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# Global Teachers, Australian Perspectives

Goodbye Mr Chips, Hello Ms Banerjee

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# Foreword

When I first faced a class in another country – Canada – I remember being very nervous about what the students would think of me, and uncertain about how I could speak with them. I had been teaching for 17 years at the time, so I was fairly practised at the trade, but this was new territory in every way. I soon learned one important lesson, that jokes don't migrate as easily as people do. Teachers' humour is very indexical! I gradually learned another and more hopeful lesson, that my different knowledge and style of thinking could be assets for the students, if we had the time and goodwill to make them so.

My teaching career has been in universities, not schools, but my experiences, then and in a later migration, have some overlap with the stories of travel and settlement documented in this book. It is a cliché to say our world is global, and much of the media and corporate talk about 'globalization' is, socially speaking, quite naive. Our world is also massively unequal, and those inequalities are constantly exploited for economic and political advantage. But new possibilities for movement and exchange are also created. The growing global mobility of school teachers is an important reality for our thinking about education.

This book challenges us to think in ways that educators usually don't. We are all familiar with ideas of multicultural education, and we mostly subscribe to a vague idea of international cooperation. These ideas are qualified by the fears whipped up by right-wing ideologues of 'border protection' and 'war on terror'. They are hardly soothed by businessmen's invocation of the 'global market' – since global market forces have become a major source of social anxiety. It's important then, as in so many issues, to pay attention to the real experience at the grass roots. We need to find out what actually happens in the lives of the people who are weaving the fabric of global society.

That is exactly what this book does. We hear the voices of teachers who have made the long trips and negotiated the informal barriers and the official barbed wire. We are introduced to the dilemmas of recognition, both formal recognition of qualifications and informal recognition of skills and experience. We see the interplay of race, gender, nationality, even class, not as abstract intersections but as dynamics through time, through life stories.

We learn, perhaps with a shock, that the meaning of being a teacher, the professional identity of teachers, cannot be taken for granted. This varies from place to place and is at stake in migration. We learn that the large-scale making of an internationalized labour force is an intensely human process. It is sometimes buoyant and successful, sometimes shattering in its consequences.

This book invites us to think afresh about the industrial consequences of labour migration in education. Those consequences include the working conditions of migrant teachers, the uses made of their skills and knowledge by schools and systems, and the questions of recognition and certification. On the evidence of this book, Australian school systems are not handling these issues well. With the ascendancy of neoliberal politicians and policymakers, introducing more intrusive testing systems and accreditation regimes, it is not likely that this will change soon.

A really important feature of this book is that the authors invite us to think *educationally* about the migration of teachers. This is not only about teachers' educational needs – something Australian education has mostly forgotten (in-service programmes were the first to go when the public sector funding squeeze came on). It's also about the educational resource that internationally mobile teachers represent for the school system generally and the children in their classes specifically.

Such teachers can be a tremendous resource in curriculum development (to the extent systems recognize teachers as participants in making curriculum, again something that neoliberal policymakers seem to hate). They can be a strategic resource in working with migrant children and multicultural school communities. Migrant teachers' own continuing overseas networks, one of the most interesting points documented in this book, can also be an educational asset for the school.

Finally, the book encourages us to abandon the 'cultural cringe', the habit of looking only to Europe and the United States for ideas and authority. The authors encourage us to take a much more global view of educational and social thought. There is, at present, an international movement that criticizes Eurocentrism in educational thought, the humanities and social science. This book not only joins that movement, it also shows a practical basis beyond the academic world, in the experience of growing numbers of teachers, for a more globally inclusive and more democratic view of education.

University of Sydney

Raewyn Connell

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# Contents

<b>1 Introduction</b> .....	1
<b>2 Globalizing Teachers: Policy and Theoretical Dimensions</b> .....	9
Theoretical Points of Departure .....	11
Bourdieu, Reconversion and Tests .....	16
Racialization .....	19
Critiques and Educational Change.....	24
Methodology .....	26
Conclusion .....	29
References.....	30
<b>3 Immigrant Teachers in Australia: Quantitative Insights</b> .....	35
Introduction.....	35
Global and Australian Immigration: Contemporary	
Trends and Developments .....	37
Immigrant Teachers in Australia: Background .....	40
A Survey of Immigrant Teachers in Australia.....	48
Immigration Experience.....	51
Experience in Australian Schools .....	54
Experience Living in Australia .....	58
Conclusion .....	60
References.....	62
<b>4 Global Teachers’ Pathways to Australia</b> .....	65
Introduction.....	65
The Demand for Teachers .....	67
The Immigration Processes and Pathways to Australia .....	68
Conclusion .....	81
References.....	82

<b>5</b>	<b>The Capital Reconversion of Global Teachers in Australia</b> .....	85
	Introduction.....	85
	Red Tape Experiences.....	87
	Capital Conversion Tests for Global Teachers in NSW Public Schools.....	91
	First-Generation Critique-Driven Test Corrections.....	92
	Second-Generation Critique-Driven Test Corrections .....	94
	Third-Generation Critique-Driven Test Corrections.....	97
	Critique-Driven Test Corrections.....	99
	Conclusion .....	100
	References.....	102
<b>6</b>	<b>Internationally Educated Teachers’ Critiques of Tests of Their Employability</b> .....	105
	Introduction.....	105
	Lack of Authenticity .....	105
	Inequalities.....	108
	Oppression .....	113
	Disenchantment.....	117
	Conclusion .....	120
	References.....	122
<b>7</b>	<b>Global Teachers Living and Teaching in Australia</b> .....	123
	Introduction.....	123
	Experiences in Their New Schools .....	124
	Discrimination and Racism.....	125
	Racialised Responses to Immigrant Teachers’ Accents .....	126
	Racial Discrimination in Schools.....	128
	The Difficulties of Appointments to Remote Schools .....	129
	Was It Worth It? .....	131
	What Happens Next? .....	132
	Conclusion .....	133
	References.....	134
<b>8</b>	<b>Goodbye ‘Mr Chips’: The Global Mobility of Australian-Educated Teachers</b> .....	135
	Being a Foreigner/Waiguoren/Gaigin/Gweilo/Putih.....	137
	The Participants and Their Characteristics .....	140
	Qualifications, Destinations and Recognition Overseas .....	140
	Settling In.....	146
	Gender.....	147
	‘Oh, God, I Don’t Have Black Hair or Brown Eyes’ .....	149
	Being a Laughing Stock.....	150
	Freaky ‘Westerners’ .....	152
	Support Overseas .....	154

Home Again: The Value of Being Overseas and Bringing  
Back Cultural Knowledge..... 158  
Recognition of Overseas Experience ..... 161  
... To Be a Bit of a Gypsy?..... 163  
Conclusion ..... 166  
References..... 167

**9 Revisiting Ms Banerjee and Mr Chips..... 169**  
References..... 180

**About the Authors..... 181**

**Index..... 183**



# Abbreviations

AEU	Australian Education Union
AEUSA	Australian Education Union, South Australia
DEEWR	Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations
DEST	Department of Education, Science, and Training
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship
DIMIA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs
ET	Emigrant Teacher
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
ISLPR	International Second Language Proficiency Ratings
IT	Immigrant Teacher
LOTE	Language other than English
NESB	Non-English-speaking backgrounds
NSW	New South Wales
NSWDET	New South Wales Department of Education and Training
NSWTF	New South Wales Teachers Federation
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OTT	Overseas Trained Teacher
PEAT	Professional English Assessment for Teachers
RSMS	Regional Sponsorship Migration Scheme
SA	South Australia
SADECS	South Australian Department of Education and Children's Services
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
TRT	Temporary Relieving Teacher
WA	Western Australia
WACOT	Western Australian College of Teaching
WADoE	Western Australian Department of Education
WADTWD	Western Australian Department of Training and Workforce Development
UTS	University of Technology, Sydney
UWS	University of Western Sydney

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

The title of this book, *Global Teachers, Australian Perspectives: Goodbye Mr. Chips, Hello Ms Banerjee*, requires some explanation. *Goodbye Mr. Chips* was a novel by James Hilton published in the 1930s about a shy, ageing but popular teacher, Mr. Chipping, in his final year at Brookfield, a fictional British public boarding school. The story has had a strong life in popular culture. Three films (1939, 1969 and 2002) were adapted from the book: the 1939 film starring Robert Donat as Mr. Chips is a black and white classic. The book also generated a 1939 radio play (with Laurence Olivier as Mr. Chips), a theatre production and a 1984 BBC TV series. *Goodbye Mr. Chips* has a number of meanings for the authors of this book. The first is that Mr. Chips represented education in the past, while global teachers represent education of the present and the future. The *Goodbye/Hello* of the title references the arrival (of immigrant) teachers and the departure (of emigrant) teachers, the swinging door of global mobility of the contemporary teaching profession. Of course not all departing teachers are male and not all arriving teachers are female. But teaching is a predominantly female profession and most globally mobile teachers are women. *Hello Ms Banerjee* captures for us this trend for global teachers to be women from increasingly diverse cultural backgrounds, and increasingly from Asia and Africa.

A teaching qualification and teaching experience is today a passport to global mobility. Today's teacher is a *global teacher*. The contemporary world is one of increasing mobilities, characterized by the global movement of capital, goods and services, information, culture and people: the age of globalization has become the age of migration. Many Western countries today are facing a growing shortage of professional and highly skilled workers. This is mainly a consequence of a decline in birthrates in the West, the retirement of many baby-boomer professionals and the strong growth of the services sector that characterizes the contemporary Western economy. More and more teachers are joining doctors, nurses, engineers and computer professionals in spending part of their career in another country. They are part of the growing tide of *immigrant teachers*. In Australia a young English couple teaches students aged 4–15 at Kandiwal School ([www.kandiwalschool.com](http://www.kandiwalschool.com)),

in a small remote Aboriginal community on the Mitchell Plateau, in the far north-western corner of Western Australia. A little further south-east in the remote heart of Western Australia, a teacher from Kenya works in a town set up by a large mining company and spends his weekends playing football and occasionally going pig shooting with the locals. This teacher was recruited by the Western Australian Department of Education at one of the many 'Job Expos' held in Dublin, London, Amsterdam or elsewhere. Further south, on Australia's vast west coast many immigrant teachers work in schools in Perth, the capital city of Western Australia. Over on the east coast, some 4,000 km from Perth in regional New South Wales, Science and Maths teachers from India and Malaysia teach in local high schools. Without these immigrant teachers there would otherwise be a teacher shortage, particularly in remote or 'hard to staff' schools. These global teachers reap the benefits of a multicultural society as they are welcomed and settle into a community with a thriving local Indian Diaspora. Many other teachers from Asia, Europe, Africa and North America teach in schools in Sydney, Australia's largest and most cosmopolitan city. These global teachers not only teach in another country, but also teach students from all over the world, another dimension of the phenomenon of the global teacher. In the South Australian outback, an immigrant teacher travels a 600 km return journey to work daily so that his wife does not have to live in a town that has cast them as outsiders, revealing that not all experiences are positive. Many other immigrant teachers work in schools in Adelaide, the state capital.

In Toronto, New York, London, Paris, Auckland and other global, cosmopolitan cities, global teachers are in demand. But they are also needed in schools in the Canadian prairies, the US Mid-west and the rural areas of Great Britain, France and New Zealand. Immigrant teachers are also in demand in China, Japan, Korea and Singapore, particularly for the teaching of English, the linguistic gold standard of globalization.

Australia has more immigrants than nearly every other Western society in the world today with one in four Australians born overseas. In recent decades young immigrants with skills and professional qualifications in areas such as education, health, and finance or information technology are given increasing priority to go to the top of the list of the one million people who inquire about immigrating to Australia each year. Like most immigrants, these immigrant professionals settle in Australia's large coastal capital cities such as Sydney, Melbourne, Perth, Brisbane or Adelaide, the teaching professionals filling shortages in hard-to-staff schools and in curriculum areas such as Maths and Science. But Australia's regional and rural areas also need professionals to fill shortages, as the examples of immigrant teachers employed in remote areas of Australia, mentioned above, show. For professionals like teachers, global mobility is a swinging-door. Opportunities arise for immigrant teachers in a country at the same time that many of those countries' teachers are also moving abroad for global teaching opportunities. Just as a teaching qualification enables global mobility *into* Australia for overseas educated teachers, it also opens *outward*; providing opportunities for Australian educated teachers to fill the shortages in classrooms in Singapore, Japan, the United Kingdom, Canada, Korea, Vietnam, Tonga, the Beru Islands, Fiji and elsewhere. Globalization of

education provides opportunities for unprecedented growth in Asian countries such as China and other multilingual speaking countries world-wide. Australian educated teachers add their intellectual labour in the growing demand for providers and purveyors of the English language, generated by the increasing global dominance of English as the *lingua franca* of contemporary globalization. These teachers, who we call *emigrant teachers*, comprise an important component of the one million Australians who work overseas, the mainly professional Australian Diaspora.

Around the globe today the Australian Diaspora rubs shoulders with the Chinese Diaspora, the Indian Diaspora, the Kiwi Diaspora, the Canadian and American Diasporas, the British and French Diasporas and many more. Many of its members are young professionals with teaching, medical, science, business or engineering degrees. Some will return home after one migration experience, others will move from country to country as opportunities and interests dictate. Most return home when they're children are old enough, although some stay away forever, becoming life-long expats. They are all part of the phenomenon called circular migration.

In this book we concentrate on the global mobility of teachers, the immigrant and emigrant teachers who form the contemporary cohort of what we call global teachers. These stories of the new mobilities associated with the teaching profession in the twenty-first century are a window into the increasing international movement of people, particularly young professionals, which will become more important in the twenty-first Century. One and a half centuries ago, unskilled male Chinese sojourners with no English-language skills sought manual labour in the goldfields of America and Australia. Today young Chinese teachers come to teach Mandarin in our schools. Sixty years ago unskilled and semi-skilled European workers moved *en masse* to an uncertain future in industrial jobs generated by the post-1945 industrial boom across the seas, in the settler immigration countries of the United States of America, Australia and Canada. Today globalization has seen these manufacturing industries move from developed Western nations to developing Asian and Latin American nations, transforming most Western nations to service-based economies where the new jobs require a high level of education and fluency in English.

Immigrant teachers and emigrant teachers are typical of the new migrant in the age of globalization today. There is international competition between Western nations for their services, complemented by increasing competition from fast-developing Asian and other non-English speaking countries for teachers whose first language is English. In this book we investigate the Australian experience of global teachers as a window into the way that education and migration increasingly intersect in shaping new mobilities. Understanding the global mobility of teachers in Australia today helps to understand the new Age of Migration while at the same time providing new insights into the Age of Education in an increasingly mobile world.

What motivates *immigrant* teachers to take the risky and costly move to a country at the other end of the world? What are their hopes, dreams and aspirations? And what is the reality? Are the experiences of immigrant teachers positive and are their dreams fulfilled? Or do they face institutional and societal barriers and prejudices that leave them with a bitter taste, regretful of their decision to teach in a new

country? Do they experience a warm welcome in the schools and communities in which they settle? Are their international teaching qualifications and experiences rewarded and utilised or do they face institutional and personal constraints and resentment in their new Australian classrooms? What stories do they convey to fellow teachers back home or in other countries about the experience of teaching in Australian schools? And what of their future plans? Will they stay, or will they go? What are their future national and international mobility trajectories?

And what about the *emigrant* teachers who join the Australian Diaspora in living and teaching in other countries? What are their experiences about qualification recognition? How are they received in their new classrooms by students, parents and other teachers? Is their experience positive or negative? What will be their future plans about global mobility? Will they return to Australian classrooms or continue their journey of global circular migration?

The global movement of teachers is an important issue for school education throughout the world, and the issues facing immigrant and emigrant professionals have been the subject of significant recent research in the past 5–10 years in countries such as Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and South Africa. In 2004 a number of countries in the Commonwealth agreed to the Commonwealth Secretariat (2004) in an attempt to address critical problems faced by national education systems and individuals alike and to prevent poaching of teachers from underdeveloped nations.

Although Australia is one of the nations that hasn't agreed to the Protocol, it has met with other Pacific nations, where a range of recommendations were made including transparency in recruitment, maintenance of professional status, ongoing professional development and a common framework of teacher qualifications, comparability and quality assurance. However, there is no national policy concerning the recruitment of overseas-educated teachers or how to manage their integration into the workforce once they arrive. Nor are there protocols to prevent 'brain drain' of emigrant teachers, or on how to best utilize the developed skills of those who have worked overseas and then returned to continue their careers in Australia. Yet, the federal government's education reform agenda is expected to address some of the recommendations, namely the mobility of teachers and the associated issues of recognition of certification and accreditation as well as the development of a National Curriculum.

Despite the importance of understanding and responding to the global movement of teachers in Australia, other than a few older and smaller studies (Han 2004; Inglis and Philips 1995; Kamler et al. 1999; Reid 2005) there is no comprehensive national study of the way that globalization is changing dimensions of the teaching profession. The Australian College of Educators (ACE 2001) carried out a national survey that provided a tantalizing glimpse into the diversity of the teaching force but there are a number of factors related to the diversity and movement of teachers that we still do not understand (ACE 2001). Some work has also been done on the specific contexts of individual states including Western Australia (Dunworth 1997; Jones and Soyza 2006) and Queensland (Bella 1999; Oliver 1998).

This book reveals the critical importance of recognising and responding to teacher mobilities in a context where teaching professionals are increasingly

accountable in what Power (1997) has called an ‘audit culture’. The voices of immigrant teachers in particular reveal the constraints to their practice and their capacity to be recognized, as a consequence of this culture of surveillance, accountability and standardization.

While the book investigates in detail the Australian experience of global teachers, this is within the context of the current state of play internationally. Australia is not alone in experiencing increasing mobility of its professional classes, in particular teachers. Global teachers in all countries of the world today share similar experiences of differential treatment, rights and expectations wherever they go. The international literature reveals that global teachers experience difficulties in negotiating the red tape of the migration and education bureaucracies. The difficulties of getting their teaching qualifications and experience recognized and adequately rewarded is a problem for all global teachers today, irrespective of which country they are in. Global teachers also experience difficulties associated with a racialized response to their culture, religion, accent or language, even those who are white and Western. Their professional identities undergo considerable change and in many cases mobility results in a downgrading of their status.

Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical and methodological approaches used in the project that underpins the book. However, since mobility requires change, and globally mobile professionals accept this fact, we critically utilise Bourdieu’s theory of reconversion (1984) to understand the strategies that teachers use in responding to pressures in order to make sense of and remake their professional identities. At the same time we are critical that Bourdieu’s key concept of cultural capital is employed in a mono-cultural way, unnecessarily limiting its power as an analytical tool for understanding the cosmopolitan underpinnings of the cultural diversity of global teachers and how these shape their experiences as teachers in the culturally-diverse classrooms in which they teach and the neighborhoods into which they settle. We argue that reconversion is not a matter of choice, since the tests of employability do not recognize the different capabilities of immigrant teachers. We make use of the concept of, and processes of, racialization in order to help understand and explain the key impact that cultural, religious and linguistic difference and diversity has on the global teachers’ experience.

Chapters 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 examine recent research into global teachers in Australia. Chapter 3 reviews current trends in permanent and temporary migration to Australia drawing on secondary data sources (census data; a longitudinal survey of immigrants in Australia) and primary data sources (a survey of 269 immigrant teachers in three Australian states). From this survey, it looks at their immigration experience, their experiences of teaching and living in Australia, their level of satisfaction personally and professionally and their future intentions. In Chap. 4 we draw on focus groups and in-depth interviews with immigrant teachers to provide ‘actuality’ and ‘voice’ to the experiences of, and motivations for, global teachers coming to Australia. In their own words we learn about their journey as an immigrant teacher; their stories in their new schools and communities. Chapters 5 and 6 focus on the ways in which the process of gaining employment after a series of ‘testing’ processes is difficult for many internationally educated teachers. Chapter 5

presents an analysis of tests of internationally educated teachers' employability in New South Wales, parallel to language testing for migration, citizenship and asylum that can impede mobility. Chapter 6 presents internationally educated teachers' critiques of these tests as the basis for change. Chapter 7 looks at the experiences of immigrant teachers in Australian schools and Australian communities through the prism of racialization (Miles 1993) because of the markers of their 'immigrant-ness', or their difference when compared to non-immigrant teachers: their accent, the colour of their skin, their dress, cultural difference and their international teaching experiences.

Chapter 8 presents the experiences of our immigrant teacher counter-parts: Australian-educated teachers who teach in other countries, to remind us that the global movement of teachers for Australia is a two-way process. The chapter critically examines the theories used to understand the experiences of predominantly white global teachers to reveal their a-mobility and argues that new approaches are needed. In these chapters we note the necessity to convert capital for emigrant and immigrant teachers, the changing nature of what is valued by employers, and the ways in which English language capacity and cultural difference mediates potential difficulties for globally mobile Australian-educated teachers.

The final chapter reflects on the experience of global teachers in Australia and its implications for a better understanding of the important global mobilities that increasingly characterize the professional and personal lives of teachers around the world today. It reevaluates the theoretical concepts used to understand global teachers and discusses the implications of this study for education theory and migration theory. This concluding chapter also discusses appropriate policy responses to the growing global teacher phenomenon and the directions for further research.

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## Chapter 2

# Globalizing Teachers: Policy and Theoretical Dimensions

In *Goodbye Mr Chips, Hello Ms Banerjee (Global Teachers)* we explore the experiences of teachers who are globally-mobile by analysing primary data on teachers who move in to and out of Australia and secondary data on the literature on global teachers in other countries. We are interested to understand their journey as an immigrant/emigrant and as a teacher. We want to understand their dreams and aspirations, the factors that shape their decisions to move to another country, the bureaucratic and institutional processes, policies and procedures that they must navigate on their journey to stand as a teacher in a classroom in a school in another country. At the same time we are interested to investigate their experiences as a new immigrant (permanent or temporary) and their experiences as a teacher in a new country. In other words this book operates at the intersection of two domains: migration and education. In order to tell the story of contemporary global teachers we need to critically visit the theories of both immigration/emigration (Collins 2008) and education to develop a conceptual framework for this study. We also review the international literature on globally-mobile teachers.

The global movement of teachers is an important issue for school education throughout the world, and the issues facing immigrant professionals have been the subject of significant recent research in the past 5–10 years in countries such as Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and South Africa and increasingly the Asia-Pacific region. In 2009 (Ochs and Jackson 2009) a review of the Commonwealth Secretariat (2004) – first developed to address critical problems faced by national education systems – was held in Malaysia. The review surveyed the Ministries of Education of 53 Commonwealth countries (18 responded) including Australia; interviewed key people in organizations such as unions and professional associations; carried out 10 interviews with recruiters or recruitment agencies; and sent out 3,000 surveys to teachers (69 responded). Key findings revealed that the pace of the global movement of teachers showed no signs of abating and that Commonwealth teachers were recruited at significant levels by countries such as Bahrain, Oman and Saudi Arabia as well as the United States of America (USA), Korea and Japan while Commonwealth countries were increasingly recruiting from Cuba and China (Ochs

and Jackson 2009). Other highlights from the review pointed to a lack of in-country data tracking systems related to recruitment and/or foreign educated teachers and a lack of awareness of the protocol despite the support of key regional organizations such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organisation (SEAMEO) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

Globally-mobile teachers, be they single men or women or couples/families, have to navigate the barriers of controlled immigration of receiving countries of the world. They have to decide which country to go to, using their international networks of family and friends to find out the possibilities of teacher openings and the desirability of teaching in different countries and particular cities, suburbs or towns within these countries. Email, social media sites, blogs, Immigration and Education Department websites, *You Tube* and other means of communication will assist in firming the decision of where the teacher decides to go. It is a big decision: one that means leaving the familiar and the family, weighing up the opportunities in another country with the opportunities at home. It is a decision not taken lightly. Then follows the processes of getting accepted as an immigrant: the application red tape, the interviews, the expenses and the competition for relatively scarce immigration places. Once this immigration hurdle is successfully navigated – a process that can take years – the teacher becomes an immigrant and arrives in a new, strange country alone or with family and/or partners. The new immigrant decides where to live and begins to negotiate the pathway through the second hurdle: getting their teaching qualifications accepted by the local Education Department and navigating the red tape required to be accepted as an immigrant teacher. But the journey of the global teacher is not yet done. The next step is to find a teaching position in a school and then, and only then, does the immigrant teacher enter a school, meet fellow teachers and, finally, enter the classroom to meet their new students. Then begins their teaching experiences as an immigrant teacher, the next step on a professional journey that might lead to many other school appointments in their new host country, or eventually to schools in other countries, or even a return to schools ‘back home,’ or maybe even to leaving the teaching profession altogether.

In *Global Teachers* we draw on the experiences of immigrant and emigrant teachers in/from Australia at all stages of this journey. We explore their motivations and decisions to come to, or leave, Australia, their experiences negotiating the Immigration Departments and being selected as an immigrant. We look at their experiences as a new immigrant in a new country and follow them on their path through navigating the bureaucratic red tape of the local Education Department as they jump the hurdles required to be accepted as an immigrant teacher and finding a school. We then look at their experiences as an immigrant teacher in the classroom, in the staffroom and in the broader school community. What becomes of their dreams many months or years ago to begin or continue their global journey of teacher professional? Do their experiences, professionally and socially, match their expectations as an immigrant teacher in Australia, or as an Australian teacher overseas? How do they resolve the difficulties they face on this journey? Will they stay or will they go? At the same time we investigate the policies and

procedures of the gatekeepers along the different stages of their global journey, identifying contradictions and bottle necks within Immigration and Education bureaucracies.

## Theoretical Points of Departure

The global movement of people, especially professionals, operates within a competing set of priorities and contexts, shaped by individual and family decisions within broader national and supranational regulatory processes. Appadurai (1996) argues that to understand and appreciate processes of globalization and their effects, there is a need to examine the disjuncture between ‘scapes’ – ethnoscapescapes, finoscapes, mediascapes, ideascapes and technoscapes. The methodology described by Appadurai allows for a historicized approach to globalization that ‘understands its salience in specific historical and political contexts’ (Rizvi 2009, p. 47).

In the current historical and political context neo-liberal forces are reshaping teachers’ work in much of the Western world (Connell 2011). While this is occurring at the level of nation and therefore shaped and constrained by contextual factors such as education funding arrangements, secular and non-secular schooling systems, teacher education, union structures and other social and cultural arrangements, there is also an emergent and growing global governance agenda framing teachers’ work (Robertson 2012) and the global movement of teachers. It is important to situate individual international teacher movements and experiences within these broader provincial, national and international structures and dynamics given the increasing significance of the global on the local. Robertson (1995) coined the term ‘glocalization’ to express the tensions that occur when countervailing tendencies are part of social life – homogeneity and heterogeneity, the local and the global, the individual teacher and the global possibilities of international labour mobility. But globalization is not without its tensions or contradictions. This is very evident within the field of international teacher mobility. This section explores a number of the tensions underlying the global movement of teachers.

One of the tensions produced by globalizing forces is the way in which education has become positioned as a centrepiece of national viability in economic competition (Maguire 2010; Ball 2012). Education means the acquisition of human capital which means increasing national productivity and international competitiveness. This neo-liberal approach funnels education through the market: the social, cultural and political dimensions of education for the individual, the community and the society becoming subordinate to the (narrowly conceived) economic dimensions of education. National education then itself becomes commodified and reified, subject to comparative international measures and judgements seen through the lens of the familiar mantra of standards, testing and accountability as well as global educational league tables (Connell 2011; Maguire 2010; Ball 2012; Sahlberg 2004). In turn this has led to tighter and more centralized control over teachers’ work. What this means for the globally mobile teacher is at the heart of *Global Teachers*.

What happens to mobile teachers, immigrant and emigrant, is profoundly shaped by these wider dynamics, and while some global governance agendas seek to protect and support globally mobile teachers in both the sending and receiving nations (c.f. Commonwealth Secretariat 2004), others exclude, limit or deny entry of immigrant and/or emigrant teachers on the basis of their linguistic capacities and pedagogical cultural knowledge, impacting on their ability to join the growing ranks of internationally mobile professionals (Assessment for Migration 2012; Robertson 2012).

Competition, with its accompanying league tables of countries, universities, schools, teachers and students leads in one direction: to impose the development of 'multilingual knowledge-based economies' (Singh and Scanlon 2003) via a focus on individual development as opposed to collective development (Robertson 2012; Connell 2011). At the same time, the potential for creating new knowledge through collective engagement with ideas from the periphery is stymied. This paradox finds partial expression when harnessing the theoretical lens of Bourdieu, a theme developed in the next section of this chapter.

A second tension results from the growing shortage of teachers in many parts of the western world (OECD 2003), which has led to strategies to attract and retain teachers. These teacher shortages arise because of a number of factors. National demographic factors such as the ageing of existing teacher workforces, as part of the 'ageing' of many western nations, play a role here. At the same time, many teachers leave the national education workforce, seeking a teaching position in another country or leave teaching altogether for other occupations. Provincial factors such as changing settlement patterns of regions, towns and suburbs – often a function of the way that globalization favours some industries and sends others offshore – also matter. Finally, local factors such as hard-to-staff schools, because of geographic isolation, socio-economic disadvantage or ethnic composition of schools, create local teacher shortages that are hard to fill nationally. In addition, teacher shortages emerge in some curriculum areas. Mathematics, Science and languages teachers are in under-supply in many Western countries, while English language teachers are required in increasing numbers in Asian countries such as China (Stanley 2012).

Education departments in different provinces and nations develop different strategies to respond to these local teacher shortages. In the United States of America there have been emergency-licensing and Teaching Fellows programs recruiting career changers somewhat similar to Teach First in the United Kingdom (Maguire 2010) and Teach First in Australia. However, one of the main, long term approaches has been to recruit from overseas.

The United Kingdom (UK) has long sought Australian teachers, particularly for the tough, inner city areas of London. Companies run advertisements in local Australian newspapers and send out scouts to facilitate their passage to the UK. A large company oversees the accreditation and qualifications issues on behalf of the government as a one stop shop (UK National Agency for Recognition and Information Centre – NARIC). The United Kingdom is one of the biggest recruiters of overseas-educated teachers, however a recent report demonstrated that relatively little was known about the historical patterns of these movements (McNamara and

Lewis 2008). Very significant numbers of teachers are being recruited in the 2000s, mainly from Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, a pattern that is arguably set to continue (Miller 2008, 2007). The UK government, however, made changes to the visa system in 2008 and introduced a 'resident labour market test' so that employers must show that a post could not be filled locally before they could sponsor an overseas teacher (NASUWT 2009); this may change the pattern of teacher migration to the UK. Despite the large numbers of these teachers in the UK there is little beyond the Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol in the way of official policy concerning where and how they are recruited, and few strategies to cope with their integration into schools and the community (McNamara et al. 2007). Recent evidence suggests that this Protocol may be of little practical use as almost no overseas-educated teachers in the UK were aware of it (Miller 2008; Miller et al. 2008).

Australia too has a history of recruitment of teachers educated overseas. In the 1970s a shortage saw the recruitment of teachers from the United States, who were seen as strike breakers leading to very unpleasant confrontations for the immigrant teachers (Reid 2005). In 1986 Science, Maths and Special Education teachers were actively sought in the traditional source countries as well as Hong Kong. A similar program was again conducted in the UK and Hong Kong in 1990 (Inglis and Philips 1995). More recently Australia's immigrant teachers also come from countries such as India and Pacific nations such as Fiji and the Cook Islands (Degazon-Johnson 2008) as well as China.

New Zealand appears to have been one of the few nations that has been documenting the movements and experiences of immigrant teachers since the mid-1990s. Four studies (Dewar and Visser 2000) revealed that immigrant teachers were predominantly in poorer urban areas, schools where there were high numbers of indigenous students (Maori) and where there was high staff turnover.

In China, English is compulsory throughout much of schooling and universities, as well as in high demand for private tuition. This means that China is the largest English-language-teaching market in the world (Stanley 2012). More recent studies, similar to those emerging in Australia through the work of Han (2004) for example, point to the increase in demand for teachers of languages. Given the increase in the USA of Latino populations there is now high demand for teachers who can speak Spanish, but minimal research on their experiences, policies to support them and their opportunities for progression (Fee 2011).

These examples are not by any means exhaustive of the recruitment processes and the resultant global mobility of teachers but they now occur in the context of competition in the global knowledge economy, often resulting in a tension between need and governance. For example, Robertson (2012), in an examination of the global governance agendas from the post-World War 2 period, outlines two main approaches, both modelled on the Western world. The first, shaped by the economics of education, centered on education as an investment in human capital. The other, promulgated by UNESCO, focused on culture, championing the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and especially universal literacy. Nation states were nevertheless the locus of control (p. 9). The International Labour Organization/UNESCO set about framing the Status of Teachers (1966) but

nationally there were many models across the globe, and so many differing constructions of pedagogy, what constituted a ‘good’ teacher and how immigration can be used to solve teacher shortages.

Robertson noted a shift from 2000 onwards. In the developed world there is now a focus on policies of accountability and standards through discourses of the quality teacher. Accompanying these changes is ‘a strong discourse of derision’ (Robertson 2012, p. 11), which in Australia and elsewhere has contributed to one in four teachers leaving teaching within the first 5 years (MacBeath 2012, p. 10). Robertson argued that the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and World Bank have gained symbolic control of teacher policy and practice and that this is most visible in the framing of the twenty-first-century teacher (ibid, p. 13). The OECD has become a technical and moral entrepreneur. The consequences for teachers, and particularly immigrant teachers, are significant because of the ways in which this ideal teacher type is defined.

One critical factor is that Western nations are more likely to have child-centered pedagogical models while many other societies and cultures have teacher-centered models. The new measure of teachers’ quality, the Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS), initiated by the OECD in 2008, will be linked with the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) from 2013 and the indicators are that a focus on constructivism – child-centered pedagogy with individual agency at its core – will be reified, fitting well into the ontology of neo-liberalism (Robertson 2012, pp. 14–15). As a consequence, teachers who favor (or have experiences of) teacher-centered pedagogies may be judged ‘poor quality’ and have difficulty with qualifications recognition: a problem when there are not enough teachers.

A third tension emerges around knowledge. Global policy making is not entirely new and historically the impact of colonial governments during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries on colonized countries led to debates about processes of cultural homogenization and the revival of local knowledge. At the core of these debates, and as a consequence of these processes, theoretical debate shifted attention to non-Western scholars, or, rather, ‘southern theory’ (Connell 2007), extending on the work of earlier postcolonial (Said 1979) and anti-colonial scholars (Gilroy 2005). This is important, because the positives of globalization are generally couched in economic terms or cultural domination. In universities where international students bring viewpoints outside Eurocentric theoretical frameworks we become alerted to Islamic scholars challenging the idea that economic theories can fully explain inequalities, arguing instead that ‘westoxication’ (Al-e-Ahmad 1962) or cultural domination is the basis. Such theories alert us to the limitations of frameworks we use to understand social life and open up potentially new ways to foreground our analysis, particularly in terms of the place of knowledge and the transnational movement of ideas. So there is a tension or disjuncture between the policies, discourses and practices governing teachers’ work and the policies, discourses and practices regulating the international mobility of teachers. This is particularly the case when immigrant teachers, like many immigrant professionals today, come increasingly from ‘the South’, that is, from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

There is also a tension about the global circulation of knowledge and ideas. There are socio-cultural arguments for making intellectual connections across ‘peripheral’ nations and from the periphery to the centre, but tensions emerge. Take for example the study of, and theorising of, the contemporary educational engagements between Australia and China. Working from an educational perspective Singh (2011) notes that an absence of Southern or non-Western theoretical tools used to analyse this important example of the internationalization of education limits the scope for exploring the centuries of alternating knowledge flows between South/North and East/West and hence undermines the robustness of the analysis. It is also important to acknowledge the ‘non-Western’ concepts already built into ‘Western’ theories over time. In redressing the limited research in education in this area, Singh (Singh and Huang 2012; Singh and Meng 2011; 2010) continues to investigate the kinds of non-Western concepts, metaphors and images that can readily travel from the periphery (the South) to the western centre (the North); the theoretical tools that benefit from this global movement of ideas and interchange of pedagogy that accompanies global education movements.

This leads to another tension or contradiction of globalization that is central to understanding the contemporary dynamics of international teacher mobility and the experiences of immigrant teachers themselves. Immigration dynamics lead to increasingly heterogeneous populations and culturally- and religiously-diverse neighbourhoods and school populations (Goldin et al. 2011). The cultural, religious and linguistic difference of new immigrants, be they teachers, other professionals or skilled or unskilled workers, can generate racist or xenophobic responses from the ‘host’ community, particularly when this difference is ‘visible’ because of an immigrant’s skin colour, dress, appearance or accent. The experience of immigrant minorities in all countries of immigration today (Castles and Miller 2009, pp. 14–16) are framed through the prism of *racialization* (Miles 1993). This is particularly the case in areas relatively new to immigration. As Hirschman and Massey (2010, p. 18) put it in the introduction of their edited volume on the changing geography of American immigration: ‘Immigrants typically enter new destination areas as strangers with a cultural outlook shaped by their country of origin’.

Issues of cultural diversity on the teacher and pupil sides of the classroom accompany the globalization of the teaching profession. The studies that have been carried out in Australia (Bella 1999; Cruickshank 2004; Han 2004; Kamler et al. 1999; Reid 2005; Santoro 1997, 1999) and Canada (Bascia 1996; Beynon et al. 2004; James 2002) as well as elsewhere (Basit and McNamara 2004; Firkin et al. 2004; Phillion 2003) tend to point to some of the contradictions related to ethnic diversity in the classroom from the point of view of the teacher and the student. Of course others circulate the discourse of non-English-speaking-background (NESB) immigrants (or World English Speakers, or WES), as ‘problems,’ trouble,’ and ‘strife’ and investigate issues of their incompatibility (Birrell et al. 2001; Valenta 2009).

These issues and concerns are not new but the diversification of the teaching profession throws up interesting questions about the ways in which working with and through cultural diversity accompany the globalization of teaching.

## Bourdieu, Reconversion and Tests

In the study of immigrant and emigrant teachers outlined in *Global Teachers* we sought to better understand personal narratives and survey responses in terms of Bourdieu's concept of reconversion (1984, pp. 125–168) because we were interested in the ways in which teachers reworked their cultural and intellectual capital in new contexts. We were also interested in their rights in the labour process and institutional practices that supported their mobility. The other aspects we considered, so as not to be 'a-mobile' (Urry 2003), were other factors in global teachers' lives such as family, leisure and pleasure (ibid). We asked our immigrant and emigrant teachers about the things that drove their mobility and their future plans. In doing so we aimed to explore and highlight the complex nature of global mobility and the extent to which policy and practice intersect with these dynamics.

Bourdieu's reconversion theory seemed a useful theoretical framework that might explain the national conditions shaping teachers' work and the ways in which these impact on globally mobile teachers. In particular, through examining reconversion strategies, we hoped to gain insights into both privilege and being 'Othered', which would give a more hopeful reading of non-minority teachers' capacity to engage with difference in the classroom while providing an agentic reading of immigrant teachers' negotiation of different contexts.

Bourdieu has been concerned with the 'practical sense' that agents use and develop in different contexts (1990, 1998). In terms of his ethnographic work these are known as strategies. The strategy of reconversion occurs when there is a gap between practices and situations; so social space is central to the ways in which this strategy of reconversion takes place (Bourdieu 1984, p. 131). Social space, according to Bourdieu, comprises social conditions (in this case the labour market), lifestyles (leisure activities, languages spoken), and habitus: the necessities and facilities of a condition and position (being an 'Australian teacher') (ibid, p. 126). In this social space, any change in the value of capitals produces a strategy of reconversion (ibid, p. 125).

While much of Bourdieu's work is centred on the reconversion strategies inherent in the downgrading of qualifications and employment within families (termed vertical movement) or changing to another field (horizontal movement), we aimed to examine if it is still a useful concept to work with in relation to mobilities brought about by processes of globalization, because while teachers may be in demand, their intellectual and cultural capital is tested – judged, penalised and rewarded – in new ways. In this sense we are 'attuned to movement and flow' (Ball 2012, p. 143). While still in the field of education and still practising as teachers, the field is in another social space so social conditions are different. Indeed, how immigrant and emigrant teachers reconstruct or reconvert their capital provides a sharp insight into the transformation of the labour of teaching in the twenty-first century.

There is evidence to suggest that the process of recredentialling was found to be fraught with difficulties (Beynon et al. 2004) and in a comparative study of Canada and Sweden, Andersson and Guo (2009) found that recognition of overseas

qualifications remained a significant barrier for globally mobile professionals, such as teachers, and could lead to social exclusion and disadvantage. There are a number of studies examining the experiences of different cultural groups, including Russian immigrant teachers' construction of their roles (Abramova 2011), the non-recognition of qualifications of Chinese women (Man 2004), and the history of Jamaican teachers in Alberta (Kelly and Cui 2010).

A special edition of the *Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy* (2010) took a different approach to other studies, which had largely focussed on processes and experiences but little on policy. This edition, edited by Schmidt (2010a), examined the experiences of immigrant teachers through the lens of policy, arguing that there is a need to keep moving from the 'personal to the political'. A variety of themes pertaining to certification (Cho 2010; Kelly and Cui 2010), teacher education (Chassells 2010; Faez 2010), workplace issues (Pollock 2010), and employment and ethnocultural equity policies (Schmidt and Block 2010) were considered. These studies drew on a variety of methodologies including oral history, narrative, and policy analysis. The research was predominantly situated in Canada, including Alberta, Manitoba, and Ontario, but also included an international perspective from Iceland, revealing similar issues. What meshes these articles and is drawn together by Schmidt and Block (2010), is the idea of 'interest convergence'.

Drawing on critical race theory (c.f. Milner 2008) they consider ways in which the dominant knowledge systems might come to be more inclusive of the diversity of teachers' backgrounds, knowledge and skills if there was something in it for them. In our study, some of the teachers voice this quite clearly by articulating how their knowledge is excluded, considered out of context or not even allowed to be spoken. In many ways, immigrant teachers are seen as 'empty vessels'. In this important series of articles it is possible to see how 'interest convergence' as a strategy can reveal systemic discrimination (Schmidt 2010b) through a focus on racialized processes of exclusion such as the denial of other forms of knowledge. While some studies suggest mentoring (Peeler and Jane 2005) and provide some suggestion of 'sharing ideals' (p. 327), this is not the same as a two-way knowledge exchange such as that suggested in the work of Singh and others (2011; Singh and Meng 2011; Singh and Huang 2012) in teacher education in Australia, nor is it as powerful as 'interest convergence', because the main purpose of mentoring is to 'bring them into' or equip them with the socio-cultural knowledge of the system they are entering (Peeler and Jane 2005).

At another level, issues of curriculum content and gender rights do differ between nations depending on whether or not they are from the global North or the global South. We recognise this potential for a one-sided perspective because we are looking at this issue from the position of the global North – as a first world country (Connell 2007). Bourdieu's concept of reconversion might be useful here when considering the *collective agency* of teachers that can become a form of resistance to globalizing structures governing teachers' work. The fact that collective action on a global scale is on the agenda is an example of reconversion from local to global. By focussing on the social space (the global) in which the game is being played it is possible to understand 'strategies, individual or collective, spontaneous or

organized, which are aimed at conserving, transforming or transforming so as to conserve' (Bourdieu 1984) the civic role of the profession and to resist the neo-liberal agenda, which narrows the construction of the 'good teacher' and the curriculum in different contexts.

In *Deployed to Deliver* (Vongalis-Macrow 2008), a study of education representatives at the Education International Third World Congress, the World Bank, UNESCO and the OECD recognised the role of unions in supporting teachers in the face of change, but only in what is termed *management capitalism* (Vongalis-Macrow 2008). Vongalis-Macrow argued that teachers in her study revealed that they needed to act collectively so that a North/South divide did not weaken the capacity of teachers, as a profession, to respond to neo-liberal global agendas. There is considerable research to suggest that inequalities across the globe in terms of teacher recruitment may be exacerbating these inequalities.

Recent research from South Africa examined not only the experiences of teachers overseas, but also related issues faced in South Africa as a result of this 'brain drain'. Brown (2008) argued that teacher migration negatively impacts on the quality of education in source countries, a concern also raised in other parts of the world such as the Caribbean. This concern had a direct impact on the development of the Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol which put limits on teacher movement from developing Commonwealth countries to developed ones like Australia, Canada and the UK. However the old *brain drain/brain gain* dichotomy is tempered by the multi-movement dynamics of contemporary migration flows. Today the focus is on *brain circulation* or circular migration where some immigrants will complete a full circle and eventually return home while others continue their global journey. As Goldin et al. (2011, p. 183) put it: "The phenomena of 'brain circulation' and return migration suggests that some migrants move overseas for education or early career development and later return home periodically or episodically". This is evident in recent research on migrant teacher movement in Africa. The reasons for South African teachers emigrating to the UK, like other global teachers, did include enhanced socioeconomic and career opportunities – pull factors – while their reasons for return to their home country included poor student discipline, loneliness and climate – push factors (Manik 2007, 2009). South African research has had a strong focus on the loss of teachers to the UK (McNamara et al. 2007; de Villiers 2007) across a range of studies but teachers are also lost from developing nations in Africa to South Africa.

Indeed, more recently the impact of migration flows in the Pacific region has revealed that smaller, less powerful sending countries suffer, from the perspective of losing the embedded investment in their teachers' human capital. On the other hand Pacific countries gain from remittances from their overseas populations – including emigrant teachers – and the opportunities for locals for professional advancement that this emigration creates. In a study of the movement of teachers in the Pacific – Fiji, Vanuatu, and Cook Islands – Voigt-Graf et al. (2009) found that even though countries such as New Zealand and Australia do not specifically draw on the Pacific for teachers they nevertheless gain teachers from these countries as immigrants who arrive as part of permanent and temporary migration programs and subsequently

move into teacher training and the teaching profession. These flows thus fall outside of the Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol. The report argued that:

Now is a good time to re-examine the ethics of Australia's immigration and education planning policies and to begin to see Australia in more of a global context. Australia and the US were noticeably absent from the recent First Global Forum on Migration and Development (July 2007) where the centrality of migration to development was a key feature. (Voigt-Graf et al. 2009)

Many of the immigrant teachers in Australia interviewed and surveyed for this book moved into teaching *after* they entered Australia as an immigrant. In other words, there are direct and indirect immigration pathways that global teachers navigate. Some arrive as foreign students to take teaching qualifications and later teach in their new host society. Others arrive as the partner or spouse of a principal applicant under the permanent or temporary skilled visa pathways or arrive themselves as skilled migrants. They then turn to developing a teaching career after migration.

## Racialization

Bourdieu's (1984) concept of reconversion can be used to investigate how globally mobile teachers' strategies change their existing practices. This may be assimilationist in orientation as the studies outlined reveal. Typically, the practices they bring from their country of origin are treated as ethnic difference, deficiencies which have to be overcome if they expect to fit into the country of migration. While Bourdieu's concept of reconversion is used for analysing materially grounded and embodied personal and social change, we show it is limited.

To interrupt the reconversion approach Boltanski and Chiapello's (2005) concept of 'test' is used to analyse the ways in which globally-mobile job-seekers are subjected to checks, investigations and trials to establish their worthiness for employment. Every hurdle job-seekers are required to jump, every barrier they are required to navigate, every gatekeeper they have to negotiate constitutes a test. The concept of 'tests' allows for an analysis of the relationship between the strength and status of institutional structures governing employment and individual workers such as these teachers. Global teachers must also navigate migration hurdles and negotiate with the gatekeepers who manage the migration process.

Tests of employability, like tests of migration merit, are often viewed by the global teacher as tests of their worth and can be sites of disagreements and conflicts. These are the moments when global teachers question their decision to teach in another country. Critical moments arise when employers (such as education authorities) and/or prospective employees (for instance, teachers) invoke different orders of worth in terms of qualifications, professional experience, language ability or status.

Consider for a moment the case where a Western government – in this case Australia – and its nationalized education agenda take as a founding principle the idea of intellectual engagement with the Asian Century and closer education links with Asia (DFAT 2012). In October 2012 the Australian Prime Minister, Julia

Gillard, launched the *Australia in the Asian Century: White Paper*. It outlined how Australia wished to increase engagement with Asian nations by increasing economic, social, political and cultural ties with Asian nations:

Success in the Asian century requires a whole-of-Australia effort, with businesses, unions, communities and governments being partners in a transformation as profound as any that have defined Australia throughout our history. It is in the interests of all Australians—and therefore in the national interest—to develop the capabilities and connections that Australia will need, so that we can contribute to, and learn from, the region, and take full advantage of these opportunities (p. 3).

The second of a five-pronged strategy proposed in the *White Paper* to shape this Australian engagement with the Asian Century is the need to build stronger education connections and partnerships across the region. In particular the *White Paper* aims to develop Australia's capabilities to invest in people through skills and education. This strategy involves a need to broaden and deepen Australian understanding of Asian cultures and languages, to become more Asia literate.

However the experience of global teachers, many of whom come from Asian countries to teach in Australian schools, explored in this book suggests that there are strong education barriers in Australia that constrain this closer educational engagement with Asia. English language ability tests, qualifications recognition problems and a devaluing of the professional experience and capability of Asian teachers by Education Departments in Australia is a form of institutional racial discrimination that treats the human capital of Asian immigrant teachers as inferior to immigrant teachers from the UK, USA, South Africa or Canada. Moreover, we report Asian immigrant teachers' experiences of racial discrimination in the staff room, the class room and the Australian community into which they settle. Internationally educated teachers (and pre-service teachers of similar status) trouble schools (and teacher education faculties) where they are typically positioned as non-speakers or makers-of-noise by designations such as "non-English-speaking background." In other words, the global teachers' experience in Australia is grounded in processes of racialization (Miles 1993), though it is important to note that immigrant teachers from South Africa, the USA and Ireland also report racist responses: not to their skin colour but to their accent. In other words, just as racism is a multi-vocal experience – there are racisms experienced by and perpetrated by whites and non-whites – so too is racialization a lens through which many whites and non-white global teachers view their experience of teaching in another country.

In other words the tests of teachers' employability in another country – the bureaucratic red tape enacted by the national and provincial education gatekeepers – appear to be biased against, and to block, the very increase in intellectual and education engagement with the Asian Century that Western governments like Australia and its education employers are seeking. Central here is the insistence in Australia, the UK and North America on testing the professional knowledge of these teachers within an English-only lens. This focus devalues the multi-lingual, multicultural teaching experience of many global teachers, mistaking the age of globalization for the age of English hegemony. This book shows that these tests

are now even more incompatible with official government and education policies predicated on closer international educational engagement.

To add complexity to Bourdieu's theory of reconversion it is necessary to explore the ways in which processes of racialization shape the strategies of globally mobile teachers and the tests of their employability. This is because reconversion is not a simple matter of choice. Here the focus is on the material world (Urry 2003). Embedded within global governance agendas and local professional gatekeeper procedures are the processes of racialization, which are evident in the tests constructed to judge who constitutes 'good' teachers. This includes linguistic capacities, as well as the processes for the recognition of professional qualifications gained outside the country.

Bourdieu's concept of *cultural capital* also appears at first glance to be central to a study of global teachers whose culture and cultural backgrounds are often very different from those of the societies to which they migrate. But Bourdieu's concept of *cultural capital* is applied in a mono-cultural way, being concerned with the culture of a class (the ruling class) and not the cultural diversity that characterises contemporary global migration flows. This is an opportunity lost by Bourdieu that partly undermines the relevance of his theory to contemporary society in general and to migration flows in particular. Contemporary migration flows are all about social networks, or what Vertovec (2007) calls transnational networks. This is true irrespective of the class background of the immigrant. Goldin and his colleagues put it very well:

While borders maintain physical distance between people, the lives of migrants and non-migrants can be connected in a myriad ways through e-mail, phone calls, Skype calls, and family visits. Transnational networks serve as conduits of culture, information, ideas, beliefs, and money between migrants and non-migrants. (2011, p. 219)

Connell argues that when educational competencies and standards are put under the microscope, it is individual teachers who are examined rather than a deeper consideration of complex school environments and processes (Connell 2011, p. 83). However, professional qualifications from Western nations are often preferred to, and recognized above, those obtained from universities in non-Western countries. Similarly the teaching experience gained in Western schools is usually 'gold plated' in certification procedures while teaching experience gained in non-western schools and education systems is devalued. Through an examination of mobile teachers' labour processes it is possible to examine the ways in which immigrant teachers experience processes of 'Othering' in the West. In many instances this is a classic case of the continued force of Orientalism and the Western gaze (Said 1979).

At the same time, the experience of Australian emigrant teachers who have taught overseas leads to insights on how predominately 'white' teachers can be 'Othered' in different non-Western (and Western) countries. As an example of the latter, consider a case from China. Stanley (2011), in a study of English language teachers from the West at university level, noted that there is a tendency to Occidentalism: 'Occidentalism has been variously defined (Conceison 2004) but its central tenets are the discursive construction, and reduction, of the West by the East.' Stanley provides examples of Chinese theatrical and advertising caricatures

and Japanese popular culture constructions of foreignness or *gaijinness*. Her argument is that while Said's (1979) work on Orientalism argues that Western imperialists were agents of neo-colonialism, in the current context, where demand for English language teachers is driven by China or what she calls 'demand-led imperialism-by-invitation' (op. cit.), Western English teachers find themselves positioned in new ways. As Connell (2007) argues, there is both a desire for the artefacts of the 'West' at the same time that there is a resistance to domination by the 'West'.

To add to the complexity of the issues under investigation consider a third illustration. Across the OECD (OECD 2012) well educated immigrants are doing less well than the native born. Further, it is in teaching that there is the highest rate of unemployment among the foreign born or foreign educated for any field of employment. However, immigrant workers who engage in reconversion, for instance through changing their names, have to make fewer applications to get a job; and once they become 'naturalized' they tend to earn more. Tests of reconversion require these highly educated immigrant workers to change their name and accent so that they become less of a problem for employers. It might be argued that employers are not being racist but want signs of reconversion or integration. Reconversion tests focus on the ways in which internationally educated teachers rework their cultural and intellectual capital to adjust to, and become incorporated in, the racialized, classed and gendered hierarchy of their new contexts.

Processes of racialization such as these ought not be surprising but because they are political and ideological they are often hidden or covert (Miles 1993). In *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) Said outlined how processes of decolonization and the after-thoughts of post-colonial and imperial conflicts produced 'homeless wanderers, nomads, vagrants, unassimilated to the emerging structures of institutional power' (p. 403). In many ways, population mobility and 'superdiversity' (Hugo 2003; Hugo et al. 2003; Vertovec 2007) in Australia and elsewhere challenge constructions of the concepts of *nation* and *citizen* in ways that resonate with Said's analysis. The current treatment of refugees in Australia (Marr 2011), particularly the extraordinary anxiety and political opportunism over undocumented boat arrivals over the past decade or more, is a contemporary manifestation of this ongoing racialized boundary shifting and a response to vulnerable people whose circumstances lead most of them to be eventually accepted as refugees under the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* (UNHCR 1951) and the *Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees* (UNHCR, 1967). These constructions of outsiders or those whose origins are different means that, to understand teacher mobility and the experiences of globally mobile teachers, we require a clear understanding of how contemporary processes of racialization play out. The challenge for nations is how to respond to the increasing global flows of people (Appadurai 1996). The contradiction is that racialized antagonism towards immigrant professionals undermines the ability of nations to use immigration to solve these professional labour shortages and to develop new knowledge. While the global circulation of teachers is not of the same order as forced, undocumented migrants, the link between these experiences is a shared

consciousness of the predicaments of those who ‘live between homes, and between languages’ (Said 1993).

When thinking about, or theorising the diversification of, the teaching profession it is necessary to consider carefully what – and who – constitutes the ‘educational problem’ (Singh 2012). Ostensibly, the idea of ‘diversification of the teaching profession’ (Ramsey 2000; DEST 2003) means increasing numbers of teachers who are non-White non-Western non-Christian and bi/multilingual. In the literature examining the identities of ethnically and/or linguistically different teachers there has been a focus on the positive relationship between immigrant teachers and their ethnically diverse students (Santoro 2007) while others have examined racism experienced by ethnic minority teachers (Kamler et al. 1999). Reid’s (2005) work found that processes of racialization also impact on those who are ‘white’ and speak English, revealing that difference is not just in the identities of immigrant teachers but is connected to political and economic forces. Even when the immigrant teachers were ‘white’ and English speaking, such as when teachers were imported from the USA in the 1970s, they were considered in need of assimilation, and induction courses were developed (Inglis and Philips 1995). Racialization processes are relational, meaning that racialized identities are constructed in relation to the self and therefore impact on everyone, albeit unequally.

Contemporary debates in White Western Anglophone nations – many nominally Christian – inscribe the ‘diversification of the teaching profession’ as risky. Typically, the ‘diversification of the teaching profession’ is used to signify threats to White, Western, Christian educational cultures and the corruption of English monolingualism. The prevailing orientation is to treat the ‘diversification of the teaching profession’ as a predicament needing to be solved. A few ethnic specific studies in New Zealand by way of example have focussed on problems related to familiarity with the curriculum among Indian immigrant teachers (Vohra 2005) and the need to consider cultural frameworks among Japanese immigrant teachers (Okamura and Miller 2010).

A range of other studies from different countries reveals similar concerns. One interesting study from Israel (Elbaz-Luwisch 2004) focused on ‘place’ and considered seven teachers’ stories of finding a new sense of ‘self’ in a new place – the losses and gains – such as ‘holding on and holding together, feeling like a fake, learning how to behave and conflict with the system’ (p. 395). Another Icelandic study (Ragnarsdóttir 2010) considered two cases – one of immigrant preschool teachers and aides and another of immigrant teacher education candidates – with a focus on barriers to integration. Increasingly, studies of Chinese immigrant teachers and teacher education candidates are emerging, emphasising similar concerns but new and specific manifestations of these (Myles et al. 2006; Zhang and Cheng 2006), depending on the political and economic context dynamics and the socio-cultural dimensions of teachers’ work.

Concern about the ‘diversification of the teaching profession’ is that it poses ‘trouble’ that requires new knowledge to find solutions. *Global Teachers* critically examines these predicaments, experiences and contradictions, and troubles the tests of internationally educated teachers’ employability. The theoretical frameworks

explored in this book open up a critical analysis of the ways in which the production of the teaching labour force in the twenty-first century aligns with the demands of a de-industrialising world (Maguire 2010). We draw on the experience of immigrant and emigrant teachers in Australia to reveal the tensions teachers face at the personal and professional level and how being globally mobile can also intensify these tensions. To do so, we explore the specific conditions that impact on globally mobile teachers' propulsion into a global system of performativity that simultaneously scrutinises their professional capital in terms of their qualifications (human capital), talent (teaching experience and expertise) and opportunities to interact (social capital) (Hargreaves and Fullan 2012) in educational contexts. Many immigrant teachers come from postcolonial states, an artifact of the Commonwealth of Nations, while others arrive from emerging powers such as China. Others come from *El Norte*, the North, the centres of western power and civilization, though often these are themselves immigrant minorities who are on the next stage of their global journey of circular migration. This points to the complexity of imperialist relations, old and new, and reminds us that a critique of universalizing tendencies in policies and in the theories that we use is vital (Connell 2007; Hickling-Hudson 2009). What then is the relationship between critique and educational change?

## Critiques and Educational Change

*Global Teachers* provides an empirical basis for reconsidering the modes of critique that might now be worth revitalizing in education and educational research. This effort to renew the forms, aims and content of critique is directed at making changes in the dynamic relationship between critique and the labour market, and points to the coexistence of multiple, and for some perhaps incompatible, forms of critique (Singh and Huang 2012). Both corrective and transformative modes of critique are distinguished and mobilized in this book. A key point emphasized here is the necessity of critique in effecting change in education, as in other spheres. Therefore, this book goes beyond understanding the dreams, aspirations and practical sensibilities of internationally educated teachers to foreground their intellectual agency – their work as critics – the labour they invest in mobilizing both corrective and transformative critiques. How internationally educated teachers mount critiques of the employability tests to which they are subjected provides insights into the potential of migrant workers, including teachers to mobilize critiques likely to correct, if not transform, teaching and the conditions of labour in the twenty-first century.

There are modes of critique which focus on having corrections made to tests of the employability of internationally educated teachers. Corrective critiques of the tests of these teachers' employability focus on soliciting explanations for actions taken or proposed, and for justifying the grounds for aspects of these tests. In other instances, corrective critiques are mobilized to obtain clarifications about how responsibility for flaws in the tests, including administrative and procedural failings, are to be rectified. Corrective critiques include disputes about whether rules have or

have not been violated. Developments in the modes of justification for changing or otherwise re-ordering this employability are traced in *Global Teachers*. In doing so, the evidence presented here points to the visibility of critique in every-day disputes over these employability tests; the criteria used to justify tests, and the importance of the capabilities of all involved for employing corrective critiques in effecting change.

Consider for a moment the following illustration of a corrective critique. Critics recognise that it is important to have good English language skills to teach in Australian schools. However, concerns about the Professional English Assessment for Teachers (PEAT) continue to be brought to the attention of the Government of New South Wales. In a petition to the Government some 500 international graduates of Australian teacher education programs directed their corrective critiques at the ‘circumstances in which this test is applied, [as these] cause unnecessary difficulties and delays for overseas trained candidates wanting to become teachers [and this] contradicts the principles of a multicultural Australia and ignores the educational benefits of bi- or multilingualism’ (Michels 2012, n.p.). In reply the Minister for Education reiterated the established procedures and requirements for PEAT (Piccoli 2012). The petitioners claimed that the pass rate for the PEAT is 15 %, while noting that there is an absence of transparency regarding the success/failure rate, unlike other similar tests. Those candidates who have completed their post-graduate teaching degrees in Australia see the degrees devalued by this exceptionally stringent employability test. Further, the petitioners criticized the costs of PEAT, which include travel and accommodation costs as well as loss of pay from their current jobs due to it only being administered in central Sydney, and the time delays associated with registering for the test and any re-tests. The petitioners failed in their initial corrective critique to *either* have the New South Wales Government review the current selection procedure and implementation of the PEAT test *or* to require that all teacher graduates, immigrants and locals, be tested as part of teaching qualifications. Moreover the NSW government refused requests that the test also be offered in regional centres in addition to the Sydney area (Michels 2012, n. p.).

The transformative critiques presented in *Global Teachers* argue that the prevailing tests of the internationally educated teachers’ employability in professional English raise issues of what it means for a country to recruit ‘skilled immigrants’ or ‘knowledge workers.’ The global mobility of teachers, and non-White, non-Western teachers in particular, now occurs in the context of competition in the global multilingual knowledge economies (Singh and Huang 2012). The immigrant teachers’ critiques of these tests include concerns about inequality; disenchantment with the process and outcomes, trouble with their lack of authenticity, the dilemma of promoting privatized interests rather than social bonds, and worrying oppression of teachers’ freedom and creativity. Their transformative critiques aim to reconstitute these tests. They open up for exploration the disjuncture between claims about the world’s multilingual knowledge-based economies and the potential that these teachers, many from non-Western countries, have for creating new knowledge of education, teaching and learning. These critiques shift the focus to how

internationally educated teachers' prior knowledge and understandings about education, teaching and learning could contribute to the local public schools, and perhaps even to their reform.

Thus, these teachers are not merely concerned with correcting these tests or seeing how these existing tests might more satisfactorily perform. Their critiques are not solely directed to helping make the necessary corrections so that the tests accord with the goals that these teachers are supposed to meet. Rather than just trying to correct these tests, these internationally educated teachers' critiques are also directed at thwarting these tests across different fronts. These teachers have a critical interest in not having their concerns about inequality, disenchantment, authenticity and freedom marginalized to matters related to correcting the existing employability tests. They do not want their critiques reduced to this. What is at stake for these internationally educated teachers is replacing at least some of these tests with different tests. For these teachers it is the tests themselves which are the focus for disputation and transformative critique. They criticise the principles on which the existing employability tests are based and judged, providing a basis for different principles for tests of employability.

## Methodology

*Global Teachers* develops an interdisciplinary approach to the study of global teachers, drawing on the extensive expertise of the authors built up by a range of research projects into many aspects of immigration, education, teachers' work and the relationship between ethnic and linguistic diversity and schooling. It draws on the extensive international literature on immigration and teaching and the theories of immigration and education to form the conceptual framework through which recent fieldwork with global teachers in Australia can be interpreted and understood. This Australian fieldwork was generated from a major national research project funded by the Australian Research Council with six partners across Australia including the New South Wales Teachers Federation, New South Wales Department of Education and Training (now Department of Education and Communities), Australian Education Union South Australia, South Australian Department of Education and Children's Services, Western Australian Department of Training and Workforce Development (formerly Western Australian Department of Education, Overseas Qualification Unit) and Western Australian Department of Education (Workforce Policy and Coordination Unit).

This study aimed to identify the key drivers – a range of factors including taxation, lifestyle, classroom experience, travel, opportunities for advancement, discipline, linguistic skills, cultural factors and institutional frameworks and policy support – that explain how and why overseas teachers come to Australia and why Australian teachers leave Australia to teach overseas. That is, its purpose was to better understand the personal, institutional and structural processes nationally and internationally underlying the increasing global circulation of teachers, or what

could be called the increasingly important phenomenon of ‘brain circulation’ of the global teaching profession.

It examines the experience of overseas teachers who are temporary and permanent immigrants in Australia in metropolitan, regional and rural areas in order to better understand the immigrant teacher experience in Australia and the key issues shaping the Australian teacher ‘brain gain’. Further, it explores the experience of Australian teachers who are teaching or who have taught overseas in order to better understand the key issues shaping the Australian teacher ‘brain drain’.

A teaching qualification is a passport to teach in another country; but qualification recognition is a frustrating issue for many immigrant professionals, including teachers. The study investigates issues related to the recognition of overseas-obtained teaching qualifications in order to identify the extent of ‘brain waste’ of immigrant teachers in Australia and to develop appropriate policy responses. We have also identified English language testing of immigrant teachers as a critical obstacle in the global mobility of teachers. Additionally it examines how/when/why factors related to Australia’s multicultural society – including matters related to ethnicity, religious and cultural background, language, gender and age – influence all of the above questions.

This study critically reviews the federal, state and local government strategies and policies that currently apply in Australia to the global circulation of teachers in order to develop best practice models designed to enhance Australia’s ability to attract and retain immigrant teachers and to regain emigrant teachers.

A range of different quantitative and qualitative methodologies were employed in the major research project discussed in the ensuing chapters. They were informed by an interdisciplinary theoretical framework, as outlined, which drew on the disciplines of sociology, economics, education and cultural studies to inform theories of globalization, immigration, education and multiculturalism research in order to shape the design and analysis of the fieldwork. We relied on our collaborators to: provide databases to allow us to contact teachers for the Phase 1 research (surveys); facilitate the fieldwork related to focus groups and in-depth interviews in Phase 2; collect information on the relevant policies and programs of each state; and to identify other stakeholders that we should consult during the project. In-kind partner contributions released partner staff time to the project to enable these research tasks to be completed.

Quantitative methodologies were utilised to quantify the extent, character, and location of immigrant and emigrant Australian teachers in New South Wales (NSW), Western Australia (WA), and South Australia (SA), drawing on primary and secondary data sources. The primary data sources were (a) a survey, conducted in year 1 of the project, of temporary and permanent immigrant and/or overseas trained teachers (‘brain gain’) in urban, regional and rural areas of all three states; (b) a survey, also conducted in year 1, of Australian trained teachers who have had periods of teaching in other countries (regained ‘brain drain’). All respondents to the surveys are identified by pseudonyms throughout this report. The surveys included questions that probed issues of background, immigration/emigration, education and qualifications, information sources, key issues shaping their global movement

**Table 2.1** Surveys of immigrant teachers

NSW	194
WA	51
SA	27
Total	272

**Table 2.2** Surveys of emigrant teachers

NSW	44
WA	14
SA	12
Total	70

in the first instance and information about their experiences as an immigrant/emigrant teacher. The secondary data sources were the Australian 2006 census, the LISA longitudinal immigrant surveys conducted by the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA, now the Department of Immigration and Citizenship – DIAC, and the databases of DIMIA, the Department of Education, Science and Training (DEST) and State Education Departments.

A total of 342 completed surveys were received: 272 from immigrant teachers and 70 from emigrant teachers. 194 surveys of immigrant teachers in NSW were returned, 27 from SA, and 51 from WA. 44 surveys from emigrant teachers in NSW were received, with 12 from SA and 14 from WA (Tables 2.1 and 2.2).

Qualitative methodologies were employed in years 2 and 3 and took the form of (a) focus group discussions; and (b) semi-structured interviews. Both took place in all three states. In each state two immigrant and two emigrant focus groups were intended in year 1 with a follow up 12 months later to capture some dynamic change processes (that is, four focus group discussions x 90mins each in each state per year). However, follow up interviews were not possible. The focus groups were used to explore procedure and policy issues as well as other emergent themes for immigrant and emigrant teachers. In-depth qualitative semi-structured interviews were to be conducted with 20 immigrant (permanent and temporary) teachers and 10 emigrant teachers in all three states (60 immigrant and 30 emigrant teachers nationally). From these we selected participants within the parameters of gender balance, the need to include 10 immigrant and emigrant teachers in regional and rural areas in each state (30 nationally) and the need to include temporary as well as permanent immigrant teachers. We exceeded these numbers nationally. The teachers volunteering for semi-structured interviews were generally passionate, and lived in rural and regional areas. The interviews probed globally mobile teachers about:

1. Their *knowledge* and perception of processes or arrangements operating and the identification of other key people in these processes; challenges, problems, gains and losses in terms of the links between *mobility and teaching*;
2. Their opinions about the desirable role of schools in supporting greater *diversity* of staff who may also be more mobile;

**Table 2.3** Number of interviewees

	Immigrant interviewees	Emigrant interviewees	Total interviewees
NSW	28	18	46
WA	29	9	38
SA	20	8	28
Total	77	35	112

3. The reasons for why some strategies work and why some don't, and suggestions of other ways of addressing the problem;
4. Their opinions about possible strategies, intervention programs and useful indicators

At the end of the first round of interviewing, the emerging themes relating to training needs, qualifications recognition, and the relationship between current processes and opportunity for immigrants/emigrants were discussed with all industry partners to raise further questions to be discussed in further interviews and focus groups.

A total of 112 teachers were interviewed either individually or in focus groups. Of this total 77 were immigrants and 35 emigrants. Table 2.3 shows the distribution across the states.

The number of surveys obtained was shaped by the availability of databases (NSW only), while the number of interviews depended partly on partner support (in WA and SA), and volunteers from surveys (all states). Due to strong partner support and some mid-project additions – such as the use of Zoomerang for on-line surveys and the support of the State School Teachers' Union of Western Australia – the project was successful, with survey numbers falling just short of the intended 300 immigrant and 100 emigrant teachers originally sought.

## Conclusion

Following in the tradition of earlier texts on teachers' work (c.f. Connell 1985; Yosso 2005) this book focuses on the complexity of the pathways and professional identities of global teachers in distinctly uncertain times. The theoretical framework outlined takes into account the complexities of global governance agendas surrounding teachers' mobility. Using Bourdieu's theory of reconversion, through an examination of the 'practical sense' that teachers make of their contexts, enables insight into the material conditions that are both the consequence of, and response to, wider agendas. The potential for transformation through a consideration of immigrant teachers questioning of tests is explored. Finally, we argue that the exciting potential for new knowledge to be created at the intersections of global flows of people and ideas is potentially hampered by processes reminiscent of colonial times and thus an analysis of processes of racialization must be at the heart of any book seeking to understand the dimensions of globally mobile teachers' work.

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## Chapter 3

# Immigrant Teachers in Australia: Quantitative Insights

### Introduction

An increasingly important component of contemporary professional migration flows at the centre of this book is the brain circulation of teaching professional. While the education industry is a key site of the demand for contemporary global professional migration, little attention has been given to the global circulation of education professionals, including teachers and university lecturers. The labour shortage of educational and other professionals in Western nations is partly due to demographic (supply) factors and partly due to the strong growth of the services sector in countries like Australia. In 2003 the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) reported that Western nations like Australia face a serious shortage of experienced teachers within the next few years, with teacher shortages most likely in male-dominated secondary specializations such as Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics and Technology studies, and languages other than English (OECD 2003). Two years later, the OECD recommended that OECD countries could learn from each other through ‘sharing innovative and successful [teaching] initiatives, and [that they should] identify policy options for attracting, developing and retaining effective [immigrant] teachers’.

In 2005 the Australian Education Union (AEU) suggested that since the average age of the teachers across the nation was 49 – now considerably older – Australian governments needed to implement specific policies to entice well-qualified professionals into their schools in a context of high attrition rates of teachers during the first 5 years of their career, the aging population of the teaching profession and increased teacher-stress (AEU 2005). The Australian Education Union warned that with the average teacher retirement age being at 58 years, a very large proportion of current teachers in Australia will retire in the next 10 years (AEU 2005), giving rise to warnings about impending teacher shortage which could amount to a crisis (Peeler and Jane 2005). These concerns of teacher shortage in Australia were also voiced by the Ramsey Review (2000, p. 46) and a Department of Education, Science and Training report (DEST 2003, p. 74) on Australia’s future. These reports

emphasized the need to attract, prepare and retain quality teachers – including immigrant teachers – and also argued that teachers ought to reflect Australia’s ethnic and cultural diversity.

With baby-boomer teachers now retiring in droves, the future supply of Australian teachers is an issue confronting the public and private Australian education planners. One solution is to educate more teachers in Australia. Another is to attract immigrant teachers to Australian classrooms. Similar issues confront countries such as Canada, the United Kingdom (UK), and South Africa. In 2004 all countries in the Commonwealth agreed to the Commonwealth Secretariat (2004) in an attempt to address critical problems faced by national education systems and individuals alike. In other words, there is increasing global competition for immigrant teachers. This competition is exacerbated by the out-migration of teachers: there is evidence of an increase in the emigration of Australian professionals as part of the Australian Diaspora of one million people (Hugo et al. 2003; Hugo 2006) with other countries such as the UK seeking to recruit our teachers. For example, in the period July 2001 to July 2005 Australia lost 5,819 trained teachers to the United Kingdom alone (Miller et al. 2008).

There is a long history of immigration to Australia, particularly in the past six-decades. Australia is an immigration nation where immigrants comprise a greater proportion of the population than most other Western nations, with 26.5 % of the Australian population born overseas in 2009 (OECD 2011, p. 261). Australian immigration intakes reached record levels in recent years, with skilled permanent and temporary immigrants the largest component (Markus et al. 2009; Collins 2008). Over past decades, immigrant teachers have been an important component of skilled and professional immigration into, and emigration out of Australia. Australian-educated teachers are sought after by other countries as part of the ‘brain circulation’ of education professionals (Robertson 2007).

As a consequence of global movements of teachers the Australian teaching workforce is being transformed by transnational flows of bilingual and multilingual teachers, itself an expression of, and response to, the complex phenomena of globalization. Yet little is known about global teachers in Australia. Who are they? Why do they come? What is their experience in Australian schools and with Australian Education Departments? Are their overseas teaching qualifications, skills and global experience valued in Australian schools? How do their students and their parents respond to their accents and cultural difference? What is their experience of life in Australian cities and regional and rural towns? Will they stay or will they go? Will they recommend to their international teacher friends to come to Australia and to teach in Australian schools? These questions are critical to an understanding of the contemporary Australian immigration experience in general, and to Australia’s educational future in particular.

While there has been some research on immigrant teachers in Australian schools (Bella 1999; Han 2004; Kamler et al. 1999; Reid 2005; Santoro 1997, 1999; Kirchenheim and Richardson 2000), most of this is now dated and narrow in focus. The Australian College of Educators (2001) carried out a national survey that provided a tantalizing glimpse into the diversity of the teaching force but there are

a number of factors related to the diversity and movement of teachers that we still do not understand (ACE 2001). Some work has also been done on the specific contexts of individual states including WA (Dunworth 1997; Jones and Soyza 2006) and Queensland (Bella 1999; Oliver 1998). Despite the increasing importance of understanding and responding to the global movement of teachers in Australia, there is no comprehensive contemporary national study of the experiences of immigrant teachers in Australia. This chapter aims to fill this gap. It draws on primary and secondary sources to answer these questions.

The structure of the chapter is as follows. It first provides some background on global and Australian immigration, with a focus on recent trends and developments. The chapter then looks specifically at teacher immigration to Australia. It briefly reviews the history of immigrant teachers in Australia and draws on secondary data sources – the *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia* (LSIA) and the 2006 National Census – to provide an overview of the characteristics of immigrant teachers. Following this, the chapter presents and interprets primary data collected from a survey of 269 immigrant teachers in schools in New South Wales (NSW), South Australia (SA) and Western Australia (WA) conducted in 2008–9. It looks at their immigration experience and their experiences teaching and living in Australia.

## Global and Australian Immigration: Contemporary Trends and Developments

Globalization has also been accompanied by increasing international migration, rising to nearly 200 million in 2007 (Castles and Miller 2009, p. 5), double the number 25 years ago (Goldin et al. 2011, p. 213). It should be remembered, though, that while contemporary global migration flows are increasing, global immigrants still comprise less than 3 % of the world's population (*Guardian Weekly*, 25–31 January 2008, p. 1). All evidence suggests that the strong growth trend in international migration will continue in the next 25 years with more and more international immigrants coming from developed countries in Asia and the Middle East, with those from sub-Saharan Africa experiencing the greatest increase (Goldin et al. 2011, p. 225).

In this age of globalization, immigration is becoming increasingly significant in all countries (Castles and Miller 2009), a consequence of the changing dynamics of global political economy (Phillips 2011). A number of aspects are at play here. The first is the link between the increasing internationalization of labour and the *structural* changes (economic, political, cultural, demographic and social) within and between sending and receiving nations, driven by the increasing internationalization of financial capital and global trade. One such structural change is the increasing rate of urbanization in sending countries: for the first time in global history the majority of the world's population lives in cities, with the rate of urbanization expected to increase dramatically in coming decades. The rate of urbanization is so dramatic in developing nations that by 2050 one quarter of all the world's urban population will be living in cities in Africa and the Middle East and one half will be

living in Asian cities (Goldin et al. 2011, p. 226). As Saunders (2010, p. 1) dramatically puts it, ‘We will end this century as a wholly urban species’. The city is the departure point – and arrival point – of most immigrants to Western countries today. The interruption to international migration flows and changes to the immigration policy in Western countries like Australia and the United States of America (USA) following the global financial crisis (Higley et al. 2011) also confirms the critical link between rates and patterns of immigration and the *cyclical* rhythms of capital accumulation.

The second major aspect is the global *social networks* or social capital that lies behind and drives current and future migration movements to countries such as Australia. Put simply, international human capital movements to satisfy labour shortages created by the patterns of contemporary economic growth enabled by the globalization of financial capital depend on the personal social networks of individuals to be realised. It is thus also important to consider the *agency* of individuals within the global dynamic of immigration. Traditional economic analyses of immigration put the emphasis on individual choices to move, based on a market evaluation of the costs and benefits of immigration. Yet such analyses are unable to predict or explain contemporary immigration patterns to countries like Australia because they do not consider the enabling social/political context of social networks as a key driver in understanding current and future individual migration decisions and migration flows.

The third major aspect of contemporary immigration is the increasing *diversity* of the immigrant intake. Each country has a different set of immigration policies and procedures for immigrant selection, and sets immigration targets of different sizes and composition. The expansion of the European Union and the number of countries signed up to the Shengen Agreement has increased international labour mobility between many European countries. Most Western countries today favour highly skilled immigration to fill labour shortages in the health, IT, finance and services industries. All seek immigrant millionaires as business migrants to establish new business enterprises. But many Western countries also have shortages of unskilled immigrants to fill low-paid and low status jobs such as gardening, cleaning and dish-washing that many non-immigrants are reluctant to take on, irrespective of the rates of unemployment among them. Finally, all countries have inflows of humanitarian immigrants (refugees) and undocumented immigrants (the so called *illegals*), particularly into Europe and the USA (Castles and Miller 2009; Goldin et al. 2011).

Immigration is at once a structural and an individual phenomenon with economic, social, political, cultural and environmental dimensions. Political conflict, environmental disasters, inequality, economic crises, persecution and discrimination combine with the aspirations, dreams and global social connectivity of people to motivate hundreds of millions to migrate and many more to consider the possibility of global mobility. For the poorest and most dispossessed, this mobility is most likely to be within the nation or across the nearest national borders. For the most educated and those with connections in the West, global migration becomes more possible. Those who do undertake an often perilous and always anxious

international journey to the West become neighbours, workers, students, worshippers and, if citizens, voters in their new home. This means that to understand the dynamics of contemporary immigration and to develop policy responses to it requires an interdisciplinary analysis and a multi-focal lens through which the elements of policy are developed.

Along with the USA, Canada and New Zealand, Australia is a traditional settler immigration nation with a strong and sustained history of immigration that has been central to nation building. As Markus et al. (2009, p. 152) put it, 'Australia is one of the few nations to be built by planned immigration'. Immigration to Australia has been about importing immigrant workers who, with their families, would settle in Australia, add to population growth and assist in nation building (Collins 2006, 2011). In the post-1945 period, about 6.4 million immigrants have arrived in Australia, with immigrants a major component of the Australian population increase from 7 million to just over 23 million people today. Immigration has contributed about half of Australia's population growth (Australian Productivity Commission 2006, pp. xv–xvi).

Data from the 2011 Australian census shows that one in four (24.6 %) of the Australian population are first generation immigrants while 43.1 % are either first or second generation immigrants (ABS 2012). In Australia's major cities, the majority of the population is comprised of first- or second-generation immigrants (Sydney and Perth 61 %, Melbourne 58 %). Despite the intentions of the architects of post-war immigration policy to use immigration to consolidate Australia's White, British character (Collins 1991; Jupp 2002), the Australian immigration net has drawn in immigrants from all corners of the globe. One of the outcomes of immigration has been the emergence of a society characterized by an outstanding degree of cultural, religious, linguistic and ethnic diversity, particularly in Australia's largest cities, given the urban destination of most immigrants. Stephen Vertovec (2007) has coined the phrase 'super diversity' to capture the multi-dimensional nature of diversity in contemporary western nations that is a consequence of immigration. The result is that Australia today is one of the world's most cosmopolitan nations.

In the past two decades, Australian immigration policy has changed considerably. With immigration intakes reaching record levels in the globalization boom that ended in the global financial crisis of 2008–9 (Collins 2008), the UK and New Zealand remained the two largest sources of Australia's immigrants, while the intake from Asia, Africa and the Middle East increased considerably. At the same time, immigration policy increasingly prioritized skilled and highly qualified permanent and temporary immigrants over permanent family and humanitarian entrants while refugee intakes were reduced considerably in real terms. Moreover there has been a fundamental transformation in Australian immigration policy from a predominantly settler immigration model to one where guest worker intakes have reached unprecedented levels to far exceed the annual intake of immigrants on permanent visas (Markus et al. 2009). This development has implications for understanding global teacher movements into and out of Australia because an increasing number of those teachers who enter, or leave, Australia have temporary immigration visas.

At the same time there has been an increase in Australian *emigration* as globally-mobile professionals tap into labour shortages in other Western nations to form a growing Australian Diaspora (Hugo 2006). This highlights the increasing global mobility of professional and skilled immigrants in particular, a phenomenon some have called *circular migration*, and emphasises the fact that international labour flows are a two-way process. It is for this reason that our study of global teachers in Australia looks not only at immigrant teachers (Chaps. 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7) but also at emigrant teachers (Chap. 8).

## Immigrant Teachers in Australia: Background

Australia has a long history of teacher immigration. At various times in the past six decades up to 20 % of the Australian teaching force have been overseas-trained (Inglis and Philips 1995, p. 95). Up to the mid-1970s most teachers were directly recruited from the UK and Ireland, and this was later extended to the United States and Canada. More recently Australia's immigrant teachers also come from non-English-speaking countries in Asia and Africa, reflecting the changing patterns of Australian immigration following the end to the White Australia Policy in the early 1970s (Collins 2012). Australia has an experience of welcoming new immigrant teachers and fare welling Australian teachers who seek a temporary or permanent experience as part of the Australian Diaspora living in other countries. These two flows of teachers in and out of Australia have tended to balance out. According to Birrell et al. (2001) cited in Fullilove and Flutter (2004) Australia had a net gain of 1 % in relation to immigrant school teachers in the period 1996–2001.

This issue of cultural difference is central to Australian classrooms because of the cosmopolitan character of the Australian population, a consequence of Australia's large and diverse immigration program. As a consequence, the Australian primary and secondary school population is also very diverse in terms of ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural background. In NSW, for example, 27.6 % of secondary and 27.9 % of primary enrolments in 2007 were from a LOTE (language other than English) background (NSW DET 2008, p. 23) with Arabic, Chinese (Cantonese and Mandarin), Croatian, Dutch, Farsi, Fijian, French, German and Greek the top ten LOTE backgrounds of school students in NSW schools (NSW DET 2008, p. 24).

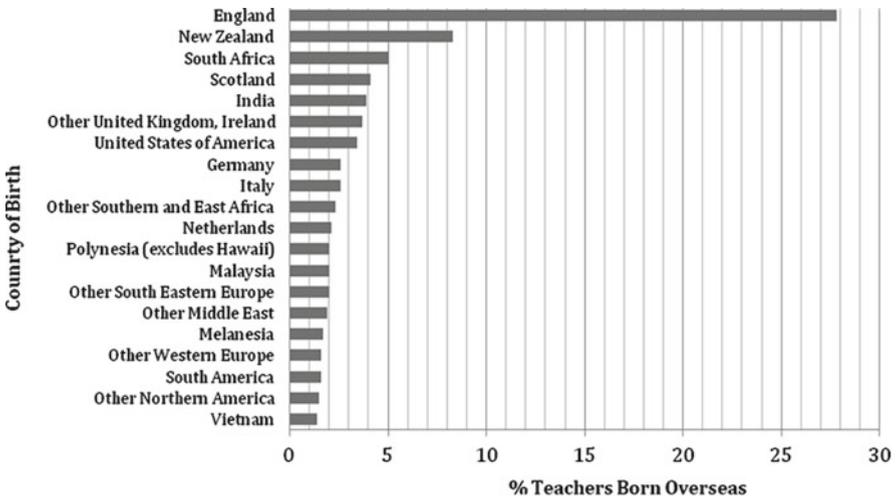
According to 2006 national census data, as Table 3.1 shows, there are approximately 438,060 teachers' in Australia. 74,620 of these, or 16.95 % of all teachers in Australia, were born overseas, that is, first generation immigrants. Compared to the proportion of the Australian population who were foreign-born at the time of the Census (24 %) immigrants are under-represented in the Australian teaching sector.

Australia's immigrant teachers are drawn from countries around the globe. As Graph 3.1 shows, the majority of teachers – like the majority of all immigrants – were born in the UK and English speaking countries. Many immigrant teachers in Australia also come from New Zealand, South Africa, India, the USA, and Germany. Other

**Table 3.1** Birthplace of Australian teachers

Birthplace of teacher	No.	%
Australia	356120	81.29
Overseas	74260	16.95
Not stated	7680	1.73
Total	438060	100

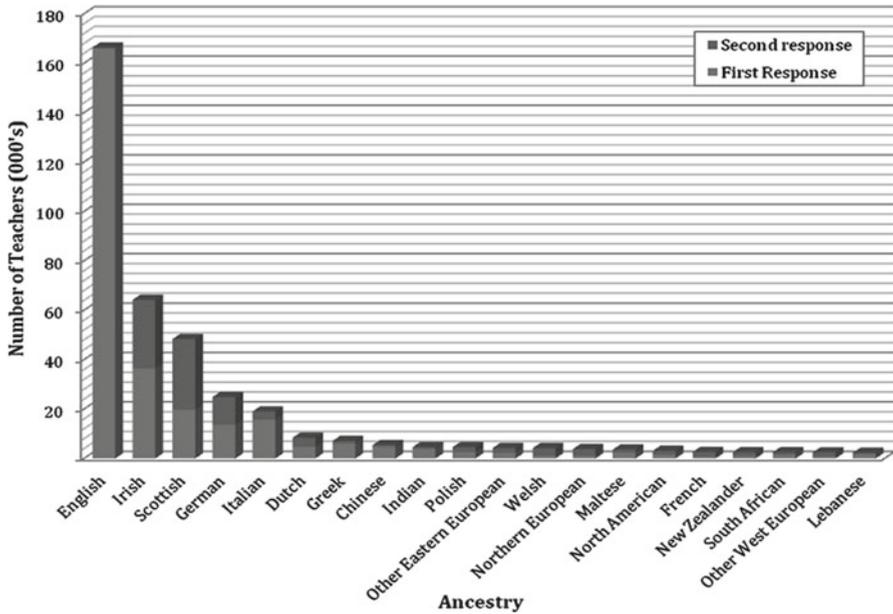
Source: Compiled from 2006 national Australian census



**Graph 3.1** Top 20 countries of birth for teachers born overseas (Source: Compiled from 2006 national Australian census)

immigrant teachers in Australia come from Europe, the Middle East, Asia, and South America, so that cultural, linguistic and religious diversity characterises the population of immigrant teachers in Australia.

The birthplace of immigrants is often a very crude measure of the cultural diversity of Australian society. For example, many ethnic Chinese immigrants are born in China, India, Fiji, Malaysia or the UK. As a consequence data on the ancestry of immigrants can assist in getting a more accurate picture of ethnic diversity of immigrants in Australia. Graph 3.2 presents ancestry data of teachers in Australia. By far the most common ancestry of teachers other than Australian is English, followed by other UK countries. However the very long ‘tail’ to this graph indicates the ethnic background of the Australian teaching profession is very diverse with those of European ancestries German, Italian, Dutch and Greek the largest cohorts of non-British ancestries. These are the second generation whose parents arrived in Australia in the 1950s and 1960s to work as labourers or shop-keepers but gave their Australian-born children an education to open the doors to professional employment. Teachers with Chinese and Indian ancestries are the next largest group. These immigrants arrived in the past two or three decades and their numbers



**Graph 3.2** Non-Australian ancestry of teachers in Australia (Source: Compiled from 2006 national Australian census)

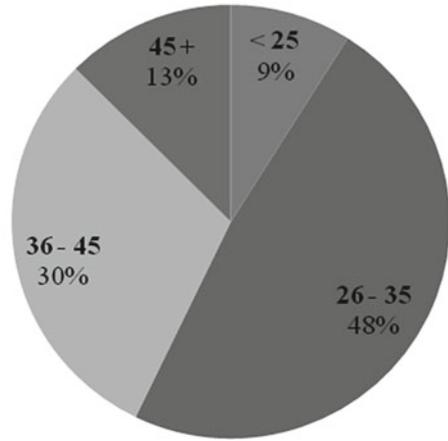
can be expected to increase significantly in coming decades as Asian countries often fill eight out of the ‘top ten’ countries of immigrant arrivals today.

Some further insight into immigrant teachers in Australia can be gleaned from the *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia* (LSIA) conducted by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC). This survey follows cohorts of three different randomly-selected waves of immigrants over a number of years to see what happens to them in Australia. Information on immigrant teachers who participate in the Longitudinal Survey provides an important insight into immigrant teachers in Australia today. Figure 3.1 shows that nearly half of all immigrant teachers are aged 26–35 years, helping to fill the demographic gaps in the teacher age pyramid that is top-heavy with baby-boomers.

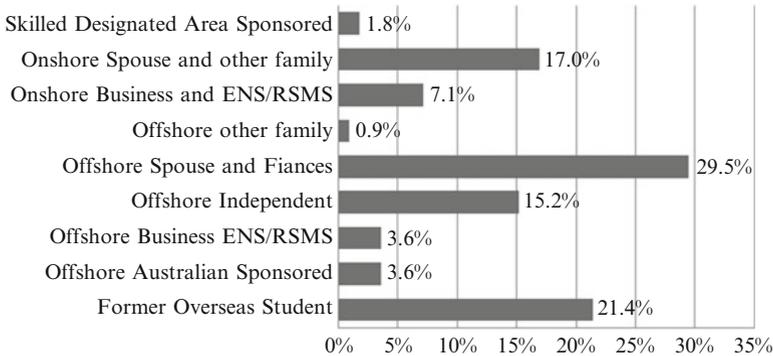
Graph 3.3 gives insight into the immigration pathways of immigrant teachers. What is most surprising about this information is that the majority of immigrant teachers arrived in Australia under spouse or family visas (47 %) or were former overseas students who practiced teaching in Australia after gaining an Australian education qualification (21 %). In other words, most of these immigrant teachers did not use their teaching qualification to enter Australia, coming through the ‘back door’ rather than the front door. It is thus not surprising that the most common reason immigrant teachers gave for coming to Australia was for family reasons (42 %) or education reasons (20 %) with employment reasons only cited by 16 % of immigrant teachers in the LSIA longitudinal survey.

**Fig. 3.1** Age of Primary Applicants who are currently teaching (Source: Compiled from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA))

**Age of Primary Applicants who are currently teaching**

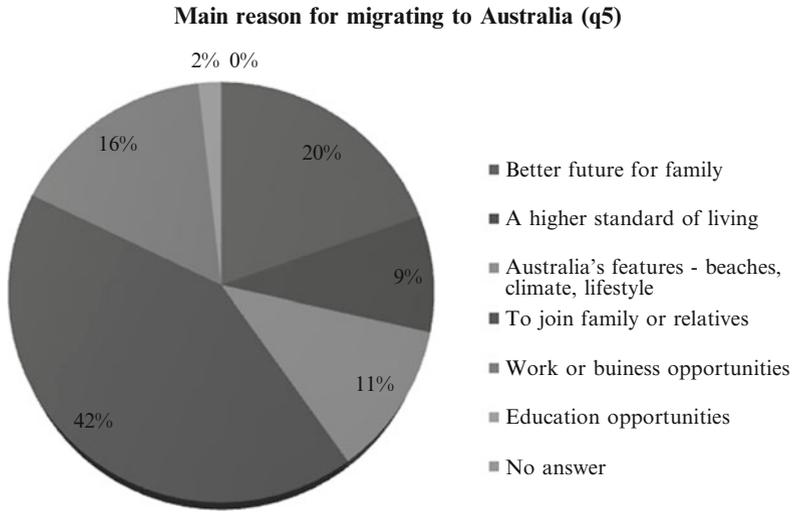


**Visa categories of Primary Applicants**

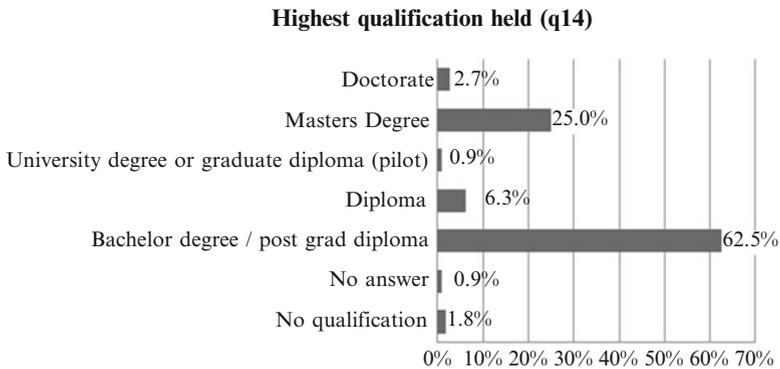


**Graph 3.3** Visa categories of Primary Applicants (Source: Compiled from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA))

One of the key economic benefits of immigration is that the receiving country gets trained and experienced professionals whose education – human capital – has been paid by taxpayers in some other country. Figure 3.2 shows that two in three immigrant teachers in the LSIA longitudinal survey had an undergraduate teaching degree while one in four had a post-graduate qualification. One theme that runs through the immigration literature is that some immigrants do not get their professional qualifications recognised in Australia. This is a weird paradox: the qualification that allows immigrants to get selected by the Immigration Department in the first instance is rejected by the gatekeepers of the professions in Australia.



**Fig. 3.2** Main reason for migrating to Australia (Source: Compiled from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA))

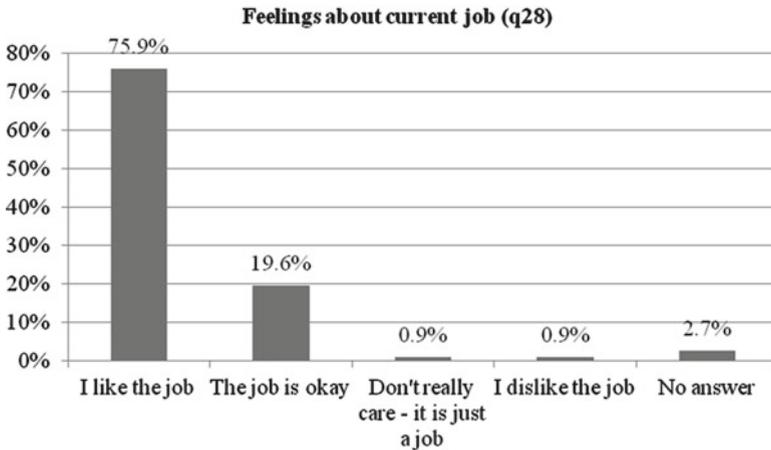


**Graph 3.4** Highest qualification held (Source: Compiled from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA))

The consequence is that they can't practice in the areas of their skill and experience. Immigrant doctors are a key example in this regard. As a consequence these immigrants are employed in jobs below their potential, are less satisfied and rewarded and, at the same time, the economic contribution that immigrants and immigration make in Australia is not as great as it potentially could be. To rub salt into the wounds, these immigrants are then often blamed or scapegoated for the economic problems in Australia (Graph 3.4).

The LSIA longitudinal survey data shows that the overwhelming majority (84 %) of immigrant teachers were working in their preferred occupation (Fig. 3.3). It is not

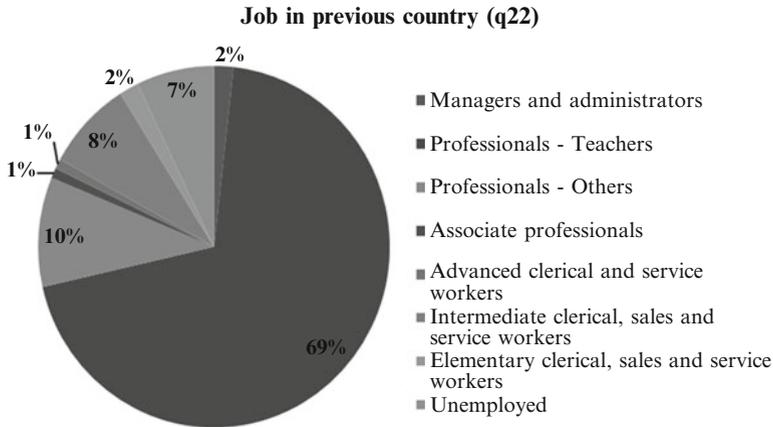
**Fig. 3.3** Working in preferred occupation (Source: Compiled from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA))



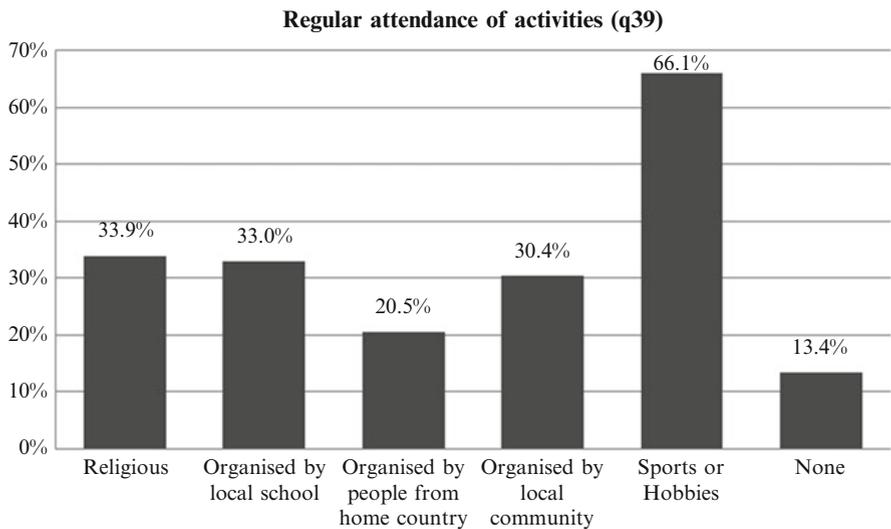
**Graph 3.5** Feelings about current job (Source: Compiled from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA))

surprising that three in four immigrant teachers liked their job, with most others regarding their job as okay (Graph 3.5). It is useful here to compare their job in Australia with that prior to emigration (Fig. 3.4): seven out of ten had been working as teachers prior to coming to Australia, another 13 % worked in some other professional capacity, while 7 % were unemployed.

It seems that from a work point of view, Australia’s immigrant teachers had a satisfactory immigration experience, though the LSIA survey does not inquire into much detail about this matter. In the next section of this chapter we provide, for the first time, a much more nuanced and detailed insight into the working life of immigrant teachers in Australia. But the immigration experience is not only about work and the economic dimension: it is also about life outside work, the social dimension. The LSIA survey provides insights into two aspects of immigrant teachers’ social

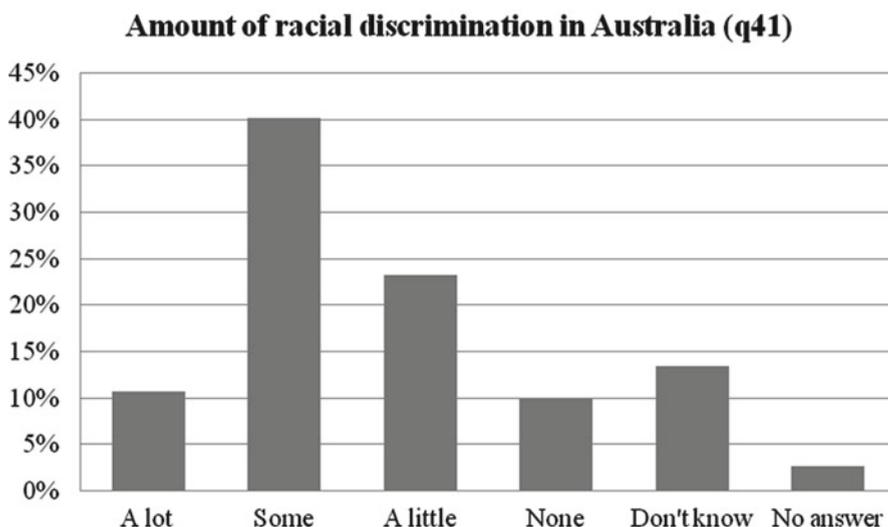


**Fig. 3.4** Job in previous country (Source: Compiled from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA))



**Graph 3.6** Regular attendance at activities (Source: Compiled from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA))

life in Australia. One aspect is their social connectedness or social networks where they live and work. Sociologists refer to this as social capital. Graph 3.6 shows that only 13 % of immigrant teachers in Australia do not have any social connectedness to other people where they live. Two in three take part in sport and leisure activities, one in three attend social activities that are religious, based in their schools or their



**Graph 3.7** Amount of racial discrimination in Australia (Source: Compiled from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA))

local community, while one in five has social networks with other immigrants from their country.

Another important social dimension of immigrants lives in host countries such as Australia relates to their experiences of racism and prejudice. Some immigrants, particularly those from different cultural, religious and linguistic background to the host community, experience the sharp end of racism. In the previous chapter we introduced Miles's concept of *racialization* to explain this process. According to research on Australian attitudes, 85 % think that there is racial prejudice in Australia (Dunn and Forrest 2008; Forrest and Dunn 2006). Muslim Australians are particular targets of racist attitudes (Dunn et al. 2007) and racist actions in Australia (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 1991, 2004). A more recent survey found that in 2012 about 12 % of Australians reported an experience of discrimination based on 'skin colour, ethnic origin or religion' (Markus 2012, p. 2). However some immigrant groups reported much higher rates of discrimination: 'the highest levels [were] among Muslim Australians and those born in the Middle East and Asia' (Markus 2012, p. 18).

Graph 3.7 shows that one in ten immigrant teachers thought that there was a lot of racism in Australia; another 40 % thought that there was some racism in Australia while about 23 % thought that there was a little racism. Only 10 % of immigrant teachers thought that there was no racism in Australia. However, this data does not allow a distinction between personal experiences of racism – as a teacher or in the community – and general perceptions of racism in the country. In the next section we probe the social experiences of immigrant teachers, including their personal experiences of racism in Australia.

## A Survey of Immigrant Teachers in Australia

In this section we report the results of a survey of 269 immigrant teachers from three states: NSW (197), SA (27) and WA (48). The surveys were conducted in 2008–9. Teaching is a profession where the majority are women. Similarly our survey of immigrant teachers was predominantly (72.5 %) female. The immigrant teacher informants reflected the diversity of the Australian immigrant intake (Collins 2011). We first outline the characteristics of the immigrant teachers surveyed. We then explore their immigration experience, including the reasons why they wanted to come to Australia and their teaching experiences in Australia.

Australia draws on immigrant teachers from all corners of the globe. Immigrant teachers who participated in the national survey came from all the continents, as Fig. 3.5 shows. Consistent with Australian’s immigration history in general and the history of immigrant teachers in particular, most of the immigrant teachers surveyed came from the UK (36 %). In recent decades Australia’s immigration net has turned on the Asian region for increasing numbers of new immigrants, particularly those who are highly skilled and qualified (Markus et al. 2009; Collins 2008). In our survey of immigrant teachers, 16 % came from Asian countries. Others came from South Africa (13 %), New Zealand (9 %), and the USA and Canada (9 %), other African countries (5.6 %), Europe (4 %), Oceania (4 %).

One of the key economic benefits of immigration is that Australia gets professionally trained and experienced people whose education has been paid for by other countries’ taxpayers. These immigrants arrive not only with educational qualifications – human capital, in the language of economics – but also with experience

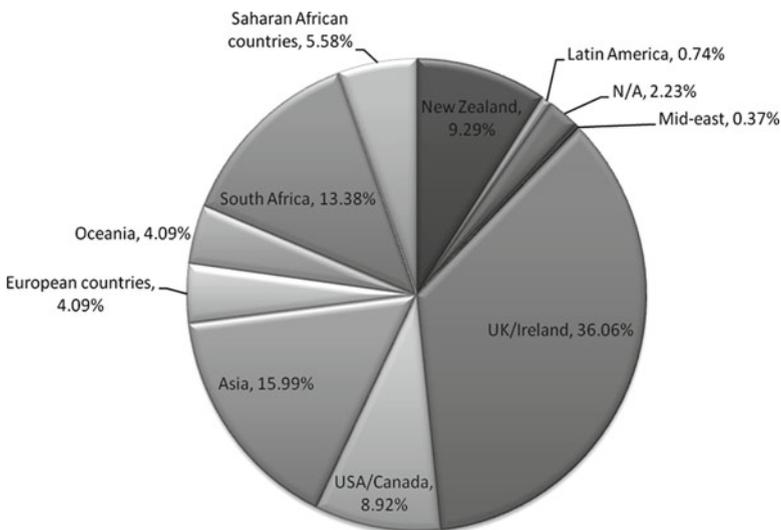
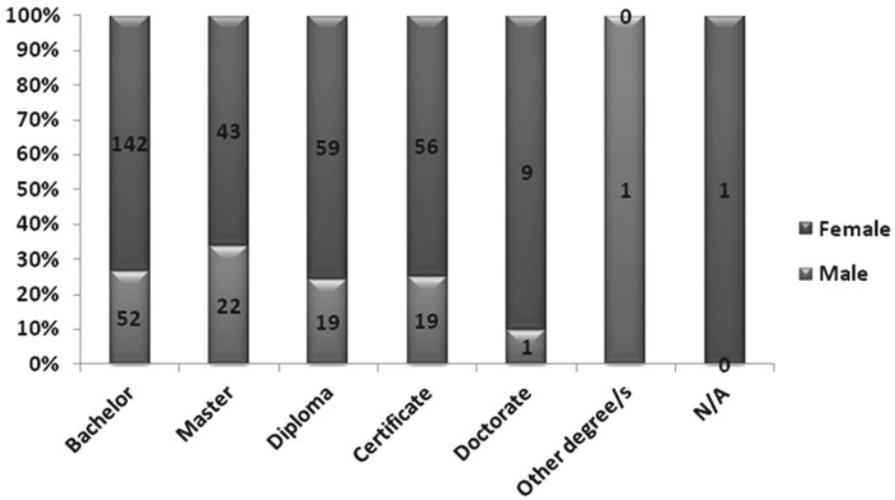


Fig. 3.5 Regions of birth of immigrant teachers in Australia (%)

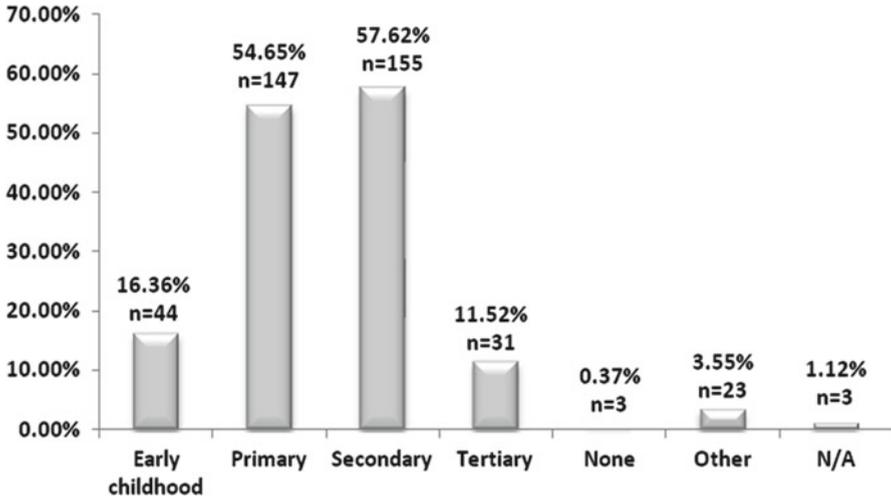


**Graph 3.8** Immigrant teachers by teaching qualification by gender

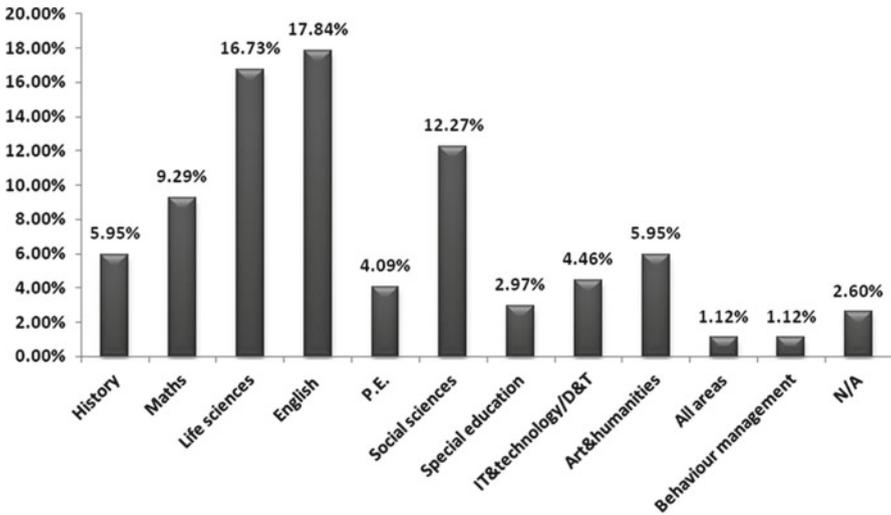
working as professionals. They fill gaps in the Australian teacher labour market. While they may be seen as a ‘brain drain’ from the point of view of the sending country, they are clearly a ‘brain gain’ for Australia. These teaching professionals surveyed had accumulated substantial amounts of human capital: 198 had a Bachelors teaching degree, 65 had a Masters degree and 10 held a Doctorate. In addition, 78 immigrant teachers had a teaching Diploma and 75 immigrant teachers had a teaching Certificate (See Graph 3.8).

Teaching shortages in Australia are often specific to curriculum areas, to secondary, primary or early childhood education, to public or private sector schools or to specific geographical regions in metropolitan or regional and rural areas. As Graph 3.9 shows, most of the immigrant teachers had qualifications to teach in secondary (155 immigrant teachers) or primary education (147 immigrant teachers), while another 44 had teaching qualifications in early childhood education. A small number (31) also had qualifications to teach in tertiary education institutions. When the gender dimensions of this are explored it is revealed that women are more concentrated in early childhood and primary education, and that immigrant male teachers are more likely to be found in secondary education.

One of the problems in the labour market for school teachers in Australian states is that a teacher shortage in one area of the curriculum (often Mathematics and Physical Sciences) can co-exist with an over-supply of teachers in other areas, such as Social Sciences. As Graph 3.10 shows, the immigrant teachers who participated in the Australian survey had expertise and experience across all areas of the teaching curriculum, particularly English, Life Sciences, Social Science and Mathematics. Others had expertise in History, Arts and Humanities, IT and Technology, Physical Education and Special Education.

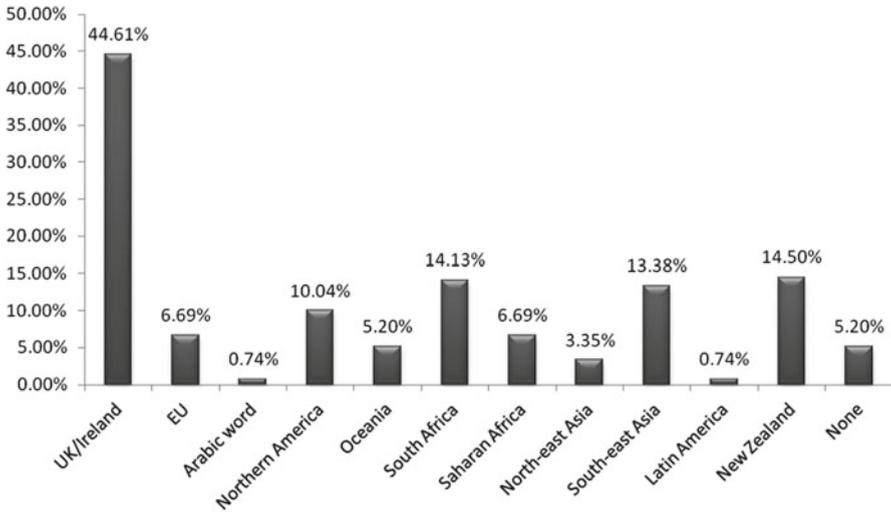


Graph 3.9 Number of immigrant teachers by area of teaching qualification



Graph 3.10 Areas of the curriculum in which immigrant teachers are trained

These immigrant teachers bring with them significant global teaching experience. As Graph 3.11 shows, 120 immigrant teachers, or 45 % of those surveyed, had taught in the UK or Ireland before coming to Australia to teach. Another 39 teachers (15 %) have taught in New Zealand (NZ) schools, 38 (14 %) in South Africa, 36 (13 %) in schools in south-east Asian countries and 27 (10 %) in North America. Other teachers had teaching experience in European Union countries other than the



**Graph 3.11** The countries where Australia’s immigrant teachers have previously taught (%) (Note: ‘none’ means they only have taught in Australia as a foreign country. The majority who are in the category of ‘UK/Ireland’ are from the UK)

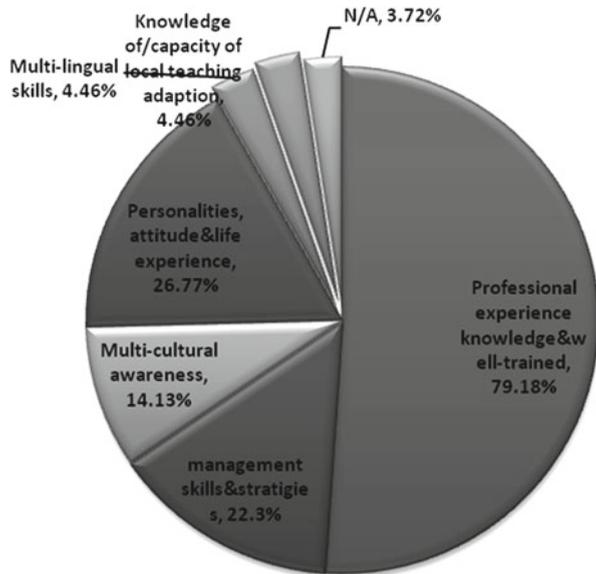
UK, 18 in African countries other than South Africa and 14 teachers in schools in the Oceania region other than NZ. The survey also included 9 informants with teaching experience in north-east Asian schools, 2 in Arabic countries and 2 in schools in Latin America.

This global teaching experience is part of the human capital that immigrant teachers bring with them to Australian schools. We asked the immigrant teachers ‘What strengths do you bring with you as a teacher in Australia?’ Multiple responses were permitted and recorded. Figure 3.6 shows that eight out of every ten immigrant teachers (79 %) replied that their major strength was their professional experience and knowledge and the fact that they were well-trained. They also ranked their personalities, attitudes and life experience as a strong asset that they bring to Australian schools together with the management skills and strategies that they gained through their teaching experience prior to coming to Australia. Multicultural awareness also ranked highly.

## Immigration Experience

Deciding to leave their country, their family, friends, jobs and their familiarity, to uproot themselves (and, where relevant, partner/spouse and other family members) to take the risk of trying their luck in a new country – this is a process that some 200 million immigrants have taken to date; the *exceptional people*, as Goldin and his colleagues call them (Goldin et al. 2011), willing to take a step into the unknown with the hope of improving their life and securing a better future.

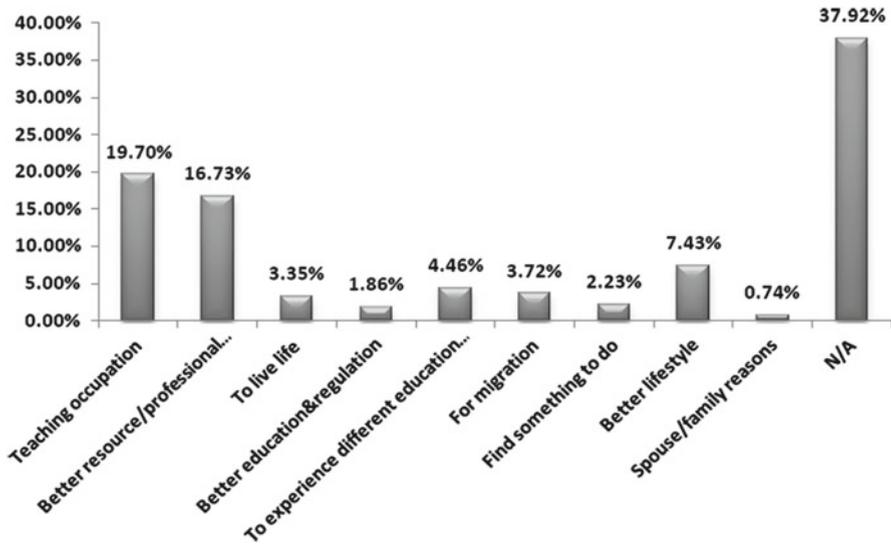
**Fig. 3.6** The strengths that immigrant teachers bring to Australian schools



The process of immigration is itself costly, time consuming and difficult. Immigrant teachers draw on their social networks in Australia and on their direct and indirect knowledge of life in Australia to select it over other possibilities – the USA or Canada perhaps, or European countries – as their country of settlement. Once this decision is taken, then begins the process of deciding exactly what part of Australia to live in. Should they live in Sydney with its grand harbour, spectacular Opera House and seductive Bondi Beach or in one of the other large Australian cities such as Brisbane, Perth or Melbourne? Or should they go bush to regional, rural or remote locations across the vast Australian continent? This decision is contingent on work opportunities and is made following inquiries into teaching opportunities and procedures that differ across each Australian state.

Once the difficult decisions are made, applications for temporary or permanent immigrant Visas must be made and paid for. Then follows a long wait for the slow bureaucratic process of selecting immigrants. A letter arrives. Success! Now begins the task of packing up, arranging flights, tying up loose ends and saying goodbye. A long flight to Australia, a long, jet-lagged queue at Australian immigration, and the immigrant teacher finally arrives in Australia.

Australia draws in immigrants via the permanent or temporary migration programs. Within these two programs, there is a great variety of visas. The majority of immigrant teachers surveyed (75 %) arrived on permanent resident visas. This indicates the important role that permanent residence in Australia has in attracting immigrant teachers to Australia. About one in five immigrant teachers surveyed are on temporary visas, with most on the 457 Visa or the spouse visa, with a few on student or working holiday visas.



**Graph 3.12** Why did you want to teach in Australia?

Immigrant teachers now begin the tasks to find accommodation, open bank accounts and begin the bureaucratic process of qualification recognition, getting certification as a teacher and undertaking induction programs and, finally, getting an appointment to a school. The survey explored the reasons why those who came to Australia with the specific intention to teach wanted to teach in Australia. As Graph 3.12 shows, the top reasons given are professional [‘teaching is my occupation’/‘enjoy teaching’ (20 %), ‘better resource’/‘professional development’ (17 %)] and lifestyle [‘better lifestyle’ (8 %) and ‘to live life’ (3 %)].

One of the realities for globally-mobile professionals the world over is the issue of qualification recognition and professional certification in the countries to which they emigrate. In the previous chapter we introduced Bourdieu’s concept of *capital reconversion* to explain this process. Often this process does not go smoothly enough for, or meet the expectations of, the immigrant professionals themselves. One of the strongest themes that emerged from our fieldwork is the dissatisfaction with the red tape that goes with the institutional requirements that immigrant teachers must meet in Australia before beginning employment in Australian schools. Different professions have different registration procedures and for immigrant teachers these registration procedures and requirements vary from state to state. For immigrant teachers, this means getting their teacher qualifications and experience recognised in Australia by providing the documentation to convince Education authorities that the local teaching standards have been met by the immigrant teacher. Immigrant teachers are also required to undertake teacher induction programs to familiarise them with the Australian education system which varies from State to State. Half of the immigrant teacher informants – those from non-English-speaking countries – went through processes to assess their English Proficiency. Most of

those surveyed complained about the time consuming and unnecessary paper work they confronted before being allowed to teach, and reported that they had problems with the bureaucratic systems and processes that they encountered in Australian schools. Immigrant teachers, like other professional immigrants, thus face considerable human capital reconversion difficulties before they get to teach in an Australian classroom. They then have to find a school that will take them.

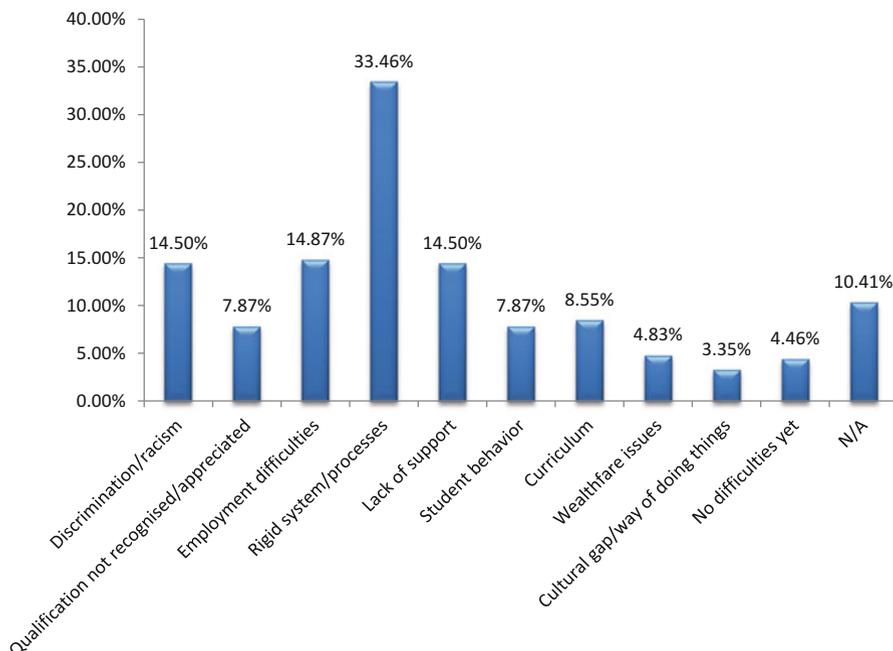
The final hurdle is to secure a teaching job in Australia. This is not automatic and takes time. Four out of every ten immigrant teachers surveyed had experienced unemployment in Australia. Hopefully they had a nest egg sufficient to carry them over this period. Most immigrant teachers surveyed found a teaching job in the public teaching sector, but the majority of these could only secure temporary or casual teaching positions. A permanent teaching position is difficult to achieve in Australia, particularly in the large cities such as Sydney, Adelaide and Perth. There are more openings for permanent teachers in non-metropolitan schools, particularly in those schools located in rural and remote areas where the lifestyle is not as attractive to young Australian-educated teachers. More immigrant teachers surveyed were employed in rural and remote regions than in metropolitan schools.

## Experience in Australian Schools

Once appointed to a school, Australia's immigrant teachers experience emotions of uncertainty mixed with the satisfaction of beginning the final leg of their global teacher journey – the journey to an unfamiliar location, finding new accommodation, meeting with the principal and fellow teachers and, finally, standing in front of your new students in an Australian classroom. Now begins the experience of being an immigrant teacher in Australia.

What is it like to be an immigrant teacher in Australian schools? What barriers and difficulties do they face and how are these issues resolved? Are the global teaching experience and skills as immigrant teachers valued? What is the response to immigrant teachers and their cultural difference from other members of the teaching staff, from students and their parents? What opportunities do immigrant teachers get for professional development and promotion? Does the actual experience as a teacher in Australian schools match their dream and expectations? All these questions are critical to the ability of Australia to compete successfully in the competition for global teachers, to attract and retain sufficient immigrant teachers in coming decades to fill shortages in the Australian teacher labour market. In this section we analyze the informants responses in order to answer these questions.

We asked immigrant teachers: 'What difficulties, if any, have you faced as an immigrant teacher in Australia?' The most common answer (Graph 3.13) was that immigrant teachers had problems with the bureaucratic systems and processes that they encountered in Australian schools. The difficulties that ranked next in order of immigrant teacher responses were: discrimination/racism; employment difficulties; and lack of support. Other difficulties noted by immigrant teachers



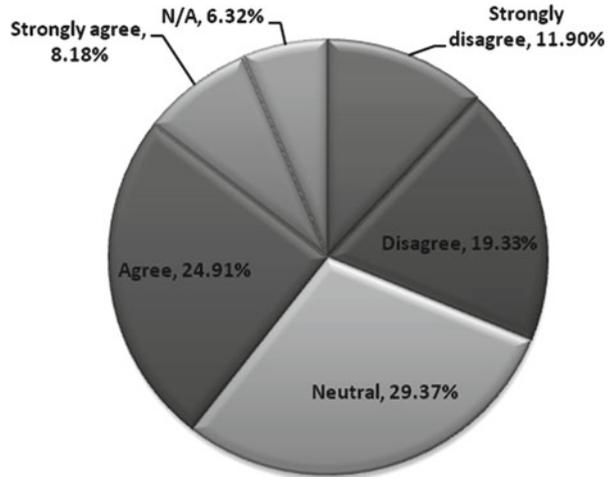
**Graph 3.13** The difficulties that immigrant teachers faced in Australian schools

were: qualifications NOT recognized/appreciated; student behaviour; issues related to curriculum; welfare issues and cultural gap/way of doing things.

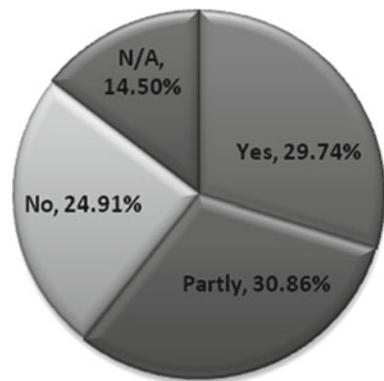
We also asked the immigrant teachers how they resolved these difficulties. The most common answer to this question (from 17 % of the informants) was 'keep going and trying', 15 % resolved these issues through changing their goals and approaches while another 7 % responded by self-learning: in other words about four in ten immigrant teachers resolved these issues themselves without seeking the assistance of others. Another 17 % of the immigrant teachers replied that they resolved these issues through communication and discussion. Fellow school teachers and principals were the most important source of support, cited by one in two immigrant teachers. But most immigrant teachers got through these difficulties: only 13 % of the informants reported that the difficulties that they faced as an immigrant teacher remained unresolved. This finding indicates that Australian schools could improve the systems that they have in place for dealing with the difficulties that immigrant teachers face, particularly during the first term of appointment.

One concern of immigrant teachers in Australia is where they stand in relation to promotion. We sought responses to the question: 'Immigrant teachers in Australia are as likely to be promoted as non-immigrant teachers to jobs for which they are qualified and eligible.' As Fig. 3.7 shows, about the same proportion of the immigrant teachers surveyed agreed (8 %) to or strongly agreed (25 %) to the proposition as those who 'disagreed' (19 %) or 'strongly disagreed' (12 %). The suggestion here

**Fig. 3.7** Rating of likelihood of immigrant teachers being promoted compared to non-immigrant teachers



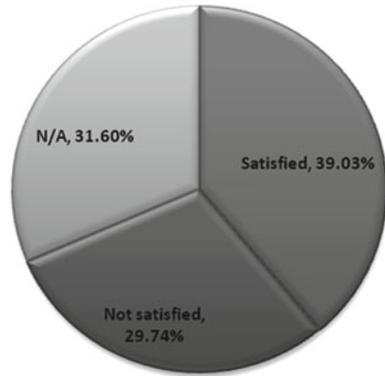
**Fig. 3.8** Have your expectations of being a teacher in Australia been met?



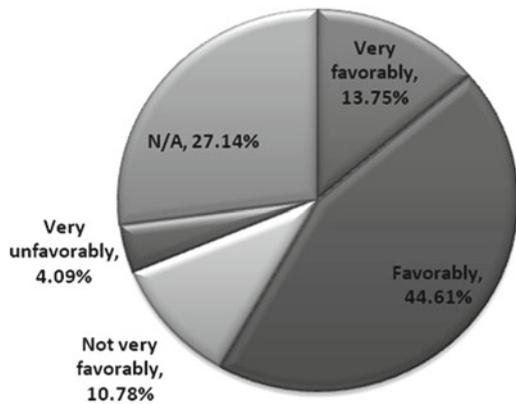
is of one in two immigrant teachers' perceptions of discrimination against immigrant teachers in the processes and procedures (formal and informal) related to promotion.

Was it all worth it? How did immigrant teachers rate their experiences of uprooting themselves and families, taking the long journey to Australia, going through bureaucratic red tape and, finally, teaching in Australian schools? The research suggests the answer is mixed, with roughly equal numbers satisfied and dissatisfied with their experience as a global teacher in Australia. Figure 3.8 shows that those who responded that their expectations of being a teacher in Australia had been met (80 or 30 %) only slightly outnumbered those who reported that their expectations of being a teacher in Australia had not been met (67 or 25 %). Another three in ten respondents had their expectations only partly met. If the key issue is the attraction and retention of immigrant teachers to Australia, this finding is of some concern. The informal feedback that the unsatisfied teachers give to their peers considering a similar move to migrate to Australia as a teacher would not be

**Fig. 3.9** Satisfaction as a teacher in Australia from a personal perspective



**Fig. 3.10** In general, how does teachers' work in Australia compare with that in other countries?

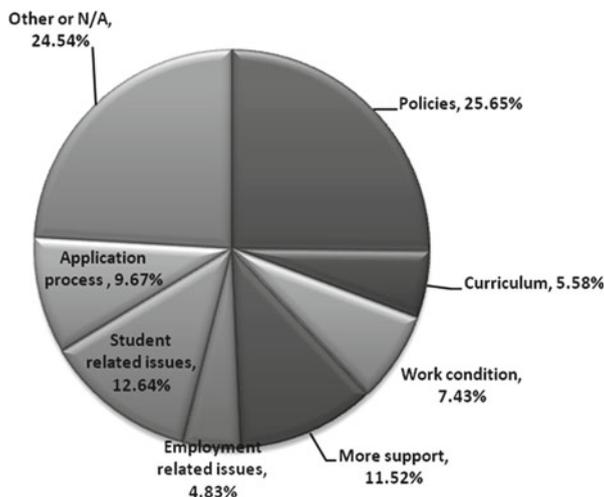


positive. Moreover, it is likely that dissatisfied immigrant teachers in Australia might think of returning home, moving to another Australian state to teach or going to yet another country as an immigrant teacher.

We also inquired about the extent to which the immigrant teachers in NSW, SA and WA were satisfied with their immigration to Australia from a *personal*, rather than teaching professional, perspective. Once again, only a slight majority reported that they were satisfied (105 or 39 %) rather than unsatisfied (80 or 30 %) from this point of view (Fig. 3.9). Once again, the lesson is of a sense of achievement serving those who are satisfied with the immigrant teacher experience but the need to think of ways to improve that experience and hence reduce those who are not satisfied.

It is interesting to note that most of the immigrant teachers surveyed in NSW, SA and WA rated their work 'very favourably' (14 %) or 'favourably' (45 %) compared to their experience working as a teacher in another country. Only 40, or about 15 % of the immigrant teachers surveyed, rated Australian teaching 'not very favourably' or 'very unfavourably' compared to their experience working as a teacher in another country (see Fig. 3.10). This finding seems to contradict the

**Fig. 3.11** If you were able to make one major change to education policies or procedures, what would that change be?



previous one where immigrant teachers were evenly split about how satisfied they were with their Australian teaching experience. Perhaps the answer lies in the inherent difficulty of the teaching jobs themselves: very challenging and often unsatisfying, but maybe better in Australian schools than in schools in other countries.

The immigrant teachers in Australia were asked to reflect on their experiences to date and were asked: ‘If you were able to make one major change to education policies or procedures, what would that change be?’ Figure 3.11 shows the responses to this question. There were a very broad range of responses, with the most common suggestion (about one in five responses) relating to making it easier to navigate the administrative and institutional pathways that new immigrant teachers must travel to be permitted to front a classroom in an Australian school. One in four wanted promotion policies related to immigrant teachers changed, while another one in ten complained directly about the application process in Australia. The two other most common responses related to suggestions about school processes and procedures: student related issues and the need for increased support. Work and employment conditions were of concern to 33 immigrant teachers. A few respondents raised suggestions about curriculum issues.

## Experience Living in Australia

An immigrant, permanent or temporary, comes to Australia not only to work but also to live. They become workmates in schools and neighbours in the suburbs, cities or towns where they settle. The immigrant experience is at once professional and social. As Fig. 3.12 shows, most of the immigrant teachers in NSW, SA and WA did get involved with their new local community: three in four (72 %) were regularly

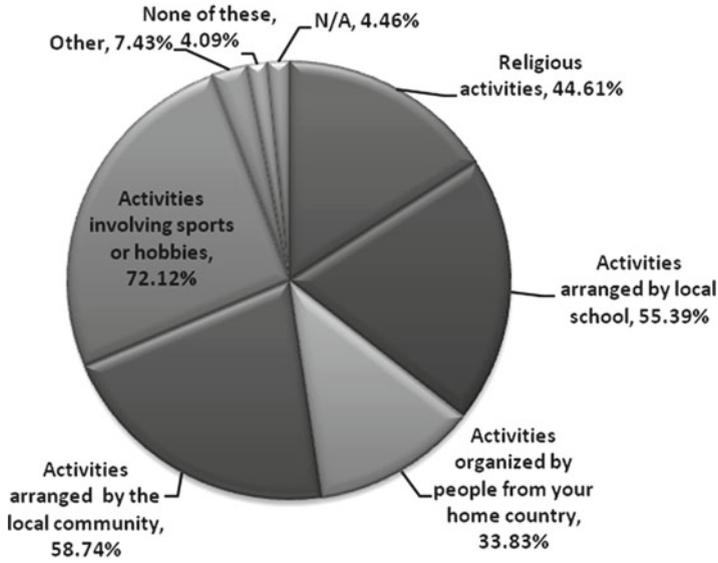
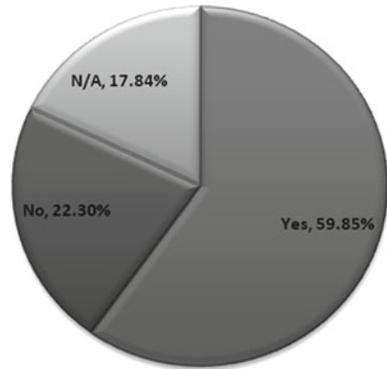


Fig. 3.12 Since coming to Australia have you regularly attended any of the following activities?

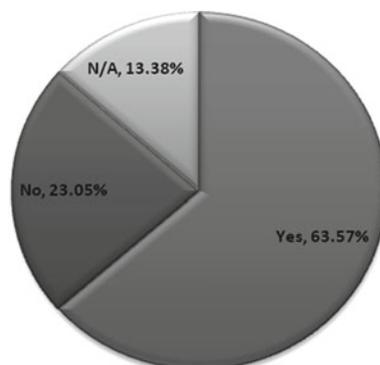
Fig. 3.13 Have you or would you recommend to other immigrant teachers that they teach in Australia?



engaged in activities involving sports or hobbies while a slight majority regularly attended activities arranged by the local school or by the local community. One in three immigrant teachers regularly attended activities arranged by people from their home country. This evidence suggests that many immigrant teachers are embraced by their ‘host’ neighbourhood and school community, forming social networks that assist decisions to stay rather than to go.

A critical question to evaluate an immigrant experience in a country like Australia is: ‘Have you or would you recommend to other immigrant teachers that they teach in Australia?’ As Fig. 3.13 shows, 60 % of all respondents said that they have or would recommend to other immigrant teachers that they teach in Australia.

**Fig. 3.14** In 5 years' time do you see yourself teaching in Australia?



This finding is very relevant to the issue of the *attraction* of new immigrant teachers to Australia. This is a very positive endorsement for the experience of immigrant teachers in NSW, SA and WA. Responses to this question are not sensitive to gender differences.

Another critical question, this one relevant to the issue of the *retention* of new immigrant teachers, to evaluate an immigrant experience in a country like Australia, is: 'In 5 years' time do you see yourself teaching in Australia?'. As Fig. 3.14 shows, two in three (64 %) of all respondents, or 75 % of those who provided an answer to this survey question, said that they did see themselves teaching in Australia in 5 years' time. Responses to this question are also not sensitive to gender differences. This is also a very positive endorsement for the experience of immigrant teachers in NSW, SA and WA. This finding also seems to contradict the earlier finding that immigrant teachers were evenly split about how satisfied they were with their Australian teaching experience. Once again perhaps the answer lies in the inherent difficulty of the teaching jobs themselves: very challenging and often unsatisfying, but maybe, all things considered, it is better to live and teach in Australia than in other countries.

## Conclusion

Globalization has been accompanied by increasing international mobility of labour: more and more workers and their families are moving into and out of traditional immigration nations (like Australia, the USA, Canada and New Zealand) and into and out of non-traditional immigration nations across the world today. Most western nations give preference to professional immigrants such as teachers, health workers, as well as those with skills and qualifications in media, finance, accounting and business. This chapter has provided an overview of the flow of teachers into and out of Australia. Australia has a long history of teacher immigration, with immigrant teachers coming from all corners of the globe but particularly from the

UK, New Zealand and the Indian sub-continent. In 2006 74,000 immigrant teachers lived in Australia, comprising 17 % of all teachers in Australia. The largest numbers of immigrant teachers come from England, a consequence of the colonial history of Australia and the fact that more Australian immigrants come from England than any other country.

The *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia* (LSIA) conducted by the Australian Immigrating Department is one source of information about Australia's immigrant teachers. LSIA data shows that half of all immigrant teachers are aged 26–35 years. It also shows that there is a great variety of immigration pathways for immigrant teachers and a great variety of motivations in their decisions to teach in Australia. The majority of immigrant teachers did not use their teaching qualification to get accepted as an immigrant, but had arrived in Australia under spouse or family visas (47 %) or were former overseas students who practiced teaching in Australia after gaining an Australian education qualification (21 %). The most common reason immigrant teachers gave for coming to Australia was for family reasons (42 %) or education reasons (20 %) with employment reasons only cited by 16 % of immigrant teachers in the LSIA longitudinal survey. The LSIA data also shows that the overwhelming majority (84 %) of immigrant teachers were working in their preferred occupation and that three in four immigrant teachers liked their job. Most also liked being an immigrant in Australian society. The LSIA survey also suggests that most immigrant teachers develop social networks where they live and work: Two in three take part in sport and leisure activities, one in three attend social activities that are religious, based in their schools or their local community while one in five have social networks with other immigrants from their country. One in two immigrant teachers thought that there was a lot or some racism in Australia.

The remainder of the chapter reported the results of a survey of immigrant teachers from NSW, SA and WA. These teaching professionals surveyed had accumulated substantial amounts of human capital: most had a bachelors teaching degree, though others had a master's degree or a doctorate. They had significant global teaching experience, were mostly secondary teachers and had expertise and experience across all areas of the teaching curriculum, particularly English, life sciences, social science and mathematics. Others had expertise in history, arts and humanities, IT and technology, PE and special education.

The majority of immigrant teachers surveyed (75 %) arrived in Australia on permanent resident visas. This indicates the important role that permanent residence in Australia has in attracting immigrant teachers to Australia. About one in five immigrant teachers surveyed are on temporary visas, with most on the 457 visa or the spouse visa, with a few on student or working holiday visas. Most had personal or family networks that led them to choose Australia as a destination.

In the previous chapter we introduced Bourdieu's concept of *capital reconversion* to explain the hurdles in relation to qualification recognition and professional certification that globally-mobile professionals the world over confront. One of the strongest themes that emerged from our fieldwork is the dissatisfaction with the red tape that goes with the institutional requirements that immigrant teachers must meet in Australia before beginning employment in Australian schools. Capital

reconversion is not a simple process and was a cause of frustration for most immigrant teacher informants. But another hurdle remains: getting a teaching position. This took more time than immigrant teachers were led to expect: 40 % of immigrant teachers surveyed had experienced unemployment in Australia. Moreover a permanent teaching position is difficult to find in Australia, particularly in the large cities such as Sydney, Adelaide and Perth. There are more openings for permanent teachers in rural and remote regions, so this is where the majority of immigrant teachers surveyed were employed.

The chapter then explored the experiences of immigrant teachers in Australian schools and communities. Most immigrant teachers had problems adjusting to the bureaucratic systems and processes that they encountered in Australia schools, though most found support among other teachers or principals in this regard. Many immigrant teachers thought that they did not get the same promotion and professional development opportunities that non-immigrant teachers in their schools got. This perception was a source of professional disappointment and dissatisfaction for them. As a result, many immigrant teachers – though a minority - were dissatisfied with their experience as a global teacher in Australian schools. However they were more satisfied with Australian life outside schools. Most were embraced by their ‘host’ neighbourhood and school community forming social networks, friendships and connectedness that led most to decide to stay in Australia rather than to go back home. Two out of every three immigrant teachers said that they would recommend to friends back home that they should also come and teach in Australia.

In conclusion, then, it seems that the experience of Australia’s immigrant teachers is mostly positive from a professional and personal standpoint. The difficulties of capital reconversion and of getting a teaching job are underestimated by immigrant teachers. Most feel that their capabilities are not utilised fully by the Australian education system, leading to some professional dissatisfaction in Australian schools. However most are happy with life in Australia. Of course, these generalisations about the experiences of Australia’s immigrant teachers gloss over the many different circumstances and nuanced experiences of different immigrant teachers in different Australian states. In the next chapter we draw on our qualitative research to flesh out the many different stories and experiences of Australia’s immigrant teachers.

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# Chapter 4

## Global Teachers' Pathways to Australia

### Introduction

Teachers are on the move globally unlike any other time in history. A teaching qualification is today a passport to global mobility. Of course, this is not a new phenomenon: Australia and many other countries have taken in immigrant teachers for many decades. The difference today is that the opportunities for teachers to move to countries like Australia, the United States of America (USA), Canada, the United Kingdom (UK), China and Japan have increased considerably. This is because the demand for immigrant teachers is at an all time high while the barriers to global teacher mobility have been gradually lowered. Another difference today is that more immigrants from non-Western countries are on the move. Teachers from Africa and Asia are increasingly found in classrooms in the West, just as teachers from the West are increasingly in demand in Asia. At the same time, traditional patterns of teacher movement between Western English-speaking countries – such as between Australia, the UK, Ireland, New Zealand, Canada and the USA – continue. Moreover, one of the features of contemporary immigration is that more women are on the move, particularly as professional nurses, teachers and maids, who are the sole or the principal applicant, rather than as the accompanying family of male migrant workers. Castles and Miller (2009, p. 12) call this trend the 'feminisation of migration'. These female migrants are coming increasingly from Asia and Africa, hence 'Ms. Banerjee' as part of the title of this book. Our intention is not to suggest that only women become immigrant teachers, nor that India is the only source country, but to emphasise these trend changes in gender and source countries of contemporary teacher migration.

In Chap. 3 we drew on secondary data (the 2006 national census and the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia) and the primary survey data of immigrant teachers in New South Wales, South Australia and Western Australia to provide an empirical insight into Australia's contemporary immigrant teachers: the countries that they came from; their immigration pathways to Australia; their experience in navigating the gatekeepers of the Australian education system; their

experiences in the schools in the communities in which they settled; their future intentions. In this chapter we draw on our qualitative field work – the interviews and focus groups of immigrant teachers, that we conducted in the three states – to flesh out our understanding of the different trends and nuanced dynamics that we have identified in Chap. 3. We draw on the experiences and narratives of the immigrant teachers themselves as they give voice to their own experiences, their hopes and aspirations, their frustrations personally and professionally.

The majority of our immigrant teacher informants are women, just as the majority of teachers in Australia are: teaching, together with nursing, aged care and social work are the 'caring professions' that are primarily the domains of women, an expression of the sexual division of labour that has endured in the labour markets of Australia and other countries (Collins 2006). This is another reason for 'Hello Ms. Banerjee' in the title of this book. The immigrant teacher informants provide rich detail about their immigration and teaching experiences and the personal factors that shaped their decisions to become a global teacher. What emerges strongly is the great diversity in stories, pathways, experiences, motivations and future intentions of these global teachers in Australia today.

The trend to multi-movement or circular migration as a key characteristic of contemporary global immigration flows (Goldin et al. 2011, p. 183) is also confirmed by this study of global teachers. Their story is often one of moving to Australia after living and working in a number of countries. Some immigrant teachers follow careers, others follow love, partners or the global social networks of family and friends, though in many cases it is some combination of these factors (Castles and Miller 2009, pp. 27–30). This also confirms the trend of contemporary migration to be driven by social networks.

It is also the story of the reconversion strategies that they employ to get accepted as an immigrant and a teacher in Australia. As Bourdieu (1984, pp. 125–135) points out, individuals possess social, cultural and human capitals that are valued in the labour market and society. A transformation in a social space – in this case a movement of teachers to another country – requires the individual to reconvert these capitals so that they become acceptable currency in another country. The problem for immigrant teachers is that the human capital (in this case the teaching or education degree[s] and experience) gained in some countries is either not acceptable or devalued compared to the human capital gained in others. A teaching degree from an American, British or Canadian university is likely to be immediately accepted as a qualification equivalent to an Australia teaching qualification, just as teaching experience in these countries is likely to be 'convertible currency'. But a teaching qualification and teaching experience from an African or Asian country is often devalued, if accepted at all. Moreover English-language ability becomes part of the capital reconversion that immigrants must negotiate before they can spend their accumulated capital in Australia and in Australian schools. This human capital currency exchange process – getting an immigration and work visa and getting teaching qualifications and experience recognised in Australia – is overseen and evaluated by federal Immigration and state Education Departments. This process of capital reconversion lies at the heart of the global teacher experience in Australia and all

other countries and will be taken up in Chaps. 5, 6 and 8 of this book. It not only shapes the process of getting a job in a school, but also impacts on how immigrant teachers are received by fellow teachers, their students and the local community.

Moreover, the personal and professional experiences of immigrant teachers are shaped by racialized responses of individuals and institutions to the cultural, linguistic, religious and ethnic difference of immigrant teachers and to the visible markers of this difference such as skin colour, dress or accent (Miles 1993). Racism often mediates the institutional and personal responses to immigrants (Booth et al. 2009; Markus 2009, 2012), whether they are professionals like teachers or unskilled dishwashers or occupations in between. As Castles and Miller (2009, p. 37) remind us: 'Racism towards certain groups is to be found in virtually all immigration countries. Racism may be defined as the process whereby social groups categorize other groups as different or inferior, on the basis of phenotypical or cultural markers'. At the same time, gender matters: a gendered division of labour is apparent in all contemporary labour markets and is very pronounced in the global teaching profession, as Ms. Banerjee well knows. Chap. 7 explores the extent to which racism shapes the experiences of male and female immigrant teachers in Australia, and how this impacts on their professional and personal lives.

## The Demand for Teachers

Before there can be an immigrant teacher there must be a demand for immigrants to fill teacher shortages in the receiving country. The history of population growth and distribution, economic change and immigration, to the three states where fieldwork for this book was conducted – New South Wales (NSW), Western Australia (WA) and South Australia (SA) – shapes the dynamics of teacher immigration to each state because it dictates the teacher demand and supply and impacts on where the schools are located. Australia is one of the most urbanized nations in the world. This means that most of its people, and most of its schools, are in the large metropolises. NSW is Australia's most populous state and its capital city, Sydney, Australia's largest, with a population of 4.7 million or 63 % of the NSW population (ABS 2012). Over the past 60 years, 40 % of Australia's immigrant intake has settled in NSW, most of them in Sydney, Australia's key global city. Most of the overseas-trained immigrant teachers in NSW arrive under the permanent skilled program because NSW does not actively recruit temporary immigrant teachers. This is because the NSW labour market for teachers is one where supply appears to exceed demand, except in difficult-to-staff metropolitan schools or remote schools. Despite the large number of locally-trained teachers who cannot get permanent jobs, there are also still vacancies for teachers in curriculum areas such as maths and science.

On the other hand, WA has substantial teacher shortages, particularly in regional, rural and remote areas of this vast state, the biggest by far in terms of area of all Australian States. WA has experienced the strongest economic growth in Australia and largest (26 %) population growth in the past decade, related to the mining boom.

Perth, the capital of WA, has a population of 1.9 million, or 77 % of the state's population, and has a higher proportion of immigrants than any other Australian city, including Sydney (ABS 2012). Because of its geographic location, WA attracts a large number of South African and Asian immigrants: it takes less time to fly from Perth to Jakarta or Singapore than from Perth to Sydney. WA does have a teacher shortage, partly because of its high population growth rate and because most teachers want to live in Perth and teach in metropolitan schools. As a consequence WA actively recruits immigrant teachers on temporary 457 Visas by attending *Migration Expos* in places like Dublin, Manchester, London and Liverpool to recruit immigrant teachers for regional and remote schools.

South Australia is in the middle of the bottom of the Australian continent and has struggled for population and economic growth. Only Tasmania and the Northern Territory have slower population growth rates than SA. Nearly three quarters (73 %) of the state's population of 1.7 million lives in Adelaide (ABS 2012). The decline in the manufacturing industry – a function of the reduction in Australian industry protection and the relocation of manufacturing from Western nations in Europe, North America and Australasia to Asia, that is a product of globalization – has hit the SA economy, particularly the manufacturing and automobile industry, very hard. As a result, many of Adelaide's younger graduates, including teachers, leave for jobs in other parts of Australia or the globe. For this reason the entire state of SA is classified as 'regional' by the Immigration Department. As a consequence, like WA, it also attracts many teachers on regional temporary or permanent visas

## The Immigration Processes and Pathways to Australia

As we have pointed out in earlier chapters, Australia has a long history of immigration. In recent years Australia's immigration intakes have reached record levels (Collins 2008; Markus et al. 2009; Hugo 2011). The composition and character of Australia's immigration intakes have also changed considerably when compared to a few decades ago. Many immigrants to Australia still come from the UK and New Zealand, but more and more come from Asia, the Middle East and Africa. There is also an increasing diversity in the immigration pathways to Australia. An increasing proportion of the immigration intake are skilled and professional immigrants, while in the last decade those entering Australia on temporary immigration visas have greatly outnumbered those on permanent entry visas. Nevertheless, the number of applicants wanting to enter the country far exceeds the number of places available, with a 'floating' points test system (that gives weight to applicants' education qualifications, employment experience, English-language ability and age) deciding who gets chosen. In other words, while globalization has led to an easing of the restrictions on the global flow of labour, particularly professionals, immigrant entry is a very competitive and controlled process.

There are multiple pathways for immigrant teachers in Australia. The most common is for overseas-trained and experienced teachers to apply for entry using their

teaching profession and human capital as a way to get accepted into the annual skilled immigration intakes. This is the first step in the immigrant teachers' process of human capital reconversion. Some arrive under the permanent skilled immigration program, while others arrive on temporary visas such as the 457 Visa. Within both permanent and temporary programs, places are available for teachers to enter on regional visas which require them to work in regional areas for 2–4 years. Some immigrant teachers come to Australia on short term teacher exchange programs – for example, between Australia and Canada – and decide to apply for an Australian teaching position after they return home. Other teachers arrive on tourist visas for an Australian holiday or to visit relatives and friends and then decide that they like the country and decide to pursue a teaching career in Australia. Other immigrant teachers in Australia move into teaching *after* they enter Australia as an immigrant. Some arrive as foreign students on temporary visas to gain teaching qualifications at Australian universities and then apply for a new visa to teach in their new host society. Others arrive as the partner or spouse of a principal applicant (who may be a teacher or have other skills designated by the Immigration Department as being 'in demand' in Australia) under the permanent or temporary skilled visa pathways or arrive themselves as skilled migrants in an area other than teaching and then decide to teach. In other words, there are many direct and indirect immigration pathways that global teachers navigate.

The history of global teachers varies considerably. Some immigrant teachers come to Australia as their first overseas teaching appointment. But as we outlined in Chap. 2, other teachers move from country to country as part of a process called circular migration driven by social connections, social relationships and professional desire. Consider the stories of Dianne, a Canadian who arrived in South Australia with her Canadian teacher husband Dave, who both grew up in different large towns outside Toronto. They both teach in a remote school in a coal mining town of 550 people, about 600 km from Adelaide, with a large Aboriginal population. They explain their decision to teach in South Australia as being due to the advantages of their regional visa entry which allows them to live and teach anywhere in SA, including Adelaide: 'Yeah, so that's why it was easier for us to get into South Australia because it, we could, we could get in here and then we could work anywhere we wanted. Whereas if we went to like, let's say New South Wales, we could only work in actually regional areas'. Asked why they chose to come to Australia as teachers, rather than go to other countries, Dianne said: 'I don't know, I've always wanted to, like, I've always travelled and always wanted to travel and I mean Australia just really appealed to me just cause its warm and there's beaches and the people are a lot similar to Canadians'. Dave had prior experience in Australia as a tourist and liked the place:

Yeah, it's kind of like being in Canada anyway here, everything is sort of similar, the government structure of everything, the way things work, so, and it was, like, at teacher's college for me anyways I just wanted to go and have, like, fun for my last year of school, and Surfers Paradise seemed like a fun place to go. But obviously a part of that was that I never wanted to leave [Australia in the first instance], I had to because I ran out of money, being a uni student.

Dianne and Dave would like to put roots down in Australia, though not necessarily in South Australia, but that does not stop them planning to teach in other countries for short periods. Dianne: 'I mean I would love to get my permanency and then jump over to New Zealand and go over there for 3 years or something and then come back here, and then after that, who knows, go somewhere else, but to call, you know, Australia as our home base (kind of thing?)'. Dave: 'Yeah, so our intention is to get permanent residency and then go and maybe teach internationally for a year, take a leave of absence from here and go 2 years to China, or 2 years to New Zealand'.

Penny, an English woman who had taught in Newcastle, UK, for many years came to teach in Australian schools – in Melbourne and then Sydney – after a stint of teaching in Papua New Guinea [PNG]. As with many immigrants, her global teacher journey was shaped by global social connections and love interests:

I thought I would like to travel and that's when I applied to the International Education Agency and I went to work for them in Papua New Guinea. But what happened was I was actually in Australia visiting a friend who was working in Melbourne and they rang and offered me the job ...in Melbourne were, like, 'mm, no, you don't want to go to Papua New Guinea, no, it's not very nice there, it's very violent' and all of this sort of thing, and I was, like, 'oh, I don't know'. So, I had a chat with the guy [in PNG] and he said 'well if you agree in principal to take the job we'll fly you out and you can have a look on your way back to the UK' and that's what I did, I went and had a look at the school and looked where I was going to be living and that kind of thing and I thought, 'yeah, I can do this'. So I worked there [PNG] for three years and that's where I met my husband who was from Australia, and he was working with a company at the time ... so I then finished [living and teaching] in Papua New Guinea, came to Melbourne and I got a job... and worked at that school for seven years, as being responsible for teaching and learning in the primary school... I got to the end of my seven years and again my principal said to me 'look you know you should probably look towards doing something different now', and the position came up with the Association of Independent Schools for Commonwealth Targeted Programs, Literacy. So, I applied for that and then started in that role. I'd only been in that role for a short time, it was probably about a year and a half, when my husband had to move jobs and we came here to Sydney.

Kunjia, a female teacher born in Korea and now teaching in South Australia, has a history of global mobility with her husband:

I taught in Korea for three years... and then went to Canada and then I studied Chemistry there...I never wanted to become a teacher at that time so I just studied Chemistry and finished there, then followed my husband who did a PhD in the United States, from Canada to the United States, then from United States, then back to Canada, like, I was moving around with him so wherever I went I was teaching ...then later in 1992 I came to Australia.

Shirley and Ruth, two South African teachers on 457 Visas, now teaching in Fremantle, just south of Perth, WA, have both followed their mining industry husbands on their global professional career. Shirley recounts her global journey to Australia.

Yes, I've moved around a lot, extensively with my husband's job, and so I've taught in different countries, and we moved from the UK back to NSW, we yo-yoed between Australia, the UK, and South Africa. We moved back to country NSW last year [before moving to Fremantle]... we've had 17 moves in 23 years of marriage, so I usually spend the first 6 months getting the kids settled.

Ruth puts her circular migration experience succinctly: '[I] just spent 10 years in Indonesia, very isolated, so this [Perth] was a nice kind city to come to, and then before that was New Zealand, and before that was the UK'.

Ian, a British male teacher now teaching in Adelaide, South Australia, came back to Australia via Malaysia after an experience as an exchange teacher in Australia:

I am originally from the UK where I taught for twenty years. I did a Masters Degree and then did a teacher's exchange in Queensland, went back to the UK, then I think the exchange gave me itchy feet, then within six months I had taken a job in Malaysia in an International school in Sabah, worked for two years in the first instance, but then we stayed for nine years and then my daughter was about to have family in Australia, so the choice was 'do we go back to the UK, or...' [so I] decided to migrate to Australia. My daughter and granddaughter were here and so I met my new wife in Malaysia and we migrated to Australia and I think it was 1998, I was lucky enough to get a post straight away in [a regional SA school 300 kilometres from Adelaide].

Ikuyo, a Japanese female teacher now teaching in Adelaide, South Australia, recounts her global journey to Australia from Japan via England and her professional journey from textile designer to teacher:

My name is Ikuyo and obviously I am from Japan. Well, first of all I worked in Tokyo for a couple of years and after that I thought I wanted more than that so I went to England and travelled and taught for three years there, and I worked the Faculty of Arts there, and then became an interior designer. I worked in London, England, for a year and then went back to Japan...in England I was an interior designer and in Japan I did textile design, graphic design, and when I came over here [to Adelaide] I got a job as a translator and at the same time I got a job with a publisher and did all the desktop design as well... then I taught them for eleven years, and after teaching for eleven years I thought well, maybe I have a passion for teaching...So I thought, 'since I enjoy being a teacher, maybe I could use my teaching degree', so I did a one and a half year course at the university in South East England... and I got qualifications as a teacher in Design, Art and Japanese as well. That was three years ago, and now I am teaching here.

Jan, another English woman who now teaches in Australia, has the sort of multi-country global, mobility – and interrupted teaching career – that happens to many married women. This story – of her movement from England to South Africa to Australia to England to Zimbabwe to South Africa to Australia, following the global movement of her husband's employment career and her movement into and out of and finally back into teaching – involved dealing with many migration and education institutional hurdles. It is typical of the circular migration of professionals today, so Jan's story deserves to be told at length:

I grew up in England and I did a degree in Music and Education and I did a post grad year of training to become a primary school teacher and I worked for three years in London, and then I got married to someone who was sent to work in South Africa, so I went to South Africa for nearly two years, and then we went back to England and I worked there again for another three years, and during that time, the first time I worked in England I was working in one school for the whole of the three years, and when I went back I did a year in a special school and then I did two years in a primary school, and at the end of that period my husband was offered a job in Australia. When I applied to come to Australia it was easy for him because he'd been born in New Zealand, but for me I had to apply to come in and I put in my application and we waited and waited for months and months and

we heard nothing from the [Australian Immigration] Department in London and then one night I got a phone call to say the reason that my application couldn't be processed was because I'd said that I wanted to work as a teacher and I hadn't specified which state I wanted to work in, I'd only put Australia. So in the end I said 'look, I don't know where we were going to end up exactly so, take that out and I'll wait till I get there'. So when I got to Australia it was at the end of 1988, in November. So I applied to do relief teaching but it was just a bad time with the school holidays, so I did a temporary job at the fire brigade and then in February I did two days relief work and then I was offered a job by the Australian Capital Territory [ACT] government, actually working at a high school doing a mixture of Music and Learner Assistance, which actually I wouldn't have applied to work in a high school but it was Yr 7-10 and it was a school with a strong band program so the music part was very nice and I stayed there for the two years until I actually had a baby. Then, my husband works for AusAid, so we were sent to live in Zimbabwe and then to South Africa, so I was away for twelve years, and when I came back to the ACT they said, 'oh, no, we don't take any references for people who have come from overseas, and we won't accept any references any older than three years'. So I had to start again as though I was a beginner in the whole process, to get my qualifications all done, and at that stage in the ACT they were busy re-organising the schools and they were closing a lot of the schools, so, [nearby] Queanbeyan's in NSW, which was just 10kms down the road, so I thought well, I might as well register for NSW and see what happens. When I applied to NSW they said 'oh, no, even though you've worked in the ACT for two years before, your qualifications are from overseas', so I went down to Sydney in February 2006, and did the orientation program for overseas trained teachers.

And then, fortunately, they let me do the teaching practice part in Queanbeyan because it would've been quite difficult for me to do it in Sydney you know because it's quite expensive, I had to pay my own accommodation, transport, and I did the teaching practice in Queanbeyan and then I had to go back to Sydney to be interviewed and discuss how that had gone and things, and then I got my registration and I did some relief work in the ACT, some in Queanbeyan, but I found [casual teaching work] was awkward because you would be offered this work for one day here, and then you'd be offered work from another school and they'd say we want you all week, and you'd say well I've committed to doing a day for this other school and it was very difficult, you know, to get regular work and also, while we'd been away, property prices had gone crazy. When we'd left, you know, you could get quite a decent house for \$120,000, when we came back you couldn't get anything for less than \$300,000, possibly more, and so I needed to be in a position to get a bond with the bank, and if you haven't got a regular income you can't do that, so I ended up getting a job with the Australian Science Teachers' Association, because I did A Level sciences and while I was in Africa I did quite a lot of work at the university developing materials for science teachers who were non-English speakers, so I have an interest in that area. So I worked with them and then I'd been there for about 18 months and I got rung up by the ACT Education Department and they said 'we've got a school that needs a music teacher, it's a primary school, it's bilingual, it's French and English', and I can speak French, so I thought this is it, and they said 'We've had three music teachers this year and none of them have stayed, we'd really like some continuity so if you come we'll try and keep you for next year'. Obviously they are not in the position to decide that, the ACT is all administrated centrally, so at the end of the term, although it had all gone well, the school requested me and I was very happy to stay, I'd gone through the procedure to get permission, you know a late application in the round and things, but they had to place a permanent teacher, so then I was out of a job. So then I've started working now [not as a teacher but in the Public Service] with the Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations in their curriculum section and I'm currently looking to sort out the policy for a new initiative which is the National Asian Languages and Studies and Schools Program so I know all about shortages of teachers in that area.

Here is another account of an Irish woman, Maureen, whose motivation to come to Australia as an immigrant teacher involved a holiday here, a love affair with the country and with an Australian man:

I did a four year degree in Ireland in Languages, then I travelled over to Australia out of my own leisure time and I realised I wanted to be a teacher, so I went back to university and spent a year in England doing that. Returned to Ireland, taught for a year and in the meantime I met an Australian man... We actually met when we were on holidays in Spain. He was based in England. He didn't return to England – he came back to Ireland with me, but then he didn't have a work visa so things were a bit iffy and he thought 'well, I'm going to go back to London and earn money', so I followed him over to London... and we decided that we would shift out to Australia, and in 2005 I arrived out in October of that year [on a De Facto Visa] and sought work in NSW. In NSW I was offered a job at Abbotsleigh, which is a pretty well known school in Sydney, so I worked there for two years, then after that we wanted to take advantage of the mining boom over here so we packed up and here we are. So, initially it was different changing from Ireland to NSW and now to change from NSW to WA so I've had a few hurdles along the way, red tape and what not.

Sue, an American female teacher, now teaching in South Australia, came to Australia because her husband was Australian:

I am from New York. I taught in Florida for two years, New York for eight, and I have been here, this time – I was here for a year also in 2003/04. The reason I came is that I married an Australian. Here I am. I have a degree in Elementary, which is Primary here, and Special Ed[ucation], and a Masters in Counselling, and I am doing Special Ed, which is really what I have always wanted to do.

Another female teacher, Clara, who came to Australia because her husband was Australian, was born in Mauritius and had teaching experience in Zimbabwe before arriving in Adelaide to teach:

I started working in Zimbabwe and that is where I met my husband, who is Australian, and fell in love with him, and then came to Australia in '96 but I couldn't get work as my qualifications were not recognised, so I did training, I did all sorts of things, and then I went to get an overseas training qualification, and from there I wasn't confident enough again to go into the work force, so I did some [other work for a time]... So five years went by and then I did another course again to get up to the standard and then in 1998 I did my Bachelor of Education... In 2001 I decided to work overseas for three years. So in 2003 [I] came back and here I am, finally back to Adelaide to be with my family. So I am here...

Lakmali, an Indian teacher in South Australia, has a similar story of living in, and being educated in, India before following her husband – reluctantly – to Australia, after a stint in working in the Middle East:

Mine is not a very long story. I got my training in India, I started working and teaching in India in Uni[versity]. I taught in Uni for five, years. I started in school when I was completing my training, my exams, and for graduation, and then got my qualification for Uni and started teaching Uni and taught for five years. I didn't want to come here, I didn't want to change countries but my husband was always like 'let's move along', so we went to the Middle East first for two years, so I taught there for more than one year and then he came here and I came with him. I did not want to come but then again I had to come, you know, and I was thinking that I would be able to start teaching but my qualifications are not recognised at that level here. So I started in school, got myself registered with the Teacher's Registration Board. I came July, 2006, and all this time, got this job in which I have been working. That's all.

It isn't just female teachers who arrive in Australia with a partner who is Australian. Michael, an English male Physical Education and Science teacher, has his own story of love and interrupted mobility as a global teacher:

The first time was because my wife came, she had a job with her company over here [in Sydney] so I came De Facto on her sponsorship, and as a result, when I was here I could do anything, I didn't necessarily have to teach but I went to an agency who got me a job... at a Jewish private school in Bondi Junction called Moriah College and I worked there for a week, and then they asked me if I could stay for the next term, and then they bought the contract of Select Education and they employed me for the next six months, then wanted to employ me more, but...my wife's job was taking her back to England so I could not stay because my sponsorship visa was based on her job.

Temporary migrants the world over see a temporary visa as a foot in the immigration door, a first step to being accepted as a permanent resident in their new country. Many immigrants who arrive in Australia on temporary visas – student visas and 457 skilled worker visas are the main ones – see temporary migration as a pathway to permanent residence in Australia. While most of Australia's immigrants, teachers included, head for settlement in the large cities of Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Perth and Adelaide, in the last decade Australia has also introduced a range of permanent and temporary visas designed to attract skilled immigrants to settle in regional and rural areas (Hugo 2008; Jordan et al. 2011).

Many of those teachers interviewed and surveyed in Western Australia entered with 457 temporary migration visas. The labour market for teachers in WA is different than that of NSW in that the demand for teachers exceeds supply, particularly in regional and remote areas. WA has experienced a strong economic boom in the past decade, driven by its vast mineral and energy deposits, most of which are exported to China, Japan and Korea. In turn, this mining boom has increased the non-metropolitan population of the state, even though many mining workers are on a fly-in-fly-out rotation whereby they leave their families behind in Perth, Cairns, Sydney or Auckland. Providing teachers with temporary skilled visas [457 Visas] is a way to staff schools in relatively unpopular regional and remote areas of the state.

Alex, from Scotland, was one of the teachers recruited, via a WA Department of Education and Training (DET) Expo held in Edinburgh, to teach in a remote WA school west of Perth, near the mining town of Kalgoorlie, with the promise of an easy path to permanent residence after a successful teaching record, under a 457 temporary visa. Australia was one of a number of countries on his global teaching radar:

Well I came from Scotland, UK, in September 2007. It originally started because we went to a convention in Edinburgh about going to Australia, America, New Zealand and Canada and while we were there we were looking at the points for immigration to Australia and there was a stall basically that had [WA] DET there and they were actually recruiting now, so I had done a lot of research about Australia and had thought it would be about eighteen months to two years to get the permanency through and I went and spoke to this chap and he said 'no we can get you out there in three to five months' and it cut through all the red tape – did it quickly –so I took the easy path and got him to do it all for me. I was led to believe that I would come out to Australia, and it was two years, and after that you could get permanency and then work in Australia. So I thought 'well, two years, I don't know where I am going to be put', it's like a box of tricks – you don't know where you are going to go so you can go anywhere in WA. So they give you a wonderful DVD of all these beautiful waterfalls, trees

and it shows you these classrooms with a lot of lovely technology, labs and air conditioned rooms and all this kind of thing and so I thought 'right, ok', and at the same time I had this devil on my shoulder saying, 'it's not going to be the real thing', but we fully expected it not to be good, we really pictured ourselves going out to the middle of nowhere and were just being stuck in, and view it as a two year adventure. We thought within that two years we would try and travel, like, go and see different areas of Australia that we might want to end up living in. So that was the plan and within three to five months we had arrived in Perth and were given Kambalda. It is a gold mining town, it used to be silver but now it is gold.

Kutzo, a science and maths teacher, came to a remote WA school via Zimbabwe, Cuba, a Migration Expo and a 457 Visa:

I already left from Zimbabwe, and naturally I did my first teaching degree in Cuba, ... and [in] 2002 I decided to go to the UK. I applied for a job, got a job, got my permanence, as then there were some problems in the country [Zimbabwe]. I was in the UK for three and a half years, and in the UK I did my – what they call the Qualify Teacher's Certificate, so then in November I was deciding to leave the UK. [Someone] came to me and said 'why don't you go to New Zealand, Canada, Australia?'. Then there was an expo in London, where the WA DET were there. On Monday I had an interview and then I got a job and my family came here in June, when we got to Perth.

The stories emerging from a focus group of immigrant teachers on temporary visas, conducted in a large coastal town of Carnarvon about 900 km north of Perth, are a showcase of the diversity of backgrounds and journeys that immigrant teachers make on the global journey to Australia. The High School has 35 teachers: one third are immigrant teachers. The focus group participants, Andrew (English), George (Polish), Miriam (Kenyan), Helga (German), Charlotte (Swedish) and Sandy (American), tell of their pathways to Australia on a 457 Visa.

Andrew arrived from the UK on a 457 Visa just prior to attending a focus group:

I went to an expo in London that attracted me to come out to Australia. I was looking for a change. I had just come to the end of my eighth year of teaching [in England] – same subject, Design and Technology, even though here it is more like Metalwork, Woodwork. I have a three year contract but on a two year probation and then I think you get your visa in your third year.

George, a Polish Mathematics teacher with teaching qualifications gained in Poland, came to Australia via a stint of teaching in England but did not attend an Expo:

we were studying at uni[versity] in England and there were people from the DET from Perth who came to uni and said they were looking for teachers wanting to teach in WA, straight after their qualification they got in England. They went to here, and they said 'we give you a visa but you don't have a choice where you are going'. I was just saying 'can I please have something on the coast'. [Much laughter and agreement].

Miriam arrived after training and teaching in Kenya, via English schools, to be recruited at the Manchester Expo:

I also came on a 457 last year in October. I am Kenyan and I initially trained in Kenya. I did teaching in Kenya for five to six years, and I moved to England where I did my MA [Master of Arts] and also was a teacher for five years, and then I came last year down here with this group. I went to an expo in Manchester and then they were picking people. They were very interested in people teaching English, so that's where they found me. What else can I say? I am here [laughs] and it is a different place. I have lived in different countries and different places but it is a different experience. But it is a good experience, as far as I am concerned.

Helga came to Australia with German teaching qualifications and experience, she travelled to Australia, worked as a waitress and then applied to teach in WA:

I graduated in 2006, in November, and I travelled a lot and did my prac[tice] overseas, and was always on the road to travelling between my studies. Then I had to wait for probation and in Germany you do a first stage exam, and then your second stage exam which takes two years and I had to wait to get a position. [By] this time I was fed up with travelling and thought, 'well I can earn money in Australia', so I went to Australia and started working, and thought, 'ok', because this time I had to wait a whole year, 'I can apply as a relief teacher', so I did that, which took me a while, and I survived as a waitress until WACOT [Western Australian College of Teaching] helped me, as I went personally and showed them all my exams and my certificates and thought it would've worked out by now, so it took a while. Then I started relief teaching in Exmouth and then I lived there for half a year, and then applied for [a] visa, after I heard of the possibility of staying, and then I dumped the second state exam in Germany and just slipped in here.

Many immigrants who arrive in Australia on temporary visas have an eventual aim to become permanent residents in Australia. This is certainly the case for international students in Australia (Marginson et al. 2010) as well as for those skilled workers on 457 Visas (Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia 2004). All of the focus group of immigrant teachers in WA agreed that this was the case for them also. For Charlotte, who arrived on a temporary regional visa in WA, the attraction to work for 2 years in a remote school, as a precondition for being accepted as a permanent resident in Australia, was the permanent resident Visa, allowing her to call Australia home: 'I don't really care if it is right or wrong, my goal is to be permanent, and to have to do 2 years – what I have to – in the country, and then get permanency with WA or not as the case may be, I might then move across country I think'. There was one problem, though. In order to get accepted as a permanent resident it is necessary for these immigrant teachers to do their time working in a remote or regional school and to get their employer to write a letter of recommendation to support permanent residence. In their case, it is the school Principal who must write this letter. This puts the temporary immigrant teachers in a difficult position. If immigrant teachers complain about lack of promotion or lack of access to career development or the fact that their experiences and expertise are not valued and rewarded in the school, they run the risk of being labelled as 'trouble makers'. The ultimate risk is that the Principal might not agree to support their permanent residence application.

Sandy, an American teacher who took part in the focus group, vocalized these fears:

They are not trusting us as people to know what we need and what we don't, and again it is a bit of bullying. [Charles interrupts: We don't want to rock the boat. Sandy continues:] yeah, and my problem is that I'm the reverse side, I actually do say a lot, I probably hold back a lot but I do say a lot... [laughter]... Guess who my performance manager is? [laughter]: the Principal. And I shouldn't – I'm a second year teacher and I shouldn't have the Principal as my performance manager – I should – not when there were Level Three's or other people who could mentor me as a teacher. Okay, in my situation – or anybody – anyone who speaks out – and it's people who have experiences from other places, because I think it's cultural – I am American – I've learnt that that is part of my cultural self – is that we don't sit back and let it just happen.

The analysis of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA), presented in Chap. 3, suggests that the major motivation for teachers coming to Australia was to join family and friends (42 % of respondents) and for a better future for the family (20 % of respondents). These two family-embedded reasons far outweigh those where teachers were motivated for work or business opportunity reasons (16 % of respondents). This finding is consistent with current migration research that explains migration movements as a consequence of family-embedded transnational social networks, relationships and responsibilities. As Castles and Miller put it,

family linkages often provide the financial, cultural and social capitals which make migration possible...Networks based on family or on common origin help provide shelter, work, assistance in coping with bureaucratic procedures and support in personal difficulties. These social networks make the migratory process safer and more manageable for migrants and their families (2009, p. 29).

So that, even though the human capital (a teaching degree and experience) is the passport to unlock the immigration and education professional barriers to global mobility for teachers, the critical decisions of when and where to go are shaped as much by social connections as they are by professional reasons.

A female teacher from South Africa, who now teaches in a NSW country town, tells her immigration story, which also draws on Diasporic family networks in Australia:

first of all the reason why we came to Inverell is because I have a sister who's already been here for eleven years now. She actually came originally to Australia because my brother-in-law is a GP [General Practitioner] and he came in on a work visa for rural doctors, and then when we applied, because my age was a little bit against me at the time, I actually came in on something called a Rural Designated Area Family Sponsored visa, and we obviously came across to Inverell, so I actually work only in rural areas, which is part of my visa conditions.

For Michael, a UK trained Science teacher, the global teacher journey to Australia was pioneered by his sister, who provided the information and networks to get him employed in the same High School, in a coastal WA town, that she worked in:

I'm from England also, trained in England. I am a science teacher, particularly Biology. I taught in England for about three years and came here in January of this year. My sister is the one who was [the link], she was already here, and it was always my intention to come, that is why I trained as a teacher in the first place, likewise her also. [The plan was to] come to Australia and emigrate here, and she [my sister] had a place in Carnarvon when she arrived. They needed Science teachers, they told her. She told me and I applied directly and got this immediate post, directly to here, so I didn't have to go through the [immigration and education] lottery, which was nice, and I am here with my sister and her family which is nice.

For Colleen, a teacher from Northern Ireland, the journey to get a job teaching at a suburb in Joondalup, in the northern outskirts of Perth, involved a holiday with a sister in Perth and 14 years' teaching experience in Cornwall and Cyprus prior to looking for teaching work there: 'We came here on holiday, to stay with my step-daughter, and fell in love with it, and that was it really. We knew we wanted to live overseas again, and Perth was as good a place as any. It was a nice place to be'.

Some immigrant teachers come first to Australia as foreign students before deciding to become an immigrant teacher. A Nigerian-born male teacher who taught in the remote WA mining town of Mt Newman arrived at Edith Cowan University in Perth to study Engineering in 1999. He moved to Social Sciences subjects and then did a Masters Degree in Education. He continues the story: 'While doing my Post Graduate [degree] I got to talk with most other international students and I talked to them about their 457 sponsorship program, so when I got my qualification I went to the [Education] Department and asked what they had to offer, and they gave me a [teaching] job'. He has been teaching for only 2 years at the Newman High School, teaching Social Sciences and Maths.

Or take the case of Angeline, who had extensive global experiences before coming to study for teaching qualifications in Australia: 'I was born in Malaysia, brought up in Singapore, had a bit of an Education in Germany, and the rest of my education in India, returned to Singapore to do my Masters [degree], and then I came to Australia and did my Bachelor of Education [degree], finally'.

A Beijing-born male immigrant teacher, Guo Wei, also made the transfer from foreign student to immigrant teacher. He arrived in Hobart in 2004 as an international student doing a degree at the University of Tasmania followed by a Bachelor of Teaching degree at the University of Tasmania (UTAS). He subsequently moved to take up teaching at the very remote location of Christmas Island, in the Indian Ocean, much closer to Indonesia than it is to Australian shores. His wife is also an immigrant teacher.

Other immigrant teachers arrive in Australia by serendipity, often involving spouses and relationships. Amy, a Scottish female teacher – now employed in NSW schools – arrived in Australia with her husband who, as the primary visa applicant, got a job at the University of Sydney. As she put it: 'I was an attachment on his visa'. Only after settlement in Sydney did she begin to think about, and to pursue, a teaching career. Devaki, another female Indian teaching in NSW, arrived with her husband who, as the principal applicant, had come to work as a manager for an international company. She was a University lecturer in India.

Like all aspects of modern life, the Internet features increasingly in the narratives of immigrant teachers. Social media provides the medium for contemporary migrant social networks to be maintained. According to Annette, an American female informant teaching in Fremantle, WA: 'I actually met a guy on the internet. That's how I got hooked into coming to Australia'. While she had been a teacher in the USA, she did not teach in Australia during that first visit. The relationship did not last, though her love affair with Australia did:

I was here, I think, two and a half years as a stay at home mum, and then the relationship didn't work out so I went back to America, lived with my parents in my same room that I grew up in, had to work teaching full time there, couldn't afford daycare, so my son had to stay with my elderly parents, and I was working full time, still qualified for welfare food stamps, this is with eleven years' teaching experience, and couldn't afford a place of my own, sat there thinking 'I'm going back to Australia'. She arrived back in Australia under a permanent skilled visa. I came back to Australia and lived another one and a half years until my son went to Kindy, and I started putting my name down for doing relief teaching, and that's how I got started teaching.

For other NSW teachers at a regional High School in Griffith, NSW, the driving force that got them to Griffith was family connections: the motivation for overseas-trained teachers to move to Australia varies. Some immigrant teachers came to Australia for better career opportunities. In the words of two NSW immigrant teachers: 'I came, I don't know – word of mouth, or – how, believing Australia was desperate for teachers; I heard a lot about Australian schools and I heard that education was excellent here'. Others came for the future of their family: as three NSW immigrant teachers put it: 'We thought it would be better job opportunities for our children; because of the racial discrimination, we were not quite settled but we moved on to greener pastures. A better life for yourself and the kids; it's peaceful here, and yes, that's the main thing, we want peace'. Other immigrant teachers in NSW came because of *push* factors: 'we immigrated as a family, I think, because of the political turmoil in South Africa'.

Like other immigrants, professional and non-professional, teachers draw on transnational social networks to gain information of the possibilities of, and desirability of, migration to different countries and cities and towns. As Goldin et al. (2011, p. 107) put it: 'the development of migrant networks around the world has generated well-connected diasporas and transnational communities. Expanding connectivity allows social networks to support transnational relationships and enterprises based on ties of family, kin, or village'. Narayan, a male immigrant teacher of Indian descent who moved from Fiji to Griffith, a regional town in NSW of 16,000 people, 568 km west of Sydney, told this story of a globally-mobile family that is part of the Indian Diaspora, and of flight from Fiji because of the military coup that made it harder on the Fijian Indian community:

I come from Fiji. I was originally born in Fiji, my parents and grandparents were born in Fiji, so it's, like, three generations. My grandfather was taken from India by the British to work in the sugarcane fields... The natives didn't want to work, so the Indians were the labourers there, working the shifts, and I grew up and was brought up in Fiji. I taught in Fiji for seventeen years, around the country, especially in rural areas. I moved to my hometown, Suva, the capital of Fiji, because I was teaching away from home most times and living away from my parents. I decided to move back closer to home and work there. I had been a Head Teacher for three years before I decided I needed a better opportunity, and decided to put in my application for migration, wrote to the DET NSW to check my qualifications, and it was approved. They sent me the application forms and I sent it to them, and my visa got through, mainly because it was skilled migration and I had relatives who had been here in Griffith [a NSW regional town] for forty years. Actually my Dad's sister did her nursing, started her nursing career, from Griffith itself, so she trained as a nurse from Griffith District Hospital at the time, in 1970's, and now she's a retired matron and lives in Sydney. Dad's brothers migrated to England, and sisters and brothers migrated to America, about forty years ago, and Dad was the only one living in Fiji. And I had two sisters – they migrated to Sydney – and I thought, 'well, this is a better option to here – my children have grown up, I don't have to depend on anybody, I could live on my own and work on my own'. And there were teachers migrating because of the situation in Fiji too. We had the coup, and wanted to get out. My friend encouraged me, she said 'look, I have applied', she had actually migrated and was living in Victoria, and she gave me the Victorian DET forms, and through them, so I've got two registrations, one for NSW and one for Victoria, but I prefer to come to NSW and teach in rural areas, that was my preference. The first posting I got was [inaudible] High School, where I was for three

years, and then I was nominated transfer to Griffith High School, and I've been there since then. I've been a Year Advisor for the last four years, and now I've got Yr 10 now, two years to get them a Higher School Certificate.

Here is another story of the Indian Diaspora, this time a South African teacher of Indian background, Deepak, who taught in regional NSW. This is the story of circular teacher migration as the teacher moves from South Africa to teach in New Zealand before moving to a Queensland regional school and, finally, to a regional school in NSW:

Well I came from South Africa... I was the youngest born in my family, and at that time, when my dad and mum passed on, everybody grew wings and started to go everywhere in the world [laughs]. My problem in South Africa mainly was when you applied for promotions and things, it was always seniority based, and because I was brought up in an apartheid era, it was very tough and very stringent. However they gave us opportunities to study. I went to a training college and I became a teacher. It was over three years, and I did a Bachelor of Arts degree over four years part time at the University of South Africa. I did a Diploma in Special Education part time through another university, and did a Bachelor of Education degree... The university where I did my Bachelor of Education degree – that was basically a White dominated university, no Indians were allowed to go there, so basically White. They took on Indians if it were – very late, in the late '70s, early '80s – if you had top marks, to do things like Engineering, and then eventually, I think it was in '82/'83, they opened the doors to ordinary teachers who would like to study Post Graduate degrees, so I finished that. I emigrated to New Zealand with my family, I taught there for five years. About a year I taught in mainstream and then I went into Special Education. I taught in an educational unit for physically disabled students, I worked as an Itinerant Teacher for Special Education and went from school to school. Over three years I did that, helping teachers as well as students on one on one, and then in 1997 I emigrated to Australia. My children were already at university, they are now overseas, so I lived in Brisbane with some friends and I taught at Rockhampton High School [a regional Queensland town of over 60,000 people, on the coast, 600 kilometres north of Brisbane] for a year as a Casual teacher, then I got a permanent appointment... I taught Maths, I was a Learning Support Teacher, Special Education based, and then from there I decided I wanted to move interstate and I applied and I got a job at Griffith High School, for one year, where I got through my probation and I got [another regional] Public School, and then now is my seventh year, and I'm quite enjoying the dynamics of the school because you soon learn to cope with it. Everybody's in the same boat, it's a very supportive school, so that's basically my immigration.

The immigration pathways of Deepak also give insights into the circular, almost accidental, nature of the immigration experiences of some global teachers today:

I couldn't get immigration here [to Australia]. I tried here. Eventually I went to New Zealand on a Visitor's visa and they could do that then – they've tightened up on that now – this was in 1992... An immigration consultant [in NZ] helped me, so I built up my CV [curriculum vitae] because I had to get a CV done and to be circulated to schools, so I got a job in a farm school, in a rural area – very, very good. They were very supportive, and after three to four months I got my permanent residency [in NZ], and when that happened, the whole world unfolded, everything came together [laughs]. My family could come down and all that... At that time you could, after three years, obtain the status where you could come to Australia. It was easy then, but things have changed now... Very early South Africans went to Canada, very early, where at that time, you know, that was the only country that had opened its doors to South Africa, then New Zealand and Australia came later.

## Conclusion

In Chap. 3 we presented an overview of Australia's immigrant teachers: where they came from, their qualifications and experience, their general impressions about getting teacher registration in their state and general impressions about their experiences as a teacher and an immigrant living and working in Australia. In this chapter we have told the personal stories of immigrant teachers in order to provide a more nuanced understanding of the experience of being a global teacher in Australian schools. In this way we have given voice to immigrant teachers themselves as they narrate their experiences, their hopes and aspirations and their frustrations and enthusiasms personally and professionally. This chapter also provides an opportunity to look at the different dynamics of teacher recruitment in NSW, Western Australia and South Australia and the different immigrant teacher experiences in each state. These differences get glossed over in national overviews such as presented in Chap. 3.

The most striking finding is the great diversity in the experiences of immigrant teachers in Australia. The journey of these global teachers to Australia, their pathways and their motivations, varies considerably. Some immigrant teachers came to Australia as part of their global journey as a teacher professional, drawn to Australia by their social connections, social relationships and professional desire. Other immigrant teachers, particularly women, came with their husband or lover who landed in Australia as part of his global journey as professional migrant worker. Other immigrant teachers arrived in Australia as an international student on a temporary student visa to take an Australian university degree in teaching or other professions. They subsequently moved into teaching in Australia. Still others came to Australia as a tourist, liked the country and returned with teaching or other qualifications.

Some immigrant teachers arrived as part of the permanent skilled immigrant intake as principal applicant or dependent of the principal applicant. Others – particularly those teaching in WA and SA – came as temporary immigrants on 457 skilled visas or on regional migration visas. Many of these were recruited by the WA Department of Education and Training (DET) at Immigration Expos held in cities such as Edinburgh, London, Dublin and Liverpool. Some of these were recruited directly to fill shortages in schools in regional and remote areas of WA, particularly in towns related to the mining boom. Many immigrant teachers on 457 visas reported that they were unhappy with their situation. In order to get accepted as a permanent resident it is necessary for these immigrant teachers to get their school Principal to support them. This meant that while many of these 457 visa immigrant teachers complained about lack of promotion and career development opportunities and the fact that they were not adequately valued and rewarded in the school, they ran the risk of losing the Principal's letter of support for permanent residence if they complained. While South Australia also recruited teachers on temporary regional visas, NSW did not. Instead NSW relied on the fact that unlike the other states it had a large surplus of teacher graduates and could attract some of these to regional and rural schools.

Immigrant teachers also had a wide variety of teaching experience in Australia. The majority enjoyed their personal and professional experience and were very satisfied with their decision to come to Australia to teach. But a large minority were not satisfied. Many experienced problems in schools, including racialised responses to their accent and cultural background from students, parents and sometimes fellow teachers. Some immigrant teachers had very good experiences in regional and rural towns while others did not. Immigrant teachers also had a wide variety of global teaching experience. For some Australia was their first experience as a global teacher. Others have taught in two, three or more countries before coming to Australia. For some, Australia was where they would stay permanently. Others had plans to move to another country as they continued on their global teacher journey.

One common aspect of the immigrant teacher story that we tell in this chapter is that for most of them their immigration experience is embedded in their transnational family and social networks. Most had family or friends in Australia or some other prior connection to Australia. It was these networks, together with their teaching qualifications and experience, that directly or indirectly led them to Australia classrooms. Most immigrant teachers also complained about the bureaucratic red tape they confronted in order to get their teaching qualifications recognised in Australia. This issue is discussed at length in the next chapter.

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## Chapter 5

# The Capital Reconversion of Global Teachers in Australia

### Introduction

One of the contradictions that emerge from our fieldwork on global teachers in Australia and the literature on global teachers in other countries is that their international mobility is not a smooth process. The human capital of teachers – their tertiary education qualifications and their teaching experience – is supposed to be their passport to global employment mobility in the Age of Migration. However while the advocates of globalization preach the mutual advantages of the free international mobility of capital, goods and services and people, to donor and receiving countries, labour mobility is today very constrained and carefully controlled and monitored. This restrains the global mobility of teachers. In all countries today barriers are erected by Immigration Departments and by professional educational gatekeepers designed to test that global teachers meet immigration visa criteria and their comparable ability to meet the standards of the teaching profession in the host country. Post 9/11, nations are anxious that immigrant settlers, be they on permanent or temporary visas, are not a threat to national security and will settle successfully into their new urban or regional neighborhoods. At the same time national professional associations are anxious to preserve the standards of their profession. This is not just a problem for global teachers, but for immigrants of all skills and qualifications, because the supply of global immigrants, including professionals like teachers, greatly exceeds the demand. Receiving nations like Australia thus have great choice of who is let in and who is excluded. All immigrants have to undergo this process of what Bourdieu calls *capital reconversion* before they can work in international labour markets. The dynamics of this capital reconversion process and the policies and procedures different countries adopt to evaluate the human capital of immigrant teachers are thus central to understanding global teacher movements and experiences in the world today.

In Chap. 4 we looked at the immigration journeys of global teachers to Australia and at the factors that shaped their decisions to immigrate to Australia. In this chapter we explore the ways that these global teachers navigated their way through the

immigration red tape; and identify the processes and procedures that have been introduced in Australia in order to ensure that the human capital of immigrant teachers is of a standard acceptable in Australian schools and equivalent to that of locally-trained Australian teachers. As well, we are interested in the experience of global teachers in Australia in relation to their capital reconversion. This chapter thus explores the education red tape that immigrant teachers must successfully navigate if they are to be accepted in Australian classrooms. We are also interested to see how this capital reconversion process changes over time and to identify the hidden agendas embodied in the immigrant teacher accreditation policies, procedures and processes in Australia.

The capital reconversion tasks of global teachers take the form of passing a number of bureaucratic ‘tests’ that must be passed before a global teacher can get permission to teach in Australia. This chapter provides an experience-driven and evidence-driven, conceptually informed analysis of how these tests of internationally educated teachers’ employability can impede the mobility of these global knowledge workers. Tests govern the right of internationally educated teachers both to enter the local/global labor market for teachers and to participate in the competition for jobs. Tests of internationally educated teachers’ employability are a subset of the general language and other testing for an individuals’ migration, citizenship and asylum (Berg 2011; Extra et al. 2009; Hogan-Brun et al. 2009; Shohamy and McNamara 2009). Arguably, these employability tests are not unrelated to the testing culture to which teachers now have to regularly submit themselves and their students for the purpose of international competitiveness, audit and quality assurance (Salvio and Boldt 2009).

Here it should be noted that these tests, which are now so much routine in education, embody and are shaped by fundamental neoliberal themes. Over the decades the serial coalition of liberal and conservative policy-makers has assimilated key elements of neoliberal politics into education policy, particularly through the widespread introduction of the testing regimes (Burns 2004; Gladstein and Sciabarra 1999). Tests are now integral to the continuing neo-liberal struggle to make a virtue of selfishness, itself a product of the individual materialism that is at the philosophical and methodological core of neoliberal economics and politics (Collins 2007; Cassidy 2009; Quiggan 2010). In this sense tests of the individual are central to bringing about a market-friendly political order. A leading ideologue for neoliberal cultural politics in the United States of America (USA) was the novelist and philosopher, Ayn Rand. Her militant commitments to the free market and individual choice gained prominent admirers such as Alan Greenspan, the head of the US Federal Reserve for 18 years. Notwithstanding that this belief in the rationality of the free market and individual material choice led to the worst economic collapse of capitalism since the Great Depression in Australia (Stiglitz 2010; Lewis 2011), the neoliberal order seems to rule unflinchingly over domains such as education. In Britain, Canada and the USA a ‘serial coalition of governments borne of conservative-labour alliances’ (Singh and Han 2006) have initiated neoliberal policies directed at the marketization of schooling. This trend has not been reversed as the global financial crisis continues. However, in Australia and Canada the competition

presented by the establishment of private Islamic schools and public Afrocentric schools have been opposed (Gulson and Webb 2012). This indicates the racialized characteristics of neoliberal education markets. Even so, Ayn Rand's agenda continues to inform the work of advocates of rank elitism in education and its institutionalization through the test-driven grading of teachers, schools and universities. Neoliberal policy-makers are enacting performance pay for teachers as yet another mechanism to legitimise the privileges of elites. Australia's succession of Labor and Conservative Governments has institutionalized nationalized testing (Miller and Voon 2012). Tests of all kinds are used to rank educational institutions according to their status in serving elites: in Australia schools are ranked nationally on the Gillard government's 'My School' website while Australian universities are ranked with universities around the world on a range of competing indexes.

There are a range of tests that confront internationally educated teachers. These tests are designed to evaluate their strengths in terms of professional English language proficiency, their international teaching qualifications and teaching experience and their level of adjustment and their suitability for working as a teacher in Australia. The chapter first draws on the qualitative fieldwork with immigrant teachers in three Australian states – New South Wales (NSW), Western Australia (WA) and South Australia (SA) – in order to explore their experiences in the process of having their human capital reconverted into Australian educational legal tender. It then closely reviews the capital reconversion policies, processes and procedures in one Australian state (New South Wales) and how these have changed over time.

The categorical designation of the teacher we are referring to is revealing. The term 'immigrant teachers' is used in the data sources cited in this chapter. However, it should be noted that there is no universal agreement on the term used to name this category of transnational knowledge workers. The category employed seems to shift from policy to policy, and form, one nation to another. Because the primary evidence for this chapter is drawn from the Education Department in New South Wales (Australia) there are references to 'overseas trained teachers' or 'OTTs' (NSW DET 1994). This is a peculiarly Australian term. The category 'overseas trained teachers' reminds us that to get to the island continent of Australia all immigrants – and asylum seekers – must travel 'over seas' either by boat or airplane. However, the use of the word 'educated' rather than 'trained' would seem to be more appropriate when discussing the teaching profession. Moreover, given that so much attention now focuses on the internationalization of Western Anglophone education, a more appropriate term would seem to be 'internationally educated teachers' (Block 2012; Schmidt et al. 2010), or the term that we have introduced in this book, 'global teachers'.

## Red Tape Experiences

Despite the rhetoric of supporters of free-market globalization, the movement of labour (people) has never been as free as the movement of money (capital) or goods and services (trade) (Legrain 2006). In part this is because the supply of

immigrants greatly outnumbers the demand, so that all countries have strict policies and procedures to decide how many should come in, who they should be and who is locked out. Each country decides on the numbers to be allowed entry each year and has ways to decide on the merits of each applicant in an attempt to choose the best. In Australia, an annual permanent immigration target is set each year, with different targets for skilled, family, business and humanitarian applicants. Skilled immigrants, including professionals, must have skills that are determined by the Immigration Department to be 'in demand' in Australia. The occupations on this list change over time as labour market demand changes. A points test is applied to the principal applicants (not their dependents) getting points for their human capital (qualifications), work experience (employability), English-language ability and age. Those with the highest points are accepted until the target number of skilled immigrants has been recruited. Extra points are given to those willing to settle in regional areas. Many skilled and professional immigrants bring in partners and dependent children with them. Canada, New Zealand, the UK and other countries have similar selection processes, while in the USA applicants from different countries are allocated a quota. There is no annual target set for the temporary skilled (457 Visa) migrants in Australia, as this program is 'demand driven': successful applicants are employer-nominated, so that there is a job waiting for them. No job then no 457 Visa, though employers are required to demonstrate that this job cannot be filled in Australia.

The processes involved in first getting accepted as an immigrant and then getting accepted as teacher in Australia and getting allocated to an Australian school is long, costly and, for many immigrant teachers we interviewed and surveyed, very frustrating. Getting accepted into Australia or some other country as an immigrant is the first test that global teachers must pass. Then immigrant teachers must satisfy the gatekeepers of the teaching profession in each country and satisfy the established policies and procedures of state Education Departments before they can get a job teaching in their new country. Navigating these two immigration and education hurdles is made more difficult for immigrant teachers in Australia because, while immigration policy and control is a federal matter, school education is a state or provincial matter and these two arms of the Australia bureaucracy have very different rules and procedures. Contradictions emerge. For example, while the Australian Immigration Department requires a 3-year teaching qualification for an applicant to be accepted as a skilled immigrant on a permanent or temporary visa, Education Departments require a 4-year teaching qualification before an immigrant teacher can teach. Many immigrant teacher informants were caught in this bureaucratic trap. But even for those immigrant teachers with 4 years or more of formal qualifications, the processes of getting their overseas-obtained qualification recognised in Australia are still very testing.

In our survey of immigrant teachers, reported in Chap. 3, the most popular (unprompted) response – from one in three of those surveyed – when asked to identify the difficulties they faced in Australian schools was the 'rigid system and processes'.

Many immigrant teacher informants in the qualitative phase of our research recounted stories of frustrating delays and red tape. Here is the story of Nora, from South Africa, who is teaching in NSW schools:

it took about three years to get that all sorted, the first step of that was to get the skills recognition. So you have to put all your papers in and it goes to NOOSR [National Office of Overseas-Obtained Skills Recognition]. So that was the first step and that took about nine months to hear from then, and the rest of the process...The Department of Immigration lost my papers twice.

Annette, an American teacher working in WA who we encountered earlier, reported that: 'going through the expense of getting my visa and getting NOOSR to approve my credentials, and paying visa migration lawyers, that took up all of my American superannuation'. Lisa, a WA female teacher from Scotland, reported similar frustrations:

I was hoping to get into teaching after a few months but it didn't turn out like that... It took them a very long time, not only due to them, partly due to the people back in the UK being very slow in giving me proof of where I'd taught, and it was an absolute nightmare trying to prove that I'd done any supply work so I just gave up trying to prove that and didn't even put that in the list.

Elizabeth, a teacher in a remote SA school who arrived from Scotland with her husband – whom she had now divorced – recounts the bizarre process of overseas skill and employment recognition during an interview:

I just got my [teaching] experience recognised but I had to get a letter that had five specific pieces of information on it. I had letters from all my jobs saying that I had worked there but that was not good enough. Because I had worked in effect six or seven different employers in Scotland and England and Germany, it was murder trying to get all of that information.

A male English Physical Education teacher, Andrew, has another account of the delays and frustrations involved in getting a teaching position in Sydney:

To get my NSW accreditation you have to do two weeks to prove that you are a teacher, even though you've gone through an eighteen month application process to show every single CV, every single written reference, you've backed it up with evidence upon evidence and when you get here, they still won't let you teach. You then have to go... I said 'but I've already given you this' and they say, 'no no, this is a separate process'. This process goes on for months.

Teaching is a profession working with children, so one of the requirements for all teachers is to receive police checks that clear them to work with children. Ruth, a South African teacher on a 457 Visa teaching in Fremantle (we met her previously) tells her story in a focus group:

I came at the beginning of 2006, I started going through the police checks etc, and I think four police checks, it's not four it's three isn't it?...you've got your immigration and police clearance as well, and I've just done the child protection one. I think I'm covered for them all now [all laugh].

Ravi, a male teacher born in India who was living with his Indian-born wife Patma (also a teacher) in South Africa as a migrant for 40 years, has been teaching English in a Griffith school for 5 years, but his story highlights the difficulty

associated with capital reconversion and getting a teaching job after arriving in Australia. Ravi and Patma migrated in 2003 to Melbourne under the permanent skilled migration program with their two daughters of senior high school education age. His human capital was a 2 year Graduate Diploma, a 3 year teaching degree and a 2 year Masters degree from an Indian university plus extensive teaching experience in South Africa. However while his teaching qualifications were recognised by the Australian Immigration Department in order to satisfy the requirement of entry into Australia as a skilled permanent migrant, they were not recognised by the Education Department in Victoria or NSW. He worked in a series of unskilled manual jobs in a cold room, a timber factory and car factory for 6 months and had to leave his family before securing a job teaching in Australia:

What happened was that my money was getting finished at the bank, everything, the savings... I worked in a butchery in Dandenong.. there was a cold room, they gave me the apparel, you know the white stuff and goggles, oh, I couldn't stand it the cold room... I think I went there two days, then I realised, I am not doing justice to what I had learned, my career... Then they called me to work in the timber factory. It was warmer but I had to lift the wood. They were making pallets... I think I worked there for three days... Then I was told to go to work in [a] manufacturing firm, they were manufacturing the bumpers, the front part of the vehicles, and they come from the hot furnace. It is smouldered, it is dipped, galvanising or something, and that thing is hot, hot, hot, it comes in slings, you know they are all coming in, we have to fold this and pack it... Then they sent me to a post office and I worked on a sorting machine, that is where I stayed longer...[but] the idea was to become a teacher, not doing odd jobs, so I had some thoughts, 'why have we submitted an application to teach in Victoria?'. I did one in NSW also. One fine morning I got a letter from the Department saying come for an interview, in Blacktown [a western Sydney suburb]...I had a 30-40minute talk with [name of NSW Education Department officer]. At the end of the session he says, 'you are permanently employed, you are permanently employed, go and wait for the approval letter'... Still, at that time, I was working with the post office people, and then one day the Department called and said there was a post available at Leeton High. I did not know anything about [the town]. The post was available for six months, 'would you be interested?' I said 'no I wouldn't be interested in six months'. Luckily, one at Griffith High came up... I had a friend who was teaching at Griffith High School, so I talked to him. He was also from South Africa, a Maths teacher, he said 'take that, take it'. I said 'that's it', I left my daughters and my wife there, and just drove here.

One problem for the mobility of immigrant teachers once in Australia is that the tests – the rules, regulations and procedures that govern teacher registration differ between each state. Barbara, a Scottish women, relates the experience of a friend who attempted to navigate these internal tests:

another of my friends that came over to teach, she was quite wise, she sorted out all her pieces of paper out before she came out to Australia, because she was only coming out on a working holiday, but she didn't realise that if she did it through [the NSW Education Department] she then couldn't work in any other state, so she ended up in Perth and thought 'oh, I'll work here' and they said 'you can't because you're registered with NSW and you're not registered with us', so she would've had to do it all again.

Carole, also from the UK, had similar concerns about the difficulty of teacher mobility within Australia, something that she had not expected because the bureaucratic system was very different in the UK:

I think the thing that's difficult in Australia, coming from outside, is that in England when you've finished your training you do something called a probationary year, at the end of that

year you get given a piece of paper with a number on it, Department of Education and Science number, and it means that you're qualified to teach anywhere in England and Wales. And you don't have these problems of one state and another state and things like that. You know the regions employ teachers but if you're qualified in Yorkshire you are also qualified in Cornwall, whereas here each state's got its own thing, which is problematic if you come from outside, especially if you don't know that's how it works.

## **Capital Conversion Tests for Global Teachers in NSW Public Schools**

This rest of this chapter analyses the capital conversion tests for global teachers administered by the New South Wales Department of Education and Training [NSW DET] to test the adequacy of their standards in relation to their English language proficiency and their employability. It analyzes how these policies and procedures of capital conversion have changed over time. Each and every one of these tests is a test of the employability of internationally educated teachers, as much as a test of their strength, persistence and resolve to continue undergoing tests. These tests can be examinations, assessments, investigations, checks, or trials – all are ordeals. Each test differs one from the other. In addition to tests of their academic qualifications there is a range of tests which these teachers must pass. Passing these tests often means just gaining permission to access the local labour market for teachers, and does not guarantee employment as a teacher. It should be noted that only internationally educated teachers seeking employment in public sector schools in NSW have to go through this process: those seeking employment as teachers in faith-based schools (Christian, Islamic, Jewish or other faiths) or nominally independent schools are not subjected to these particular tests.

Each test is such that it is a distinct test of internationally educated teachers' different kinds of strength. There are tests of these teachers' professional English; interviews to test their personal suitability, tests of their ability to negotiate employment, and tests of their professional development needs, among others. Examples of these supplementary tests include national teacher registration and accreditation. Other tests include the academic International English Language Testing System (IELTS) or the International Second Language Proficiency Rating (ISLPR) or the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL). There are also further tests – probity checks, including criminal screening and police record checks, as well as employment checks, including references from previous employers. Together with these tests, extra required tests involve the completion of working-with-children checks, and mandatory testing of their capability to respond to abuse and neglect in education and care settings. These are among the many tests that internationally educated teachers (as well as local teachers in some instances) seeking employment with the Education Department are required to pass. Passing these tests means they obtain an 'approval letter' which permits them to enter the competition in the local labour market; competing for an actual job presents a new range of tests.

The analysis presented here indicates that a certified copy of one's academic teaching qualification is not automatically a passport to teach in another country.

Despite the planning, development and implementation of ‘national qualifications frameworks’ by 138 countries (Raffe 2012), there is considerable opaqueness regarding what is meant by a ‘teaching qualification.’ Qualifications for the recruitment of internationally educated teachers are not limited to the recognition of an award for a degree in education undertaken at a university – and acknowledged to be of a comparable standing. Moreover, the following analysis indicates that education employers do have the capabilities for assimilating critiques and making corrections to tests of internationally educated teachers’ employability.

## First-Generation Critique-Driven Test Corrections

Beginning in 1994 the NSW Education Department conducted a voluntary pre-employment test, the Overseas Trained Teacher Program (OTTP). This test operated in a full-time mode over 5 days in a face-to-face course, as well as in a part-time mode for 30 h over 4 weeks. The OTTP was designed to test internationally educated teachers’ familiarity with the Education Department’s policies, systems, students and school culture, as well as their teaching strategies. This test included:

1. Information focusing on pathways to employment.
2. Professional support for twenty-week English-for-teachers courses, offered by a local university and the Adult Migrant English Service.
3. Orientation courses of one week duration for all successful graduates of the English Language Skills Assessment (ELSA) and other teachers from English speaking backgrounds.
4. An ‘approval to teach’ letter, to promote successful entrée into casual and full-time teaching positions. (summarised from NSW DET 1994, p. 1)

Categorization of test-takers is integral to any test. The OTTP test applied to two categories of internationally educated teachers, namely those designated as native speakers of English and those labelled as being of ‘non-English speaking background’ (NSW DET 1994). 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. However, in the case of teachers of English, Moussua and Llundaa (2008) remind us that the majority of English language teachers worldwide are non-native English speakers. However, in 1994 only 25 % of those in the category ‘NESB immigrant teachers’ passed the NSW English Language Skills Assessment (ELSA). For those teachers whose English language proficiency had to be re-tested, the Education Department provided the English training institutes and arranged school placements for practice teaching. Following critiques of the

OTTP by school principals, the Education Department implemented the following corrections to this test in 1995:

1. Eight full-time or part-time orientation courses;
2. Development and trialling of one-day courses for teachers applying for employment to prepare them for the Personal Suitability Interview;
3. English language courses offered by tertiary and other providers in the area of classroom communication and appropriate school experience placements;
4. Counselling to all those [internationally educated teachers] seeking advice in relation to the employment process, including the English Language Skills Assessment (ELSA);
5. Information evenings in all metropolitan regions during the first and second semesters;
6. Surveys of participants of the induction and orientation courses as to their professional development needs – followed by provision of a full-day course in the areas of designated interest (summarised from NSW DET 1994, p. 4).

From 1996 to 1998 there were few changes to the tests governing the recruitment of internationally educated teachers. In 1996 there were 18,000 teachers in the local labour market eligible to apply for permanent positions in public schools. By 1998 this figure had decreased to 11,000, mostly by teachers forgoing the search for employment in their profession. However, the labour market conditions were such that the disciplines in which there were teacher shortages – or a skills mismatch – were Technological and Applied Studies, and Asian languages. This meant that internationally educated teachers had to retrain for those education disciplines in demand if they wanted a teaching job in NSW.

For the Education Department the OTTP test provided an overview of the labour market, employment issues for teachers and future options, as well as policy directions for teacher assessment and services (NSW DET 1996). In addition to testing the internationally educated teachers' knowledge of successful teaching and classroom management strategies, education officials used tests such as the application for employment, the qualification recognition process, and the 'Personal Suitability' interview (NSW DET 1994, p. 4). The Education Department provided test-taking information for these teachers who had questions about the English Language Skills Assessment (ELSA and later PEAT), the labour market and job opportunities for teachers. Providing labour market information to these teachers tested their strength in finding a suitable and 'realistic' employment pathway – but not necessarily a job as a teacher:

There are 500 teachers who gained approval in the period of 1991-1992, prior to the introduction of English language proficiency requirements. It is anticipated that many will be offered permanent employment in 1997, and that they and their schools will need ongoing professional support. (NSW DET 1996, p. 10)

Tests of internationally educated teachers' professional strength did not only focus on their development of teaching and necessary language skills. Further, to fully qualify for permanent teaching positions it was expected that teachers from

non-English speaking countries would, like local teachers, undertake 5–6 years' casual work as teachers before gaining such appointments; this was another form of test for immigrant teachers. Rai (1978) provides an account of similar experiences in the United Kingdom (UK). That internationally educated teachers should re-start their careers as casual teachers was reasoned to be satisfactory due to the competition in the labour market for teaching positions. Casualization is integral to the neoliberal project of establishing a flexible, casualized labour market. This normalized an integrated workforce of casual, fixed term and temporary teachers, full-time permanent teachers and their managers, as well as government subsidized jobs for young adults in transition between learning and earning. However, more than half of the participants in this pre-employment testing program were not willing to accept casual or part-time employment; they wanted and needed full-time employment.

Worldwide, the recruitment of teachers from Anglophone nations is not new. In the post-1945 period, Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, the UK and the USA met their teacher shortages by recruiting White, Anglophone, nominally Christian teachers from each other. However, as we have seen in earlier chapters of this book, in the last decades of the last century, migrant teachers were not necessarily White or Anglophone. Increasingly, teachers were being recruited from India, the Middle East, Asia, and South America, along with the Pacific Islands. This gave rise to second-generation critique-driven corrections to tests of internationally educated teachers' employability.

## Second-Generation Critique-Driven Test Corrections

The grounds for a second generation of critique-driven test corrections were established at the beginning of the new millennium. In order to better test the internationally educated teachers' pre-employment strengths for teaching in local public schools, an induction test was provided in 2000 for those who had already received 'approval to teach'. This 5-day induction program tested these teachers on the following aspects of the schooling system: 'classroom management; child protection; teaching strategies; lesson preparation and presentation; syllabus issues; adjusting to the culture of [local] schools and their students, [and] employment issues such as casual teaching and salary conditions' (NSW DET 2000, p. 1). This test focused the teachers' attention on preparing for casual teaching in state schools, or opting out of the competition for such jobs. The induction test involved either a 5-day full-time training course, including a day school visit, or an 18-h part-time course conducted in the evenings over 2 weeks.

To this was added a 'Personal Suitability Interview' which tested the internationally educated teachers' familiarity with the professional difficulties they might face in getting a full-time teaching position, as much as the conditions of teachers' work. The teachers were tested on their conversational communication skills in the 'Personal Suitability Interview'. Accordingly, a Professional and Colloquial Communication Skills (PACCS) test was designed: "PACCS courses are designed to promote and develop spoken and written communication skills

for the classroom, the staffroom and a range of school-based activities” (NSW DET 2000, p. 3).

A course of one day’s duration, preparing applicants for ‘Personal Suitability’ interviews will be offered each month to Overseas Trained Teachers to acquaint them with the DET and professional matters related to their role as teachers in a new and possibly different system and culture. (NSW DET 2000, p. 1)

The testing sessions also supported networking among the internationally educated teachers who shared their experiential knowledge with each other.

At the time it was also seen as necessary for the Education Department to provide professional counselling support to the teachers in order to assist them in adjusting to the new system as soon as possible. The teachers were invited to experience a school day as a volunteer, in order to enhance their knowledge of the local schooling system. However, this support was discontinued, as there were few schools willing to provide such support.

In the 12 years from 1991 to 2003 there were minor critique-driven corrections to these tests. Then the pre-employment test for internationally educated teachers was subjected to major changes in response to critiques about the employment of teachers and government slashing of investment in the schooling of the public. A corrected pre-employment test was developed in late 2003 and implemented in 2004. Unlike its predecessor, this test was made mandatory for all internationally educated teachers seeking employment with the Department.

Integral to the new pre-employment test was the creation of new categories. Internationally educated teachers with local teacher education qualifications, local teaching experience or work in exchange programs were exempted from the pre-employment test. Internationally educated teachers did not have to take part in the new pre-employment test if they:

1. Have completed a [local state-based] teacher training qualification (e.g. *Diploma of Education*); or
2. Have participated in a program that has enabled them to teach on exchange in a ... government school for 1 year within the previous 5 years; or
3. Are in [the country] on a short term visa which allows them to undertake paid employment (typically these people are on a 90 day visa and only work casually in schools); or
4. Are applying for re-employment after successful permanent teaching in [the local] government schools including the award of a Teaching Certificate (NSW DET 2003, p. 4).

Henceforth, all other internationally educated teachers seeking employment in local public schools were required to submit to the new test. To pass the test they had to demonstrate ‘their capability to meet the educational needs of students in government schools’ (NSW DET 2005, p. 3). The now mandatory pre-employment test for these teachers was a pre-condition for them gaining an official letter of approval to compete for a teaching position in local public schools. The new test was redesigned to incorporate an orientation and an assessment phase, taking 12 and 5 consecutive days, respectively (NSW DET 2003).

The two phases of the mandatory pre-employment test were delivered through a combination of workshops, on-line support materials and in-school experience (NSW DET 2003, p. 4). This interactive program of orientation courses tested the internationally educated teachers' familiarity with the local schooling system. The on-line bridging course tested their professional capabilities in dealing with teaching/learning difficulties, and in meeting the requirements of work in local public schools. The in-school experience tested these teachers in "the context of the workplace and the day to day work of teaching; [ability to] access practitioner support and advice, [and application and demonstration of teaching/learning] proficiency in the workplace" (NSW DET 2003, p. 5). During this in-school experience, these teachers were tested by the school which reported on whether these prospective employees fully satisfied its work demands.

Together these three strategies provide a test of the level of capability evident in the internationally educated teachers' performance in the work environment. The 12-day orientation course tested two aspects of the teachers' performance:

The orientation course of the *Pre-employment Program for Overseas Trained Teachers* is designed to assist Overseas Trained Teachers to understand the nature of NSW schools and the responsibilities of teachers in our schools. The orientation course occurs over 12 consecutive days and includes workshops and in-school experience. (NSW DET 2003, p. 6)

The orientation course tested the internationally educated teachers' disposition with respect to local public schools and what they learned about how qualified teachers work in these schools. The workshops tested these teachers' understanding of education in local public schools with respect to the "curriculum, student behaviour, cultural awareness, child protection and employment opportunities" (NSW DET 2003, p. 6). The workshops also tested issues of immediate relevance to these teachers' future employment through specific reference to local public schools. The issues tested included syllabus, classroom control, multicultural classes and possible work choices. In-school placement provided opportunities to test these teachers with reference to their: "observation of 'effective teaching practice,' participation in 'professional discussions with other teachers'; participation in 'team teaching,' undertaking some 'independent teaching;,' participation in 'the range of activities that occur in schools', [and] undertaking 'activities planned in collaboration with the coordinating teacher'" (NSW DET 2003, p. 6).

The internationally educated teachers' in-school practice aimed to test their professional capabilities for working in local public schools, making it the most important part of the pre-employment test. Following this, these teachers' professional capabilities were formally evaluated with respect to teaching in local public schools: "The in-school assessment offers Overseas Trained Teachers the opportunity to demonstrate their capability to meet the educational needs of students and to be assessed for approval to teach in NSW government schools" (NSW DET 2003, p. 7). After the school practicum, an interview was conducted to test these teachers' adjustment to local public schools. This face-to-face interview of up to 40 min was conducted by the Education Department's Teacher Recruitment Unit. The 'Personal Suitability Interview' tests the teachers' knowledge, skills and disposition with

respect to: ‘teaching and learning, communication skills, student management [and] professional attributes’ (NSW DET 2003, p. 8). The teachers needed to demonstrate excellent competence in these areas through the proficient use of English.

## Third-Generation Critique-Driven Test Corrections

Since 1 January 2013 the Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership (AITSL) now only registers the most proficient English speaking internationally educated teachers, whose homeland education systems are expected to pay for their professional education:

From 1 January 2013 the Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership (AITSL) will introduce changes to the assessment criteria for English language proficiency to be consistent with teacher registration requirements in Australian states and territories.

Despite the appeal to the criterion of consistency, AITSL’s declaration allows for inconsistency:

The English language proficiency changes only apply to AITSL and do not impact on other assessment authorities. The AITSL educational and professional criteria remain unchanged. (underlining in the original)

This means that internationally educated teachers now have to pass the NSW Institute of Teachers test for ‘accreditation and recognition of teachers’ professional capability against professional standards’ (NSW DET 2009), before they can obtain a ‘Statement of Eligibility for Accreditation to Teach.’ Added to this, these teachers now have to be tested by AITSL, the national teachers’ registration authority. Under the Migration Regulations 1994, the AITSL has the role of testing skilled migrant teachers entering Australia.

These tests of employability presuppose the characteristics required of the labour of teachers and are used to identify the kinds of strengths internationally educated teachers have in these respects. The last decade has seen increases in the English language thresholds across Australia’s skilled permanent migration program and for applicants for temporary visas such as students (Berg 2011). As of January 2013 AITSL’s English language proficiency requirements were increased:

An Academic version of the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) Test Report Form (TRF) that shows:

- a score of at least 7.0 for Reading and Writing; and
- a score of at least 8.0 for Speaking and Listening.

The IELTS test scores must appear on a single IELTS TRF and be the result of a test undertaken during the 12 month period prior to submitting an application.

In the struggle for employment, some internationally educated teachers are pitted against others, this is not the case for all such teachers. The academic International English Language Testing System (IELTS) is a test for internationally educated teachers from countries where English is not the primary language. These teacher

recruits must pass this test to demonstrate their English language proficiency, with scores of 8 in Speaking and Listening. A lack of English language proficiency can rule them out of employment. However, there are categories of internationally educated teachers who are automatically exempt from this test:

An applicant has completed study assessed by AITSL as comparable to at least four years of full-time (or part-time equivalent) higher education (university) study, that results in a qualification/s comparable to the education level of an Australian bachelor degree or higher, (must include a recognised initial teacher education qualification) undertaken in Australia, Canada, the Republic of Ireland, New Zealand, the United Kingdom or the United States of America.

Since the initiation of these tests in the 1990s through to the second decade of the twenty-first century only internationally educated teachers from Anglophone nations have been designated as exempt from tests of their English language communicative capabilities. That is, teachers who are born and educated in the following countries are not subject to the IELTS test: Canada, New Zealand, Republic of Ireland, United States of America, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. South Africa has now been dropped from the 1990 list.

English is the language of instruction in Western Anglophone nations, such as Australia. However, the key point to note here is that AITSL test requirements make it clear that English is not an international language, let alone a global one. However, over the past three decades much has been made of the claim that English is the world's international language. Impressionistic accounts claim that English is supposedly the world's first global language being used everywhere on Earth (Clyne and Sharifian 2008; Wang 2010). While economically appealing, given the widespread commoditization of English for use in economic, political and cultural fields in many parts of the world (Singh and Han 2008), the vague and amorphous branding of 'global English' is of no value to migrant knowledge workers. The cover of Crystal's (1997) book, *English as a global language*, is illustrated with a neon sign flashing “光臨” in traditional Chinese characters, which read from right to left can be translated as “Welcome.” For AITSL it counts little that there are ten so-called 'native standard' varieties of English (English, Australian, New Zealand, South African, Welsh, North American, Canadian, Scottish, Irish and West Indian English). Of even less significance are the five supposed 'non-native standard' varieties (West African, East African, Indian, Singaporean, Philippine English [Trudgill and Hannah 2002]). For AITSL it counts for nothing that English has official or co-official status in over seventy countries spread across Africa, Asia and the Pacific (for example, in Fiji, India, Singapore), or that English is a priority in foreign language in their homeland (for example, in China).

To date the dynamics of recruitment of internationally educated teachers has been shaped in part by the demand for increasing the English language proficiency necessary for engaging in global knowledge economies, which mistakenly are assumed to be monolingual. However, some countries are recruiting teachers from China and Cuba (Ochs 2009). This indicates growing recognition that Chinese and Spanish (Fee 2011) are of increasing global significance. It might be more appropriate, therefore, to speak of global multilingual knowledge economies. However,

teacher education programs have not responded to the repeated warnings made since the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2003) forecast of teacher shortages in languages othered by the global hegemony of English, as well as in Science and Mathematics. The convenient fiction that English is an international/global language has created a market for English language education and testing. It has legitimized the insistence on English-only pedagogies in these countries, reinforcing their well-established resistance to multilingualism.

It would seem that even if internationally educated teachers become aware of the education system's employability regime, only corrective critiques are possible, well almost. Moreover, the series of tests to which they are subjected serve to keep them from getting a teaching job. These tests set these teachers on a series of detours, ranging from AITSL's English language proficiency test through skills assessment to assessments against educational criteria and professional standards, all of which serve as tests in themselves of their readiness for employment. These tests show the way to possible employment through specified teacher registration requirements while simultaneously making employment as a teacher all the more distant due to the requirements of other testing authorities. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) argue that this is because these teachers themselves are inescapably part of the re/production of deficiencies in socio-cultural capital. This is something that the research undertaken by Bourdieu and Passeron (1979) has the gifts and talents for making evident. It would seem that the role of critical research in education is to show that these teachers have no thoughts about the transformation of tests of their employability. This kind of theoretical politics means such thinking by teachers is not possible. Apparently, all such research does is to aid these teachers' reconciliation with the existing testing regime.

## Critique-Driven Test Corrections

Through a time-series analysis of pre-employment tests of internationally educated teachers it was possible to trace the changes in these tests over the two decades, beginning in the early 1990s. This time-series analysis highlights the milestones in the changes made to correct the tests of these teachers' employability. However, these are not necessarily the corrections the teachers themselves sought (see Chap. 7). The critiques mounted by the principals' professional association pointed to the discrepancy between the state of affairs they preferred and the actual existing situation. For instance, the Principals Australia Institute included in its November 2011 submission to the Productivity Commission's inquiry into the Australian Schools Workforce the following observation:

Employers may be increasingly tempted to meet short term needs by turning to the overseas market for teachers and school leaders in areas of great shortage (geographic and special subject areas). While ultimately the intention would be to ensure an adequate supply and distribution of Australian sourced teachers and school leaders, there is little choice between using existing teachers who are underskilled to deliver such specialist topics as maths and

science and the use of fully qualified and experienced overseas trained teachers and school leaders. The success of this solution (for children, schools, communities, and the overseas trained teachers and school leaders themselves) will depend on the quality and effectiveness of induction, supplementary professional development and continuous support. This comes at a cost – it is not enough to provide only basic induction.

## Conclusion

This chapter has explored the dynamics of the capital reconversion process that global teachers experience in Australia. This is central to our understanding of contemporary global teachers because all countries adopt policies and procedures to evaluate the human capital of immigrant teachers and certify them for consumption in the schools of the host nation. All global teachers must satisfactorily negotiate this hurdle before they can teach in another country, one of the tests all global teachers must pass. This testing of immigrant teachers is consistent with the testing regime that permeates all aspects of the contemporary Australian school education system and is a product of the neoliberal hegemony that appears to prevail in education notwithstanding the fatal damage that neoliberal free market theory suffered following the global financial crisis. In this chapter we reported on the difficulties and frustrations that immigrant teachers in Australia faced because of this capital reconversion process: a testing time for global teachers indeed!

The processes of this human capital conversion vary between countries and within countries. In order to demonstrate this, the remainder of this chapter looked at changes to or the corrections made to the capital reconversion process for immigrant teachers in NSW. The pre-employment tests for internationally educated teachers changed over two decades in an education system experiencing shortages of teachers in certain disciplines or geographical locations. The analysis shows that the Education Department made on-going corrections to the tests employed to measure or otherwise assess the internationally educated teacher. The ‘assessment-for-learning’ mode of testing proved useful for at least some internationally educated teachers preparing for entry into the local labour market and improved their competitiveness for a job in the local education system. Being tested on their knowledge of the local education system and its curriculum helped the new incoming internationally educated teachers to familiarise themselves with what was required for them to compete in the local job market for teachers. Others were concerned that the tests fixated on ‘facts’ to be learned, and less on questions to be asked, and various means for finding out answers.

Those responsible for controlling these tests cannot go on forever by ignoring the critiques made of them. They must respond to these critiques by incorporating at least some of the concerns raised. These corrective critiques take these tests seriously. They focus on effecting internal changes to the tests. Typical responses include using persuasive evidence to demonstrate that the critique is mistaken, or making the test stricter by refining it to accord with the governing principles. For instance, critiques of the marginalization of non-White, non-Western immigrants in

education in Western Anglophone nations have delivered celebrations of diversity. Even so, there is resistance to this in some instances. Often these celebrations last for a whole day, sometimes even longer, perhaps for an entire week. Pedagogically, these valuable and valued celebrations provide Anglophone education with funds of multicultural and cosmopolitan riches. Celebrating staff and students' ethnic, cultural and religious diversity recognises the need Anglophone education – and educators – have to win their support for English-only pedagogies and the privileging of Euro-American theorising of education, teaching and learning. More than this, these fiestas are especially important for securing the legitimacy of Western Anglophone education. They add weight to the claims these organisations and their leaders make on the cherished values of inclusion, respect and tolerance. These educators and their organisations are armed, and are seen to be armed with the power of the privileged framework necessary for identifying what 'diversity' is worth being celebrated by and with Anglophone students and teachers. These educational leaders, both men and women, assert a privileged framework for determining which internationally educated teachers (and students) deserve great praise for initiating these fiestas. These leaders feel very positive about immigrants working to celebrate this kind of diversity. This is rightly so.

No matter how short lived; these publicly funded educative celebrations can bring a sense of communal enjoyment and embodied exuberance to an otherwise lifeless campus. Celebrations of migrant diversity provide important tests whereby internationally educated teachers demonstrate the strength of their self-willed conversion – integration – into culturally acceptable objects of entertainment for their superiors and their followers (Singh 2005). Thus, there is considerable socio-political import of screening of 'ethnic' films, presenting displays of Chinese lion dancing, joining in Brazilian Capoeira dance-fight-games, playing African drums, and sharing of multicultural foods.

More pointedly, these celebrations are powerfully important tests of non-White, non-Western internationally educated teachers' conversion to Western Anglophone education's adversity to the theoretic-linguistic admixture made possible by the presence of non-Western immigrant and Indigenous teachers and students alike (Singh 2010). It is clear that Western Anglophone educational institutions do not add value to the diversity of languages present among internationally educated teachers (and students). Little attention is given to extending and deepening their bi- or multilingual capabilities. The diversity of languages and educational theories among internationally educated teachers is not mobilized to make the schools – or universities – in which they work stronger. Understandably such short-lived celebratory outbursts of immigrant cultural diversity do not bring valued and valuable educational knowledge to life, day-in-day-out throughout the academic year. Celebrations of diversity do not address – or redress – the sense of despair teachers, immigrants and non-immigrants alike, have regarding their career prospects, let alone their career trajectories in teaching, governance, supervision, research and educational management. The division of intellectual labour, between looking after people and things, rather than producing ideas and setting agendas, confronts many, but not all, internationally educated teachers, among other educators. This is one of the challenges critique, and thus educational change currently has to face.

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## Chapter 6

# Internationally Educated Teachers' Critiques of Tests of Their Employability

### Introduction

This chapter focuses on a new generation of critiques of these tests. These include concerns about inequality; disenchantment with the process and outcomes; trouble with their lack of authenticity; the dilemma of promoting privatized interests rather than social bonds; and worrying the oppression of teachers' freedom and creativity. The evidentiary analysis provides two interpretive schemas of the mechanisms of critique currently at work in efforts to establish a new test of the legitimate status of internationally educated teachers. The first indicates that internationally educated teachers are getting their bearings with regard to the local education system's principles and deduces some key concepts of what that means for the legitimacy of their intellectual status. The second schema contributes to refining these internationally educated teachers' critiques in terms of securing epistemic justice. Together this provides a basis for establishing educational principles to inform the making of new tests.

### Lack of Authenticity

Typically, no test can ever fully satisfy the requirements or expectations of the protagonists it engages. This is so with tests of the professional-English strengths of internationally educated teachers. For instance, the Teachers' Federation view is that internationally educated teachers "were not always aware of particular requirements for teaching in New South Wales (NSW) public schools. Whether this was the responsibility of the Department of Education and Training (DET) or the relevant university has been a moot point for some time" (NSW Teachers Federation 2007a, p. 1). Here the Teachers' Federation is putting the employers' to the test, regarding their responsibilities for retraining non-English-speaking internationally educated teachers by ensuring that they have the knowledge – and the English

language – required for competing in labour-market tests integral to gaining work in the state's public schools.

Given the assessment function of the pre-employment test for the internationally educated teachers, it is important to examine some of the problems this poses for them in gaining labour market information. Given that prior to 2004, the induction program was optional for internationally educated teachers, the interviews analysed in this section are from those who participated in a program of pre-employment tests which was introduced in that year. The pre-employment test provided a useful starting point in figuring out how the local education system works:

I found it useful. He [the Education Department official] is very engaging, I found that pretty useful. There were some things, it is a *shame* it could not be longer in some respects. There was a lot shuffled into two or three days. There almost needs to be this. I may well have missed some of these things because as I said the access to the website to let you know what you need to do is *not particularly clear* (Rose).

This 2 day pre-employment test was, however, too short for internationally educated teachers who needed a more detailed orientation to more aspects of the local education system. While information about the labour market for teachers can be accessed from the Education Department's website, it is not readily comprehensible for newly arrived internationally educated teachers:

You really are left on your own. Until that point in time where you have to do the two days with the Education Department and then obviously straight in at the deep end to two weeks in school. You do not get a chance to do any observations really of schools. You really are sinking or swimming which luckily for me was good. I am not so sure it is good for a lot of people (Rose).

Whether the pre-employment test could provide adequate orienting information and professional assistance for the internationally educated teachers is questionable. Teachers who had worked in a similar education system for 20 years could be confident in their competence to understand the labour market and conduct of work in a reasonably short timeframe. However, it is doubtful whether internationally educated teachers coming from dissimilar education systems or lacking in years of teaching experience could understand the new system in time pressured demands on migrant workers. Internationally educated teachers in this situation were left to 'sink or swim' by themselves. Anna shared her view on the usefulness of the pre-employment test:

The two week course with the workshops and being in schools is a good idea. Get an idea of how the schools are different, how the curriculum is different. I am not sure that for a country they are going to say, 'Yes this is equivalent'. I am not sure that they need to go through quite the rigmarole that they go through at the moment to get there (Anna).

A pre-employment test could be useful for internationally educated teachers from completely different education systems. While they needed to be tested on their understanding of the local education system, Anna doubted whether it was necessary for teachers from similar education systems to take part in the pre-employment test. Apparently, internationally educated teachers from the United Kingdom (UK) did not need to be tested on their knowledge of the local education system or its school culture. Coming from South Africa, Rebecca migrated for reasons of family reunion.

Her visa designated that she could only work in the rural area where her family lived. Before migrating, Rebecca was not aware of the tests used by the Education Department to register for access to the local labour market:

I was stuck here, not able to work, no money. Then I discovered that I had to do the Pre-employment Program [PeP], an eleven hour train trip to get to the state capital in order to do the course. That is not okay when you are that far away. You know to actually get down to the state capital. You do not always have access. The schools are also a little bit resentful of actually having to go through that process. But yes, it was good once it was done (Rebecca).

Typically, newly arrived internationally educated teachers do not have any clues about accessing the local labour market. Official recognition of academic qualifications is but a first step. There are further tests of strength required to secure supplementary qualifications necessary to secure a legitimate means for entering into the competition in the local labour market. The pre-employment test was a useful stimulus for learning about the local education system. In addition to requiring local teaching experience and qualifications, it is also difficult for local school officials to accept the different educational philosophies brought to this country by the internationally educated teachers, supposedly much in need locally.

Imagine having worked as an English literacy teacher and been a Deputy Head in a British school. Would such an internationally educated teacher expect resistance – very strong opposition – when she offered her teaching ideas about literacy? Magen claimed that she had ideas to help students to learn more words in a short time but she met resistance from the school Principal, denying her the chance to bring her literacy expertise to local public schools. She felt that as a foreigner, the education officials were saying, ‘do not come in here and tell us what to do’ (Magen). This raises the question of how to treat difference. Miller argues that:

though minor differences may be gently affirmed in depoliticised and decontextualised forms such as food, dance and festivities, substantive differences that challenge hegemony and resist co-option are usually perceived as deficient, deviant, pathological, or otherwise divisive. (2008, p. 22)

The misrecognition of the qualifications and work experiences of internationally educated teachers is a complicated issue. The evidence in this section comes mostly from unemployed internationally educated teachers who were unsuccessful in passing the tests necessary for gaining entry to the appropriate labour market, let alone getting the job they desired. However, the evidence might be different if it came from those internationally educated teachers who were successfully employed in the system. The evidence might also be different if it came from the local education authorities, given the difficult circumstances they face. Given that the Department of Immigration and Citizenship is the agency responsible for initially recognising the skills of internationally educated teachers at Federal level, their acceptance of overseas qualifications and experience might create a set of expectations that could not be met by a local Education Department. On the other hand, internationally educated teachers have to consider the problems that may occur and be prepared to face these before emigrating. However, the education and immigration agencies have to take responsibility to ‘untie the bell’ which they have assembled to attract

skilled migrant labour. Besides barriers in the registration process and the acceptance of overseas qualifications and experience, the internationally educated teachers also faced barriers to employment in their job hunting process.

The relationship between critique and change in education is complex. It is possible to employ Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) mode of criticality through reference to use of the concept of 'habitus'. This concept would lead to a characterization of domination, and its reproduction occurring through internationally educated teachers making uncritical, self-adjustment to tests of their strength and status. Internationally educated teachers would be portrayed as having little margin for exercising power, initiative or manoeuvres. Thus, it might be thought that internationally educated teachers' employment is determined decisively by the all-powerful socio-economic structures represented by these tests, and that they internalise the dominating norms that rationalise domination and its reproduction. However, a little scepticism is warranted here given the critiques that internationally educated teachers do mount, as evidenced in this chapter.

From a Bourdieuan perspective 'ordinary people' are not seen as critical or theoretical. Accordingly, any sense that internationally educated teachers have critiques or engage in theorising, or that these might have merit is rejected by those who employ such a framework. Critique is dismissed as partial at best, and as illusory at worst. The teachers are charged with being deceived by having unquestioningly internalised dominating norms. The internationally educated teachers' claims to understand their conditions are rejected as mere game playing on their part. This alternative mode of critique is concerned with unveiling for internationally educated teachers what the reality of the employment prospects is really like, and then leaving the field so that it can then be changed. The best that internationally educated teacher's critiques might do is secure corrections in tests that improve some particular aspects of their prospects for employment. However, these critiques are denounced because they fail to challenge the larger frameworks – capitalism, patriarchy, racism – in which they are embedded. Their capabilities for critique are ignored. Instead, the internationally educated teachers who provided the evidence analysed in this chapter would be seen as striving to give the appearance of having a masterful understanding of employment conditions, but ultimately failing to do so. We ask whether approaches modelled on Bourdieu's (1977) mode of criticality do little more than make critique the privileged reserve of enlightened sociologists and philosophers. This presumption to having a monopoly on critique in itself is an unwarranted form of intellectual domination. There is evidence of the teachers' union being united with these internationally educated teachers and linking them into the critiques advanced by the larger wage-earning class.

## Inequalities

For internationally educated teachers assigned to live and work in remote rural communities it is as difficult as it is uncomfortable to travel to the state capital for the pre-employment test, especially without any financial aid. Fees to secure entry to

the local labour market were integral to the testing regime. For instance, the 9 day practicum in schools, used to test the strength of internationally educated teachers' capabilities for providing high quality professional teaching to students, has its own financial costs:

employment applicants do not receive financial support from the Department of Education and Training during the mandatory seventeen-day program, they are required to meet living and travel costs associated with their participation in the program. Where recommended, employment applicants may accept a place on a Bridging Course. The Bridging course is provided on the basis of *cost recovery* and will involve the employment applicant in a minimum financial commitment of \$525 with the maximum being \$1,075. (NSW 2005, p. 3)

Part-time preparation courses and workshops, as well as the test itself are all administrated in the city centre. This makes it difficult for teachers who live in outer-suburbs, regional centres or remote areas to participate. The Teachers Federation (2007b) also questioned the test of the internationally educated teachers' professional English strengths due to its cost and administration in a single metropolitan location:

For reasons of both cost and the location of the testing centres, the Federation is pleased to note that there is more than one acceptable *test* available. The Federation has always been *concerned* that the only location where prospective teachers in public schools can sit the PEAT test required by the DET is in Sydney. *Travel and accommodation costs*, on top of the not insignificant fee for completing PEAT, have proven to be a considerable *barrier* for some teachers. (NSW Teachers Federation 2007b, p. 2, italics added)

Some internationally educated teachers elected not to participate in the test due to the high costs involved, and the uncertainty of test outcomes. Internationally educated teachers attracted to regional centres and inland communities where there are teacher shortages face the costs of travel to and accommodation in the state's major metropolitan centre, in addition to the fee to take the test. Compensating these teachers for the cost of undertaking the test, if it could not be conducted in non-metropolitan locations, was advocated by the Teachers Federation as a way of reducing participants' expenses.

Imagine migrating from Sri Lanka where you had studied in English from primary school through to tertiary education, and also spoke Tamil at home. You received a Bachelor's degree from a Sri Lankan university whose mode of education closely mimics that of Britain. All the college texts and library books you studied were written in English. Then you worked as a TESOL teacher in a Sri Lankan school, communicating with your students in English. Like Mayichin, you would have confidence in your English language proficiency and presume that you could pass any test of your professional English strengths. However, on her first try Mayichin only obtained a 'B' for all sections of the test, and not the four 'A's required to pass it. After this failure Mayichin did not retake the test until 4 years later, due largely to financial reasons:

The problem is that for the exam you have to pay a lot of money. At that time, when *we* migrated, we migrated under skilled migration, my skill. So after two years we were not given any social benefits so we had to find some jobs. So my husband did some *factory jobs*. *We did not have much money* at that time (Mayichin).

Because of such financial reasons the state's public schools are, potentially, losing much needed teachers. Internationally educated teachers understand the importance of passing this English language proficiency test to furthering their teaching career in their new homeland. However, as newly arrived immigrants they have to find work to support their families:

I thought it was a *waste of time and money* [to take the PEAT test], so that's why I did the exam again in early 2004, and got an A in reading only. So I had to do it again, so I did in 2004. I got an A for writing in April 2004. So I had passed two components. Then the other two, I completed in 2004. I completed all the components in 2004 (Chinmayi).

After taking the test four times over 4 years Chinmayi finally met all the requirements for PEAT. As an internationally educated teacher from a developing country, financial reasons kept Chinmayi away from both the test and the preparation course, suffering the financial penalty of not being able to seek employment as a teacher sooner. This reinforced her relative disadvantage in the labour market. The PEAT provider argued that it was not in its interests to conduct the test in regional areas:

1. The Professional English Assessment Test (PEAT) is administered by the Institute of Languages at the University and takes a full day to complete.
2. To properly conduct PEAT requires a specialised venue which must have desks and chairs separated by specific and reasonable distances and be equipped with a high quality sound system to ensure even delivery to all its parts so that no candidate is disadvantaged by poor coverage while they are undertaking the listening component.
3. Also the venues must have additional rooms or offices each with audio recording facilities, a table, two chairs and a whiteboard to enable individual candidates to complete the Speaking component.
4. For each sitting of the PEAT a range of specialised staff is required. These include invigilators to ensure the security of the conduct of the assessment, and examiners to undertake marking and conduct of the various components (NSW 2007, p. 1).

The inner metropolitan suburbs of the state capital are not among the places where there is a shortage of teachers. However, this is where the PEAT test is conducted. Apparently, the length of the test along with the facilities and security needed for the test do not make it feasible to conduct the PEAT test in regional locations. For some this might suggest developing a test that is fully operational in such settings in terms of participant numbers and costs. Further, it should be noted that:

The PEAT is conducted on a *user pays* basis and if it were conducted outside of the premises within [the university], expenses in addition to venue hire would include payment of staff and staff accommodation, travel and sustenance, making participation in the assessment more expensive. (NSW 2007, p. 1)

Some internationally educated teachers could spend \$1,500 dollars or more on travel and accommodation to participate in this pre-employment test. They also had to have too some form of income to sustain themselves, and often their family, while waiting to be allocated work in schools. These costs are real tests of strength for newly arrived immigrant families facing no guarantee of a teaching job. These costs

add to the financial burden of internationally educated teachers of securing a place from which to compete in the local labour market. This financial burden is an added hindrance to the recruitment of these teachers in some areas or disciplines due to their need to find alternative forms of employment in the interim.

Imagine working in Australian public school about 20 years ago after migrating from the UK, then going to Africa with one's husband. However, on returning to Australia you find that you cannot register with the Education Department even for a position as a relief teacher without going through the pre-employment test that had been instituted in the intervening years. This was Sophie's experience of the changed conditions governing her re-entry into the labour market. She had to submit herself to the pre-employment test:

The PeP was useful. It was nice to *meet the other people who were sort of in the same situation*. If I had been living in the State capital it would have been more useful to me because my area is a very small town. There are not a lot of schools (Sophie).

Gaining information about the local labour market for teachers – and its changes – is enhanced by communicating with other teachers and Education Department officials. Sophie valued the Pre-employment Program for enabling her to connect with other internationally educated teachers in similar circumstances. However, living in a remote community in the state, an area facing challenges in recruiting teachers, there were not many employment options for Sophie to choose – and due to the shortage of potential candidates, few potential recruits from which schools could choose.

Another interviewee, Paul came from the UK, and holds a Bachelor's degree in Computing Science and a Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE). He could not register as a teacher of Information Communication and Surveillance Technology (ICST) with the Department because his ICST teaching qualification was not recognised. Paul worked as a social worker and IT teacher in a British school for many years and emigrated for a change of lifestyle. As the family's breadwinner, Paul was eager to continue his teaching career, and assumed that his extensive experience in social work and networking IT systems would ensure him a job with the local Education Department. However, he failed the qualification recognition assessment as an ICST teacher, even though it was listed as a field in which there is a teacher shortage. He tried to negotiate with the Department, arguing that his previous work experience qualified him to work in local public schools as an ICST teacher. The response was that he could not be registered as a Computing Science teacher due to an absence in his ICST teaching qualifications:

They *didn't really explain* it. The short answer was that it [networking] does not appear on your qualifications, as a subject you have studied. Therefore, Department's assumption is that I was not qualified to teach ICST, but was qualified to teach computer studies. They were essentially *assessing* my qualifications rather than assessing what I've gained in experience and competency through being in the job (Paul).

Paul admitted that he did not hold the required qualifications in ICST networking and that he could not provide the evidence as demanded. However, he maintained that both his qualifications and his prior experience of teaching ICST in the UK should be considered during the qualification assessment process. Miller (2008, p. 17)

reports that internationally educated teachers experience a sense of polarization when their qualifications are rejected. Paul saw the need to weigh job applicants' practical work competencies and their qualifications:

It just seems so *ludicrous* because if only they'd sort of spoken with me during an interview, interviewed me and assessed me on my knowledge of networking, then they would have seen. I tried to prove myself (Paul).

Prior teaching experience overseas poses challenges for respect and valuing. The difficulties in doing this led to previous work experience in this field being rejected. Judging internationally educated teachers, by the 'paper work' alone does not help to pick out those experienced teachers who might bring valuable knowledge and skills to the Education Department, even though they might not have local qualifications. Typically, these teachers consider that their teaching experience and expertise are the most valuable strengths they bring to the local Education Department. Integral to their teaching strengths are their multi-language competence and knowledge of diverse education cultures. For those internationally educated teachers who had experience in senior positions of leadership they assumed that their schools management skills would also benefit the local Education Department.

Unfortunately for Paul, the current NSW qualification assessment system did not give him the chance to prove his competence in teaching information, communicative and surveillance technologies. This might be due to the inflexibility of the system, with the power of teacher recruitment for local public schools being in the hands of a central Government agency. Such registration and employment requirements 'have led migrants and their supporters to criticize those responsible for failing to move beyond tolerance and accept differences as valid and valuable expressions of the human experience' (Miller 2008, p. 16).

Internationally educated teachers engage in critique in their everyday lives. The forgoing evidence stands against Bourdieu's (1977) approach to critique as being the reserved of academics. These teachers have the capabilities for evaluating whether the tests of strength and status to which they are subjected are being handled adequately or not. Moreover, these teachers can and do critique those tests they see as inappropriate. These tests are not accepted as above and beyond question. These teachers' critiques are not a matter of private complaints or personal lamentations, but anchors for them to conceptualise a larger public interest in which they can be active participants. Here 'critique' concerns the everyday capabilities of internationally educated teachers to express their the discontent, indignation and lamentations necessary for producing new knowledge. This is a markedly different orientation to education, research and critique than that incited by Bourdieu's (1977) scholarship. When researching the Kabyle in Algeria, Bourdieu warns that

the informant's discourse, in which he [i.e. a Kabyle man] strives to give himself the appearance of symbolic mastery of his practice, tends to draw attention to the most remarkable "moves," i.e., those most esteemed or reprehended in the different social games rather than to the principle from which these moves and all equally possible moves can be generated, and which, belonging to the universe of the undisputed, most often remain in their implicit state. (1977, pp. 18–19)

This paradigmatic example of Bourdieu's idea of critique aims to reveal the forms of the socio-cultural unconscious through which domination is reproduced by the dominated, apparently as a way of achieving justice in the world. Here White Western (male) researchers are incited to use their power of critique against non-Western workers, directing it at generating undisputable universal principles in a game of intellectual esteem. However, given the argument advanced in this chapter, even critiques which claim to reveal "Whiteness," "Eurocentrism" and "masculinity" as integral super-structures of domination are questionable. This chapter raises the question of whether the only intellectual agents capable of experiencing, perceiving and conceptualizing injustice are those researchers who have specialist tools of critique that enable them to unveil domination. This is not the orientation to critique taken in this book. In contrast, this chapter focuses on internationally educated teachers' critiques, and is not locked into their habitus (Reay 2004). This orientation sees critique as being readily available to internationally educated teachers, rather than only privileged academic elites, and this allows for the exploration of issues unlikely to be addressed in studies based on the work of Bourdieu (1977).

## Oppression

Teachers' intellectual freedom and creativity is very important to education, especially to democratic education. Oppression of it is a major driver of teachers' everyday critiques. Karen is an internationally educated teacher who had taught for nearly 20 years in the UK and Papua New Guinea, and then 3 years in Victoria, another Australian state. For her the pre-employment test did not stimulate new learning:

*I did not learn anything new. You might say well, that is to do with you. However, I come from that perspective of – when you are sent on these things you should always try and find something to learn. You have as much of a responsibility as the person [the Education Department officer] who's actually presenting. What I learnt most was from the people who were actually there on the course. So it was actually being with that group of teachers to me that was the most rewarding part of the experience (Karen).*

The expectation that a pre-employment test should stimulate new learning was not always fulfilled. The pedagogy of the pre-employment test did not give internationally educated teachers any responsibility for managing their own professional learning, as it relied upon and was driven solely by the trainer. The pre-employment test could have been designed to have these teachers share knowledge which they had already gained about the local labour market for teachers. However, to assume that these teachers had knowledge to share with their peers would challenge the operating assumptions of the pre-employment test:

*Maybe that is not so true. The guy [the DET officer] who was presenting on the NSW curriculum, he did go into detail, the differences in terminology and that kind of thing. But if you cannot work it out should you be doing the job? You have got to be able to have that level of being able to find things out and look at curriculum documents. There is not going to be somebody telling you about it all the time (Karen).*

The pre-employment test was useful for assessing what internationally educated teachers should know about the local education system. However, it was not designed to have these teachers use their interdependent learning capabilities to access knowledge needed to secure entry into the local labour market. If the aim is to secure teachers to work in local public schools experiencing shortages of teachers then having a school-based pre-employment test might be more appropriate. Karen said the test 'should be devolved and localised because then you are more able to respond to the needs of the students, the teachers, the parents and the community.' Moreover, it is not necessarily a matter of knowing the differences (or similarities) among education systems: the curriculum, pedagogies and assessment processes are the most appropriate focus for such a pre-employment test:

It has been a *retrograde* step because what it has done is in a sense codified the knowledge base for teaching rather than opening it out, making it more enquiry based in my career. It is those enquiry skills that have been an important ability to find things out, find out about assessment, find out about this child (Karen).

The pre-employment test was not really helpful because it focused on pre-digested information as a way of initiating internationally educated teachers into the local education system. A more appropriate pre-employment test might assess the these teachers' enquiry and problem-solving capabilities. Assessing their capabilities for professional learning through inquiry would seem preferable to having them learn what is in official codified documents. In this regard the pre-employment test employed a conservative approach to professional learning.

Judy, a teacher from the United States of America (USA), arrived on an independent skilled migrant visa, and as such had passed the test that entitled her to apply for permanent positions in local public schools. After arriving she worked in a private American school until it closed down. However, when seeking a job in the public education system she was advised of the range of tests she had to undertake before getting 'approval to teach':

I had to go through the Teacher Initiation Program [PeP], which is pretty much you go for an in-service. They teach you *how to be Aussie for a day*. They tell you how to *talk like an Aussie*, how to relate to people as an Australian. Then you have to teach in the government schools for free for about two and a half weeks before they will approve you to teach in NSW. This is degrading at the best of times (Judy).

There is a concern that the pre-employment test had missed its central purpose, which was to test internationally educated teachers' understanding of the local education system and not its educational culture. The conversion of teachers from other education systems and cultures into "Australian teachers" was regarded as humiliating:

I was sitting in a room with *professionals from all over the world* who had Masters' and Doctorates. They were sitting in a program for a day *telling us how to be Australian*. It was very *degrading* (Judy).

The pre-employment test was criticised for demeaning internationally educated teachers, their education and teaching experiences. In particular, it was criticised for

trying to convert them into ‘Australian teachers’. The knowledge represented by these teachers’ qualifications and experiences was not valued or seen as valuable in this pre-employment test. The way these teachers were treated was also cause for concern:

I did not see it [PeP] as necessary in order to teach. The mentality is trying *to make people that come here ‘more Australian’*. Instead [they should be] looking at the fact that they are from different countries and that is an attribute, they can bring things to the culture here that someone born and raised here would not be able to do. I do not think the Education Department sees *foreign teachers as a valuable attribute*. They only see them as a detriment (Judy).

For internationally educated teachers who regarded themselves sufficiently qualified to teach in local public schools the pre-employment test was dismissed as irrelevant. This was especially so, because it marginalised and disregarded the intellectual assets – the knowledge of education, teaching and learning – and the languages – that they were bringing to local public schools. The pre-employment test was criticised for paying excess attention to converting these teachers into being ‘Australians’ rather than testing the knowledge and skills of teaching and learning they could bring to local schools and students. Internationally educated teachers gained a sense of themselves posing risks to the local education system and its students. The pre-employment test was meant to judge whether they had converted to Australian standards of schooling, but did not assess any benefits they present for the multicultural education agenda proclaimed by the Education Department.

Anita has a Bachelor’s Degree in Education and a Master’s degree in Child Development, with many years work experience in pre-primary and primary schools in India. During the registration process, the Education Department misrecognised her qualifications, and designated her as a secondary teacher. This has meant she cannot get a job in primary schools with her Indian qualifications and experiences. This is what she wants:

Because I am a graduate and post-graduate, I was told that is why I am qualified as a high school teacher not as a primary school teacher. I argued a couple of times but they are so *stubborn*. They *didn’t listen* to anything. They said, ‘No, you are approved under our guidelines’. I am approved only for being a high school teacher. I have to teach only in a high school (Anita).

Being trained as an early childhood teacher in India, Anita felt that she was not fit to teach in a local high school. She started looking for early childhood and primary teaching jobs but was not successful because she did not have qualifications that passed the test of recognition by local officials. This was despite her having considerable relevant work experience. Then she met another challenge:

When I went for interviews for childcare, they told me that *they do not recognise this assessment* because you should have assessment from another Department, one dealing with Community Services. So, I went to the Department of Community Services. They said, ‘okay, *you have no primary teaching*. You have to do an early childhood qualification from here. You may get some exemptions.’ (Anita).

A few years later, under a new Government, the Department of Education and Community Services were amalgamated. However, after being declined by many employers and after a bewildering assessment of her teaching qualifications, Anita sought local qualifications, only to get work as an early childhood teacher's aide:

Everywhere I am going *they want to see the local qualification*, the local Certificate III, 'have you done Certificate III?, have you done the Diploma?'. So basically it's a *rejection* of my overseas qualifications. They are not accepting these qualifications. Whatever else they are saying – what I can use outside this country – that's not true. I have actually faced it; *they are not accepting my overseas qualifications or overseas experience*. Basically, it is *discrimination* (Anita).

Anita paid \$1,600 to gain the Certificate III as a 'knocking brick' to apply for jobs. The Certificate III is a much lower level qualification compared to her Master's degree in Child Development. Even though she now holds the Certificate III, she is still not recognised as a qualified early childhood teacher, and so is paid at a lower level because she does not hold a local Bachelor's degree in Early Childhood Education. Miller (2008, p. 18) argues that 'overseas qualifications and work experience are consistently undervalued, the result of which is wage gaps for overseas trained workers, particularly those of colour'.

Disappointment and depression come with the tests that devalue internationally educated teachers' qualifications and experiences for the local public schools. Anita migrated with her husband, who was a lecturer at a University in India. Prior to migration, they had worked in Italy for 2 years. They then decided to migrate to an English-speaking country with a pleasant natural and social environment. But the rejection of her qualifications and experience gave Anita a very bad experience, 'I do not have local experience, local qualifications' (Anita).

Tests which devalue overseas qualifications devalue internationally educated teachers' theoretical and linguistic assets, as much as their professional experiential knowledge: 'Minority ethnic individuals, especially from the Indian sub-continent, with high educational and occupational qualifications, experienced downward professional mobility after arriving in the United Kingdom' (Miller 2008, p. 20). Canadian researchers Walsh and Brigham (2007, p. 2) found that 'general barriers include the sense that previous teaching experiences are not valued, as well as difficulties with language and accent, in terms of both personal concerns about proficiency and discrimination on the basis of accent regardless of proficiency'. Miller (2008, p. 21) argues that 'non-recognition of overseas qualifications and prior work experience can be attributed to a "deficit model" of difference'.

Integral to these internationally educated teachers' orientations to educational change and critique is the materiality of their reflections on their daily lives. It is the capabilities for critique employed by these teachers – as well as principals, senior education officers, union delegates, parents and students – that enable them to denounce tests of their status, and enable the strength to fight the injustices and the insecurities these tests cause. In contrast, from a Bourdieuan orientation, these internationally educated teachers would be regarded as merely drawing attention to the disjunctions between their own employability and the tests imposed on them. Moreover, the Bourdieuan claim would be that these teachers fail to understand the

conditions that make these injustices possible and so are unable to affect the means necessary to change their situation. They would be said to ‘misrecognise’ (Bourdieu 1977) the injustices they are subjected to. These tests are constituted through structures governing the labour market for teachers, and are engaged by internationally educated teachers who hold differing norms. The forgoing critiques by these teachers are necessary, but not necessarily sufficient to compel testing authorities to justify these tests and the modes of control they effect on the employment prospects of internationally educated teachers. That these teachers who are subject to these tests of their strength and status do make critiques of them, breaks from the constricted, deterministic concepts made available by Bourdieu (1977).

## Disenchantment

Disenchantment on not passing tests provides a further stimulus for critique. Mayichin explained the strategies she used to pass this test:

in reading comprehension, what I did, I am slow, you have to increase your speed – it was ok. But the questions are based on the school system, so I have to read about the school policy for the PEAT. Even the questions they ask are for speaking and how you are reading with the school system. To *know the school system* here, I learned, I went to a course, I followed a course, but I did ok. I could have done better. I did not study.

Having a variety of school experiences, in addition to working as a classroom teacher may help some teachers succeed in tests of their ‘teachers’ professional English’. For instance, Alka, an internationally educated teacher from coup-troubled Fiji, was well-pleased with passing the test on her first try. Alka had received a bilingual education in English and Hindi from primary school:

I know friends *who* were able to pass at first attempt; I did. It could be my exposure. I was *not just a classroom teacher*. I was involved in other [educational work], like marking of exams and in setting up for exams for senior level (Alka).

A reason for Alka passing this test related to her previous professional experience in classroom teaching and school administration. The latter gave her valued and valuable experience in writing school English and understanding school reports and administrative procedures. It could be this diversity of educational experiences that was being tested here.

However, not all the internationally educated teachers pass a test of ‘teachers’ professional English’ the first time they take it. Not passing such a test is a reason for disenchantment. A test of teachers’ professional English is deliberately designed to test English language proficiency of these teachers as well as their familiarity with the working of the school system in which they intend to compete for employment. Of course, not all of these teachers concur with this combination of functions:

Part of the problem with the PEAT test is of course, it *tests* not just English but English in relation to working in NSW schools. The content is about ‘do you understand the language, the vocabulary of working in NSW schools?’ (Nita).

While the Education Department provides specific courses for internationally educated teachers to help them prepare for this test, they may fail because of the requirements to know the language of schooling. As the holder of a Master's degree in Education, Roni was very confident about her English language proficiency. However, Roni had to do the test twice; she passed three components the first time and passed the writing component the second time. She said:

I believe my writing is also very good but at that time I did not know anything about the Australian educational system. They were asking about writing reports or notes for excursions, so I needed to *use specific language* in that respect. I had no clue (Roni).

Having high-level proficiency in English is not a guarantee that internationally educated teachers will pass a test of 'teachers' professional English'. They are also being tested on the strength of their appreciation and comprehension of the local state education system. This is a necessary qualification for joining the competition for jobs in the state's public schools.

Vanessa started with the stories of two of her colleagues. They were locally trained teachers who had few years teaching experience in the country and had worked overseas for several years. However, she reported that they found they could not find appropriate jobs which matched their qualifications and experiences after going back to the country. This was because their overseas teaching experiences were not accepted by the local Education Department. Vanessa said: 'Just imagine what it is like for people not from here trying to negotiate it. I think there is something very badly organised and designed.' She continued with the claim that the Education Department does not have:

a fast track or a different track or a 'let us negotiate' track, it's ... you know, I'm all for *raising standards* and everything else and I think – if this all works in this country and people are true to those guidelines and those accreditations you will find that the *dead wood* will retire. Hopefully you will get that fresh staff (Vanessa).

Familiarity with the details of the Education Department's recruitment policies is a key requirement for internationally educated teachers. Vanessa held the view that the accreditation process should give recognition to teachers' international experiences and qualifications:

The intentions of [qualification recognition] are good but perhaps things have *not really* caught *up* with each other. This is a real difficulty for the image of the profession and for people coming in. I have no quarrels with the intentions, not at all (Vanessa).

Internationally educated teachers seek employment in the private or Catholic sector because they could not work out how the system worked in the Education Department. Vanessa said they did so because of the inflexibility in treating internationally educated teachers, their qualifications and experiences. These comments make it appear that there are few incentive mechanisms to inspire and attract the immigrant, but many barriers. Vanessa said one of her friends faced the problem of relating her previous working experience to the Department's requirements:

She was a social worker, but she had not got the *qualification*. She understood her situation but even so, she had a lot of *skills*, she had done a lot of special education that I had done. But she was from a different background. There was absolutely *no flexibility* for her to do

anything even as a teacher's aide. She looked around, and the only thing she could find when she got here was working in a *very exploitative situation* in a tutoring college. She could see the only way she was going to get ahead or get a job was to go back to University full-time and do the '*whole Australian thing*' (Vanessa).

Where this is so, the current system is losing potential teachers due to a lack of acceptance of the overseas experiences and qualifications of internationally educated teachers. Even locally-trained teachers who had overseas work experiences were also not given recognition for this. Sophie worked with a different Education Department for 2 years, teaching music. She left the country to work in Africa as an overseas trained teacher due to her husband's job commitment. Sophie was surprised when she found that she could not find a job with her former Education Department after investing 12 years teaching in Africa:

I was away for twelve years and when I came back they said, 'Oh, no. We do *not take any references* for people who have come from overseas. We will *not accept any references* older than three years.' So I had to start again as though I was a beginner in the whole process, to get my qualifications all done (Sophie).

Local teachers with international teaching experience may not get jobs in public schools. Ironically, this meant neither Sophie's local or international teaching experiences counted. She had to start from the beginning, gaining local teaching qualifications and recognition.

Qualification recognition problems can occur during the assessment process. Rebecca was a South African teacher who taught students from Years 4 to 9 and another two subjects for Year 12, and had South African teaching qualifications. She was called a 'middle school teacher' in South Africa. However, there was no connection between her South African teaching qualifications and those recognised locally because officially there is no 'middle school' sector in Australia. As a consequence, Rebecca's 'middle school' qualifications were only recognised for a teacher in local infant and primary schools, even though she had no work experience or studies as an infant teacher:

When I queried it they said to me obviously the original *assessment* was actually done at a Federal level ... that is the way they do it. They actually have either primary or secondary, there is *no in-between* (Rebecca).

Having gained Federal approval to migrate on the basis of being a teacher it is then possible for internationally educated teachers not to pass State-level qualification assessments. Rebecca's pre-immigration skills recognition test was initially completed at the Federal level. However, on arrival she found her qualifications did not meet the requirements of the State-level test. This means that passing the skills recognition at the Federal level does not guarantee internationally educated teachers will pass the State qualification assessment. Being a teacher at the State level does not match with skills which migrants are told they need at the Federal level. Miller observes that:

the claimed neutral assessment and measurement usually disguises itself under the cloak of 'professional standard', 'quality' or 'excellence' without questioning *whose* standard is put into place and whose interests it represents. Although migrants are allowed into the country, professional standards deny them access to proper employment in their professions. (2008, p. 23)

After migration Rebecca settled in a remote, rural community. Rebecca came to enjoy teaching part-time in an infant and primary school, although she had no previous experience working with infants. There is no 'middle school' in this community which frequently experiences a teacher shortage. However, the best Rebecca could do to improve her status was get permission to work as a casual teacher in the local high school.

Internationally educated teachers can and do engage in the intellectual labour of theorising about the unacceptable realities of their lives and formulating critiques to correct these. How then are we to understand those modes of critique given that they stand in opposition to Bourdieu's (1977) agenda? A counter-construction of Bourdieu's (1977) proposition would read their theorizing as evidence of a move by internationally educated teachers against such conservative theoretical politics. This counter-claim is based on an assumption of an symmetry in critical capabilities, a presupposition of intellectual equality. Bourdieu's (1977) modes of critique are employed to unmask, or otherwise reveal, all that needs to be known about domination in order to reproduce inequality. The problem here is that what these teachers' really want to know is how to change their socio-economic conditions through gaining employment as teachers. Bourdieuan critiques strive to give the appearance of a masterful understanding of the conditions of teachers, usually by drawing attention to the remarkable features of their own conceptual tools of critique (e.g. habitus). However, the irony is that these Bourdieuan critiques are produced – and can only be produced – by collecting and analysing the critiques of such teachers as these. Bourdieu's (1977) critiques of the Kabyle do not provide a satisfactory template for educational researchers to generate pictures of the capabilities internationally educated teachers have for theorising and critique. The modes of critique these teachers make of the tests of their strength and status are something which researchers can add value to. Bourdieuan critiques can be rejected as arrogant game playing because they fail to generate any esteem for internationally educated teachers' theorising and critiques, seeing them instead as being deceived.

## Conclusion

Chapter 6 contributes to efforts to renew the forms, aims and content of critique needed to effect changes in education, and specifically in the labour market for teachers. It explored the prospects internationally educated teachers' critiques have for transforming the tests of their employability. Their critiques of these tests focus on concerns about inequality; disenchantment with the process and outcomes; troubles over the tests' lack of authenticity; the dilemma of promoting privatized self-interests rather than social bonds, and worries about the oppression of teachers' freedom and creativity. Two points are important to note here: first these are the teachers' critiques, and second their critiques are aimed at transforming and reconstituting these tests, not merely correct them as was the case presented in Chapter 5. They cannot do this alone; here is a work for educational researchers, unions, professional associations and government agencies.

A key conclusion here is that transformative critiques are necessary for effecting change in education and other spheres. Related to this, is the conclusion that educational research needs to go beyond understanding the dreams, aspirations and sensibilities of internationally educated teachers to foreground their intellectual agency – their critiques – and the labour they invest in mobilizing transformative critiques. This chapter has shown how these teachers mount critiques of the employability tests to which they are subjected. This provides insights into the potential of migrant workers, including teachers and those who have a stake in redressing these concerns to mobilize transformative critiques of teaching and the conditions of labour in the twenty first century. The evidence presented in this Chapter makes visible the teachers' critiques over these employability tests and has added value to these through their systematic elaboration. They engage in every-day disputation over the criteria used to justify these tests; they need not do this alone.

This Chapter points to the importance of these teachers' capabilities, and thus that of other more organized agencies, for employing critiques for collaborating in effecting change to re-order the structures of employability. These teachers' transformative critiques raise issues of what it means for a country to recruit 'skilled immigrants' or 'knowledge workers' when the prevailing tests of the internationally educated teachers' employability privilege monolingual, English-only capabilities. In the context of competition in global multilingual knowledge economies, symbolised by the emergence of the second 'Asian Century', multilingual capabilities are especially significant for the local/global mobility of students and teachers. Their transformative critiques open up for exploration the disjuncture between claims about the national importance of world's multilingual knowledge-based economies and the potential that these multilingual teachers have for contributing new knowledge of education, teaching and learning in countries ostensibly committed to engaging the 'Asian Century'.

The critiques by these internationally educated teachers bring into the focus prior knowledge and understandings of education, teaching and learning that can contribute to the education of an otherwise parochial, nation-centred public. These teachers are not concerned with correcting existing tests, nor are they concerned to seeing how these tests might operate more satisfactorily. Their critiques are not directed at making necessary mere technical to these tests, rather they are critical of the goals these tests are supposed to meet. Instead these teachers' are engaged in transformative critiques which are directed at thwarting the inequality, disenchantment, inauthenticity and oppressive character of these tests. These teachers do not want their critiques marginalized by being reduced to concerns related to simply rectifying minor problems in the existing employability tests. These teachers want to replace existing tests with tests that recognise the value and acknowledge as valuable their international mindedness as manifested in their multilingual and intercultural capabilities. These teachers' transformative critiques dispute the tests themselves, criticising the monolingual, nation-centred doctrine on which existing employability tests are based.

Of course, it would be possible to write off all those who make corrective critiques as unconsciously participating in an un-reflexively manner in the complexities and contingencies of of transnational labour markets. The Bourdieuan supposition would be that internationally educated teachers buy into labour market

bargains that are false, contradictory and against their own best interests. In effect the claim could be that these teachers represent another instance of people being purportedly taken-in by their own gross misunderstanding of their situation. These employability tests would then supposedly show that these teachers have 'common' misunderstandings of their circumstances, and that their aspirations are framed by popularised, mediated myths. However, Chaps. 5 and 6 provide little evidence to invest confidence in such Bourdieuan suppositions. The teachers in this study are aware of the concrete, every-day, meaningfulness of the tests governing their employability and the range of alternatives. What they lack is the power, resources and opportunities to solidify and mobilise their transformative critiques. This then poses new challenges for unions, government agencies, migrant organizations, teacher education and educational research.

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# Chapter 7

## Global Teachers Living and Teaching in Australia

### Introduction

In previous chapters we have looked at the journey of global teachers who come to Australian classrooms. There are two major hurdles that every global teacher must jump. The first is their immigration hurdle: they must be accepted as immigrants and receive the official documentation – passports, visas – that will permit them to go global. Chapter 4 looked at their immigration stories: their pathways to Australia; the countries they had lived and worked in before coming to Australia; the social networks and personal relationships that influenced their decision to move to Australia and the visas they used to gain entry to Australia. The second hurdle is their professional hurdle: they must be accepted as teachers by the education authorities where they live in their host country, or succeed in what Bourdieu (1984) calls their capital reconversion, but with international dimensions. Chapters 5 and 6 looked at the processes that this human capital reconversion entails, the tests that immigrant teachers must pass and how this changes over time. These chapters also looked at the experiences – mainly frustrations and delays – that immigrant teachers reported in this regard.

We now come to the stage in our story of global teachers in Australia where they have been accepted as immigrant teachers: they have the paperwork that says that they can now teach in one of the Australian states. This chapter takes up the story and looks at the experiences of immigrant teachers in Australian schools and Australian communities. Central to this part of the global teacher journey is the racialization (Miles 1993) that they face in schools and communities because of the makers of their ‘immigrant-ness’, or their difference when compared to non-immigrant teachers: their accent, the colour of their skin, their dress, cultural difference and their international teaching experiences. This difference has a number of dimensions: linguistic difference if their first language is not English and accent differences even if it is; cultural differences; religious differences; education experiences in universities in different countries; teaching experiences in classrooms in different countries; different appearances and dress. Global teachers can experience

problems that emerge from racialized responses to their cultural differences in Australian schools and communities. This chapter explores the experiences of our immigrant teacher informants when they achieve their professional mobility goal and are appointed to an Australian school.

## Experiences in Their New Schools

Most immigrant teachers are relieved when they finally negotiate all the bureaucratic red tape of the Australian State Education Departments: the recognition of their teaching qualification, certification of their teaching experience, passing of English-language tests if required, registration with the College of Teachers or equivalent body, completion of Induction Program(s), surviving their practical experience in Australian classrooms, finding a vacancy in a school, applying and getting accepted by that school, moving to where the school is located, finding accommodation, settling in. All this happens before arriving for their first day at their new school, before meeting fellow teachers, their students and the parents.

Some immigrant teachers reported difficult experiences in their first appointment in an Australian school. A Bosnian male teaching Science in Sydney, who came to Australia 11 years ago said:

Regarding my experience, ah, I would say for beginning teachers I think it's [a] really big issue and it's not quite managed well. My experience was very bad, I didn't have almost any support in my first school, [the] head teacher was completely uninterested to do anything and to consider any of difficulties.

Devleena, an Indian woman who was appointed to rural NSW schools, also had a very difficult experience with students because she was used to different behavioural standards in Indian schools:

see you are coming from a country where your behaviour management is completely different from what you see here, like as a new migrant when you are put into a school where there is a lot of behavioural problem, and that's where you will be starting with... For me it was shocking when I started, actually, it was a real shocker. I couldn't cope at all very well. For four years, I couldn't cope – the whole thing – and I was literally in tears for half the time.

A global teacher is not only one who has successfully navigated red tape and taught in schools in more than one country, but one who in the process of global mobility deals with a classroom of students from a diverse range of cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds. Australia is one of the world's more multicultural societies. This is a product of the sustained Australian immigration program that also caught global teachers in its net. In the major cities like Sydney, Melbourne and Perth, about 60 % of the population are first and second generation immigrants from all corners of the globe. Some of these immigrants are professionals and skilled immigrants but others are refugees, some are permanent residents and others on temporary visas. Moreover, while most immigrants settle in large Australian cities, an increasing number are settling in regional and rural areas. One consequence of these

patterns of immigration is that the classrooms of Australia schools are populated with students of very diverse ethnic, religious, linguistic and class backgrounds. Some are newly arrived, others settled for many years or decades, while others are the children of seasonal workers. This can create challenges for all teachers, immigrant or not.

Paul, an English teacher who followed his non-teacher Australian wife Pamela to Australia from London, a number of times, and is now settled and teaching in Sydney, recounts his experiences of a multicultural school:

from a multicultural point of view this school that I'm at in Maroubra [has] kids from different islands in the pacific to [students] from Thai to Laos, to Vietnam to Indonesia and the people and names – and looking [at] people that I've never experienced before and everyone just mixes, and I don't see it – necessarily see big gangs of one kind of race hanging out together, this may happen in the suburbs.

Similarly a male Nigerian teacher working at Newman High School in remote WA commented on the very culturally-diverse backgrounds of the 300 students at the school:

they're from all over the place... They've come from Fiji, they've come from China, they've come from other places. Some [are] Anglo Celtic and some African, we've got kids from everywhere, as the mining... We have people from lots of different areas.

Multicultural teaching competency is not a formal or informal requirement to be accepted as an immigrant teacher in Australian schools. Nevertheless the pre-Australian teaching experience of immigrant teachers can be an asset in dealing with the cultural diversity in their Australian classrooms. Take the example of Sue, a single mother with US teaching qualifications and 11 years' experience of teaching in US schools, who discusses her experience in a WA school, teaching Intensive English with Aboriginal, African and Muslim students in her classroom. This teacher puts her ability to deal with these issues of racism and cultural diversity in a sensitive way because of her teaching experiences in the USA:

I think because my very first teaching job I was in Fort Worth, Texas and it was an all black school and I was the only white teacher on staff and there was two white kids in the school, and I felt it the opposite way, you know being outnumbered and feeling it, and growing up in the south western part of America I had no idea that schools were like that until I got out of university. I just thought everybody was like me and thought everybody was the same as everybody else, and I think that that experience makes me over sensitive to those issues.

## Discrimination and Racism

In Chap. 3 we reported that the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrant in Australia (LSIA) reported that 10 % of immigrant teachers reported that they had experienced 'a lot' of racial discrimination in Australia while another 40 % reported they had experienced 'a little' racial discrimination in Australia. The data did not unpack this to distinguish between racist experiences in schools and in the community. In our

survey of immigrant teachers in three states, also reported in Chap. 3, we found that 15 % of teachers reported that they had experienced difficulties with racism and/or discrimination in Australian schools.

Some immigrant teachers report experiences of racism from fellow staff, including supervisors. A female from India who taught in a western suburbs school in Sydney had this story: ‘my supervisor, who was supposed to supervise me when I was teaching – she was very racist, she discouraged me continuously, you can’t do teaching, this is not the right kind of job for you’. Her husband, a Sikh, recounted negative responses to his turban when applying for a teaching job in Sydney:

and I can give you one example, like for the racism, or discrimination maybe, in one of the interviews... I was new at that time in Australia. One of the panel members, she said to me, ‘you will have better chances of getting a job if you look like others’. She was obviously referring to my turban, because I am wearing a turban so she was obviously referring to my turban.

Natasha, a Serbian teaching in a school north of Perth, recounted a similar story of racism directed to an immigrant teacher from other teachers because of their difference:

I remember something. We had a French teacher, a few years ago. As soon as he came to photocopy something, two to three teachers came out from our Department, jump on him, because he’s Arab, oh, and they had all these remarks and I said ‘guys, what did they do to you to tell all these things’ you know... (???) and he resigned.

According to one female immigrant teacher in the remote WA town of Headland, immigrant teachers do have problems from students because of their cultural and linguistic difference: ‘I worked with a lot of teachers at Hedland, at Hedland Junior High, who were from Africa, Asia, and they had real problems because of the discipline issues and the language issues and refugee kids as well up there’.

## Racialised Responses to Immigrant Teachers’ Accents

Perceptions of discrimination and racism took a number of forms. One related to responses to the immigrant teachers’ accent, especially in classroom settings. A number of immigrant teachers from Africa and Asia reported negative responses to their accent, as did teachers with American and Irish accents. Some commented that their accent had been mimicked, and in some cases mocked, or that other negative feedback had occurred as a result of it. As one Korean woman, Rebecca, teaching in South Australia put it: ‘they pick up the accent, even my English, no matter how long I speak English I will always have my accent’. Natasha, a Serbian teaching in the outskirts of Perth, reported very strong negative responses to her accent from fellow teachers, students and parents. Here is her take on responses to teacher accents in Australian schools:

you won’t be accepted if you don’t have at least Scottish and Irish accent...the supervisor [responded positively to a] prac[tice] teacher [who] was Irish, from Belfast, and she had [a] very strong accent, and the supervisor said ‘oh, I love this accent’, and a lot of Australians

love English, Irish and Scottish accents because of the background and all this, they love it, and more than, probably, Australian accents... We had a French teacher from Mauritius, that was okay, a Japanese teacher from Japan, that was okay, that's advantage...[but if] the Japanese and Chinese are teaching Maths? Like I have... all the parents are protesting all the time, and the kids too.

A male American teaching in South Australia reported that: 'I have had the experience of students standing up in class and saying "I hate you, I hate all Americans"'. One female from a school just north of Perth reported the following experience:

Yesterday, I got a new class, Year 9 students; it happened that the other teacher was doing something else so they asked me to go to that class, and I came to the class and they started laughing. And I said 'why are you laughing guys?' And they said, 'oh, your accent is so funny'. I said, 'oohh, and then you have to laugh so much'. I wasn't [pauses – very upset].

Another Teacher in WA with and Irish accent reported one incident with students in the classroom: "you must find my accent, because you know being a bit Irish, you know, you must find my accent very strange here in Australia", and they said "no no, you just go wah, wah, wah". A female teacher in NSW said: 'I just felt, I always felt self conscious, I always felt that my accent – all the way interfering with my knowledge, so, yeah, I wasn't comfortable'. Such racist responses to immigrant teachers by students hit these teachers hard. As one female teacher in a regional school north of Perth put it: 'it makes me feel devalued as a person because he's telling me a blatant lie, and I think just because I've got an accent doesn't make me stupid'.

An African male teacher in WA:

I remember one [inaudible] class – more or less problems with my accent. I was talking to a student and said 'Okay guys, you all complain about my accent, but I can also complain about you back talking me when I am talking, you can't pay attention you can't understand my accent, I have to pay attention to understand your accent and I expect the same', and I think having it out with that class and repeating the same thing over time we have come to reach an understanding.

A similar story is told by Sue, an American female teacher – a single mum – who we met earlier in this chapter. Sue was teaching in Perth and reported negative responses to her from other staff, from: 'other teachers, my line manager, it's [my American accent] seen as a threat if you try to improve anything, and I can't tell you the amount of times I've been told "stop it you American"'. Sue reported experience of social isolation in the staffroom: 'it's like when I worked in Texas, it's the good old boy network, you know, if you're not part of that. And at my school it's called the purple circle'. But the students in her classroom responded very positively to her and her American accent:

they love it because of the media, so I'm cool, I'm hip, I can rap, I can dance, I can play basketball, you know, all the stereotypes, they all want to talk like me, pronounce their 'r's at the end of their words, I'll be standing there teaching American English to African kids in Australia and they love it, that is the best part of my job, anytime I'm with any students it is just fantastic.

Some immigrant teachers did report instances of what they perceived as racism from students. Here is an account of Mehmed, a Bosnian male Science teacher in a NSW school:

Last year, somewhere in the end of the year, I have reported three guys in Year 11 that I was, ah, sort of provoked and discriminated [against] because of my accent, they did that purposely when I was telling them ‘you should go somewhere from here’ or ‘move’ or ‘you [are] out of bounds’. They said ‘what?, I don’t understand you’ and such things, so I reported this as sort of a provocation and discrimination to the Deputy Principal.

A successful intervention by the Principal resolved the situation. Similarly, Binod, another NSW male teacher from India, recounts the following experience of racism:

There is racism, and especially from the students here. They will laugh at you... The ‘curry munchers’, they’ll talk about you like that and the words sound differently from them. I heard at the beginning – I used to tell my head teacher, ‘some Year 7, Year 8 when I had them for the first time, they’ll try to use the word “curry muncher” in front of me for me to hear, so I’ll turn around and give them a smile and say “oh, I love my curry”’.

## Racial Discrimination in Schools

Racial discrimination at work has a number of dimensions. Sometimes it means not getting a job interview in the first instance, if it is apparent in the written application that a person is of minority cultural, linguistic or religious background (Booth et al. 2009). Other times it takes the form of getting to the interview stage but not getting the job. Another form of racial discrimination occurs *after* getting the job: immigrant minorities in this instance get overlooked for promotion or for selection in employment training and other opportunities that will assist a worker to climb the job ladder at a rate that is commensurate to his or her ability.

In our survey of immigrant teachers reported in Chap. 3 we found that immigrant teachers were fairly evenly split in their response to the question: ‘Immigrant teachers in Australia are as likely to be promoted as non-immigrant teachers to jobs for which they are qualified and eligible.’ In relation to the concern about fairness in employment and promotion, it is interesting to note that only one teacher interviewed reported promotion within an appropriate timeframe (2 years) of beginning teaching in Australia. She had taught for 16 years in a number of countries but the recognition was purely based on her teaching in Australia.

A young Chinese-background immigrant teacher, Catherine, felt that being of an ethnic minority background would make it harder to gain promotion: ‘Yeah, and, sometimes it’s a bit hard for ethnic Australians to get into the top positions. This is true in the profession, for local teachers, and sometimes this is hard, so what I’m looking at is just do my job well and make a difference in my expertise, that’s it, yeah’. A young woman of American background commented: ‘I have also experienced a lot of professional prejudice, because I never understood the tall poppy

syndrome, but I understand it now'. Charles, the British immigrant from the focus group of teachers in the large WA coastal town of Carnarvon reported above, was concerned that he could not apply for promotion:

I've been teaching now for nearly ten years...I was a head of a Department in Scotland, and I was led to believe that although I couldn't transfer as a Head of a Department when I got here I would be able to apply for a promotive post, but I've since found out that that's not the case, and so being in Carnarvon – I was just sent here, placed here and it's fine, it's a nice town and the school is very very different to anywhere else I have ever taught before, but certainly whether I would stay on here, I don't know, because I find it bizarre that they won't allow you to apply for promotive posts, if you are on a 457 [Visa].

Andrew, also teaching in Carnarvon, complained at the injustice immigrant teachers on 457 Visas face with regard to lack of promotion opportunities:

At the end of last term a bunch of promotion positions had come up, our Level 3s had all left, pretty much all together and after a change in the administrative plan, and so new positions came up, and we were all... They were advertised and then we were sent an email from the head to say that we were all not eligible to apply for these positions because we were on 457 Visas... There is not one [teacher with a] 457 [Visa who] has a decent position in our school and yet there are two to three of us who are eight years or more experienced.

On the other hand, some immigrant teachers see the move to Australia as an escape from racism. One female NSW teacher from Fiji whose grandparents were from India, but both parents born in Fiji, wanted to escape the Banairiama government, and came to Australia: 'because of the racial discrimination – we were not quite settled but we moved on to greener pastures... I chose Australia because I still have my family in Fiji...[unlike] Canada, America – Australia is not too far away from home'.

## The Difficulties of Appointments to Remote Schools

For some the experience of teaching in Australia is very difficult, particularly for those who are placed in remote schools. Alex, the Scottish teacher on a 457 Visa in a school near Kalgoorlie, WA, recounts one story of a teacher migration movement that did not last very long:

I know one family, ... who sat beside me in the course, she was an art teacher and she got Port Hedland, and her husband wasn't a teacher. He was looking for work and they had two young girls and they got their house broken into, their daughter got abused by Aboriginals and there was a lot of bad issue's going on and she put into the Department for a transfer to move. They got broken into between Christmas and New Year and she said 'it's not happening', and they were in a caravan for eight weeks, then they got put into a house. The house was 47degrees, and humid outside, and the air conditioning wasn't working ... Now she has to start new plans to go somewhere else, and enter poverty, because she spent 50,000 pounds to come out here, bought a car and got all of the stuff shipped out, then back again. So I still keep contact with her. I told her to try and stick it out but I think the daughter was just really struggling with it.

Natasha is another immigrant teacher who has had a very difficult time in Australian schools. She had been teaching in a school in Joondalup in the outer northern suburbs of Perth and was very distressed during the interview. Natasha had very difficult responses to her accent from students and parents, felt isolated from other teachers and did not get support from her Principal: 'I am from Serbia... It's very difficult for me to teach in Australia, because of the kids, because of the parents, because of other teachers, it's very very difficult, it's almost impossible'.

Some immigrant teachers, particularly those placed in remote regional and rural schools, reported difficulties in dealing with Indigenous students. One immigrant teacher placed in remote WA schools commented: 'if you're coming from inner London, and end up going to Fitzroy Crossing or way up in one of the really remote areas in the Kimberley – total culture shock. You've got the weather; you've got the Aboriginal culture, which is totally beyond anything that anybody would've experienced'. Another immigrant teacher in a regional WA school had this story to tell:

when I first came with my family I said 'what the hell am I doing here?', and it was a huge culture shock coming to this school because in Perth we used to see indigenous people, they weren't in your face, I didn't really have to talk to them, not that I didn't want to, but I didn't have anything to do with them, and then you go into a classroom where you have fifty to sixty per cent indigenous kids and it's like "'eff' you, Miss' and 'you bitch' and I used to go home crying... I am really tired; these kids are giving me a hard time.

Similarly, a teacher from Kenya who was teaching in a well-resourced mining town commented that he had plenty to do through organised sport: '...but the culture and the society – that can be really difficult, and I think that's what really frustrates most new teachers'. Another teacher in a remote WA town agreed:

people in a town like this are a little bit wary of getting involved with you because it is such a transient town as well, and, you know, so it's a bit of a tricky one to get to grips with, especially if you are coming from a very highly populated area to where everybody is kind of in your face and, you know, it can get a bit lonely at times and that sort of thing.

Elaine, a young Irish woman teaching in a regional coastal WA town over 900 km north of Perth, recounted her story of her difficulty in settling in as an immigrant teacher: 'Lots of tears were shed in the first six months because I had no support, I couldn't go see a doctor, I had to go home, I still haven't been able to see a dentist. I think I'll have to go home for that too'. Other immigrant teachers in that focus group found that the need to travel back to Perth for medical treatment was a large and unsupported cost: An American male teacher in the same town as Elaine has a similar problem with the vast distances and costs incurred in travel from the remote school to Perth:

If we have to go to Perth for surgery because there is no surgery in Carnarvon, as a 457 [Visa holder] we should have a bit of an allowance, whereas the Department helps us deal with those situations because we do then have to... you know, besides finding the doctor and all those things, and it goes on to that as well, and it becomes very expensive, a round trip ticket during the holidays here is almost \$1,000, now that gets me to Perth. I have to spend another \$3,500 to get to New York. I can't do that every holiday, can I? Or can anybody else, right? And as we were looking at prices today, it's very difficult, and that part of it... We get a ticket to Perth but we don't get a ticket home, and I think that should be something that's part of it, or one destination of where we want to go.

Mardi, a female teacher from Indonesia, also teaches in a remote WA school, about 750 km to the south from Perth, recounted some difficult experiences, at times with tears in her eyes:

when I moved here I had a very unusual circumstance... The removalists rolled the truck 100 kilometers away and I lost all my furniture, and I still have broken furniture, and I did not get a cent because it was antiques and they can't cover antiques, and so I have broken furniture in my house. I had to move with a certain removalist, I had no choice, and then they wrote off all my furniture and the Department did nothing about it. I mean, come on! ... You know, that sort of thing. It's just ridiculous, and it's really expensive to fly. You know, my dad was sick the other day and had to have emergency heart surgery and so I decided I would go home – \$800 it was going to cost. So I couldn't go because I didn't have the money around to pay for it.

Fela, a Nigerian teacher in the same school, reported similar difficulties:

In Perth, where – if I had a medical issue I would just walk down to some local doctor – but then I don't want to teach here and feel disadvantaged when I have a medical issue coming up, like when I had to go for surgery, and I had to spend money to travel down to Perth, so that's what somebody is saying here, that the Department should come up with a way in which they can look after that issue of travelling, especially so that they keep the same level with those in Perth, cause if I had a choice I would be in Perth, you know.

## Was It Worth It?

In Chap. 3 we reported a contradictory assessment of the way that immigrant teachers evaluated their decision to move to Australia and teach; they were much more positive about living in Australia than teaching in Australia. To recap, those who responded that their expectations of being a teacher in Australia had been met (80 informants, or 30 informants) only slightly outnumbered those who reported that their expectations of being a teacher in Australia had not been met (67 informants, or 25 informants). On the other hand, 60 % of all respondents said that they would recommend to other immigrant teachers that they teach in Australia, and two in three immigrant teachers surveyed said that they expect to be still teaching in Australia in 5 years' time. Qualitative fieldwork fleshes out both the positive and negative teaching experiences of immigrant teachers in Australia.

One immigrant teacher from WA reflected on those teachers who are dissatisfied: 'I know that teachers from overseas who arrive now seem to be discontented that the reality of teaching here does not meet their expectations. They feel that they are promised better wages and conditions than they actually receive'. Many immigrant teachers were aware that the move to Australia would take time to pay off. A female South African teaching in NSW schools said: 'they always say when you move countries or emigrate or whatever, you need to expect to lose 5 years of your career, lose 5 years of, you know, financially'.

However, many other immigrant teachers had positive teaching experiences in Australia. Margaret, an English teacher on a 457 Visa, teaching in Esperance on the

southern coastline in WA, has very positive experiences of Australian schools compared to those in the UK: ‘I must say the kids here are nicer than the kids I was teaching in the UK, so that was really nice... I do think also quite often that parents here are more interested in how their kids are getting on than the parents of the kids I was teaching before [in the UK]’.

Many immigrant teachers in remote and regional schools also enjoy their experiences. As one metropolitan teacher explained after finishing a period of time in a regional area: ‘They were, I mean, obviously I got flak, cause I was, you know, a Pom, and I – that’s great, I mean, that didn’t bother me at all, it doesn’t bother me now and that was the way it was out there, that was the community and, yeah, and they were just lovely people, very friendly’. Deepak, who teaches in Griffith, NSW, also is very happy about his decision to teach in rural schools in Australia: ‘we are coping very favourable, my colleagues are very supportive at school, and, yeah, we are just getting along’. Ravi, an Indian from South Africa who, like Deepak, was teaching at Griffith High, also liked the move to teach in Australia: ‘I really fell in love with this place because the place I was living in South Africa was also a country town like this. I didn’t find it much different, so I thought this is a place we will be retiring possibly... I am here, I am quite happy’.

Paul, an English teacher now settled and teaching in Sydney has no regrets about the migration decision:

I am working at a specific kind of school in Maroubra and it is one of the most multicultural schools I’ve worked in, and that’s after London and all sorts. I think that the catchment of various nationalities is amazing, it’s – I think that’s positive, there’s so many different nationalities from countries ... It’s vibrant, it’s friendly, it’s really nice, I thoroughly enjoy it... And some of the attitude towards the kids – I kind of like that too, that element of being a bit more relaxed and stuff, there was a bit more of ‘them’ and ‘us’ in England.

## What Happens Next?

We have established in Chap. 4 that immigrant teachers in Australia are on a professional global journey. For some Australia is their first experience of teaching in another country. For many others, Australia is just the latest port of call, another country chapter in the life of a global teacher. For others, permanent residency in Australia is the goal, though this would not put a full stop on their global teaching trek; merely give them a new point of return. Others dream of returning back home, to complete their circular migration.

Kutzo, the Zimbabwean teacher working in remote WA said that his initial intention was to give teaching in Australia a try and, if he and his wife didn’t like it, move back to the UK:

we decided that if after two months we didn’t like it we would go back to the UK, and we found it was so nice and so we stayed. When asked about his future plans, Kutzo replied get [permanent] residence and just move around Australia...what I’m looking to do is my Masters in Education and probably move around.

Alex, the Scottish teacher working in remote WA has similar plans: ‘my goal is permanent residency, then citizenship, because then at least I’ve got that choice’. But he has not foreclosed on the possibility of continuing his global journey, this time drawing on family networks in the USA, but will probably stay in Australia, though move to the east coast:

I’ve got a big family, I’ve got family in Texas and that would possibly be somewhere that I could look to go and I’ve got college friends in Washington DC which it wouldn’t be my choice to go to, but I think once Australia we are going to settle. I mean we like it, there is a lot of plus points in Australia, but I think I do like the East coast more than the West, I think the west is just too parochial.

Margaret, the teacher on the South Coast of WA on a temporary visa, is weighing up the choice between returning to the UK to teach – completing the immigration circle – or staying in Australia.

I think the economic situation in England will have an impact as well because I’ve talked to Dad who is a teacher over there and there are a lot more people going into teaching because they are able to get a job, so if I would return to Britain my chances of getting a job would be slim because I am right at the top of the scale as I have been teaching for fifteen years, so I am expensive, so they’d rather take some one who has just started, so I want to stay here but I will probably stay here it will be very hard to go back.

## Conclusion

Global teachers see the world as their classroom. They have a professional qualification and professional skills and experience as a teacher that can be their passport to work in schools around the world. This global labour mobility is a feature of the globalization of economies in general, and the specific factors that open up the demand for immigrant teachers particularly in Western and Asian countries at an increasing rate. As we have seen in earlier chapters, the desire to teach in another country is driven by a combination of personal and professional reasons: a desire to see the world, to combine travel with work, to join families, friends or partners and to continue professional development as a teacher. In this chapter we note that for many immigrant teachers the experience is positive from a professional and personal view, but for many others this is not the case. The fact that shapes the experience of immigrant teachers is that they are different from non-immigrant teachers. They have different accents, different language abilities, different personal and professional experiences and, for some, different skin colours, different religions, different cultural backgrounds.

A key factor in determining whether an immigrant teacher enjoys his or her teaching experience and living experience in a country like Australia is the extent to which this difference is racialized, devalued and penalised in the school and community. Many immigrant teachers reported negative responses to their skin colour or their accent – to their difference – from their students, from fellow staff, from school Principals and from parents and locals in the community. These immigrant

teachers in Australia are disappointed that their professional abilities are not utilised to their fullest in Australian schools. They report that they don't get access to promotion and career development opportunities and that rather than working for them their multi lingual abilities and multinational teaching experience work against them. These immigrant teachers report instances of racism from students, parents and fellow staff. Some feel isolated and lonely, particularly those appointed to schools in remote Australian communities. While they like the country, they don't like being seen as second-class citizens because of their immigrant status. Many of these immigrant teachers will not stay in Australia or they will not stay as teachers in Australia.

Many other immigrant teachers are happy personally and professionally in Australia. These teachers have had positive experiences in schools and in communities. They are made to feel welcome, their abilities valued and rewarded, their differences acknowledged but appreciated. Many of these immigrant teachers will stay teaching in Australia, at least in the short term, and for some, for life. On the other hand others who have enjoyed their Australian global teacher experience plan to move on, to continue their global professional mobility, maybe return to Australia at a later date or return 'home' to the country they left in the first instance.

In the next chapter we examine the other side of the coin: the experiences of globally mobile Australian educated teachers to see if there are similarities or differences. We return to our theoretical frameworks to consider further their usefulness and how these might be extended to encompass different contexts to provide more nuanced readings of globally mobile teacher experiences.

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## Chapter 8

# Goodbye ‘Mr Chips’: The Global Mobility of Australian-Educated Teachers

The story of emigrant teachers is of critical interest, an insight into the increasingly globally mobile Australian professional, the worker of tomorrow, not yesterday. The title of this chapter encapsulates this shift in time and space, as well as gender and ethnicity. That is, we say goodbye to ‘Mr Chips’, the old meaning of a teacher: a static model of the White, male, Christian teacher retiring after decades of chalk and talk, beloved by students for his passion and commitment to the students, often in one school. Today’s teacher is very different – electronic whiteboards, laptops and opportunities not only to move from one school community to another but also to teach in another country. There was a time in Australia and elsewhere where women had to resign from the teaching workforce when they married. Teaching was largely a male occupation but today it is predominantly female. As a consequence women are now more visible than men in the global teacher labour market. Not only are teachers more mobile, but so are students, so that the classrooms of today are more cosmopolitan. This means they are more globally connected, more diverse in terms of ethnicity, with gendered subjectivities and multi-linguistic and multicultural backgrounds. The old era of Mr Chips has gone and so too have the accompanying certainties of what constitutes knowledge, although the competitive global labour market is not a flat terrain (Lauder et al. 2012). Some legacies stubbornly remain. Women still earn less than men and are under-represented in the top positions in labour market hierarchies. The focus of global labour mobility is on the highly skilled, of which teachers form a cohort of the increasingly desired but increasingly governed. This makes globally mobile teachers, educated in Australia, an important group to study.

Throughout this book the experiences of immigrant teachers who had come to Australia with the hope of settlement, opportunities for their children or just more experiences on their global journey have been explored. In this chapter we take a look at those who leave Australia either as backpackers earning additional income on their travels, as sojourners in foreign lands because partners have been transferred for a number of years with international companies or simply as escapees from the isolation of Australia, a country far from others. Many are attracted to

Asian countries where the demand for teachers who are native English speakers is growing. Others look towards work and travel opportunities in Europe and North America. Indeed, Australians are increasingly travelling overseas, with short term visits (less than 12 months) doubling in the last decade (ABS 2012) and a record eight million short trips made in 2011–2012, outnumbering for the first time the number of short term visits to Australia: remarkable for a country with a population of just under 23 million.

Of the people departing permanently, the largest group (12,856 or 25.4 %) are professionals (DIMIA 2005). More than one million Australians are living in other countries, many of them professionals and highly skilled workers. They and their families constitute Australia's Diaspora. Australia loses about the same number of teachers to other countries each year – emigrant teachers – as it gains in immigrant teachers (Birrell et al. 2001). Like immigrant teachers, emigrant teachers may see the movement as temporary or permanent. They may be 'country hopping', part of their global teacher's 'grand tour', or they may be thinking of emigrating to another country permanently, using their teaching qualification as a means of securing hard-to-get permanent status. Globalization has developed trajectories that often involve multi-country movements, sometimes eventually returning to the home country and sometimes not, a form of circular migration (Hugo 2003).

The skills and knowledge gained from experience as a global teacher are significant, particularly when gained in the Asia Pacific region, consistent with new national strategies to develop Australia's capacity to engage with emerging powers to capture the opportunities generated by the Asian Century. Australia wants to re-attract the Diaspora, including emigrant teachers who have Australian human capital qualifications and working experience, and who now have newly acquired global professional employment experience, and so ought to be very attractive teaching professionals for Australian schools. The experience of Diasporic professionals from Western countries also throws some interesting light into the processes of racialization of immigrants. Most studies of racialized immigrants focus on immigrants from minority, 'coloured' backgrounds from non-Western countries. But as the historical experience of the Irish in the United Kingdom shows, racism and racialization are not the exclusive preserve of non-White immigrants. In Australia, White immigrants from southern, eastern and northern Europe often confronted persistent and deep-seated racism while Australia's English, Scottish and Irish immigrants have also felt the sharp edge of racialized attitudes and actions. Our study thus investigates the extent to which globally mobile and predominantly White Australian teacher professionals also perceive formal and informal responses to them in their host countries through the prism of racialization.

This perspective provides an opportunity to examine whether or not emigrant teacher experiences are the same or similar to immigrant teachers who arrive in Australia. It allows a comparison of the issues around qualifications recognition, relationships with local communities, induction, language, accent and in-school experiences that we identified with immigrant teachers in Australia. In other words, we can look at the processes of human and cultural capital reconversion of emigrant teachers as well as at the reasons they wanted to teach overseas and their overall

evaluation of the experience. This adds invaluable information to our understanding of global teachers today. In addition, we were interested in whether Australian-educated teachers gained something to bring back home and whether or not new or additional knowledge, skills and attitudes were rewarded or even recognized. This is important because we know that intercultural experience during teacher training helps increase awareness of cultural diversity among teachers internationally (Sleeter 2001; Stachowski and Mahan 1998), while teacher exchange programs also impact on areas such as awareness of cultural diversity and teachers' potential for expanding institutional and pedagogical approaches (Rapoport 2008a, b). A recent study of an organized and structured international 'cultural immersion' program for American teachers in Costa Rica in 2005 demonstrated a significant range of positive results, reflection and perception shifts for participants, and growth in all levels of practice and programming for teachers (Hofacre 2006). It is clear that teachers' subjectivities are increasingly implicated in the kinds of pedagogical choices they make (Ajayi 2011). In light of the limited research into the experience of emigrant teachers, the findings from Australian emigrant teachers surveyed and interviewed in this study might be expected to have particular significance.

Before outlining the approach and the sample of emigrant teachers discussed in this chapter, some of the more recent relevant literature is reviewed to add complexity to earlier studies that were undertaken without an eye to processes of globalization. These earlier studies reveal not only how globalization has created new questions for the study of teachers, and for that matter teaching, but also how the theoretical frameworks of the past may be limited in time, and in space, given that all teachers are now subject to global governance agendas (Robertson 2012) and increasing cultural heterogeneity. We can perhaps understand some of these earlier approaches as being a consequence of 'northern' theory. That is, the dominance of theory from what Connell (2007) has called the 'north' – Europe, the United States of America (USA) and the United Kingdom (UK). Australia, despite being a first world country, can be on the periphery of knowledge production. Within Australia, Indigenous people can be peripheral in relation to the wider dominant theorizing in Australia. So while these theories from Europe, the USA and UK may be useful, we need to 'judge when to leave a position' (Connell 2007, p. 223) that no longer has explanatory value.

## **Being a Foreigner/Waiguoren/Gaigin/Gweilo/Putih...**

The long established demand for Australian teachers in the UK, US, Japan and international schools (Preston 2000) is increasingly being matched by demand in countries where English language skills are sought. Given this demand some Australian teachers choose to work temporarily overseas and later return to Australia to continue in their profession while others move permanently. These new markets make mobility on a global scale increasingly part of the imagination of teachers and future teachers (Widegren and Doherty 2010). Yet, there has been a common

construction of majority teachers as White, monolingual and lacking in intercultural understandings because they do not have available to them experiences of difference or being 'Othered' (Santoro 2007, p. 81) and are often unaware of their 'White' privilege (Sleeter 2001). This racialized binary is an a-mobile (Urry 2003) construction of teachers and teaching and is particularly strong in North America, where it is scaffolded by a theoretical framework drawing on 'whiteness studies' and critical race theory. Often racism seems to emerge from the bodies of 'Whites' naturally, or is seen to be normalized (Picower 2009) rather than being a relational concept and one grounded in material conditions of power intersected by class and gender (Miles 1993). It is as if White teachers do not have students from other parts of the globe in their classrooms or that they may have been racialized by them; or that they have not moved beyond the local; or that they do not come from culturally mixed families, an increasingly common phenomenon in Australia. This approach ignores the important fact that White teachers and teacher education students can also feel rage and anger at oppression and racialized injustices (Hickling-Hudson 2009), and may themselves be racialized. As our previous chapter suggests, many White immigrant teachers from the US, Ireland, Scotland and South Africa perceived negative reactions to them by teaching staff and students because of their cultural difference, particularly their accent. This is not a simple matter of 'reading off race' from coloured bodies but a process of racialization that is multi-dimensional and multi-directional, leading not to racism but to racisms. That is, race does not exist apriori but emerges in particular ways, at particular times (Miles 1993). A stereotypical and a-mobile perspective of teachers from the majority group means that they are conceived as being without ethnicity, a status devolved to minority immigrant groups. In addition, the category of Anglo-Celtic is often presented as static and homogeneous rather than fluid and diverse. It seems timely then, that a study of White or Anglo-Celtic teachers – the emigrant teachers in this chapter – examines their experiences in other countries to reveal the new ways in which racialization emerges in processes of globalization and global mobility.

This chapter will examine the experiences of emigrant teachers using Bourdieu's (1984) concept of reconversion and extend this approach using recent work by Adkins (2011) on Bourdieu's *temporalities of practice* to understand mobile teachers. That is, as Adkins argues using Bourdieu's concept of *the game*, that just as a good player will position themselves where they think the ball *will* land, mobile teachers position themselves where they predict the labour market will be most open to their skills, competencies and qualifications. According to Adkins, this temporality of practice often goes unnoticed because, following Bourdieu, it is constituted in the relationship between habitus and the social world. The usefulness of this theoretical approach is that it can assist in explaining how Australian-educated mobile teachers have a practical anticipation of their futures because, following Bourdieu, the future is already in the *present* in their dispositions (ibid, pp. 354–355). Yet, while emigrant teachers can predict some of these shifts and their consequent employability, there are reconversions of their human and cultural capital that need to be made in the countries where they choose to teach. In turn formal and informal responses to the capital reconversion of emigrant teachers impact on how

their professional knowledge is valued, the new constructions of their professional identities and their experiences as a global teacher.

Further, the chapter will draw on cosmopolitan social theory to reframe the understanding of intercultural capabilities of Australian-educated teachers. It will consider predominantly White teachers' experiences in new ways. We know from our immigrant teacher informants that globally mobile teachers find themselves in contexts that shift perceptions and ways of being and knowing. But what of the emigrant teacher who is White and English-speaking but also living between home and host cultures (Stanley 2012)? What about the changes to home and conflicts over loss and change of space in immigrant cities such as Melbourne, Sydney, Perth, Adelaide and Darwin in Australia? These are all mongrel cities (Sandercock and Lyssiotis 2003) in the sense that they are multicultural cosmopolitan cities with at least 50 % first- and second-generation immigrants. In a globalizing world conceptions of 'home' are also changed and influenced by global mobility and cosmopolitan identities, even if this is difficult to measure (Hansen 2011). A cosmopolitan view of the world is one that expects mutual transformation of people and place and indeed constructs in a positive way a view that all cultures and people can progress through this change (Delanty 2009). Rather than static models of identity and practice, which are often based on racialized, ethnicized, classed and gendered categoricism (Connell 2002), cosmopolitan social theory is attuned to movement and flow and complements a shift to examining the everyday as a means to break down old ways of seeing and to focus on the practical expressions of negotiating new spaces (Nyers 2003) in new times (Adkins 2011).

By way of example, a self identified White Canadian emigrant teacher in Korea began a blog (Sean 2008) to trace his adjustments to working in a new country as a foreigner. In the first of only three entries he recounts his trials and tribulations and delight at the cultural negotiations he encounters. One story outlines how his middle school Korean students tend to have two names if they are proficient in English but when he gives them all the choice to choose a name for the day, they go for the cool ones. He blogs:

I now have classes where I get to call on 'Super Mario', 'Adidas', and 'Big Wow'. Just yesterday, 'Huge' and 'ABCDE' were yelling at 'Menthol' in the middle of an activity, so I sent all of them out in the hall so that we could better hear 'Dumbledore' speak. We even have a 'Sean 2'.

This account of cultural negotiation reveals how popular culture, transmitted via global communication networks, insinuates itself into the teacher/student relationship. In the one moment it unsettles ideas of cultural difference based on homogenized ethnic ascriptions yet reinforces the extent to which the marketization of cultural icons from the West are another homogenizing force. However, rather than construct the students as passive recipients of globalized Western culture we could read this moment as one where the students are providing a common language through which to communicate with their White teacher. In doing so, they are constructing 'whiteness' in particular ways. Navigating these constructions of the self as a 'foreigner' and how these relate to the value placed on teaching and professional qualifications is of interest in this chapter.

## The Participants and Their Characteristics

With our research partners we recruited emigrant teachers from three states across Australia – New South Wales (NSW), South Australia (SA) and Western Australia (WA). In addition, through our networks we surveyed and spoke with some teachers who were working in Singapore and in France. Those overseas or emigrant teachers were mainly working in international schools. Invitations to recruit informants were distributed at union conferences and meetings in all states, via union magazines, by Departments of Education in South Australia and Western Australia and snowballing methodology through our own networks.

Quantitative methodologies were utilised to quantify the extent, character, and location of emigrant Australian teachers in NSW, WA, and SA, drawing on primary and secondary data sources. The primary data sources were a survey, conducted in Phase 1, of Australian-educated teachers who had had periods of teaching in other countries. The surveys included questions that probed issues of background, immigration/emigration, education and qualifications, information sources, key issues shaping their global movement in the first instance, and information about their experiences as an emigrant teacher. All respondents to the surveys are identified by pseudonyms. The secondary data sources were the Australian 2006 census, the databases of the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC), Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR) and State Education Departments. A total of 70 completed surveys were received: 44 surveys from emigrant teachers in NSW, with 12 from SA and 14 from WA.

Qualitative methodologies were employed in Phase 2 and took the form of (a) focus group discussions; and (b) semi-structured interviews in all three states. In each state there were two emigrant teacher focus groups and individual interviews for those teachers who could not travel to a central site or where numbers were small. We interviewed 35 teachers either in focus groups or individually. Some focus groups were made up of two teachers while others had a maximum of five. From these we selected participants within the parameters of gender balance and in metropolitan, regional and rural areas in each state. The interviews probed globally mobile teachers about their reasons for teaching overseas, and entry permits and requirements; the processes of induction and qualifications recognition; their experiences in schools and local communities; the value they placed on their overseas teaching experience; and recognition of this experience once they returned. We also asked them what could be improved.

## Qualifications, Destinations and Recognition Overseas

Among the emigrant teachers there were people who had taught overseas decades ago as well as those who had recently returned. The gender split between male and female emigrant teachers slightly favoured females (58.8 %) over males (41.2 %).

**Fig. 8.1** Number of qualifications of Australian emigrant teachers



Nearly all of the emigrant teachers surveyed spoke English at home, though four of the teachers surveyed in NSW spoke another language at home. It is thus possible to explore the experiences of White, Western, English-background global teachers abroad from analyzing the experiences of our emigrant teacher informants. Like our immigrant teacher informants the emigrant teachers used a variety of migration pathways. Most emigrant teachers (28) obtained a temporary working visa; while 12 had received citizenship of the country in which they taught – most of these were citizens of the UK. Seven emigrant teachers were on travel or holiday visas while six used the family stream/spouse immigrant pathway. A small number were on student visas, business visas or were volunteers.

Globally mobile Australian teachers are generally well-qualified. The great majority of teachers who worked overseas and then returned to teach in Australian schools had either one or two higher education qualifications (52), most commonly at either undergraduate or postgraduate level. About one half of those surveyed had Bachelor degrees; slightly less than one in three had postgraduate qualifications. Moreover, as Fig. 8.1 shows, while one in three emigrant teachers had one teacher education qualification, two in three had more than two teacher education qualifications, with sixteen emigrant teachers possessing three or more qualifications. The *volume and composition* (Bourdieu 1984, p. 125) of cultural capital that these Australian-educated emigrant teachers possessed reveals that they were clearly highly qualified: these qualifications are sought after and assist mobility.

Australian-educated teachers' qualifications are sought after and assist mobility, although some of the older teachers (>45 years) who only had a 3-year diploma-level teacher education found difficulty in some places, such as other parts of

Oceania. However Neil, aged 28 from SA, was qualified to teach English as a Second Language (ESL) in Primary and Secondary, and taught in Canada (1 year), Latin America (1.5 years), Japan (1 year), Korea (0.5 of a year) and Central Asia (0.25 of a year). He commented that his education was: 'very well rounded...[I was able] to teach anywhere...after my education in Australia'.

Kate, a primary teacher from NSW, taught in Japan, England, Beru Island and the Republic of Kiribati, and she found that: 'we seem to be well respected and sought after as employees and our qualifications are highly regarded'.

Two thirds of the emigrant teachers surveyed had taught in one other country while one in three had taught in more than one other country. This demonstrates that global mobilities are increasingly circular or multi-directional, not bidirectional. The global range of Australian emigrant teachers reveals that most (35) had taught in the UK, the traditional overseas destination for Australian teachers, especially female teachers; this finding matches UK data which shows that Australia provides the second largest cohort of immigrant teachers to that country. Others had taught in parts of Asia: north-east Asia, including China, Korea and Japan (17); south-east Asia, including Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia (10); and Thailand, India and Vietnam (4). Others taught in Africa, Europe, Latin America and Oceania, highlighting once again the diverse, globalized experience of the Australian teacher Diaspora.

From the interviews we carried out, there are clear reasons – other than language and the colonial connection – for the UK being a destination for Australian-educated teachers. One was pay. Adrian from WA had taught in the UK and Canada. He was Primary-trained but taught linguistics: 'I was a Level 3 principal when I left to go and teach in Britain and as a Year 6 teacher. I was earning more gross than I was as a Level 3 Principal'. Samantha, from SA, left straight after finishing her teaching degree because there were no jobs. She said that, on return: 'It was difficult to go down in pay as well. I must say I think teaching is not paid enough in Australia. I mean I was actually able to save money when I was working overseas. Something I don't do here really. I came back with savings'.

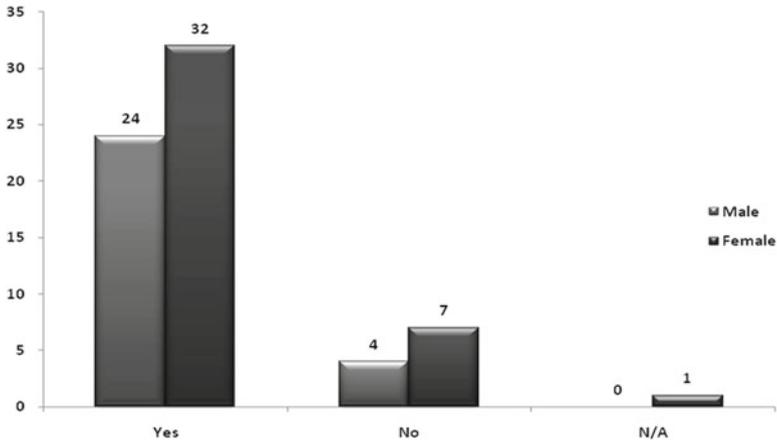
Others travel to the UK for a change of lifestyle. Kerry, a mature teacher from NSW, said:

I am of an age where lots of my friends were getting sick and ill and, you know, my children had gotten to an age where they don't need me for a while, there are no grand children. You know, you get a little window where you can be by yourselves and we thought it would be a good way to see another country and, you know, just have a change in career.

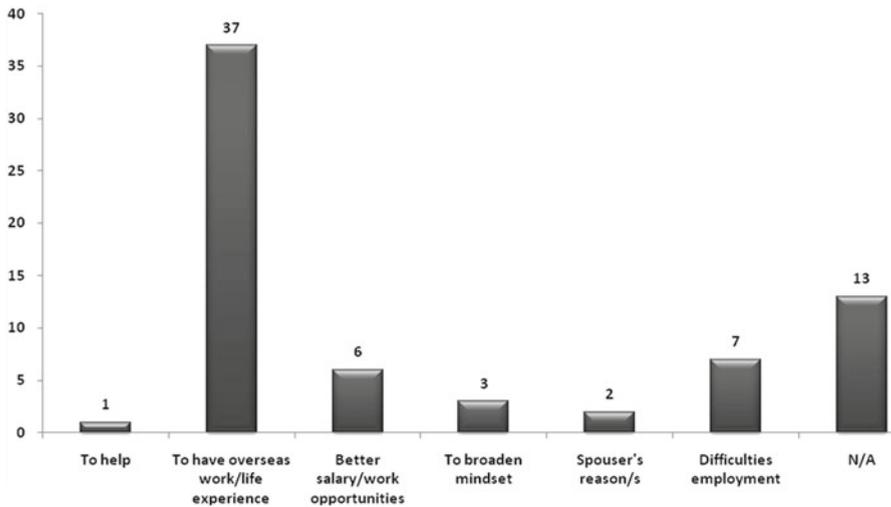
Increasingly, couples and families make the move overseas. Kirsty, a chemistry teacher from SA: '...taught over in England, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and my motivation for going was that my husband works in the university sector and he was posted over there for a year to work on a project'.

Most of the teachers surveyed (56) left Australia with the specific intention to teach while a minority (11) left Australia for other reasons. Gender does not appear to be a significant factor in this regard, as Graph 8.1 shows.

As Graph 8.2 shows, the great majority of emigrant teachers went overseas in order to gain new work and/or life experience, that is, for personal reasons. Relatively



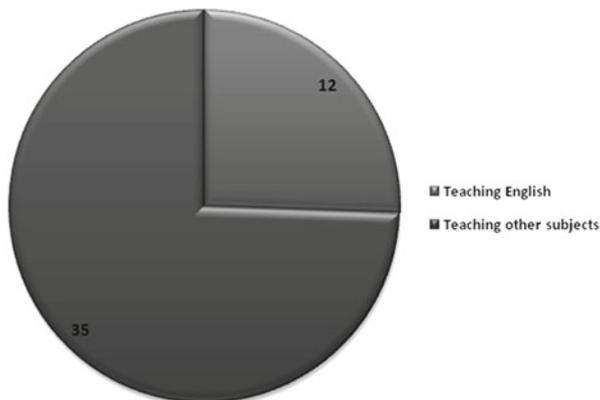
**Graph 8.1** Departed with the specific intention to teach by gender



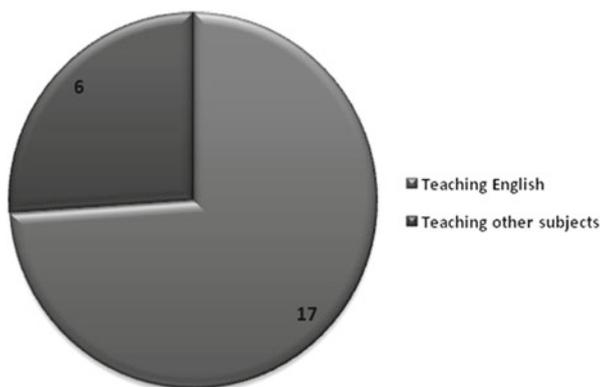
**Graph 8.2** Reason for wanting to teach overseas

small but still potentially significant numbers went because their career opportunities were better overseas (6) or because of difficulties in the Australian education sector (7). It is interesting to note that although broadened perspectives and greater understanding of cultural difference was a key outcome in studies of the impact of overseas experience on teachers – as noted above – very few (3) emigrated to broaden their minds. The concept may have been a factor in gaining work/life experience, but was not an articulated desire for most survey respondents.

**Fig. 8.2** English versus other subject taught in English-speaking countries

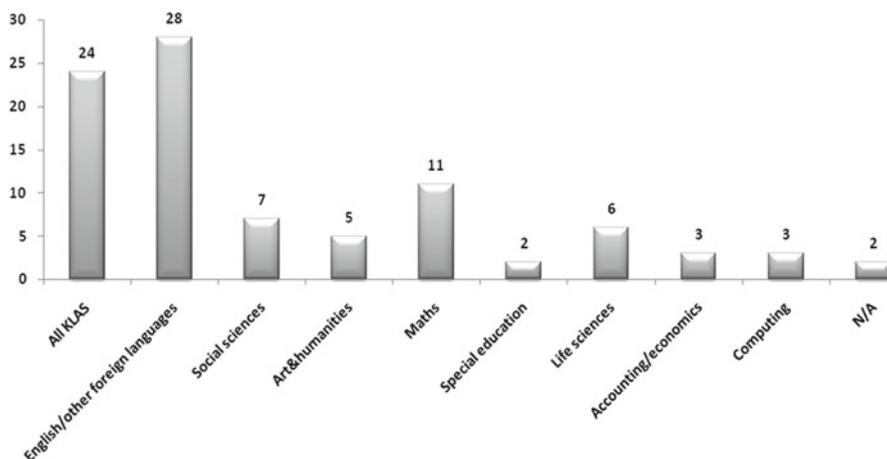


**Fig. 8.3** English versus other subjects taught in Asian countries



Others wanted to travel, couldn't get work locally or were on exchange. This is somewhat different to our immigrant teacher sample, who more often than not sought permanency in Australia, whereas most of the emigrant teachers in our sample did not want permanent residency in another country. Of course, our cohort is skewed by the fact that other than a small group who were overseas at the time of interviewing, most had returned to Australia already.

While most Australian-educated teachers teach in the government or public education sectors overseas those who teach in Asian language countries tend to be more often employed in private-sector schools. The demand for English-language teachers in non-English-speaking countries is a key driver for Australian-educated teachers to seek employment overseas. Most of the emigrant teachers in this study taught English in countries where English was not the major language. In other words, the Australian global teacher overseas is exploiting the opportunities of globalization – the strong growth in Asia powered by lowering trade and capital barriers worldwide and the strong demand for English language education in Asia to further exploit these global economic opportunities in the future: Fig. 8.2 shows that most emigrant teachers in English-speaking countries taught subjects other than English, while Fig. 8.3 shows that three in four emigrant teachers in Asian countries taught English.



**Graph 8.3** Areas of curriculum taught by emigrant teachers in first overseas teaching experience

Teachers with English as a first language are also in demand to educate the children of other professionals from English-speaking countries who have tapped into the international employment opportunities provided by globalization, to become globally-mobile themselves. Joey, a Primary-trained teacher from NSW, commented that international schools are part of the market attracting Australian educated teachers: ‘Yeah, in Beijing and in Singapore it was the Australian International School, so while it was an international school in a foreign country it was very Anglicized. I think 60 per cent of the population was from Australia and then English 40 per cent’.

In many international schools in the Middle East and other countries, global teachers can choose to live parallel lives ensconced in the Expat enclave community, but this is not always the case. Melinda (26), a Secondary English teacher with a Bachelor in Teaching from NSW, taught in Malaysia:

Um, I was really fortunate to have really friendly staff. So, they would take us out and take us to restaurants and just to talk and to sightsee...and you see Malaysia in a different context rather than just, kind of, in this tourist perspective. They take you to where they go to eat and you know all the brochures they say ‘don’t eat here, don’t eat there’ and they’re ‘no, no that’s fine’. Here ‘you go have this’ and it’s fabulous, and it would be nothing that I would ever pick ‘cause I just don’t know about it. So in that regard it was a lot deeper kind of insight into the culture itself.

The nature of a teacher’s human capital is a teacher qualification that is specific to different levels of school teaching (Early Childhood, Primary, Secondary) and/or to specific curriculum areas. Labour market shortages for teachers are rarely across the board, but often linked to specific curriculum areas in schools that are often hard to staff. In Australia, hard-to-staff schools are often in working-class, socio-economically disadvantaged suburbs (such as the western suburbs of Sydney and Melbourne) or in regional and rural areas, particularly in schools with high Aboriginal student enrolment. As Graph 8.3 shows, ‘English and foreign languages’

is by far the most common curriculum area taught by Australians in their first overseas experience, though the emigrant teachers surveyed had teaching expertise across a whole range of curriculum areas. What this means is that many of our emigrant teacher participants may not teach their speciality, and thus a new dimension of the reconversion of their human capital occurs. In the case of English-speaking teachers it is their English-speaking cultural capital that is valued as much as their professional experience or human capital.

## Settling In

The experience of being in a new country is shaped by cultural contexts, including constructions of what it means to be a teacher. This is true for English-speaking contexts as much as non-English-speaking contexts. Kirsty discussed her first job in the UK in comparative terms to explain how she settled into the local school and community:

Culturally it was different in a lot of ways, but similar in a lot of ways, because I had gone to a working-class school myself, grew up in a working-class area, so there were a lot of similarities there. For me, the differences that I found most challenging really was the accent, which was really quite interesting as it was an incredibly thick accent and they would make it thicker just for me! But I found that by getting involved in sport with the local kids – I took – I can't even remember what I took, soccer and softball I think. I know a little about softball and know nothing about soccer, but it didn't really matter. Yeah, well, somebody had to. I found that that made a huge difference. That was just like over night with the kids.

In many ways this story is similar to that of immigrant teachers who became involved in local communities in an attempt to improve relations within the school with students but also to gain a sense of belonging. These are necessary adjustments but often come after a period of isolation. For example, Sandy from SA arrived in provincial Canada in the middle of winter and was met by a welcome committee but:

They then took me back to where I would be staying for a year and then everyone left and I put the telly on...and then a Kangaroo came on in a commercial...and then there was the wind chill mornings...and being closed in and looking out at the snow and the ice and all and I remember thinking: 'I could die here'. I remember that because the garage was way out the back of the house and you had to walk through the back yard and it was just so slippery, the ice, and I thought if I knock myself out will I survive?

A different kind of isolation can occur when working in enclaves. International schools are often sites of companionship but also isolation from the local community. So too, are defence bases. Miranda from SA moved through more than one country. After Alberta, Canada she travelled to Germany:

...we started moving to Berlin, and got married there, and after the first year, when I was just having a good time, it was time to get a job, and that was at a British Service Children's School in Berlin. So it was actually military and that was on the Military base. I was employed as the equivalent of a local, so the school was mainly comprised of teachers who were directly recruited from England and they were basically like ex-pats, and they recruited from schools and employed locals who were fluent in German, and so there was myself who

was married to a German, and then there was another woman who was married to a German as well. There were teachers that still couldn't speak German... and their idea of going out local was the local German restaurant actually at the base! They had no idea of German culture and that explained the total lack of interest in different... the kids... [It was] very isolated. And my assumption is that that's what happens on all these bases, so I guess they were positioned all around the world. A lot of bases were in Germany, and there was very little contact between them and the local community.

Perry, from NSW, taught in the UK some time ago. Initially a Primary school teacher, he studied and upgraded his qualifications to a Master of Social Science. His experience overseas mirrors that of Australian-educated teachers who travelled overseas more than two decades ago:

Their support in helping me to find accommodation was to tell me to buy a certain newspaper which advertised accommodation. So they didn't have any listings or people they could recommend. I also found I had a lot of set up costs, especially with accommodation and I didn't get paid for the first five weeks, so I was in a fairly desperate position. I mean, I guess I could've found that out but I wasn't made aware of that.

[Getting work]...that was a fairly exhaustive process. I had to have verified copies of academic transcripts and qualifications; I had to have a federal police clearance; I had to have references from my Principal, my Deputy Principal, my immediate supervisor. The thing, though, that they were most interested in was the child protection aspect, that I was clear in all areas there...It was quite a depressing environment... say at lunchtime. It was like people who'd been beaten. I found... I'd get out of the school at lunch time and just go for a walk.

Given the popularity of the UK as a destination the stories of experiences there are not always very positive. Often, Australian-educated teachers find themselves in tough contexts, hard-to-staff schools, just like immigrant teachers who arrive in Australia.

Teddy, also from NSW, found that:

In the UK I was patronised, looked down on. I think the Principal said something like 'we love to have colonials helping out here' – that sort of thing. There is a very heavy stereotype of the coarse drunken Australian, which seemed to be widespread through British society at that time.

Interestingly, class differences were strongly felt in the UK and in places such as international schools and military bases. Settling in depended a lot on whether or not you were an exchange teacher, whether you were travelling alone or not and when and where you were travelling. In many cases local schools were supportive but in the interviews and focus groups other dynamics emerged, which provides an insight into the ways in which emigrant teachers come up against practices that may limit mobility.

## Gender

As we have argued elsewhere in this book, women now constitute the larger proportion of globally mobile teachers, just as they are the majority in teaching within Australia. Some female teachers travel with their families and/or partners but

increasingly women are globally mobile on their own. A woman travelling from the West carries with her certain understandings and expectations, as do their hosts. Differing constructions of gender and gender relations can sharpen a sense of cultural difference and have an impact on physical and professional mobility in host countries. Tamara, from SA, was in her twenties when she went to Japan to teach English. In discussing her experiences she said:

Well I wasn't in a huge city, so I was in a small country town in the north of Japan where I was only one of, like, three foreigners in the whole town, and so I had lots of discrimination. You know, people pointing and staring and wanting to touch my hair. And I had a lot of problems with people thinking that I was incredibly promiscuous just because that was the perception of Western women.

Stanley (2012), in her study of English-language teachers in Shanghai, found that Western women wore a 'cloak of invisibility' while Western men were embraced, particularly by Chinese women, and had more professional opportunities. She notes:

The 'superhero' phenomenon does not transfer to Western women, for whom the Occidental stereotypes of wealth, sexual accomplishment, and social/international mobility do not seem to offer an equivalent symbolic capital among Chinese men (p. 180).

The traits of Western women can be seen as threatening and a lack of idealised femininity can lead to a lack of respect in teaching relationships. Joey, from NSW worked in China and Korea. She comments on how she was assisted in understanding cultural differences but also how negotiating differences in the classroom could be difficult:

The school ran a whole lot of different cultural events, like we had to go to sessions on Chinese culture and history and so that definitely helped you to understand where they were coming from and why things were the way they were. However, in particular, Korean boys were very challenging. A female in a Korean boy's life doesn't rate at all, and, you know, me, coming from an Australian culture, where we've moved on from that for the last twenty years, [I] found it confronting, but it definitely helped by talking to colleagues and parents and local teachers.

When gender becomes layered onto attitudes to Westerners more generally it can become difficult to stay. Lydia, a woman in her mid thirties from NSW, teaching English in a Primary school in Japan and on her own said: 'I suppose [I had] misgivings of... "the too hard to work as a foreigner" [in Japan]. Also the idea that, you know, I kept getting told I was fat, which was another issue, when I wasn't'.

Stacey, from SA found this combination particularly confronting and said:

Japanese have a view about being a superior race anyway. I am a young blonde, blue eyed female that Japanese men look at. I had an experience on trains; they weren't overly overcrowded like the long ones in Tokyo but I had a very graphic sexual experience. Ah, they touch you and you know they are looking at touching your breasts and your boobs. It happened a couple of times but there is nothing you can do about it.

Of course, these things happen to Japanese women as well and the Japanese government works to eradicate such behaviour on public transport. Nevertheless these are insights into the intersection of globalization and changing ethnoscaples brought about by mobile labour.

It isn’t always Asian countries either that present these kinds of difficulties. While the reports were most commonly from those with teaching experience in Asia, Western countries were occasionally mentioned, especially in more rural areas. For example, Miranda, who worked in Alberta, Canada said:

The sexism of the staff really shocked me, in the beginning. It was just stereotyping stuff, it wasn’t blatant, but it was just there... how other women were managed, well, not managed, but general staff conversation and casual conversations. And it wasn’t ever done maliciously it was just there ...but it would never be allowed in our workplaces.

Significantly, not one male emigrant teacher raised a concern about the gendered dimensions of their overseas teaching experiences. This silence or invisibility is interesting, particularly in light of the study conducted by Stanley in Shanghai and her review of the literature more generally on gendered identities in Asia. Stanley (2012, p. 181) quotes an article by Farrer (2008) using local statistics that reveal that 90 % of Shanghai’s international marriages were between a foreign man and Chinese woman. Further, the construction of Western women according to Stanley shapes friendships, which are more likely to be with other Western women. On the other hand, Western men may take advantage of these gender and sexual relations, thus sometimes ‘behaving badly’ (Stanley 2012, pp. 176–180), or they may simply enjoy being the heroic Western man and the privilege that accompanies it. Perhaps this is one reason why the issue of gender did not appear in the transcripts of our male emigrant teachers because in the gender order men receive a ‘patriarchal dividend’ (Connell 2002). It is also interesting to note that, by the female immigrant teacher informants, whose story was told in previous chapters of this book, the issue of sexism in schools or in the community was hardly raised.

However, other factors at work here are processes of racialization. These intersect with gender but they are also part of the construction of teaching and what makes a good teacher. Racialized experiences were common for both immigrant and emigrant teacher informants.

## ‘Oh, God, I Don’t Have Black Hair or Brown Eyes’

Global mobilities produce social life through bodies as well as ideas, imaginations and communication, in processes of racialization (Buscher and Urry 2009) that are produced through, and result from, the mutual gaze (Maoz 2006). The emigrant teachers in our study explained their negotiation of contexts using racialized ascriptions, just as the host constructs the emigrant teacher through the lens of racialized ascriptions. Melinda (26) taught in Malaysia and commented on how her whiteness was suddenly up front and centre:

I mean, I felt a little uncomfortable, you know, when you had 800 little heads careening out the window because...yeah... ‘there goes that White chick’. You know my teacher said ‘don’t be offended if they call you “putih”’ – or – I mean, like, what does that mean? I don’t even know what it means – and they said it just means ‘white’; it’s a rude way of saying ‘white’. ‘Don’t be offended by it, they’re just curious’. And I’m, like, I would never have known that’s the way of saying ‘white’.

Tamara commented that her whiteness also heightened the extent to which she felt alien:

I don't know about the other American girl but the exchange student and I... because we never saw any other foreigners, we only saw Japanese people [so] we would get really astonished when we looked at ourselves in the mirror. It was quite bizarre now that I think about it but 'oh, God, I don't have black hair or brown eyes'!

Stacey also taught in Japan as an exchange teacher in a program sponsored by the Japanese government. She team-taught with a Japanese teacher and also noticed that her sense of whiteness became really visible.

Yes, it was an interesting experience. Before me there had been an American chap for a year and before him another American, so, when I got there, there were no other gaijin or foreigners there, by the time I got there. Yeah, so young, blonde hair, blue eyed, in the middle of nowhere – it was interesting.

These self-reflections open up to scrutiny the discomforts of being globally mobile. But the productive possibilities that emerge from a sense of discomfort is an engagement with difference. Most commonly this occurred through humour and at the heart of this is language.

## Being a Laughing Stock

Being a foreign teacher is, for many participants in this chapter, an experience shaped by their English-speaking capabilities as much as their qualifications. The demand for English-speaking teachers in many parts of the globe is a dominant theme. Associated with this demand are expectations as the work of these global teachers becomes increasingly commodified. Stanley (2012) argues that as well as the commodification of teaching performance, ascribed characteristics of teachers are part of the requirements. In understanding this commodification of teachers and the relationship to teacher performance that it engenders it is necessary to turn away from Western theorizing for moment and consider the argument put forward by (Kipnis 2011) that the audit culture (Power 1997) was not purely an invention by the West and imposed on others through neo-liberalism. It had multiple roots in China, and the Chinese word *kaohē* has multiple forms that connect assessment to wider processes of examining (Kipnis 2011, p. 150). Performing appropriately in China means being fun and teachers are assessed on their performance constantly. Stanley (2012) discusses English language teachers in Shanghai having their authenticity challenged by their students through this expectation that they will be 'fun'. This is somewhat reminiscent of Sean's (2008) blog in Korea in that Westerners are commonly read through the cultural binary of 'Hollywood-like' foreigners (Stanley 2012, p. 125).

Humour can be the oil that smoothes difficulties in intercultural communication with students in classrooms (Reid and Velissaris 1991), but it can also grate and create alienation and marginalization. Often, funny moments highlight cultural

difference and a number of teachers mentioned these. When Tamara was asked whether her Japanese improved while teaching and living in Japan she said:

Yes, I learnt a lot of Japanese, but I also learnt a lot of bad Japanese as well, just conversational slang. For example one of the things that I used to have people in stitches about was... there is a phrase which means 'I am really hungry' in Japanese. It's very common to use this phrase, but it comes from the traditional Samurai ritual of slitting your belly – you are that hungry, the pain is that bad that you could slit open your stomach. I used to have everybody in stitches over that, because it's so not the thing for a foreigner to say.

I think you've just got to laugh, because you know if you meet someone who doesn't speak English very well and if they seem happy and are laughing there's no tension, so I think if you just appear pretty easy going, they won't punish you too much. Then again they expect us to be all very rude and uncouth anyway because we are not Japanese. They will excuse it because, first of all, we are not Japanese – we don't know the culture, and, yeah, they're pretty good, nothing was ever a big problem.

Kirsty, in the UK for a year, found that:

The funniest thing, though, that I learnt was that at that stage I had a double barrel surname and only the upper class in England have a double barrel surname, so they thought I was posh. That was very funny. They gave me a bit of a hard time about that for a while but, just generally I had a good time with the kids and I really enjoyed it and I found it incredible. Well, I have always kept – I think humour is something you have to have. Just keeping good humour and laughing about it, and challenging in an intelligent and fun way.

Jane, teaching in the UK as a Science teacher, used humour in her teaching and drew on racialized stereotypes to do so, revealing the complex negotiations that frame the work of mobile teachers *with* their mobile students:

I used to have interesting talks with the girls at Little Star because I used to get them on side...because this was a big West Indian area, a lot of immigrants, nearly all the kids were from immigrant families, and they suffered very significant discrimination in the wider British society. So I'd get them on side by getting all immigrants together and saying, you know, 'oh, these British are a funny lot!' We could spend ten minutes talking about the idiosyncrasies of the English and then you could get them to do a bit of Maths.

Stacey, from SA, commented on teaching in Japan using performance metaphors, reminiscent of the Hollywood style outlined by Stanley (2011), as well as street interactions, from a wry perspective:

It [teaching] was a shock to begin with because you are also up on a platform, raised above on a platform, slightly above, up higher, looking down on them. In the beginning it was really daunting and then I got the hang of it. I realised that I wasn't so much a teacher as a circus ring leader, actress, movie star, more of an entertainer, and it was about coming up with silly things you know?

Also...you would be walking down the street and you hear, 'will you be my hot girl?', or something, well [and I'd say], 'if you speak English, yes!'

The centrality of language to professional and personal experiences is a common theme throughout *Global Teachers*. However, while English is often seen as the lingua franca enabling global mobilities, it doesn't come in one form (Han and Singh 2007). In teaching, this can lead to some challenges to authenticity for globally mobile teachers, as we discussed in earlier chapters, including English-speaking

Australian-educated teachers. The Australian accent is not always seen as ‘real’ English. Tamara explains her experience teaching in Japan:

I think the company that I worked for did it as a bit of an experiment. They had never had an Australian before and usually they’d gone with American teachers and [while] I don’t think I have an Australian accent, apparently overseas they thought I had a very strong one, and they found it very hard to work out what I was saying, so my boss actually asked me to speak with an American accent which I found very insulting, which I didn’t do (laughs).

Unlike Teddy who had found a colonial-like gaze that was uncomfortable, Kirsty, who taught in the UK many years later, found that Aussies were seen somewhat differently. As an example of globalized mediascapes (Appadurai 1996), her accent and national identity aroused other emotions:

Well they, you see, I was the absolute novelty value, because *Neighbours* was huge at that stage and so on my last day I got my dad to tape *Neighbours*, because we were six months ahead in Adelaide, well Australia, and I got him to send it over. And so for my last day they would watch it. It was very funny.

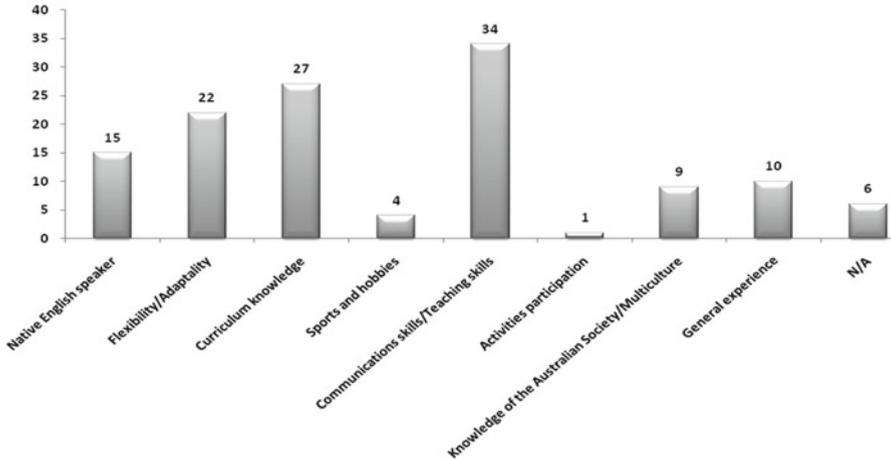
Emigrant teachers often raised the different pedagogical styles they experienced, particularly in schools in Asian countries. This presented some difficulties in how they were viewed as teachers, in how they perceived learning in those countries and how their value as a professional seemed to be diminished.

## Freaky ‘Westerners’

As discussed in Chap. 2, the pedagogical style preferred in global governance agendas is that of Western countries. That this style is not without critique – particularly when education is not yet a human right everywhere or when class sizes are large; or when it is not necessarily successful for all young people in Western countries – raises some interesting questions. For globally mobile teachers, these differences emerge often without dialogue between the native and the traveler; for both immigrant and emigrant teachers. Yet this is at the heart of what teachers do and therefore such conversations are central to global knowledge exchange.

Graph 8.4 reveals the strengths that emigrant teachers thought they brought to teaching in another country. While English language capabilities are central to the host country, the teachers in our study felt it was their professional knowledge that was the most important contribution they made, with curriculum knowledge and their pedagogical skills – communication and style – that were the most significant. Given the degree to which their professional identities were central to their sense of self and their reasons for being globally mobile, it is important to examine their experiences in this regard and how they negotiated different constructions of good teaching.

Despite what they thought their contributions might be, there were differences to be negotiated. Here Helen makes a powerful observation: that Western pedagogy works in specific contexts. She explains some key differences experienced in Thailand teaching English:



**Graph 8.4** The strengths that Australian emigrant teachers brought to teaching in another country

In the High School it was, you know, we were seen as the... I suppose... freaky Westerners because we had smaller classes and it was very child-centred – the teaching – whereas the Thai classes were fifty children in a class and therefore very teacher-directed, standing at the front of the class with a microphone, so when they did come to our classes they were quite excited.

For some, a more teacher-centred approach can make teaching a joy. Jack (26) from NSW was a Secondary-qualified teacher teaching Business, Legal Studies and Religion in Shanghai, China:

I felt respected by students and staff there, because there is no doubt that being a teacher from Australia we were seen as very ... with lots of skills and teaching abilities and well educated, and they certainly felt they had a lot to gain from us being there and just having teachers with English as their native tongue they certainly felt their students could benefit from that a lot and they really did appreciate us being there.

Martin, a Science teacher who taught in Taiwan and China found his experiences a little more troubling, however, and said:

Sometimes it is very difficult when the parents want something delivered in a special way and it goes against the grain, like, for me it might be, like, teaching the kid like they're a robot or something.

Not all Western nations follow the same approach, however, and Jo, a primary teacher from SA, who was on exchange for a year in a tiny village in Scotland, commented about the difference in the system:

The Scottish system... you know, just from reading, that if you are teaching in America and, if it's, like, October the 31st and its day two of the week you will be teaching *this*, you know, that's how prescriptive it is, and I knew that England was a little bit the same. I knew it was a lot based on all the league table stuff that's coming out now that (laughs) Julia Gillard wants to do. I can remember being there and I could see the actual detrimental effect that that sort of system had, the demoralising effect it had on teachers, but the Scottish

system was quite different, they still had to do the test but the major difference between the Scottish system and the English system was that the Scots were given a bit more freedom, and I guess this is the Scots telling the English that ‘you are not going to tell us exactly what to do’ and somehow they have worked it out that they will test their kids when the teacher figured it was time for them to sit the test.

This comparative insight – across the Western nations of Australia, England and Scotland – reveals the different interpretations of dominant discourses in education and how political and economic relations shape these differences. At a more specific level of the curriculum, this time Maths, Jo notes:

I couldn’t believe how the kids were taught maths, and it was all very much text book based, right from the age of five. I was told, ‘right, they are up to Book 3 in a system’ and the expectations were really quite different, and I would say a lot higher standard than here in SA for Maths. So that was very interesting I found. For instance all kids were expected to know their multiplication tables by the end of Year 2. It was just things like that that really struck me.

But while Jo accepted a more traditional approach to Maths, she felt quite differently about literacy. In this following example, what is of interest here is the process of knowledge exchange, driven by interest. So while the Maths teaching in Scotland seemed to yield better results in her earlier comment, literacy practices borrowed from Australia seemed to be attractive to her hosts.

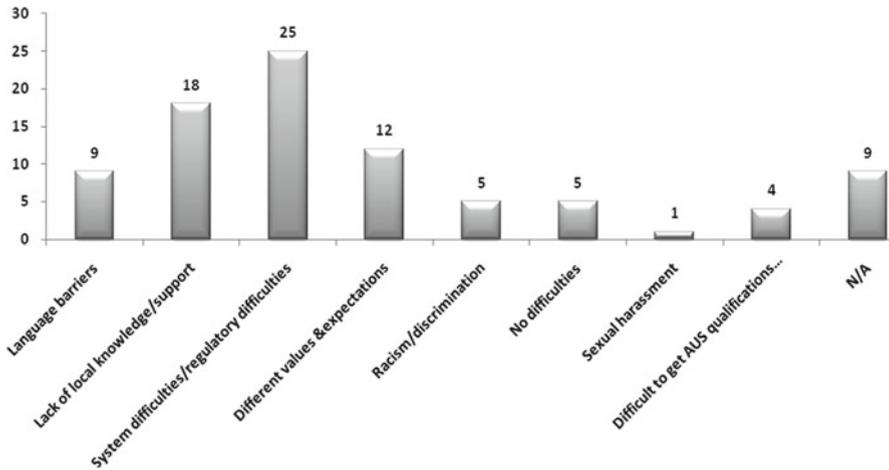
I know a lot of Australian teachers going into a very prescriptive curriculum have to stick to it, whereas I settled with... This is too good an opportunity, you can’t not talk about Australia, you can’t not teach in Australian literacy. I remember introducing them to Big Books for instance and they spent a lot of money in purchasing Big Books because they had never seen them before and the kids just loved them and I brought some over from here... and, yeah, so there was a lot of interchange of ideas, and I just think that perhaps that was the beauty of being in a very small school because there was such a small group of people and you could do such a sharing of ideas, and they certainly initiated me into various traditions and customs of a Scottish school which was so different to what was here.

This negotiation by Jo reflects a cosmopolitan sense of the world at a number of levels. There is no negation of the importance of the nation or national context in her narrative, for some kind of universalizing statement about what constitutes ‘good teaching’. Jo respects the Scottish way of doing things and does not override these (Sobe 2009), learning from them as much as learning with them. Negotiating professional identities is critically important to the future of teaching and more and more it needs to be a global conversation. Cosmopolitan social theory can reveal how this occurs and how it might be empirically studied.

Just as important to globally mobile teachers is the negotiation of social networks and like our immigrant teachers, Australian-educated teachers have mixed views on the support given and their experiences in host cultures.

## Support Overseas

Given some of the difficulties and experiences that have been outlined thus far in this chapter, it is now useful to discuss the kinds of support made available to emigrant teachers and how they themselves dealt with social life in their host communities.



**Graph 8.5** Difficulties faced by Australian emigrant teachers teaching overseas

The majority (58) of returned emigrant teachers either completed (21) or partially completed (37) an induction program in the country they went to. Fewer than half (22) of the teachers (58) who participated either fully or partly in an induction reported that the program was useful to them. Clearly as teaching becomes a more global labour market, policies and procedures designed to acclimatise global teachers to local education situations requires more thought and further development for both immigrant and emigrant teachers.

The main difficulties that Australian teachers faced while teaching overseas were to do with the different nature of the education system, including issues related to regulation (25) and lack of knowledge about, and support in, that education system (18). Differences in values and expectations and language barriers were also mentioned, as was discrimination and qualification recognition (see Graph 8.5). In many ways these are the same issues that immigrant teachers identified in previous chapters, suggesting that the issues are more universal than state/Australia specific.

Unlike many, Miranda arrived in Canada at just the right time:

It was at the beginning of the year when I first got there. They have a two-day conference, it's a big thing, like, in Edmonton they have a whole district, so it would be that all of the teachers go and they stay overnight and they have two full days and you go to a great cabin for two days and you get paid.

When support was lacking, others who had been through it would step in. Samantha, who worked in Thailand, explained:

When I went to the international school a lot of people who were coming out for the first time from the UK thought, like, I suppose, I took them under my wing, myself, and would help them out with certain things and they would say to me, 'I'm so glad that you're here', because for those days when the newbies would be going in for their induction prior to the oldies going in, it would just be, you know, the whole culture shock of being there, they felt like they had been left on their own.

The difficulties that emigrant teachers experienced are very similar to those of immigrant teachers. The most common way they had of dealing with these problems were discussion and communication (20), self-learning study (16) and socialising (8) (See Graph 8.6).

Like the immigrant teachers in our study, emigrant teachers were actively engaged in the local communities and in their schools as a way to manage isolation and to contribute to communities.

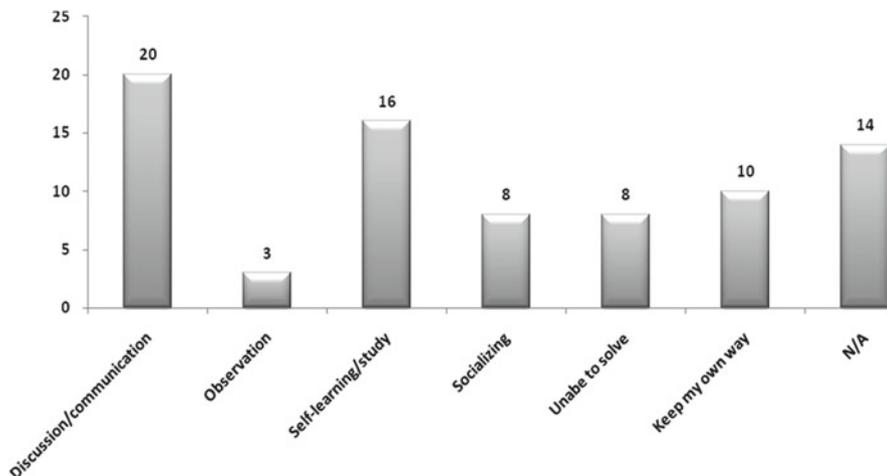
The majority of emigrant teachers regularly took part in some kind of activity organised by their local school or community in their host country. This suggests a level of engagement with the local area and people that went beyond their immediate professional duties (see Graph 8.7). Peter, a Western Australian teacher who taught in the UK commented: 'Personally I've got all of my mum's family that live over there, so I have lots of family over there that I can call on if need be'.

Dean, also from WA, who taught in Canada, Ghana, and Fiji said:

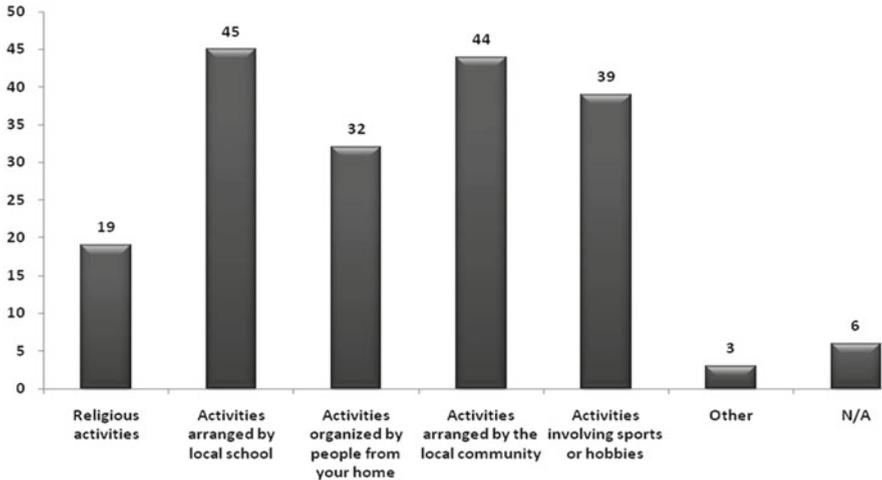
Once I had built up a network I was asked to go and make presentations to other schools, different education authorities, and provide outlines and overview of education in Australia. So you sort of had a degree of obligation as part of the deal of going over as an exchange teacher to try and promote and provide an overview of Australian curriculum and draw some comparisons and contrasts between both systems.

Some teachers reported that they had built up networks before going overseas. Stan, who taught in the UK, and now teaches in WA said:

As a teacher it was definitely the department and...I had a very good rapport with a supply co-ordinator – she actually met me in Perth. She was for some reason coming over to Perth for a holiday so I met her in Perth before I went over there and took up the job.'



**Graph 8.6** How Australian emigrant teachers resolved the difficulties they faced overseas



**Graph 8.7** Regular attendance of activities

However, when young friends emigrate together to teach they are less likely to mix with locals. Stan said:

I still keep in contact with many of them. Personally it would just be other Australians, my friends; there were a number of us that were friends back in Perth, back at school, and we’ve all done similar things, so definitely Australian friends. We probably didn’t assimilate much in that sense, everyone was very friendly at school but I don’t think I took the friendship past that.

For others, events outside of teaching shape their experiences. Global events such as natural disasters, wars and poverty, can all impact on opportunities and experiences. Amanda, from WA, recounts her time in Indonesia:

I went to Jakarta, Indonesia, for eighteen months. I finished my Bachelor of Education in Special Education and Primary Education, so I had a double degree, four years at ECU – Edith Cowan University – then about five weeks after I’d had my last exam I went to Jakarta, just after the Tsunami hit. So it was all ‘very loving of Australians’ because of what John Howard donated, which I know sounds really poor but they were really trying for Australians. So I started teaching there; my title was Assistant Deputy Principal of Special Education, which, really – it was just way too much even for me to handle because I’d just graduated. So I went in, they had fifty Special Ed[ucation] students. I had no qualifications to do what I was doing, but I just... went to a champagne breakfast one morning with our tutors from uni, and she goes ‘oh, there’s a job going in Jakarta’ and I said, ‘I don’t want to go to Jakarta, that’s where people get blown up and stuff’, and they said ‘no, think about it’.

Well, I was going to leave Perth and just go remote up North, and I just thought I would go a bit further north and go... I met with the Principal of the school who gave me the job and we were off, and then with visas I got flown to Singapore for a day, and got a visa, and flew back [to Indonesia]. Got myself finger printed and hand printed at the police station and it was done. So I don’t really know anything about that legal side of it, they just did stuff and I did what they said. It was really, really, scary and strange, and I lived there for eighteen months.

What these stories tell us, is that global teachers have multiple practices of 'nomadic place-making' (Buscher and Urry 2009, p. 100). Amanda's story reveals how intertwined her global teaching experience is with both an imagined presence and an embodied presence (ibid, p. 101). That is, the country that was a site of bombs in her imaginary has changed to a site of disaster because of a tsunami, revealing that place is also mobile. This reframes what it might mean to teach there at the same time that her value is enhanced by travel (ibid, p. 107). Sean's blog (2008) also showed these shifts over three short contributions. Blogs, disasters, networks, family and so on all reveal how mobility as a research method is generative of new insights into the global teaching profession.

## Home Again: The Value of Being Overseas and Bringing Back Cultural Knowledge

Settling in after a sojourn in another country, where you don't carry the baggage of permanency and where you are often paid more or are more highly valued, can be difficult. Changes to personal circumstances can also shift how you settle back home again. Kerry, who taught in Canada, explains how a nomadic sense of place-making can be liberating, and Martin, who taught in Taiwan and China, explores how people configure and reconfigure home (Buscher and Urry 2009, p. 110): Kerry: 'Yes, we found it very hard to come back. It was really a difficult thing. But I think it is almost like a honeymoon, you know, if you go there and you think it's really good but if you stay on it would not be... it would become just another job'; Martin:

But I have a problem now about going out west, because my kids are Eurasian. It's unfortunate but not recognised, in Aboriginal communities, that there's a strong counter-racism with the Aboriginal kids, and on the first day at [xxxx] Primary school he was rolling around on the concrete being beaten by two Aboriginal kids.

I just can't... the Department can say 'oh, he is not willing to go out west', and all I can say is, 'I'm just not willing to put my kids in harm's way'. Like, I'd love to go out there if they could guarantee this wouldn't happen. You know what my children learnt? That Aboriginals are mean; and that's not what I want them to learn; it's not true, I know there are problems. Anyway, it just can't be me that does that, so I have to stick to the coast or somewhere that's a little more tolerant.

It is important to note here that while none of the emigrant teachers identified as Aboriginal or indigenous, there are indigenous teachers in Australian schools but due to racialized histories and policy domains, they are often treated separately in research (Reid 2004). Their comments on these contexts and their contribution to knowledge exchange regarding these issues is urgently needed as a focus of research, especially given that immigrant and emigrant teachers raised the matter of Aboriginal students in classrooms on a number of occasions. Cosmopolitan social theory, discussed in this chapter and elsewhere in this book, opens up space for indigenous teachers and their processes of knowledge exchange with non-indigenous others to be included in research in new ways (cf Forte 2010).

In Stanley's study of English-language teachers in Shanghai, there is a focus on being a foreigner and how constructions of teaching are infused with ideas about

Westerners (Stanley 2012). This was also evident in this study, in a range of different ways and in many different contexts. One of the important dimensions of this study to emerge, however, is the value of these experiences, not for profit or advancement, but in how these experiences shaped the personal (Ajayi 2011) and professional identities of the teachers (Agee 2004) and the impact they had on the teachers' professional knowledge.

At a personal level, Teddy from NSW noted:

Here I was an English-speaking graduate in English and the only drama I had ever seen was the local play at Grafton [rural town in NSW]. I did see a lot of theatre while I was in London and visited art galleries and generally enriched my cultural background.

Jack, who taught in Shanghai commented:

China is coming up so much in the curriculum these days, especially in our Social Sciences. We have a lot of China being the world's factory and everything, so, I find I can just use personal experiences, with students, and use my time in China, even in my teaching.

In terms of professional networks Tamara argued:

I think that within the Japanese teachers' community that I work within, if you hadn't been to Japan you just weren't worthwhile because you can't comment on the culture or how people live, and so many different things that you experience if you have been over there.

One of the key things about being mobile according to Dan from SA is that: 'You just learn to take more risks, overall, both professionally and in your own personal life'.

At the outset of this chapter we wanted to consider how globally mobile teachers, particularly Australian-educated teachers, might disrupt the narrative about their lack of capacity to engage with difference, and we hoped that we might be able to demonstrate the ways in which this might be the case. Using the voices of participants the rest of this section will explore the kinds of understandings and knowledge that were developed while on the move.

Simpson, who taught in Singapore, discussed how he became much more aware of processes of racialization.

Singapore – it's a different social setting and, like, in Australia the racism is a lot more overt. In Singapore it's hidden under this sort of façade you could say. So, there is a lot of racism in the country but, um... I know at [rural town in NSW] there were a lot of sub-continent teachers out there. So we had three Indian guys while I was there, and two Sri Lankan guys, and they did it tough, they really did. English wasn't their first language and they've come from societies where teachers are revered and have gone out to western NSW where they cop racism themselves from the Aboriginal kids and the White kids.

Lois from WA, taught in Indonesia:

Look, I can understand what they [immigrant teachers] are talking about. I speak pretty reasonable Indonesian; it's certainly not perfect and it's interesting that you are in a vacuum. Like when I leave the school and get on a bus to go home, people are talking but I can't understand any of what they are saying because they are talking in their dialect. When I go to the shopping centres the same thing happens. If I speak to a person in Indonesian they can speak to me back and I do have lots of friends in that case, but if you didn't speak Indonesian I think it would be a very difficult life because even not speaking the dialect was enough to make it strange. You think that if you travel home tonight and you do not understand a single word that anyone is saying from the moment you leave the office till the moment you get home, it's really quite isolating.

Jack (26) who taught in Shanghai was quite happy there but:

I had culture shock in the beginning, there's no doubt. I missed a lot of things back home and it certainly takes a while, and there's different ideas about what's important and different ways of thinking, but it just takes... It's just that initial perseverance that's needed, to just stick it out and after a while it sort of gets to a different stage where the culture shock ends and you get into, more, the discovery of new things and being open to new ideas and just getting more comfortable with it, so... I know teachers who had gone there and after a short while broke the contract and came back home.

It's true; you've got to have the practical opportunities available. But if you don't have those skills I mentioned of flexibility, adaptability, resilience, just a wanting to discover new places and taking a risk as well, you can just stay put here. You've just got to take that step as well. But you know you learn a lot.

Tamara, who had been in a very small town in northern Japan said:

Oh yes, I think that it is very important, just to see that we are not the centre of the universe, there really are millions of other ways to see a problem, cultural reactions to problems, cultural differences, language differences, like even, for example, what we would take one word to mean in English, in another language maybe it's, like, five words, and the reverse side as well – it's hard for them to realise it's just one word, so, yeah, I think it certainly helped me see things from a different perspective and open my mind to... rather than thinking those people were wrong, they're not wrong they're just different, and that's neither good nor bad it's just how it is.

Tamara found it hard to settle back into a small country town after her experience in Japan:

I am a city girl and I went to a small mining community, and unless you and your great grandparents had been born, lived, bred and died in the town I was in, you were not going to be a local, and so because it was such a small town anything that was foreign was termed very differently, very strange, and to have a Japanese teacher in the town itself they all thought was extremely weird. I came up against a lot of criticism and naïve views. I came up against all the war stuff and I just didn't want to touch it. Then silly things like one of my students said to me 'my next door neighbour lost their cat and we think the Asians down the road ate it', just stupid stuff, like, totally ignorant, really small minded and I was astounded at how small minded it could be.

Tamara left WA because of this experience and her qualifications were not fully recognized in NSW. Her experience overseas and teaching Japanese was however recognized in that she was given a 'flying job' teaching ESL in an Intensive English Centre. But she had no training in this area and related a difficult situation:

We had a huge influx of refugees in from the Sudan at that time. So the ESL teacher that had them at the school had a class of just totally Sudanese children who had never had to share, sit down and stay there, never had to do any of those things that we take for granted, and on the days where I wasn't called out to another school, I would go in and help her, and the principal saw that I could do my job so he offered me a temporary job at the school from that, so I was very lucky.

These kids have come from trauma, torture, detention centres, and if I have a rule saying you have got to write with a blue pen, do you think they are going to pay any notice at all? Yes, and one of the kids even said to me, 'I've come from a detention centre, nothing you could do would be worse than what I've come from'. So long as everyone was sitting in their seats and was safe, that was as far as I was going to take it.

The reflexivity of the teachers in this study demonstrates how White teachers bring back knowledge that can benefit their teaching, but also wider relationships that cannot be measured in any generalisable way. Terry who taught decades ago in the UK, when Australians were seen as convicts, learned about wider global injustices in the schools in which he taught:

I think, too, these schools were so undesirable that there would be – that they had to fill the ranks with colonials I think, and I met a lot of interesting people. There would be South Africans, New Zealanders, and people from Zimbabwe. There was a black Zimbabwean who I became friendly with who really made me aware of injustices and discrimination that was going on in South Africa, as he had been working there.

This empathy for ‘the other’ extended often to understanding the situation for immigrant teachers back home and how stereotypes are produced through and in popular culture. As Kirsty said:

When I came back, [it] gave me a whole new appreciation for migrant teachers. You know, things they [the kids in UK classes] didn’t like about me to start with, I can’t remember now, but it was either that I wore square-toed shoes and the fashion was pointy, but they would notice on *Neighbours* that that is what people did in Australia. Or I wore pointy and it was supposed to be squared, that was a really interesting thing that I was judged so much by *Neighbours*.

Jane from SA was even more adamant about what was needed:

I think, on reflection – I think one of the problems with migrant teachers coming here is the lack of interest in their background experience in schools, by other teachers in the school, and I think most people would really have no idea what it has been like for me. [Like] where they have come from within the school. Mind you, everybody is just getting on with the job and I can see that in the minds of this school, you didn’t feel valued. I think that experience is what many migrant teachers are likely to experience. It would make a huge difference in how you felt welcomed and valued and appreciated.

Lydia sums it up as: ‘And you are an outside person... I have more of an understanding of what it’s like to be the foreigner, not know the language’.

Being an insider and being othered (Santoro 2007) is increasingly the experience of global teachers. It is no longer possible to speak of Australian-educated teachers as disconnected from global mobilities, be they people, immigrant teachers, ideas, or mediascapes. Travel – local and global – bumps up against difference and brings with it transformations. The teachers who travelled overseas gain a comparative sense of their professional and personal identities that is profound. Whether or not this is recognized or rewarded is another matter.

## Recognition of Overseas Experience

One important question we asked related to the extent to which the experiences of emigrant teachers as global teachers is valued and recognised once they return to Australia. Overall, while over half (36) replied that it was, a large number (28)

replied that it wasn't. This suggests that there is a great deal of improvement that can be made to the way that the Australian education system responds to global teachers so that the various education departments and systems are able to re-attract to Australia. A number of teachers felt they were punished. Margaret, who went to the UK, said: 'Well when you come back, after that, it was, like, you were penalised for being away even though you were teaching and I lost one year of seniority. Seniority was kind of important as far as promotion in those days'.

In discussions with Departments of Education in each State we found that some overseas teaching is recognized, mainly formally organized exchanges, but commonly if you were out of the system for 5 years you would find when you returned that you had to do an induction course, as if you were a beginning teacher. Other anomalies were raised such as this, from Samantha, who taught at an international school in Thailand:

Another thing that I think is unfair with that is that, like, you know now I'm a stay-at-home mum; three years staying at home can be recognised as a year of teaching. So, you know, if that is the case then why can't three years of teaching be recognised as three years of teaching?

The other thing was that I had to apply for re-accreditation with the Department, so I had to go through a suitability interview again, and when I asked to keep my priority date and also to fight for the experience I already have, I then had to apply separately for that, and that I couldn't do that until I had my first day of teaching..

Kirsty found that when she was in:

... a UK school [they asked] 'why should they employ an Australian teacher?'. And now I'm finding that the irony of that is that I am now back in Australia, and I feel like the Australians are saying to me, 'you've been teaching the UK curriculum, why should we accredit you for that?'.

I've spent a lot of hours outside of school time writing reports and all of that, I think that it's unfair to say that I can't be recognised for that. I think, I don't know, it seems like this Catch 22 though, that if teachers are not going to be recognised for it then they're going to end up leaving the profession.

Martin reveals the irony in his situation: 'I taught ESL for ten years in China, but can I get recognition for that in Australia? What do I need? I need to do a six month course in ESL'.

Kathryn came back from Japan and found:

Like, the teaching was... the long service leave and everything like that had to start again, like the continuing service; so technically I have been employed with the Department for eleven years, but because I took those two years, they started it again, basically started again, counting again.

Teddy, who travelled to the UK a few decades ago came back and:

I had an appointment, I came home, I had to go for an interview, and I was treated like a pariah. I was ... the fellow was heavily sarcastic, condescending. It was the most negative situation and in a way I felt that I'd gone to these places to improve my teaching, to have some experience of the world, and I felt I'd invested in my future and also perhaps without being too immodest, the future of NSW education. But it was certainly not appreciated at that level of re-employment, and so much so he said 'well, we'll let you know if we can use you' and I just went off.

Joey, with experience in the US, UK and Canada said:

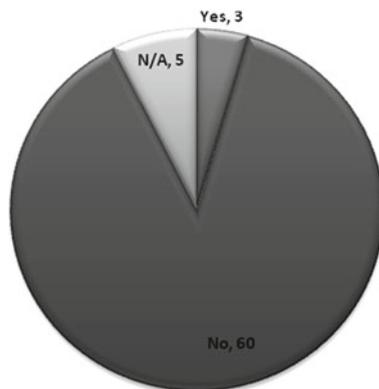
I would really make sure that as a Principal I would give the opportunity to do that because they will always come back as a better teacher. I didn't get that support from my Principal when I asked to do this, and just coming back – no I don't think it's been... I'm at another school now... It hasn't come up in interviews at all, you know, 'gee, oh, you've taught overseas can you tell us what skills you've gained over there?' And as I said, basically, I think it's – if you are stuck in this system in Australia and you haven't experienced it yourself, it's really something that doesn't register as a thing to pay attention to.

What is significant about this is the extent to which emigrant teachers share this predicament with immigrant teachers. As Martin notes:

Nothing was recognised in Australia when I came back. You know I just wonder how these people go when they come over here and they maybe have all this experience and stuff and they come here and start off and none of it gets recognised you know...

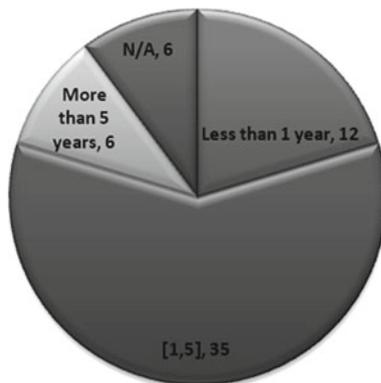
### ... To Be a Bit of a Gypsy?

Very few of the surveyed teachers planned to apply for permanent residency of a country they worked in, as Fig. 8.4 shows. The low proportion who expressed a desire to permanently leave Australia in this study may be, at least in part, explained by the fact that only those who had departed and later returned were surveyed. This does not indicate how many stay overseas, or how many originally intended to stay overseas when they first departed, and then changed their minds. Nevertheless, this finding is different to the finding of immigrant teachers that were surveyed, where many immigrant teachers intended to use their teacher qualification as a means to migrate permanently or as part of a migration journey to a number of countries' classrooms. Most emigrant teachers spent between 1 and 5 years teaching overseas (Fig. 8.5) with more women staying longer than the men, who generally spent a year away.

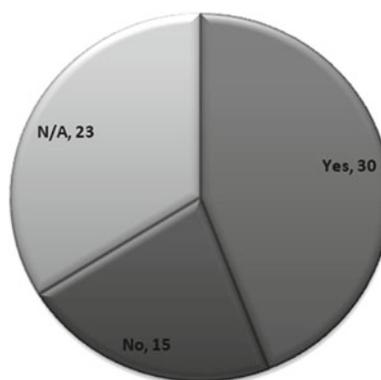


**Fig. 8.4** Emigrant teachers' plans for permanent residency of a country taught in

**Fig. 8.5** Years of teaching overseas by Australian emigrant teachers



**Fig. 8.6** Whether emigrant teachers see themselves as teaching in Australia in 5 years' time

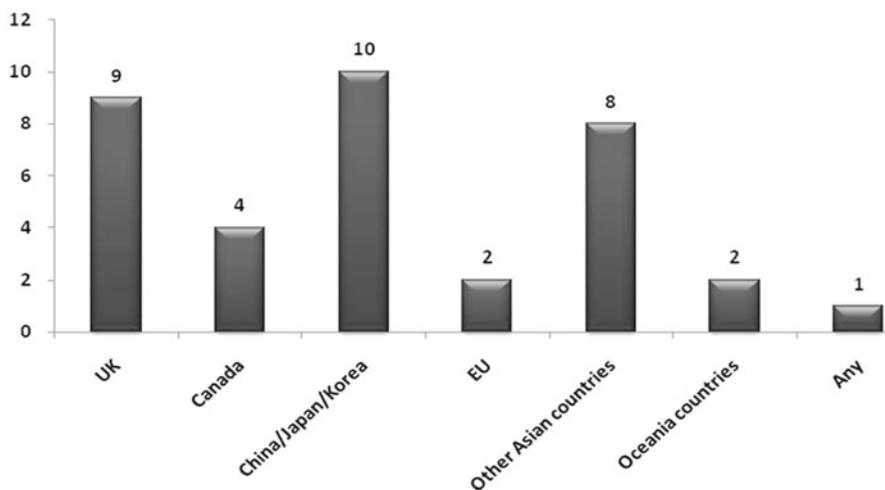
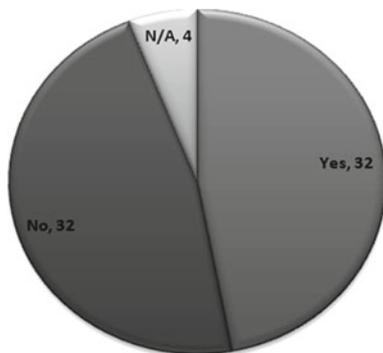


One key policy issue for education departments in Australia relates to whether global teachers are able to be re-attracted to teach in Australian schools. Figure 8.6 shows that two in three of the emigrant teachers surveyed did see themselves teaching in Australian schools in 5 years' time, while one in three did not. It seems, however, that the intention to be teaching in Australian schools in 5 years' time did not appear to discount the possibility of future global teaching experience. As Fig. 8.7 shows, the emigrant teachers surveyed were split fifty-fifty as to whether they intend to teach in another country in the near future. Those who did intend to seek overseas teaching opportunities in the near future nominated Asian countries more than the UK or Canada as desired future teacher countries (see Graph 8.8).

The intention to go back to or continue the global teaching journey is related to a number of factors. Jack, who taught in Shanghai, felt dissatisfaction on returning to Australia:

Another thing is, I've got to mention is, when you come back to the same school – look, you talk about culture shock. There's also reverse culture shock of course which is what I found. You come back to the same school and it's like going back to the same... because you've been so stimulated overseas and then come back to the same old thing, and that was something I got, and I needed... I left after a year of coming back, I needed that change.

**Fig. 8.7** Whether emigrant teachers intend to teach in another country in the near future



**Graph 8.8** Countries to which emigrant teachers would like to go to teach in the future

Eliza said she would really like to go, but factors such as the Global Financial Crisis (GFC), tax penalties, exchange rates, cost of living and so on are inhibitors:

So there are so many inequities that are making it really difficult now for teachers to be able to afford to go overseas to teach and, you know, you do it for two reasons: one because you want to for personal reasons; and the other is for professional enhancement. And your system does benefit from that, but there seems to be so many obstacles put in our way to do that and I'm not quite sure why.

Indeed global events shape the extent to which teachers are globally mobile, and Kirsty from SA said:

So it was a great time. Will I teach overseas again? Quite possibly, um, it would depend on what happens with life circumstances. It is certainly not something that I would put off the page completely and in fact at the end of August 2001 I'd nearly completed negotiations to go and teach in the US, and September the 11th happened, and it kind of put me off. It turned off a lot of people.

Miranda, who went to Canada and returned to SA, summed it up:

It has rejuvenated the way I feel about teaching and now I am looking at things, international teaching maybe, to be a bit of a gypsy? I have sort of got a taste for it. I am coming up to another change in my life so think maybe it is time to try something a little different, maybe an international school...

## Conclusion

For emigrant teachers in this project communication skills and teaching strategies that they had developed from their Australian teaching experience were highly valued. These were followed by their curriculum knowledge, their flexibility and adaptability, the fact that they were native English-speakers, and their general experience. An overwhelming majority (62) reported that these qualities were valued in the overseas schools in which they taught. Emigrant teachers' reconversion processes appear to have centred on developing their 'natural' capacities in English to suit the local labour market, although they are also highly regarded in English-speaking countries for their broad curriculum knowledge. They are not associated with permanency thus do not have access to induction programs or, when they did, found them not very useful. Like immigrant teachers in Australia they had to deal with different institutional agendas and processes in an ad hoc manner.

The strategies employed by these teachers, or their 'disposition towards the future' (Bourdieu 1984, p. 125) are shaped by a combination of the volume of their capital and the 'state of the instruments of reproduction' (1984) of their status, in this case, the labour market. Increasingly this market is in Asia.

One of the consequences for the shift to Asia as a site for Australian-educated global teachers is that negotiating cultural and linguistic differences, as well as different constructions of the 'good teacher', will become paramount. The experience of these Australian emigrant teachers, most of whom were White Anglo-Australians, demonstrates how they become an ethnic minority in the countries where they teach, increasingly countries other than the UK. A sharing of knowledge will be critical as well as, as our teachers have shown, a sense of humour to deal with the gendered and racialized ascriptions. These negotiations and experiences, will provide fertile ground for the development of a cosmopolitan disposition, something to be valued by Australian education systems.

Commonly, the majority group in Western societies is thought not to possess ethnicity, which is usually a consequence of being minority or 'other.' Whiteness is often conceived as being non-ethnic and this is a weakness of this racialized category. Ethnicity is important, however, because even here their English capital, deriving from their English-speaking background, often mitigates the degrees and intensities of the 'othering' experiences. These distinctions are important because they provide a more nuanced understanding of the transformation of teaching in the twenty-first century in a global labour market.

However, while Australian teachers overseas were warmly regarded, back home in Australia there appears to have been a *market failure*. This suggests that they were unable to reconvert their skills and this newly acquired cultural knowledge back into the Australian context, because they were not valued. In this sense, their contribution once they returned was invisible, yet central to how their subjectivities had been transformed by their overseas teaching experiences. A number of teachers have spoken of the pay scales overseas that reward coursework, professional development and different sets of knowledge. Returned emigrant teachers not only represent ‘brain drain’ regained, but bring back with them experience of different pedagogies, institutional approaches, and cultures that can significantly contribute to educational practices and outcomes in Australia.

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## Chapter 9

# Revisiting Ms Banerjee and Mr Chips

Teachers are on the move globally. Today more and more global teachers have the experience of standing in front of classrooms in more than one country, while many more are dreaming about, and exploring the possibilities of, this global professional mobility. Despite this there has been surprisingly little international research about contemporary global teachers. This book has attempted to fill this gap in the education and migration literature by reviewing existing international research on global teachers and by adding new insights from detailed recent research into global teachers in Australia. More than this, we have generated a range of key concepts to mobilise and solidify a new generation of critiques. The feature of global teacher movements, from a national point of view, is that you win some and you lose some. Countries take in new immigrant teachers at the same time that their own teachers decide to take advantage of the new possibilities of global professional mobility to seek teaching experience in other countries. In other words the mobility of global teachers into and out of nations is a revolving door. For that reason we conducted research with immigrant teachers in Australia as well as with Australian teachers who moved overseas: we called these emigrant teachers.

It was also for this reason that we titled this book *Goodbye Mr Chips, Hello Ms Banerjee*. As we explained in the introduction, we are invoking metaphor to capture some of the essence of the contemporary global teacher phenomenon. The *Goodbye/Hello* of the title reflected the international comings and goings of teachers. Mr Chips represents the teacher of yesterday. He stayed at the one school for most or all of his working life and probably never left the country. His experiences and connections were localised. The students in his classroom were mono-cultural and mono-class. He was the ‘chalk and talk’ teacher par excellence. *Goodbye, Mr. Chips* is a novel by the English author James Hilton (1934), that was adapted into two films (in 1939 and 1969) and two television programs (1984, and 2002), as well as being performed on radio and stage. Mr. Chipping (“Chips”), a retired teacher is recruited to fill teacher shortages caused by the impact of war on Britain. Set in a fictional British boys’ boarding school, Mr Chips has to connect with the rising generation of modern students. Mr Chips represents an era in which

European imperial powers struggled over globalization, and the only foreign languages worth learning were European.

Ms Banerjee is today's global teacher. Different eras of globalisation are borne by people's very names. 'Banerjee' in an anglicised version of the Bengali 'Bĕnarji' (ব্যানার্জি). While spelt in a variety of ways, the 'jee' is from the Sanskrit word for teacher. That Banerjee, along with Mukherjee and Chatterjee are familiar names in Western English speaking countries is not unrelated to the migratory possibilities available to these high caste Brahmins. Another example: Rabindranath Tagore, the first non-European to win the Nobel Prize in Literature (1913); the family surname of the Tagores is Banerjee.

Ms Banerjee reflects the predominantly female nature of the teaching profession in Australia and other countries. Ms Banerjee represents the non-White, non-Western multilingual teachers who constitute an increasing proportion of the teachers in Western Anglophone schools. Ms Banerjee is representative of the increasing feminization of global migration trends, particularly among professionals, as well as the trend for immigrants to Western nations to come increasingly from non-Western countries. This is not to say that male teachers are not also on the move globally. In our Australian fieldwork with global teachers we survey and interview a number of male immigrant and emigrant teachers.

Drawing on our Australian research presented in this book we can construct a composite 'identikit' portrait of Ms Banerjee as the archetypical immigrant teacher in Australia. It is likely that Ms Banerjee has Diasporic family and socio-linguistic networks in Australia that drew her to contemplate teaching in Australia in the first instance and assisted her in realising that dream. Ms Banerjee was probably accompanied by her husband and her children in her migration to Australia. It is also likely that Ms Banerjee has taught in countries other than India and Australia – maybe following her professional husband on his global career – and it is likely that her global teacher journey is not yet finished. It is also highly probable that Ms Banerjee's migration to Australia took some time to negotiate with Immigration officials and that the process of her capital reconversion – getting her teaching qualifications and experience recognised by Australian education authorities – was also a frustrating process that took some time. Her savings would be severely depleted by the time that she earned her first salary as a teacher in Australia. It is also likely that while Ms Banerjee was a fluent English-speaker in India – unlike many of her counterparts from African, European or other Asian countries – she had to sit an English language test in Australia to confirm her English-language ability. Her multilingual abilities would be viewed as a problem and a weakness rather than an asset; reflecting Mr Chips' era when French and German were the only foreign languages to be assessed. The quality of her Indian university, albeit infused with postcolonial Britishness, would have been scrutinised, probably by reference to its standings on the latest global university rankings lists, for ranking elitism. The subjects that she took for her teaching degree (and probably her postgraduate qualifications) would have been assessed for their quality against Australian standards. References will have been sought from all of her previous schools in India and other countries. International and local police inquiries about Ms Banerjee will have been made.

Once Ms Banerjee passed these teacher tests she would have taken part in induction programs for ‘foreign’ teachers and had some practical teaching time in Australian classrooms. Finally she achieved her goal and was registered as a teacher in the state in which she chose to live and teach. She then needed time to find a school that would offer her a job, and find and move to new dwellings near her new school. Ms Banerjee probably teaches Mathematics or Science in a metropolitan school in the western suburbs of Sydney or Melbourne or in the more remote working class suburbs in Perth, Adelaide or Brisbane. It took some time and emotion to adjust to the Australian school culture, the new curriculum (formal and informal), the staff-room and the classrooms in her new school, with the first months the most difficult, when perhaps she thought that she had made a mistake, that she should have stayed at home, that the dreams and the realities of being a global teacher were poles apart.

Ms Banerjee will probably have Indian friends who teach in regional or remote schools and live in towns of 7,000–15,000 people. She is at the cutting edge of technology for teaching and communication. She is connected to her family and sociolinguistic networks in India and around the globe through social media and the Internet, sending photos of school and family events and updating her global social networks, including Indian teacher friends, about life in Australia. The children in her classroom will come from all over the world representing many languages, intellectual backgrounds, cultures and religions, including indigenous Australian students. However her multicultural teaching competencies, including her multilingual communicative capabilities, will not be formally recognised by the Education Departments or informally in her school, nor will the school be as open to her cosmopolitan disposition as she would have hoped. Her school reminds her very much of that headed by Mr Chips. It is also likely that Ms Banerjee’s accent and appearance caused her some problems in the classroom and in the staff-room, as well as in the local community where she and her family now live. She will resent the fact that her linguistic capabilities, educational experiences and capabilities for critique are devalued in her school and that she will not be promoted to levels commensurate to her ability, and not be chosen for staff development opportunities. If she is on a temporary 457 Visa she will worry about not getting her Principal off-side because she or he will have to sign off that she is worthwhile to recommend for permanent residence in Australia. She will feel vulnerable, holding her tongue in school or subject meetings when she identifies problems or ways that her skills and experience could be better utilised in the school.

While Ms Banerjee is somewhat dissatisfied with her experience as an immigrant teacher in Australia – she expected that her abilities and experiences would be better utilised and respected by the Education bureaucrats and her school Principal – she would recommend that her teacher friends in India, or as part of the global Indian Diaspora, come to teach in Australia. She intends to keep teaching for the next 5 years, but has an open mind on what will happen after that. She might move to another state to teach, although this is not easy since each state has different policies, processes and procedures about teacher registration and qualification recognition. She might wait till she gets permanent residence in Australia and then resume her

global teaching journey. A lot depends on what is happening in her relationship – will her husband be moved to another country for a new posting? – and her family and friends in Australia and globally.

In the same way that Ms Banerjee became our composite immigrant teacher, Mr Chips will become our composite emigrant teacher. This is not to say that female teachers don't leave Australia or other countries for global teaching experience, just as choosing Ms Banerjee as a model immigrant teacher was not to suggest that all immigrant teachers were female. Put together, *Goodbye Mr Chips, Hello Ms Banerjee* is a metaphor for today's global teacher movements, since immigrant and emigrant are just different sides of the same global mobility coin from a national viewpoint. At the same time we are acutely aware of the great diversity in global teacher backgrounds, decisions, circumstances and experiences.

Mr Chips has changed considerably since we first met him 80 years ago. So we say hello again to the new Mr Chips. Today it is likely that Mr Chips – the Australian-born great grandson or grandson of relatives of *the* Mr Chips who moved from England to Australia decades ago – will spend part of his teaching career in other countries; possibly back in the United Kingdom (UK) where he can meet up with his relatives, or in Canada or New Zealand. It is also likely that Mr Chips has already or will be planning to teach in schools in an Asian country, where his English language background is sought after, as Asian countries like China and Indonesia give priority to the teaching of English. He is probably in his 20s or 30s and still single. He will probably return to Australia to resume his teaching career after his current global teaching journey finishes, but plans to move country again in later years.

It is likely that Mr Chips has friends overseas, including teachers he met at university in Australia and at schools in many countries. These international socio-linguistic networks, still largely constituted through English, have helped him to concretize his plans about his global teaching options. It is also probable that he read an advertisement in a local newspaper or on the Web about teaching opportunities abroad. He most likely travelled through the United States, Canada and UK on the way home teaching in short term appointments to fund his travels through Europe, and is now planning his teaching options in the Asia-Pacific. In his global teaching journey, Mr Chips is likely to collect a range of experiences that will deepen his capacity to understand global changes. He will experience alienation and stereotypes about White Western men in Asia that will challenge his personal and professional identity. He will meet other globally mobile teachers of all backgrounds and share ideas about the curriculum and pedagogy. It is likely that he will be more alert to discrimination when he returns home, having experienced the sharp edge of this himself. A single teacher, Mr Chips had to be independent and prepared to make efforts to get involved with local communities and teachers, and other expat teachers and migrants. His teaching induction program would have been superficial – too much on banal cultural generalisations and not enough useful detail on local formal and informal curriculum.

The professional capabilities Mr Chips has developed would have been through informal engagement with local and expatriate teachers and local school communities. He would have been welcomed by his host school communities but may have

found there was too much pressure put on teaching as fun, for his liking, developing a feeling that his professional capabilities were diminished or underutilized. He would have had a spirit of adventure, a desire to learn and to see what is 'out there'. Mr Chips would have at least two qualifications and these would have been acknowledged as world-class but it was his English-speaking capacity that was most valued, even if he was not an English teacher in the first instance. References will have been sought from his previous employer and international and local police inquiries about Mr Chips will have been made.

Mr Chips probably taught or will teach English in private schools in Asia. Mr Chips will probably travel to other countries while teaching overseas to use the proximity of countries in Asia and in the North to see the world. He will most likely link up with others who were travellers and hear about other opportunities in the global teaching market, particularly China, Japan and Korea. Mr Chips will keep in touch with family and friends via his blog, Facebook, email, and other social networking sites. The children in his classroom will come from all over the world representing many languages, intellectual cultures and religions and, because he is from Australia, this is something with which he is familiar, though this is not formally recognised. It is also likely that Mr Chips's accent will be different to that normally expected of a Western foreigner, because popular culture in the global north is dominated by Voice of (North) America and British Broadcasting Corporation accents, the English which Asian parents would probably prefer their children to have. He most likely had to get used to a more teacher-centred pedagogy and found this unsettling, but will introduce some new practices and ideas into the local school, and contribute to the sporting events in the local community. It is probable that he will find it hard to re-enter teaching in Australia at the level at which he left – or higher as such experience deserves if engagement with the Asian Century is to secure any serious rewards. Inadequate recognition of, and rewarding of, his overseas teaching experience, and the extent to which it had made him a better teacher, will irritate him, providing an important basis for a new generation of critiques. He will have to re-start his seniority, and probably have to attend an induction course, because he hasn't taught locally for 5 years. Like his immigrant teacher counterparts his global teaching experience appears to be more of a burden than an asset. Here is where transformative critiques can enter the public debate.

While Mr Chips is glad to be home in Australia he finds the students less keen than those he taught in Asia, and more difficult to handle (or to a less extent, perhaps due to the privileged schools in which he taught). Behavioural management problems were something that he experienced in the UK and Canada, but not in Asia. He probably has some suggestions and strategies for how behavioural problems might be overcome, that draw on his sojourn teaching overseas, but no-one will care and no-one will listen. The local school hierarchy and power structure is comfortable about how things are done around here. Mr Chips probably is an advocate for immigrant teachers in his school back home and encourages the learning of the languages of Asia among his teaching colleagues and students. In the short term it is likely that Mr Chips will return to another country but in the long term remain in Australia, particularly when he is married and has children of school age. There is

also the likelihood that if he isn't adequately valued and rewarded as a teacher, in terms of promotion, he will leave teaching and use his considerable skills and knowledge in another profession.

A number of important themes have emerged from our research into global teachers – immigrant and emigrant – in Australia. The first relates to the global mobility of teachers and the international migration literature. We can predict that more and more teachers will be on the move globally in coming decades. They will in most cases teach in three or more countries, becoming part of what immigration scholars refer to as the process of *circular migration*. Many will return 'home' to teach, often when they marry and their children reach critical schooling ages, though these teachers might resume their global journey as 'mature' teachers, once their children grow up and leave home. In their life-long global career, these teachers will decide what countries to teach in – and what towns or cities in these countries – by drawing on their family and social networks overseas, their Diasporic networks, for advice, connections and information.

The second theme that has emerged in this book is that global teachers today and tomorrow will have to negotiate and renegotiate the immigration and education tests that different countries and provinces, and cities within countries, require them to sit, before admission as an immigrant teacher is granted. Bourdieu's concept of *capital reconversion* (1984) has been useful to understand this critical part of the global teacher experience: global teachers must convert their teaching human capital to the teaching currency denomination or legal tender of their host country. Alternatively they, and those in solidarity with them, might mount critiques of existing tests, in favour of their modification and the creation of new tests that recognise the unacknowledged capabilities of global teachers. They have to demonstrate that their imported human capital deserves a strong exchange rate in their new country. But this will depend on how their countries' universities and schooling systems regard the global competitive tables for ranking elitism, that are now flourishing and given more and more credence globally. As migrants (immigrants and emigrants), global teachers must also undergo the processes of (permanent or temporary) *citizenship reconversion*: they have to be able to demonstrate to immigration authorities in the receiving or host countries in which they want to teach that they will settle as responsible citizens for their period of residence. This will require them to pass security and character tests. This is something that Bourdieu did not consider, focusing as he was on labour market mobility within a nation, not between nations.

But Bourdieu has another concept that helps us to understand the global teacher experience: that of *cultural capital*. A key theme that emerges from our Australian research is that global teachers are different from local teachers because they have different cultural capital. This difference has a number of dimensions: linguistic difference if their first language is not English, and accent differences even if it is; cultural differences; religious differences; education experiences in universities in different countries; teaching experiences in classrooms in different countries; different appearances and dress. The reconversion of the human *and* cultural capital of global teachers is critical to understanding their experiences globally. However, just as Bourdieu's concept of *capital reconversion* is limited by a focus on *human*

capital in the national labour market, so too is the usefulness of his concept of *cultural capital* limited by a focus on the culture of social class and not on the culture of cultural diversity that emerges in countries with significant immigrant populations (that is, in all countries today, including France). In other words, Bourdieu's concept of *cultural capital* is used by him in a mono-cultural, not multi-cultural way. This constrains significantly the extent to which Bourdieu's social theory can provide insights into the global teacher phenomenon. We have put the cultural back into cultural capital to give this concept more power in theorising about global teachers.

Capital conversion is not only a bureaucratic process but also a set of social relations and power structures which global teachers must negotiate. Internationally educated teachers mount their critiques of these employability tests under the weight of the injustices they feel. Their critiques are directed against lack of authenticity, inequalities, oppression and disenchantment that these tests generate. Global teachers have agency in this process of capital reconversion, as demonstrated in the extent to which tests of teacher employability in New South Wales (NSW) have been corrected as a result of corrective and transformative critiques; this opens up possibilities for a new generation of critiques to drive change, albeit not in any guaranteed or predetermined direction.

The significance of the impact of the cultural capital of global teachers on their experiences in countries like Australia can be seen in the problems that they experience with *cultural capital conversion*. In order to understand this, we have drawn on the concept of racialization, introduced by British sociologist Bob Miles in the 1980s. Miles (1993) argued that while there was no such thing as races of people, people acted as if there were. Moreover, negative stereotypes were ascribed to minority groups who experienced institutional and personal racism as a consequence. This is the third major theme of this book. Without this conceptual focus on racialization, the most salient aspects of the global teacher experiences would be overlooked. Racialization influences the nature of and the outcomes of the migration and education tests or hurdles that global teachers must pass before setting foot in a classroom in another country. It also shapes considerably the experiences of global teachers in the schools and communities of host countries. It is also important to remember that global teachers have agency to negotiate and respond to formal and informal power structures that discriminate against them because of their cultural background, though they do not always succeed in overcoming racial discrimination.

While most countries have immigration selection processes that are explicitly non-racist and merit based, in the post 9/11 period global teachers who are from the Middle East, from Muslim countries like Pakistan or Indonesia, or who are Muslims from other non-Muslim countries, face unique difficulties with immigration officials in gaining permanent or temporary entry visas to Western countries. Global teachers from non-Western countries have to convince education officials that their universities and their teaching qualifications and teaching experience can be regarded as being of appropriate quality to be regarded as equivalent to locally trained teachers. This is Bourdieu's human capital reconversion issue for

international professional labour markets. Global teachers whose first language is not English face tests to prove that their English language ability is of adequate standards for Australian classrooms. This is a cultural capital reconversion issue where the multi-lingual ability of global teachers is devalued or penalised. For instance, internationally educated teachers who can bring non-Western theoretic-linguistic assets to local schools might be better tested for their potential to contribute to Australia's intellectual engagement in the Asian Century. Locally- and internationally-educated teachers' employability status could be tested for them to act as cross-linguistic bridgeheads in knowledge networks linking Australia and Asia to the world. Such tests would ensure the accreditation of the bi/multilingual capabilities of those seeking entry into, or working in, the local teaching service, that is, locally- and internationally-educated teachers.

Racialization also impacts on the experience of global teachers in schools and communities. Both immigrant and emigrant teachers reported responses – mostly negative but sometimes positive – from fellow teachers, parents and students to their accent, a key signifier of their cultural difference. It is interesting that Australian, American, Irish, South African and Scottish teachers reported difficulties in this regard, as did teachers from India, China, and European and African countries. In other words, racialization is not the exclusive experience of coloured, non-White immigrants or those of a religious minority. It is a response to cultural difference, to the cultural capital of global teachers. Our research has also revealed that negative responses to the cultural capital of global teachers also lead to racial discrimination in schools: global teachers are often denied promotion or professional development opportunities commensurate to their human capital and experience. Their international teaching expertise is not only devalued, but also penalised. This is a form of market failure in the global labour market for teachers. It prevents them contributing to the teaching profession in their new countries to the extent of their ability – that is, it constrains the teaching contribution that they make – and they pay for it in the form of wages or salaries below what they would receive if promoted to positions appropriate to their skills and experience. This highlights how dysfunctional racism can be. Ironically, racism is perhaps the key factor that constrains the free global labour mobility for teachers or any labour category that neo-liberal free marketeers crave. Fear of the impact of racial, cultural or religious minorities on local communities is what drives the building of walls – literally and figuratively – to stop or severely restrict immigration. At the same time, formal and informal, individual and institutional racial discrimination constrain the contribution that global teachers and other immigrants in the labour market can make to the economy of the host nation. This is one of the key contradictions of contemporary globalization.

The global teachers in this book – immigrant and emigrant – have focussed our attention on the need for recognition of, and rewarding of, the different professional experiences and knowledge and the different cultural capital that global teachers bring to local classrooms and education systems. A number of teacher informants suggested that more opportunities for a formal and informal dialogue or exchange of knowledge between global and local teachers be established, as well as the means to redress constraints on global teacher rewards in terms of status and opportunities

for advancement within the host education system. This could be assisted by a changing focus of education theory from the hegemony of Euro-American theoretical categories and experiences to the global theoretical resources of ‘southern theory’ (Connell 2007). This would help to interrupt the Western or colonial theoretical dependency that critics in Asia lament (Alatas 2006); as well as help develop a shared and deep interest in non-Western/non-Northern educational cultures, modes of critique and theorising, in order to multiply the frames of intellectual references employed. This opens up possibilities for new modes of knowledge production through new ways of theorising education. It also opens up the possibility of acknowledging and rewarding the human and cultural capital of global teachers from non-Western countries to their benefit and to the benefit of the Western education systems and schools that employ them.

Another related theme to emerge from this book is that of cosmopolitan social theory. Our global teachers demonstrate capabilities and capacities that reveal they are more aware of other social, political and cultural processes and are attuned to the movement and flow of ideas as well as opportunities. They do not see events through one lens but have openness to multiple viewpoints and explanations. Cosmopolitan social and educational theory promises new ways of looking at how teachers negotiate difference: cosmopolitan theory is not specifically an English-speaking, Eurocentric framework. It is found in many languages and can therefore be a useful framework with which global teachers can speak to each other through and beyond boundaries. A cosmopolitan focus would also open eyes to, and opportunities for, the human and cultural capital of global teachers to be properly appraised, appreciated and rewarded in this age of globalization.

This book has shown that theories and methods that do not account for, or adequately appreciate, mobility are based on an overriding assumption that the context is solely national and the solution is also only national. This has been shown to be limited, particularly in a context marked by increasing global governance of teachers. The increasing global mobility of labour brings with it the need for international frameworks for the protection of labour rights and for fighting racial discrimination. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) has attempted to do this. Taking the case of teacher unions we can demonstrate the importance of the national *and* the global. Two trade unions were industry partners for the research project that generated much of the primary data for this book. We thus inquired about the extent to which global teachers were trade union members while teaching overseas as well as immigrant teacher support in Australia. Teacher trade unions, specifically in NSW (the NSW Teachers’ Federation) and South Australia (the South Australian Branch of the Australian Education Union, AEUSA) were eager to understand the impact of global mobility on their members and the profession they represented. One outcome of this research was that in October, 2012, for the first time, the AEUSA ran a one-day workshop for immigrant teachers as part of setting up a network for immigrant teachers: the first of its kind in Australia. Two of us – Reid and Collins – addressed a group of around sixty teachers from India, Indonesia, Malaysia, China, Kenya, Zimbabwe, and many other places, about this project. We stressed the importance of developing support networks among immigrant teachers in

Australia that emphasise *knowledge sharing*, in order to assist in redressing the many problems that our research had identified, that immigrant teachers face in Australian schools. The teachers concurred with our findings, shared more stories, and at the end of the day the AEUSA had developed a set of recommendations, including the introduction of a regular union Induction Program for global teachers. This is a terrific outcome and one that shows union commitment, procedures for change, and the benefits of research partnerships.

On the other side of the coin are emigrant teachers. Two out of three were not trade union members while teaching overseas, while one in three were. There is a partial agreement between the Australian Education Union (AEU) and the UK equivalent but no other support exists between Australia and other countries, except that exchange teachers can take their rights with them for the period of exchange. The main difficulties that Australian teachers faced teaching overseas were to do with the different nature of the education system, including issues related to regulation and lack of knowledge about, and support in, that education system. Some had accidents at work and were not covered, while others were underpaid and had no recourse. Lack of accommodation support was another. For these teachers and others who are globally mobile and non-permanent residents, there is need for a supranational body, such as Education International (EI, <http://www.ei-ie.org/>). EI is aware of global governance agendas and teachers moving from one country to another, but not so much the teacher who by choice is moving in a circular pattern, rather than bidirectional. In other words, their frameworks are still relatively a-mobile, a challenge for many organisations.

What this project has revealed is that teachers' professional identities are under pressure from globalizing agendas. It has also shown the enormous goodwill and commitment of teachers for their students and, in the main, for each other, no matter where they are located. These practices, as nomadic teachers, demonstrate the enduring character of the teaching profession globally. This is something to build on. Future research that has a focus on the maintenance and appreciation of teacher professionalism, support for their capacity to exchange knowledge and use it intelligently to improve their own practice and the conditions of schools and society wherever they may be, is needed.

It is also important to comment on the way that gender plays out in the global teacher story. We have already commented on Ms Banerjee as being part of the increasing trend in global teacher mobility for younger female professionals. It may be, of course, that she is Mrs. Banerjee, a slightly older cohort of global teachers who has a husband and a family. If so, Mrs. Banerjee's decisions about whether to stay in Australia, or to move to another country, or back home to India, will be shaped by family considerations, probably more than her own professional career interests. Perhaps her husband will be posted to another country with his global corporation and Mrs. Banerjee and the children will follow. If she is teaching in a regional Australian town, Mrs. Banerjee and her husband may decide to move to Sydney, Perth or some other large Australian city when her children reach university age, as some of our informants did. Or perhaps her husband's brother and his

family now live in Vancouver, London or Auckland, wax lyrical about the city, the life style and the teaching opportunities, and are calling on Mrs. Banerjee's family to join them.

Another important finding of this book is that while our immigrant teacher informants – most of whom were women – did not raise problems associated with their gender in Australian schools or communities, most of our female emigrant teacher informants did, when discussing their experiences as a teacher and a woman outside Australia. Many commented on their perceptions of the construction of the young, single, White Western woman in Asia and the difficulties that it posed for them in schools with students, parents and local teachers, and in daily life outside work. This shows the different experiences of whiteness and otherness in different countries, and invites further research as well as theoretical and policy consideration.

We also have identified a need for much more research into contemporary global teachers. There is a need for comparative research in a number of countries, including non-Western countries. There is hardly any research about the experience of global teachers from, or moving to, eastern Europe, Africa, the Pacific and Latin America. There is also a big gap in the research about global teachers moving between non-Western countries. We think that *southern theory* and *cosmopolitan social theory* provide important insights and conceptual frameworks that can inform this new research agenda in a way that challenges established western social and educational theory by putting the West/North at the periphery rather than at the centre of this research.

There are other gaps in the research on global teachers that we have identified in Australia and other countries. Many countries have international students who gain their teaching qualifications in other countries. This is a new pathway for global teachers and impacts on matters related to their human capital reconversion and social capital links with their host country. This is a fertile ground for further research. We are also not aware of research that looks at *Indigenous global teachers* such as the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia, the New Zealand Maori, the First Nations people of Canada and the United States of America or the Indigenous peoples of South American nations. This is important because we know that there are Indigenous teacher education programs in Australia, New Zealand and Canada, if not in other countries. Once again southern theory and cosmopolitan social theory are open to a more decentred approach to teachers, teachers work and teacher experiences, one that is more sensitive to the way that cultural diversity informs all aspects of pedagogy, curriculum and cultures of schooling.

While we have looked at global teacher movements from Australian perspectives, and through the metaphor of Mr Chips and Ms Banerjee, we are aware of the diversity in global teacher movements and experiences. We hope that this book makes an important contribution to understanding the increasingly important global teacher phenomenon, but are acutely aware of its limitations – including its western gaze – and hope that it inspires new research and new theoretical insights into global teachers.

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# Index

## A

Accent, 126, 152  
Accent from students and parents, 130  
Accidental, 80  
Accountability and standards, 14  
Adjustments, 146  
American accent, 127  
A-mobile, 16  
Asia, 144  
Asian Century, 19  
Assessment, 97, 119  
Assets, 116  
Attraction of new immigrant, 60  
Aussie, 114  
2011 Australian census, 39  
Australian-educated teachers, 2, 135–167  
Australian teachers, 114  
Australia's immigrant teachers, 40  
Authenticity, 105–108

## B

Barriers, 108, 116  
    and difficulties, 54  
Bilingual education, 117  
Birthplace of immigrants, 41  
Bourdieu, P., 108, 112  
Brain circulation, 18, 38  
Breadwinner, 111  
Bureaucratic process, 52

## C

Capabilities, 95, 108, 112  
Capital reconversion, 53, 90  
Career opportunities, 143

Casual teachers, 94  
Celebrations of diversity, 101  
Change to education policies or procedures, 58  
Child-centered pedagogical models, 14  
Circular migration, 3, 40, 136  
Circular teacher migration, 80  
Citizenship, 133  
Class and gender, 138  
Collective agency, 17  
Collective development, 12  
Commodification, 150  
Commonwealth, 4  
Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol, 9  
Community, 156  
Competencies and standards, 21  
Competition, 12  
Contemporary global migration flows, 36, 37  
Corrections, 92  
Cosmopolitan, 5, 135, 139, 154  
Cosmopolitan disposition, 166  
Costs, 109  
Counter-construction, 120  
Creativity, 105, 113  
Critical research in education, 99  
Critique, 108, 112, 113, 120  
Critique-driven corrections, 94  
Cultural capital, 5, 16, 21  
Cultural difference, 40  
Cultural negotiation, 139  
Curriculum, 146

## D

Deficit model, 116  
Demand for teachers, 67–68

- Destination for Australian teachers, 142  
 Diasporic family networks, 77  
 Difference, 133  
 Difficult experiences, 124  
 Difficulties, 55, 156  
 Disenchantment, 117–120  
 Disjunctions, 116  
 Disposition, 96  
 Diversification, 23  
 Division of intellectual labour, 101  
 Domination, 108, 113
- E**
- Education system, 155  
 Elites, 113  
 Emigrant teachers, 140  
 Empathy, 161  
 Employability, 91, 105–122  
 Employability tests, 25  
 Employment, 93  
 Employment recognition, 89  
 Enclaves, 146  
 English, 91  
 English-language teachers, 144, 158  
 English-language-teaching market, 13  
 English-only pedagogies, 99  
 Epistemic justice, 105  
 Euro-American theorising, 101  
 Exchange teacher, 71  
 Expectations, 56  
 Expense, 89  
 Experience, 163  
 Experience Living in Australia, 58–60
- F**
- Factory jobs, 109  
 Family connections, 79  
 Family-embedded reasons, 77  
 Feminisation of migration, 65  
 Foreign  
   man, 149  
   students, 78  
 Foreigner, 161  
 Freedom, 105
- G**
- Gender, 139, 147–149  
 Global circulation  
   of education professionals, 35  
   of knowledge, 15  
 Global events, 165  
 Global governance, 11
- Global governance agendas, 137  
 Globalization, 3, 39  
 Global journey to Australia, 70  
 Global multilingual knowledge  
   economies, 98  
 Global teacher, 1
- H**
- Habitus, 108, 120  
 Hindi, 117  
 History of teacher immigration, 40  
 Human capital, 11, 145  
 Human capital reconversion, 69  
 Humour, 150  
 Hurdle(s), 10, 100
- I**
- Imagination, 137  
 Immigrant families, 110  
 Immigrant-ness, 123  
 Immigrant teachers, 1, 2, 87  
   characteristics, 48  
 Immigration  
   to Australia, 36  
   and education hurdles, 88  
   experience, 45, 51–54  
   pathways, 68  
   pathways of immigrant teachers, 42  
   policy, 38  
 Increasing diversity, 38  
 Indigenous students, 130  
 Indigenous teachers, 158  
 Induction, 94  
 Inflexibility, 112, 118  
 Information and networks, 77  
 In-school practice, 96  
 Intellectual assets, 115  
 Intellectual freedom, 113  
 Intention to teach by gender, 143  
 Intercultural experience, 137  
 Interdisciplinary approach, 26  
 Interest convergence, 17  
 Internationalization, 87  
 Internationally educated teachers, 86, 106  
 International schools, 145  
 International teaching experience, 119  
 Internet, 78  
 Interrupted teaching career, 71
- K**
- Kabyle, 112, 120  
 Knowledge exchange, 154

**L**

Labour market, 106, 107  
 Labour market demand, 88  
 Literacy, 107  
 Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants  
   in Australia, 36  
 Loss of teachers, 18  
 Love, 73, 74

**M**

Market failure, 167  
 Methodology, 26–29, 140  
 Migration pathways, 141  
 Mobility, 141, 158  
 Monolingualism., 23  
 Monopoly, 108  
 Movement of labour, 87  
 Multicultural, 124  
 Multicultural school, 125  
 Multicultural teaching competency, 125  
 Multilingual capabilities, 101  
 Multilingual knowledge-based economies, 25

**N**

Neoliberal, 86  
 Networking, 95, 111  
 Networks, 10, 156  
 New mobilities, 3  
 Nomadic place-making, 158  
 Non-English speaking background', 92  
 Non-White, non-Western immigrants, 100  
 Norms, 108, 117

**O**

Occidentalism, 21  
 Orientalism, 21  
 Overseas trained teachers, 87

**P**

Parallel lives, 145  
 Patriarchal dividend, 149  
 Pay, 142  
 PEAT, 25  
 Pedagogical style, 152  
 Penalty, 110  
 Performance, 150  
 Performance metaphors, 151  
 Performativity, 24  
 Permanent and temporary visas, 74, 76  
 Personal suitability, 95  
 Points, 88

Police checks, 89  
 Policies and procedures, 91  
 Positive teaching experiences, 131  
 Pre-employment, 107  
 Pre-employment test, 95, 106, 108, 113, 114  
 Pre-employment testing, 94  
 Problems from students, 126  
 Processes of racialization, 21  
 Professional English assessment test, 110  
 Professional experience and knowledge, 49  
 Professional identities, 5  
 Professional qualifications, 43  
 Promotion, 55, 129  
 Public interest, 112

**Q**

Qualification, 91, 107, 115, 119, 141  
 Qualification recognition, 53  
 Qualitative methodologies, 28  
 Quantitative methodologies, 27

**R**

Racial discrimination  
   in Australia, 47  
   in schools, 128–129  
 Racialization, 5, 15, 19–24, 136, 149, 159  
 Racism, 47, 67  
   from fellow staff, 126  
   from students, 128  
 Reason for migrating to Australia, 44  
 Reason for wanting to teach overseas, 143  
 Re-attracted to teach, 164  
 Recognition, 161–163  
 Reconversion strategies, 16, 66  
 Recredentialing, 16  
 Recruited/Recruitment, 13, 75, 98  
 Reflexivity, 161  
 Regional, 68  
 Regions of birth of immigrant teachers, 48  
 Registration, 112  
 Remote, 75  
   community, 111  
   and regional schools, 132  
   schools, 129–131  
 Reproduction, 108  
 Research on immigrant teachers, 36  
 Resident visas, 52  
 Retention of new immigrant teachers, 60  
 Rights and expectations, 5  
 Rigid system and processes, 88  
 Risks, 115  
 Rules, regulations and procedures, 90  
 Rural communities, 108

**S**

Satisfaction as a teacher in Australia, 57  
 Serial coalition, 86  
 Sexual division of labour, 66  
 Shortages, 2  
     of experienced teachers, 35  
     of teachers, 12  
 Skills recognition test, 119  
 Social bonds, 105  
 Social dimension of immigrants lives, 47  
 Social networks, 38, 52  
 Southern theory, 14  
 Sport, 130  
 Standards, testing and accountability, 11  
 Status, 120  
 Strength, 93  
 Students, 127  
 Superdiversity, 21  
 Support, 154

**T**

Tamil, 109  
 Teacher-centred approach, 153  
 Teacher mobilities, 4  
 Teacher Recruitment Protocol, 4  
 Teacher shortage, 109, 111  
 Teacher shortage in one area of the  
     curriculum, 49  
 Teachers' professional English, 109, 117  
 Teachers' subjectivities, 137  
 Teach in the future, 165

Tears, 130  
 Temporalities of practice, 138  
 Testing, 86  
 Tests, 19, 86  
 Time, 106, 109, 113, 117  
 Time-series analysis, 99  
 Tough contexts, 147  
 Transformative critiques, 24  
 Transnational knowledge workers, 87  
 Transnational social networks, 79

**U**

Universalizing tendencies, 24  
 Unveil, 113  
 User pays, 110

**V**

457 Visas, 129

**W**

Waste of time, 110  
 Western anglophone education, 87  
 Westerners, 148  
 Western pedagogy, 152  
 Western women, 148  
 What it means to be a teacher, 146  
 Women, 135, 148, 163  
 World as their classroom, 133  
 World English speakers, 92