

# Mobile Teachers, Teacher Identity and International Schooling

Ruth Arber, Jill Blackmore and  
Athena Vongalis-Macrow (Eds.)



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## PREFACE

*Mobile Teachers, Teacher Identity and International Schooling* focuses on the increased mobility of teachers and curriculum and what it means for the expansion of international schooling. Teacher and curriculum mobility is considered within the wider context of the rising intensity and rapidity of uneven flows of educational ideas, goods, services and knowledge in the globally interconnected and trans-cultural world of the 21st century (Appadurai, 1996). The chapters in this book consider the impact of mobility on the transformation of schooling and educational work. Analyses of globalised and international education indicate that the relationship between internationalisation and mobile trans-cultural identities is contested in the context of rapid technological, demographic, cultural, economic and ideological change. The escalation of educational change has implications for the demands of increasingly mobile student populations and diverse workforces that contribute to the emergence of contemporary educational concerns relevant to the technical, linguistic and cultural skills required to live and work in globalised contexts. These changes present significant challenges for teacher professionalism and the provision of schooling.

The concepts, debates and processes that frame education mobility provide the guiding focus of this book. The mobility of people, ideas, goods, money and images informs how individuals negotiate their identities, cultures and languages and conduct their everyday lives as educators. In the early 21st century, educational institutions have been transformed by technological innovation and global interconnectivity. The demographic, ideological, economic and cultural flows that integrate local and global interconnections have consequences for the ways in which educational policy, theories and practice can be understood and take place locally. The everyday lives of practitioners, parents and students; the institutions in which they are educated and work; and the sociocultural and ideological contexts in which they work, are all consequently changing. The manifestation of these changes—as evident in the work and lives of teachers within specific cultural contexts and education systems; in their implications for educational theory and methodology; and their consequences for policy, programs, practice and research in education—are the focus of this book.

This book explores the mobility of curriculum, pedagogies, ideas and people that represent and mediate the impact of these uneven flows and movements through, in, and for school education, and the concepts and practices which frame that transformation. The particular focus of the book is on how these flows inform the ways individuals negotiate their identities, cultures and languages in different national and educational contexts. Education systems and the educational experiences offered by schools are being reconfigured due to multiple pressures, from moves to mobilise and to work transnationally. What does that mobility mean in terms of educational provision, possibilities and practice?



## PREFACE

Literatures, policies and programs, however, have continued to focus on calls to contest transnational education policies and practices (Apple, 2010). Lack of government funding, expectations to fuel innovation for the knowledge economy, and expectations to provide personalised learning for culturally diverse student populations are all implicated in the rising expectations of teachers. Institutional policies have focused on inclusive curriculum and addressing diversity as important in attracting and retaining students in a demand-driven education market, often meaning attracting more international fee-paying students into schools in order to bolster income. Less emphasis is placed on how international students can enhance cross-cultural relations and enrich school life (Peters, 2010). The focus of educational institutions on compliance and induction, and on providing personal welfare support as processes of remediation for international students, too often leads to programs and policies concerned with deficiency—in English language or specific skills—rather than on building upon the knowledge and skills all students require to work within global economies (Trahar, 2009; 2010). Educators, for example, require new skills to work with students with broad cultural and linguistic skills and knowledge, as they become increasingly mobile themselves within an increasingly international labour market, often without access to professional development (Brawn & Trahar, 2003; Trahar, 2010).

A range of perspectives and research directions within the fields of education and social theory are utilised by the authors to outline the key theoretical and methodological concerns and debates about the effects of global change on teachers and schools as educational organisations. *Mobile Teachers, Teacher Identity and International Schooling* explores the nature and effects of processes and practices of internationalisation in the school sector. It does so through multiple foci: school provision, teacher identity, curriculum and the transcultural issues that arise.

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## INTRODUCTION

The processes of internationalisation in schooling can be understood as interrelated flows of educational goods (curriculum, certification, accreditation), people (students and teachers), ideas (policy), images (markets), culture (inclusivity and cultural diversity), and money (school funds) (Appadurai, 1996). Internationalisation in education is of itself not new, but it has taken on different forms framed historically by various forms of colonialism, imperialism and capitalism (Rhee, 2009). The international teacher labour market is also not new, with various movements of educators (academics, teachers, teachers of English) evident throughout history. Cultural exchange programs are also not new.

However, what is new is the rapid intensity with which the mobility of educators, educational goods and people has increased for schools. While the globalisation of higher education has developed its international character in terms of scholarly networks and labour markets, the internationalisation of education is no longer confined to higher education but has spread to education generally. Education, across all levels, has become a globalised business (Ball, 2010). Specifically, the field of international education is radically changing as multinational companies such as Pearson offer packages to governments in developing economies that are struggling to meet demand. These ‘edu-packages’ include teacher and leadership training, school buildings, technology infrastructure, curriculum and assessment modules, as well as recruitment and professional development of teachers (Ball, 2010). What is new is the scale and intensity of flows, with Western educational expansion into new markets in China, Indonesia, the Middle East and Japan, most evident in the popularity of the International Baccalaureate (IB) in Western, Asian and Middle Eastern nations, with over 4600 schools teaching the IB globally.

Less studied is how the increased numbers of international students within Western nation states now impact on domestic provision in the West as well as their overseas markets. International education is informed by individual and familial aspirations and the capacity (material and imaginary) to make choices. As education has become a global business, the educational subject—the teacher or the student, depending on the context—is arguably now more hybrid, while the pedagogic and employment relationship is increasingly shaped by contractualism within a marketised context (Rawolle, 2013). New markets of educational products (curriculum, pedagogy and assessment), and new markets in students and for teachers have opened up in the past decade, with both public and private

educational providers active in marketing educational goods (Ball 2007, 2010). Over the last two decades, government policies in Australia (Matthews, 2002) and New Zealand (Robertson, 2000; Codd, 2005), together with demand in Asia, South-East Asia, the Middle East and the Pacific, has escalated the number of international students entering Australian schools, universities, TAFEs and commercial providers. In New Zealand in 2003, for example, the education export industry created 20,000 jobs and contributed NZ\$2billion per annum, with 82,000 foreign fee-paying students, of which 15,259 students are in schools, 22% in primary and 78% in secondary, an increase of 45% since 2001 (Codd, 2005). In Australia, the expansion of international education in schools, universities, as well as TAFE institutes and private institutes, in response to emerging middle-class demand in Asia and South-East Asia, has made education the primary export in Victoria and the third export nationally after minerals.

Much has been written about the impact of economic, political and cultural globalisation on higher education and schooling within national contexts, and the impact of travelling policies on teachers' professional identity and work in specific contexts (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). As yet, there has been little research to consider how these processes of internationalisation together with rampant edu-capitalism in schools in national systems impact on teachers' work and careers.

#### INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLING: A TRANSNATIONAL INDUSTRY

Stier (2010) refers to three ideologies rather than rationales underpinning international education. Ideologies, Stier argues, are 'the set of principles, underpinnings, goals and strategies which structure and permeate the actions and beliefs of educators, groups, organisations or societies' (Stier, 2010, p. 341), that can be sub/consciously mobilised. He identifies three dominant ideologies evident in university policies informing teaching, research and service that are equally applicable to schooling: 'instrumentalism', 'idealism' and 'educationalism' (Stier, 2010). Instrumentalism is where student mobility is about economic gains and acquiring employability attributes, attracting international students for profit and economic growth for the host country or individual providers, and improving a university's (or school's) position within the market. Idealism is premised upon the notion of internationalisation as an intrinsically good thing in terms of fostering 'good, morally conscious citizens, which in primary and secondary education is the objective of citizenship education, and thus acquiring 'attributes of fairness, openness, effective communication, tolerance ... and to inoculate respect, tolerance and thus become good global citizens' (Stier, 2010, p. 343). Educationalism stresses the notion of lifelong learning and values of learning for its own sake: 'learning from and learning with others' in more culturally diverse schools and universities. This draws on the discourse about network societies and knowledge societies required language skills and intercultural competence as necessary in culturally diverse contexts (Stier, 2010, pp. 343–344). It is about recognition and respect for difference. These ideologies produce often contradictory imperatives for academics, but are explicit in higher education policies regarding

internationalisation, most evident in graduate attributes. They are less explicitly articulated in school policies but more so discursively at the level of practice.

There has been little research on the impact of commercialisation on curriculum pedagogy, schools and teachers. Yet policies advocating parental choice, marketisation and privatisation of education have travelled rapidly transnationally under the auspices of global policy communities such as the OECD, and international education has become both a source of income and status for Australian schools (Codd, 2005; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Australia has a large non-government sector of schooling, a legacy of colonisation in the 19th century that expanded during the 1990s when discourses of parental choice were mobilised, together with favourable federal funding arrangements that provided more funds to even elite full fee-paying private schools. Funding based on enrolments has meant that government and non-government schools now compete for both students and teachers (Campbell et al., 2009). In this competitive context, being 'international' (and offering the IB, in particular) is a marker of quality and market distinction for individual schools, with over 163 schools in Australia offering the IB at primary, middle years and level. Fee-paying international students also offer a new source of income for individual schools. Finally, since the early 1990s there has been a proliferation of commercial providers in vocational education and training, primarily in areas identified as skill shortages, such as hospitality. Until 2010, international education was the pathway to permanent residency.

International education, therefore, has significant implications not just for the organisation of schooling, curriculum and pedagogy but also for teacher career paths and professional identities (Apple et al., 2005), as well as workforce planning in terms of national demand and supply issues and teacher education.

#### 'PEOPLE GOING PLACES'

The 20th century saw a vernacular nationalism in sociology that assumed citizens identified with particular cultural identities and formations and linked to defined rights and responsibilities. There is no longer a coincidence between nation, society, sovereignty and geography, with multiple citizenships and ethnic loyalties. Urry and Elliot (2010) argue that is not solidarity and unity producing the cultural identity of a geographically bounded society but more fluidity and malleability. Mobility has become a recurrent theme of sociology of travel, how global spaces and flows are reconstituting the self, and how mobility requires sociology to get beyond the endogenous characteristics of individual societies, transforming 'the social as society to the social as mobility' and producing an 'inner mobility' in terms of the self who is coming and going (Urry & Elliot, 2010, p. 348). Elliott and Urry refer to mobile lives, and how in the face of a new narrative of mobilities, the self-fashioning of lives is now being transformed', captured in social theory with notions of 'reflexive self-identities', 'liquid life' and 'individualization' (2010). Travel, Clifford (1997) argues, is about 'diverse practices of crossing, tactics of translation, experience of double or multiple attachments ... around three interconnected global forces: the continuing legacies of empire, the effects of

unprecedented world wars, and the global consequences of industrial capitalism's disruptive and restructuring activity' (Clifford, 1997, p. 6).

But mobility is about who is mobile and where they go. Post-colonial theories lead us to explore the nature, direction and drivers of the flows of internationalisation, given that the expansion of international schools increasingly linked to edu-capitalism (Bhabha, 1994; Bauman, 2001; Brah, 2000) and the racialised nature of these flows with the privileging of Western education (Dwyer, 1997). Mobility leads to processes of individualisation that are connected to both a greater capacity for choice but under conditions of uncertainty and responsibilisation, i.e. management of the self (Bauman, 1996). The individual is cast adrift from the nation state and its values, allowing the individual to make judgements about one's future and required to manage continuous upheaval in jobs, aspirations, skills and life opportunities.

However, the individual also seeks security and a sense of self through recognition by others, through education and work. How is that achieved in such a fluid context? Does the market provide the individual with meaning? Bauman (1996) refers to the climate of ambient fear distinguished by new world disorder, universal deregulation in which the market determines value, new style life politics with the collapse of familial and state safety nets and unions, and a radical uncertainty produced by lack of agency in the light of the all-consuming image industry. The boundaries that are most missed and desired are 'those of a rightful and secure position in society' (Bauman, 1996, p. 24). The response, Bauman argues, is 'not to get tied to one place, however pleasurable the present stopover may feel. Not to wed one's life to one vocation only. Not to swear consistency and loyalty to anything or anybody. Not to control the future, but refuse to mortgage it, to take care that the consequences of the game do not outlive the game' (Bauman, 1996, p. 89).

Fast mobility is associated with the 'transformed nature of occupations, personal identity and life strategies' (Elliott & Urry, 2010, p. 3), what they refer to as 'portable personhood' which leads to 'psychic re-organisation', intensified individualisation but also new forms of connectedness as individuals in similar workscapes meet, including academics and teachers. 'The hub of postmodern life strategy is not making identity stand—but the avoidance of being fixed' (Elliott & Urry, 2010, p. 90). Clifford goes on to state that what is evident is the 'currency of culture and identity as performative acts' (Clifford, 1997, p. 7). Culture is no longer about overlay or syncretism. It is now about inter-tanglement and hybridity. International education therefore provides the context and means—as well as the capacity—for teachers to travel more comfortably with realisation of particular rules of the game. But the questions remain: To whom do teachers feel connected? To what is their sense of obligation and professional responsibility? Where do they gain their values?

## INTERNATIONAL TEACHER MARKETS

Markets in education are socio-cultural processes and products of a set of both discursive and material conditions. Markets are as much an idea, an imaginary, more than a structure (Ball, 2010). Education has itself become increasingly commodified, exchanged as a 'product' that provides individuals and groups with comparative advantage over others. Markets are also bounded, materially and discursively. That is, some markets are geographically localised, and others are globalised. Education markets are also emotional artefacts, produced and enacted out of hope, desire, ambition, fear, envy and greed (Blackmore, 1995). Education markets are distinctively aspirational, offering the less advantaged the hope to move beyond their current circumstance and social mobility, and offering the more advantaged the opportunity to consolidate and enhance that advantage, to enhance their social and cultural capital through their mobility. A key aspect of education markets is a capacity to access information and mobility (both valued dispositions in global workers) in order to be able to capitalise on opportunities. Education markets are also premised upon relations of inequality based on unequal distribution of resources, time and information, which facilitate mobility and flexibility for some, particularly those with educational and cultural capital. Some individuals and groups possess those forms of cultural capital that are most valued in particular contexts. Teachers whose first language is English are considered to have valued symbolic capital in an international labour market.

Teacher mobility and careers also need to be understood within wider global transformations and the changing nature of work generally in the 21st century. First, there is a generalised move towards 'boundaryless' and 'portfolio' careers, where mobile knowledge workers collect and package a range of experiences which they carry with them across multiple positions, accumulating different forms of capital (Gee et al., 1996). Teacher career decisions are now influenced by greater insecurity arising from the deregulation of labour markets nationally and internationally. Labour market theorists typify the trend in many Anglophone nation states as moving toward a core-periphery model (Aronowitz & De Fazio, 1997): a transnational core of professional/managerial workers who organise work, (Connell, 2005); the technician/specialist class supporting and implementing strategies; and a periphery of casualised service workers in serial insecure jobs (Reich, 1997). Teaching increasingly indicates all three elements—mobility, reduced security, and increased casualisation (Blackmore et al., 2005; Boston Report on Teacher Workforce Planning—Victoria, 2004).

*The Multiplicity of Mobility*

In the early 21st century, educational institutions have been transformed by technological innovation and global interconnectivity. The demographic, ideological, economic and cultural flows that integrate local and global interconnections have consequences for the ways in which educational policy, theories and practice can be understood and take place locally. The everyday lives

of practitioners, parents and students; the institutions in which they are educated and work; and the socio-cultural and ideological contexts in which they work are consequently changing. The manifestations of these changes—as evident in the work and lives of teachers within specific cultural contexts and education systems; in their implications for educational theory and methodology; and their consequences for policy, programs, practice and research in education—are the focus of this book.

The structure of the book is to first consider international schooling and the changing configuration of schooling responding to localised notions of international. Drawing a distinction between international schooling and the internationalisation of schools Vongalis-Macrow examines a multiplicity of strategies and representations that could be defined within the schooling sector as ‘international’. Popular notions of ‘international schools’ are only one version of the ways that secondary education has responded to the fluidity of educational borders. Rather, there is no single model of ‘doing’ internationalisation, nor a systematic progression towards internationalisation, and forays by individual schools at the secondary level can best be described as ad hoc. Mapping out snapshots of five schools, Vongalis-Macrow analyses their internationalisation projects against criteria of deep to superficial understandings of ‘international’ with the schools’ links to international projects. Identifying the four ways that internationalisation is developed as (1) the ‘stages’ approach (2) the ‘learning’ approach, (3) the ‘contingency’ approach, and (4) the ‘network’ approach, she argues that secondary schools mostly rely on the contingency approach. The framework developed brings to view the diverse ways of doing ‘international’, the divergent ways in which this notion is constructed and its inconsistent and often uncomfortable underpinnings.

Continuing the theme of international schools, Koh critically analyses the forays of elite schooling into international education, arguing that mobility as a form of mobility capital is a recurrent theme. His argument is that mobile curriculum of the school can be seen as the school’s compass charting the direction of the school and aiming to prepare students in elite schools for power and success in the globalised economy. Elite schools, Koh argues, take globalisation seriously. The mobile curriculum is particularly pursued by elite schools seeking to reposition the school within globalised education spaces. From the broader global imaginings of the two elite schools, Koh provides insights about globalisation in action through a micro-analysis of the curriculum of two elite schools. The global classroom program sets out to get students, in this case, boys, out of the local bubble. The principal’s objective is to get students to ‘to start forming their views and opinions of the world’. The curriculum is also focused on action, which Koh argues is a situated uptake of globalisation that requires agency and action that will lead to social transformation, not only for self-gain but for the betterment of society.

The increasing diversity in the student body, the rising student mobility and their associated changes mean that the issues of teacher identity and professionalism need to be re-examined. In their chapter, Tran and Nguyen examine the impact of international student mobility upon the complexities,



dynamics and dimensionalities of teacher identity and professionalism. They argue that the presence of international students has influenced not only teachers' decision-making on curriculum and pedagogy but also their sense of self as a teacher—their professional identity. The process of moving across different professional fields and engaging in different professional roles has created conditions for the remaking of teacher professional identities that extend beyond the stance of being a knowledge and skills transmitter. Teachers negotiate their identity in the 'third space' when fulfilling their dual responsibilities—as teacher; international student support officer, parent and professional guide—under the impacts of the changed conditions that underpin increased student mobility. Teachers control their identity projects and negotiate their professional identities within a 'contact zone' conditioned by institutional power and constraints and within their professional landscape in international education. There is a dialectical relationship among teachers' multiple identities. The teachers' narratives reveal that not only the identity of international student support staff but also the ethical identity is forged through teacher's genuine engagement with international students, a space where different identities are to be negotiated, and, as a result, accommodated with one another. This has significant implications for enhancing professional development for teachers given the changing nature of their work as their professional roles have expanded and diversified.

Tran and Nguyen's chapter then leads to a closer examination of mobility, teachers and teacher identity. Drawing on Bauman, Arber suggests that the tourist teacher is a traveller who experiments with social and cultural expectations safe in the knowledge that they can return home when the exoticism and difference of other people and his inability to quite belong becomes too much and too shocking. The in-depth discussion of survey data demonstrates that increasing number of teachers teach overseas for extended periods before returning to teach in Australian secondary schools. Following sociocultural and postcolonial writing, the research suggests that motions of teacher professionalism are negotiated within interplays between gendered conceptions of professionalism, mobility and home as they are mediated within the turbulent interchange between the experiential, systemic and social and cultural interplays that underwrite formulations of identity, difference and belonging.

Neilsen then focuses on the most mobile of teachers: those teaching English as a Foreign and Second Language. Neilsen's argument is that English language teaching is a hybrid field where the profession and the industry are shaping practitioners who are at the vanguard of teacher mobility. Rather than being tourists, TESOL educators are growing the profession of ESL teachers as the spread of global English continues. These teachers have long ceased to be tourists, but nor are they migrants who are interacting with local flows of knowledge, practices and cultural exchanges. His analysis of the narratives of TESOL teachers from Australia and UK suggests that the experience of teaching overseas makes for more flexible attitudes and increased cultural understandings, coupled with enhanced understanding of language issues and language teaching.



The experiences of teachers and students in international contexts is captured by the experiences of teachers in Ecuador. Resnik refocuses the analytic gaze on the particular case of IB teaching in post-neoliberal Ecuador, where education transformation has promoted the IB as desirable educational product for both public and private schools. She attributes the governmental decision to reshuffle the teacher labour market from a single-track teacher market, in which teachers served both private and public schools, to establishing a differentiated teacher market catering for public and private teacher schools. Tracing the development of educational transformation as a post-bureaucratic form of control, Resnik argues that this context gives rise to a new education actor in the public arena, namely the IB organisation. Resnik presents a compelling case of disparity between public and private systems implementing the IB. The changed conditions that underpinned the introduction of the IB escalated demand for internationally minded teachers, transformed the working conditions and solidarity of teachers across the board and challenged the relevancy and integrity of powerful teacher unions. Nevertheless, it is a testament to the power of the IB that, despite the differences between private and public labour markets, there is cooperation and collaboration in implementing and establishing the IB training system.

Locating mobility historically in terms of East-West knowledge flows, Singh, Harreveld, Gao and Danaher explore the role of mobility in the education of international research students from China. Focusing on the learning reflections of one of the authors, Gao's journey starts with Gao's multilingual manoeuvring in her home, in junior high school, and at university; initially in China and later in Australia during the ROSETE program. Drawing on the metaphor of teacher-researcher as a traveller on a journey, the developing saga problematises the term 'traveller' as being more reflective of privileged individualism rather than being associated with the markets in education, labour and marriage. This journey led not only to the production of new knowledge and her own professional learning as a teacher-researcher but also to show how mobility can become a major element in knowledge exchange, the co-production of theoretic-linguistic assets, in this instance linking Australia and China.

In the final chapter, Blackmore suggests that the mobility of students, teachers and curriculum is really about a more 'portable personhood' that captures the multiplicity of mobility factors that comprise the global educator in increasingly internationalising labour markets. Drawing on a large study of the internationalisation of school provision, curriculum and pedagogy in Victoria, Australia, Blackmore explores the context for teachers' work as an education workscape that ties teacher mobility and career building to the wider global transformations and the changing nature of work. Drawing on Bourdieu's notion of social fields, rethinking teacher identities in international education is critically explored as accumulating and mobilising different capitals within a subfield of the field of education. A compelling and thorough analysis of what it means to be a mobile teacher illustrates the extent to which the international workscape is shaping a new generation of mobile educators and requires a rethinking about the impact on professional identities as mobile teachers negotiate their professionalism