languages to build rapport with their students. The very state of being plurilingual thus

enhances sociocultural aspects of learning (Duarte, 2016). However, as was discussed in the previous paragraph, this capital is not recognised as legitimate, as the dominant agents in the field do not believe that they will ever have access to it.

On the other hand, despite this plurilingual capital, the IEs also place a great deal of emphasis on English and the need for their students to learn English. This indicates that the dominant agents in the field and the hegemonic practices in the field control the attitudes and beliefs of the IEs, despite their understandings of the value of languages in their school environments and workplaces. The capital to which the IEs have access is thus relegated to the *illusio* of the IEs. The IEs use their linguistic habituses and capital in order to master the rules of the game, thus showing a tacit recognition of the value of the stakes of the game (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Yet, the IEs seem readily able to accept the legitimacy of English and the illegitimacy of their own languages and their plurilingual status. The reasons why are explored in the following section, through the investigation of the strategies which the IEs used when navigating the field.

### *9.3.3 Key findings: The struggles in the field*

The last findings to emerge from the data relate to the strategies which the IEs displayed when navigating the field. This concept of strategies is closely linked to Bourdieu's central concept of symbolic violence. Fields are sites of struggles, as the players in the game navigate the field in order to advance their positions. With each move the players make, there may be struggles, and these moves and struggles are what Bourdieu refers to as symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1991).

As the IEs played the game, they navigated the field and made moves to either maintain or advance their positions in the field. These moves to navigate through the struggles in the field are termed strategies. When examining the

strategies exhibited by the IEs, it was necessary to firstly examine the capital to which the IEs had access, and whether the IEs regarded that capital to be of high or low value in the field. These assumptions of the value of their capital led to the IEs demonstrating the diverse strategies of collaboration, acquiescence, subversion or defiance. In addition, it was necessary to investigate the capital to which the IEs had access as a result of their demonstrating these four strategies. The

The IEs all demonstrated significant instances where they exhibited acquiescence and collaboration strategies when faced with particular struggles or challenges in the field. In this way, they did not insist on having their capital recognised in the field. Instead, they quietly complied with or acquiesced to the requirements of the field, and in doing so, they were able to either advance or maintain their positions in the field. This can be seen in the way that the IEs completed additional training and teaching degrees in Australia without insisting that their overseas tertiary studies be recognised to a greater extent.

By contrast, significant instances of defiance and subversion strategies were less common among the IEs. The IEs used defiance only when they were left with no other choice, and when acquiescing would have resulted in them losing access to the field. This was seen when Agnes struggled to obtain acceptance to study a Master of Teaching degree at the university for whom she was working as a teacher of English as a second language. If she had not displayed the strategy of defiance, she may not have been able to complete her studies in order to teach in NSW public schools. Asha also demonstrated the strategy of defiance when she contacted the governing body to ask that her professional work be recognised in order that she could be recredited as a teacher. The principal at the school where she had been working as a casual had refused to do so for her, so she had been left with no choice but to display defiance in this struggle. Not doing so would have meant that she

would no longer have been able to work as a teacher in NSW public schools. In this way, the strategy of defiance was not commonly used by the IEs, and it was used only in situations where the IEs felt they had no other choice.

Subversion was exhibited by the IEs in relation to their linguistic and multicultural capital and habituses, which was regarded as illegitimate in the field. The most significant examples of this can be seen when both Agnes and Asha accessed their knowledge of diverse cultures and languages, as well as their habitus as learners of English as a second language, to build rapport with their culturally and linguistically diverse students. Sada also exhibits subversion by utilising her knowledge of Arabic culture and language to better relate to the parents of her students, and to thus put them at ease.

Perhaps the most significant finding of this research theme was the fact that Joy displayed only the strategy of collaboration in her navigation of the field. Joy's habitus has given her a particular interest in maintaining the doxa and hierarchy of the field. Joy upheld the orthodoxy of the field, and thus maintained the hegemony as well as her legitimacy in the field.

In this way, the strategies used by the IEs in their struggles in the field uphold the hegemonic practices of the field. The IEs only defied or subverted the rules for personal gain, and not in order to attempt to alter the logic of practice of the field. Far more significant were the instances where the IEs did not defy or subvert the rules of the game, but instead collaborated with and acquiesced to those rules.

#### **9.4 Summary of findings**

The struggles in the field and display of the strategies which uphold the hegemony of the field without disrupting the dominant agents in the field is possible due to the dominant agents' approach towards languages and languaging practices in schools. The following themes contribute to the lack of impact on the logic of practice:

- The dominant agents' unclear messages around language and languaging practices.
- The separation of English from languages other than English, and the hierarchy of languages which this separation creates.
- The monoglossic perspectives of the dominant agents in the field
- The illegitimacy of plurilingual habitus and capital in the field
- The binary perspectives of plurilinguals versus monolinguals, and the diverse versus the norm.
- The idea that different languages should be spoken in different places at different times, as opposed to linguistic markets where language choices are governed by the agents within those domains and their linguistic capital.

## **9.5 Contribution of the research**

This section is presented in three separate parts. Firstly, the research design and the strengths of the conceptual, and then the analytical, frameworks are discussed. In the final part of this section, the study's limitations are considered.

### ***9.5.1 Contribution of the research design***

The design of this study had at its basis a social constructivist (Creswell, 2003) approach through the combination and complementarity of Bourdieu's thinking tools and Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) (2003, 2015). The approach of both Bourdieu and Fairclough highlight the power relationships and the "ontological complicity" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 10) between social fields, the agents in the field, and the discourse or language they use. Both Bourdieu and Fairclough assert that while social structures influence the behaviour of the agents in the field, those same agents in the field also shape the social structures through their behaviours.

The study utilised Naturalistic Enquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) methods to collect the impressions and beliefs of the participants. A combination of in-depth, semi-structured case study interviews and document analysis was used to gather qualitative data from the different perspectives of agents in the field; the international educators (IEs) and the dominant institutions in the field.

Case study interviews were utilised to collect the “multiple realities” (Stake, 1995, p. 6) of the IEs’ experiences in the field. Complementing this, CDA was used to collect the approaches towards diversity and language practices of dominant agents in the field. These realities were then applied to analyse not only the IEs’ experiences, but also any impacts which the IEs’ entry to the field had on the field itself. This impact was critical to the Bourdieusian conceptual framework I adopted, as Bourdieu’s notion of symbolic violence (1991) and the relational nature of Bourdieu’s framework and Fairclough’s CDA meant that the study went beyond the investigation of the IEs’ experiences towards an investigation of the power relationships between the IEs and the field, and the IEs and the dominant agents in the field.

The interviews were structured as series, and each interview series had a duration of between one and five months, depending on the availabilities of the IEs. This structure ensured that through multiple sessions, rapport and trust were built between me and the participant IEs (Glesne, 2016; Marshall & Rossman, 2011). This structure also allowed me to ask the IEs for clarification of issues discussed in previous interview sessions. Thus, the interviews acquired a participatory and collaborative aspect. In addition, this process enabled me to clarify my understandings of the field through the experiences of the IEs, thus meeting Meleis’ criteria (1996, in Smyth, 2015) for “culturally competent research” (p. 59) of minority groups in the field of education. Finally, through the use of the interview series, I was able to achieve a “thick description” (Geertz, 1973, p. 10) of the experiences of the IEs in the field.

Yet another element of the interviews was their semi-structured nature. Through the use of lead questions on main themes, with follow-up questions asked if and as the need arose, a higher level of detailed information was able to be extracted from each IE (Berg, 2009; Lichtman, 2013; Marshall & Rossman, 2011). This accorded the IEs the freedom to offer their own constructions of realities, rather than being constrained by specific answers to set questions (Yin, 2012).

In order to examine the dominant agents' attitudes and approaches to diversity, language and languaging practices in the field, in other words, the sociocultural aspects of the field (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Clarke, 2001; Silverman, 2006), I turned to critical discourse analysis of institutional documentation. Critical discourse analysis was an accessible and straightforward way for me to collect the discourse of the dominant agents in the field (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). In addition, through the use of CDA the data I collected was subject to minimal interference through my collection of it (Braun & Clarke, 2013).

Researcher subjectivity is inherent in both case study interviews and CDA. Stake (2005) insists that researcher subjectivity is "not seen as a failing needing to be eliminated but as an essential element of understanding" (p. 45). In my consideration of researcher subjectivity, I turned to Bourdieu's notion of researcher reflexivity (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). I examined what Bourdieu considered the biases which researchers may hold (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The first of these biases stems from my own habitus and my positioning as a culturally and linguistically diverse individual. The second bias arises from my position as a researcher and the power relationship which may exist between me and the IE participants. Bourdieu refers to the third bias as the intellectual bias (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). This intellectual bias refers to the way in which the researcher may be prone to focus on the theoretical aspects of the field being studied at the expense of the reality of the context

and participants being investigated. In order to address the second and third biases, I have striven to maintain awareness of the power relationship at play between me and the IEs through the interview process. I have also applied myself to consideration of the concept of 'reality'. To do this, I have returned to the social constructivism basis of this study. Consequently, my research has constructed a clearer reality of the four individual IE participants of my study, and has presented my rational reality, which I have constructed through the use of my conceptual framework.

### *9.5.2 Contribution of the conceptual and analytical frameworks*

As has been discussed earlier in this section, the conceptual and analytical frameworks for the study were constructed using a combination of Bourdieusian concepts and critical discourse analysis (CDA). Bourdieu's work centres around struggles in the field, and the tensions which arise between agents navigating the field. As has been discussed, the concepts of field, field of power, logic of practice, capital, habitus, doxa, *illusio*, strategies of the dominated, and linguistic markets have enabled me to move beyond a study of the IEs as agents and their individual habituses in the field and towards the study of the field as a whole, the struggles existing in the field, and the ways in which the field and the agents impact each other. Fairclough's CDA complemented Bourdieu's thinking tools. In this study, language choices found in the institutional documents analysed were used to ascertain the positioning of languages and language use within the field. Relationism is a central concept in Bourdieu's work (Bourdieu, 1982; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Similarly, CDA goes beyond the study of the discourses in a text to analyse the ways in which the discourses contained in the text impact on the social realities within which the text is situated (Fairclough, 2015).

The combination of Bourdieu's conceptual lens and CDA enabled me to examine the positioning of the dominant agents in the field and the logic of practice of the field, specifically with regard to the approaches taken towards

languages and language practices in the field. In addition, the study investigated the IEs' experiences and the legitimacy of their linguistic and professional capital in the field in Australia, and the extent to which the logic of practice had affected the value of the IEs' capital in the field. Lastly, the conceptual and analytical frameworks have enabled me to examine in detail the extent to which the logic of practice has been changed by the field and the ways in which the struggles in the field have impacted on any change or lack of change to the logic of practice of the field.

### *9.5.3 Limitations of the research*

While this research project yielded compelling results with regard to the logic of practice of the field of education in NSW, as well as the power relations between the agents in the field, several limitations are acknowledged. The first of these is that the study was limited to the four international educators' recounts of their experiences. Consequently, the data constituted the realities of these participants at a given point in time in the past as recounted to me. As such, there was no way to ascertain the level of subjectivity the teachers may have used in recounting their experiences. It would be almost impossible to corroborate these impressions and experiences definitively.

In addition, the study was limited to teachers born overseas in non-English speaking background countries, rather than including all culturally and linguistically diverse teachers in the research, whether born in Australia or not. The research could also be expanded to include Australian-born teachers who learnt one language growing up and who subsequently studied a second language or lived in a second-language environment. The specificity of research participants in my study does not accurately reflect the heterogeneous nature of Australian multiculturalism (Collins, 2013).

Another limitation of the research is that I did not also investigate monolingual English teachers in the field in relation to their attitudes towards

and knowledge of language and language practices in the field. The perspectives from these agents in the field may have yielded more nuanced findings around the value of languages in, and the logic of practice of, the field.

Lastly, the interviews with the IEs included themes around culture, multiculturalism, and multilingualism, as well as languaging practices. These are unwieldy concepts, which could be considered difficult to explain clearly and accurately. These themes were discussed in the interviews as and when they arose. Given the complexity of these concepts, allowing the IEs to reflect, or posing reflection questions for them to ponder before subsequent interviews, may have clarified the IEs' understandings of these themes and reduced any misunderstandings around the IEs' and my understandings of these concepts. In addition, although I member checked the data collected, allowing the IEs more time to ponder these complex themes before rendering any response may have resulted in more developed responses for me to then member check.

## **9.6 Implications of the research**

This section outlines three important implications for this research. The first of these centres around the ways in which languages are perceived in the field. The second centres around the attitudes towards multilingualism and the tendency to identify individuals based on binary groupings, and thus render invisible the complexities within those binary groups. Instead, a change of attitudes to embrace plurality is required. The third is the ways in which the mixed messages from the dominant agents in the field result in individual teachers and principals in the sites of practice deciding on how linguistic diversity should be approached. The danger here is that choices may be made without consulting current research practices.

As has been discussed earlier in this chapter, in the institutional documents analysed plurilingual students' first languages are regarded as a crutch to be utilised up until the time when students can function independently of their first languages. In contrast, current research asserts that plurilingual speakers utilise all languages in their repertoire to make meaning of the world (García, 2017). Rather than constraining plurilingual speakers into using one language (and thus effectively becoming monolingual speakers), approaches to language which embrace plurality (Pattanayak, 2000) such as translanguaging perspectives in education (Canagarajah, 2011; García, 2009; Otheguy et al., 2015), functional multilingual learning (FML) (Sierens & Van Avermaet, 2013), and critical multilingual awareness (CMLA) (García, 2017) bring multiple benefits to multicultural and multilingual classrooms. Firstly, these current perspectives on language use in classrooms can increase students' understandings and awareness of language systems (Cenoz, 2019; D'warte, 2014). Furthermore, this awareness is not limited to plurilingual students and teachers. Through creating learning spaces where all languages are given equal value, monolingual students and teachers are also able to experience environments where translanguaging takes place and where language practices are not limited by monolingual perspectives. These individuals may also come to realise that their linguistic repertoires are not monolingual English repertoires. Fielding (2016) reports on findings from a program that changed the monolingual mindset in two Australian schools. Fielding's study found that plurilingual pedagogies were transformative not only for plurilingual students, but that the program had encouraged formerly monolingual students to become emergent plurilingual speakers. With regards to teachers, Fielding found that the monolingual teachers in the study had initially believed they were not able to contribute to the program. However, as the program progressed, they realised they had their own linguistic repertoires which they could access in their classrooms. Other teachers reconnected with their heritage languages so they could use those languages

in their classrooms, and other teachers undertook formal language courses in order to access this newly found linguistic capital in their teaching and learning programs. Some teachers also undertook professional learning in the area of language teaching pedagogies. This results in a shift in attitudes away from what Weinmann and Arber (2017) describe as existing outdated, normative multiple monolingual ways of approaching language practices.

The benefits can also be seen in students' home and community language maintenance. Fielding (2016) asserts that when schools introduce additional languages into their classrooms, students are more likely to continue to maintain their LOTE language practices, thus avoiding the risk of subtractive bilingualism of minority languages.

Such a shift has been found to have benefits not only directly related to language practices. The sociocultural aspect of learning is enhanced through translanguaging pedagogies, as students and teachers learn collaboratively and negotiate understandings and knowledge construction (Cenoz, 2019; Duarte, 2016; D'warte, 2014). By opening learning experiences to all languages in students' repertoires, classrooms become shared places of inquiry (D'warte, 2014). This has potentially enormous implications for Australian classrooms, where the discourse is frequently framed around the discord between 'Australians' and 'others' (Piller, 2016).

Yet another benefit is that languages are not relegated to particular times and places. As such, the linguistic repertoires students use in their learning link the students' knowledge accumulated from their cultural, social, and community domains to their educational domain (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). D'warte (2014) reports on the importance of students being able to make those connections between their school environments and their cultural, home and community domains. These connections, when revealed by students in the classrooms, offer valuable information to teachers about their students'

language practices and the knowledge and understandings about the world they may have in the languages at their disposal (D'warte, 2014).

Translanguaging perspectives on learning are gaining traction in classrooms (Canagarajah, 2011). However, questions around theoretical and practical concerns regarding the implementation of such perspectives remain to be adequately investigated. In schools where translanguaging programs have been implemented, language use is not enforced or prohibited. As such, the languaging practices used in teaching and learning do not separate languages. Rather, the languages at students' disposal overlap (Creese & Blackledge, 2010).

In order for there to be a 'third space' (Flores & García, 2013; Kramsch, 1993) in the field of education in Australia with regard to linguistic repertoires and the languaging practices of schools, there needs to be a shift in attitude. Rizvi (2014) asserts that Australia's attitude to multiculturalism and multilingualism has not yet reached that third space, where language and culture can be discussed with reference to an individual, instead of with reference to the dominant agents in the field. Cenoz (2019) is hopeful, stating that there is now a "trend that is replacing monolingual views with multilingual views" (p. 74). Cenoz presents the difference between these two views, seen in Table 7.

***Table 7 Monolingual and multilingual views (Cenoz, 2019, p. 74)***

<b>Monolingual views</b>	<b>Multilingual views</b>
Languages contaminate each other	Languages reinforce each other
The aim is balanced multilingualism for all situations	Multilinguals use their languages for different purposes and have different skills
Monolingual individuals and monolingual societies as a reference	Real multilingual individuals and societies as a reference
Hard boundaries between languages	Soft and fluid boundaries between languages

This shift in views to this new third space where all students and teachers are regarded as having plurilingual repertoires has not yet begun at an institutional level in the field of education in NSW. This study has shown that the hegemony prevails and that the capital to which plurilingual speakers have access is not valued in the field. Allard (2017) reports on a study where translinguaging perspectives were not successful, citing the lack of support due to the “long history of national policies and discourses that have framed immigrants and bilinguals in deficit terms” (p. 127). My study has demonstrated such lack of support through the mixed and confusing messages in the institutional documentation analysed, and the ways in which the IEs regarded the capital to which they had access as not valuable in the field. Yet, Fielding (2016) asserts that “autonomous decision-making at the school level to introduce additive bilingual programs can make a positive impact” (p. 374). Such school-level initiatives must be grounded in current theories of languaging practices and use of students’ linguistic repertoires in learning experiences. Naturally, any initiatives also require the school community’s sustained support.

This section has presented implications of the findings of my research. The following section continues the discussion presented here by exploring future research possibilities. The implications discussed in this section present clear opportunities for researchers, teachers, principals and educational institutions to work collaboratively towards producing a model of learning which can have a positive impact not only on the students, but also on the teaching staff and Australian multicultural society.

## **9.7 Future research**

This research has provided insights into the power relations of the agents, the positioning and value of languages, and the linguistic capital and habitus in the field of education in NSW. The implications discussed in the previous section identify a number of areas of potential investigation in order that more

information on languaging practices in the Australian education context might emerge. In this way, schools may be able to shift towards multilingual perspectives of learning. Any such research would then be in a position to inform future policy and practice.

In this section, I present a list of draft research questions which could form the basis for such a research agenda. These draft questions have been organised into key themes pertaining to the research agenda:

Languaging practices in Australian schools:

- What are the linguistic markets of Australian schools? How do the agents in the field utilise the languages at their disposal in those linguistic markets?

Struggles in the field:

- What are the linguistic struggles in the field for students, for teachers of multilingual classes, and for culturally and linguistically diverse parents and caregivers?
- What capital and habituses do these stakeholders bring to the sites of practice, and what strategies do they use when accessing these capitals in the sites of practice?
- How do monolingual teachers fit in to the so-called third space? What are the diverse capitals and habituses of monolingual teachers, and is any teacher really monolingual?

Language in education policies and practices

- What are the models of plurilingual perspectives of learning which are unique to the Australian context?
- What are the long-term educational outcomes of translanguaging pedagogies in Australian schools?
- What strategies could be developed to amend current policy and directions to consider the third plurilingual space?

Bourdieu's concept of relationism necessitates some overlap of these three key themes. Ideally, future research would incorporate a variety of diverse stakeholders in the research to ascertain the diverse capitals and habituses which exist in the sites of practice. These could then be mapped against the linguistic markets of Australian schools, as well as the struggles in the field. This investigation would allow for a clearer understanding of the diverse power relations at play within the field. Utilising Bourdieu's concept of linguistic markets also represents a shift away from unconstructive monolingual versus multilingual binary representations (Moraru, 2019) of the languaging practices of schools.

A longitudinal case study approach would be suitable for the suggested studies. In addition, the research would be greatly enhanced by focus groups and field observations. The research could also be designed to have a transformative orientation (Smyth, 2015) in order to empower all research participants. Schmidt (2015) presents a study using participatory action research, again to empower the study's participants. One example of this participation in Schmidt's study is that both the researchers and teachers in the study were given opportunities to chair the focus group discussions. The result was a more collaborative endeavour, which "challenged conventional understandings of who owns and enacts the research agenda and whose knowledge is valid" (Schmidt, 2015, p. 17).

In addition, participants should be encouraged to translanguage during focus group discussions. Initially this concept may seem uncomfortable to some

participants. However, through questions about participant's cultural norms as well as explicit language questions, accompanied by the researchers' multilingual perspective, the first-hand experience of translanguaging practices in focus groups would be invaluable both for participants who feel their language is not valued, as well as those who think of themselves as monolingual.

The stakeholders in the research agenda I have presented here initially seem to be a diverse group. However, the use of a Bourdieusian lens in combination with participatory action research and participant translanguaging practices could achieve equity in the research process, a sense of the multilingual perspective, as well as participant empowerment. In this way, Bourdieu's notion of researcher reflexivity can be addressed. All three biases; the researcher's habitus; the researcher's position in the field; and the researcher's intellectual bias (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) can be mitigated.

This research agenda could be carried out both in schools which are already using translanguaging perspectives in their classrooms, as well as schools which are keen to start using these practices but have not yet done so. The findings from these studies could then inform future policy and planning directions for the field in order that all schools can benefit from a multilingual perspective of learning.

## **9.8 Reflections and conclusion**

I began this research somewhat naively (I think I can admit that now). I had some notion that international educators in Australian schools should somehow be paired with students who share their first language, so that they might... Might what?... Here is where my investigation began.

Obviously, social life is not as simple and straightforward. I realise now that in my initial musings, I was attempting to normalise diversity by matching those

of the same background. I realise now that there is no third space in such a match.

Reading of the utopia of half a decade ago, where it seemed that languages could be valued equally in Australian society, can make one quite despondent. The question of how Australia arrived at such a mismatch of attitude and reality can be explained through an investigation of multiculturalism and multilingualism in Australia. However, armed with only that knowledge, my heart protests that if Australian society were a Hollywood blockbuster, those who are diverse from the norm would defy! They would subvert! Alas, my head, looking through a Bourdieusian conceptual lens, tells me that the reality of life can get in the way of such fanciful notions of rights, justice and equity. Collaboration and acquiescence are more practical choices if one wants, or indeed needs, to stay in the game. The use of Bourdieu's concepts around symbolic violence and the struggles in the field has clearly shown me that. The ontological complicity of the agents playing the game enables me to see that languaging practices, language domination and linguisticism are:

not mainly a question of lack of information. It is a question of power relations. In analysing power relations one has to analyse who benefits. Purely human rights oriented approaches are naïve if they disregard power relations-and many of them do. Some of them are themselves well on their way to rather becoming part of the oppressive system, rather than a solution. (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 665)

I am heartened by my strong belief that the vast majority of teachers want what is best for their students, no matter their first language or background. I know from my readings in the area that there are more than enough researchers ready to collaborate with schools and find new ways of languaging and considering language practices in educational settings. I am also bolstered by the knowledge that change does not happen overnight, and

that the change from a monolingual to a multilingual perspective in Australian schools could be a long process. However, in that process, as Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) advises, the power relations at play must always be considered, and we must work towards a game in which neither the dominant nor the dominated players lose.

To conclude this study, of course the last word must go to Pierre Bourdieu, whose way of thinking about the world and our societies, as Wacquant (2003) predicted, has undoubtedly influenced mine, in ways great and small, some of which I have realised through the course of this research, but many of which no doubt I have yet to fully comprehend, but which I am looking forward to revealing in my future research endeavours.

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## List of Appendices

Appendix A Documents analysed using CDA .....	362
Appendix B Table 1: CDA document categories .....	365
Appendix C Details of IE interviews .....	366
Appendix D IE Semi-structured interview protocol for IEs.....	367
Appendix E Sample IE interview transcripts .....	368
Appendix F Capital and strategies sample mapping tools.....	387
Appendix G Ethics approvals .....	392
Appendix H Informed consent for IEs.....	395
Appendix I Extracted pages of documents analysed using CDA.....	396
Appendix J Readings in language studies Volume 8, 2020, pp. 153-171 .....	416

## Appendix A Documents analysed using CDA

Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority. (n.d.a).

*Languages: Student diversity.*

<https://www.australiancurriculum.edu.au/f-10-curriculum/languages/student-diversity>

Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority. (n.d.b.).

*Student diversity.*

<https://www.australiancurriculum.edu.au/resources/student-diversity/>

Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority. (2012).

*The shape of the Australian curriculum (version 4).*

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[https://docs.acara.edu.au/resources/EALD\\_Overview\\_and\\_Advice\\_revised\\_February\\_2014.pdf](https://docs.acara.edu.au/resources/EALD_Overview_and_Advice_revised_February_2014.pdf)

Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority. (2015).

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*as an Additional Language or Dialect (EALD) learning progression in NSW public schools.*

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New South Wales Department of Education. (2020b). *Annual report 2019*. <https://education.nsw.gov.au/about-us/strategies-and-reports/annual-reports>

New South Wales Department of Education. (2020d). *Diversity and inclusion strategy 2018–2022*.

<https://education.nsw.gov.au/about-us/strategies-and-reports/strategic-plan/corporate-plans-and-strategies/diversity-and-inclusion-strategy-2018-2022>

- New South Wales Department of Education. (2020e). *EALD advice for schools*. [https://education.nsw.gov.au/policy-library/associated-documents/eald\\_advice.pdf](https://education.nsw.gov.au/policy-library/associated-documents/eald_advice.pdf)
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**Appendix B Table 1: CDA document categories**

<i>Title</i>	<i>Reference</i>
<i>1. Documents pertaining to overarching strategies and directions of the NSW DoE</i>	
NSW Department of Education Strategic Plan webpage	(NSW DoE, n.d.a)
NSW Department of Education Annual Report 2019	(NSW DoE, 2020b)
NSW Department of Education Strategic Plan printable pdf	(NSW DoE, 2020g)
<i>2. Documents pertaining to multiculturalism, diversity and inclusion in the NSW DoE</i>	
Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority Languages and Student Diversity Webpage	(ACARA, n.d.a)
Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority Student Diversity Webpage	(ACARA, n.d.b)
NSW Department of Education Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2018–2022 Media Release	(NSW DoE, 2018)
NSW Department of Education Multicultural Policies and Services Program Report 2017–2018	(NSW DoE, 2019b)
NSW Department of Education Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2018–2022	(NSW DoE, 2020d)
NSW Department of Education Multicultural Plan 2019–2022	(NSW DoE, 2020f)
NSW Department of Education Workforce Diversity webpage	(NSW DoE, 2020i)
NSW Department of Education Workforce Diversity Policy	(NSW DoE, 2020j)
<i>3. Documents pertaining to languages spoken in the sites of practice</i>	
Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority The Shape of the Australian Curriculum (Version 4)	(ACARA, 2012)
Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority EAL/D Overview and Advice Handbook 2014	(ACARA, 2014)
Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority EAL/D Learning Progression: Foundation to Year 10	(ACARA, 2015)
NSW Department of Education Using the English as an Additional Language or Dialect (EAL/D) Learning Progression in NSW Public Schools pdf	(NSW DoE, n.d.b)
NSW Department of Education Supporting EAL/D students in schools pdf	(NSW DoE, 2017)
NSW Department of Education About Community Languages Schools webpage	(NSW DoE, 2020a)
NSW Department of Education EAL/D Advice for Schools handbook	(NSW DoE, 2020e)

### Appendix C Details of IE interviews

IE Pseudonym	Number of interviews	Length of each interview	General frequency of interviews
Joy	5	Between 15 and 30 minutes	Weekly
Asha	2	45 – 50 minutes	Fortnightly
Sada	4	20 – 25 minutes	Weekly
Agnes	2	40 minutes	Fortnightly

## **Appendix D IE Semi-structured interview protocol for IEs**

### **Interview prompts**

- Can you start by telling me a bit about your work?
- Where did you start teaching? And in Australia?
- How long have you been here at this school?
- Can you tell me about any new projects or programs you have been involved with in this school?
- Are the contributions you make to your classrooms recognised? Do you yourself recognise the contributions you might make?
- What are some of the limitations of overseas trained and non-English-speaking background teachers like yourself?
- Can you tell me a little about how or whether you utilise your language/multilingual skills in your classes?
- Can you tell me a little about how or whether you utilise your experiences of living in and with other cultures and peoples in your classes? (i.e. Your multicultural awareness and cross-cultural skills)
- I believe you are responsible for XXXX. How do you manage this?
- While I was observing your class, I noticed XXXX. Can you explain this to me?
- It was interesting to hear what you said about XXXX. Can you say more about how that happened?
- What were your experiences with XXXX?
- Earlier on you talked about XXXX. What did you mean by that? Can you say more about your experiences with that?
- You mentioned that XXXX had changed. Can you tell me in what ways it has improved since you started working here?
- I started off by telling you that I am interested in the contributions that of overseas trained and non-English speaking background teachers make in NSW public schools. Is there anything else you would like to talk about? Is there anything you would like to ask me?

## **Appendix E Sample IE interview transcripts**

**Agnes, Interview One excerpt, 6th March 2019 at 2.30pm**

This is an excerpt from the first interview with Agnes. In this excerpt, Agnes talks about her reasons for undertaking a Master of Education in TESOL degree in Australia. She also recalls the experience of being accepted into that course. She also talks about her capital in the form of the various qualifications she has completed, and whether she used those qualifications to be accepted for entry into courses and for teaching positions.

**Question** So what was your Master's?

**Agnes** So now I'm completing Master of Education in TESOL.

**Question** And what do you hope to do with that?

**Agnes** So originally I did it because many other teachers were doing that. And I was encouraged to do that not by my management by my colleagues. And also because the industry is developing and the requirements. Are higher now. And I thought well if I just stay with what I have I won't be as employable thought it would be beneficial for me to have Master's degree. So that's that's why I did it. But as I was doing that I could see that there are lots of other benefits so I have learned new things and I've just confirmed the existing knowledge. It was very interesting at some point when I was studying something I was thinking Oh I do that I actually you know do that in class but I never knew what the terminology for that was. And it was really good to learn those things.

**Question** And when you applied for the Master's you obviously showed them your diploma?

**Agnes** Oh that was, that was something. That was, sorry, that was an interesting experience.

**Question** What happened?

**Agnes** They told me I have to do IELTS. Yeah. That was painful experience. That was just really something. Just to explain to them Look I'm an English teacher too like a teacher at uni now right now I teach students...

**Question** Because you were applying for a Master's?

**Agnes** Yeah yeah yeah. And they did make my life difficult but in the end I managed to prove and give them enough evidence.

**Question** So what kind of evidence?

**Agnes** Teaching. Primarily teaching experience. But it was interesting that there was a gap in my teaching because when I when I applied I only taught for about maybe under a year and before that I was on maternity leave for a year and they said oh you need to have at least two years' experience and I said to them so, so at first the argument was that I need to prove them that I you know that I taught enough and then they said okay well you have been teaching da-da-da and then like oooh there is a gap here. And I said. Well I was on maternity leave. And after that my argument was basically well do you think that if people were out of the industry for like a year due to life circumstances like pregnancy or there is any trauma that might happen in people's life and all that years of experience is not considered. And then they like. Okay we need to reconsider the situation and we'll call you back. And after that finally they accepted everything and approved my application.

**Question** But in a way, I mean somebody with a different disposition might have just said oh ok. Do you know what I mean, like just accepted what they'd said. You didn't accept it.

**Agnes** Yes exactly my point. And that actually made me feel,..... not angry but actually I was more upset not just about me but as you said like about other people. Okay fair enough it happened to me but there are many other people who go through the same situation and they're being treated unfairly. And that was actually on....

**Question** That might not have that voice.

**Agnes** Exactly. I was on the phone with one lady and I was like she was probably the first person who was listening to me and hearing what I was saying and I said Look, you hear me like you hear that I can talk to you you know that I'm teaching. You, you see all this evidence. And she said you know what, I completely agree with you. And we actually have professors coming from other countries people with experience and just purely because they were born in another country. They have to do it and why. Yeah. So I yeah I got to the point where I really wanted to maybe even officially like write a letter and just say look this was my case but what if there are other people who are going through the same thing. Don't you want to help them like you

can't just divide people into left and right, black and white. There has to be an individual approach, and I actually worked when I worked as a student advisor. Like I said I was dealing with cases like that and where students were calling me and say look I can't do this and this and I couldn't just say okay or sorry like our policy says a, b and c. You have to have a different approach. You can't just simply say no or yes to something. So when I said look you have to you have to change it. It doesn't work like that.

**Question** Do you think they have?

**Agnes** I don't think so. It's such a large organization and you can't just, one person can't just go against.

**Question** Yeah yeah. And in terms of your knowledge and your experience from our first degree was any of that taken into consideration?

**Agnes** Do you mean if I got any credit? I didn't even apply.

**Question** Why not?

**Agnes** Oh Because I've heard so many stories where people wouldn't get a credit. People wouldn't even get a credit for university from Australia.

**Question** Oh really. So you just thought it was pointless?

**Agnes** I thought I'll just do everything and I get my Master's at the end. And that's it.

**Question** And this Master's is with a view to do what?

**Agnes** To continue teaching.

**Question** Where?

**Agnes** At this stage at this stage, so what happened in those last few months, last six months was that I have, I decided to walk away from private sector like ESL private sector and just work for Public sector Government schools. So I got my accreditation. Thank you very much. That was that also a painful experience. As you can imagine.

**Question** And what? for the same kinds of reasons?

**Agnes** Um.... so interesting just so go off topic a little bit but when you go through something and it's painful you, you just want to pull your hair but when it's finished and you finally get what you wanted you kind of forget all the bad things it's like giving birth you know. It's like I remember it was painful but it's okay now I

love my child. So a similar way I guess it was just ah at some stage with NESAs same thing you need to go do IELTS. Yeah, yeah, yeah same thing.

**GE** So did they dig their heels in.

**Agnes** No I didn't do IELTS.

**Question** Have you ever done IELTS?

**Agnes** I had. It was a long, long, long time ago back in Russia. So I do know what it's what it's about. So that's why I didn't want to do it. Um no but like yeah NESAs was probably the longest one but when, but when I got my NESAs approval it was like OK finally and then it was Department of Education but Department of Education was fine. Like it was a long process. But it wasn't as painful. I didn't have to prove anything because everything was technically already approved. It was just waiting like one paper another paper and just waiting.

**Question** So how long did it take in total?

**Agnes** Altogether six months.

**Question** Six months. And so if you didn't have your private sector work during that time, would that have been viable for you? So if you didn't have work and income during that six months that you were waiting?

**Agnes** Oh yeah.

**Question** I mean, would you have been able to wait that six months for that to come through?

**Agnes** Probably not. But the thing is even now when I got everything I don't have any work. So I finish working with uni was finished. Oh their contract is actually for 15 weeks max and then they renew it. So now I'm trying to apply at different schools but it just I guess hit me so I don't know I'm just going to wait and wait until somebody calls me so at this stage I am kind of between two roads I don't know where it's going to lead me.

**Question** And waiting.

**Agnes** So if something comes up in the private sector which is more stable than before I think I'm going to take that opportunity. But ideally yes I would like to work at a public school.

**Question** And why, why would you prefer that?

**Agnes** Expand my experience. So just want to because I can see that firstly because ESL industry is not stable. And secondly because

I can see that public education is now also diversifying and changing their approaches. And everything I've been learning now in my Master's I can see how much it actually applies to school education even more than ESL industry so I think for them it's great so I can use all my past knowledge plus my new theory and apply it here, and school education is not going anywhere. So stability plus use of all my experience and knowledge.

**Question** And in your accreditation process did you need to go and do any practicums?

**Agnes** No, no. Because, because, I'm a teacher and all this experience has been acknowledged so they didn't even ask for it actually.

**Question** Do you think in hindsight it might have been good to have that opportunity to go into a school. So you've got at least some teacher or principal that you know that might think of you and think?

**Agnes** I think so, yeah. Even when I was doing my Master's at some stage last year I've been actually asking that question many times if I need to do practicum. And oh my god I've heard so many different opinions about it. And still it was to the point like I don't know if I need to do practicum or not because some of them say you need to do because it's a part of your degree. But then it says if you already have a qualification in TESOL and you're a teacher don't need to do it and I'm like I have Cert IV TESOL would that be okay. Yes, okay. It was just like a bit of back and forth.

### **Asha Interview Two excerpt, 26th June 2018 at 5pm**

In this excerpt Asha speaks of the sacrifices she has made to retrain as a teacher in Australia, and then the additional university studies she has undertaken. She also discusses her work as a teacher in the Community Languages Program, as well as her experience from teaching in Fiji and how she uses it in her teaching in Australia. Lastly, Asha talks about the different value placed on her cultural capital in the education fields of Australia and Fiji, and the value of her habitus, particularly with regard to culturally and linguistically diverse students in Australia.

**Asha** That was in '87 '88. So we had two years in teachers college. So we just got teachers certificate. So we came out and like we went for two practicums in Fiji... two different schools. And then as soon as we came out we were bonded with the government. So we said like one year was on probation and then we were just put on permanent after that depending upon our performance. I taught 4 years in total in Fiji. It's different like in Fiji we just have kindergarten like up to from eight to twelve there's just like trained teachers and we have starting from year 1 to year 8 in primary school. So I taught like nearly all of the classes. Yes I did. And we migrated because of our children and stability in the country so we decided that we migrate.

**Question** And did you always want to continue teaching in Australia?

**Asha** I did have that in mind because like but when we came when I came I applied for registration. So the first thing was that they wanted a degree from Australia so I had to. That was in.... I came in 2003. So the process of application and all those the stuff it took two years I was doing some casual work with the agencies working in factories... with children... with family yeah. And then I was asked as soon as I came in I started teaching at a community language school language. So I started in 2000 as soon as I came two weeks I started teaching in a community language school so I'm still with them. So I was doing that plus all that casual work I used to do. Then I started studying my B.A. 2005, 6, 2007 I graduated B.A.. But that wasn't enough because they wanted like something teaching Master's they wanted Master's degree in teaching primary so I did Master's also I did that as well.

**Question** You were very driven.

**Asha** So I just did I thought if I want to I'll have to do it. I had my passion. That was my passion since I was a schoolgirl. So I achieved that back in my country when I came here I got into like community language and then I did teacher's aide for about six months. I got to know the school system and everything but like the children here are quite different from our country. They don't have respect for teachers here. There's not much respect for teachers and if you're from another country another culture or background.

**Question** Is that in all the schools where you've worked?

**Asha** I have been to so many different areas. It's basically the same.

**Question** And has that community languages school experience been beneficial?

**Asha** It did contribute but then I had to sacrifice everything for studies. I had to be with my family I had three boys young little boys at university school holidays I used to take them to lectures.

**Question** Oh, really?

**Asha** That's how they followed my steps. And then I had a lot of support from my husband I had my mother in law was looking after the children like she contribute. So my boys are.... they followed my footsteps now they are at uni also now.

**Question** Do you still teach in the community languages program?

**Asha** I'm continuing with that.

**Question** But you're also teaching in mainstream?

**Asha** Normal school yeah mainstream

**Question** And do you work in many schools or just a few?

**Asha** So, I did like lots of casual 2009, 2010, 2011, so from 2012 I got blocks, 2013, in different schools.

**Question** Do you prefer teaching blocks?

**Asha** Like that was good and then we had to go for accreditation with the BOSTES. So like I was in the school and I used to call be called every call every day with the principal come you've got this class you've got this block. But then when the time came for accreditation there was a glitch they didn't want to do it for me, so. and then they....

**Question** Why was that?

- Asha** I don't know because I was doing everything right but then I wrote to BOSTES. I said this has been happening and like I am... that teacher the principal is refusing to sign on me. But then they looked at the days I did at the different schools because I had the record and everything so I sent it to them which schools, how many days you did. So they said they'd replied. I'm emailing this to that school. They have to sign for you because you did so many hours and so many days. You did over 300 days in that particular school, so they had to do it.
- Question** How did you know what you needed to do?
- Asha** It's like everything is online. And I had phone contacts, emailing and then I got into it. So I've been a casual I collected information, evidence and everything and then I put it through and I was accredited in 2015. I got that so I'm given seven years from now to maintain that now. I'm studying now for the Master's now for the TESOL plus I'm doing some registered courses. We do school development courses in schools.
- Question** And do you find those courses useful?
- Asha** It is useful but like it's really time consuming.
- Question** Are you able to integrate what you've learnt in the courses you know what you're doing in your class.
- Asha** Yes I am because I'm doing TESOL what I'm studying in TESOL I use with my ESL students because I'm I used to just lending support for the students... so withdrawal groups. Kindergarten... I had year three, year four, year five, year six. So yeah plus I go to classes also. I've been on classes like I'm doing like all key learning areas.... So I'm like trained ... teacher so they used to just call me in the morning in the afternoon whenever they got time just you have to can you go to this school. Can you go to this school. I would just take it because I was passionate to teach so I would be ready all the time to be on the move. So then like with the accreditation when I had hurdles for accreditation I thought I'll do that just so and maybe I'll get somewhere.
- Question** So you undertook more studies?

- Asha** So I'm nearly there but then still like my experience I've got the strength of class control.
- Question** And do you think that's from your experience in Fiji.
- Asha** From Fiji and then like I have a lot of patience with students because I've been dealing with small students and bigger kids also. So like I've got patience with that. And plus like I am a bit firm.... Have to be here. I want my when I go to class I want them what is given to them and play and other stuff later. So yeah. I just want that work to be done.
- Question** Do you get that discipline from your experience in Fiji?
- Asha** Yeah My expectation is they are disciplined they follow the rules the classroom rules here we have classroom rules, school rules, behaviour management policies we have to follow and everything.
- Question** And did you kind of form and network with other teachers.
- Asha** Yes.
- Question** Was that... were they from all around or...?
- Asha** Yeah that's we've got teachers from all around but like some schools you go. The teachers said oh that's a casual teacher they wouldn't talk to you like you'll feel neglected.
- Question** And so instead of having sort of a support network or communication network within a school is it more far reaching than that? Do you think have you kept in contact with teachers that you've talked with in Fiji?
- Asha** Yeah we meet Sometimes but not all but like sometimes I when I go back to my country I go see them.
- Question** Do you talk about your experiences.
- Asha** Yeah I've been they know that I'm a teacher here. I've been trained and they say they look upon me.
- Question** Oh do they?

- Asha** Yeah because people who were principals who had teachers came to this country and they couldn't take up their education because they couldn't take the challenges here. So they haven't trained themselves to be teachers here. They have dropped they became taxi drivers businessmen.
- Question** And so they kind of look at you as a model of success?
- Asha** They say Oh you've done it you could do you it. You were very like.
- Question** And do you think that Australian teaching staff or principals see you in that regard as well?
- Asha** I don't think so. not many not many.
- Question** No? Why do you think that is?
- Asha** They don't really see because I think I don't know why but like some of them do. But some of them no they don't really care.
- Question** When you see other teaching staff you're talking about staff that sort of just label you as a casual. Do you think that's the worst label for you.
- Asha** I don't think so because when you do a great job like day to day and they look up on you. This teacher has done this since she has completed what I wanted left the classroom issue clean, tidy and then look into all those details and then they look upon you and they'll say we want you to come back again.
- Question** So they do see the value?
- Asha** They do see the value yeah.
- Question** What about with the students for example you know you talked about having lots of different grades and different schools around Western Sydney. They're not all Australian born students are they.
- Asha** No not Australian born.
- Question** Do you think that they see that you can relate a little bit to their experiences.

- Asha** Yeah I do and they'll sometimes ask 'are you from India?'. No, I'm not.
- Question** Do they get confused if you say No Fiji.
- Asha** Yeah they do but you have got the red dot So that's I'm Indian I am Indian but I'm from Fiji I'm not from India.
- Question** And do they understand after that the kids?
- Asha** They do because I'm working in Arabic schools now that area mostly Arabic or Lebanese.
- Question** And so do they sort of understand that you can be from a different country but look like....
- Asha** Yeah they do. I have a little student in kindergarten she goes one day "I'm a Muslim Mrs Anand<sup>3</sup> I'm a Muslim. I said so what. When I grow up I have to wear the hijab. I said that's part of your culture that we are talking about in the school because she brings that from home. So like we have got curriculum which is in our school. They do Arabic in school they do Chinese in school but like my language Hindi we don't have a normal school. Some schools do have but like the school that I'm teaching they don't have. I go to Sunday school and teach there.

#### **Joy Interview Four excerpt, 22nd June 2018 at 8.15am**

In this excerpt Joy discusses the college course she first did when she arrived in Australia, and how this led to her choosing to specialize in special needs teaching. She also talks about her reasons for selecting ESL as a specialization. Joy also speaks of the ways in which she uses her Indian teaching experience in her Australian classrooms, and the ways in which she accesses her capital and her habitus in new teaching situations.

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<sup>3</sup> All names are pseudonyms.

**Joy** No no no. It was a special needs, special school. It's a school with very severe behaviour. If we don't to manage those kids the next thing they're sent to juvenile prisons. And there are, they were, they're not to me.... They did have a few like you know really deserving cases but some. Are because of parental lack and something happening at home. Their monitoring, keeping up.

**Question** You did that at university didn't you. What made you choose that?

**Joy** I chose that because at that point there was a lot of work with ESL. I haven't had this training even though I came from another country. I knew I could manage the kids. And. Because I have the patience. And I have the love and the zeal. To put into those kids so I knew I would be able to manage them. So I did take a couple of subjects which would take me into the school. So I could have a look into some observations and see. So while I was at college Doing a course I shouldn't have been doing but I did it. Just to gain some, meet some friends and meet people and get to know things and how they operate in Australia. I was doing a basic course. Because I had no. Computer skills or technology. Because. We never had them in. You know. We were just starting here in Australia. This is 30 years ago and I... So, I was doing those sort of things and they had a little work experience and being a teacher. My work experience was to go into schools. And one school I went into was a special needs. And then I did a week. At one of the. Local. Mainstream. Yeah. So that's how I thought when I go to uni. If I get opportunity I should do this because they were telling me there were a lack of teachers. In that special needs even now actually. They don't have many going and even the people that go. Just walk out. They can't do it it's so tough. Resilience is required.

**Question** Did you have that resilience?

**Joy** I did. I was going till they told me you know maybe it wasn't the school I think it was just me, my body. Yeah, it happens. So. That's how I took up that subject and I took ESL as well because I thought with the migrant intake and knowing, having a background of you know other languages might help. So I changed.

**Question** So was there anything that you think from your background you know you said to me that ESL was a perfect choice because all your students in India were ESL?

**Joy** They were all.

**Question** Was there something to challenge you?

**Joy** Something to challenge, something new and also because you know if we all try to go to mainstream and I was a mature age student. I was wondering like will there be a position. So when I did this, special needs, it was like you know very high. Up for you know schools. Because I didn't have to wait long actually the school. That I was working casual in Whitby. And I did a prac there they just gave me a job straight away it was permanent. And the department had given me a job too it was in Bilberry Meadows straightaway. So it was you know because of these added skills. which nobody else was taking on. The challenging children. And I took them on. But they were very good. They loved me. And even when I was going they said Oh you don't like like you know. I said I do but you know I'm very sick and I have to you know... And they were quite grown up too because they used to keep them there til they were year 10 or 11. Yes. Because no other schools would have them. So they were quite mature.

**Question** And do you think that your approach to them was different.

**Joy** Probably. They they sense it too. They do. You cannot yell at them and demand them to do things. If you. Go to them and ask them you know. Kindly and smile at them and respond when they ask you. There's not much they say but you know.

**Question** But it's more that kindness.

**Joy** And there's a few things.... If they had enough of doing this they'll pick up another thing and they were individual programs for each child.

**Question** Which is a lot of work.

**Joy** Yeah, but there were not many. Usually they have seven but I had 14 double that. I think. Because I manage them. And we all had a teacher's aide. Every class had a teacher's aide in case a child is distressed and needed support.

**Question** And so at that school were you the only non-Australian-background teacher?

- Joy** Yes. But they were all lovely. They were mostly like you know. Teachers from. Australian teachers. There was a PE teacher. Very good would come in. We would always be there with each other. We were never alone. So if the PE teacher came I went with the PE teacher and the aide to take them out. Because that's how you know difficult they could be and you have to be ready to have you know somebody there to supported you when they do. They would have some teachers had kids climb up on the roof once a child came through ceiling. Because they had those thatched... In the staff room I think he went up there. they just. Doing things you know. Wanting to challenge.
- Question** Do you have to be the kind of person almost thrives on the unpredictability.
- Joy** Yes and don't react harshly to it. Because if you react it will escalate. So be calm and in. Control.
- Question** My picture of a school in India is with a very strict teacher telling us who what to do.
- Joy** They are strict but that's their structure. They tell them what to do. And they all listen because they're. That's what they do and they respect and they just listen.
- Question** So it sounds quite the opposite.
- Joy** But that was a behaviour school we never had these you know. They didn't have this in India. Everybody went to one school. There were not. behaviour schools Everybody was in the same room. But now they are having a bit like you know. My sister. She's working and she's got a class where there's an aide. But not because you know there's anybody there with special needs or anything. They're just getting more support. In India. Then she's in a very top school in Delhi in the city. So you know there will be a difference between the cities and the towns. teachers.
- Question** And so those kind of kids that you had those special needs kids. Would they have been sent to school and be scattered through.
- Joy** They would have. They would have been. I think that's the downfall for these children because they get labelled and then they are put into one bunch where they have no role models and they will imitate what they see. So there we never had that they all came to the same class. They worked with others. They modelled what they saw.

- Question** So what resources do you think that you drew upon in yourself to get used to and to thrive and to do well as a teacher. In that environment that was so different to the environment in India.
- Joy** Here we had a bit of support. The numbers were small. And you had teachers aid and you had a supervisor. And myself. I had the you know the qualification the background the experience. Experience plays a big part. In getting... general experience because no matter how qualified sometimes we are. It's what are we going to do when the situation arises it may not be from a book it's you know something never happened in your life. How do you handle that. And it's just you know.
- Question** So do you just think that in your own mind? Or do you talk to some of the other teachers?
- Joy** Sometimes we deal with it and then sometimes we have a debriefing when the thing has happened. And that debriefing helps us. Next time. You know we'll try this. But sometimes you've tried everything. And you know sometimes they have to go away to time out and maybe with a supervisor. To have some calm down. And it helps them. Don't escalate situations. If they are not ready to learn well just let them do something else if they're. Happy with a book because they have a lot of rotation activities for the day.
- Question** But that sounds like what how you manage....
- Joy** Yeah. mainstream and everything. But with them shorter span.

### **Sada Interview Two excerpt, 15th August, 2018 at 8.30am**

In this excerpt Sada talks of her use of both Arabic and English in her Arabic language classes. She also recalls her initial anxiety when she was teaching in Mainstream classes and needed to be certain of her English language skills. Sada also reflects on how her experiences in her home country have shaped her habitus, and the fact that her habitus impacts on her teaching practice.

- Sada** It's not. No it's not that motivation but because they know they perform better and now because they don't know so it's more struggle for them and if you struggle you don't

enjoy things. We've tried to do it in an enjoyable way as much as we can. But most of them are like they're not bad. But it's just it's a struggle for them. Yeah. Yeah.

**Question** So what type of teaching do you like best?

**Sada** I preferred casual work. So there's not too much commitment or responsibilities and the language was I must admit it was a barrier. But like I always had this fear like if I had to come and teach. I used to go early very early in the morning and prepared well prepared and be you know on top of it. I can't just walk into the class and. You know. It's not like now I have to be like more. I need more time to prepare. Of course.

**Question** Because of the language?

**Sada** Yeah. Guess if there was any you know things that I'm not ready for and students will ask me. So yeah. I'll go look at the lesson plan, make sure everything's covered..... Yeah [in] English. Because I'm a mainstream I'm not Arabic teacher to start with. Just recently like the last I would say 6 years I've been like doing yeah Arabic. Yeah. But the Arabic say like in teaching Arabic. Yeah. Well it was a strength. Like. Because I'm good in both languages now English and Arabic. I was very good advantage for that because even though we are teaching Arabic whether or not in high school. It has to be both as well. It's not completely Arabic no! It's half half because we've got new arrivals but completely Arabic they're struggling because some questions it's in English and they have to answer in English. And you've got the people who is here they're struggling with Arabic so I don't know not to balance probably I don't know. This is the system so we have to have....

**Question** So you have to be strong in both languages.

- Sada** In both yeah. You can't just the fully good in Arabic and go. You'd be lost. No! But you have to have like you speak half Arabic half English. And yeah....
- Question** And so you sort of in a class you get between the two.
- Sada** Yes yeah yeah.
- Question** And is that the same with primary school as well.
- Sada** Ah with... primary school they're all fairly low level. It's different than the high schools because the high school we've got the new arrivals who is coming from there but the people who is here the level was completely very basics. Even the stage 3, so you can't literally speak fully Arabic with them. You put more English into it. Like the instructions in English. I would say it in Arabic....
- Question** But then repeat in English.
- Sada** I prefer to say things I repeat myself in Arabic I don't know they might get... I tell them even if we don't understand but in time you're going to grab some words here and there and you'll get used to it. Like we'll put stories to listen to on the smart board we put it in Arabic even though but it's translated in English so I'm pretty sure from always listening and reading they're going to grab words here and there you know. But you don't expect them to be you know like.
- Question** Absolutely fluent.
- Sada** Yeah. Just the basics every day hopefully. Yeah.
- Question** And what about your cultural awareness. You know your background. How do you think that impacts on the students.
- Sada** Now because I live in my country 20, 20 years. I was 21. I have all this you know the basics there and I always can implement it in my lessons but to tell you the truth now

I'm more to this culture more than mine. 'Cos I lived here more than I did back there back there is. But still I have, when you have the basics you'll never forget it. You've got it.

**Question** You know you have to have that understanding.

**Sada** Yeah it will never go away. Yeah maybe nowadays I don't know if there's any you know as you know like life changes everywhere and I think there is changes like overseas like sometimes I hear things Oh! Is what's happening. Oh! It's not what you're used you know when I was there. There's big changes but I mean the basics are still there. Like the family values and the respect and all this. Still like yeah still like lots of things that are....

**Question** Does that help you when you're talking to parents as well. If you have to talk to parents of some of your students do you think.

**Sada** Well most of the parents they're all brought up here.

**Question** Did you go to primary and high schools?

**Sada** No! Just primary and there was heaps of work like I was full time always getting called in the morning. They used to call us like nowadays it's different. And then.

**Question** So what was it about you that they wanted you.

**Sada** I don't know. I'm... well I think the kids they used to like me a lot. Um, I I always deal with the problems about the classroom. I don't make a big fuss unless it's major when I.... so from this I think they were relaxed from this side. So you've got some casuals every you know they make trouble. Yeah. Yeah. The things that I can deal with I can. Reliable, on time, very organized, I think. LAUGHS This is what I think. Yeah. I'm always well prepared. I'm the type of person. Like everything has to be up to scratch. So, even at home like if I leave home now. There is not a spoon in the sink. Everything has to be a hundred percent

before I leave. I'm very organised like I've got my routine. I'm a routine person. I have to do things. So, it reflected of course on my teaching because this is how I am. And then till the other school kept ringing me and take me from other schools, so...

## Appendix F Capital and strategies sample mapping tools

The following tables show samples of my mapping of the IEs' capital and the strategies they displayed.

Agnes:		Types of Strategies			
		Subversion	Acquiescence	Collaboration	Defiance
Types of Capital	Cultural Capital Knowledge	<p>-“When I tell them I studied English as a second language they are like What?! Yes, so I know that’s where you come from, I know……. And that warms them up... and they assume maybe that they have a more valuable rather than less valuable teacher”</p> <p>-“I had to become Australian very quickly”</p> <p>-Being a global citizen-</p>	<p>-Did not even apply for credit/RPL towards her Master’s or for her NESA Accreditation on the basis of her Russian specialist diploma. She heard that some ‘people wouldn’t even get credit for university from Australia’. Decided that end goal was to have the Master’s and easiest way was to just do everything.</p> <p>-Does not even show her Russian quals when she has approached public schools for work. Plans to just show her Master’s when she eventually completes it.</p>	<p>-Adopting a much more learner centred teaching style- high cultural C based on education here and abroad</p> <p>-Moving around to different schools has enabled her to experience different levels and different ages</p> <p>-Encouraged to do a Masters- points out not by management but by her colleagues, many of whom were also doing a Masters</p>	<p>-Rejecting the requirement that she do IELTS for entry into her M Teach- high cultural C</p> <p>-Rejecting the ‘dogma’ of English- only in EALD classes based on her own experiences of learning English- high cultural C</p> <p>-Rejecting the requirement that her teaching experience be only recent experience. As she had been on maternity leave they weren’t going to count previous teaching experience in when she applied to do her Masters</p>
	Economic Capital Wealth and possessions		<p>-Undertaking a CERT IV TESOL and then to re-do a p/t teaching qual in Aus while working and as mother to two young children- mid economic C</p>	<p>-Says she wants to work at a public school to expand her experience, but also repeatedly talks about the private sector TESOL industry being an unstable industry.</p> <p>-Planned to start a new career in the public system but “can’t just keep waiting and sitting without any work”</p>	
	Social capital Connections and relationships	<p>-Has husband’s surname so although others have told her that employment opportunities can be based on Anglo-Saxon surnames she has not experienced that. Says it’s racist - see defiance as well?</p>	<p>-Ability to negotiate the field to become a TESOL teacher in ELICOS colleges</p> <p>-Says that younger people who’ve just completed their undergrad have more of a chance of finding work “because they’re Australian... they belong here” .... “so it seems like all my experience is not really being considered.”- moves into cultural capital as well.</p> <p>-Feeling the need to re-do teaching quals in Aus- low symbolic C</p>	<p>-Married an Australian so did not need to go through a vetting process by way of her qualifications when she first came to Australia. --Reflects that she may have been able to go through the NESA process back then but wonders whether the outcome would have been different given that she had not yet started her Masters.</p> <p>-Ability to negotiate the field to become a TESOL teacher in ELICOS colleges</p>	<p>-Has husband’s surname so although others have told her that employment opportunities can be based on Anglo-Saxon surnames, she has not experienced that. Says it’s racist. - Could be seen as defiance but haven’t got evidence to say she openly calls out the racism see subversion as well?</p>
	Symbolic Capital Prestige or reputation	<p>-Knowledge of what she needed to gain when she arrived here in order to gain employment</p>	<p>-Feeling the need to re-do teaching quals in Aus- low symbolic C</p> <p>-Feeling the need to move into education admin- desire to see the other side but also to have more stability in her employment.</p>	<p>-Although she has all the approvals, she is still waiting to secure a teaching position- low symbolic C</p> <p>-Reasons for moving away from ELICOS are stability plus use of all her knowledge and experience</p>	<p>-Rejecting the requirement that she do IELTS for entry into her M Teach due to her working as a TESOL teacher for the same university- high symbolic C</p>

## Appendix F Capital and strategies sample mapping tool, Continued

Joy:		Types of Strategies			
		Subversion	Acquiescence	Collaboration	Defiance
Types of Capital	Cultural Capital knowledge			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Adopting a much more learner centred teaching style- high cultural C based on education here and abroad</li> <li>-Her experience from India meant she was ready for Special Needs and ESL teaching in Australia</li> <li>-Was able to select specialisations which she believed would be in demand, which then helped her to gain full time permanent employment</li> <li>-Used to large classes with all students in together in India so was well prepared for Australian classes</li> </ul>	
	Economic Capital Wealth and possessions			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Did an initial college course on arrival in Aus to learn about the culture and workplace skills such as computer skills- high economic C</li> <li>-Did two years of uni in Australia to gain the qualifications to teach</li> </ul>	
	Social capital Connections and relationships			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Importance of English only in the field</li> <li>-Using her status as a long- term T to create a more flexible workplace for herself- high social C</li> <li>-Woman who came to college course helped her. (Angela)</li> <li>-Had a lot of friends from the church who wanted to help her when she first arrived in Australia</li> <li>Formed a group with other mature aged students at uni and they looked after each others' children- informal creche. Uni even scheduled classes so they could look do this.</li> </ul>	
	Symbolic Capital Prestige or reputation			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Choosing to specialise in teaching areas for which there was a shortage of teachers- high symbolic C</li> <li>-Able to emigrate to Australia easily because of language and qualifications</li> <li>-After she did her teaching degree in Australia she was employed as an experienced teacher</li> <li>-Says that although they miss the sociocultural aspect of learning, EAL/D students need withdrawal to bring them up to the required English level</li> </ul>	

## Appendix F Capital and strategies sample mapping tool, Continued

Sada:		Types of Strategies			
		Subversion	Acquiescence	Collaboration	Defiance
Types of Capital	Cultural Capital knowledge	-Her high score in Arabic allowed her to enter teaching despite low scores in English and Maths "Arabic pulled me up" -Her explanation of how Arabic is not like English so grammar needs to be taught as a separate subject, not integrated into a text based approach -Understands the nuances within the homogenous classification of Arabic and uses this knowledge to work around students and deal with parents- different nationalities as well as levels of connection to cultural backgrounds "I know the way they think"- How a parent talks to their child	-More and more English creeping into the Arabic classes/ assessments	-English for one year then HSC as a mature aged student at college- due to low CC -Had to work harder because she saw herself as "disadvantaged" due to her non native E status- low CC -Undertook a 2 <sup>nd</sup> degree with advanced standing from 1 <sup>st</sup> degree- didn't want to lose her Arabic - Language was a barrier for her but "I'm good in both languages now" -Describes how she teaches struggling kids "I like to teach" -aware of the need for her to be flexible and make ppl feel relaxed around her. -awareness of the fluidity of cultural belonging "I'm good in both languages now"	
	Economic Capital Wealth and possessions			-Did one year of English upon arrival in Australia before going on to complete two undergrad degrees, and having 2 children through her studies- high Economic C  -Wants a better work/life balance so quit a few times but is able to work P/T - Is there a hint of defiance in this?	
	Social capital Connections and relationships			-In demand as both an Arabic language and a mainstream teacher- high social C. Says she got stuck in one school. AP called her to work in another HS. In demand due to her Arabic - high social C -Relationships with other staff and parents who see her as valuable for her knowledge of teaching, languages, and cultural awareness.	
	Symbolic Capital Prestige or reputation			-In demand from principals/ teachers at schools with large Arabic student body- high symbolic C -In demand from principals/ teachers at schools with large Arabic student body- high symbolic C	

## Appendix F Capital and strategies sample mapping tool, Continued

Asha:		Types of Strategies			
		Subversion	Acquiescence	Collaboration	Defiance
Types of Capital	Cultural Capital knowledge	-Uses her knowledge of other languages and cultures to build rapport with the students		-It's good to see all different schools, different cultures, different procedures- high cultural C I have a passion for teaching- high cultural C -I'm there because I want to help the students like I change their lives I mean something to them, and they mean something to me. If I can do something for them even for a day... -When I go to classrooms, I look around to see if there are any phones	-Complained to NESA when a principal refused to sign her PeP hours form. NESA ordered the principal to sign, but Asha was subsequently not re-employed at that school- high cultural C (sense of subversion strategy in this too)
	Economic Capital Wealth and possessions			-Community languages T since her arrival in Aus- low/mid economic C	
	Social capital Connections and relationships		-Ability to negotiate the field in order to be employed almost full time as a casual teacher- high social capital as a relief teacher	-Built a reputation as a reliable casual teacher who "gets the work done" High capital in one field, but not in the broader field of education	
	Symbolic Capital Prestige or reputation		-Feeling the need to re-do teaching quals in Aus- low symbolic C -Feeling the need to re-do teaching quals in Aus- low symbolic C -Who you know is what they apply now. What can we do. It's not in our hands- low symbolic C (talking about demand for her as a casual) I mean I am so flexible- high symbolic C	-Community languages T since her arrival in Aus- high symbolic C -What Fijian colleagues say to her: "You've done it. You could do it. You are very..." -Community languages T since her arrival in Aus- high symbolic C -What Fijian colleagues say to her: "You've done it. You could do it. You are very..."- high symbolic capital in this different Field of power -We go to different schools... learn different ways of teaching.. pick up this pick up that- High symbolic capital in field of casual teachers -(talking about different procedures to remember) that in the long run helps me- High symbolic capital in field of casual teachers	



## Appendix G Ethics approvals

### HREC Approval Granted - ETH17-1574

Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au <Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au>

Thu 30/11/2017 5:31 PM

To: Jacquie Widin <Jacquie.Widin@uts.edu.au>; Germana Eckert <Germana.Eckert@uts.edu.au>; Research Ethics <research.ethics@uts.edu.au>

Dear Applicant

Thank you for your response to the Committee's comments for your project titled, "The roles and positioning of non-English speaking background overseas-trained teachers in the Australian public school system". Your response satisfactorily addresses the concerns and questions raised by the Committee who agreed that the application now meets the requirements of the NHMRC National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007). I am pleased to inform you that ethics approval is now granted.

Your approval number is UTS HREC REF NO. ETH17-1574.

Approval will be for a period of five (5) years from the date of this correspondence subject to the provision of annual reports.

Your approval number must be included in all participant material and advertisements. Any advertisements on the UTS Staff Connect without an approval number will be removed.

Please note that the ethical conduct of research is an on-going process. The National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans requires us to obtain a report about the progress of the research, and in particular about any changes to the research which may have ethical implications. This report form must be completed at least annually from the date of approval, and at the end of the project (if it takes more than a year). The Ethics Secretariat will contact you when it is time to complete your first report.

I also refer you to the AVCC guidelines relating to the storage of data, which require that data be kept for a minimum of 5 years after publication of research. However, in NSW, longer retention requirements are required for research on human subjects with potential long-term effects, research with long-term environmental effects, or research considered of national or international significance, importance, or controversy. If the data from this research project falls into one of these categories, contact University Records for advice on long-term retention.

You should consider this your official letter of approval. If you require a hardcopy please contact Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au.

To access this application, please follow the URLs below:

\* if accessing within the UTS network: <https://rm.uts.edu.au>

\* if accessing outside of UTS network: <https://remote.uts.edu.au>, and click on "RM6 - ResearchMaster Enterprise" after logging in.

We value your feedback on the online ethics process. If you would like to provide feedback please go to:

<http://surveys.uts.edu.au/surveys/onlineethics/index.cfm>

If you have any queries about your ethics approval, or require any amendments to your research in the future, please do not hesitate to contact Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au.

Yours sincerely,

Associate Professor Beata Bajorek  
Chairperson  
UTS Human Research Ethics Committee  
C/- Research & Innovation Office  
University of Technology, Sydney  
E: Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au

I:

<https://staff.uts.edu.au/topicub/Pages/Researching/Research%20Ethics%20and%20Integrity/Human%20research%20ethics/human-research-ethics.aspx>

REF: E38

Ms Germana Eckert  
[Redacted]

DOC18/364335  
**SERAP 2017516**

Dear Ms Eckert

I refer to your application to conduct a research project in NSW government schools entitled *The roles and positioning of non-English-speaking-background overseas-trained teachers in the Australian public school system*. I am pleased to inform you that your application has been approved.

You may contact principals of the nominated schools to seek their participation. **You should include a copy of this letter with the documents you send to principals.**

This approval will remain valid until 30-Nov-2018.

The following researchers or research assistants have fulfilled the Working with Children screening requirements to interact with or observe children for the purposes of this research for the period indicated:

Researcher name	WWCC	WWCC expires
Germana Eckert	0260977E	10-Feb-2019

I draw your attention to the following requirements for all researchers in NSW government schools:

- The privacy of participants is to be protected as per the NSW Privacy and Personal Information Protection Act 1998.
- School principals have the right to withdraw the school from the study at any time. The approval of the principal for the specific method of gathering information must also be sought.
- The privacy of the school and the students is to be protected.
- The participation of teachers and students must be voluntary and must be at the school's convenience.
- Any proposal to publish the outcomes of the study should be discussed with the research approvals officer before publication proceeds.
- All conditions attached to the approval must be complied with.

When your study is completed please email your report to: [serap@det.nsw.edu.au](mailto:serap@det.nsw.edu.au)  
You may also be asked to present on the findings of your research.

I wish you every success with your research.

Yours sincerely

Production Note:  
Signature removed  
prior to publication.

Sandi Simpkins  
**Director, School Policy and Information Management**  
9 May 2018

School Policy and Information Management  
NSW Department of Education  
Level 1, 1 Oxford Street, Darlinghurst NSW 2010 – Locked Bag 53, Darlinghurst NSW 1300  
Telephone: 02 9244 5060 – Email: [serap@det.nsw.edu.au](mailto:serap@det.nsw.edu.au)

Ms Germana Eckert  
[Redacted]  
[Redacted]

DOC18/1549784  
**SERAP 2017516**

Dear Ms Eckert

I refer to your application for extension to the research project being conducted in NSW government schools entitled *The roles and positioning of non-English-speaking-background overseas-trained teachers in the Australian public school system*. I am pleased to inform you that your application for extension has been approved.

This approval will remain valid until 29 November 2019.

The following researchers or research assistants have fulfilled the Working with Children screening requirements to interact with or observe children for the purposes of this research for the period indicated:

Researcher name	WWCC	WWCC expires
Germana Eckert	WWC0260977E	10-Feb-2019

When your study is completed please email your report to [serap@det.nsw.edu.au](mailto:serap@det.nsw.edu.au).

Yours sincerely

Production Note:  
Signature removed  
prior to publication.

Dr Robert Stevens  
**Manager, Research**  
30 November 2018



## Appendix H Informed consent for IEs



### CONSENT FORM

The roles and positioning of non- English- speaking- background overseas- trained teachers in the Australian public school system

UTS HREC ETH17-1574

I, [redacted] [participant's name] agree to participate in the research project 'The roles and positioning of non- English- speaking- background overseas- trained teachers in the Australian public school system' UTS HREC ETH17-1574 being conducted by Germana Eckert, 15 Broadway, Ultimo NSW 2007, 0409 128 517.

I have read the Participant Information Sheet or someone has read it to me in a language that I understand.

I understand the purposes, procedures and risks of the research as described in the Participant Information Sheet.

I understand that I have an obligation to not reveal or in any manner disclose information I am made aware of during the course of this study. I agree that if I take part in any focus groups I will not disclose with persons not included in the focus groups any of the information discussed in those focus groups.

I have had an opportunity to ask questions and I am satisfied with the answers I have received.

I freely agree to participate in this research project as described and understand that I am free to withdraw at any time without affecting my relationship with the researchers or the University of Technology Sydney.

I understand that I will be given a signed copy of this document to keep.

I agree to be:

☒ Audio recorded

I agree that the research data gathered from this project may be published in a form that:

☒ Does not identify me in any way

☒ May be used for future research purposes

I am aware that I can contact the Ethics Secretariat on +61 2 9514 2478 or email: Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au if I have any concerns about the research.

Name and Signature [participant]

[Signature]

11/6/18  
Date

Production Note:

Signature removed prior to publication.

Name and Signature [researcher or delegate]

11/6/18  
Date

#### NOTE:

This study has been approved by the University of Technology Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee [UTS HREC]. If you have any concerns or complaints about any aspect of the conduct of this research, please contact the Ethics Secretariat on ph.: +61 2 9514 2478 or email: Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au, and quote the UTS HREC reference number. Any matter raised will be treated confidentially, investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

## Appendix I Extracted pages of documents analysed using CDA

EAL/D Overview and Advice Handbook (ACARA, 2014, p.22)

- The skill of 'inquiry' and of challenging commonly held beliefs is a Western educational tradition, and not all EAL/D students will have experience of this.
- Not all cultures value the sharing of feelings and an individual's thoughts in the school setting. For some EAL/D students this may be confronting, embarrassing or just unfamiliar. Therefore, some reticence to contribute or participate in activities of this sort may be for cultural reasons.
- Not all cultures interact in the same way. For example, turn-taking may not be the norm, or students may appear to not be listening, appearing distracted or walking around the room while actually listening. Distracted behaviour may be cultural.
- Body language, 'personal space', eye contact and gestures are linked to culture, and some EAL/D students will use and interpret body language gestures differently. For example, a nod of the head means *no* in many Middle Eastern countries; direct eye contact can indicate respect (or a lack thereof) in different cultures, and so on. It is important not to assume that body language is a universal language. Teachers must be mindful that students schooled in one culture may take years to 'retrain' themselves to different conventions of gesture and body language. Explicit and sensitive assistance in this area is recommended.

### Teaching strategies to support EAL/D students access the learning in content descriptions

This section contains an overview of teaching strategies and considerations that will assist mainstream teachers to adapt their teaching to cater for the specific learning needs of EAL/D students in their classrooms.

Teachers can support EAL/D students by:

- identifying a student's level language proficiency using the EAL/D learning progression
- utilising students' cultural understandings
- building shared knowledge
- making the procedures and expectations of the learning environment explicit

These strategies will be suggested, where relevant, in the EAL/D annotations attached to the content descriptions in the learning areas of the Australian Curriculum. However, this overview will assist teachers and schools in planning their teaching programs to ensure that they are inclusive of the needs of all students.

### Utilising EAL/D students' cultural and linguistic resources

It is important to recognise that EAL/D students (and all students) bring a range of cultural and linguistic resources with them into Australian classrooms. These resources can be:

- used to build EAL/D students' English language learning and their curriculum content knowledge
- shared in the classroom for the benefit of all students. When the curriculum directs teachers to consider cultural and linguistic knowledge and attitudes, teachers should

look first to the students in their classrooms to make use of the cultural and linguistic resources already present.

Teachers should actively:

- invite EAL/D students (and all students) to share their cultural and linguistic knowledge and experiences. This creates an inclusive space for EAL/D students in the school environment, as well as providing opportunities for deep learning and intercultural understanding for the entire class
- allow students to make use of their first language to make sense of English and to facilitate the learning of new concepts. Using a bilingual teaching assistant or more able student from the same language background to explain concepts in the students' home language is encouraged. If the desired outcome is the presentation of knowledge in a report, then allow EAL/D students to undertake part or all of the research in their home language.

### Building shared knowledge

Effective teaching and learning practices are those which build on shared knowledge and understandings. While EAL/D students bring many valuable cultural and linguistic resources with them to the learning context, their experiences, understandings and expectations are often different from those that are assumed as 'common knowledge' in Australian classrooms.

The curriculum often refers to the familiar and the everyday; however, the 'everyday' is determined by our social and cultural contexts. It is important to check whether EAL/D students possess 'everyday' and 'real-life' knowledge assumed by many curriculum tasks. For example, mathematics problems teaching interest rates often create scenarios around banks and hire purchase that are unfamiliar for some EAL/D students. To build shared knowledge around the concept, the class can view films, make visits to a bank or do role-plays.

Excursions and hands-on experiences are important tools for building shared knowledge prior to asking EAL/D students to demonstrate understanding through language. The use of concrete objects before requiring work in the abstract is important, especially in mathematics and science (for example, building models and nets before doing work on volume in mathematics, conducting experiments before writing reports, making an object before completing the written procedure, walking around the neighbourhood before drawing a map, and so on).

Visuals and gestures are an important part of building shared knowledge prior to embarking on deeper learning. Ensure that visuals or real-life objects accompany written words to help EAL/D students make the meaning connection, and take care that a broad and inclusive view of the 'familiar' and 'everyday' is portrayed in the classroom. However, it is important to note that visuals are also culturally loaded. For example, an Australian-style letterbox at the front of the house is non-existent in most other cultures and in remote communities in Australia where mail is delivered by other means; diagrams of electrical currents are meaningless to refugees or asylum seekers who have been in a camp with no electricity for their entire lives; even a picture of a Western-style toilet is initially unfamiliar to a child who has grown up with

Supporting EAL/D students in schools pdf (NSW DoE, 2017, p. 1). Figure 3 extract taken from this page.

## Supporting EAL/D students in schools

In 2016, over 160,000 students in NSW public schools were learning English as an Additional Language or Dialect (EAL/D).

In NSW public schools, EAL/D students are identified as being in one of four phases within the [EAL/D Learning Progression](#): Beginning, Emerging, Developing or Consolidating. This process allows teachers to assess levels of EAL/D need and determine priorities for allocating available EAL/D teacher support within the school. The EAL/D Learning Progression phase for each student is entered in ERN and collected through the EAL/D Annual Survey. This information is used to allocate the English Language Proficiency equity loading for through Resource Allocation Model (RAM).

### EAL/D program aims

EAL/D student support aims to develop EAL/D students' English language competence and improve their learning outcomes throughout the curriculum to a level where they can fully participate in schooling and independently pursue further education and training.

EAL/D teaching and learning focusses on students learning English in context and across the curriculum so that they acquire the English language skills relevant to each content area. For this reason, EAL/D specialist teaching needs to be integrated as far as possible within different subjects, so that students are supported to learn the specific language, including the vocabulary, text types and communication modes that are appropriate and necessary for different disciplines and curriculum areas.

### EAL/D pedagogy

EAL/D pedagogy encompasses teaching strategies and considerations that teachers can use to cater for the specific learning needs of EAL/D students in their classrooms. Teachers can begin by identifying their students' level of English language proficiency and becoming familiar with their students' cultural understandings. By making learning intentions and success criteria explicit, teachers can build shared knowledge using a range of strategies including frontloading, message abundance and scaffolding, and by stressing the importance of oral language. Teachers should also understand the impact of

cultural capital, of maintaining first language competency and develop an understanding about second language acquisition.

In order to effectively support the needs of EAL/D students in learning across the curriculum, teachers should identify the language and literacy demands and any assumed cultural and conceptual knowledge underlying the curriculum and texts used in class programs. When planning for teaching, teachers identify target curriculum outcomes and learning goals. Unpacking the language learning demands for EAL/D learners means identifying the requirements of tasks, the language processes and the types of texts students are required to respond to and produce in a range of subjects.

### Resources for EAL/D students

School funding to support students learning English as an additional language is provided through the Resource Allocation Model (RAM) as equity loading for English language proficiency. Additional funding is also provided through the targeted (individual student) funding component of RAM to support newly arrived EAL/D and refugee students.

### Equity loading for English Language Proficiency

Schools receive their equity loading for English Language Proficiency as a staffing allocation and/or flexible funding. Schools that receive this equity loading must include EAL/D student support in their school plans, identifying strategies in place that are intended to meet the English language learning needs of their EAL/D students.

Schools are encouraged to use the [EAL/D School Evaluation Framework](#) to evaluate whole school approaches to supporting EAL/D students and to move towards best practice.

### EAL/D staffing

Any staffing component provided as part of the equity loading for English Language Proficiency should be filled by a qualified EAL/D teacher as far as possible.

Delivery of EAL/D programs should reflect the modes of delivery outlined in the support document to the Multicultural Education Policy, [English as An Additional Language Advice to Schools](#).

Diversity and inclusion strategy (media) (NSW DoE, 2018). Extract 8 taken from this webpage.

Wash your hands, cover your cough and stay home if you're sick. [Get the latest COVID-19 advice](https://education.nsw.gov.au/covid-19)  
(<https://education.nsw.gov.au/covid-19>).

NSW Department of Education

## Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2018-2022

The Diversity and Inclusion Strategy for the department's workforce was launched today.

03 December 2018



Valuing diversity: Muslim principal Hala Ramadan (left) and Aboriginal principal Fiona Kelly include their students and parents in cultural exchanges.

The Department of Education has today launched a new [Diversity and Inclusion Strategy](https://education.nsw.gov.au/about-us/strategies-and-reports/strategic-plan/corporate-plans-and-strategies/diversity-and-inclusion-strategy-2018-2022) (<https://education.nsw.gov.au/about-us/strategies-and-reports/strategic-plan/corporate-plans-and-strategies/diversity-and-inclusion-strategy-2018-2022>) for its workforce.

The strategy values difference in employee background, skills and experience and supports the department's Strategic Plan goal that "Education is a great place to work and our workforce is of the highest calibre".

The department's Secretary, Mark Scott, said respect for diversity was a core value of every staff member in schools and corporate offices.

"If we are to be the best education system in Australia, we need to create a workplace that encourages and supports opportunities for employees of all backgrounds and life experience to achieve, succeed and be their best," he said.

Key priorities over the next five years are to:

- build an inclusive workforce through employee awareness, understanding and engagement
- attract, recruit, develop and retain a workforce which reflects the community we serve
- strengthen workforce data and evidence to inform sustainable decisions and initiatives.

The focus areas, based on current workforce data and NSW Government priorities, are:

- Aboriginal people

## Diversity and inclusion strategy (media) (NSW DoE, 2018), Continued

- people with disability
- culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) people
- women in leadership
- male teachers.

The department is on track to meet and exceed the Premier's priorities to double the number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in senior leadership roles in the government sector by 2025; and to increase the proportion of women in senior leadership roles from 33 to 50 per cent by 2025.

The Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2018-2022 commits the department to increasing the number of Aboriginal people in senior leadership roles to 3% by 2025 (now 2.15%); increase the number of staff with disability to 5.6% (now 3.1%); and increase the number of women in senior leadership roles from the current level of 53% to 60% by 2025.

The strategy takes into account and responds to the Government Sector Employment Act 2013. It aligns with the department's Disability Inclusion Action Plan 2016-2020, the Multicultural Plan 2016-2018, the Aboriginal Affairs Strategy including OCHRE, the NSW Government's Aboriginal affairs plan and the NSW Aboriginal Education Consultative Group Inc. (NSW AECG) Partnership Agreement 2010-2020 (the Partnership Agreement).

Last updated: 03-Dec-2018

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### Latest news

School traineeship boom in northern NSW 07 April 2021 ( <a href="/news/latest-news/school-traineeship-boom-in-northern-nsw">/news/latest-news/school-traineeship-boom-in-northern-nsw</a> )	→
Time-saving hub for teachers 06 April 2021 ( <a href="/news/latest-news/time-saving-hub-for-teachers">/news/latest-news/time-saving-hub-for-teachers</a> )	→
Schools non-operational due to severe weather 06 April 2021 ( <a href="/news/latest-news/schools-non-operational-due-to-severe-weather">/news/latest-news/schools-non-operational-due-to-severe-weather</a> )	→
Our space is your space these holidays 01 April 2021 ( <a href="/news/latest-news/our-space-is-your-space-these-holidays">/news/latest-news/our-space-is-your-space-these-holidays</a> )	→
Aboriginal students shine at Nanga Mai Awards 31 March 2021 ( <a href="/news/latest-news/aboriginal-students-shine-at-nanga-mai-awards">/news/latest-news/aboriginal-students-shine-at-nanga-mai-awards</a> )	→

## Culturally and linguistically diverse education settings

NSW is one of the most culturally diverse societies in the world. The people of NSW represent different cultures, languages, beliefs, ~~experiences~~ and perspectives. This diversity is reflected in the department's learning and working environments and across school communities.

In 2018, about a third of the students (282,532 students) in NSW public schools came from language backgrounds other than English (LBOTE). This represents an increase of 3.7% from 2017. In departmental preschools, more than 40% of total enrolments were LBOTE students.

LBOTE students are those students who speak a language other than English at home and/or have a parent/carer who speaks a language other than English at home. This ~~very~~ large cohort includes students from a wide range of cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds both born in Australian and overseas. It includes students who are learning English as an additional language and or dialect (EAL/D) as well as newly arrived, refugee and international students.

Table 1 – LBOTE student enrolments in NSW Public Schools, 2018

Student cohort	No. of students	% of total students
LBOTE students	282,532	35.2%
EAL/D students	155,539	20.0%
Newly arrived EAL/D students	6,739	0.9%
Refugee students	8,281	1.1%
Newly arrived refugee students	1,218	0.2%

## Quality teaching and leadership

### **Leaders are skilled in delivering high quality, culturally responsive educational programs and services**

Great Teaching, Inspired Learning is the NSW Government's plan to improve the quality of teaching and learning in our schools. This plan, along with our School Leadership Strategy, provided the context for the continuous development of professional practice for teachers and school leaders.

#### **Leading culturally responsive learning**

Experienced teachers, trained as curriculum leaders at 14 Intensive English Centres and the Intensive English High School, participated in professional learning to lead and support the trial of the revised secondary Intensive English Programs Curriculum Framework.

Experienced EAL/D teachers were engaged as mentors to support teachers of EAL/D students in rural and regional schools.

EAL/D specialists and school counsellors were trained as facilitators to deliver professional learning supporting EAL/D and refugee education in schools across NSW.

The Leading EAL/D Education course supported school staff to enhance the delivery of collaborative, whole school EAL/D education practice and improved outcomes for EAL/D students. In 2017 and 2018, 27 school teams, comprising a member of the school executive and an EAL/D specialist teacher, were involved in the program.

School teams used the EAL/D School Evaluation Framework to reflect on existing EAL/D practices against best-practice benchmarks to lead the implementation of an inquiry-based project to improve outcomes for EAL/D students. Teams participated in three professional learning days and presented their results at the end-of-project showcase. The projects achieved extremely positive results in the schools in which they were implemented. Filmpod movies created by participating schools document the strategies implemented.

Eighteen new Refugee Support Leader positions (15.4 FTE positions) were established in areas of high refugee settlement to assist school leaders in building schools' capacity to support the learning and wellbeing of refugee students. Refugee Support Leaders worked across networks of schools to enhance teaching and whole school practices for refugee students.

Teacher facilitators and bilingual mentors received training to support the implementation of the Beginning School Well program, targeting children from a refugee background.

Multicultural policies and services program report (NSW DoE, 2019b, p. 8). Extract 3 taken from this page.

### **Staff are equipped to meet the specific needs of students and community members from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds**

During 2017-2018, teachers and staff in schools across the state participated in professional learning programs to assist them in responding to the needs of culturally diverse communities. This included training to assist teachers in meeting the needs of specific student cohorts and in promoting culturally inclusion and community harmony.

#### **Supporting teachers of EAL/D students**

In 2017-2018, teachers participated in a range of registered professional learning courses and networks to assist them in meeting the needs of EAL/D students:

Registered course	Course code	No. enrolled 2017	No. enrolled 2018
Teaching English Language Learners (TELL) Facilitator refresher	RG00262	0	55
Leading EAL/D education	RG00354	42	86
EAL/D orientation: for teachers newly appointed to EAL/D positions	RG00336	165	172
Teaching English Language Learners (TELL)	RG00225	612	814
Teaching English Language Learners (TELL) Facilitator Training	RG00220	24	25
Using the EAL/D Learning Progression	RG01032	86	736
Investigating EAL/D Education in the secondary curriculum	RG02559	0	30
TESOL Seminars	various	196	379
<b>Total</b>		<b>1,125</b>	<b>2,297</b>

In addition to this, teachers participated in a wide range of non-registered professional learning courses in EAL/D education delivered across the state including Adobe Connect training sessions on a range of EAL/D topics.

New professional learning in the use of the new national Literacy and EAL/D learning progression tools was delivered to support the assessment of EAL/D student literacy, and professional learning was provided for learning and support teachers in rural and regional NSW to assist them in meeting the needs of EAL/D students.

## Workforce diversity

This section summarises the department's achievements in the 2019 workforce diversity and inclusion programs and initiatives, including those specifically relating to the teaching service. We promote equal employment opportunities for all staff.

We recognise that diversity encompasses the richness of our backgrounds and includes factors such as gender, age, culture, disability, carer responsibilities, marital status, gender identity and sexual orientation, educational level, life experience, geographic location and socioeconomic background.

Our aim of attracting and retaining the best staff is built upon the foundation of an inclusive workplace where people of diverse backgrounds are able to bring their best selves to work and do their best for the students and communities we serve. The department's Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2018-2022 outlines our approach to achieving this. The strategy is informed by our current workforce data, NSW Government priorities and a desire to better reflect the community we serve. As such, it embeds the Premier's Priority to build a world-class public service by 2025 through:

- having 50 per cent of senior leadership roles held by women
- increasing the number of Aboriginal people in senior leadership roles
- ensuring 5.6 per cent of government sector roles are held by people with disability

The Disability and Inclusion Strategy has three priority areas:

- build an inclusive workforce through employee awareness, understanding and engagement
- attract, recruit, develop and retain a workforce that reflects the community we serve
- strengthen workforce data and evidence to inform sustainable decisions and initiatives.

As at 31 December 2019, the department's workforce consisted of the following:

- Women made up 55 per cent of senior leadership roles across the organisation. In some levels of leadership, such as assistant principal (primary), women represented 81 per cent of roles. We have met the Premier's Priority for this diversity group and are on track to achieve the department's own target for the representation of women in senior leadership roles to 60 per cent by 2025.
- Aboriginal employees represented 2.6 per cent of our senior leadership roles. Overall, Aboriginal people make up 3.9 per cent of our staff. We are on trend to achieve a 4.5 per cent representation rate across the department by 2025.
- The representation of people with disability was 3.0 per cent of the department's workforce. We recognise that additional work is required to achieve a 5.6 per cent representation rate by 2025.
- Department staff from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds consistently identify as having higher levels of job satisfaction of between 3 and 5 per cent above the average on the Public Service Commission's People Matter Employee Survey.



**Table 16:** Trends in representation of equal employment opportunity groups as a proportion of the total number of staff, 2015 to 2019

Group	NSW Government benchmark	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Women	50%	76.9%	77.4%	77.8%	78.3%	<b>78.2%</b>
Aboriginal people	3.3%	3.6%	3.7%	3.8%	3.9%	<b>3.9%</b>
People whose first language spoken as a child was not English	23.2%	10.7%	10.9%	11.1%	11.2%	<b>11.5%</b>
People with disability	5.6%	3.0%	3.2%	3.1%	3.0%	<b>3.0%</b>
People with disability requiring adjustment at work	N/A	0.7%	0.8%	0.7%	0.7%	<b>0.6%</b>
<b>Total number of staff</b>	<b>N/A</b>	<b>92,023</b>	<b>95,332</b>	<b>97,076</b>	<b>99,256</b>	<b>108,031</b>

Source: NSW Public Sector Workforce Profile as at 30 June each year. Notes: Representation of equal employment opportunity (EEO) groups is calculated as the estimated number of staff in each group divided by the total number of staff. These statistics, except those for women, have been weighted to estimate the representation of EEO groups in the workforce, where EEO survey response rates were less than 100 per cent. The total number of staff is based on a headcount of permanent and temporary employees.

## Strategic priorities

In 2019, we established a Diversity and Inclusion Council to help improve the department's ability to implement the Diversity and Inclusion Strategy. The council serves as the central coordination and consultation point for all diversity-related workforce management undertakings. Council members include representatives from the department's employee diversity networks and Public Sector Senior Executive.

We supported the ongoing growth of existing staff diversity networks including:

- Aboriginal Corporate Staff Network, which aims to provide an opportunity for our Aboriginal corporate staff to connect, share and support each other
- Disability Employee Network, which provides a shared voice for staff with disability and advocates for a barrier-free workplace

- Young Professionals Network, which aims to develop and support members by providing access to professional development and career pathway opportunities for corporate staff aged 34 and under.

We also supported the establishment of a new network, Pride in Education, to provide a visible, positive, inclusive and safe environment for the department's lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, queer and asexual (LGBTIQA+) staff.



## Current workforce

**Table 17:** Trends in distribution of equal employment opportunity groups, 2015 to 2019

Group	NSW Government benchmark	2015 index*	2016 index*	2017 index*	2018 index*	2019 index*
Women	100	91	92	92	92	92
Aboriginal people	100	80	82	82	83	84
People whose first language spoken as a child was not English	100	105	104	104	104	103
People with disability	100	98	98	99	98	97
People with disability requiring adjustment at work	100	104	104	105	106	107

Source: NSW Public Sector Workforce Profile as at 30 June each year. Notes: \*A distribution index of 100 indicates that the centre of the distribution of the equal employment opportunity (EEO) groups across salary levels is equivalent to that of other staff. Values less than 100 mean that the EEO group tends to be more concentrated at lower salary levels than is the case for other staff. The more pronounced this tendency, the lower the index will be. In some cases the index may be more than 100, indicating that the EEO group is less concentrated at lower salary levels. A distribution index based on an EEO survey response rate of less than 80 per cent may not be completely accurate. The 2019 EEO survey response rate was 76 per cent.

### Focus on women at work

In 2019, women held 55 per cent of senior roles. This positive trend has continued since we implemented a range of workforce initiatives to foster a culture supportive of female employment and women in leadership, including:

- encouraging and supporting women to participate in centrally coordinated leadership and executive development programs, such as the NSW Leadership Academy programs
- funding the participation of 40 employees in the Springboard Women's Development Program, a program developed in partnership with the Institute of Public Administration Australia NSW and Fly Consulting that aims to support and develop skills and attributes necessary for women to progress their career path and effectively take on leadership roles within the department and across the NSW public sector
- supporting the Women in Educational Leadership Network, an incorporated body that provides a forum for women in teaching and learning roles to develop leadership skills and progress their careers.

Diversity and inclusion strategy 2018-2022 (NSW DoE 2020d). Extract 9, Figure 3 and Figure 3 extracts taken from this webpage.

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NSW Department of Education

## Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2018-2022

### Introduction

Diversity and Inclusion (D&I) is about respecting and valuing the differing backgrounds, skills and experiences that everyone brings to our workplace.

To prepare young people to lead rewarding and productive lives in a complex and changing world we need to be truly inclusive and embrace differences so we can make sure every student is known, valued and cared for. Valuing difference will enable a workforce of the highest calibre and community confidence in public education is high.

This strategy takes into account and responds to the Government Sector Employment Act 2013. It aligns with the Department's Disability Inclusion Action Plan 2016-2020, the Disability Strategy, the [Multicultural Plan 2019-2022 \(PDF 340.43KB\)](#) ([/content/dam/main-education/about-us/strategies-and-reports/media/documents/Multicultural-Plan-2019-2022.pdf](#)), the Aboriginal Affairs Strategy including OCHRE, the Reconciliation Action Plan, the NSW Government's Aboriginal affairs plan and the NSW Aboriginal Education Consultative Group Inc. (NSW AECC) Partnership Agreement 2010-2020 (the Partnership Agreement) and the Great Place to Work program.

### Our vision

This strategy aims to support the departmental goal: Education is a great place to work and our workforce is of the highest calibre.

Through the diversity of our workforce and recognising the individual skills, perspectives and experiences our people bring to our workplaces; we will position ourselves to do the best job we can for the students and communities of NSW.

### Our values

Integral to this strategy are our department's values of Excellence, Equity, Accountability, Trust, Integrity and Service. Our aim is to achieve a workforce and culture where:

- We respect and support all people to reach their full potential.
- We embed universal design in our thinking and responses.
- Diversity and inclusion is everyone's business.
- We learn from everyone's experiences in the workplace.
- We reflect the NSW community we serve.

### Our priorities

Over the next five years we will:

1. Build an inclusive workforce through employee awareness, understanding and engagement.
2. Attract, recruit, develop and retain a workforce, which reflects the community we serve.
3. Strengthen workforce data and evidence to inform sustainable decisions and initiatives.

## Diversity and inclusion strategy 2018-2022 (DoE, 2020d), Continued



### A note from the Secretary

"Respect for diversity is a core value of the department. If we are to be the best education system in Australia and one of the finest in the world we need to create a workplace that encourages and supports opportunities for all employees of all backgrounds and life experience to achieve, succeed and be at their best.

When we all have opportunities to be ourselves, creativity and innovation will thrive and we will position ourselves to do the best job we can for the students and communities of NSW. That's why it's critical we embrace this strategy as we strive to prepare young people in our schools to lead rewarding and productive lives in a complex and dynamic world."

- Mark Scott

## Our commitment to action

We recognise that diversity encompasses the richness of our backgrounds and includes factors such as: age, carer responsibilities, culture, disability, educational level, gender identity, geographic location, life experiences, marital status, sexual orientation and socio-economic background. Our commitment is to foster a workplace with an inclusive culture, where people of diverse backgrounds are excited to bring all of who they are and do their best work.

As part of this commitment, there are areas of focus within the Diversity and Inclusion Strategy are informed by current workforce data, NSW Government priorities and a desire to better reflect the community we serve. As a NSW Government department, we adopt the Premier's priorities to [drive public sector diversity and inclusion by 2025](https://www.nsw.gov.au/improving-nsw/premiers-priorities/world-class-public-service/) through:

- having 50 per cent of senior leadership roles held by women
- increasing the number of Aboriginal people in senior leadership roles
- ensuring 5.6 per cent of government sector roles are held by people with a disability.

### Aboriginal People



### *We respect and value our Aboriginal People*

Supporting [Aboriginal people](https://education.nsw.gov.au/about-us/strategies-and-reports/strategic-plan/corporate-plans-and-strategies/diversity-and-inclusion-strategy-2018-2022/references/) and communities with every interaction within the Education system remains a [priority](https://education.nsw.gov.au/about-us/strategies-and-reports/strategic-plan/corporate-plans-and-strategies/diversity-and-inclusion-strategy-2018-2022/references/). Although we are on track to meet the existing Premier's priorities [target](https://education.nsw.gov.au/about-us/strategies-and-reports/strategic-plan/corporate-plans-and-strategies/diversity-and-inclusion-strategy-2018-2022/references/) our goal is to increase the number of Aboriginal people across all position classifications within our workforce. Improving representation of Aboriginal people increases our opportunities to engage with students, families and communities and provide relevant and culturally appropriate services and support.

### People with disability



### *We include by design*

We will ensure our workplaces and systems are accessible and designed to enable and maximise participation and leadership opportunities for our employees with disability. We will achieve this through the removal of barriers to participation and embedding universal design in our thinking and responses. By doing so, we will

## Diversity and inclusion strategy 2018-2022 (DoE, 2020d), Continued

increase the representation and inclusion of people with disability in our workforce.

Culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) 

### *We reflect our communities*

To support and deliver the best outcomes for our students, it is important that we reflect the community we serve. The department has continued to increase the number of employees from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds. We aim to continue this by understanding and tackling systemic barriers to entry and progression, to help improve experiences for all our staff.

Women in leadership 

### *We value diversity in our leadership*


Gender diversity in senior leadership helps improve problem solving and collaboration and leads to higher organisational performance. Our aim is to maintain a gender balance at senior leadership levels. This will involve understanding the leadership pipeline and any structural barriers in place that may be impacting disproportionately on women's progression into leadership roles.

Male teachers 

### *We challenge the status quo*

Workforce gender equality is shaped by the roles and norms we absorb throughout our life. Teachers play an important part in setting those norms, and we recognise that 'you can't be what you can't see'. We have an obligation to address the gender imbalance in our teaching population, attracting and retaining more male teachers. Our goal is to understand the barriers currently perceived for entry as a male teacher and work with a range of people and organisations to start developing a targeted plan to overcome those barriers.

## Our progress

We use workforce data and evidence such as [People Matter Employee Survey](https://www.psc.nsw.gov.au/reports---data/people-matter-employee-survey)  (<https://www.psc.nsw.gov.au/reports---data/people-matter-employee-survey>) results to inform sustainable decisions and drive inclusive initiatives which in turn develops a diverse workforce embedded in an inclusive culture. Our progress as of November 2019 is:

Areas of focus	Our progress <a href="#">(/about-us/strategies-and-reports/strategic-plan/corporate-plans-and-strategies/diversity-and-inclusion-strategy-2018-2022/references)</a>	Our targets
Aboriginal people - in <a href="#">senior leadership roles</a> <a href="#">(/about-us/strategies-and-reports/strategic-plan/corporate-plans-and-strategies/diversity-and-inclusion-strategy-2018-2022/references)</a>	2.5%	<a href="#">Increase the number of Aboriginal people in senior leadership roles to 3.0% by 2025</a> <a href="#">(/about-us/strategies-and-reports/strategic-plan/corporate-plans-and-strategies/diversity-and-inclusion-strategy-2018-2022/references)</a>

## Diversity and inclusion strategy 2018-2022 (DoE, 2020d), Continued

Areas of focus	Our progress <a href="#">(/about-us/strategies-and-reports/strategic-plan/corporate-plans-and-strategies/diversity-and-inclusion-strategy-2018-2022/references)</a>	Our targets
Aboriginal people	3.7%	Maintain the trend growth rate to reach a 4.5% representation across the department by 2022
People with disability	3.1%	<b>5.6% representation by 2025</b> <a href="#">(/about-us/strategies-and-reports/strategic-plan/corporate-plans-and-strategies/diversity-and-inclusion-strategy-2018-2022/references)</a>
Culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD)	<b>New Measure</b> <a href="#">(/about-us/strategies-and-reports/strategic-plan/corporate-plans-and-strategies/diversity-and-inclusion-strategy-2018-2022/references)</a>	Increase the representation of CALD employees across the department
Women in leadership ? senior leadership roles	55%	Increase the representation of women in senior leadership roles to 60% by 2025
Male teachers	24%	<b>Increase the representation of male teachers</b> <a href="#">(/about-us/strategies-and-reports/strategic-plan/corporate-plans-and-strategies/diversity-and-inclusion-strategy-2018-2022/references)</a>

For more information, email [spp@det.nsw.edu.au](mailto:spp@det.nsw.edu.au) [\(/mailto:spp@det.nsw.edu.au\)](#)

Last updated: 21-Feb-2020

Knowing about concepts in their home language can make learning English easier because a student needs only to transfer knowledge into the new language. If conceptual knowledge in home language is not strong, or the student has had limited or interrupted schooling, learning English will be more difficult as they will need to learn about a concept as well as the English language used to describe it. Students should be encouraged to continue to develop their home language as maintenance of home language enhances learning of a second language.

If you have sorted out the world in one language, it becomes much easier to sort it out again in a second language. Children who arrive at school with a strong command of their first language are thus in a very favourable position to learn English...

However, the situation for many bilingual children who have little mother tongue support is that once they start school their mother tongue is gradually replaced by English...they can fall between two languages, with neither the first nor second adequate for learning in school.

*Pauline Gibbons, Learning to Learn in a Second Language, p.6*

Bilingual, or multilingual, students should be supported to develop CALP across a range of languages.

The goal of EAL/D education is not just to develop students English language proficiency, but rather to support students to become bi/multilingual and promote the importance of retaining home language to support learning in English.

## The importance of EAL/D support

The research of Jim Cummins (1980) shows that it takes, on average, up to two years for a beginning EAL/D student to be fluent in Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS). It takes a beginning EAL/D student five to seven years to develop Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) with EAL/D support. A student who has experienced trauma or disrupted schooling may take 9 to 11 years to master the language required for success in the school context.

This research indicates the importance of ongoing specialist EAL/D support, beyond intensive English provision, if EAL/D students are to gain access to the curriculum, language and learning.

## Teaching Domain

When the EAL/D teacher allocation is small or the number of students requiring EAL/D support and their class/year placement is widespread, collaborative planning may represent an optimal use of EAL/D teacher expertise. EAL/D specialist input into subject classroom programs may have greater impact than brief, irregular or infrequent teaching sessions.

Collaborative planning is most effective when the roles and expectations of those involved are clear. It is also important that teachers involved in collaborative planning are supported with time and resources to meet and plan.

### Cooperative teaching

Cooperative teaching is an effective strategy for providing EAL/D support. It is most effective when both the classroom teacher and the EAL/D specialist have a shared understanding of the diversity of learners and EAL/D pedagogy. Teachers share responsibility for planning, teaching and assessing students. Cooperative teaching allows for flexible classroom organisation including group work and individual conferencing.

Teachers who are cooperative teaching should be supported to meet on a regular basis to plan and evaluate teaching, learning and assessment activities.

For more information see [EAL/D teaching modes of delivery](#).

### EAL/D pedagogy and practices

**Table 9 – a glossary for EAL/D pedagogy and practices (Adapted from Teaching English Language Learners (TELL), 2013)**


EAL/D pedagogy and practices	Explanation
<b>BICS and CALP (Cummins, 1984)</b>	Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) describes language needed for every day social interaction. Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) refers to the academic language required for success at school.
<b>Collaborative learning</b>	A learning situation where two or more students work together to complete a task or solve a problem.
<b>Cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1973)</b>	Culturally specific ideas, knowledge and values students have for social and academic purposes that may vary from those in standard Australian English.
<b>Frontloading</b>	Involves activities to activate or build knowledge students will need to engage with a text. Provides a framework to support and organise new concepts, skills and knowledge.
<b>L1</b>	First language or home language.

## What we will do

The actions in this plan describe what we will do to meet the needs of our culturally diverse school communities. They are mapped to our strategic goals and focus areas of the Multicultural Policies and Services Program Framework.

## Our goals

1. All students make a strong start in life and learning and make a successful transition to school
2. Every student is known, valued and cared for
3. Every student, every teacher, every leader and every school improves every year
4. Every student is engaged and challenged to continue to learn
5. All young people have a strong foundation in literacy and numeracy; deep content knowledge; and confidence in their ability to learn, adapt and be responsible citizens
6. All young people finish school well prepared for higher education, training and work
7. Education is a great place to work and our workforce is of the highest calibre
8. Our school infrastructure meets the needs of a growing population and enables future-focused learning and teaching
9. Community confidence in public education is high
10. Our education system reduces the impact of disadvantage



Department of Education  
**Strategic Plan**  
2018-2022

<b>Our vision</b>  <b>To be Australia's best education system and one of the finest in the world.</b>	<b>Our purpose</b>  <b>To prepare young people for rewarding lives as engaged citizens in a complex and dynamic society.</b>
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**About us**  
  
Children and young people are at the centre of all our decision-making. We ensure young children get the best start in life by supporting and regulating the early childhood education and care sector.  
  
We are the largest provider of public education in Australia with responsibility for delivering high-quality public education to two-thirds of the NSW student population. We respect and value Aboriginal people as Australia's First Nation Peoples. We also work closely with the non-government school and higher education sectors.

**Our goals**  
  

<b>1.</b> All children make a strong start in life and learning and make a successful transition to school.	<b>6.</b> All young people finish school well prepared for higher education, training and work.
<b>2.</b> Every student is known, valued and cared for in our schools.	<b>7.</b> Education is a great place to work and our workforce is of the highest calibre.
<b>3.</b> Every student, every teacher, every leader and every school improves every year.	<b>8.</b> Our school infrastructure meets the needs of a growing population and enables future-focused learning and teaching.
<b>4.</b> Every student is engaged and challenged to continue to learn.	<b>9.</b> Community confidence in public education is high.
<b>5.</b> All young people have a strong foundation in literacy and numeracy; deep content knowledge; and confidence in their ability to learn, adapt and be responsible citizens.	<b>10.</b> Our education system reduces the impact of disadvantage.



Department of Education

# Strategic Plan

2018-2022

## Our values

**Excellence**

- We have high expectations and we continually seek to improve ourselves and our work.
- We strive to excel and invite the best ideas from everyone in and outside the department.
- We use and share evidence, research and data to underpin policy and practice.
- We welcome collaboration and learning with others.

**Equity**

- We ensure that every student has access to high-quality public education.
- We respect diversity and the views and contributions of others.
- We treat people fairly.

**Accountability**

- We take responsibility for decisions and outcomes.
- We allocate and use resources efficiently and effectively.
- We monitor and review performance to drive improvement.

**Trust**

- We build relationships based on transparency, honesty and mutual respect.
- We support each other.
- We respect others' expertise, experience and points of view, and listen with an open mind.

**Integrity**

- We act professionally with honesty and consistency.
- We communicate clear expectations.
- We are transparent with information and our decisions.

**Service**

- We are flexible, innovative, responsive and reliable.
- We provide coordinated and aligned services to enhance teaching and learning.
- We work openly in partnership with parents, communities and organisations.

## Our performance measures

- Increased proportion of children enrolled in an early childhood education program in the year before school (and proportion who are enrolled for 600 hours)
- Increased proportion of students reporting a sense of belonging, expectations for success and advocacy at school
- Increased proportion of students in the top two NAPLAN bands for reading and numeracy
- Increased proportion of Aboriginal students in the top two NAPLAN bands for reading and numeracy
- Increased proportion of regional and remote students in the top two NAPLAN bands for reading and numeracy

- Increased proportion of students with an HSC, Year 12 certificate or AQF certificate II and above
- Increased number of teachers accredited at the Highly Accomplished and Lead Teacher levels
- Increased number of schools with high value-add
- Improved staff engagement results in the People Matter Employee Survey
- Number of new and upgraded schools and classrooms

CHAPTER 7

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STRATEGIES USED BY PLURILINGUAL,  
INTERNATIONAL EDUCATORS IN THE  
AUSTRALIAN EDUCATION FIELD

Germana Eckert  
University of Technology, Sydney

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ABSTRACT

Despite Australia being a multicultural and multilingual nation, multiculturalism is not written into legislation. Thus, successive governments have reworked and reinterpreted multiculturalism and multilingualism to suit their own ideologies. For many, Australia is considered a multicultural nation with a strong monolingual mindset. This paper presents case study research findings from plurilingual, international educators (IEs) of their experiences in culturally diverse and multilingual Australian classrooms. Bourdieu's thinking tools are utilized to analyze the experiences and beliefs of the IEs in order to examine the strategies they use when navigating the field of Australian education. By utilizing this Bourdieusian lens, elements which may not otherwise have been evident have come into perspective. Through this analysis it can be seen that; the logic of practice of the field is effective in controlling the strategies the IEs use, and; the dominant agents within the field are effective at maintaining the logic of practice of the field. Further, against the hegemony of English and the hegemonic practices present in the field, the linguistic rights of plurilingual teachers and therefore also their students are not upheld in the field. While this research was conducted in Australia, the findings apply to similar linguistically diverse contexts.

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