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**INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL
LEADERSHIP IN AUSTRALIA**

Education Research Journal

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FOREWORD

The Education Research Journal is an exciting initiative of the Institute for Educational Leadership in Australia. Teachers hold one of the most crucial positions in society and play a vital role in our communities. This journal provides a platform to support teachers, leaders and academics to engage with educational research to enhance the conditions under which high quality teaching and leadership practices can flourish in schools.

An evidence-informed, knowledge creating profession reminds us that schools are not only places where students learn but also where teachers and leaders learn, becoming researchers of their own and each other's practice. The opportunity to share research to inform and enhance professional knowledge and skills cultivates a growth-oriented mindset within a culture of continuous learning that supports innovation, action and impact on teaching and leadership practices.

We know that educational expertise is acquired, developed and refined throughout a teaching career. It is informed by professional development and strengthened by engaging with high quality research. Embracing life-long learning enables the education profession to continue to have a positive impact on the students we serve.

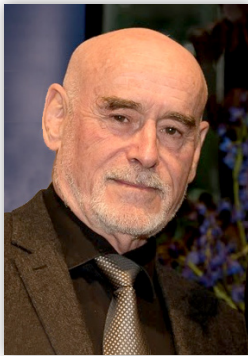
This edition features articles on a range of crucial areas of focus for the NSW Government; school leadership, careers, workload, quality teaching and of course, the importance of our professional teacher associations.

Congratulations to the inaugural contributors to this journal on your outstanding service to the education profession.

The Honourable Sarah Mitchell MLC
NSW Minister for Education & Early Learning



INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP IN AUSTRALIA



The Institute for Educational Leadership in Australia (IELA) is an initiative of the Professional Teachers' Council of New South Wales.

IELA is now the 'banner' under which annual awards for excellence in teaching, professional leadership and professional service are made.

The naming of IELA was predicated by a belief that the most important events in school education occur in the classroom under the guidance and management of a highly trained and qualified education professional: the classroom teacher.

The IELA logo is significant. Mnemosyne, the goddess of memory, was the daughter of Heaven and Earth was symbolised by a fountain. She and Zeus had nine daughters the Muses, goddesses of artistic inspiration, of Literature, History, Dance, Music and Sciences.

The Educational Research Journal (ERJ) offers the opportunity for classroom teachers to showcase the day-to-day practices and innovations that enrich the learning of students in Australian schools.

Dr Denis Mootz
History Teachers' Association of NSW
PTC NSW Immediate Past President

FEATURE – TEACHING: A NOBLE PROFESSION



PROFESSIONAL TEACHER ASSOCIATIONS AS A VEHICLE FOR COLLABORATIVE PROFESSIONALISM AND TEACHER AGENCY

**Cheryl Brennan, President
Australian Professional Teachers' Association**

ABSTRACT

Professional teacher associations play a significant role in the lives of teachers, providing leadership, advocacy, networking and professional learning on specific subjects or fields of interest. There is the potential for professional teacher associations to be leveraged to foster greater collaborative professionalism across subjects, states and sectors. There is also the potential for policy makers to accord greater weight to the teacher voice in educational decision making at the state and national levels. Collaborative professionalism and teacher voice are two strategies that can lead to improvements in student learning outcomes across the nation.

The role of professional teacher associations

There are a myriad of professional teacher associations across the country, and what they all have in common is that they are made up of passionate teachers and other educators who share a specific educational interest and are keen to improve their practice to benefit student learning outcomes. The common educational interest is usually a curriculum area, such as Mathematics, Science, Geography or Drama, or could focus on learning stages such as Primary English or middle schooling. It could also be based around a different focus, such as teachers of gifted and talented students, or early childhood educators.

Some teacher associations have very high membership numbers of thousands, others have many hundreds, whereas others with a narrower focus have very small membership numbers of less than fifty. Some have a very long history, such as the Mathematical Association of NSW which celebrated its centenary in 2010, whereas others have formed much more recently.

Teacher associations can be national associations with state and territory chapters, or they could be state or territory based. This reflects the fact that Australia is a federation and that authority for legislation on school-based education belongs with the states. Almost all teacher associations are cross sectoral, meaning that they include teachers from public schools, independent schools, catholic systemic schools and schools both with and without a religious affiliation, so there is a broad range of views and experiences represented amongst the membership. Members include those in the tertiary sector involved in the field of interest, as well as those in early childhood education, although the vast majority of association members are school-based teachers.

Professional teacher associations provide good “value for money” as a result of voluntary time and effort compared to “for-profit” professional development providers and, due to their small decision-making structure, professional teacher associations are able to respond relatively quickly to changed circumstances compared to universities and educational systems.

Teacher associations are legal entities that are registered organisations either through their state or registered through ASIC as companies limited by guarantee, with a formal Constitution and regular meeting structure, run by an elected Board of Directors. Teachers and educators who lead associations are usually not paid for their efforts; they are passionate about education surrounding their area of interest and give of their time free-of-charge to benefit their colleagues and the profession. Professional teacher associations need to prioritise among competing needs, of which there are many. Some associations receive funding for particular projects from governments, although they are keen to maintain their independence, and some of the largest associations have a paid executive officer and other clerical support staff who assist with day-to-day administration.

Teacher association membership is voluntary and a fee is charged, which provides five main benefits. The first benefit is access to subject-specific professional learning for teachers at all career stages, with a focus on innovative, research-inspired classroom practice. The second benefit is access to quality resources for teachers, which may include access to a refereed journal. The third benefit is networking and collaboration on pedagogical practices across schools and sectors, which could include working on funded projects. The fourth benefit is leadership opportunities for teachers to run professional learning activities and share best practice. The final benefit is to contribute to a representative voice for teachers of that particular subject or area of focus – for example, dealing with educational bodies about implementing subject-focused curricula. The focus is clearly on teaching and learning in the particular field of interest of the association. Professional teacher associations thus perceive that they have different concerns to teacher unions, which are focused on industrial issues such as levels of pay and working conditions.

Connections between various professional teacher associations

Professional teacher associations formally join together in various ways to further achieve their goals. For example, many teacher associations are affiliated with state or territory joint councils. At the national level, the Australian Professional Teachers' Association (APTA) is a federation of state and territory joint councils, representing a network of up to 200,000 teachers. Its vision is to provide national leadership that supports and advances the teacher profession, and it evolved from the Australian Joint Council of Professional Teaching Associations (AJCPTA).

At either the state or national level, bodies of combined teacher associations provide member associations with four main benefits. Firstly, opportunities to share and collaborate on common areas of interest such as student wellbeing, senior secondary pathways or teacher standards. Secondly, collective advocacy for involvement in educational decision making such as the House of Representatives Inquiry into the Status of the Teaching Profession or the Review of the Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians. Thirdly, promoting effective leadership of member associations, for example, through governance courses or advice on strategic planning. Finally, through supporting the running of member associations, for example, with secretariat support, maintaining membership databases and payments, and providing assistance in organising conferences.

Professional teacher associations and collaborative professionalism

Members of professional teacher associations in Australia have long recognised the importance of networking with like-minded colleagues to sound out ideas, see what works in similar situations, and to be challenged with new ideas and opportunities previously not considered. In Australia, professional teacher associations provide a sense of identity to members, facilitating connections between people who understand each other's thought processes and motivations. Professional teacher associations are particularly valuable to those who are the only teacher of their subject in a school, which is commonly the case for those in regional and remote locations.

As the Education Council is currently finalising the new iteration of the Educational Goals for Young Australians, it is worth considering opportunities for professional teacher associations to foster greater innovation and effectiveness into the future. Emerging research is confirming the importance of “collaborative professionalism” (Hargreaves and O’Connor, 2018) to improve student learning outcomes. Collaborative professionalism is about “how to collaborate more deeply, in ways that achieve greater impact”, recognising that we can no longer drive change from the top through stronger assessments, more specific standards or the establishment of teams and clusters to implement the relatively simple wishes of others. No profession, nor the people served by it, can progress without the ability and willingness of professionals to share their knowledge and expertise to figure out complex problems of practice together (Hargreaves and O’Connor, 2018, p.16).

The key to improving the social capital (Fullan, 2016, p.121) of teachers is to use the group to change the group; that is, to use relationships and networks of teachers, formal and informal, to improve teacher practice. Through refining the focus of their operations so that collaborative professionalism is central, professional teacher associations are ideally positioned to facilitate personal and collective responsibility for continuous improvement across schools, across subject areas, across sectors, and across the profession.

Professional teacher associations as constructors of educational change

Teacher associations in Australia are inherently democratic and empowering for teachers – they allow teachers to be in control, give teachers a “voice” and allow them to contribute to their own professional standing (Moroney, 1999, p.1). An example of associations taking a key role to support the development of teachers has been in the teaching standards area. National associations have been instrumental in undertaking research projects with universities and jurisdictions from 2000 that have led to the development of the Australian Professional Teaching Standards (Hayes, 2006).

Teacher agency and professional influence are increasingly recognised as crucial elements for school and system improvement, and through teacher associations there is the potential for teachers to play a more central role in decision making and policy formation. The concept is to “flip the system” (Evers and Kneyber, 2015) “so that teachers become the instigators, creators and implementers of educational change” rather than change coming from policymakers relying on international organisations and think tanks, factoring out the teacher’s voice (Harris and Jones, 2019, p.124).

Professional teacher associations and the national body, APTA, have a deep and nuanced understanding about the contexts where teaching and learning take place, across a range of subjects, sectors and states. It is essential that policies are developed with an appreciation of these contexts in order for the most effective ones to be adopted. APTA represents the collective voice of teacher associations and, as such, should be a part of any national decision making and policy making process in education.

Looking to the future

Professional teacher associations in Australia have a long history of facilitating the professional growth of Australian educators through providing courses and networking, and by providing a collective voice for teachers, often in a specific subject or field of interest. Professional teacher associations can take advantage of new opportunities to facilitate collaborative professionalism across subjects, schools and sectors. State and federal governments can facilitate more effective policy design and delivery by promoting teacher agency through listening to the collective voice of professional teacher associations.

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Biography

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EXPLORING LEARNING FOR SCHOOL LEADERS: A LITERATURE REVIEW IN THE CONTEXT OF SYSTEM LEADERSHIP

Dannelle Lalor

ABSTRACT

It has been widely shown that effective school leadership is a significant contributing factor in school improvement. Effective leadership preparation programs, often delivered by educational systems, are designed to support the professional learning of aspiring and newly appointed school leaders. These programs are often supported by experienced leaders. This systematic literature review examines three key questions to explore and understand the learning that occurs for experienced school leaders and how they contribute to system leadership. The findings suggest that two common opportunities for learning exist for experienced leaders; mentoring and coaching. These opportunities lead to enhanced reflective practice for experienced leaders which in turn result in a deeper understanding of leadership skills and capabilities, changes and improvements in their leadership practices and mentoring skills. Additionally, it is evident that experienced leaders contribute further to system leadership through setting direction, building leadership capacity and developing the organisation. This study is limited by its lack of empirical findings relating to the current context, Australia. Further, it establishes the need for future research to strengthen the understanding of the learning that takes place for experienced leaders when they engage with aspiring leaders as part of leadership preparation programs through a large scale, contextually relevant empirical study.

Developing effective school leaders now and for the future presents an opportunity for large scale education system reform not only in Australia (Heffernan, 2018) but also internationally (Hallinger, 2018a). As the teaching profession continues to face issues such as an ageing workforce (Auer & Fortuny, 2000), political and societal pressures for academic excellence (Morris, 2014) and the ability to lead an adaptive, responsive and flexible workforce due to such things as the recent global pandemic (Shapiro & Gross, 2013), succession planning for well-equipped, effective school leaders has never been more critical. Taking a systemic approach to education reform positions leadership preparation programs front and centre in instigating whole system reform (Hallinger, 2018a; Heffernan, 2018), which is pivotal in growing the collective capacity of leaders and of the system itself (Harris, 2010). It is understood that, “school leadership has a significant effect on features of the school organisation ... and is vital to the success of most school improvement efforts” (Leithwood et al., 2020, p. 6) therefore leaving the preparation and the embedding of effective school leadership across the system to chance is not an option.

System leadership is an emerging theory that contributes to embedding effective leadership within and across schools (Gurr & Drysdale, 2018) and is described as an authentic approach to encouraging and enabling the most successful leaders to identify and transfer best practice and “mobilize leadership capacity in pursuit of whole school improvement” (Higham, Hopkins & Matthew, 2009, p. 20). To understand how effective school leadership can influence system leadership and how the system itself can grow and support school leaders, we must first examine the context in which leaders are developed, supported and sustained within the system. Exploring the opportunities for learning that exist for experienced and aspiring school leaders will assist in developing a deeper understanding of the role the system plays in building the capacity of leaders (Harris & Lambert, 2003). It is in this way that an understanding of the contributions school leaders make to system leadership can be understood, harnessed and deliberately planned (Lambert, 2003).

Increasing in popularity in education reform is the focus on leadership development as a component of system leadership (Earley & Greany, 2017; Nehring, Szczesiul, & Charner-Laird, 2019). In recent times, a focus on system leadership is becoming the preferred approach in education reform as it is seen as generating sustainability across the system (Earley & Greany, 2017). Higham, Hopkins and Matthew (2009) suggest that a focus on system leadership is key to building effective leadership practices within and across schools, and ultimately leading to improvement across the system. For further insight, Gurr and Drysdale (2018) offer that the reciprocal nature of school and system leadership work in synergy and that “without effective school leadership, the level of impact of system leadership is likely to be limited” (p. 223). If the relationship between effective school leadership and system leadership is so critical to education reform (Harris, 2013) then the problem arises as such little is known about how to truly build system leadership through the transformative learning that occurs both experienced and aspiring school leaders when they engage together in leadership preparation programs. Further still, what is less known is how the two-directional relationship between experienced and aspiring school leaders transforms the learning for experienced leaders.

In the current context, Australia, there is a broad commitment to leadership development set at a national level through the Australian Institute of Teaching and School Leadership (AITSL). AITSL have proposed a set of guidelines that promote the understanding of the role of the principal and school leadership team. It states that as principals and school leadership teams value their role in leadership development, “they become key enablers to finding and developing future leaders” (AITSL, 2018). The broad commitment to prioritise the development of leadership within and across schools and a strong focus on ‘high-quality leadership’ is believed to have a profound impact on the quality teaching and learning (AITSL, 2018). The guidelines make a series of explicit recommendations in order to drive system wide effective leadership preparation programs and practices. Namely; the provision of “extended experiences that involve learning within the context of work and the provision of ongoing feedback”, the establishment of “networks to support leadership development” and the provision for principals to engage with “targeted professional learning to build the capacity to prioritise leadership development within and beyond their school” (AITSL, 2018). Finally, the national guidelines recommend how principals should be supported and developed in their role with experiences that might include; mentoring and coaching, professional learning seminars, engaging in professional learning networks and formal executive leadership programs (AITSL, 2018). Given the national commitment to developing system leadership through leadership preparation programs, it is worthwhile examining more closely the literature that exists on these programs to develop an empirical understanding of the role experienced school leaders play in contributing to system leadership.

Purpose and significance of study

The purpose of this literature review is to explore the empirical research findings on the opportunities and impact for experienced school leaders when they engage with and support the development of aspiring leaders. This is pertinent to both research and more localised imperatives. Whilst there are several research findings that examine mentoring for school leaders both experienced and aspiring (Service, Dalgic & Thornton, 2016; Service, Dalgic & Thornton, 2018), there is a sparsity of research to suggest how leadership mentoring and preparation programs contribute to system leadership. Locally, the NSW Department of Education has committed to strengthening school leadership in NSW public schools by establishing the School Leadership Institute (SLI) (NSW DoE, 2017). This ‘system’ approach to strengthening school leadership has the intended purpose of providing future-focused leadership programs for current and aspiring school leaders in order to drive quality teaching and learning in NSW public schools (NSW DoE, 2020). A significant contribution to the NSW DoE’s commitment to strengthening school leadership offered by the SLI through a co-design model with the University of Wollongong is the Aspiring Principals Leadership Program (APLP). This “evidence-informed, action-orientated program is designed to equip school leaders to lead improvement in student learning” in NSW public schools (NSW DoE, 2020). A key component of the APLP is the

function of the Principal Facilitator. A Principal Facilitator is defined as an experienced school leader, recruited through a rigorous selection process who supports aspiring school leaders throughout the program with feedback, coaching and mentoring. They lead through small group facilitation and individual guidance and engage in learning conversations that are designed to build personal support, confidence and expertise in leading school improvement. Principal Facilitators participate in quality professional learning delivered by experts in leadership development and examine research regarding adult learning and effective, collaborative, professional learning (NSW DoE, 2019). Therefore, as part of the purpose of this paper, a deeper level of understanding of the opportunities and impact experienced by school leaders who engage with and develop aspiring leaders will contribute significantly in this local context.

In this research paper, an experienced school leader will be defined as a person who demonstrates educational leadership that significantly impacts learning outcomes and has the capacity to facilitate the leadership development of colleagues (Bush, 2003). This may include (but is not limited to), assisting in identifying and transferring best practice in leading and managing a school, working 'shoulder-to shoulder' with school leaders to build capacity and support school improvement (Higham, Hopkins & Matthews, 2009)

Research Questions

This literature review will respond to three research questions:

1. What do empirical research findings suggest are the opportunities for experienced school leaders to develop the capacity of aspiring school leaders?
2. What learning occurs for experienced school leaders when they engage with aspiring school leaders?
3. How can experienced school leaders working with aspiring school leaders contribute to system leadership?

Conceptual Framing

This paper argues that to understand the contributions of experienced school leaders to the system and in educational reform, it is crucial to understand the concept of 'system leadership', to define what is meant by the term 'system leaders' and to develop a greater understanding the role of system leaders. System leadership refers to collective commitment to improve teaching and learning within and across the system (Harris, 2010). Harris (2010) discusses the need for attention to be paid to creating the conditions for purposeful collaborations that requires a "collective commitment to move the system forward through improvement in teaching and learning" (p.201). Butler (2014) offers insight into defining system leadership as "the ability to generate change across a system" (p.96) with particular attention being paid to its importance in working in conjunction with school leadership to drive school improvement (Gurr & Drysdale, 2018). As it relates to the current paper, system leadership can be enacted as experienced leaders work as mentors or coaches "within a more centrally organised system leadership program" (Hopkins, 2008 p.24). In this complex adaptive process, system leaders emphasise the importance of capacity building (Fullan & Knight, 2011), using leadership development as a strategy to leverage towards improving teaching and learning in schools (Naicker & Mestry, 2016). System leadership is considered a "wider resource for school improvement" (Hopkins & Higham, 2007, p.150), utilising successful leaders by through their identification and transfer best practice and leading innovation across the system that improves teacher quality and educational outcomes for all students all whilst doing so with an explicit moral purpose and an understanding of the implications for action (Hargreaves, 2007).

Hallinger's (2018b) contextual model of leadership posits system leadership 'wrapping around' school leadership. His model demonstrates the contextual influences (e.g. socio-cultural, political, economic, school improvement) that are exerted on school leadership and shape school leadership practices.

Hallinger (2018b) highlights the need to examine school leadership in context in order to fully understand successful school leadership. Naicker and Mestry (2016) reflects Hallinger's (2018b) model through the understanding that system-wide change begins by targeting leadership development broadly (at the school district level) rather than at the school level. Whilst useful for examining school and system leadership in context, Hallinger's (2018b) model examines one-directional influences and school leaders are not acknowledged for their contributions back to the system as they develop in their capacity for effective school leadership. Gurr and Drysdale (2018) make a similar argument for the exerting influences in a one-directional manner as they state the importance of system leadership and provide an understanding of the potential impact system leadership can have at a school level when the 'right' system leaders operate with influence. However they do argue that system leadership, "needs to work in conjunction with school leadership to maximise influence on school success" (Gurr & Drysdale, 2018 p.207). To assist in exploring research questions two and three, it is the position of this paper that system leadership points to the interactions and contributions that both outside and in-school leaders can have on driving effective school leadership and in turn developing system leadership at the very least in a two-directional manner and possible in a complex adaptive system (CAS) (Lichtenstein, et.al, 2006).

It is important to briefly examine the definition of system leaders as a focus within system leadership and the focus of this paper. Hopkins (2008) explains that system leaders in schools are leaders who are committed and willing to "work for the success of other schools as well as their own" (p.22). It directs the focus to leaders who have the capacity and willingness to support other experienced or emerging leaders in order to improve their leadership and/or school improvement (Harris, 2010). A system leader is someone able to "bring forth collective leadership" (Senge, Hamilton & Kania, 2019, p. 13). These system leaders have a broader sphere of impact and maintain a moral purpose that guides their goal that every school can be a great school (Hill, 2011) and work with other leaders to support their ability to improve effective school leadership (Fullan & Knight, 2011). It is this way that system leadership emerges and it can be difficult to untangle the system leaders from system leadership in order to map the landscape (Hopkins & Higham, 2007).

Developing an understanding of the role system leaders play in system leadership allows us to draw links to the work of the APLP as an approach to building and sustaining system leadership through the structured approach to capacity building of aspiring leaders. It would be in this way that experienced school leaders influence system leadership and assists in answering research question three. Emerging in our understanding is that taking a system leadership approach when leading education reform, leads to positive impacts (Hopkins, 2008). Failing schools are improving, there is a deeper focus on teaching and learning and emphasis is being placed on leadership development (Hopkins, 2008). As the evidence of impact for system leadership grows it will no doubt become an approach more broadly adopted throughout education systems' commitment to ensuring that every school can improve every year.

Method

A systematic literature review was conducted to explore the research available on learning for school leaders. Available literature on the topic from peer reviewed journals accessed through online databases for academic journals (ERIC, Scopus, Emerald Insight, Taylor and Francis, SAGE publications) was reviewed, critiqued and summarised (Green, Johnson & Adams, 2006). The three research questions outlined above guided the systematic review with specified protocols such as search limits for time period and exclusion criteria such as peer reviewed journals with full text available online and search strategies such as key search terms (listed in the table below) used to narrow the search and assist in determining if a research publication would be included in the synthesis of findings (Munn et. al, 2018). Key terms were used to search for peer-reviewed empirical studies that related to the exploration of school leader learning. A brief summary of the search strategy used for the systematic review are listed here:

Search terms	principal mentoring, principal coaching, principal facilitating, school leader mentoring, school leader coaching, principal preparation and/or programs, principal development
Search limits/ Exclusion Criteria	Time period: date restrictions are applied <the year 2000
	Publication type: search limited to peer reviewed journals, with the full text available online
	Field of study/subject: literature outside of the field of education will not be considered

Developed from: Aromataris and Riitano (2014).

A thematic analysis was undertaken to critically appraise the quality of the studies and to identify the themes discussed within and across the research (Scharp & Sanders, 2019). Relevant data was extracted from the individual studies and a framework (in table form) was developed and used to assist in synthesising the relevant research and organise the identified main themes (Scharp & Sanders, 2019). A complete list of sources analysed for this paper can be found in appendix 1.

A sample of the table is shown here:

Category	Theme	Author/ Year	Uses and applications to the field of study	Limitations of research	Implications for use in current paper	Sample size and Country of study	APA Reference	Database	Related Research Question

The thematic analysis yielded insightful findings and offered the advantages of flexibility with the use of system leadership as the conceptual framing and detailed in its design as the credibility, transferability and dependability of examined empirical studies were considered in the synthesis of identified themes (Nowell, Norris, White & Moules, 2017). The qualitative systematic literature review provided a powerful evidence informed source to respond to the research questions in an area where limited empirical evidence exists (Green, Johnson & Adams, 2006).

Findings and Discussion

This section of the paper will report on the findings of the literature review in consideration of the three research questions of this study. The literature review revealed two common opportunities for experienced school leaders to develop the capacity of aspiring school leaders: mentoring and coaching. Reflective practice emerged as the main theme regarding the learning that occurs when experienced leaders mentored or coached aspiring leaders. Further, experienced school leaders gain a deeper understanding of their leadership practices, develop their skills in mentoring itself and observe changes to their own leadership practices as a result of engaging with aspiring leaders. Finally, the exploration of literature on leadership development opportunities for experienced school leaders reveals that they contribute to system leadership through: setting direction, developing leadership capacity and developing the organisation. Each of these findings will be discussed here in further detail.

Research Question 1: What do empirical research findings suggest are the opportunities for experienced school leaders to develop the capacity of aspiring school leaders?

This systematic literature review found mentoring and coaching were two types of common opportunities for experienced school leaders to develop the leadership capacity of aspiring leaders (Service, Dalgic & Thornton, 2016; Gimbel & Kefor, 2018; Lochmiller, 2014). Coaching and mentoring opportunities generally formed part of a leadership preparation program that facilitated adult learning for aspiring and novice principals (Lackritz, Cseh & Wise, 2019; Clayton, Sanzo and Myran, 2013). The benefits of mentoring and coaching for school leaders in the context of leadership preparation programs will be discussed below. Generally, the leadership preparation programs discussed in the research literature reviewed included professional learning opportunities for less experienced leaders supported by mentoring and coaching practices by identified experienced school leaders.

Mentoring

Much of the research both locally and internationally indicates that mentoring is a key feature of leadership preparation programs (Service, Dalgic & Thornton, 2016; Lauder, 2000; Simon, Dole & Farragher, 2019). Generally across the research literatures reviewed, Mentoring was defined as the long term relationship between a more experienced individual known as a mentor and a less experienced individual described as a mentee or protégé (Dorval, Isaken & Noller, 2003), where the mentor is able to focus discussions around issues relating to personal or professional growth and driven by the development of the mentee (Thessin, Clayton & Jamison, 2020). Clayton, Sanzo and Myran (2013), in a qualitative study of eight mentors and mentees who participated in a two year university and school district leadership program in the USA, provided an understanding of the ways in which experienced school leaders develop the capacity of aspiring leaders. The benefits for leadership mentoring were evidenced through the critical reflection by the mentee and the mentor on their own leadership style and practice which benefitted both mentors and mentees (Clayton, Sanzo & Myran, 2013). A structured approach to discussions between experienced and aspiring leaders was used to assist in identifying, organising and effectively leading improvement. The reflective tool used in the leadership preparation program facilitated conversations between mentors and mentees, particularly in the beginning of the relationship. These structured opportunities for critical reflection were positively received by participants and seen as a way to develop their leadership identity (Clayton, Sanzo & Myran, 2013). Through the analysis of mentor and mentee reflections, the research identified shifts in understanding and philosophy about instructional leadership practices as well as personal leadership capabilities. The study did not however examine the changes to practice that resulted from this critical reflection, which limits this study in its support for capacity building of aspiring leaders.

The benefits of mentoring support for school leaders through leadership preparation programs is evidenced in the research findings of Service, Dalgic and Thornton (2016). Through semi-structured interviews with thirteen participants and mentors in a post-graduate leadership programme offered at the University of Wellington in New Zealand, Service, et al., (2016) analysed the perceived benefits of the mentoring and shadowing component of this post-graduate study program from the view point of aspiring leaders. They found support for mentoring as an effective tool for leadership preparation as it assisted aspiring leaders by providing the link between effective school leadership theory and practice through critical reflection in particularly during the shadowing of the mentor component of the leadership preparation program. The analysis of interactions between mentors and participants during the shadowing component found critical reflection was evidenced in two ways. Firstly, mentors provided 'reflection in action' as they discussed and explained why they were acting in certain ways during specific incidents. And secondly, critical reflection occurred through the offering of challenging questions by the mentor to the participant, as it prompted reflections on the actions taken by the aspiring leader. The incorporation of critical reflection as it built relational trust between mentor and participant was noted as a significant benefit for the participants in the program (Service, Dalgic and Thornton, 2016). However, as this study is not longitudinal in nature it is difficult to ascertain

the sustained benefits of mentors for aspiring leaders as they move into principalship beyond the scope of the 18 month leadership preparation program. It is undetermined through this study alone what changed practices could be observed for aspiring leaders as they progress in their leadership capabilities that may have resulted from their experiences engaging in the mentoring and shadowing leadership preparation program. It would be worthwhile for future research to examine the long term impact for aspiring leaders who participated in this program to ascertain the sustainable benefits of mentoring for school leaders.

Robertson and Lovett (2016) examined principal preparation programs and discussed the emphasis on reflective practice. They developed this theory by linking mentoring and reflective practice to demonstrate the impact mentoring had on leadership practices in their empirical study of 41 aspiring leaders in a year-long New Zealand government funded leadership preparation program. Whilst the terms mentoring and personalised coaching were used interchangeably as the learning opportunity provided by experienced school leaders, their work notes the synergy between mentoring/coaching and self-reflection and the positive impact this had for participants of leadership development programs (Robertson & Lovett, 2016). It was found that mentoring/coaching assisted aspiring leaders to act on the findings gained from self-assessment touch points throughout the program (Robertson & Lovett, 2016). Individual and group coaching sessions were used to ‘unpack’ self-assessment results and aided in developing deeper insight for aspiring leaders in the formation of their leadership identity. Leadership coaching in this context was a “useful conduit” (Robertson & Lovett, 2016, p. 68) to transform the information gained through self-reflection to actionable knowledge, highlighting the importance for self-reflection as a key component of effective leadership preparation programs and of significant benefit to school leaders. Gimbel and Kefor (2018) shed some further light on the effects of mentoring on leadership practices through their study of four participants and their mentors in leadership preparation program in the United States. Whilst small in scale and difficult to generalise, the findings suggest that mentoring from an experienced school leader provides a novice school leader with the skills to think more deeply about their leadership practices and make better and more informed decisions (Gimbel & Kefor, 2018). This improved the novice leader’s efficacy in ‘preparedness’ for the role as school leader and ability to manage the demands of the role (Gimbel & Kefor, 2018).

The four studies reviewed here report on leadership development programs in New Zealand and the United States. Findings establish that the benefits of mentoring for school leaders helps in the formation of their leadership identity (Clayton, Sanzo & Myran, 2013), provides a crucial link between theory and practice with an emphasis on critical reflection (Service, Dalgic & Thornton, 2016; Robertson & Lovett, 2016) and improves a leader’s efficacy in readiness for the role of school leader (Gimbel & Kefor, 2018). Further, particular strategies used in the mentoring process such as reflective tools, self-assessment touch points and individual and group mentoring sessions contributed to the increased efficacy for leadership experienced by aspiring leaders. However, there is a lack of research within the context of this study, Australia. Further the findings of these studies provide important insights into the benefits of mentoring for school leaders. There is, however, a sparsity of understanding of the long term impact of mentoring for aspiring leaders and literature that exists on the effects of mentoring for the mentors themselves.

Coaching

Through a comprehensive systematic literature review, the empirical studies examined here provide evidence for coaching as a key opportunity for experienced leaders to develop the leadership capacity in aspiring leaders (Wise & Cavazos, 2017; Lackritz, Cseh & Wise, 2019; Lochmiller, 2014). Coaching is often described as a deliberate strategy employed to increase the instructional capacity of an individual (Lofthouse, Leat & Towler, 2010) as it involves practical, performance based structures that are most effective when embedded within an individual’s context and directly related to their work (Silver, Lochmiller, Copland & Tripps, 2009). A concise analysis is offered here to provide support for the impact of coaching on effective leadership practices of novice and early career principals.

A large national study in leadership coaching indicated that principals who received leadership coaching benefited through the support, assistance, and opportunities to reflect and collaborate (Wise & Cavazos, 2017) that coaching offered. Wise and Cavazos (2017) conducted a comprehensive study examining the impact of coaching on leadership practices in the United States. 1361 principals were surveyed and overwhelmingly participants rated the coaching they received early in their principalship as supportive and beneficial (Wise & Cavazos, 2017). The study asserts that in particular, surveyed participants perceived collaboration and the opportunity to reflect as helpful in building their capacity to lead schools effectively (Wise & Cavazos, 2017). Their research suggested that principals who received coaching believed it contributed to their instructional leadership practices and an increase in student achievement (Wise & Cavazos, 2017). This was evident in data that reported over 85% of surveyed principals who received leadership coaching indicated they are a more capable principal as a result of receiving leadership coaching and 72% indicated that student achievement in their school has grown as a result of their engagement in leadership coaching. Although with such a large scale empirical study and limits of the survey design, the understanding of the types of collaboration and reflection engaged in by principals during leadership coaching is largely unclear. It is also worthwhile noting that contextual variables may have assisted in the rating of effectiveness of coaching in this study and is something that should be considered in future research. For example, coaches were matched to the novice principals largely through similar contexts and proximity. Opportunity to connect more regularly with coaches could be considered as a contributing factor to the success of coaching (Parylo, 2013). Coaches who are more familiar with the challenges faced by novice principals in particular school districts and are more readily available to provide coaching for contextually relevant issues could have been rated higher in the support they offered (Parylo, 2013).

Lackritz, Cseh and Wise (2019) explored the benefits of coaching for school leaders and it links to leadership development. Their study identified coaches facilitated leadership development through; building the capacity of less experienced principals to improve communication with staff, time management, people management and instructional leadership (Lackritz, Cseh & Wise, 2019). It was also found that coaches provided emotional support to novice principals (Lackritz, Cseh & Wise, 2019). The presentation of eight case studies of 'non-novice' school leaders who engaged in leadership coaching found that participant's leader identity construction was supported through the process of coaching. Of the eight case studies presented in this research, all interviewed participants found leadership coaching prompted opportunities to understand their role and self-perceptions as a leader. Whilst this study finds support for coaching as part of effective leadership preparation, the experienced principals who were interviewed noted that the support they offered to their colleagues was incongruent with their understanding of coaching and could be considered more akin to mentoring (Lackritz, Cseh & Wise, 2019).

Lochmiller (2014) found that leadership coaching was more expansive and focused on organisational issues, instructional leadership practices and knowledge building. More specifically, the longitudinal study of twelve coaches and thirteen early career principals found that the support coaches gave to novice principals changed overtime (Lochmiller, 2014). Coaches here adapted their leadership coaching practice in response to principals' needs, focusing more on instructional strategies and building confidence in the first year and then shifting to facilitative coaching to identify leadership challenges and navigate relationships with staff (Lochmiller, 2014). Through this novice principals believed that the support offered by their coach assisted them in becoming clearer in their thinking about leadership challenges (Lochmiller, 2014). Although coaches related that their shift in leadership coaching practices was intentional, what is not clear from this study is whether the shift was embedded as a program requirement. This is worth investigating in future research to develop a deeper understanding of the coach's role in building the capacity of aspiring school leaders.

The four studies reviewed here report on coaching as part of leadership development programs in the United States. Leadership coaching benefited school leaders through increased collaboration and the opportunity to reflect which built their capacity to lead schools effectively (Wise & Cavazos, 2017; Lochmiller, 2014). There is however, a lack of research within the context of this study, Australia.

Further the findings of these studies suggest that opportunities for leadership coaching support the capacity building of school leaders assisting in the improvement communication with staff, time management, people management and instructional leadership as well as provide emotional support to less experienced principals (Lackritz, Cseh & Wise, 2019; Parylo, 2013). There is, however, a lack of understanding of the distinction between coaching and mentoring, evidenced by the interchangeable nature of the terms throughout the research. Bridging this divide, and understanding the changing nature of the coaching relationship offers hope in determining the opportunities and the impact experienced school leaders can provide to build the leadership capacity of aspiring leaders.

Research Question 2: What learning occurs for experienced school leaders when they engage with aspiring school leaders?

The review of literature into the learning of experienced school leaders as they develop the capacity of aspiring leaders identified three important findings. Firstly, experienced leaders develop a deepening understanding of their own leadership skills and capabilities as a result of engaging with aspiring leaders (Daresh & Playko, 1993; Aravena, 2018; Lopez-Real & Kwan, 2005). Secondly, as a result of the deepening understanding of their leadership changes in leadership practices are observed (Bickmore & Davenport, 2019; Landgon, 2014). Finally, the third benefit for experienced leaders when they engage with aspiring leaders is an increase in their capacity for mentoring (Aravena, 2018; Langdon, 2014). These three main benefits for mentors will be discussed in further detail.

Deepening Understanding of Leadership

An early study by Daresh and Playko (1993) examined the benefits for mentors who engaged with aspiring ‘administrators’ through a leadership preparation program in the United States. Their study provides an early indication that critical reflection on one’s leadership skills and capabilities is a key learning that occurs for experienced leaders. They found that experienced leaders reported that through the mentoring process they had the chance to “be a teacher again” (p.9), which suggests working alongside an aspiring leader prompted their own critical reflection around how to lead their school effectively (Daresh & Playko, 1993). In studies from Hong Kong (Lopez-Real & Kwan, 2005) and Chile (Aravena, 2018) support was found for the assertion that experiential learning occurs through critical self-reflection on leadership practices when experienced school leaders engage with aspiring leaders (Lopez-Real & Kwan, 2005; Aravena, 2018). It is suggested in Kolb’s (2004) Learning Cycle theory that there is a relationship between reflection, experiential learning and personal development. Evidence for Kolb’s (2004) theory is evidenced on Lopez-Real and Kwan’s (2005) study that found that mentors felt compelled to think about their practices and account and explain the reasons for their methods leading to a deepening understanding and awareness of their own practices. Whilst Lopez-Real and Kwan’s (2005) study is outside the field of mentoring aspiring leaders and instead focuses on mentoring of graduate teachers, the study allows for the investigation of mentor learning and may have relevance to the present research question. Mentors stated that they perceived themselves to be role models and therefore critiqued their own performance in greater depth that they normally would (Lopez-Real & Kwan, 2005). Similarly, Aravena (2018) found that a deepening understanding of one’s own practice when engaging as a mentor led to increased self-awareness and professional growth. This kind of reflection is at the core of leader’s self-development (Kolb, 2004).

Changes in Leadership Practices

Furthering the argument that through mentoring mentors observed changes in their leadership practices is evidenced in Bickmore and Davenport (2019). They support the idea that mentors who engaged in the process of mentoring less experienced leaders became more reflective practitioners and changes were observed in their communication practices. Bickmore and Davenport (2019) unpack the transformational process of learning that occurred for mentors, noting the interactions with mentees prompted reflection on practice by the mentors and the content of their reflections initiated a change in practice (Bickmore & Davenport, 2019). In three extended focus group interviews with 11 mentors,

analysis of mentor's written reflections and observation field notes between the mentor and researchers, moving reflection to action was highlighted in several ways. Mentors described improvements in their communication and interaction skills with all staff, they were able to listen more effectively and better able to use questioning skills to engage their teams (Bickmore & Davenport, 2019). Mentors also provided examples of how these improved communication skills improved school outcomes as they were able to facilitate meetings in ways that prompted dialogue and discussion rather than imposed suggestions for change by the principal (Bickmore & Davenport, 2019). As this study took place over two years the findings assist in developing a more systematic understanding of how experienced school leaders may learn and change their leadership practice as a result of the mentoring process.

Examining the relationship between mentor and mentee can also be useful in assisting an understanding of how learning occurs for experienced and aspiring leaders. Langdon's (2014) empirical study provides a basis for the two-directional relationship of learning for mentors and mentees. The New Zealand study of thirteen mentor and mentee participant pairings over a two period found that through critical reflection mentors demonstrated their development of their mentoring capacity and learnt how to mentor more effectively (Langdon, 2014). Although in the context of mentoring novice teachers rather than aspiring leaders, Langdon (2014) uses a model adapted from Earl and Timperley's (2008) work to identify seven themes within learning conversations. A series of learning conversations between the mentor and mentee were analysed for these themes and learning for the mentor was indicated by shifts in themes from the first to the last conversation. Langdon's (2014) research provides a focus for further inquiry as the analysis of conversations between mentors and mentees develops an understanding in the shift of learning for leaders, away from knowledge and skill development to a focus on agency and joint deconstruction and co-constructions of practice, leading to an understanding that analysis of learning conversations provide an opportunity to understand what mentors come to know and are able to enact when they interact with novice teachers (Langdon, 2014).

Increased Capacity for Mentoring

Finally when experienced leaders act as mentors in leadership preparation programs improvements in mentoring skills were observed. Evidenced by Aravena (2018), leadership preparation program design that included opportunities for mentoring by experienced leaders is likely to result in improvements to the mentor's capabilities. In Aravena's (2018) study the knowledge gained by eight Chilean mentors during their first experience mentoring less experienced school leaders in a formal mentoring program was explored. It was identified through analysis of mentor's reflections that professional strategies such as active listening, reflection, critical thinking and questioning skills were improved as a result of mentoring less experienced principals. With a focus on mentor learning in leadership programs there is likely to be increase in mentor performance through the learning that occurs for mentors and then the potential for this to impact the skill development of novice principals (Aravena, 2018). It would seem that through a structured reflection process, namely skill development in active listening, effective questioning and critical thinking, it is possible to improve leadership skills as suggested by Aravena (2018). Langdon (2014) provided similar conclusions as it was found that throughout the mentoring process, greater attention was given by mentors in developing and strengthening their own knowledge, skill and practice in mentoring in order to support mentees, leading to support the idea that engaging as a mentor leads to improved mentoring skills that as Aravena (2018) suggests in turn may lead to improvements within the experienced leader's school context.

Overall, the five studies from the United States, New Zealand, Hong Kong and Chile reviewed here highlight that learning can and does in fact occur for experienced leaders when they engage with aspiring leaders has been identified as a deepening of understanding of their own leadership practices (Daresh & Playko, 1993; Aravena, 2018; Lopez-Real & Kwan, 2005), observed changes in leadership practices (Bickmore & Davenport, 2019; Landgon, 2014) and an increase in experienced leaders' capacity for mentoring (Aravena, 2018; Langdon, 2014). Opportunities to learn with and in collaboration with mentees as part of leadership preparation programs is a consideration to encourage critical reflection and experiential learning (Lopez-Real & Kwan, 2005) in order to improve experienced

leaders' leadership skills and capabilities. There is however, a lack of research within the context of this study, Australia, and whilst it is clear that learning occurs, the extent to which it occurs is not fully understood and a lack of literature exists on the topic. Future research could strengthen this perspective through the longitudinal empirical examination of changes in practice for experienced school leaders over time. It is in this way researchers can more deeply understand the learning that occurs and is sustained when experienced and aspiring leaders engage together.

Research Question 3: How can experienced school leaders working with aspiring school leaders contribute to system leadership?

Through a detailed review, the literature suggests that experienced school leaders when working with aspiring leaders contribute to system leadership in three ways: (1) Setting direction (Clayton, Sanzo & Myran, 2013), (2) Developing leadership capacity (Hopkin, 2009; Service & Thornton, 2019) and (3) Developing the organisation (Hopkin, 2009; Hean, 2009). Each of these themes will be discussed here in further detail to understand and find support the ways in which experienced school leaders contribute to system leadership.

Setting Direction

Experienced school leaders assist in setting the direction that enables aspiring leaders to reach their potential, they translate the vision for the organisation and promote high expectations of effective school leadership (Hopkins, 2009). Clayton, Sanzo and Myran (2013) study of the impact of mentoring experiences for experienced leaders offers insight into the importance of effective school leaders setting the vision and direction. They found that when mentors and mentees collaborated on projects that were connected to the vision for the broader education system the benefits to system leadership were more fully realised (Clayton, Sanzo & Myran, 2013). The collaboration during the principal preparation programs by mentors and mentees around structured, local-context projects that were grounded in evidence-based instructional practice improved the connection between coursework and practical experience (Clayton, Sanzo & Myran, 2013). Therefore, it would seem an imperative that large scale leadership preparation programs focus on experienced leaders understanding of the vision and direction connected to the broader education system and how this manifests in a local school context (Clayton, Sanzo & Myran, 2013). Experienced leaders who understand the vision can assist in setting the direction for aspiring leaders when focusing their experiential learning opportunities during leadership preparation programs.

Developing Leadership Capacity

Experienced leaders contribute to system leadership through developing the leadership capacity of aspiring leaders (Hopkins, 2009 in Higham, Hopkins & Matthews, 2009). Hopkins (2009) describes an emerging model of system leadership as one in which moral purpose sits at the core. From here leaders who seek to empower others provide the basis of leading educational improvement across the system (Hopkin, 2009). As discussed earlier, mentoring and coaching support that includes opportunities for critical reflection and experiential learning support individual's leadership development (Service, Dalgic & Thornton, 2018). More broadly, professional learning opportunities such as leadership preparation programs implemented at a system level that incorporate mentoring and coaching as a key component impact the development of school leaders' capacity for effective school leadership on a larger scale, in turn contribute to system leadership (Service & Thornton, 2019). Senge, Hamilton and Kania (2019) argue that system leaders foster collective capacity through deep, shared reflection and is essential for building trust. Service and Thornton (2019) discuss in detail the role of shared reflection through professional learning to support aspiring and experienced school leaders in order to drive system leadership in their New Zealand study sampling thirteen 'host' principals who had acted as a mentor to aspiring principals. It was established that a deliberate approach to system leadership must focus on principals at all levels of experience as ongoing learners (Service & Thornton, 2019). Professional learning should include experiential learning and critical reflection thus allowing opportunities to engage with aspiring leaders to develop their capacity

would promote a focused approach to professional learning for all school leaders (Service & Thornton, 2019). Experienced leaders who contribute in this way to the professional development of aspiring leaders through mentoring and coaching contribute to system leadership by enabling leaders to be active learners and assist in creating professional learning communities focused on improving school leadership (Hopkins, 2009). Whilst small in scale, Service and Thornton (2019) provide a useful lens for examining more widely in future research how professional learning for leaders and professional learning communities contributes to system leadership. Hopkins (2009) suggests that it is these broader partnerships, effective leadership can be utilised at a system level to improve educational outcomes for all students, teachers and leaders.

Developing the Organisation

Finally, experienced leaders through their commitment to developing aspiring leaders enable a more sustainable education system equipped with effective school leaders for the future with the capacity to lead educational improvement (Hopkin, 2009). Developing a sustainable approach to system leadership fulfils the need of having a pool of readily qualified, well-equipped leaders ready to lead school effectively –imperative to improving educational outcomes for all students (Hopkin, 2009). Hean (2009) contributes to an understanding of how the mentoring experience of leaders within the Singapore education system has developed a pervasive network of learning and development for aspiring and experienced leaders. This work, spanning 15 years, reviews the major research pertaining to the system-wide impact of leadership mentoring. It found that the commitment to developing leaders of the future through structured mentoring programs influences the education system well beyond the program's original intentions (Hean, 2009). The long-term nurturing and consolidation of mentoring relationships actively promoted interactions in a wider network of leaders, expanding opportunities for leaders to learn from one another at a much broader level (Hean, 2009). Hean (2009) demonstrates the imperative of education systems to commit to leadership preparation programs, sustaining them over time, as it is in this way that the impact of the preparation programs will be fully realised at a system level. An interesting aside here for future research, the sustainability of leadership preparation programs relies on the willingness and commitment of experienced leaders to engage in structured mentoring or coaching processes with aspiring leaders. Ensuring experienced leaders want to contribute back to the system will invariably influence the longevity of such programs. Although limited in its generalisability, Roszkowski and Badmus (2014) study of 509 college student peer mentors suggests that the decision to mentor others can be shaped by their experience as a mentee. Satisfaction with the mentoring experience was found through frequency of contact, approachability and helpfulness (Roszkowski & Badmus, 2014). If we want experienced leaders to contribute to system leadership now and in the future then examining someone's decision to mentor an aspiring leader would be a worthwhile endeavour to future research.

The four studies from the Unites States, Singapore and New Zealand assist in developing an understanding of the ways in which experienced leaders contribute to system leadership when they engage with aspiring leaders. There is however, a lack of research in this paper's current context, Australia. Further, as suggested, experienced leaders who understand and assist in setting the direction (Clayton, Sanzo & Myran, 2013), who can develop leadership capacity in others (Hopkin, 2009; Service & Thornton, 2019) in turn develop the organisation (Hopkin, 2009; Hean, 2009) leading to a strengthening of system leadership. There is a lack of available literature in the current context that examines the longitudinal benefits of experienced leaders' contributions to system leadership and the ways in which leadership preparation programs support and are supported by experienced school leaders.

Conclusions and Limitations

The literature reviewed in this study highlights the role of experienced school leaders in developing the capacity of aspiring leaders. It also provides evidence to support the contributions experienced leaders make to system leadership. As evidenced, mentoring and coaching are key opportunities that experienced leaders engage in to develop the capacity of aspiring leaders (Service, Dalgic & Thornton, 2016; Gimbel & Kefor, 2018; Lochmiller, 2014). It is evident that learning occurs for experienced senior school leaders through reflective practice when they engage with aspiring school leaders as part of structured leadership preparation programs, leading to changes in leadership and mentoring practices (Avarena, 2018; Bickmore & Davenport, 2019; Langdon, 2014; Service, Dalgic & Thornton, 2018). It has been established that experienced leaders contribute to system leadership when they engage with aspiring leaders through setting direction (Clayton, Sanzo & Myran, 2013), developing their own and others leadership capacity (Hopkin, 2009; Service & Thornton, 2019) and in turn developing the organisation (Hopkin, 2009; Hean, 2009). Whilst leadership preparation programs and sustained professional learning for aspiring school leaders is well-documented and supported, much is still to do be understood about the learning and changes in leadership practices that occur for experienced leaders when they engage with aspiring leaders in the current context, Australia.

Implications of study for the APLP

The current context for this paper recognises the Aspiring Principals Leadership Program (APLP) as the NSW Department of Education's deliberate approach to realising their capacity to develop system leadership in order to contribute to education reform in NSW. Clayton, Sanzo and Myran (2013) findings that experienced leaders set the broader education vision and direction through mentoring support of aspiring leaders throughout the leadership preparation process reinforces the APLP design approach. The APLP uses Principal Facilitators to facilitate through mentoring and coaching the connection of learning in leadership seminars to inquiry based research for aspiring leader within their school context. It is in this way that through the facilitation of the connections by the experienced leader, the broader education vision and direction can be realised for the aspiring leaders. Although, it is still undetermined the impact the facilitation of connections between learning and inquiry research has for the Principal Facilitators as part of the APLP and, through the development of their own skills, the impact of their contributions to improved leadership capacity within their own context and across the system. Further, findings relating to the use of professional learning communities to facilitate leadership development in Service and Thornton (2019) are evidenced in the APLP design where professional leadership teams are established to provide opportunities for experienced and aspiring leaders to engage in deep and continuous learning through collaborative practice. In Service and Thornton (2019) and similarly in the APLP design, these professional learning teams expand opportunities for broader network connections and develop the leadership capacity for school leaders through leadership for learning analysis and inquiry. The impact of these professional learning teams for Principal Facilitators and their role in contributing to system leadership is not yet fully realised. Finally, the APLP program sets about developing the NSW Department of Education through its commitment to the ongoing pursuit of leadership development. As Hean (2009) demonstrates the imperative of education systems to commit to leadership preparation programs such as the APLP, sustaining them over time, is one such way the impact of the preparation programs can be fully realised at a system level. Developing the organisation is a goal of system leadership (Hopkin, 2008) and creating the conditions for experienced leaders to contribute to system leadership is essential to the APLP program's success. It is recommended that examining an experienced leader's decision to mentor an aspiring leader would be a worthwhile endeavour for future research in order to sustain and develop system leaders and in turn the NSW Department of Education as a system.

Recommendations

The current paper establishes some promising areas for future research. Further exploration about the learning that occurs for experienced and aspiring leaders locally and more broadly is required to develop an understanding of how to plan and implement leadership preparation programs that will provide benefits for experienced school leaders' leadership development and maximise their contributions to strengthening leadership across the system. There is further study required in this field to fully and truly understand the nature of the relationship in order to identify evidence-informed system-wide practices that can be implemented to sustain system leadership. It is recommended that the design of leadership preparation programs recognises and encourages learning for mentors too and in that way these programs may have a more wide-spread impact on sustained effective school leadership.

Limitations

The current paper is limited by the lack of research findings in this paper's current context, Australia. A thorough thematic analysis was conducted on the available research however, further work to broaden the scope and synthesize the studies found by skilled researchers may yield a more detailed analysis. It has been established that future research must be undertaken in this field in order to strengthen the assertions made in this paper. An Australian large scale empirical study to establish that reflective practice occurs when experienced school leaders engage with aspiring leaders is needed as well as a close examination of the resulting changes to leadership practice, the 'now what' of experienced leaders is imperative. This is the identified gap that still exists in our understanding of effective school leadership and its role in contributing to system leadership.

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Appendices related to this article can be accessed [HERE](#)



RAISING CAREER AWARENESS IN SCHOOLS: AN EXAMINATION OF THE SOCIAL DYNAMIC IN LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYDNEY SCHOOLS

Greg Baird

ABSTRACT

The spotlight in 2021 is very much on the vocational education and training sector. The review led by Mr David Gonski AC and Professor Shergold AC, and as released by the Premier of NSW Gladys Berejiklian in March, claims to be a 'Career Revolution' premised on the ideal to provide lifelong career services. 'Careers NSW', is this new service that will be piloted this year. In this environment of exciting career development designed to promote a closer link between skills and theory, it is important to remember that the foundation of aspiration and education happens in our schools. Now more than ever it is vital to understand the forces behind aspiration for students in our high schools and how this is already being recognised by our education authorities. This paper is about this recognition but, more importantly is about Raising Career Awareness for the socio-economically disadvantaged as recognised by the Socio Economic Index for Areas (SEIFA). It is about Raising the Awareness in schools and how that relates to the recognition of Pedagogic Authority (PAu) of NESAs and the power relationship it has on the curriculum in schools, through Pedagogic Action (PA). This power relationship will be explored and explained through the social suite of tools that Pierre Bourdieu provides. It is through an understanding of Bourdieu that misrecognition is understood and schools can provide students with the power to choose an appropriate future for themselves that considers both academic and VET options.

Career Awareness is something that needs to be nurtured both within schools and in the community to encourage young people to imagine their future. The imperative of 'raising career awareness' in schools is the mission of Careers Advisers. This paper recognises that this does not happen in isolation but instead represents a holistic approach that galvanises the combined forces of recognition and change, within any school. In examining the Social Space in which career awareness occurs, this paper considers the social suite of tools that Pierre Bourdieu used in his theory and research. The aim is to highlight the insight that his social suite of tools provides regarding the forces present in schools that impact on a disadvantaged demographic. The focus of this paper is the process of Careers Services (CS) and the extent that Bourdieu's concept of Cultural Capital (Bourdieu 1972), influences career decision-making for individuals in these schools.

Career Services Defined

The term Careers Services acknowledges that such services are part of a collective provided within an institution that serves to assist individuals in decisions relating to curriculum and long term career aspirations. Careers Services include, but are not limited to, the Careers Adviser (CA) as they may also include: the transition officer; year advisers; head teacher teaching and learning; head of welfare; as well as other staff that may, on occasion, provide or assist with careers services. The research will focus on these services and the community for which they serve. The need for a collective approach to this vital area of student development can be seen in the assertion that: 'Initiating a collective learning process in schools seems essential; for that new forms of leadership seem to be needed' (Hughes et al 2017). This statement refers to the leadership that Careers Advisers provide to their community in Raising Career Awareness.

The Low-Socioeconomic Disadvantage

The importance of this research is in identifying what is being done in disadvantaged schools to ameliorate disadvantage in low socioeconomic areas and how effective these measures are, from the perspective of both CS, as well as students. It is vitally important to review the measures that exist so that we can evaluate what measures are effective and where energy may be better reallocated. It is particularly important to evaluate the effectiveness of Careers Services so that informed decisions about improving these services can be made.

The importance of this research is that it will explore student's Career Awareness and what Pierre Bourdieu terms the 'agency' of the Careers Service within schools. A recent study, recognised that there was a correlation between the number of career talks provided and the earning potential of students, (Kashefpakdel and Percy 2017). This was based on a longitudinal study from birth to the age of twenty-six in England. There was a correlation of the number of career related interventions and student perceptions of the effectiveness of the program. This suggests the important impact that agency can have on raising career awareness. It is also important to recognise the type of agency that exists and its impact on raising career awareness. This confirms that the provision of Career Advice within schools has a strong and positive response with students.

Government Support for the Disadvantaged in NSW Schools

Disadvantaged schools in NSW have been identified by UAC and the DET. AGO1 Socio-Economic Index for Areas (SEIFA) is a new (2019) automated EAS application based on postcodes rather than the school that one attends. SEIFA stands for Socio-economic disadvantage for area and applies automatically to students identified by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, by postcode, as being in the lowest 25% of socio-economic disadvantage in Australia. The University Admission Centre (UAC), provides an automatically generated Equity Access Scheme (EAS) application for the candidate and they are informed by email the day after their application for undergraduate admission. A submission for EAS is still required but no details are required about disadvantage as the details about the disadvantage will be automatically generated. In this new approach, there is a shift in emphasis away from schools as being disadvantaged and towards disadvantaged socioeconomic areas by postcode. This recognises that students may travel and not be from the area of disadvantage that a school belongs to, but it falls short of 'means testing' families to recognise individual circumstances. These measures do provide opportunities for disadvantaged students that may not exist otherwise. This does provide reward for students in disadvantaged schools that aspire for tertiary education and have toiled at achieving, what academic success, or cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984).

The Relevance of Bourdieu's Suite of Social Tools

Pierre Bourdieu identifies external influences to the school as having a significant baseline and ongoing influence. His Habitus concept comprises a system of dispositions which generate perceptions, appreciations and practices (Bourdieu 1990). Habitus also designates a way of being in a habitual state... and, in particular, a pre-disposition, tendency propensity or inclination, (Bourdieu, 1977). He recognises that there is a reproduction of classes to make sure that the social status is maintained. Working class kids get working class jobs and the elite maintain their advantage. Bourdieu's use of the term habitus is a break from philosophy into the social realm. Further Bourdieu espoused that those in charge of the curriculum, NESA in NSW, are the Pedagogic Authority (PAu) and they delegate the Pedagogic Action (PA) and Pedagogic Work (PW) to schools as Agents of the curriculum. This Bourdieu saw as being in conflict with the individual habitus in the field.

Where habitus evolves in the direction that the forces of pedagogic authority propose, it can lead to, what Bourdieu terms, misrecognition. Misrecognition is a term that Pierre Bourdieu uses to refer to the phenomenon where individuals are oblivious to the control that is being exerted over them. It is systematised submission to the will of the authorities. 'PA entails pedagogic work (PW),

a process of **inculcation** which must last long enough to produce a durable training... perpetuating in practices the principles of the internalized arbitrary.' (Bourdieu, 1977). The notion of PW is the groundwork that needs to be laid in order to facilitate implementation of a way of thinking and being through education. 'Pedagogic work is the establishment of structures to create continuation of socially established practices – to create reproduction.' (Bourdieu, 1977). It can still be identified as 'symbolic violence' as the choice element has been taken out of the equation. PW is a type of symbolic violence at the grass roots level: 'PW is a substitute for physical constraint.' (Bourdieu, 1977). The advantage of PW is that it is subtle but still effective. Bourdieu suggest that Genesis amnesia is what the human condition is suffering (Bourdieu & Passeron 1964). That is that one forgets: '... what caused you to decide on an action in the first place which creates an illusion of free will.' (Bourdieu 1977). Unfortunately the opposite is true. These forces of cultural capital exist in all western societies and to avoid misrecognition greater awareness in schools, particularly disadvantaged schools is needed to better manage students and create awareness of the choices that students have. It is the work of Career Services to support students as they engage with these systemic forces and emerge with a dispositional alignment somewhere between cultural capital and their previous habitus. The importance of raising career awareness is in minimising the forces of misrecognition so that the element of cognitive choice is returned to the equation in relation to an individual's 'habitus.'

The Gravitas of Habitus

Habitus is a property of actors (groups individuals or institutions) 'it is structured by one's past and present circumstances such as, family upbringing and educational circumstances in that habitus 'helps to shape one's present and future practices. Habitus is a 'structure' and comprises a system of dispositions which generate perceptions, appreciations and practices (Bourdieu 1990.) Moreover, by habitus the scholastics also meant something like a property, or a capital (Bourdieu 1993). The use of the term Habitus (Bourdieu and Passeron 1964) is relevant and helpful in accounting for the different take-up rates of university. In both *The Inheritors* and *Reproduction* (Bourdieu and Passeron 1979) address why actors from working class background are less likely to attend university as they self-regulate saying it is 'not for the likes of me.' It is only through raising career awareness within schools that opportunities to access careers requiring tertiary education, becomes possible.

Bourdieu says people internalize through a protracted process of conditioning. Individuals gravitate in a given field towards social fields that best match their disposition.' And avoid those fields which involve a 'field-habitus clash.' This clash is recognised by Bourdieu as a type of 'Symbolic Violence,' Bourdieu professes that 'All Pedagogic Action (PA) is, objectively, symbolic violence insofar as it is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power,' (Bourdieu, 1977). Nonetheless this violence is inherently unavoidable as a result of the academic nature of curriculum and the agency within a school that support this supporting the imperatives of the Pedagogic Authority (PAU). In short there is an illusion that an Educational Systems (ES) has independence, but this is never completely true. Despite Bourdieu's recognition of the field-habitus clash, a clash of cultures can be of benefit to the individual as long as there is cognitive choice. This is where the Careers Services can support individuals with cognitive choice and decision making. It is all about raising awareness of Career Choices and consequences.

Concluding Comment

Students living in lower socioeconomic areas may experience significant cultural anxiety within school environments. This angst varies dependent on the habitus they enter the school with. This is often the result of the agency that they face within schools. In schools with an agency that is predicated on a paradigm of academic success, the angst may be more significant. This style of agency can also be the cause of disengagement from school. The recognition that Bourdieu's suite of social tools can explain this clash within schools helps with understanding the situation that Careers Services face in supporting students in their transition from school into careers that are fulfilling and life affirming. In 'raising careers awareness,' through a conscious whole school strategy,

Careers Services can provide a compass for schools in their actions supporting all students, not just the academically aspirational. Careers Services can either support students in their choice to align with their previous habitus and vocations that link more with their lifelong cultural connections, or alternatively pursue careers that recognise their acquisition of academic cultural capital and the consequences such a decision suggest. Raising Career Awareness provides the power to choose. It is therefore imperative that it happens in a manner that is unified in Pedagogic Action and maintains a clear and unified voice.

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HOW TEACHERS USE QUESTIONING IN SECONDARY CLASSROOMS

Kirsten Macauley

ABSTRACT

Questions are used by teachers as a tool to generate discussion, assess knowledge, promote understanding and elicit critical thinking from students in the secondary classroom. Therefore, this article investigates what questions teachers used in secondary classrooms in a metropolitan independent boys school in 2016 and compares the findings to the typology of questions published by Harrop & Swinson (2003). In addition, this article explores how secondary teachers use the questions found in Harrop & Swinson (2003) typology of questions in different contexts and subjects classrooms.

1. Introduction

This research project investigated how secondary school teachers use questions and to what extent does it match the typology of questions published by Harrop & Swinson (2003)? Questions are used by teachers as a tool to generate discussion, assess knowledge, promote understanding and elicit critical thinking from students in the secondary classroom. Research has suggested that common types of questioning patterns have emerged and that each type of question serves a different function for students' learning. The study of Harrop & Swinson (2003) identifies five main kinds of questions used in secondary classrooms which have been used as the foundation of the question type typology for this research project. The findings of Harrop & Swinson (2003) were compared against teachers' questions used in secondary classrooms in a metropolitan independent boy's school and concluded that there are marked differences in the way and why specific questions are used by teachers. This research project was undertaken as part of studies for the Master of Education (Leadership) course at Western Sydney University (2016), and subsequently revised (2021).

2. Literature Review

The research of Stevens (1912) investigated the number of questions asked by teachers and found high school teachers were asking a mean of 395 questions per day. Brown & Edmondson (1984) concluded that teachers, on average, ask around 100 questions an hour. More recently, the work of Galton, Hargreaves, Comber, Wall and Pell (1999) gives an estimate of 16% of classroom time being devoted to teachers asking questions, showing that questioning is a significant part of teaching and Almeida (2012) observed that there was an average of 400 questions from the teacher each day. Gall (1970) examines the literature on the use of questions by teachers since the first dissertation by Gatto (1929). Gall synthesises the research on questions from 1928 to 1970 and suggests sub-classifications of recall, analytic thinking, creative thinking, evaluative thinking and 'other' types of questions that do not fit into the other four mentioned classifications. Broadly, these classifications of questions can fit unevenly into 'open' and 'closed' questions which are seen throughout the literature. As a result, question analysis in the literature often is two-dimensional (Tienken, Goldberg & Dirocco, 2009; Erdogan & Campbell, 2008 and Hussin, 2006), yet this two-dimensional classification does not capture the function of all questions used in the secondary classroom equally. This limitation was observed by Galton et al. (1999) and Brown & Wragg (1993).

There has been a wealth of literature on 'open' questioning in the last decade. Questions that produce productive thinking have been identified and labeled in research as 'open' questions by Harrop & Swinson (2003). However, confusion is created as other research has named these questions that

produce productive thinking as ‘higher-order’ (Lemons & Lemons, 2013), ‘critical thinking’ (Tienken, Goldberg & Dirocco, 2009), ‘deep-learning’ (Davies & Sinclair, 2014) and ‘divergent’ (Tofade & Elsner, 2013) when examining their use in the secondary classroom. These types of questions are all characterised by responses that produce diverse, creative or even unexpected thought in the promotion of deep thinking by students. The defining feature is often resolved by examining the response the teachers’ question has produced in the students’ answer.

There are examples in the literature that expand the definitions of ‘open’ questions to describe sub-categories of question types. Chin (2007) acknowledges the role of the teacher in producing productive (open) questioning discourse and Tofade and Elsner (2013) define question types as “convergent, divergent, focal, brainstorm, shotgun and funnel” (p. 2). Deep-learning’ (open) questions are sub-categorised by Davies and Sinclair (2014) with five stages which are: “prestructural; unistructural; multistructural; relational; and extended abstract” responses to questions (p. 31). Similarly, five predominant question types are identified by Harrop & Swinson (2003) to address both ‘open’ and ‘closed’ questions and other teachers’ questions commonly occurring across infants, primary and secondary classrooms.

The literature has a gap in understanding what questions are used in the secondary classroom and why teachers choose to use them. This research project examined the questions used in the secondary classroom and compared these findings to that of Harrop & Swinson (2003). This research has found that the typology and data collected by Harrop & Swinson (2003) is not sufficient to adequately measure all the teachers’ questions in the observed secondary classrooms. This has revealed a methodology shift in the way secondary teachers use questioning.

3. Ethics

Before the research commenced, the Headmaster (HM) and Director of Teacher and Learning (DTL) of a metropolitan independent boys school were contacted to ensure the school is aware and approved of this research taking place. Verbal approval was given by both the HM and DTL. At the informal meeting of the researcher and DTL, all paperwork was discussed including the information sheet and consent form (with ‘opt out’ clause for participating teachers), as was the proposed email to invite staff to participate and the timeline¹ for the research to take place. The research project parameters and communications were discussed, considered,² revised and approved for the study to commence, which Lodico, Spaulding and Voegtle (2010, p. 17) and Bell (2014, p. 168) both agree is of utmost importance before beginning the research and collection of data.

This research project understood the principle of informed consent and adhered to the recommendations of Bell (2014, p. 47) and Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2013, p. 77) who suggest informed consent is to be addressed through the development of an Information Sheet for all participants. These documents were created, revised by three colleagues³ for clarity before being sent to all participants to ensure all were “clear about the nature of agreement you have entered with your research subjects” (Blaxter, Hughes & Tight, 2006, p. 158 –159). All student names have been changed in annotations, and teacher names are not recorded, only numbers (e.g. Teacher 1) to ensure confidentiality of personnel and maintaining the integrity of participants in this project.

Participating teachers will be given a condensed copy of the final report⁴ (Bell, 2014, p. 56). During the process, the participants had the opportunity to discuss the findings of this project with the researcher at two different points to ensure transparency of research process and encourage scrutiny of data, as suggested by Yates (2004, p. 25).

¹ Appendix 1 – Timeline for research and data collection.

² The DTL made suggestions to change wording in the email to teachers to invite them to participate. The changes made clear the research was optional for teachers to participate.

³ Three colleagues were asked to read the Information Sheet and invitation email to participating teachers and give feedback about the clarity of the request. Only minor changes to sentence grammar were made to the Information sheet as a result of this feedback.

⁴ The final report included Results, Discussion, Conclusions and copies of interview transcripts and revised question identification.

4. Methodology

4.1 Participants

A request to participate in this research study was sent to 10 secondary school teachers at metropolitan independent boys school. These teachers were sent invitations to participate as they are part of a “professional learning” group and had indicated they would be interested in having their teaching practices observed by other teachers as part of the schools’ “open door”⁵ option for observing teacher pedagogy.

Four secondary teachers opted in to participate in this research study. However, one teacher withdrew before the observation stage commenced, meaning that the final participant number was three class teachers, one of whom volunteered to have two classes observed as his secondary classes were at different Stage levels. Gender was removed from the data as it was found to be weak and inconclusive for this research project. Table 4.1 shows the details of the three secondary teachers who participated in this study:

Table 4.1: Details of participating secondary teachers

Teacher Identification	Subject	Class Observed	Years of General Teaching Experience	Years of Experience teaching this course	Number of students in the class
Teacher 1	Commerce	Year 9 (Stage 5)	30	27	18
Teacher 2	Science	Year 7 (Stage 4)	3	3	26
Teacher 3	Christian Studies	Year 9 (Stage 5)	15	15	24
Teacher 4 ⁶	(as above)	Year 11 (Stage 6)	(as above)	(as above)	14

4.2 Instruments

4.2.1 Pre-Observation Survey

A pre-observation survey was created to ascertain appropriate participation, experience and the subject area for the research. The survey was tested with the assistance of four non-participating teachers. The purpose of this testing phase was to ascertain that the questions were clear, purposeful and understandable for the participating teachers (Manion, 2013, p. 555). As a result of feedback from the four non-participating teachers, changes were made to the wording of the survey to ensure the data responses elicited the participating teacher’s suitability, availability, experience and subject area.

4.2.2 Observation Sheet⁷

The Observation Sheet was used by the researcher to support observations of teacher questioning from the video recording. After the recording, the researcher classified the types of questions used. The Observation Sheet was used to ensure accurate classification of questions if the teachers’ intent for the question was not apparent, by examining the student response as suggested by Comber, Galton, Hargreaves and Wall (2013).

⁵ The “open door” option was that teachers could elect to hang a sign outside their classroom that indicated that any teacher was welcome to come in and observe the teaching and learning in that classroom, at any time.

⁶ Although Teacher 3 and 4 are the same, the different teacher number allows for clarity where the teacher is referring to Year 9 (Teacher 3) or Year 11 (Teacher 4) classes.

⁷ Appendix 3 – Observation Sheet (used for observation notes during the videoing of lessons).

4.2.3 Video Recording

Each participating teacher had one class recorded with audio and video. This was to resolve the tension addressed by Tofade and Elsnar (2013) and Comber et. al. (2013) as they found that a recording was necessary to examine the response the student gives to a question to confirm the type of question being used. The researcher used an iPad to record the lesson. The recording and audio were tested for clarity on a colleague's class, which was deleted after determining that the video and audio was clear for research purposes.

4.2.4 Annotated collection of questions used in the secondary classroom⁸

A list and classification of all the questions used by each teacher was created directly after the observation lessons by the researcher. All teacher questions used in the secondary classroom were recorded, both verbal and non-verbal questions. The questions were listed chronologically as they occurred in the observed lesson and the researcher classified each question to the typology used by Harrop & Swinson (2003). This annotated collection of questions was used in the Post-observation Cognitive Interview (4.2.5) to promote transparency and accurate classifications of data. The participating teacher also highlighted and discussed the importance of particular questions they asked, after scrutinising the data.⁹

4.2.5 Post-observation cognitive interview (CI)

A post-observation cognitive interview was added to the project to illuminate the thinking of why teachers' use specific questions (Andrews, Squire & Tamboukou, 2008, p. 64). The post-observation CI was held privately with each participating teacher; twice for Teacher 3 to record the different responses pertinent to each class. The post-observation CI's audio was recorded and transcripts were made of each interview. Seidman (2013) suggests that every participant should be offered a copy as "participants may want to review the transcripts to see if there is any part he or she might not be comfortable and wish to have excluded from the study" (p. 100).

4.2.6 Post-observation Cognitive Interview question bank¹⁰

Questions were explicitly prepared by the researcher to record teacher's insights into why certain question types are used in the secondary classroom. The questions were repeated to each teacher to ensure qualitative data could be compared effectively. Informal notes were recorded during each interview as suggested by Seidman (2013, p. 82.) to highlight key ideas, themes and critical timings that occurred during the discussion.

4.2.7 Post-observation comparisons of the use of Teachers questions graph¹¹

A graph was created to visually represent the initial findings of the types of questions used by teachers in the secondary classroom. This data was revised after the post- observation CI findings that reflected the participating teacher's input. The quantitative data was converted to bar charts to display the question type and incidence for easy comparisons of results (Bell & Waters, 2014, p. 238).

4.2.8 Harrop & Swinson (2003) typology of questions¹²

A condensed outline of the question identification and characteristics was created to assist with data being classified appropriately. This typology outline was used to discuss the classifications by the researcher with the participating teacher and encourage scrutiny of data.

⁸ Appendix 4a – 7d: Annotated List of Questions used by each teacher with the modifications after scrutiny.

⁹ Appendix 4a – 4d: The highlighted questions on this list were selected by the teacher as the "most interesting" questions used in the classroom.

¹⁰ Appendix 5 – Post-observation Cognitive Interview question bank

¹¹ Appendix 6 – Post-observation comparisons of the use of Teachers questions graph

¹² Appendix 7 – Harrop & Swinsons' (2003) typology of questions used in the secondary classroom

5. Procedure

Week 1: Preparation, Ethics and Consent

A pre-observation survey (4.2.1) was created to ascertain appropriate participation, experience and subject area for the research of the use of teacher questions in the secondary classroom.

The pre-survey was sent as a link in an email to 10 secondary school teachers. The invitation email detailed participation requirements and expectations of participants who chose to opt into the research project.

Week 2: Email Invitation and Pre-Observation Survey

From the email invitation, four teachers completed the revised qualtrics pre-survey. While the subject areas were different to the initial proposal, the varied subjects provided interest across four different subjects; Commerce, Christian Studies, History and Science, with the Christian Studies teacher volunteering two classes for observation in different Stage levels for comparison.

After the teachers voluntarily completed the qualtrics pre-survey, one teacher (History, Year 11) withdrew participation due to the teachers' commitment to attend a professional development conference over the observation phase of the research project. The remaining three teachers were emailed details of the Observation classes (4.2.2 and 4.2.3) with a weeks' notice. The email also included interview times for each class/teacher which took place in the week following the lesson observations, to ensure potential clashes could be avoided.

Week 3: Lesson Observations

Four lessons were observed by the researcher. Each class was recorded (video) on an iPad (4.2.2), and any resources used that related to questioning was collected by the researcher (4.2.3). The video also captured the teacher's use of traditional question strategies and also non-verbal questioning approaches.

Immediately after the lesson observations the researcher met online with a professional learning community of educational research students, and the researcher asked for feedback on the post-observation CI questions (4.2.5) regarding whether the questions were relevant, clear and appropriate to the research. The consensus was that the post-observation CI questions were deemed effective, adequately sequential and open-ended to ensure valid, relevant qualitative responses from the participating teachers.

After each lesson, the researcher viewed the recorded video and annotated all the teacher questions (4.2.4) and classified the questions according to Harrop & Swinson (2003) typology of questions. A chronological question list was produced for each teacher, alongside the typology (4.2.8) and an overview PowerPoint presentation to demonstrate comparisons of question use across stage levels, subject areas and teachers experience (4.2.7).

Week 4: Researcher/ Teacher interviews Post-observation CI

At a pre-arranged time from Week 1, each participating teacher met with the researcher in a private meeting room. Each teacher answered the ten prepared questions (4.2.5) on how and why the teacher used specific questions in the classroom. In this post-observation CI (4.2.6), the participating teachers also reviewed the data (4.2.4) and classifications (4.2.8) to ensure accuracy by the researcher. The interview gave insights into why teachers purposefully used specific questions and into teachers' current use of questions in the secondary classroom. Themes such as developing positive relationships and producing critical thinking by students were also informally noted by the researcher during the post-observation CI.

The participating teacher interview with the researcher followed the same format of the prepared questions, and each interview was recorded, audio only. Each interview with the individual teacher

lasted for 18 – 29 minutes. At the end of the interview, each teacher was shown an anonymous comparison of the four classes and the incidence of questions. Each teacher was thanked for their participation and involvement in this research project, and a meeting was organised for Week 10 to review the data, transcripts and conclusions of this research.

Week 5 – 9: Coding, interpreting, and analysing qualitative and quantitative data.

The researcher coded the data according to themes and categorised the question types with reference to the typology used by Harrop & Swinson (2003, p. 52 - 53). This typology was agreed upon after first discussions with teachers, tested and revised to ensure validity. This typology was the framework for this research. The definitions of these types of questions in the typology are:

1. **Of fact:** Any question which requires academic information.
2. **Closed solution:** Questions requiring information of a problem-solving nature for which the teacher accepts the first answer.
3. **Open solution:** Teacher accepts more than one answer to a question concerned with lesson content.
4. **Task supervision:** These are questions in which the teacher is checking that the task is being done.
5. **Routine:** Questions not explicitly related to the aims of the lesson, but which involve classroom matters.

In addition, two other types of questions were found necessary by Harrop & Swinson (2003) to differentiate from the five question types and avoid confusion in identifying question types. These are “Pseudo-questions” and “Pupil initiated teacher questions.” The definitions of these types of questions are:

6. **Pseudo-questions:** Questions that teachers ask but answer themselves or don't wait for student answers.
7. **Pupil initiated teacher questions:** Questions initiated by pupils, e.g. Pupil ‘I don't understand. Teacher ‘what question are you working on?’
8. **Other:** Questions that do not fit any of the definitions in the question types above.

Pseudo' and 'Pupil initiated' teacher questions were not recorded by Harrop & Swinson (2003) in their methodology. There is no comparison data for these types of questions, however, these were included in this research project as pseudo-questions were surprisingly used more often than suggested by the research of Harrop & Swinson (2003).

Week 10 and 11: Scrutiny of data

All participating teachers were given a condensed report which contained the individual transcript of the (revised) collection of questions (4.2.4), transcript of the CI and the “Results, Discussion and Conclusions” from this paper for each participating teacher.¹³ This was to ensure all data and conclusions were accurate (Seidman, 2013, p. 68).

¹³ No participating teacher wished to have any data changed or removed.

6. Results

The type and number of questions used by each teacher varied in this research project. The number of questions used in the classroom was surprising to the participating teachers. Table 6.1 outlines the number of questions used by each teacher.

Table 6.1: Number of questions used by each teacher in the secondary classroom

Teacher	Class and Year level	Number of questions used (total) in a 50-minute lesson.
Teacher 1	Commerce Year 9 (Stage 5)	100
Teacher 2	Science Year 7 (Stage 4)	55
Teacher 3	Christian Studies Year 9 (Stage 5)	44
Teacher 4	Christian Studies Year 11 (Stage 6)	71

At the post-observation CI, the participating teacher reviewed the data¹⁴ and the identification of question types. Where the teacher changed the question type, due to the intent of the question, this has been reflected in Table 6.2 below.¹⁵

This research observed that the prominent question type used by teachers in the secondary classroom was “open solution” questions, except the Stage 4 Science lesson which used predominantly “closed solution” questions and Stage 5 Commerce lesson which used predominantly “pseudo” questions. This has been highlighted in Table 6.2 which compares the four teachers and the different incidence of questions used in the secondary classroom.

Table 6.2: Incidence of questions used in the secondary classroom

Question Type	Teacher 1 Commerce Year 9 (Stage 5)	Teacher 2 Science Year 7 (Stage 4)	Teacher 3 Christian Studies Year 9 (Stage 5)	Teacher 4 Christian Studies Year 11 (Stage 6)
1. Of Fact	2 (2%)	6 (11%)	0 (0%)	15 (21%)
2. Closed Solution	14 (14%)	20 (36%)	1(2%)	8 (11%)
3. Open Solution	34 (34%)	9 (17%)	29 (66%)	21 (30%)
4. Task supervision	4 (4%)	15 (27%)	4 (9%)	3 (4%)
5. Routine	1(1%)	3 (5%)	3 (7%)	4 (6%)
6. Pseudo	42 (42%)	2 (4%)	6 (14%)	20 (28%)
7. Pupil initiated teacher questions	3 (3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
8. Other	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)	0 (0%)
Total	100 questions/ 100%	55 questions/ 100%	44 questions/ 100%	71 questions/ 100%

Table 6.2. The incidence of questions used in the classroom. The shaded cells represent the most commonly used question type.

¹⁴ Percentage values have been rounded up to form a whole number. The raw data has been converted into a percentage to enable comparison between each class and Stage course.

¹⁵ The original data, and the revised data are noted in the Appendix 4a – d “Annotation of Teacher Questions” where the changes occurred. The information in this article reflects the revised data.

A further examination of the data was undertaken to reveal the difference in question incidence when compared across different learning Stages demonstrating that “closed solution” questions are most commonly used in Stage 4, while “open solution” questions are most frequently used in Stages 5 and 6. Table 6.3 highlights these findings.

Table 6.3: The incidence of question types in the secondary classroom compared across Stage levels.

Question Type	Stage 4 (1 class)	Stage 5 (2 classes)	Stage 6 (1 class)
1. Of Fact	11%	1%	21%
2. Closed Solution	36%	10%	11%
3. Open Solution	17%	43%	30%
4. Task supervision	27%	6%	4%
5. Routine	5%	3%	6%
6. Pseudo	4%	33%	28%
7. Pupil initiated teacher questions	0%	0%	0%
8. Other	0%	1%	0%

Table 6.3. The incidence of question types in the secondary classroom compared across learning Stage levels. The shaded cells represent the most commonly used question type.

There is a vast difference in the data comparing the teachers’ use of questions in the secondary classroom. Harrop & Swinson concluded that “closed solution” questions were the most common (48.6%) question type in the secondary classroom. In contrast, the most commonly used question type in this project was “Open solution” (36.8%). Table 6.4 shows the percentage of each kind of question that was recorded by Harrop & Swinson (2003) from their project and compared to the findings in this research project. Harrop & Swinson (2003) omitted “Pseudo” and “Pupil Initiated Questions” (p. 53) as these questions were not related to research focus on the remaining five question types used in the secondary classroom.

Table 6.4 : Comparison of data between findings by Harrop & Swinson (2003) and the conclusions of this research project.

Question Type	Mean percentages in Secondary School results from Harrop & Swinson (2003, p. 54)	Secondary classroom mean percentages from this study.
1. Of Fact	4.1%	8.5%
2. Closed Solution	48.6%	15.9%
3. Open Solution	9.8%	34.4%
4. Task supervision	24.4%	9.6%
5. Routine	14.1%	4%

Table 6.4. Comparison of data. The shaded cells represent the most commonly used question type.

7. Discussion

The results showed that teachers use a variety of questioning strategies in the secondary classroom and that the methodology for this research project did not produce similar results to the findings of Harrop & Swinson (2003).

The number of questions teachers use in the secondary classroom has changed over time. Table 6.1 shows the number of questions observed to be used in the secondary classroom in this research project. The average number of questions used by secondary teachers in this research project was 68 questions in a 50-minute class, which equates to 1.36 questions per minute. Brown & Edmondson (1984) concluded that there were an average 1.6 questions per minute in the secondary classroom. However, this study demonstrates that there were slightly fewer questions used in the secondary classroom. At the post-observation CI, it was enlightening to understand why teachers perceive they use questions in the secondary classroom:

Teacher 1: “I didn’t know we asked that many questions you know [100 in a lesson]. Mind you I did think it was it was justified because I think learning is all about questions are flying about all the time whether it be content or just social relationships between students and teachers.”

Teacher 2: “I think it’s an important way to test understanding, both when the students are asking questions and answering questions. My favourite types of questions in the classroom, though, are the ones that are unprompted, when I might present a bit of material and they will link it to something they already know and ask for more information.”

Teacher 3: “In order to take the students from what they already know to things that they don’t already know, so the beginning of questions is to let them know that they are not ignorant in a subject, but also let them know what they don’t know.”

These responses are suggestive that secondary school teachers in this project use questions to develop relationships with students (Teacher 1) and give thinking time for students and making connections to prior knowledge (Teacher 2 and Teacher 3). As the number of questions used in this research project are lower than the findings from Brown & Edmondson (1984), the video evidence recorded for this project showed that the students were thinking (Teacher 1, Year 9 Commerce), working on class activities (Teacher 2, Year 7 Science and Teacher 4, Year 11 Christian Studies) or initiating their questions and discussions prompted from the content (Teacher 3, Year 9 Christian Studies) amongst other activities.

Open solution questions were the most commonly used questions observed in this research project. Table 6.3 highlights this evidence. In three classrooms, the teacher was observed to use “open solution” questions predominantly which was Teacher 1 (34%), Teacher 3 (66%) and Teacher 4 (30%). At the Post-observation CI, all teachers responded that this was their ‘preferred’ type of question to use. Teacher 3 observed that open-ended questions “lends itself to the classroom conversation and it’s not that is whole of class discussion and so... my goal is that students are grappling with the issue” [of the class content]. Teacher 2 clarified that the lesson observed was a revision lesson, and closed questions suited the type of lesson. However, the percentage of open solution questions in the Year 7 Science lesson was the third most commonly used questioning tool at 17%. All teachers were asked “what’s your purpose for using open solution questions?” and a variety of reasons and responses were cited for using open solution questions in the secondary classroom:

Teacher 1: “to find out is there an answer? Is there a wrong answer? Or ... or both... And so when things halt in their tracks in the lesson, what’s the next thing that will ignite it?” [An open solution question].

Teacher 2: “they [the students] have to think more critically about an answer, then that’s one that promotes deeper thinking, and ultimately leads to better learning outcomes”.

Teacher 3: “where there is a best answer but I’m actually wanting the students to discover that and so an incomplete answer is really a positive thing for them to have said”.

The Stage of learning impacted the type of questions that were observed. Table 6.3 reveals data about the questions favoured by a secondary teacher due to learning Stage. It is reasonable to conclude that Stage 4 classrooms would have a high incidence of “closed solution” questions (36%) when compared to other Stages of learning as younger students are also being taught how to think independently and critically with growing confidence. Conversely, open solution questions were found to be used predominantly in both Stage 5 (50%) and in Stage 6 (30%), which confirms that questions that have multiple solutions are more likely to occur in classes with older students.

Table 6.3 also exposes the increasing use of pseudo-questions in classrooms with older students with pseudo-questions appearing in Stage 4 (4%); Stage 5 (33%) and Stage 6 (28%). On further analysis from the question annotations (4.2.4), it was shown that when pseudo-questions are used, they are used in quick succession; often used in groups of 2, 3 or 4 question series by the teacher. After collating the initial data (4.2.5) on the types of questions used, it emerged that pseudo-questions were used more frequently as a tool than had previously been given prominence in the literature. As a result of the early findings indicating a higher than expected use of pseudo-questions, it was examined in the Post-observation CIs to ask all teachers why they used pseudo-questions. The responses included:

Teacher 1: [pseudo questions were used as a] “a helping mechanism... could also help for those who missed part of a lesson as well. So it could help recap some other questions as well, too.”

Teacher 2: “those two questions [pseudo] are tied really closely together given that I ran class specifically for boys like him that needed to go back and review the content.”

Teacher 3: “The older they get, the more able they are to hold the question in their head and ponder it....And then, because I’ll sometimes want to quickly move on, I’ll allow them to ponder it, and then give them an answer”.

Interestingly, Teacher 3 also mentioned that in Stage 4 he avoided using pseudo-questions “I’ll avoid them [pseudo-questions] like the plague because they are a distraction”, and on further prompting, remarked that [Stage 4 students] “want to either blurt out an answer or close down because they don’t know” and finally, [pseudo-questions are] “a helpful technique in the older years, and a unhelpful technique in the younger years in my experience...”

Teacher 4: [pseudo-questions] “allow us to go to a conclusion quickly.”

It is clear this research highlights a gap for more research to be undertaken in understanding the increasing importance of pseudo-questions in the secondary classroom.

8. Limitations

The original study conducted by Harrop & Swinson (2003) observed teachers use of questions across infants, primary and secondary classrooms in a single lesson after clarifying the definitions of question types. For this research project, only a single class was observed by each participating teacher using the same typology which is a small snapshot of teachers’ questioning in the secondary classroom. It also should be noted that these findings are based on a small sample which is a limiting factor.

The timing of this research study was in Week 3 of Semester 2. It could be assumed that teachers scope and sequence of content was still focussed on the delivery of content, rather than critical thinking and application of the content which would change the types of questions being observed.

The sample of secondary classrooms was limited to one school, which does not necessarily translate to other schools, as the academic culture and ability to think critically by students may be different.

9. Conclusions

The process, data and findings have revealed conclusions about how teachers' are using questions in secondary classrooms for boys in 2016. The rate of questioning by teachers has decreased which could be attributed to and evidence of an increase of teachers including student's voice and allowing students time to think in the classroom. On examination of the comparison of the data on questioning, it appears that the practice for teachers has changed for teachers since the research of Harrop & Swinson (2003). Teachers now use significantly more 'open' questions in the classroom to promote visible thinking by students as well as using "pseudo" questions to align and engage students thinking with the class content, as well as observing the importance of certain types of questions to promote discussion, trust and positive relationships between teacher and student. There is no comparison data available on this type of questioning strategy, which could be an area for future research. The highest incidence of "closed" questions was found in the lower Stage classrooms, which was expected as the students are developing their thinking skills to grapple with the more complex questioning strategies. Interestingly, the use of different questions varied for each classroom observed in this study, suggesting that teachers are increasingly more confident in using different types of questions as appropriate for their particular students and classes to ensure learning outcomes in the secondary classroom.

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Appendices related to this article can be accessed [HERE](#)



IMPLICATIONS FOR CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTIONAL DESIGN IN ECONOMICS FROM THE SCIENCE OF LEARNING AND DEVELOPMENT

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ABSTRACT

Research into human development and learning has rapidly advanced our knowledge of cognitive architecture, shaping more efficient and effective instructional design and pedagogical practices (Darling-Hammond et al., 2019). This review of the literature seeks to integrate insights from the science of learning and development (SoLD), in particular, cognitive load theory (CLT) and inquiry learning (IL) and connect them to successful applications for school and classroom in teaching and learning Economics. It will synthesise evidence about knowledge as a basis of curriculum design, beliefs about learning, problem-solving strategies to foster engagement and the development of intelligences and capacities. In reviewing the literature, the purpose is underpinned by reflexive pedagogy, which is not defined by the recommendations found in the literature, but for my own self-actualisation “of knowingly making the choice amongst the range of possible knowledge processes” (Kalantzis & Cope, 2021b).

Keywords: HSC Economics, curriculum design, cognitive load theory, science of learning and development.

Author note: This is a literature review submitted on November 22, 2021 for studies in the Doctor of Education with Prof. William Cope (supervisor).

New South Wales (NSW) offers the internationally recognised credential of the Higher School Certificate (HSC) under the authority of the NSW Education Standards Authority (NESA). NESA oversees the HSC, including final examinations, curriculum, and standards of the HSC for school-based and external assessment. Teachers carry this hierarchy, and in the recent Curriculum Review of the NSW school curriculum, they made strong calls for change (Masters, 2020). The Review calls for an expansive and visionary approach for a new curriculum designed to prepare students for life-long and life-wide learning. In designing this new curriculum, teachers need to be cognisant of the established and emerging theories of learning and this literature review of learning theories provides a research and evidence-based approach buoyed by the lived experience of teaching and learning under NESA.

NESA exerts considerable authority over teaching practice. Rulings come through curriculum documents, notifications, specimen papers and examination workbooks with sample answers, as well as teaching standards (AITSL, 2018). Power also comes through operational priorities, such as the challenges from the global pandemic. Under the weight of the dialectic of high stakes testing, driven by an accountability discourse, fewer students are choosing to study Economics as a senior secondary subject as they feel they are more likely to succeed in other subjects. Enrolments across the state have plummeted from 40% in 1991 to less than 6% in 2020 (NESA, 2020) (see Figure 1). Many people are neglected and cut out from an informed study of economics and economic thinking. It diminishes us all, as the study of economics builds global democracy, and compromises the syllabus goal that students learn to “make informed judgments about issues and policies and participate responsibly in decision-making” (NESA, 2015). Students will not learn this, however, if Economics continues to go into decline.

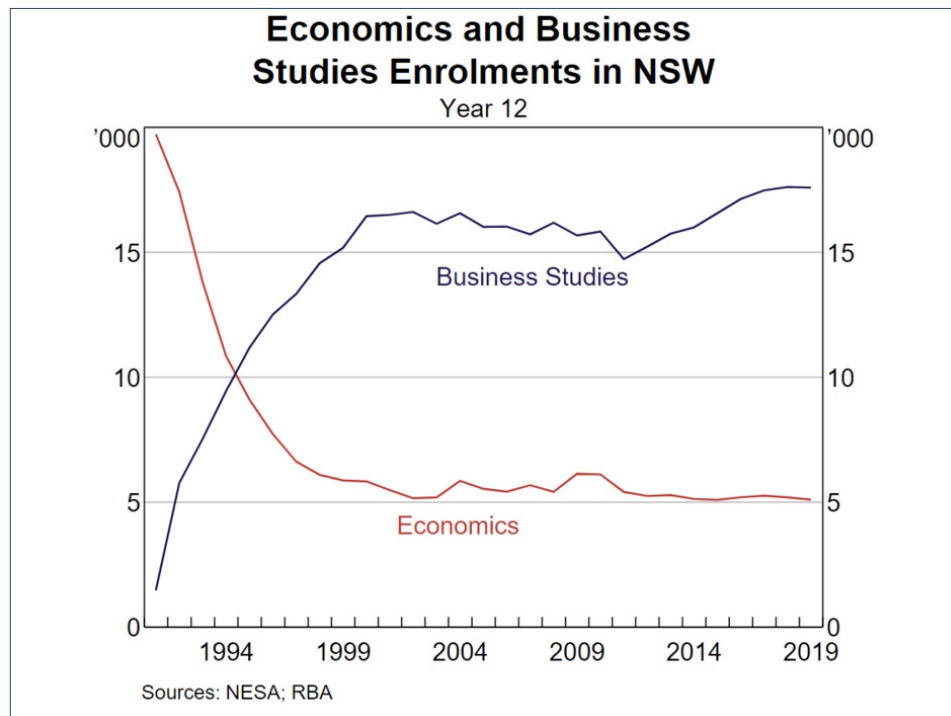


Figure 1: Economics and Business Studies Enrolments in NSW (Livermore & Major, 2020)

The HSC has caused a narrowing of the curriculum (Polesel, Dulfer, & Turnbull, 2012), a loss of professional autonomy (Welch, 2015), enforced mechanistic pedagogy restricting repertoire (Fogarty, 1997), and disempowered teachers (Caldwell, 2010). Within the constraints of a standardised curriculum and the uneasy inequality of Economics enrolments in concentrated areas with high socio-economic status, typically in boys' education, this literature review sets out to address these practical questions for designing an Economics curriculum:

- How do you build rigour and learning resilience into the course design?
- How do you encourage engagement and support students in all areas of their development?
- How do you ensure students will be able to successfully negotiate standardised tests?

Research into human development and learning has rapidly advanced our knowledge of cognitive architecture, shaping more efficient and effective instructional design and pedagogical practices (Darling-Hammond et al., 2019). This review of the literature seeks to integrate insights from the science of learning and development (SoLD), in particular, cognitive load theory (CLT) and inquiry learning (IL) and connect them to successful applications for school and classroom in teaching and learning Economics. It will synthesise evidence about knowledge as a basis of curriculum design, beliefs about learning, problem-solving strategies to foster engagement and the development of intelligences and capacities. In reviewing the literature, the purpose is underpinned by reflexive pedagogy, which is not defined by the recommendations found in the literature, but for my own self-actualisation “of knowingly making the choice amongst the range of possible knowledge processes” (Kalantzis & Cope, 2021b).

Definitions

This work is situated in a relational developmental framework that is concerned with the inter and intra-contextual factors that influence students and their communities. “From an ecological systems framework, the school serves as an immediate context shaping children’s learning and development through instruction, relationships with teachers and peers, and the school culture” (Darling-Hammond et al., 2019, p. 3). In a changing world heralding the Fourth Industrial Revolution, schools

need to foster learning dispositions that embrace change and mindsets for lifelong learning. Designing a curriculum cannot happen in isolation of the school culture and in the ever-expanding sociability of a globalised world, neither can it deny the global dialogue of climate change, income inequality, and ubiquitous technology. It is a fundamental challenge schools face in fostering learning environments that prepare students to be self-contained, “as well as flexible enough to collaborate and negotiate with others who are different; to work on common projects and forge shared interests, and able to learn and to transform themselves in new and changing situations” (Kalantzis & Cope, 2021a). Emerging technologies are inspiring new realities and a talent crisis. Changing roles will define the future and school culture, present in the day-to-day curriculum at a micro level which feeds into the macro dialogue.

The parameters of the literature review are established in the research questions, which recognise the balance between individual variability and enabling students to prosper by setting them on a positive pathway to adulthood. Rigour and instructional design are tightly related. “Few would argue against the importance of rigorous, content-rich, and meaningful student learning experiences; the bridging of curriculum and instruction is critical for creating these types of experiences” (Trinter & Hughes, 2021, p. 1). Resilience and perseverance in the face of challenges utilising a growth mindset is highly desirable, as evidenced in the literature (Darling-Hammond et al., 2019). Deep engagement with the discipline, with peers and a student’s academic self-concept is also an ambition in the readings, as this predisposes students to demonstrating perseverance and cooperative behaviours that facilitate learning (Barron & Darling-Hammond, 2008; Rosenshine, 2012; Sengupta-Irving & Agarwal, 2017). Educational environments supporting the development of the whole child, recognising the unique aspects of the child and classroom contexts, “enable students to take advantage of productive learning opportunities in cognitive, social, and emotional domains” (Darling-Hammond et al., 2019, p. 3). Thus rigour, learning resilience, engagement and well-being factors were favoured in researching for this work. These “soft skills” and contextual needs for designing a curriculum are well documented in the literature, however, further concerns for meeting high-stakes, standardised testing need to be considered.

Design priorities that recognise the whole child feed into students’ intrinsic motivations (Darling-Hammond et al., 2019) but the work of Sweller (1988), based on uncontroversial aspects of human cognitive architecture, introduced some useful prescriptions for instructional design that act as extrinsic motivation. Sweller’s (1988) work, *Cognitive Load Theory (CLT)*, describes the limitations of working memory when dealing with new information. It has given rise to a raft of research (Hmelo-Silver, Chinn, & Duncan, 2007; Kirschner & Clark, 2006; Plass & Kalyuga, 2019; Sweller, van Merriënboer, & Paas, 2019) that take aim at problem-based learning (PBL) and inquiry learning (IL). The opposing camps of CLT and IL jostle for attention in the literature.

In probing the implications for practice, the following definitions for PBL and IL are used as an anchor for this study. “Both PBL and IL are organised around relevant, authentic problems or questions. Both place heavy emphasis on collaborative learning and activity. In both, students are cognitively engaged in sensemaking, developing evidence-based explanations, and communicating their ideas” (Hmelo-Silver, Chinn, & Duncan, 2007, p. 100). Ayres and Paas (2012) argue that there is little empirical evidence to validate the claims of PBL and IL. This review will navigate between the polemic literature in this area, to find a space between right and wrong, and build a repertoire of curriculum design recommendations that seek to respond to the research questions.

Theories

CLT was introduced in the 1980s as an instructional design theory (Sweller, 1988) and at the time, the instructional implications deriving from knowledge of cognitive architecture were largely unknown. In a review of its impact after 20 years, Sweller, van Merriënboer, and Paas (2019) claim “this knowledge had had a limited impact on the field of instructional design with most instructional design recommendations proceeding as though working memory and long-term memory did not exist” (p. 261). The Centre for Education Statistics and Evaluation (CESE) highlighted the research into CLT (CESE, 2017), outlining the key precepts for understanding the human brain and its ability to process, or learn.

The brain uses its working memory to process small amounts of information for a short duration. It is limited and theorists suggest that an average person can only hold four distinct pieces of new information at any one time (Kirschner, Sweller, & Clark, 2006). Long term memory can hold large, perhaps infinite, amounts of information that are stored semi-permanently using schemas. These schemas organise information according to their use and in particular, high-level schemas can bypass the limits of working memory (CESE, 2017). The implications for instructional design are dependent on the types of cognitive load a student encounters in a lesson. Sweller, van Merriënboer, and Paas (2019, p. 264) stress that “extraneous cognitive load is not determined by the intrinsic complexity of the information but rather, how the information is presented and what the learner is required to do by the instructional procedure”. The implications for designing curriculum are that teachers can change extraneous load by changing instructional procedures.

While CLT is grounded in the findings of memory research looking at the process, cognitive psychology has investigated the role of memory in the experience of learning (Coe, Aloisi, Higgins, & Major, 2014). It recognises ‘desirable difficulties’ can galvanise learners in the productive struggle of learning that builds their academic self-concept and sense of belonging. Both of which are highly desirable principles of practice (Darling-Hammond et al., 2019). Productive struggle leverages the power of cognitive dissonance for problem-solving and through its timing in the learner’s experience, affects episodic and semantic memory (Plass & Kalyuga, 2019). The evidence from cognitive psychology adds to the work from CLT in the following recommendations (Coe, Aloisi, Higgins, & Major, 2014):

1. Vary the conditions of practice
2. Space study
3. Interleave tasks
4. Practice retrieval frequently

Motivation and self-efficacy have been neglected in studying CLT (Barron & Darling-Hammond, 2008), and without considering cognitive psychology, CLT presents a compelling case for sequencing learning materials from simple to complex, to manage cognitive load. This may not be the most effective strategy. The literature offers the “peak-end rule” as an alternative (Ayres & Paas, 2012, p. 827). As illustrated below, leading with high challenge activities builds resilience and a sense of achievement at the culmination of the activity. The students’ academic self-concept grows and feeds into engagement for the next learning episode.

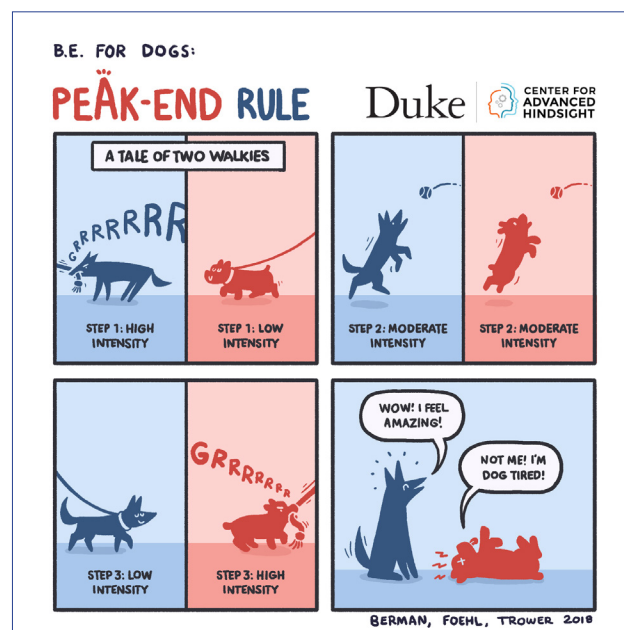


Figure 2: Peak-end Rule (Berman, Foehl and Trowler, 2018)

Plass and Kalyuga (2019) suggest CLT is a simplification and that “learning over longer time periods happens in a sequence of local learning episodes that have a cumulative effect” (p. 342). The implications for teachers from the SoLD is to provide direct instruction at critical junctures, directing students to resources timed to support inquiry and inspire germane load and motivation to learn.

Key concepts (grouped into themes)

In interrogating the literature, four subthemes have emerged in considering the inter- and intra-contextual influences on students’ learning and their learning environments. These are:

1. The role of factual knowledge in instructional design.
2. Beliefs about learning.
3. Fostering engagement using problem-solving strategies.
4. Brain architecture and its significance for designing learning opportunities.

These subthemes are viewed through a phenomenological lens, reflecting directly on my own lived experience as a teacher in a school. Phenomenology recognises we live in a world of multiple realities, and we move between these realities “abiding by the rules” (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011). The subthemes represent some of the “rules”, such as providing a rigorous curriculum, within a humanist perspective, that aims to foster engagement and wellbeing.

1. Here are the facts

Kirschner, Sweller and Clark (2006), repeated by Christodoulou (2014), lament the influence of Rousseau, Dewey and even Vygotsky, in creating the fallacy that facts prevent understanding. This has implications for instructional design in determining the guiding principles of curricular design and its modes of delivery, the purpose of this review of the literature. Christodoulou (2014) claims that the modern trope that facts are the enemy of understanding, is misleading and that when a knowledge base is not in place, students struggle. Theorists in the field of CLT hold constructivist pedagogies to account for perpetrating the myth that facts and knowledge are not essential components of learning and argue that constructivist pedagogies fail students. Hmelo-Silver, Chinn, and Duncan (2007) rebutt this, highlighting that “all learning involves knowledge construction in one form or another; it is therefore a constructivist process” (p. 99). The same authors recognise that Kirschner, Sweller and Clark (2006) have mistakenly conflated PBL and IL with discovery learning in Kirschner, Sweller and Clark’s (2006) biting criticism that minimal guidance approaches are failing students by not teaching facts and knowledge. Advocates of PBL and IL contribute this counterargument: “current reforms and the inquiry approach are not substituting content for practices; rather, they advocate that content and practices are central learning goals” (Hmelo-Silver, Chinn, & Duncan, 2007, p. 105).

Economics is a complex discipline and to support students negotiating the content, they need a strong command of the knowledge base. The literature discriminates between novice and expert learners and in recognising the contributions of CLT, direct instruction will support learning by managing extraneous cognitive load. Reducing cognitive load, however, is not uniformly beneficial. “It is the source, rather than the level of the load, that matters” (Darling-Hammond et al., 2019, p. 21). As students gain mastery, IL will increase germane load and with stage-appropriate strategies of assessment and feedback, establish a supportive environment.

2. Beliefs about learning

Students and people in general need to be motivated to gain new knowledge (Plass & Kalyuga, 2019). Learners need to be primed and their motivation, beliefs, and knowledge, all influence the regulation of cognitive processes. They need to believe they can be successful when they are trying to learn (Sweller, van Merriënboer, & Paas, 2019). These beliefs determine the principles of effective instructional design. Central to this reckoning is that “engaging learners to enhance their motivation should be treated as a valid purpose of learner activities” (Plass & Kalyuga, 2019, p. 343). Instructional

design needs to incorporate carefully planned and well-resourced activities that engage students “rather than wandering aimlessly through discoveries that confuse rather than enlighten them” (Darling-Hammond et al., 2019, p. 21). After meeting those prescriptions for practice and pushing beyond the level of novice, the research suggests that confusion and other negative emotions may even result in more productive learning environments (Plass & Kalyuga, 2019; Trinter & Hughes, 2021; de Jong, 2010). This confusion is crucial in setting the scene for productive struggle.

It appears to be a false dichotomy developing between CLT’s preferred delivery method of direct instruction, and on the other side of the chasm, IL. From the perspective that cognitive load in the classroom can be intensified by a lack of safety and belonging, stemming from students’ beliefs about learning, the research literature supports an integration of these approaches. Darling-Hammond et al. (2019, p. 21) conclude that “students’ needs for teacher support change as they become more cognitively engaged and develop expertise”. It follows that incorporated into the instructional design should be a reflexive practice to respond to individual learners as they become more knowledgeable and proficient, where teachers expertly utilise explicit instruction to establish key knowledge, then move to using inquiry pedagogies that prompt deeper investigations. This includes providing explanatory feedback and strategically placed retrieval practice (Rosenshine, 2012) to build student confidence and self-efficacy.

3. Fostering engagement using problem-solving strategies

Long-term memory is recognised as the central, dominant structure of human cognition and on which our whole lives are critically dependent (Kirschner, Sweller, & Clark, 2006). The literature suggests that, to support students’ learning, curriculum and instructional design should help “build mental schema or models that connect ideas central to the discipline or domain” (Darling-Hammond et al., 2019, p. 28) which access long-term memory. Alongside this organising principle, it is also important to consider the goals of education, not only learning about the ideas central to the discipline but also learning “softer skills”, such as “epistemic practices, self-directed learning, and collaboration that are not measured on achievement tests but are important for being lifelong learners and citizens in a knowledge society” (Hmelo-Silver, Chinn, & Duncan, 2007, p. 105).

Cooperative learning offers students the opportunity to use feedback from their peers to learn as well as promoting engagement (Rosenshine, 2012), which support these higher aspirations around soft skills. Problem-solving strategies, within a group setting, build collective and self-efficacy in these areas (Barron & Darling-Hammond, 2008).

Kirschner, Sweller and Clark (2006) reject unequivocally that PBL supports students in their learning. Ayres and Paas (2012) advise there is little empirical evidence for PBL and discovery learning. “The evidence collected by CLT studies strongly suggests that problem solving is an ineffective strategy for novice learners” (p. 829). Darling-Hammond et al. (2019) support this more nuanced finding with regard to novice learners, and in their review of the literature recommend interweaving explicit instruction when presenting novel content. Further research in this area suggest that Kirschner, Sweller and Clark’s (2006) assertions are an overreach (Barron & Darling-Hammond, 2008; Hmelo-Silver, Chinn, & Duncan, 2007; Russo, 2015; Sengupta-Irving & Agarwal, 2017). It is generally agreed that minimal guidance in PBL does not offer the greatest benefits for student learning.

Sweller’s (1988) work in CLT has given rise to a body of work that offers recommendations for teacher instruction (CESE, 2017). One of these is the ‘goal-free’ task or ‘worked example’, which is the polar opposite of PBL as it is already solved for the student, with every step explained. CLT adherents propose that in the case of PBL, “the learner may effectively solve the problem, but because their working memory was overloaded they may not recognise and remember the rule that would allow them to quickly solve the same problem again in the future” (CESE, 2017, p. 7). Russo (2015) offers a counter-argument that meaningful and challenging tasks are open-ended and can have multiple solutions, therefore it is likely that they will have a lower extraneous load and activate prior knowledge. Sengupta-Irving and Agarwal (2017) add to this broader interpretation of findings and support the concept of productive struggle when using challenging tasks.

“Productive struggle refers to students’ efforts at grappling with key ideas that are yet unformulated” (Sengupta-Irving & Agarwal, 2017, p. 118). It is where students offer each other ideas for problem solving, model and articulate their metacognitive processes building engagement and a sense of belonging. Students can move on their conceptual understanding, and in a group setting, apply what they have learned to new problems. Sengupta-Irving and Agarwal (2017) conceptualise students undertaking challenging or problem-based tasks, as working within their collaborative Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) (see Figure 3). The collaborative ZPD is bounded by no struggle, where problems are mundane and unnecessary and struggle, where problems are overly complex and tax cognitive load needlessly. Productive struggle sits within these limits and is determined by the nature of the task, the group dynamics and teacher expertise in this area.

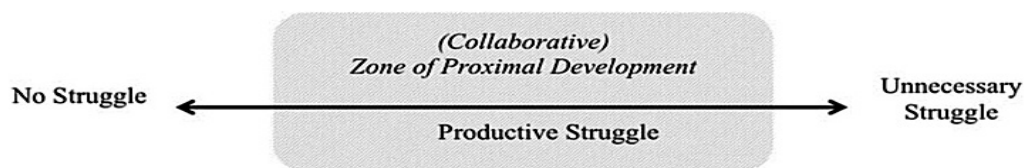


Figure 3: Conceptually coordinating productive struggle and the Zone of Proximal Development (Sengupta-Irving & Agarwal, 2017)

Fostering engagement using problem-based strategies has benefits when tasks are meaningful, students are moving towards gaining expertise and teachers have interleaved tasks to build efficacy without causing unnecessary cognitive extraneous load. Furthermore, “perseverance as collective enterprise capitalizes on this opportunity to build stronger and more supportive classroom communities—communities that will prove themselves unbreakable in the midst of great struggle” (Sengupta-Irving & Agarwal, 2017, p. 134).

4. Brain architecture and its significance for designing learning opportunities.

Schools are often forced, through fiduciary and competitive influences, to compartmentalise students’ developmental processes, considering them as discrete from one another. SoLD demonstrates how interrelated multiple contexts are, in the experience of the student. “They jointly produce the outcomes for which educators are responsible” (Darling-Hammond et al., 2019, p. 1). Figure 4 provides a visual reflecting this composite understanding.

Significant research into human cognitive functions have produced insights into brain architecture, furthering our understanding with each study. In particular, the literature recognises the neuroplasticity of the brain (Ayres & Paas, 2012). Intelligences can be inherited, but this is not fixed, and

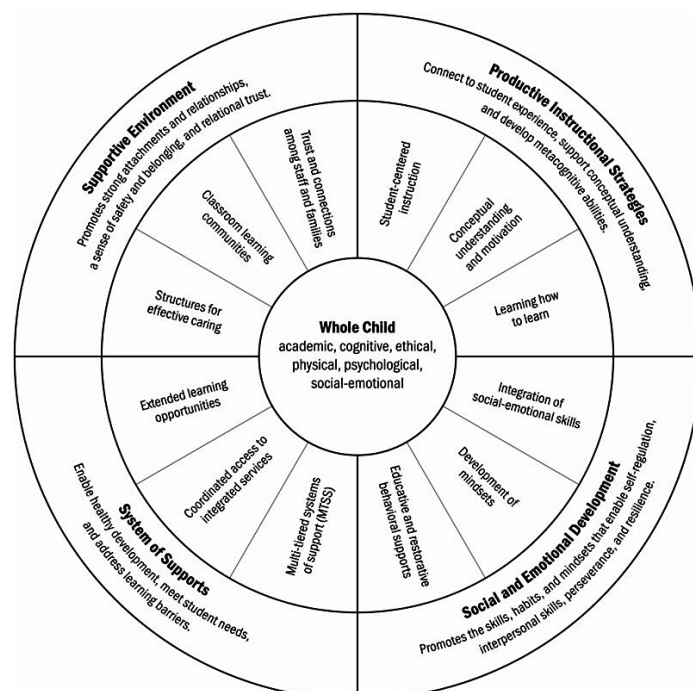


Figure 4: SoLD Principles of Practice (Darling-Hammond et al. 2019)

new research indicates the extent to which the brain is malleable. Learners present with individual needs and trajectories that involve differentiated instruction and supports to “enable optimal growth in competence, confidence, and motivation” (Darling-Hammond et al., 2019, p. 2). Brain architecture is enhanced by trauma-free environments, where students experience consistency and positive experiences in genuine relationships. Contextual well-being that supports psychological safety predisposes learning. “A meta-analysis of 99 studies found that the affective quality of teacher-student relationships was significantly related to student engagement” (Darling-Hammond et al., 2019, p. 6). Relationships are key to learning and in any instructional or curriculum design process, this needs to be privileged and appreciated aside from any mechanical processes that operationalise learning.

Gaps in the literature

A raft of research following Sweller’s (1988) work on CLT has pushed the frontiers of understanding of the process of human cognition and its implication for curricula and instructional design (Ayres & Paas, 2012; CESE, 2017; Kirschner, Sweller, & Clark, 2006; Sweller, van Merriënboer, & Paas, 2019; Plass & Kalyuga, 2019). This work recognises the dynamic elements of cognitive load: intrinsic, extraneous, and germane, and the significance of their make-up for learning. Effective instructional design lessens element interactivity while ineffective design increases element interactivity (Sweller, van Merriënboer, & Paas, 2019). Leading researchers in this area agree that tasks should be well designed and engage germane load as much as possible. Challenging tasks presented at critical times in the learning plan, that have been scaffolded and engineered for individual variability, can create significant learning gains. Teachers should present stage appropriate materials for the novice and the expert, interleaving tasks, practising retrieval and spacing tasks and their intensity, to enable students to manage their cognitive load (Darling-Hammond, et al., 2019; Rosenshine, 2012).

“Given the plasticity of the brain, and its experience dependency, the amount and consistency of cognitive stimulation matters” (Darling-Hammond et al., 2019, p. 35). Using this finding as a baseline, the blend between explicit instruction and IL should not be left to opportunity or whimsy but planned and prepared. Reviewing the literature has also indicated that couched in a growing awareness that in the absence of trauma and the presence of warm, supportive and authentic relationships, the developing brain can thrive. It is the frameworks of integrated supports that authentically improve student learning. The mechanistic repertoires, providing scripted responses to manage cognitive load, cannot provide a sustainable substitute for these supports to ensure productive learning and development for all students.

High-stakes testing brings the horizon ever closer, and in that narrowing of time and focus, teachers are pushed to deliver results in standardised tests such as the HSC. CLT is gaining traction as the panacea for raising student outcomes and its use is overwhelmingly merited and evidenced based. What is lacking in the CLT research literature is a more nuanced and integrated approach that recognises that challenge-based learning is effective as a social construct and gives students a sense of belonging. PBL and IL support students to develop soft skills, including adaptability, curiosity and a mindset that embraces lifelong learning that the Fourth Industrial Revolution craves. When teachers teach to the test, they surrender the true purpose of education to neoliberalism.

The dichotomy between direct instruction and IL is a construct of the research. It retreats from the purpose of exploring evidence for teachers in that it does not discriminate between ages, subjects or contexts, and it is left to systems and teaching teams to fill in these gaps. As disciplines specialise in specific fields of knowledge, so too should pedagogies. Sweller, van Merriënboer, and Paas (2019) acknowledge the popularity of CLT and its contributions to practical applications for classroom learning. The purpose of research is to improve understanding and practice and Sweller, van Merriënboer, and Paas (2019) highlight that the practical applications of the CLT “are intended to be accessible for people without a research background” (p. 388) for “anyone who wants to make his or her teaching more effective” (p.388). The problem for teachers is that they need to research around CLT and consciously understand the balance required. The work of Darling-Hammond, et al. (2019) stands out as a wholistic representation of CLT in the SoLD and more work in this area is needed.

Conclusion

In setting out to explore the literature to support curricular and instructional design in Economics, under a standardised testing regime, four elements were seen as significant: rigour, resilience, engagement, and support. The themes in the literature offered four areas for this discussion: knowledge as a basis of curriculum design, beliefs about learning, problem-solving strategies to foster engagement and the development of intelligences and capacities. In investigating the research, a compelling narrative was thread through an adversarial dialogue between CLT and IL. Soon after Kirschner, Sweller, and Clark (2006) published their paper “Why minimal guidance during instruction does not work: An analysis of the failure of constructivist, discover, problem-based, experiential, and inquiry-based teaching”, Hmelo-Silver, Chinn, and Duncan (2007) produced “Scaffolding and achievement in problem-based and inquiry learning: A response to Kirschner, Sweller, and Clark (2006)”. The conflict is instructive in moving thinking but confusing for teachers immersed in the experience at the point of learning.

The global pandemic has caused a seismic shift in modes of learning being offered, as whole industries mobilised to provide teachers with learning plans, assessment and feedback platforms. Caught up in this monetarisation of education, teachers are time-poor and pushed by accountability requirements. The immediate advice from the research is that tasks need to be engaging and challenging without overwhelming the novice. Curricula and instructional design should support students to build mental schema that connect ideas, but we should never discount the importance of students collaborating and becoming self-directed in fostering the goal to become lifelong learners. These recommendations are practically applied as principles in significant work (Darling-Hammond et al., 2019; Rosenshine, 2012) that recognise the integral role of relationships that make teaching a uniquely and profoundly human experience.

Beyond the pragmatism, the overarching conclusion from interrogating the research is that in designing a new curriculum teachers need to become self-aware and develop a knowledge of evidence-based practices independent from following prescribed recommendations. De Jong’s (2010) work details the productive struggle of curriculum planning teams and the benefits for learner transformation and performance. This is happening across Teacher Expert Networks but it needs to be comprehensive and inclusive in its reach. The tools are available in the research but they require an expert teacher with a wide pedagogical repertoire who knows how to plan, when to scaffold and which knowledge process is required just-in-time. This increases the burden on an already overwhelmed profession. More work is needed in this area to bring together teachers and build the collective efficacy of the profession of teachers to appreciate the emerging research into learning theories, instead of holding the individual teacher to account for the responsibilities of the whole. Learning by understanding is as relevant for our students as it is for teachers.

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DISTRACTION FROM TEACHING WORK: RECENT EVIDENCE OF INTENSIFICATION IN TEACHERS' WORK

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ABSTRACT

The article captures a period of time, in early to mid 2020, post COVID lockdown #1 in Sydney.

This article is an empirical observation of work creep, which leads to work intensification for teachers. As a practicing secondary Design teacher in Sydney NSW, I took note of the announcements that were being made through NESA (NSW Education Standards Authority), as well as the work being shifted onto classroom teachers like myself. Engaging with my colleagues, state-wide, through various social media discussions, in the staffroom and through professional associations. I liken the course of decision making and the implemented changes to previous, some seminal, studies and writing that have been made on the manner and outcomes of management styles. In doing so, I demonstrate how the changes are consistent with a broader neoliberal agenda to erode the standing of teachers; Issues as professionals we must turn our attention to. The devil is in the details and we must agitate if we are to prevent the ongoing abrasion of our resilience as professionals.

During the months following their initial announcement to separate the practical and portfolio marking, I followed NESA's communication closely. Following our conversations about the way our workload has slowly increased as a result of numerous changes over recent years, I began to examine the effect of these changes on teachers work. There are many research papers examining the managerial styles that result in intensification of workload for teachers I will examine those I have found that relate directly to recent events such as changes made to the HSC marking process for major projects.

The resemblance between work intensification can be made to the fabric property of *abrasion resistance* which provides a metaphor to describe the current predicament; the stronger the fabric and fibre then the longer it will be able to withstand against constant abrasive surfaces, stretching and pressure of the conditions to which it serves. Inevitably the fabric wears thin or possibly even breaks through. This results in a broken system that the Gallop Inquiry has exposed; an educational system that is in 'crisis' and needs repair. Gallop makes relevant recommendations for numerous solutions that will improve working conditions for teachers and repair the fabric of an unsustainable situation.

What is Intensification?

When we examine the use of the adjective 'intense' to describe the noun 'work', some rather strong language is used. A person employed in a place of work that is intense can expect that there may be elements of "extreme and forceful" (Cambridge University Press, 2020) expectations of them. In relation to emotions, a person who is experiencing intensity may report feeling powerful exertion of energy. People who are described as 'intense' may exhibit seriousness with high levels emotion and strong opinions. Indeed, these are generalised descriptors which could apply to any number of occupations that one might imagine to be rigorous, fast-paced, multi-faceted, demanding and forceful. Why would anyone want to work in employment that is known to be "intense"? It sounds exhausting; however, these are elements of work that are faced by teachers daily. Working conditions that have been described by the Gallop Inquiry as being in a state of "crisis", the pressure or squeeze

that is felt in our working days is affecting teacher wellbeing; as a profession we now have tangible evidence that the current model is unsustainable.

Zipin and White report that work intensification is common across all types of professions and occupations, however it is prevalent in mass public institutions such as education systems (Zipin and White, 2002). Waite (2010) reinforces the abundance of work intensification in schools and goes further on to the causation to broader worldwide labour and market trends that have negative implications on employees of the service and knowledge-based sectors (Waite citing Gronn 2010, p228). Waite goes on to characterise school organisations as *greed institutions* and wrote that “rather than diminishing servility, the marketized regulation of public sector agencies and the creation of an enterprise culture breed their own new and unique forms of exploitation and serfdom, which I term greedy work practices” (Waite citing Gronn 2010, p228). These grim and archaic likenesses to medieval feudal system labour practices suggest bleak and oppressive prospects for aspiring teachers; trapped in what Weber described in 1958 as an “iron cage” of bureaucracy (Waite citing Weber, 2010) an unrelenting reality still validated some 60 years later.

The Intensification being documented by teachers has been described as the “increasing pressure to do more in less time, to be responsive to a greater range of demands from external sources, to meet a greater range of targets, to be driven by deadlines” (Galton and MacBeath, 2002: p13). The nature of work intensification happens slowly and progressively; another duty is added here and there, more reporting, more marking, a new policy to implement, more admin, and then if we weren’t busy enough the free lesson I looked forward to today was hijacked because technically, I’m “under-allotted”! In the past 12 months, as TAS teachers, we have seen evidence of intensification through the addition of HSC practical marking to our already bulging workloads. This came after school closures due to the COVID pandemic caused tremors throughout our pedagogy. Many teachers were suddenly required to re-invent their teaching resources to suit students’ varying home environments; it hasn’t been as easy as uploading documents to a website; we learned how to host virtual classes, there has been a lot more phone calls and many of us have enlisted for unplanned professional learning as well. This pandemic has certainly added to teacher workload as we take time to learn, implement and adjust learning experiences for our students. In February, NESAs gifted teachers 5 hours of accredited professional development which is a gesture of recognition for the learning that has been thrust onto teachers in a short space of time.

TIME: Speed, pace

In an attempt to determine whether teacher workload has sped up over time, Giltin refers to “**the intensity of work’ where he focuses on how the pace of everyday labor influences a teacher’s ability to step back from his or her classroom practices and consider broader educational issues or look at these practices in a more holistic sense.**” (Giltin, 2001). Giltin explains that “if the teacher does not have the time in their school day to step back and look at their work then the work is viewed as intense. However, if a teacher is able to step back from the press of everyday decisions and consider broader educational concerns or employ a more holistic view then the work is considered to be more relaxed or less intense” (Giltin, 2001).

Through the survey of members, Robinson encouraged teachers to take several steps back from our workloads to provide input to NESAs *COVID Response Committee* regarding their decision to separate the marking of the practical and portfolio sections of the Major Project. In her letter to NESAs, Robinson (President of the TEA) expressed the varying concerns raised by members and pointed out the need for a “developed framework for assessment” (personal communication, 5th March 2020) which includes professional learning and implementation support for teachers to develop the consistency needed to fulfil the assessment changes that NESAs decided on for the 2020 HSC. The time required to plan ahead for such a process to take place is usually thorough and backwards-mapped against pre-set timelines that teachers can plan for and anticipate. The HSC marking process itself has established practices that ensure consistency with items for assessment that are often marked

twice to enable moderation to take place and to assure certainty in the mark allocations (Robinson personal communication, 5th March 2020).

The speed with which NESA implemented the 2020 HSC changes were necessary if the separated marking outcome was to be achieved for this cohort. The concern for the teaching profession was through the absence of any acknowledgement from NESA's *COVID Response Committee* to the TEA regarding members' carefully assembled input into the decision to separate marking. Was it discussed as part of proceedings? This remains unknown. Months passed and as NESA disseminated communication, it became clear that the separation was to take place regardless of the TEA's written submission. Early in the process, NESA designated teachers as being "best placed" to assign marks to their students' projects; as they had "observed their progress to date" (NESA, 2020a). This *managerial style* approach disarmed the teacher from their ability to have any say into the way that the system should be amended. NESA assembled marking packs that were disseminated throughout the state, instructing teachers on how they were to allocate marks for a project that was usually externally assessed. This was received with some apprehension by teachers as a new change that added professional learning demands and timing pressure on teachers.

Input: The "execution of conception" manner

Giltin points out that the managerial style approach that we have observed from NESA commonly plays out in the functioning processes of schools and he recognises that this form of control separates "execution of conception". The teacher is assigned as being responsible for the *execution* of tasks *conceived* and assigned by NESA as we have seen in the decision to separate portfolio and practical marking for the 2020 HSC. Employee input, beyond following instruction, is not necessary. There are a number of side effects to relieving teachers of any decision-making power.

Contradictions

Teacher training qualifications require years of study in higher education. Teachers are trained to work effectively together, know how their students learn and participate in planning for best interests of students' learning. This is captured in the professional engagement domain of the Australian Professional Standards for Teachers;

Teachers demonstrate respect and professionalism in all their interactions with students, colleagues, parents/carers and the community. They are sensitive to the needs of parents/carers and can communicate effectively with them about their children's learning.

Teachers value opportunities to engage with their school communities within and beyond the classroom to enrich the educational context for students. They understand the links between school, home and community in the social and intellectual development of their students.

(NESA, 2018)

The standards set out by NESA dictate the professional expectations for teachers; to exercise respect for others involved in student learning and demonstrate sensitivity to the needs of those in their care. Teaching standards (and ethics) state that as part of their practice, teachers "value opportunities to engage" with possibilities to enrich the educational context for students. Herein we see a new contradiction of the current teachers' arrangement; reciprocated respect and valuable opportunities to contribute professionally is limited to the teacher level of the educational hierarchy and does not extend into the organisational structures that prescribe teaching work.

This frustrating conundrum acts as a device to contain teacher expertise and erode our professional status; supported by professional standards that, in this situation, pay lip service to the importance of teacher input. These unfortunate facts are endorsed through the abysmal state of teacher salaries that have seemingly flat lined in comparison to other professionals with the Gallop Inquiry recommending that salaries need to increase by between 10 and 15% in the next round of agreement negotiations.

Deskilling and reskilling

Giltin points out that this can be described as “proletarianization thesis, which suggested that over time, increasing numbers of workers are deskilled such that their conceptual skills (e.g., a worker’s ability to understand the entire production process) are taken over by management, thereby limiting them to repeated tasks that provide little or no holistic understanding of the production process” (Giltin citing Lawn, Ozga and Apple, 2001). The teacher has been erased from contribution to the professional process, overtaken by the fast pace of change implementation, and being tasked as the *executor* of the ideas *conceived* by managers further up the line. These are experiences echoed by members of the TEA whose carefully gathered and assembled feedback was unacknowledged by NESA *COVID Response Team* as the COVID events unfolded in between March and May 2020. Perhaps it would have been more suitable for them to be called the *NESA COVID Receiving Team*?

The broader question that teachers should be asking relates to the application of their training; are teachers being made redundant and why should teachers be so rigorously trained if they are going to be denied opportunity to apply those skills in their work? The Gallop Inquiry reports that 1 in 8 of our early career teachers are leaving the profession within the first 5 years. This highlights a much broader future ‘crisis’ for the teaching profession; I cannot blame our younger, earlier career teachers for jumping ship to better-paying work with better conditions. Who will remain to teach the young adults of tomorrow in the current predicament?

Giltin refers to the work of Apple to explain that after a process of deskilling there is often “a process of reskilling, the addition or emphasis of other organizational or clerking-type skills” (Giltin citing Apple, 2001). The work that teachers have since been required to focus their skills on are less intellectually stimulating to keep them busy with an overarching aim to distract them from coming up for air or from making holistic evaluations of their work. Giltin goes on to explain that this has an effect on teaching “the cycle of control begins with structures that place limits on teachers’ decision making, teacher resistance to this control results in their transforming teaching into a technical enterprise that takes little conceptual and creative thought and action” (Giltin, 2001). The distractions from teaching ultimately come at the cost of student education, as teaching and learning is degraded in the process of deskilling and reskilling processes that are externally imposed. We have seen a stripping away of professional autonomy through NESA’s decision to deregister many professional development providers, including the Professional Teaching Council who have previously endorsed professional learning opportunities designed by the TEA. These are backward steps that actively disarm teachers’ ability to satisfy the external accreditation requirements placed on the profession.

COMPLEXITY: Accountability and control

In the study conducted by Myhill and Williamson, teachers and school leaders expressed concerns and frustration regarding increasing levels of externally imposed accountability and control devices that are impossible to satisfy. This is another aspect of work intensification that the Gallop Inquiry found as “there have been profound changes in the work and workload of teachers” and “we have seen significant and still ongoing increases in the volume and complexity of work generated by government decisions”. There are a range of control and outcomes-based reforms that are applied to the profession to make teachers (and school leaders) more responsible and accountable. These include maintenance of accreditation, quality performance indicators, NAPLAN testing, ascertaining benchmarks and provisions for student wellbeing. Forcefully imposed, these have concrete and substantial effects in the work lives of teachers (Zilpin & White, 2002) and distract them from the educational outcomes central to the profession. The forcible application of these reforms, and the lack of measures taken to support teachers to achieve them have negative effects for those working as teachers as well as their families.

In the 2020 HSC arrangement, as teachers were designated as responsible for the allocation of HSC marking, placing responsibility for this usually externally assessed component onto teacher workload. In recognition for this “The marking of the Major Project (product) is a professional learning activity and teachers will receive three hours of accredited professional learning at Highly Accomplished level” (NESA, 2020b). Three hours of recognition for the task may substantiate a decent portion of effort for some more experienced teachers, however for others (particularly teachers working in rural areas and earlier career teachers) found that it didn’t reflect the investment of time, care and effort that was necessary to suitably satisfy the task.

Giltin states that “one particular worker might feel overwhelmed by the pace of work while another might not even notice this aspect of the work process.” In her letter to NESA, Robinson pointed out that there was an “inequality in teacher levels of confidence and experience [which] further reinforces the great concern about levels of support that will be provided for teachers (to use the marking guidelines/ benchmarks sent out by NESA)” (personal communication, 5th March 2020). An early career teacher may find the imposition of marking the projects an overwhelming task, which they would no doubt want to do well, however may lack an experienced colleague to guide and support them. Other more “experienced” colleagues may find this task quite daunting, however, some many not especially if they have had the opportunity to work as part of the practical marking team. Teachers with experience in HSC marking were able to rely on previous understandings that assisted them to adapt to these changes more readily than teachers who were less experienced in HSC marking. We saw this through the Facebook and online forums as some struggled to decipher and de-code the marking pack and the TEA responded to specific questions asked by members (TEA, 2020). Therefore, the amount of work and effort given to teachers through this task is assumed; the task is invariable for each teacher depending on his or her experience, context, support mechanisms and situation. The concern that teachers need support to deal with the “growing complexity of their work” (NSWTE, 2021) here was raised in the Gallop Inquiry and is of particular concern for our earlier career teachers who we must shield and support to retain in a an increasingly impossible work situation.

What is next?

The evidence of work intensification for teachers has been evident in the recent events experienced by teachers in response to workload, changes implied by school closures and adjustments to routine caused by this pandemic. Teachers are working within boundaries that are clearly marked by workload, accountability, limitations, professional standards, time frames and new responsibilities handed to them from externally located managers. The ability for teachers to exercise professional and educated thought is slowly being eroded and suppressed; this has detrimental implications for the quality of teaching and learning for students. The value of teacher work is dwindling, the terms ‘impossible’ and ‘crisis’ are not far from the factual arrangement and yet today, this is the reality of our situation. Teacher working conditions are complex issues tangled deeply in bureaucracy, policies and agencies that have their own agenda which ultimately construe the true purpose of teachers and the work of teaching.

As colleagues, we need to look after each other. Especially our early career teachers. If you are reading this and you are not a member of your union, I urge you to join.

My hope is that conversations will take place in staff rooms and online forums, that staff say something before the “abrasion” becomes too much. It will take some time until The Gallop Inquiry will be able to generate results, we must cause tremors if we are to agitate some much needed change for our education system.

In Solidarity,
Lynda Espinola

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THE PLACE OF THE PERSONAL INTEREST PROJECT IN THE NSW CURRICULUM

Marshall Leaver, Life Member of the Society & Culture Association

The Personal Interest Project (PIP) is a significant component of the HSC Society and Culture course. It is a project which requires students to undertake and apply a range of qualitative, quantitative, primary and secondary research methods to a topic of their own choice and inspiration. Most PIPs are 5,500 words in length and are worth 40% of the external mark in this subject. Each PIP is a journey of discovery for the student whereby they aspire to synthesise their research findings into meaningful insights and understandings of their social and cultural world.

Each year the best PIPs are awarded a High Distinction and these are accessioned into the permanent collection of the State Library of NSW and effectively become part of NSW history by providing a significant and ongoing insight into the social issues which inspire and challenge young people in the context of their times. In 2021, 11 High Distinction and 15 Distinctions were awarded from a candidature of over 4,700 students. Each year the Society and Culture Association, in conjunction with NESAC organise the Society and Culture Awards ceremony where recipients, their families and their teachers can celebrate these outstanding academic achievements which will serve to launch the skills and understandings developed into further study and to make for a better world.



Both Personal Interest Projects included in this issue of erj received High Distinctions.

Isabella Fung's PIP entitled *This is Australia. Speak English* received the Dr Margret (Peg) White Award in 2021 as it was judged to be the best project which promoted intercultural communication and understanding.



Each recipient of a High Distinction PIP receives a Society and Culture medal, as do 'Top 10' candidates in HSC for this subject



THIS IS AUSTRALIA. SPEAK ENGLISH

Isabella Fung

Hunter School of the Performing Arts

ABSTRACT

An investigation into the construction, perpetuation, and ramifications of Australia's monolingual attitude through the hypothesis:

"Australia's dominant culture of monolingualism is driving the decline in acquisition of languages other than English, thereby perpetuating Anglo superiority and exclusion of non-Anglo individuals."

Introduction

My report seeks to understand the nature of multilingualism in Australia through the hypothesis *"Australia's dominant culture of monolingualism is driving the decline in acquisition of languages other than English, thereby perpetuating Anglo superiority and exclusion of non-Anglo individuals."*

I endeavour to understand the role of macro structures; Government, education institutions and media, in perpetuating the ethnocentric notion that languages other than English (LOTE), are unnecessary and inherently inferior, and the ensuing ramifications on Australian culture, social-norms in public settings, and micro-interactions resulting in exclusion of LOTE speaking individuals.

To understand how social values concerning multilingualism have been constructed and perpetuated, I have gained knowledge on Australia's history; the diversity of Aboriginal language prior to white colonisation, subsequent destruction and denial of language by English settlers, and the exclusionary nature of the White Australia Policy. I have then analysed which attitudes have prevailed or changed since these events, and the macro-events; globalisation, technological advancement, and Westernisation, which have led to such transformations.

Consequently, my research concerns the role of power at both macro and micro levels. As the dominant class, English-speaking Caucasians use monolingualism as a tool to exert control and enculturate the public with societal values that maintain their superiority. Such socialisation is often latent, rather than overt, securing Australia's paradoxical national identity as 'multicultural' yet 'monolingual'. This lack of value placed upon multilingualism results in 'othering' of those who speak LOTE, loss of heritage languages by the 3rd generation¹, and insecurity surrounding cultural identity. These micro consequences secure my topic firmly within the conceptual focus of identity, exclusion and inclusion, and social cohesion.

Secondary sources were used to gain background research, enabling me to conduct primary research that substantiated secondary findings by accounting for a more qualitative perspective. My questionnaire was effective in analysing public opinion at meso-levels, while interviews with language teachers and multilinguals provided deep personal insight, facilitating my understanding of cross-cultural perspectives by challenging the preconceptions I had as a monolingual. Content analysis prompted synthesis between all forms of research, with analysis of newspapers following post-WWII immigration, and Pauline Hanson's political speeches, substantiating interviews with immigrants and questionnaire responses respectively, revealing the continual role of mass-media in exploiting public opinion for political gain.

¹ Fukui, M. (2019, November 29). Why Australia is known as a "graveyard of languages." Retrieved December 1, 2020, from [www.abc.net.au](https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-11-30/language-loss-and-revival-australia-tongue-tied-and-fluent/11736450) website: <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-11-30/language-loss-and-revival-australia-tongue-tied-and-fluent/11736450>

This finding prompted me to utilise critical discernment in all forms of research, with assessment of validity and underlying agendas of secondary sources extrapolated into my research methodologies by recognising the confounding factors of my opinion that multilingualism is inherently beneficial. Holistically, this research process challenged me to engage with cross-cultural perspectives, resulting in a reconfiguration of my understanding of cultural identity and Australian society, ultimately enhancing my cultural literacy and appreciation of other cultures.

Log

As a student learning a second language through the education system, and the granddaughter of Chinese and Dutch immigrants, my initial interest in multilingualism stemmed from personal experiences. Thus, I entered my PIP with several preconceptions concerning multilingualism, resulting in a simplistic hypothesis that failed to account for the topic's complexity. Through consideration of contradictions between secondary and primary research, I have recognised that although monolingualism does foster exclusionary behaviour and a decline in multilingualism, it is not the single driver of such paradigms, indeed, by analysing change across Australia's history, is an amalgamation of several forces of socialisation including mass-media, education institutions and politics.

The initial secondary research phase consisted of extrapolation of sociological theories into macro-Australian society. Most notably was the concept of *'othering'*, manifested through the *'Social Identity Theory'* allowing me to frame my understanding of LOTE through contexts of inclusion and exclusion. This theological foundation was extended upon by accessing scholarly articles, books, and podcasts, culminating in a comprehensive understanding of the historical and cultural paradigms that constructed Australia's monolingual attitude.

To account for the primarily quantitative nature of secondary research, primary methodologies were used, with the first being a questionnaire. By obtaining demographic information, then directing responders to sections based on mono/multilingual status, I could compare responses to assess the role of age, ethnicity, and generation of immigrant in influencing perceptions about multilingualism. However, the limited numbers of respondents, the majority being Caucasian monolinguals, reduced validity, prompting comparison of primary findings with macro-data obtained from secondary statistical analysis. Additionally, the superficial written- responses that emerged suggested that the sample had limited experience with multilingualism, highlighting the need to specifically contact individuals with relevant perspectives. I subsequently conducted five interviews, henceforth supplementing my limited perspective with cross-cultural viewpoints.

Language teachers provided professional perspectives that were foundational to understanding continuities and changes in education institutions, while interviews with multilinguals provided insight into micro-concepts of identity, allowing me to enhance cultural literacy by considering how data obtained from subjective sources can obscure objective analysis. Initial interviews were quite structured, progressing in a question/response fashion rather than a discussion. By obtaining demographic information, then directing responders to sections based on mono/multilingual status, I could compare responses to assess the role of age, ethnicity, and generation of immigrant in influencing perceptions about multilingualism. However, the limited numbers of respondents, the majority being Caucasian monolinguals, reduced validity, prompting comparison of primary findings with macro-data obtained from secondary statistical analysis. Additionally, the superficial written-responses that emerged suggested that the sample had limited experience with multilingualism, highlighting the need to specifically contact individuals with relevant perspectives. I subsequently conducted five interviews, henceforth supplementing my limited perspective with cross-cultural viewpoints.

Language teachers provided professional perspectives that were foundational to understanding continuities and changes in education institutions, while interviews with multilinguals provided insight into micro-concepts of identity, allowing me to enhance cultural literacy by considering how

data obtained from subjective sources can obscure objective analysis. Initial interviews were quite structured, progressing in a question/response fashion rather than a discussion. By being dictated primarily by my questioning, I may have inadvertently led interviewees to conclusions synonymous with my hypothesis, rather than their personal perspectives.

This issue was mitigated in subsequent interviews, most notably with Daryn McKenny, a turning point in my research process. As a Gamilaraay and Wiradjuri man, and founder of the Miromaa Aboriginal Language Centre, his perspective enriched my PIP by providing a cultural and professional viewpoint, challenging my superficial understanding of Aboriginal culture. His discussion of the connection between language, identity and Country led to increased emphasis on Aboriginal languages within my research, while revealing how my monolingual status inhibited me from understanding how cultural identity is inextricably linked to multilingualism.

This research process has confronted me with concepts conflicting with my preconceived assumptions, challenging me to seek cross-cultural perspectives and reconstruct my understanding of society through synthesis of secondary and primary sources. This enhanced my ability to critically examine the cultural values entrenched in Australian society, leading to deeper appreciation of the Aboriginal and immigrant experiences so often overshadowed by the narrative Anglo-Australia perpetuates through English monolingualism.

Chapter 1.

The role of colonisation in Australia's monolingual attitude

Australia's monolingual attitude is the product of British colonialism, in which ethnocentric values aimed to suppress Indigenous language, and subsequently culture, to establish Anglo-superiority and facilitate exclusion of LOTE speakers from mainstream society. As highlighted by primary research, the most common justification of Australia's monolingualism is conflation of English with Australian identity, where a questionnaire respondent states, *'If you want to live in Australia, you need to speak English; that's the language we use here'*². Considering the 250 Aboriginal languages³ spoken prior to British colonisation, this superficial argument demonstrates the prevailing lack of value placed on Indigenous culture and persisting influence of colonialism upon LOTE in society. These attitudes have cast Aboriginal languages as inferior and justified their loss through the notion that English monolingualism is necessary for social cohesion.

As highlighted by an interview with Daryn McKenny; *"People understand that Europe encompasses many countries of distinct languages and beliefs, yet Indigenous Australia is not afforded the same respect"*⁴. Indeed, British colonisers refused to acknowledge Australia's cultural and linguistic diversity to portray Indigenous culture as homogenous and simplistic, effectively drawing upon *'Social Darwinism'*⁵ to justify colonisation, while simultaneously constructing the narrative of 'us' verses 'them'; enabling English to be identified as superior to Indigenous languages.

² Primary research; (2020, November 20). *Australia and Multilingualism*. Online Questionnaire; Google Forms. <https://forms.gle/sLRMrtoEx2A81eek6>

³ Glynn-McDonald, R. (2019). Indigenous Languages. Commonground.org.au. <https://www.commonground.org.au/learn/indigenous-languages-avoiding-a-silent-future>

⁴ Primary research; (2021, March 18). *Interview with Daryn McKenny*.

⁵ Editors. (2018). Social Darwinism. HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/topics/early-20th-century-us/social-darwinism#:~:text=Social%20Darwinists%20believe%20in%20%E2%80%9Csurvival>

Thus, a linguistically homogenous society was considered necessary to establish a stable democracy, culminating in the vindication and acceleration of language loss through linguistic imperialism. Considering how this process manifests in the “*imposition of a dominant language on speakers of other languages*”⁶ it is thereby evident how acculturation through macro-power structures sustains English dominance by forcibly developing a monolingual society through deliberate exclusion of LOTE speakers, an outcome affirming the hypothesis.

These colonialist values were foundational to linguistic assimilation policies, evidenced in the Office of Education’s intention in 1953: ‘*Assimilation policy demands a lingua franca ... We need a vigorous and maintained drive for English.*’⁷ Consequently, most missions in the mid-20th century banned Aboriginal languages, collaborated by primary research in the questionnaire response; ‘*When I was young, we weren’t allowed to speak our language. The government forbade its use.*’⁸ This respondent suggests that the greatest ramification upon language was under the *Protection laws* (1840 to late 1960s), which controlled every aspect of Aboriginal lives, including forced removal of children⁹. Children of the Stolen Generation were encouraged to reject their Indigenous identity and forbidden from speaking their mother-tongue. Therefore, the exclusion of Aboriginal people from macro-Australian society, and their own communities and culture, has resulted in intergenerational trauma, disrupting the passing on of Indigenous language and contributing to the loss of 130 Aboriginal languages¹⁰, reaffirming the expected role of language loss in perpetuating ‘*Anglo superiority*’.

As recently as 1969, the Government funded “remedial work” in Aboriginal schools, due to supposed “inhibitory influences” of bilingual education¹¹. As identified by Robert Phillipson in his novel ‘*linguistic Imperialism*’¹² English-teaching methodology operated under the “subtractive fallacy,” the presumption that if other languages are spoken, standards of English would drop. When coupled with prevailing notions of Aboriginal inferiority, evident in claims that Aboriginal people have “*no real language*” (1950), which was “*just a few grunts and groans*” (1963)¹³, fostered a climate of shame, drawing upon language’s dual role in facilitating communication and carrying cultural knowledge to ‘*facilitate the erasure of pre-colonial histories and identities ... and sever cultural connection*’¹⁴, ultimately maintaining Anglo-Australia’s dominance. Henceforth, denial of Aboriginal languages resulted in exclusion of Aboriginal people from macro-society, allowing British colonisers to construct an Australian narrative synonymous with Anglo culture, thereby forcibly isolating Aboriginal people from their cultural knowledge to establish and subsequently maintain a national culture grounded in ethnocentrism. Thus, erasure of Aboriginal culture from society maintains the false conflation of English with Australian-identity, a fallacy mobilised to prioritise Anglo-Australians over those considered culturally ‘other’.

⁶ Nordquist, R. (2019). The Meaning of Linguistic Imperialism and How It Can Affect Society. ThoughtCo. <https://www.thoughtco.com/what-is-linguistic-imperialism1691126#:~:text=Linguistic%20imperialism%20is%20the%20imposition,primary%20example%20of%20linguistic%20imperialism>.

⁷ Rademaker, L. (2019c, January 18). Why do so few Aussies speak an Australian language? Gove Online. <https://www.goveonline.com.au/why-do-so-few-aussies-speak-an-australian-language>

⁸ Primary Research; (2020, November 20). *Australia and Multilingualism*. Online Questionnaire; Google Forms. <https://forms.gle/sLRMrtoEx2A81eek6>

⁹ Studies, A. I. of A. and T. S. I. (2020, September 28). To remove and protect. Aiatsis.gov.au. <https://aiatsis.gov.au/collection/featured-collections/remove-and-protect>

¹⁰ Glynn-McDonald, R. (2019b). *Indigenous Languages*. Commonground.org.au. <https://www.commonground.org.au/learn/indigenous-languages-avoiding-a-silent-future>

¹¹ Rademaker, L. (2019a). The racist history behind the disappearance of Australia’s indigenous languages. Quartz. <https://qz.com/1531025/the-racist-history-behind-the-disappearance-of-australias-indigenous-languages/>

¹² Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford University Press.

¹³ Rademaker, L. (2019c, January 18). *Why do so few Aussies speak an Australian language?* Gove Online. <https://www.goveonline.com.au/why-do-so-few-aussies-speak-an-australian-language>

¹⁴ Ngūgī Wa Thiong’o. (2011). *Decolonising the mind: the politics of language in African literature*. J. Currey; Portsmouth, N.H.

Chapter 2.

The role of Immigration policy in Australia's monolingual attitude

Extrapolating English dominance into Australia's immigration policies reveals the effects of linguistic assimilation in constructing Australia's monolingual attitude. Despite an interviewee identifying that 'Asian languages are critical in terms of international partners and everyday life of many Australians',¹⁵ Australia persists in shaping social paradigms under the influence of the English-speaking world. Indeed, Australia's 'historic sense of being a British-outpost in a hostile Asian region'¹⁶ is foundational to Australia's sense of vulnerability and victimisation at the hands of the 'other', consequently creating a public psyche that favours the homogeneity of English monolingualism.

Immigration aims in the 1800s were a manifestation of Australia's determination for a British population. Following 19th-century romantic nationalism, language was considered a defining facet of culture, and thus, an emotionally compelling and salient foundation for nationalistic identity. Therefore, the inflow of Chinese and other 'aliens'¹⁷ during the Gold Rush instigated the 'Immigration Restriction Act of 1901', where 'Any person who fails to write in a European language directed by the officer,¹⁸' constituted as a 'prohibited immigrant.' As former prime minister Alfred Deakin stated; 'the object of applying the language test is to keep people out' (1905)¹⁹, corroborating with the hypothesis, which identifies English as a tool to 'exclude non- Anglo individuals.' Therefore, the supposed inherence of language to culture resulted in LOTE considered a 'threat' to British culture, thus, immigrants were forced to adopt English to ensure prior cultural knowledge was replaced with the beliefs and customs of British society, consequently accelerating decline in non-English languages.

This politicisation of immigration as a cultural crisis has been magnified by mass-media, evidenced through content analysis of 'The Sydney Morning Herald'²⁰. Newspaper articles between 1948-1950 reveal that outsourcing immigrants from continental Europe received macro-public backlash, arguing that 'too many European aliens were attracted.'²¹ Anxiety from those resistant to change was amplified for political gain, where fears of 'Australia being swamped by peoples of alien thought and dubious loyalty'²² conflated 'alien thought' with LOTE, justifying the Immigration department's one-way assimilation process. These processes operate under 'the monolingual fallacy'²³, whereby native languages were replaced with English monolingualism, rather than dual existence through bilingualism. This has ramifications on macro-society, whereby most European languages were lost by the 3rd generation,²⁴ and individuals, evidenced in the questionnaire response; 'My father refused to speak Polish to avoid being called a wog', illustrating how the dominant culture perpetuates societal norms that exclude those considered 'other', thus maintaining the power hegemony afforded by English monolingualism.

¹⁵ Primary research; (2021, March 20). Interview with Arkady de Jong

¹⁶ Markus, A., Jupp, J., & McDonald, P. (2009). *Australia's immigration revolution*. Allen & Unwin.

¹⁷ Prince, P. (2003). *We are Australian—The Constitution and Deportation of Australian-born Children*. https://www.aph.gov.au/about_parliament/parliamentary_departments/parliamentary_library/pubs/rp/rp0304/04rp03

¹⁸ *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*. (2012). Legislation.gov.au; Attorney-General's Department. <https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C1901A00017>

¹⁹ Cooper, C. (2012). *The immigration debate in Australia: from Federation to World War One*. https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/BN/2012-2013/ImmigrationDebate

²⁰ Primary research; (2021). *The Sydney Morning Herald (1948–1950)*. Content Analysis.

²¹ Dunkley, A. (2016). *The immigration debate in Australia: World War II and its impact*. https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1516/WW1Immigration

²² Mence, V., Gangell, S., & Tebb, R. (2017). A HISTORY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION Managing Migration to Australia. <https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/news-subsite/files/immigration-history.pdf>

²³ Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford University Press.

²⁴ Fukui, M. (2019, November 29). Why Australia is known as a "graveyard of languages." [Www.abc.net.au. https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-11-30/language-loss-and-revival-australia-tongue-tied-and-fluent/11736450](https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-11-30/language-loss-and-revival-australia-tongue-tied-and-fluent/11736450)

Another benefit of vilifying ethnic minorities through language is the notion that language is learnable, not an innate characteristic, seemingly distancing English-supremacy from racism. This is evidenced by the adoption of multiculturalism in the 1970s, where advantages of sourcing immigrants beyond Europe were overshadowed by perceived cultural dissonances of non-Europeans. By using the guise of ‘culture,’ a concept more digestible than ‘race,’ an increasingly well-educated public could justify xenophobic attitudes and oppose multilingualism, while simultaneously enjoying aspects of minorities’ culture like food and music. This is evident in the questionnaire conducted, where multiculturalism was rated highly beneficial by 60%, opposed to multilingualism at only 36%²⁵, revealing the dichotomy between multiculturalism and multilingualism foundational to Australian society; other cultures are tolerated so long as the dominant culture can control how their cultural identity is expressed.

The condemnation of multilingualism persists in contemporary contexts, where LOTE is the greatest indication that migrants reject Australian values. One Nation leader, Pauline Hanson, states that *‘Immigration must be halted so dole queues aren’t inundated by unskilled migrants not fluent in English ... I don’t consider these people anything but first-class citizens, provided they give Australia undivided loyalty’*²⁶ suggesting that such loyalty requires rejection of native languages. Content analysis of Hanson’s political speeches from 2011–2021 reveal that multilingualism arose 34 times, with each instance emphasizing LOTE as an impediment²⁷. Such political rhetoric constructs a narrative where Australia is benevolent, *allowing* other cultures to come to Australia through goodwill, as corroborated by the questionnaire response *‘Why should we bend over backwards to accommodate minorities moving to Australia?’*²⁸ Thus, when immigrants don’t conform to notions of Australian-identity, the dominant culture can justify their feelings of victimization by the cultural *‘other’*, subsequently mobilizing such unfounded indignance into political spheres, substantiated with 57.3% of questionnaire respondents believing Australia migrants should pass an English-proficiency test²⁹. To conclude, construction of a national identity that prioritises Anglo-individuals by subsuming English-proficiency with intelligence and loyalty intensifies exclusionary attitudes by perpetuating the ‘legitimacy’ of English. Thus, monolingualism is a primary agent of social exclusion, whereby Anglo-Australia uses English to inhibit the agency of ethnic minorities, consequently maintaining power in social-interactions, and dominance in institutional authority.

Chapter 3.

The role of educational institutions in maintaining English monolingualism

Australia’s entrenched monolingual attitude is perpetuated by the exclusionary nature of macro institutions, where primary data collated from interviews³⁰ suggest that the greatest inhibitor to enculturating the nation with multilingual values is the education system. As a primary socialisation agent, this institution operates through both latent and manifest functions, whereby the framing of LOTE education through an ethnocentric lens underpins the continual incompetency of education systems, resulting in superficial and inadequate LOTE education. Consequently, a distinct language hierarchy is perpetuated, thereby enculturating English legitimacy by casting LOTE in varying degrees of inferiority through notions of economic viability, rather than cultural value.

²⁵ Primary Research; (2020, November 20). *Australia and Multilingualism*. Online Questionnaire; Google Forms. <https://forms.gle/sLRMrtoEx2A81eek6>

²⁶ Hanson, P. (2018). *Senator Statements. Matters of Public Importance; Immigration*. https://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Hansard/Hansard_Display?bid=chamber/hansards/3daeb55e-042b-4fc4-af6d-f3c815767f02/&sid=0064

²⁷ Primary research; (2021). *Pauline Hanson; Political speeches from 2001-2021*. Content Analysis. ²⁸ Primary Research; (2020, November 20). *Australia and Multilingualism*. Online Questionnaire; Google Forms. <https://forms.gle/sLRMrtoEx2A81eek6>

²⁹ Primary Research; (2020, November 20). *Australia and Multilingualism*. Online Questionnaire; Google Forms. <https://forms.gle/sLRMrtoEx2A81eek6>

³⁰ Primary research; (2021, February 25). *Interview with Daniella Phillips*
Primary research; (2021, March 20). *Interview with Arkady de Jong*

Analysis of the success of the EU's policy of '*mother-tongue plus two*³¹' and New Zealand's goals for one-million Te Reo Māori speakers by 2040³², reveals that schools are a crucial institution in enculturating cultural relativism and pride, strengthening social cohesion, and enhancing international relations. Despite globalisation and technological advancements facilitating intercultural communication, an interview with a language teacher reveals that Australia '*lacks cohesive integration of languages from early years, while treating languages as an extracurricular*,³³' a failure synonymous with 19th century Australian schooling models that operated under the '*subtractive fallacy*³⁴', revealing the continual incompetency of Anglo-Australia to acknowledge Aboriginal languages and unwillingness to engage with its Asian partners beyond a superficial level.

Thus, it is unsurprising that Australia is identified as '*a hotspot for language extinction*³⁵', where lack of a national languages policy has resulted in a history of '*starting and abandoning*' programs due to inadequate funding. In 2009, the NT government scrapped 30 years of Aboriginal bilingual education in 24 schools,³⁶ mandating the first four hours in all NT schools should be delivered in English. Subsequently, school attendance dropped to just 30% in the NT³⁷, a consequence illustrated through sociolinguist theories, where language is described as "*essential to identity, culture, and thinking processes*."³⁸ When considering interviewee, Daryn McKenny's words; '*Our languages allow us to understand our Dreaming, relationships, and ourselves*³⁹', it can therefore be concluded that the mandating of English in schools is a primary perpetuator of '*Anglo superiority*' whereby the hypothesis that monolingualism perpetuates '*exclusion of non-English speakers*' is evidenced when Aboriginal students are forced to recreate knowledge through a second language, resulting in loss of cultural identity and internalisation of English legitimacy.

Furthermore, Daryn McKenny identifies how education systems fail to acknowledge Aboriginal languages as '*doorways into environmentally-based knowledge-systems*.' He reveals Aboriginal naming systems are ecologically comprehensive; in which the Guugu Yimithirr word '*Gangurrū*', from which kangaroo is derived, translates to '*Old male Eastern grey*', in contrast to the Latin '*Macropod*', simply meaning 'large foot'. Additionally, Dr Tyson Yunkaporta, lecturer in Indigenous Knowledges, identifies that Aboriginal languages contain complex pronoun systems, constructing a multifaceted self and social-identity through kinship and totemic connection.⁴⁰ Therefore, the '*superficiality*' of school programs '*focused on ticking a box*⁴¹', stem from Anglo-Australia's exclusion of Aboriginal culture from language education. Conversely, when Aboriginal people are at the forefront of teaching, language effectively enculturates cultural values, evidenced in the successful introduction of Wiradjuri language education in 2015 by Wiradjuri elder Stan Grant Senior, resulting in '*students adopting*

³¹ O'Donnell, R. (2018, February 7). *OBESSU | Mother tongue plus two: recommendation on language learning for all EU member states*. Wwww.obessu.org. <https://www.obessu.org/resources/news/mother-tongue-plus-two-recommendation-on-language-learning-for-all-eu-member-states/#:~:text=Home->

³² Neilson, M. (2018). *Government sets goal for one million Kiwis speaking basic te reo Māori by 2040*. NZ Herald. <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/government-sets-goal-for-one-million-kiwis-speaking-basic-te-reo-maori-by-2040/MS7S6MZDGPZ6RXK5FOHL4MLBNM/#:~:text=Advertise%20with%20NZME.>

³³ Primary research; (2021, February 25). *Interview with Daniella Phillips*

³⁴ Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford University Press.

³⁵ *Australia tops list for vanishing languages*. (2007, September 18). Wwww.abc.net.au. <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2007-09-19/australia-tops-list-for-vanishing-languages/673896>

³⁶ Devlin, B. (2020, November 12). *Government Support for NT Bilingual Education after 1950: A Longer Timeline - Friends of Bilingual Learning*. Wwww.fobl.net.au. <https://www.fobl.net.au/index.php/au-TI/history/71-government-support-for-nt-bilingual-education-after-1950-a-longer-timeline>

³⁷ Spirits, J. K., Creative. (2020, August 13). *Too little Aboriginal bilingual education*. Creative Spirits. <https://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/language/too-little-aboriginal-bilingual-education#:~:text=One%20consequence%20of%20the%20scrapped>

³⁸ Graham, B., & Gale, K. (2011). *Language Learning in Indigenous Communities*. http://www.aphref.aph.gov.au_house_committeeasia_languages2_subs_sub057r.pdf

³⁹ Primary research; (2021, March 18). *Interview with Daryn McKenny*.

⁴⁰ Malcolm, L. (2019, September 1). *Indigenous language and perception* [Podcast]. ABC. <https://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/allinthemind/indigenous-language-and-perception/11457578#:~:text=Our%20perception%20of%20the%20world,world%20than%20that%20of%20English>

⁴¹ Primary research; (2021, March 18). *Interview with Daryn McKenny*.

elements of culture called *Yindymarra*; patience and respect.⁴² Thus, inadequate school programs exclude students from cultural knowledge, leading to LOTE decline and simultaneously maintaining Anglo-Australia's ignorance regarding the value of Aboriginal languages, both culturally and in contemporary issues concerning environmental sustainability. This has replaced the previous emphasis on the 'primitive' nature of Aboriginal languages with a notion more socially digestible, that is, casting Aboriginal languages as a 'dying' and 'ancient' 'thing of the past'⁴³. Both methods of 'othering' have rendered Aboriginal languages irrelevant to contemporary society, thus justifying the minimal funding for the education and revitalisation of Aboriginal languages.

The inhibitory effects of inadequate education systems upon global languages are also significant, with the percentage of students studying a foreign language in Year 12 decreasing from 40% in 1960, to 10% in 2016⁴⁴. Macro-world advancements in translator technology, and international dominance of English through globalisation are primary causes of the perception that LOTE is 'unnecessary,' with such attitudes mirrored in meso-society, corroborated by the questionnaire response, 'learning a language at school is considered secondary.'⁴⁵ Upon statistical analysis of the questionnaire, the education-system was considered to support languages at 'a low extent,' with 52% of respondents expressing an interest in languages despite never studying one, attributing 'insufficient time' as the greatest barrier⁴⁶. After an interview conducted with a trilingual Dutch citizen, who described European language education as 'integrated like any other core subject'⁴⁷; it is clear this issue could be resolved, however; synthesis of primary and secondary research demonstrates how monolingualism results in the perception that learning a second language is superfluous and 'too difficult'. Thus, lack of cohesive integration of languages from an early stage in Australia's education system facilitates decline of LOTE acquisition through enculturation of societal-norms which renders language education as redundant and antithetical to English dominance.

The few languages that are taught, are positioned in a 'global language hierarchy,' with 'classical' languages like French considered most desirable, followed by languages deemed useful for Australia's economy like Mandarin, finally, the 245 remaining languages are categorised as 'community languages'⁴⁸ and afforded least priority. This is corroborated through questionnaire results, where 74% of respondents identified French or Italian as the language they most wanted to learn, compared to 12% Asian languages⁴⁹. While most respondents were of European descent, possibly leading to confounding factors in language preference, the data reveals a relationship between class, standardised-education, and language, where LOTE spoken at home, or in communities, generally has a lower status than formal academic achievement in languages. Therefore, Australia's unwillingness to see immigrant languages as an asset, despite 20% of Australians speaking LOTE at home,⁵⁰ stems from the

⁴² Jens Korff, Creative Spirits. (2019, August). *Aboriginal language preservation & revival*. Creative Spirits. <https://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/language/aboriginal-language-preservation>

⁴³ Taylor, P.3., & Habibis, D. (2020). Widening the gap: White ignorance, race relations and the consequences for Aboriginal people in Australia. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 55(3). <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajs4.106>

⁴⁴ Mayfield, T. (2017, July 6). *Australia's "spectacular" failure in languages*. Pursuit; The University of Melbourne. <https://pursuit.unimelb.edu.au/articles/australia-s-spectacular-failure-in-languages>

⁴⁵ Primary Research; (2020, November 20). *Australia and Multilingualism*. Online Questionnaire; Google Forms. <https://forms.gle/sLRMrtoEx2A81eek6>

⁴⁶ Primary Research; (2020, November 20). *Australia and Multilingualism*. Online Questionnaire; Google Forms. <https://forms.gle/sLRMrtoEx2A81eek6>

⁴⁷ Primary research; (2021, April 1). *Interview with Inez Buijtenhek*

⁴⁸ Adoniou, M. (2015). *Linguistic paranoia – why is Australia so afraid of languages?* The Conversation. <https://theconversation.com/linguistic-paranoia-why-is-australia-so-afraid-of-languages-43236>

⁴⁹ Primary Research; (2020, November 20). *Australia and Multilingualism*. Online Questionnaire; Google Forms. <https://forms.gle/sLRMrtoEx2A81eek6>

⁵⁰ Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2016). *Media Release - 2016 Census: Multicultural*. Abs.gov.au; <https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/lookup/Media%20Release3>

nation's preoccupation with maintaining English dominance. Moreover, the insistence on English for those already bilingual, and rendering of languages as an academic extra-curricular for monolinguals, reveals how the education system is a primary institution accelerating LOTE decline. Consequently, monolinguals lack opportunities to engage with other cultures beyond a superficial level, fostering cultural isolationism, whilst multilinguals experience exclusionary consequences of speaking LOTE in English-dominant environments, resulting in internalisation of LOTE illegitimacy.

Chapter 4. Ramifications of monolingualism on identity and institutions

The interaction of LOTE-speakers with macro-Australian society has been profoundly impacted by the monolingualism inherent in institutional authority, and the cultural values socialised through schools. Through combination of these manifest and latent functions, minorities are excluded from mainstream society, facilitating low socio-economic outcomes, and creating conflict within cultural communities, whereby language loss inhibits construction of positive cultural identity.

The exclusionary nature of education systems has targeted the demographic most crucial to maintaining languages, the 2nd-generation, resulting in the greatest language shift occurring between 1st and 2nd-generations, with 53% of 1st-generation Australians speaking LOTE, compared to 20% of 2nd-generations.⁵¹ This demographic are often heritage language (HL) speakers; those who learned a minority language as children, but never fully developed it, becoming more competent in the dominant language. Considering linguist Monika Schmid's words; '*Children acquire structures of language before school, these structures are not permanent, needing to be consolidated in adolescence*⁵²', with analysis of questionnaire responses where '*No opportunities to speak language outside of home*' was selected by multilingual parents as the greatest inhibitory factor in raising bilingual children⁵³, it is thereby apparent that institutional monolingualism accelerates HL loss, where parents have difficulty accessing multilingual resources, despite this being a crucial period in linguistic development.

When people are deprived from resources to maintain their HL, individuals may perceive this as personal failure, evoking shame concerning their cultural identity. Within my questionnaire, although 64% HL respondents indicated speaking their HL was important to them, 86% felt uncomfortable when doing so, compared to 26% of multilinguals, with the greatest reason being '*worry about judgment from native speakers*⁵⁴'. This contradicts secondary research which suggests HL speakers face prejudice from wider-society concerning their language status.

However, as highlighted in the questionnaire response '*I feel distinctly separated from my heritage, especially during family reunions when I cannot understand my relatives,*⁵⁵' it is evident greater emotional demands stem from micro-family interactions. Therefore, institutional monolingualism perpetuates a dichotomy between cultural authenticity and assimilation, creating inter-group conflict that results in HL speakers excluded from society, *and* their cultural identity, subsequently accelerating the loss and shame of LOTE.

⁵¹ *Main Features – Cultural Diversity in Australia*. (2011). Abs.gov.au; c=AU; o=Commonwealth of Australia; ou=Australian Bureau of Statistics. <https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/2071.0main+features902012-2013>

⁵² Marek Kohn. (2020). *Four Words For Friend: why using more than one language matters now more than ever*. Yale University Press. (Original work published 2019)

⁵³ Primary research. (2020, November 20). *Australia and Multilingualism*. Online Questionnaire; Google Forms. <https://forms.gle/sLRMrtoEx2A81eek6>

⁵⁴ Primary research. (2020, November 20). *Australia and Multilingualism*. Online Questionnaire; Google Forms. <https://forms.gle/sLRMrtoEx2A81eek6>

⁵⁵ Primary research. (2020, November 20). *Australia and Multilingualism*. Online Questionnaire; Google Forms. <https://forms.gle/sLRMrtoEx2A81eek6>

Australian society further discourages HL speakers by affording English monolinguals who learn LOTE through the perceived legitimacy of schooling a higher-status, conflating bilingualism with intellectual achievement rather than cultural heritage. As linguist Robert Phillipson states; *'English dominance is maintained by continuous reconstitution of structural inequalities between English and other languages'*⁵⁶; therefore, it can be concluded that the dominant culture only favours LOTE when they can be assured of their power over who speaks them, and in what context. This is corroborated in questionnaire results; despite 76% of monolinguals wishing to be bilingual, 27% of this group believed English should be enforced in public spaces, while 32% of all monolinguals felt either *'suspicious, uneasy or intimidated'* upon hearing LOTE in public⁵⁷. These attitudes can be explained through *'Social Identity Theory'*⁵⁸, where LOTE creates a distinctive categorisation of people into 'in' and 'out'-groups, which, when coupled with the conflation of English proficiency with 'Australian-ness', triggers prejudice. This results in English-speakers exercising greater power in micro-interactions through the mobilisation of social norms which dictate when, and how LOTE should be spoken.

While deliberate animosity is commonly manifested in micro-interactions, macro modes of oppression are implicit rather than explicit, substantiated by an interviewee's words that; *'accessibility for LOTE-speakers is an afterthought'*⁵⁹. This contradicts with the predicted 'deliberate' exclusion, revealing that the failure of Australia to acknowledge the inherence of multilingualism in society is a continuation of homogenous institutional authority established by, and for, British colonisers.

Ramifications of inadequate multilingual resources can be extrapolated to explain the prevalence of discriminatory practises towards linguistically-diverse demographics in legal- systems. Secondary research reveals that; *"Aboriginal people are not sufficiently supported with interpreters through legal proceedings,*⁶⁰ " with 20% of remote Aboriginal people experiencing difficulty understanding service providers⁶¹. Barriers to cross-cultural communication is paralleled in healthcare, where patients are not offered, or unaware of, interpreter services, with a 2018 study in a Sydney hospital finding that although interpreters were required for 15.7% of admissions, just 3.7% were provided with one.⁶² Considering how *'In city hospitals it's easier to get an interpreter for any other language than Aboriginal languages'*⁶³ it is evident that institutions fail to reflect the needs of those it provides for, due to the privilege of English monolinguals, who have never themselves considered how language creates significant barriers. Henceforth, exclusionary interactions between LOTE-speakers and macro-society are perpetuated, intensifying the disparity of health and legal outcomes between Anglo and non-Anglo individuals.

Indeed, a consensus between multilingual questionnaire responses that they need to *'jump through hoops'* to simply engage with mainstream society, has been intensified during the pandemic. Many respondents revealed the government insufficiently engaged with linguistically-diverse communities, with communication inconsistent, including translation errors,⁶⁴ and initially only available in select

⁵⁶ Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford University Press.

⁵⁷ Primary research. (2020, November 20). *Australia and Multilingualism*. Online Questionnaire; Google Forms. <https://forms.gle/sLRMrtoEx2A81eek6>

⁵⁸ Augoustinos, M. (2018). *Psychological perspectives on racism* | APS. Psychology.org.au. <https://www.psychology.org.au/publications/inpsych/2013/august/augoustinos>

⁵⁹ Primary research; (2021, March 20). *Interview with Arkady de Jong*

⁶⁰ Gage, N. (2017, February 28). *Lack of Aboriginal interpreters "affecting justice" in SA courts*. Wwww.abc.net.au. <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-03-01/lack-of-indigenous-nterpreters-keeping-aboriginal-people-prison/8313176>

⁶¹ *The Health and Welfare of Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples*. (2011, February 17). Wwww.abs.gov.au. <https://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/lookup/4704.0Chapter960Oct+2010>

⁶² Verdon, S. (2019). *Nearly 1 in 4 of us aren't native English speakers. In a health-care setting, interpreters are essential*. The Conversation. <https://theconversation.com/nearly-1-in-4-of-us-arent-native-english-speakers-in-a-health-care-setting-interpreters-are-essential-115125#:~:text=Despite%20the%20benefits%20of%20using>

⁶³ Spirits, J. K., Creative. (2019, May 20). *Lack of Aboriginal language interpreters can cost lives*. Creative Spirits. <https://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/language/lack-of-aboriginal-language-interpreters-can-cost-lives>

⁶⁴ Razik, N. (2020, August 13). *Victoria to spend \$14 million on more multicultural coronavirus support after translation bungles*. SBS News. <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/victoria-to-spend-14-million-on-more-multicultural-coronavirus-support-after-translation-bungles>

languages. Thus, it is evident monolingualism fosters cultural isolationism, where the needs of those rejected from dominant society are overlooked due to the homogeneity of institutional authority, therefore it can be concluded that public discourse and policy is reactionary, rather than proactive, indeed, when multilingualism is not condemned, it is overlooked. Therefore, without a dominant culture that acknowledges the inherence of multilingualism in Australia, institutions will continue to use monolingualism as a tool, either deliberately or unintentionally, to prioritise the convenience of English- monolinguals over the socioeconomic outcomes of LOTE-speakers

Conclusion

This research process began with considering Australia's paradoxical position; a nation that boasts of multiculturalism yet resists monolingualism. Indeed, if Australia truly embodied its pluralist values, then the triangulation between 60,000 years of Aboriginal culture, British colonisation, and immigrant experiences would be acknowledged equally and respectfully. Instead, secondary and primary data continue to demonstrate how British colonisation uses English monolingualism to dominate macro power-structures, resulting in micro social-norms that exclude non-Anglo individuals by perpetuating ignorance and condemnation of multilingualism.

Although this facet of the hypothesis is supported, assessing the ramifications of such exclusion through cross-cultural perspectives resulted in several contradictions to my preconceptions, revealing how the superficial '*cause and effect*' of the hypothesis stems from my monolingual upbringing. Interviews with multilinguals; most notably Daryn McKenny, resulted in deconstruction of my initial belief that the greatest ramification of monolingualism is exclusion from wider society. His discussion of Aboriginal spirituality demonstrated how language not only facilitates communication but most crucially, carries cultural values. Thus, when individuals are inhibited from speaking LOTE, construction of positive cultural identity is impeded, and isolation from family and community ensues, with these micro-effects, rather than institutional inequality, the primary driver of intergenerational language loss.

Considering myself a culturally literate individual was also problematic, in which I believed monolingualism was maintained through conscious animosity towards LOTE speakers, not realising that I was a beneficiary and facilitator of monolingualism. Interestingly, analysis of monolinguals like myself challenged these preconceptions, with the questionnaire revealing an almost unanimous consensus between monolinguals; support for multilingualism coupled with the simultaneous belief that it is unreasonable for Australia to accommodate minority language- groups. This contradiction reveals that the greatest perpetuation of monolingualism is not *deliberate* exclusion of LOTE speakers from society but rather the ways in which English affords its speakers the privilege of cultural isolationism, a dominance allowing individuals to passively disengage from multilingualism, and institutions to omit LOTE resources from macro-society

These contradictions that arose between my predictions, and secondary and primary research, revealed that to truly understand the ramifications of monolingualism, I needed to work backwards to understand *why* multilingualism is not a valued part of multiculturalism. Considering the continuities in Australian society revealed how multiculturalism so often manifests in the oppression of minorities by a dominant culture which operates under the guise of acceptance to exploit aspects of minority cultures considered valuable and reject those it deems a threat to established power structures. And what is a greater threat than languages, a mode of communication, and vessel of cultural knowledge, inaccessible to the dominant culture without the sacrifice of one-way assimilation in favour for mutual transmission of culture?

This finding revealed the necessity of using critical discernment to question the cultural values so entrenched in Australian society, prompting me to continually seek cross-cultural perspectives to foster a nuanced understanding of micro and macro-spheres. Most crucially, this research process revealed that cultural literacy is not a 'trait' achieved by '*ticking a box*,' but rather a dynamic journey of self-reflection requiring engagement with perspectives that challenged my own.

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Due to constraints of the ERJ publication we are unable to publish the full annotated bibliography which forms part of each PIP. The original document containing the annotated reference list is available [HERE](#)

Primary sources

Interviews

Daniella Phillips – Language teacher and Italian bilingual

This was the first interview I conducted, enabling me to obtain experience in the interview process, while also gaining insight into the nature of the Australian education system from the perspective of a language teacher and the micro-effects of bilingualism on self and family identity. Daniella described the continuities and changes within her extensive experience with teaching Italian and French, revealing how most students from monolingual backgrounds are open-minded and curious towards language education. However, despite the enthusiasm of students, she suggests that the greatest issue within the education system is the combination of ‘late start’ and ‘short time-frame.’ These limitations that Daniella discussed formed the foundation of Chapter 3, while also providing avenues for future research, through analysis of education language policy, and using statistical analysis to discern generational trends regarding the enrolment of students in languages in senior years.

Her discussion of her mother-tongue, an Italian dialect, and transition to standard Italian was insightful, revealing to me that even within a language there is often conflict between standard and regional dialects, a facet of multilingualism that monolingual English speakers fail to acknowledge, resulting in the homogenisation of entire language groups, and thus further diminishing the formation of positive cultural-identity. Upon further research, I found synonymous experiences across language groups, in which speakers of Chinese languages and dialects such as Cantonese, Hunanese and Hokkein, are overlooked due to Mandarin’s dominance. She also reflected on the difficulties of raising bilingual children, a ramification of monolingualism that mainly affects the micro family sphere, and thus was difficult to gain insight into from solely secondary research.

In retrospect, the interview was quite structured, in which it transpired in a question/response fashion rather than a discussion. By being dictated primarily by my questioning, I may have inadvertently led her to specific conclusions synonymous with my hypothesis, rather than her own personal perspectives. However, as this was the first interview conducted, I was able to mitigate this issue by taking a less-structured approach for subsequent interviews.

Daryn McKenny – Founder and Director of the Miromaa Aboriginal Language and Technology centre

This interview was by far the most useful, not only to my PIP, but for gaining cross-cultural perspectives on languages, and Aboriginal culture as a whole. The interview was conducted at the Miromaa language centre for over 2 hours, however I only asked two questions, despite preparing a series of questions beforehand, due to the informal and conversational manner of the interview. Indeed, Daryn had extensive professional and personal knowledge of Indigenous languages, detailing the history of Awabakal land, complexity of Indigenous languages, barriers in the education system, and macro perceptions of Aboriginal culture in Australian society. As a non-indigenous person, I previously had little knowledge, and will never truly know, the importance of language to Aboriginal culture. Like many Anglo-Australians, I had a superficial, and somewhat abstract view of languages as ‘strengthening cultural ties’, without knowledge of how this physically occurred, and the importance of such interconnection. Daryn revealed just how inextricably linked languages are to Country, identity, and one’s perceptions of the world, through manifest aspects like grammar, vocabulary and naming systems, challenging my preconceptions and leading to greater focus on Indigenous language in my PIP.

He describes Aboriginal languages as environmentally-based knowledge systems, detailing the complex series of prepositions and suffixes, which link plants and animals according to their ecological connection. He proposed that this scientific knowledge entrenched in language is valuable for secondary and tertiary education, as well as employment opportunities including marine biology and botany. This extrapolation of Aboriginal languages into education and scientific institutions, revealed a facet of language overlooked by myself and wider society.

As Daryn identified, Aboriginal culture is incredibly complex, and therefore, his perspective does not reflect all experiences of Aboriginal Australians. Although I contacted over 25 individuals and groups to interview, I was unable to arrange another interview with an Aboriginal person. Therefore, my research process lacks a broad representation of perspectives, in which my discussion of Aboriginal culture is not only prejudiced from my own background, but provides only minimal insight from Aboriginal people due to the inability to interview several people. That being said, the interview with Daryn was highly valuable, in which his unique position as the founder of the Miromaa Language Centre has enabled him to work with many Aboriginal people in Australia, and Indigenous people globally, thus enabling him to have extensive knowledge and experience.

Arkady de Jong – University student studying French and German and language education

As Arkady lives in Sydney, the interview was conducted through Zoom, and thus discussion was facilitated through a face-to-face nature. This fostered an interview that was more personal, rather than the artificiality of an email discussion, allowing the flow of ideas rather than a question and response type interview. Arkady's discussion enabled me to gain insight into the status of language learning in tertiary-education systems, while also understanding the personal experiences and opinions of an individual living in Sydney, a city of high linguistic diversity. I had prepared a series of questions directly related to language in the education system, however the interview eventuated in a less formal manner, in which Arkady discussed not only the meso perceptions of language, but the reasons behind the macro-Australian attitude towards LOTE. As both a student studying languages, and an individual in the process of becoming a language teacher, Arkady presented a unique perspective, in which he critiqued dual facets of the education system, suggesting that his opportunities to study his preferred languages was minimal, and that in the process of becoming a language teacher, as opposed to other teachers, there was a discrepancy between the emphasis and resources provided for each profession. However, he presented a predominantly positive outlook on Australian societies attitude toward other languages, indicating that there has been generational change in the acceptance of LOTE. This was synonymous with Daniella Phillips interview, however contrasted with the questionnaire and the interview with Daryn. Both Arkady and Daniella's lifetime commitment to languages, and engagement with European rather than Indigenous language may have contributed to the difference between responses.

Inez Buijtenhek- Trilingual Dutch citizen

This interview was conducted through email, rather than face-to-face, as Inez lives in Holland, and the time-zones made it difficult to arrange a phone call. This resulted in a rather short interview process, and limited opportunity to gain a deep understanding into her personal engagement with multiple languages, and the ways in which growing up in Europe had shaped her perceptions regarding multilingualism. However, the questions I asked, specifically regarding the education system in the Netherlands, was highly beneficial, as it was difficult to obtain such information through secondary-sources. Additionally, she provided insight not only about her own experiences, but her son's, enabling me to gain a more comprehensive overview between different generations. Her explanation of language education as '*integrated like any other subject*', and her description of her local community, in which everyone can speak at least two languages enabled me to make comparisons between Australia, and the Dutch education systems, and the ramifications of the institutional differences upon self and social identity. Although her experiences don't account for all of Europe, and even all of the Netherlands, this interview gave me insight into the perceptions of non-Australian citizens, thus enhancing my cross-cultural perspectives.

Elisabeth Gleeson- Dutch immigrant

As a Dutch bilingual immigrating to Australian post WWII, my grandma provided me with a deep insight into the process of integrating into Australian society as a European migrant. She detailed the difficulties of learning English, and the attitudes towards her and her family in her community. Her experiences contrasted with many short answer responses of the questionnaire conducted, in which other immigrants discussed the negative attitudes of English-speakers towards them speaking their

mother tongue. Conversely, my grandma reveals that while the adjustment period was difficult, she never received any animosity concerning her cultural background. Considering that the majority of questionnaire respondents who discussed their immigration experience were of Asian descent, it can be surmised that Europeans are generally more accepted in Australian society than those of Asian descent, with this finding corroborating with secondary research conducted.

As my Grandma, this interview has issues of validity, in which my close emotional connection to the interviewee influenced the answers provided, with the possibility that she answered some questions in a way she thought I wanted them to be answered, rather than providing her genuine opinions. However, as interviews are a qualitative research method, the necessity of objectivity is less crucial than in quantitative research methods, and my connection to her may have made her feel more comfortable in sharing her experiences. Overall, this interview supplemented my knowledge of post-war immigration gained from secondary research, providing a deep personal insight into the process of acculturation, while also demonstrating discrepancies between immigrant experiences.

Questionnaire

After conducting extensive secondary research, I was able to gain a broad understanding of the nature of multilingualism in Australia, as well as identifying the gaps in secondary sources that needed to be supplemented through primary research. This included a deeper insight into personal and subjective experiences with languages, as well as more specific areas, such as the difference between monolinguals and multilinguals' attitudes towards hearing LOTE in a public setting, the barriers to raising bilingual children, and the experiences of heritage language speakers in a cultural context.

With this foundation of secondary research and identification of further areas for research, I created a questionnaire through Google Forms. Following PIPs similar to my own topic, I created separate sections for multilingual and monolinguals. By directing responders to certain sections, I could effectively compare responses, and ensure people received relevant questions. This increased validity by enhancing people's engagement and ensuring they did not guess answers or become disinterested. I staggered closed and open-questions to encourage contemplation and further increase responder engagement. The closed-ended questions were beneficial, enabling the survey to be completed quickly, and mitigating issues of people lacking background knowledge by providing examples to stimulate conducive thought. Indeed, most questions were multiple-choice, with an 'other' option allowing responders to provide additional answers. This was advantageous as it revealed options I had not considered, broadening my intercultural understanding. Closed-questions also included linear scales, allowing me to synthesise quantitative data into qualitative data e.g. *"The majority of Heritage language speakers have limited proficiency in their HL despite indicating maintaining fluency is highly important to them."*

However, closed-ended responses have limited answers, possibly leading responders to answers they don't necessarily agree with. This was evident in the question *"What places do you feel English language speaking should be enforced?"* I purposefully did not include the option "nowhere" as I was interested in whether people would provide this answer, as opposed to automatically agreeing English should be enforced. This creates obvious issues regarding validity, as the question contained inherent bias, however it also gave insight into the willingness of individuals to simply agree with existing material. While only 19% of people answered "nowhere", this percentage would likely be higher if I included this option.

Open-ended questions encouraged personal, expansive responses, and I received insightful replies providing me avenues for future interviews, however the number of superficial responses indicate that there were too many open-ended questions, leading many people to answer succinctly rather than expansively due to the length of the survey being too long. Additionally, respondents aged below 15 were the demographic who provided most unhelpful answers, with the indifference and lack of knowledge of this age-group another factor that can be attributed to the cursory responses. Other issues include the "Cultural background" question. Many Caucasian people selected their cultural

background as “Oceanian”, not European, confusing nationality with ethnicity. This issue could have been mitigated by providing definitions of these terms. Additionally, questions could have been constructed with more impartiality. My belief that multilingualism is beneficial shaped the wording, unintentionally establishing my perspective as ‘correct’, and influencing responder’s answers. In future questionnaires, I will endeavour to construct more neutral questions and include the question “*Have you ever overheard/seen any instances of racism in regard to multilingualism?*” as people often present their most ‘moral’ self to others- not being honest about true opinions- however, they *are* willing to expose prejudice of others.

In terms of reliability, the sample size was inadequate, both in terms of size and demographic distribution. I first sent the questionnaire to my school, and although this enabled me to initially quickly gain many respondents, created issues with providing diverse representation. Most respondents were female, Caucasian monolinguals. This skewed the data towards experiences and opinions of one demographic, as opposed to obtaining equal responses from all demographics. I mitigated this issue by contacting relatives, cultural groups, and language schools, however monolinguals still accounted for 80%. Additionally, as I started writing my central material, my initial chapter plan was modified, and thus additional information was needed. Constructing another questionnaire would have allowed me to account for these new areas of multilingualism, obtain a wider sample size, and mitigate issues of data collection after mentioned, however a lack of time inhibited me from doing so.

Despite this, the questionnaire was highly useful in gaining a greater understanding of issues of multilingualism specific to my research project. My analysis process was facilitated by two means. I first considered the data as a whole, discerning which attitudes were most prevalent, and making generalised comparisons between monolinguals, heritage language speakers and multilinguals. I also analysed the data at a micro level, considering single responses and discerning whether certain responses were more common between specific demographics, in terms of age, ethnicity and gender. This allowed me to gain a nuanced understanding of societal attitudes toward multilingualism, as well as insight into personal experiences. Overall, this process not only allowed for significant cross-cultural perspectives in an efficient manner, but informed me of how to effectively construct a valid, reliable questionnaire, and the ways in which external surveys and questionnaire accessed through secondary research could also have issues of validity.

Content analysis

Pauline Hanson

As a politician regularly under public scrutiny from the media, especially in regard to immigration and multiculturalism, I conducted content analysis to substantiate the claims that Pauline Hanson opposed multilingualism, and ensure I was not making claims solely on the perception I had gained from the media. This content analysis process was conducted through the Parliament of Australia website, through the online database known as Hansard, a record of speeches, questions and answers, and procedural events in parliament. The content analysis was conducted by searching for the keyword’s ‘*multilingualism*’, ‘*English*’ and ‘*immigration*’ spoken by Hanson, in the area of ‘*matters of public importance*’, in a specified time frame (2011–2021), then assessing whether the context of each instance was opposed to, neutral, or in support of multilingualism. Although this method was efficient, there are issues in validity. As I already had a perception that Hanson was opposed to multilingualism, I was specifically looking for examples to support this claim. Additionally, by only accessing ‘*matters of public importance*’, and not other governmental proceedings such as ‘*statements by members*’ and ‘*questions without notice*’, coupled with a relatively short time-span that does not include the 1990s, Hanson’s political peak, the data obtained may not accurately reflect her opinions. However, this process was beneficial in discerning the attitudes towards multilingualism in a parliamentary context, while also gaining further insight into Hanson’s political standing, thus enabling me to achieve a perspective more representative of Australia’s entirety, rather than simply collating data from sources synonymous with my opinions.

Newspapers

This content analysis was highly beneficial in discerning the relationship between media and immigration in a time of revolutionary change in the macro-Australian public and assessing the rationale behind xenophobic attitudes in the mid-20th century. The website Trove was used, a centralised digital database that collates a variety of Australian content such as magazines, gazettes, and archived websites from a variety of sources, including, libraries, archives, galleries, and community organisations. For the purpose on assessing public attitudes following the influx of non-British immigrants following WWII, I narrowed the analysis to the newspaper *'The Sydney Morning Herald'*, between 1948-1950, and searched for keywords including *'immigration'*, *'Europe'* and *'Languages'*. Although analysing only a single newspaper publication enabled the analysis to be done efficiently, there are issues of bias. As a newspaper primarily concerned with urban and metropolitan Australia, most notably Sydney, the source does not reflect the attitudes of rural Australians. Additionally, based in Sydney, a city with high proportions of immigrants, the newspaper may provide a magnified and/or heightened view of immigration, thus leading to more sensationalised news articles. However, this process was useful in gaining insight into historical attitudes, and the ways in which the media is so often conflated with personal opinion, rather than objective rationale, a continuity within contemporary media publications.

Personal reflection

Reflection on my micro-sphere, including my heritage, assumptions about multilingualism, and decision to study a second language was the genesis of my PIP, ensuring the research process was relevant to me, thus enabling greater engagement. However, with this personal attachment to the topic was the ensuing limitation of entering the research process with numerous preconceived ideas concerning multilingualism, obscuring elements of objective analysis and leading to my selection of interviews being somewhat limited, due to the convenience of contacting relatives whom I already knew had personal experience with bilingualism and immigration. However, these limitations ultimately served to enhance my cultural literacy, presenting opportunities to recognise bias stemming from my monolingualism, which was then extrapolated into macro-spheres to understand prejudice in wider society.

Self-reflection also served as an effective way to gain insight into the reasoning behind decisions for individuals to learn a second language. Indeed, my choice of Mandarin as a language to learn was greatly influenced by my self-identity, in which I associated more with my Chinese heritage than Dutch. In retrospect this decision was also shaped by notions of 'usefulness' and economic opportunity, in which Mandarin is considered a valuable language in the 'Asian century', and Dutch considered far more obscure, thus giving me personal experience that informed me of how the language hierarchy, alongside cultural considerations, does indeed shape decisions about language education.



THE DROVER... AND HIS WIFE

The Exclusion of Women from Australian National Identity

Lucinda Johnston, Lindfield Learning Village

ABSTRACT

An examination of the processes which exclude women from the story of an Australian national identity and which glorifies masculinity. This project applies extensive secondary research with questionnaire responses from 74 people from an age range from 18 to 84 years to deliver genuine cross-generational insights. Further research includes interviews with feminists Jane Caro and Eva Cox, as well as content analysis of 30 articles published in the last six years. Through an effective synthesis of these research findings it is concluded that although traditional gender expectations are upheld and perpetuated by power and authority structures in Australian society there is evidence that both older and younger women are able to affirm themselves as part of Australian communities despite their exclusion. Whilst the privileges of masculinity are manifest in the gendered nature of national identity and women are rarely mentioned in such discourses, it is evident that for many women inclusion and exclusion are not mutually exclusive factors in this story. *The Drover... And His Wife* is a journey of both intellectual and personal discovery.

Introduction

"We're very good at excluding in Australia... we do like to have in-groups and out-groups. Women are always in the out-group. I think national identity is designed to exclude, actually, and that's one of the problems with it."

Jane Caro¹

With women comprising 47.2% of the workforce,² and the election of the first female Prime Minister in 2010, women undoubtedly contribute to the development of Australian society and culture. Yet 'Australianness' is still associated with images of the rowdy larrikin figure, courageous ANZAC soldiers and having a drink with mates at the pub. Masculinity dominates the conception of what it means to be Australian in a nation which prides itself on equality and a fair go. The disastrous consequences of a national culture which privileges masculinity have become evident in the recent string of sexual assault accusations directed towards male politicians.³

Therefore I hypothesise that "*The Australian national identity is constructed in a way which glorifies masculinity, and in doing so excludes women from the narrative of what it means to be Australian*". The aim of my Personal Interest Project (PIP) is to explore the gendered nature of Australian national identity, the power and authority structures which maintain gender bias within the national identity, as well as the impact that this bias has on women's participation in Australian society.

I completed secondary research of a range of sources to provide me with an objective academic understanding and the wider social and cultural context of my topic. Jacqueline Hogan's dissertation on *Gender and Ethnicised National Identities in Australia and Japan* was a major influence in shaping how I understood the construction of Australian national identity and the role discourses about national

¹ Primary Research: Interview, Jane Caro, 30/6/21.

² Workplace Gender Equality Agency. 2021. *Gender workplace statistics at a glance 2021*. [online] Available at: <https://www.wgea.gov.au/publications/gender-workplace-statistics-at-a-glance-2021>.

³ Cave, D., 2021. *'The Most Unsafe Workplace'? Parliament, Australian Women Say*. [online] The New York Times. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/05/world/australia/parliament-women-rape-metoo.html>.

identity play in maintaining the subordination of social groups. Anna Worth et al. *“Playing the gender card”: Media representations of Julia Gillard’s sexism and misogyny speech* was also crucial in building my understanding of the consequences of women criticising the national culture, and in doing so guided my research of prejudice and gender bias.

Primary research was instrumental in helping me understand the practical implications of my theoretical knowledge. My questionnaire,⁴ which surveyed 74 respondents aged <18 – 84, provided insight into popular understanding of, and connection to, national identity. The sample size of the questionnaire was substantial enough to effectively draw conclusions, but presented problems when I separated respondents into generations to complete analysis for my cross-cultural component. This cross-generational analysis was essential to my PIP, providing insight into continuity and change of gender exclusion. I therefore conducted two interviews with feminist activists Jane Caro (Caro) and Eva Cox (Cox),⁵ who are members of the generational group lacking in my questionnaire. They provided me with knowledge of both personal experience and academic research about my topic. Finally, I completed a content analysis of 30 articles published⁶ in the last six years which mentioned one of three key characteristics of national identity found in the questionnaire (mateship, equality and fair go), to provide me with an understanding of the discourses surrounding national identity.⁷

Gender exclusion in the Australian national identity is shaped and maintained by power and authority structures, both social and cultural. An understanding of change and continuity within gender exclusion is essential for determining how the national identity can include women in the future.

Log

I grew up in a family of well-educated women, born and raised in Australia. My mother is a professor who is always raising the latest political question at the dinner table, texting me news articles and begging me to read Jane Austen. My three aunts are all incredibly intelligent, as my grandpa never fails to remind me. Recently, the Australian media has been saturated with stories of the ways in which women are systematically undermined, underappreciated and marginalised. We’ve been shown it stretches all the way to Parliament House, the macrocosm of Australian power and authority. I found myself watching the way Australia treats women and thinking “this is not who I am” – so who am I?

This question formed the basis of my PIP, as in exploring my own identity I had to explore the Australian national identity, and I quickly found that women lacked a place within it. I began my research with a questionnaire that sought to establish what the popular understanding of national identity was, aiming to reach as many people as possible, from a range of ages, to ensure my sample size was reflective of a variety of perspectives. I avoided specifically mentioning gender in my questionnaire because I wanted to prevent respondents from being conscious of their bias, but this meant the responses were lacking in the depth and insight I needed to understand national identity. I felt completely lost in a landscape of media and journals, so I discussed my topic with my mum, who pointed me in the direction of feminist speakers, Jane Caro and Eva Cox, whom I was able to interview. Their knowledge was invaluable, as their observations helped form the basis of my research.

To further my understanding of Australian identity, I began reading articles published on Australia Day and ANZAC Day, which led me to Nicholas Bromfield and Alexander Page’s journal article *How is Australianness Represented by Prime Ministers?*⁸ Their content analysis turned my attention to the conversations surrounding national identity which initiated my investigation into the way public discourse shapes micro and meso conceptions of national identity. To properly deconstruct these discourses, I completed qualitative content analysis of articles which used terminology of Australian national identity.

⁴ See Appendix A.

⁵ See Appendix B.

⁶ Articles were collected from *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Australian* and *The Daily Telegraph*.

⁷ See Appendix C.

⁸ Bromfield, N. and Page, A., 2019. How is Australianness represented by prime ministers?: Prime ministerial and party rhetoric of race, class, and gender on Australia Day and Anzac Day, 1990–2017. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 55(2), pp.191–210.

I found that not only were women rarely mentioned in discourses about national identity, they participated in these discourses significantly less than men, a discovery which led me to explore the factors which excluded women. I had initially believed the lack of inclusion of women in national identity to be the result of continuity of an identity that was formed in a time where patriarchal values were strong. However, I learnt that women's exclusion was perpetuated not by the national identity itself but by the systems and entrenched bias which affirm the national identity. In completing my research, I gained a greater understanding of the social and cultural climate for women in Australia, as well as a deep admiration for the women who confront it, providing me with a greater appreciation of the women in my life and inspiring me to believe in Australia's potential to change for the better.

Chapter 1

The Australian national identity, as a product of historical needs for nationalism, places high emphasis and value on masculinity. Although the national identity has experienced brief periods of change over time, there is strong continuity of gendered language and stereotypes ingrained in the national image. While the Australian national identity is promoted as being egalitarian and inclusive, it excludes by nature in its current form, leaving groups who do not fit the one-dimensional image of a 'true' Australian with the impression that they are less Australian.

The idea of an Australian national identity is relatively recent, developing in response to the First World War, which created a sense of Australia as its own distinct society through the first major deployment of the Australian Defence Force. During WWI, nationalism was promoted in hopes of encouraging unity and loyalty to Australia to combat a military threat.⁹ From its first appearance, the Australian national identity can be seen to be intrinsically linked with war, codifying the importance of masculinity and physical strength in cultural norms. The wartime origins of Australia's national identity embedded the 'Australia vs. the other' mentality into the national image, placing exclusion at its center. Feminist writer and social commentator Caro described Australia's national identity in an interview as a "hyper-masculinised culture, [an] anti-intellectual culture, [with an] over-romanticism of physical strength,"¹⁰ emphasising that the national identity continues to be underpinned by values of masculine exclusivity.

The hypermasculine and exclusionary nature of the Australian national identity, although experiencing a brief period of change in the late 20th century, has been reinforced in recent years as a result of the Howard campaign, which promoted stronger nationalism and a cultural identity more reflective of the First World War era.¹¹ There has been strong emphasis placed on Australian myths and legends which glorify masculine pursuits and masculinity, such as that of the ANZAC hero and the Aussie battler. These figures became "sacred cows"¹² which enshrined values of masculinity, physical strength and the 'Australia vs. the other' mentality within Australia's national identity. The 'untouchable' status of Australia's myths and legends can be seen in the disproportionate public backlash against Yassmin Abdel-Magied in response to a short Facebook post she made on ANZAC Day drawing parallels between the phrase "lest we forget" and the current human rights violations of refugees on Manus Island, which saw Abdel-Magied receiving death threats and culminated in her leaving the country.¹³ As these images have become intrinsically tied to national identity, contesting them is seen as a challenge to Australia's nationhood. As Caro identified; "Part of the Australian identity is this male bullying and we've not faced it,"¹⁴ concluding that despite the promoted inclusion of the national identity, Australia excludes those who diverge from

⁹ Crowe, S. (2014). "Team Australia": a nationalism framed in terms of external threats. [online] The Conversation. Available at: <https://theconversation.com/team-australia-a-nationalism-framed-in-terms-of-external-threats-31630>.

¹⁰ Primary Research: Interview, Jane Caro, 30/6/21.

¹¹ Crowe, S. (2014). "Team Australia": a nationalism framed in terms of external threats. [online] The Conversation. Available at: <https://theconversation.com/team-australia-a-nationalism-framed-in-terms-of-external-threats-31630>.

¹² Primary Research: Interview, Jane Caro, 30/6/21.

¹³ Gilmore, J., 2017. *Hysteria over Yassmin Abdel-Magied's Anzac Day post cannot be separated from racism*. [online] Sydney Morning Herald. Available at: <https://www.smh.com.au/lifestyle/hysteria-over-yassmin-abdelmagieds-anzac-day-post-cannot-be-separated-from-racism-20170427-gvtjdj.html>.

¹⁴ Primary Research: Interview, Jane Caro, 30/6/21.

the popular idea of what it means to be Australian. Australia's national identity is established to not only elevate the role of the white male, but also to be unassailable and unchanging.

The Australian national identity privileges the role of men in Australian society, encouraging masculine values and pursuits and excluding women from the narrative of what it means to be Australian. The language used to describe Australian national identity is gendered towards men, seen in archetypes such as the 'larrikin' figure, who may be described as outspoken, reckless and stubborn.¹⁵ This is perhaps best evidenced in an analysis of ANZAC Day prime ministerial speeches between 1990–2017, in which it was found that masculinity was represented in speeches approximately ten times as often as femininity.¹⁶ Heavy use of gendered language has been found to “signal devaluation of certain social identities”, creating disengagement from the described role.¹⁷ The heavy centering of the Australian identity on men is therefore highly likely to make women feel devalued by Australian society and 'less Australian.' The masculine domination of the Australian national identity was reflected in the questionnaire, which found that the words most commonly associated with the national identity were masculine-coded, such as “laid back”, “sport” and, most commonly, “mateship” (see Figure 1).¹⁸ Although mateship may appear to be a gender-neutral term, the content analysis found that 47.4% of the articles mentioning mateship linked it to physical strength or masculine

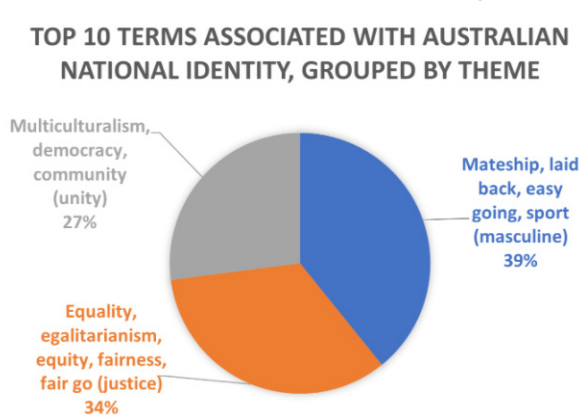


fig. 1

pursuits, establishing that the term is viewed as masculine in Australia's cultural context.¹⁹ Additionally, when discussing equality, a general theme emerged of prioritising conformity to the Australian national identity rather than a reconsideration of the national identity itself. Thus “the very language that represents this aspect of the nation is hard to distinguish from masculinity itself”,²⁰ with the social implication being that women either conform to masculine domination or masculinise themselves; both options ultimately leading to the exclusion of women from the idea of what it means to be Australian.

Masculinity can therefore be seen to be systematically embedded within the Australian national identity. Notions of equality within the national identity are superficial, prioritising conformity to the hyper-masculine culture and ultimately leaving women with no option but to be excluded from the narrative of what it means to be Australian.

¹⁵ Gaucher, D., Friesen, J. and Kay, A., 2011. Evidence that gendered wording in job advertisements exists and sustains gender inequality. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 101(1), pp.109–128.

¹⁶ Bromfield, N. and Page, A., 2019. How is Australianness represented by prime ministers?: Prime ministerial and party rhetoric of race, class, and gender on Australia Day and Anzac Day, 1990–2017. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 55(2), pp.191–210.

¹⁷ Gaucher, D., Friesen, J. and Kay, A., 2011. Evidence that gendered wording in job advertisements exists and sustains gender inequality. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 101(1), pp.109–128.

¹⁸ Primary Research: Questionnaire. *Australian National Identity*. Conducted April–May 2021.

¹⁹ Primary Research: Content Analysis.

²⁰ Bromfield, N. and Page, A., 2019. How is Australianness represented by prime ministers?: Prime ministerial and party rhetoric of race, class, and gender on Australia Day and Anzac Day, 1990–2017. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 55(2), pp.191–210.

Chapter 2

“I was unprepared for the depth of the misogyny that I encountered... I was unprepared for the extent by which it would be condoned.”

Senator Penny Wong, on her experiences in Parliament House²¹

Despite important progress being made for women’s rights in the 21st century, discourse about Australian national identity is still dominated by men, creating strong continuity of hypermasculinity and the privileging of men within the national identity. Ideas of femininity are devalued by society, with entrenched bias leading women in the public eye to be criticised disproportionately to men. As a result, Australian society presents significant obstacles to women challenging the national identity and in doing so perpetuates a male-centred national identity.

GENDER OF ARTICLE AUTHORS IN CONTENT ANALYSIS

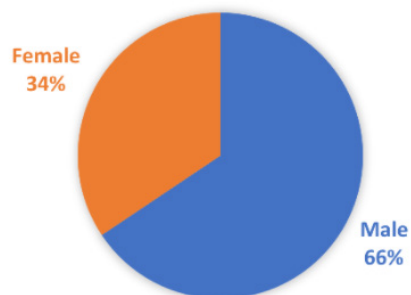


fig. 2

Men dominate the conversations surrounding Australian national identity, reaffirming its masculine-coded nature and limiting its potential for change. In the content analysis of news articles featuring keywords related to national identity over the past six years, there were roughly 2 articles written by men for every 1 article written by a woman (see figure 2).²² Not only did men dominate the conversations about national identity, they dominated within them, as women were not mentioned or specifically named in half of the articles analysed, with men mentioned in all but one of the articles.²³ Even when women were mentioned, their presence in the article was almost always secondary to that of the men, with no article mentioning more than two women, even when several men were quoted, named and discussed.²⁴

The significance of this is supported by Foucauldian

theory, which suggests “individuals and social collectivities are constituted within and through discourses”.²⁵ Thus, through the way in which these conversations contribute to the construction of Australia’s collective identity, the male-dominance of discourses surrounding national identity has a direct impact on the perception and understanding of what it means to be Australian at the micro, meso and macro levels of society. The patriarchal power structures embedded within the national identity “are maintained... through the discursive process itself”.²⁶ It can therefore be inferred that these power structures, and thus the perception of women in the Australian national identity, are unlikely to shift in a discourse which is male-dominated. It is clear from the content analysis that the lack of female representation within discourses is a direct product of male control over the discourses themselves, as 63.6% of the articles written by women mentioned women, whereas only 38% of the articles written by men mentioned women.²⁷ This means that, in conversations surrounding national identity, women incorporated women into discourse 25.6% more often than men did. The continuity of hypermasculinity in the Australian national identity is a direct product of social power structures which enable discourse to be male-dominated, significantly limiting the inclusion of women within the national identity.

²¹ ‘Episode 2 Being There’ (2021) *Ms Represented with Annabel Crabb*. Series 1, episode 2. ABC TV, 20 July.

²² Primary Research: Content Analysis.

²³ It is worth noting that this article was a feature piece about the experiences of immigrant women in Australia and could therefore be considered an outlier.

²⁴ Primary Research: Content Analysis.

²⁵ Hogan, J., 2002. *Gender and Ethnicised National Identities in Australia and Japan*. Postgraduate. University of Tasmania.

²⁶ *ibid.*

²⁷ Primary Research: Content Analysis.

Ideas of femininity are socially and culturally devalued within Australia, so that even as sexist attitudes towards women shift, women are intrinsically seen as less capable than men, limiting their authority and power in shaping public discourse on national identity. Femininity, which may be characterised by traits such as nurturing, empathy and sensitivity, is generally seen as more emotional than masculinity, which encompasses traits such as strength, logic and assertiveness, that are perceived as rational.²⁸ While these gender roles restrict social and cultural perceptions of any person's abilities, they are especially detrimental to women's participation in society, as "those skills closely associated with women's work, such as nurturance, are systematically under-rewarded".²⁹ As a result, "when a type of skill is generally done by women... the skill itself gets stigmatized and devalued", and thus "[we] still underpay most of the feminised jobs appallingly",³⁰ which is exemplified in the 2021 minimum wages, published by the Fair Work Ombudsman, which stipulate a minimum hourly wage of \$20.80 for a level 1 children's services employee,³¹ but mandate an hourly wage of \$21.42 for a level 1 car parking officer.³² As Cox noted, "it does require a lot more skill taking care of kids than parking cars",³³ but the correlation between childcare and femininity has led to the belief that this profession is less valuable and employees (who are largely female) should therefore be rewarded less. The systematic devaluing of femininity in the workforce, which is an area that encompasses every industry and institution in Australian society, is reflective of wider perceptions about the social and cultural value which women hold; such as the belief among those in positions of political power that women contribute less value than men. This is best demonstrated in the vote recently held by the exclusive male-only Australian Club, with members including former Prime Ministers John Howard and Malcolm Turnbull, in which 62% of members voted against allowing women to join.³⁴ As this club pertains to men in positions of authority, it is evident that the vote is reflective of a greater bias against women which these members will likely continue to entrench through the power that their roles permit them. Caro supports this conclusion with her argument that "when you have all the power concentrated in male hands, and when you have all those men concentrating in exclusive environments... of course you limit [women's] ability to fully participate".³⁵ In being systematically excluded from roles of power and authority which shape Australian discourse, women are by extension excluded from the Australian national identity, as they are denied the power to assert themselves as part of it.

Due to socially and culturally entrenched bias, women in the Australian public sphere are criticised disproportionately to men, further feeding into the exclusion of women from the Australian national identity. While women may exist in the public sphere, their contributions and opinions are promoted less than those of men, as seen in a report on gender-biased news reporting leading up to the recent federal election, which found that the top ten most-quoted politicians in the major metropolitan print and digital publications were all men.³⁶ The most-quoted woman, at number 12, was Tanya Plibersek, despite being a candidate for Deputy Prime Minister at the time.³⁷ Not only do these women not have the same opportunities to participate in discourse which shapes Australian identity as men do, they are under constant scrutiny; Caro observes that "as a woman [in the public sphere] it's much harder. There's no quarter given for making a mistake... any normal human failing is leapt on with glee",³⁸ Women are

²⁸ Pavco-Giaccia, O., Little, M., Stanley, J. and Dunham, Y., 2019. Rationality is Gendered. *Collabra: Psychology*, 5(1).

²⁹ Cohen, P. and Huffman, M., 2003. Individuals, Jobs, and Labor Markets: The Devaluation of Women's Work. *American Sociological Review*, 68(3), p.443.

³⁰ Primary Research: Interview, Eva Cox, 2/7/21.

³¹ Fair Work Ombudsman, 2021. *Pay Guide - Children's Services Award*. Australian Government, p.2.

³² Fair Work Ombudsman, 2021. *Pay Guide - Car Parking Award*. Australian Government, p.2.

³³ Primary Research: Interview, Eva Cox, 2/7/21.

³⁴ Hornery, A., 2021. *The Australian club to remain open to only male members*. [online] The Sydney Morning Herald. Available at: <https://www.smh.com.au/lifestyle/gender/no-women-allowed-the-australia-club-votes-to-remain-open-to-only-male-members-20210615-p5813r.html>.

³⁵ Primary Research: Interview, Jane Caro, 30/6/21.

³⁶ Simounds, T. and Chandler, A., 2019. *Women in politics need visibility and voice not just votes*. [online] Women's Agenda. Available at: <https://womensagenda.com.au/latest/women-in-politics-need-visibility-and-voice-not-just-votes/>.

³⁷ *ibid.*

³⁸ Primary Research: Interview, Jane Caro, 30/6/21.

often criticised for displaying traits which men are congratulated for,³⁹ and even the language used to describe women is embedded with bias about the way a woman should act, describing outspoken or assertive women as “shrill” and “hysterical”, while men are congratulated for their confidence.⁴⁰ This can be seen in a 2011 study that found the most common justification a person gives for preferring a male boss over a female boss was a dislike for the personality of female managers, popularly being described as “emotional”, “dramatic” and “petty” – words which were not used to describe disdain for male bosses.⁴¹ The disproportionate criticism women face in leadership positions can be explained by role congruity theory, which posits that individuals who act in a manner incongruous with their gender role tend to be evaluated negatively, creating a significant challenge for female leaders as the traits required of a successful leader are associated with male gender roles.⁴² This theory supports the observations of Caro, who believes that women are “not given the full gamut of humanity to occupy”, leading to disproportionate criticism.⁴³ As a result, women in the public sphere are effectively trapped in an unwinnable ‘double bind’, where “people don’t like [them] behaving as confidently as men – but if they don’t behave as confidently as men they don’t get taken seriously”.⁴⁴ Thus if a woman wishes to influence conversations around Australian national identity, she must embody masculine traits, further compounding the masculine bias embedded within the national identity. Additionally, it is highly likely that this influence will come at the cost of public perception, so that while she may effect change, she will be seen unfavourably, providing women with a strong disincentive against challenging the national identity. It is evident that entrenched social and cultural gender bias creates disproportionate criticism of women in the public sphere, perpetuating an Australian national identity which is male-centred by limiting the capacity of women to challenge their exclusion, even if they are in positions of power or authority.

The conversations surrounding national identity remain dominated by men, maintaining a national identity which centres on men and reducing women’s ability to contribute to discourse. Femininity is systematically devalued by Australian society, enabling the exclusion of women from opportunities to shape national identity. When women do achieve roles of power and authority, entrenched gender bias leads them to be disproportionately criticised and as a result they are disincentivised from challenging their exclusion. These factors compound to create an environment which is hostile to women and thus makes them complicit in their exclusion from the national identity.

Chapter 3

The hypermasculinisation of the Australian national identity leads women to feel fundamentally excluded from Australian society. In response to this, women can either conform to gender roles, or become critics of the national culture, and in doing so become subject to the bias and sexism that comes with breaking from expectations of gender. Younger generations of women are increasingly choosing the latter path, which will perhaps force a trend towards change in ideas of what it means to be Australian. However, until conceptions of Australian national identity change to include femininity, women will always be fundamentally excluded from the national identity and unable to participate in the building and shaping of Australian society and culture without being disproportionately subjected to criticism.

³⁹ Adichie, C., 2014. *We Should All Be Feminists*. New York: Anchor Books, p.24.

⁴⁰ Burrige, K. and Manns, H., 2021. *Shrill, bossy, emotional: Why language matters in the gender debate*. [online] Monash Lens. Available at: <https://lens.monash.edu/@politics-society/2021/05/10/1383192/shrill-bossy-emotional-why-language-matters-in-the-gender-debate>.

⁴¹ Elsesser, K. and Lever, J., 2011. Does gender bias against female leaders persist? Quantitative and qualitative data from a large-scale survey. *Human Relations*, 64(12), pp.1555–1578.

⁴² *ibid*.

⁴³ Primary Research: Interview, Jane Caro, 30/6/21.

⁴⁴ Humphreys, R. and Sieghart, M., 2021. *The authority gap: why women still aren’t taken seriously*. [podcast] Today in Focus. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/news/audio/2021/jul/26/the-authority-gap-why-women-still-arent-taken-seriously-podcast>.

The male domination of the Australian national identity leaves women with two options: conform to gender roles and diminish themselves in the process, or become critical of the national culture and expose themselves to bias and sexism. Caro identified the oppressive impact of female exclusion in the Australian national identity through her observation that “women in particular are... terrified of being judged and belittled, even just by the national image - not being included, not being accepted”.⁴⁵ This subconscious undermining of women’s self-image as they witness their exclusion from the narrative of what it means to be Australian, while witnessing men’s inclusion, may lead them to believe that it is because they are somehow fundamentally ‘less Australian’, as evidenced by a female questionnaire respondent’s belief that “I feel like the national identity caters more to men”.⁴⁶ Even if this does not occur on a conscious level, and women are able to feel a sense of pride in being Australian, the privileging of masculinity in the national identity means that this pride is still “[reflective of] a social order that places them in a subordinate position”.⁴⁷ In being excluded from the national identity, the message women receive is that their contributions to Australian society are less valuable, with one female questionnaire respondent stating that her low connection with Australian Identity was because the “clichéd tropes of battlers and mateship exclude women”.⁴⁸ Alternatively, women may choose not to accept this minimisation of their role in Australian society and challenge the ways in which they are excluded from Australian national identity. The consequences of this path are no more desirable than the former, as while Australia boasts of the egalitarian values its society is built upon, there is no reprieve for women who ask for a fair go, with social costs of confronting sexism including being disliked, having one’s claims dismissed, being seen as a complainer or retaliation.⁴⁹

4 in 5 Australian women believe that men and women don’t share a ‘level playing field’, but only about half of Australian men hold the same view, which suggests that many women keep this belief to themselves, not voicing their experiences of inequality,⁵⁰ likely because “women who rise above sexism are liked and respected, whereas those who speak up are perceived as extreme or aggressive “whingers””.⁵¹ This finding was echoed in the interviews, with both Caro and Cox sharing stories of experiencing hardship when criticising the national identity, or even just breaking from gender expectations.⁵² Perhaps the most poignant example of the consequences of challenging sexism in the Australian national identity is the backlash which Julia Gillard received for her ‘sexism and misogyny’ speech in 2012, despite making few comments on sexism in Parliament or her gender prior to the speech. In a content analysis of 216 Australian print media articles published in the week following Gillard’s speech, a study found that Gillard’s claims were overwhelmingly dismissed and minimised, with many articles arguing that sexism was a ‘dangerous’ topic which Gillard should ‘rise above’ as Prime Minister.⁵³ As what is likely the most significant macro-level example of a woman criticising the culture of toxic masculinity and overlooked sexism in the Australian national identity, the fact that the discourse surrounding this accusation served to problematise Gillard’s identity and claims, rather

⁴⁵ Primary Research: Interview, Jane Caro, 30/6/21.

⁴⁶ Primary Research: Questionnaire. *Australian National Identity*. Conducted April-May 2021.

⁴⁷ Hogan, J., 2002. *Gender and Ethnicised National Identities in Australia and Japan*. Postgraduate. University of Tasmania.

⁴⁸ Primary Research: Questionnaire. *Australian National Identity*. Conducted April-May 2021.

⁴⁹ J. Nicole, S. and Stewart, R., 2004. Confronting Perpetrators of Prejudice: The Inhibitory Effects of Social Costs. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 28(3), pp.215–223.

⁵⁰ Australia Talks. 2021. *Find out where you fit, and how you compare to other Australians in 2021*. [online] Available at: <https://australiatalks.abc.net.au/survey>.

⁵¹ Worth, A., Augoustinos, M. and Hastie, B., 2015. “Playing the gender card”: Media representations of Julia Gillard’s sexism and misogyny speech. *Feminism & Psychology*, 26(1), pp.52–72.

⁵² Primary Research: Interview, Jane Caro, 30/6/21. Interview, Eva Cox, 2/7/21.

⁵³ Worth, A., Augoustinos, M. and Hastie, B., 2015. “Playing the gender card”: Media representations of Julia Gillard’s sexism and misogyny speech. *Feminism & Psychology*, 26(1), pp.52–72.

than the perpetrator, shows that there is “little room for optimism when considering how an “ordinary” woman might fare in similar circumstances”⁵⁴ The manner in which silence is culturally privileged is evident, with few choices available to women who wish to challenge sexism in the national identity, all of them undesirable.

Older female generations are more likely to believe that national identity is inclusive but connect less to it, as compared to younger generations, who believe national identity is not inclusive but connect more strongly with it. This apparent paradox can be explained by the increased exposure of feminist movements through technology,⁵⁵ which educate women on systematic sexism at a younger age, promoting an understanding of the issues with Australia’s national identity. This supports Caro’s belief that “it’s been a very recent radicalisation of young women.”⁵⁶ Reflecting on her experiences protesting gender equality when she was younger, Caro also adds that “[feminist] was a dirty word, and really it was a dirty word until about five years ago.”⁵⁷ The stigmatisation of feminism, likely a product of public dismissal⁵⁸ and the commonplace belief that women who speak up are “aggressive whingers,”⁵⁹ is supported by surveys showing that in 2021, 69% of women identified as feminists,⁶⁰ as compared to only 45% in 2018⁶¹ – a 24% increase over the past three years. Gen Z women are therefore more likely to view the Australian national identity as problematic and in need of change, whereas while older generations may recognise the hypermasculinity embedded in the national identity, their exposure to the patriarchal systems and values of Australia has likely led them to believe the national identity accurately reflects the values of Australians. This supports the conclusions of the questionnaire, which found that women’s connection to national identity, when aware of the associated masculine terminology, reduced with age. Of 48 total female respondents, 61% of Gen Z respondents rated themselves low/neutral in terms of how Australian they believed themselves to be, compared to Generations Y, X and Baby Boomers⁶² who rated themselves highly at 81.3% and 84.6% respectively.⁶³ After being asked to rate how accurately a range of keywords reflected Australian national identity and thus being asked to consider the discourses surrounding national identity, respondents were asked to re-evaluate their connection to Australian national identity specifically. In their second response, Gen Z was the only generation with any respondents who rated themselves higher than previously (with the exception of one Gen Y respondent). Only 22.2% of Gen Z rated themselves lower, in comparison to 56.3% of Gen Y and 46.2% of Gen X-BB. This trend has two possible explanations: either gender bias in language is reducing among younger generations, or younger generations have less experience with this language and therefore have little knowledge of the gender bias it carries. While some research is in favour of the former option, with a 2009 study of 689 women finding that more women aged 18-29 were using the word ‘mate’ compared with women over 50,⁶⁴ anecdotal evidence collected in

⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁵ Kim, C. and Ringrose, J., 2018. “Stumbling Upon Feminism”: Teenage Girls’ Forays into Digital and School-Based Feminisms. *Girlhood Studies*, 11(2), pp.46–62.

⁵⁶ Primary Research: Interview, Jane Caro, 30/6/21.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁸ J. Nicole, S. and Stewart, R., 2004. Confronting Perpetrators of Prejudice: The Inhibitory Effects of Social Costs. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 28(3), pp.215–223.

⁵⁹ Worth, A., Augoustinos, M. and Hastie, B., 2015. “Playing the gender card”: Media representations of Julia Gillard’s sexism and misogyny speech. *Feminism & Psychology*, 26(1), pp.52–72.

⁶⁰ Crabb, A., 2021. *What divides men and women? The Australia Talks survey reveals quite a list.* [online] ABC News. Available at: <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2021-06-10/australia-talks-reveals-what-divides-men-and-women/100195244>.

⁶¹ Wade, M., 2018. *Far enough? Poll shows opinion split over push for gender equality.* [online] The Sydney Morning Herald. Available at: <https://www.smh.com.au/business/workplace/far-enough-poll-shows-opinion-split-over-push-for-gender-equality-20180306-p4z2zs.html>.

⁶² Due to a lower number of Gen X and Baby Boomer respondents as well as high similarities in responses, the two generations’ results are combined (referred to as Gen X-BB in further analysis) to match the sample sizes of Gen Z and Y.

⁶³ Primary Research: Questionnaire, *Australian National Identity*. Conducted April-May 2021.

⁶⁴ Wright, T., 2021. Mate: equality, fraternity and the liberal use of our four-letter word. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, p.34.

the interviews may suggest the latter option is more likely. Cox reflected on her experiences as one of the founding members of the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL), explaining that she eventually became disliked and was pushed out of the group because she used her position as the chair of WEL to acquire media interviews; Cox, in the environment of a women's rights group, suffered from the consequences of not conforming to gender expectations which dictate that women should not seek power or be ambitious.⁶⁵ Similarly, Caro observed that women get more radical with age (while men typically get more conservative), because they "start to realise that the society as it is has not served them well, [they didn't get] the money, the opportunities... [so] they want things to change".⁶⁶ The synthesis of these two perspectives would imply that as women age, and enter environments where there are greater power dynamics and they are perhaps seeking power themselves, the gender bias embedded within Australian society and culture becomes more evident, and the consequences more poignant. There is a clear disparity between the experiences of younger and older women with Australian national identity, which reveal the enduring impacts of hypermasculinity.

The strong necessity for female inclusion in the Australian national identity is evident, and there has already been some movement towards change, which suggests that the Australian national identity is likely to shift. When asked if the national identity could be inclusive for the majority of people, Caro affirmed, arguing that "in the end it has to be... it'll never be flawless, [but] it'll change".⁶⁷ This view is in line with all major theories of social change - despite their differences, evolutionary, functionalist and conflict theories all acknowledge that when there is a recognisable lack of equilibrium in society, society must eventually adjust in response. This movement towards change can be seen in the recent exposure of sexist and criminal behaviour in Parliament House (such as the sexual assault of Brittany Higgins),⁶⁸ as well as the growing number of Australian women contributing to the public discourse criticising the national identity, such as Annabel Crabb in her ABC TV-show investigating the sexist culture of Parliament House *Ms Represented with Annabel Crabb*, or former MP Julia Banks, in her recently-published book about women in leadership, *Power Play*. Many have argued that actions such as these are forming the basis of a second wave of Australia's #MeToo movement.⁶⁹ The changing attitudes towards challenging sexism in Australia are evident in the second episode of *Ms Represented*, where a number of Australian politicians (current and former) were interviewed about their experiences with the hypermasculine and sexist culture in Parliament House. While the Gen X-BB women held the belief that speaking out against discriminatory and abusive behaviour in Parliament meant 'letting them win', privileging silence over action, the younger generation of politicians, particularly Sarah Hanson-Young, were vocal about their belief in the importance of challenging a sexist national culture, however difficult it may be.⁷⁰ The growing trend of younger women criticising the national identity was recognised by Caro, who believes the realisation among the younger generations "that not only none of this was our fault, but that it was happening to all of us... for generations... that's been huge in terms of liberating female anger and flipping [the power]".⁷¹ While Caro is "hopeful in the long run that things will get better",⁷² it is difficult to gauge the rate at which this change will occur. Economic incentives, such as the potential gain in GDP from increasing numbers of women in the workforce, and the potential of technology to promote and expedite social movements, are all factors which may accelerate the rate of change.⁷³ Nevertheless, any macro-level social change will incur some cultural lag in the following years. So while social equality may be

⁶⁵ Primary Research: Interview, Eva Cox, 2/7/21.

⁶⁶ Primary Research: Interview, Jane Caro, 30/6/21.

⁶⁷ Primary Research: Interview, Jane Caro, 30/6/21.

⁶⁸ Cave, D., 2021. 'The Most Unsafe Workplace'? Parliament, Australian Women Say. [online] The New York Times. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/05/world/australia/parliament-women-rape-metoo.html>.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*

⁷⁰ 'Episode 2 Being There' (2021) *Ms Represented with Annabel Crabb*. Series 1, episode 2. ABC TV, 20 July.

⁷¹ Primary Research: Interview, Jane Caro, 30/6/21.

⁷² *ibid.*

⁷³ *ibid.*

achieved, it may be some years before gender equality in the national identity is culturally effective. The gender bias, sexism and power imbalance embedded in the national identity remains a major issue for all Australians, but there is evidence of a trend towards change which will occur regardless of social and cultural resistance.

Conclusion

“I guess we’ll know we’ve really come to a point where the feminist project is successful when national identities are also feminine.”

Jane Caro⁷⁴

In researching and writing *The Drover... And His Wife*, I have been provided with a deep insight into the relationship between Australian women and the national identity, and my own relationship with personal and national identity by extension. I have also come to deeply understand the way in which gender expectations are upheld, and perpetuated, by power and authority structures in Australian society and culture. The enduring nature of these gender roles became apparent as I explored how micro-level expectations of gender reinforce the systematic exclusion of women, through directly and indirectly barring them from discourse surrounding the national identity and ultimately preventing them from challenging their exclusion. This understanding was essential in helping me consider how women may shape national identity in the future.

While my research affirmed my hypothesis that *“Australian national identity is constructed in a way which glorifies masculinity, and in doing so excludes women from the narrative of what it means to be Australian”*, I discovered that the exclusion of women from national identity was significantly more complicated. Initial research into national identity confirmed my hypermasculine perception, but it wasn’t until I conducted my expert interviews that I found a forum which allowed me to authentically explore the depth and complexity of female exclusion in Australia. Although analysis of the cross-generational component of my PIP supported my hypothesis by highlighting the continuity of women’s exclusion across time, it also evidenced the ways in which both older and younger women are able to affirm themselves as part of Australian communities despite their exclusion. This allowed me to understand that inclusion and exclusion are not mutually exclusive factors, although exclusion remains the dominant force in Australia’s national identity.

The primary research I conducted was instrumental in substantiating and guiding my PIP. My interviews were incredibly useful, providing me with an understanding of the wider context and contributing factors that influenced gender exclusion in the national identity. Similarly, my content analysis highlighted the nature of the discourse surrounding national identity, informing me on both its content and contributors. However, while my questionnaire was useful for gathering knowledge on the general conception of national identity, my decision not to mention gender to prevent leading questions and the possibility of skewing respondents answers meant the research lacked insight into the specific experiences and perceptions of gender in Australian national identity. This is something which I would change in hindsight.

The completion of my PIP has therefore expanded my social and cultural literacy through providing valuable insights into the complex workings of a society and culture of which I am a member. This knowledge of not only how power and authority structures shape Australian women, but of how they have shaped me, has made writing *The Drover... And His Wife* a journey of both intellectual and personal discovery. I am grateful for this opportunity to participate in discourse on national identity, as it has made me feel more Australian than I ever have before.

⁷⁴ Primary Research: Interview, Jane Caro, 30/6/21.

⁷⁵ Gen X had a sample size of 7 and Baby Boomers had a sample size of 6, but as their trends were similar the generations were combined for the purposes of analysis.

Annotated Bibliography: Primary Research

Questionnaire

My first primary research method was a questionnaire, which sampled 74 respondents between the age groups of “under 18” to “75-84”. The questionnaire was made using Google Forms, and was distributed through social media and email to family and friends. My teacher and my mother also assisted in reaching a range of people through sharing the questionnaire with colleagues and friends. The purpose of the questionnaire was to gauge ‘everyday’ persons’ conception of, and connection to, Australian national identity. The questionnaire found that the general perception of the national identity is male-centred, with respondents using mostly masculine language to describe the national identity. The pervasiveness of the hypermasculinity of national identity was evidenced in the finding that this perception is subconscious in the way it affects women’s identity, as women mostly identified strongly as Australian until they were confronted with the masculine terminology associated with national identity, after which 40% of women rated their connection to national identity lower. This information was integral to my first chapter, as it supported the findings of my secondary research and formed the basis of my content analysis. The questionnaire also revealed differing levels of connection to the national identity across female generations, which strongly informed the cross-generational component of my PIP. This understanding of women’s connection to national identity was crucial for Chapter 3, as it explored the impacts of a hypermasculine national identity on women’s participation in Australian society. The questionnaire thus informed my judgements on whether women felt included in the national identity, and therefore Australian society as a whole. It also provided some micro-level examples of women’s connection to national identity, proving that the findings of my research were applicable to ‘everyday’ women. Despite the value of the questionnaire to my PIP, it was not as valid as it could have been. The overall sample size was small, as I struggled to reach a large number of respondents, and thus the results may not be reflective of trends among the wider population. Additionally, my analysis of the questionnaire focused primarily on women, who comprised 64.9% of the respondents, which meant that conclusions drawn from analysis of women’s trends came from a small sample group of 48. The issue of sample size also influenced my cross-generational component, as when I separated the respondents into generations, the sample size for each generation was approximately 15.⁷⁵ Therefore while the trends in the questionnaire support the findings of my secondary research, a larger sample size would be required to properly verify my conclusions. Another limitation on my questionnaire is the potential bias present, as it was disseminated through the social networks of three people living in the same area of Sydney. The respondents are therefore likely to share similar political beliefs and conceptions of national identity, which means the results are not necessarily reflective of the wider Australian population. Nonetheless, the questionnaire was integral to my research of national identity and provided key insights into its micro-level conception, helping me to improve the strength of my secondary research by grounding it in personal experience.

Interviews

My second primary research method was two expert interviews, which were conducted over Zoom and recorded for later transcription. I completed some basic research on the participants and prepared a set of questions to ask during the interviews beforehand, which were used as a loose guide as I adapted them based on the participant’s responses. My first interview was with feminist writer and social commentator Jane Caro and shortly afterwards, I interviewed feminist activist and sociologist Eva Cox. Both interviews contributed significantly to my understanding of the topic, providing me with an overview of many of the arguments which would later comprise my PIP. Caro’s hour-long interview allowed me to extensively explore the idea and impact of women’s exclusion, with Caro contributing keen personal insights that were accompanied by several political examples from Australian society. Her interview was incorporated throughout all of my central material, with my PIP opening and closing on one of her observations. Although Caro was quoted extensively, it should be noted that the information extracted from her interview was also present throughout my secondary research, as it guided the areas which I investigated and provided case studies, such as

that of the male-only Australian Club. Cox's two hour-long interview had a more indirect impact on my PIP, as she extensively discussed the macro-level social and cultural factors which contributed to and perpetuated a hypermasculine national identity and limited women's participation in Australian society as a result. Thus her interview was extremely useful in providing a sense of the broader context which my topic was grounded in, and therefore had the most influence on my second and third chapters, as it allowed me to understand the wider influences and implications of women's exclusion. Similarly to Caro, Cox's value to my PIP extends beyond her quotations, as her insights fuelled my secondary research. While both women are extremely well-educated in their fields and thus a reliable basis for research, their insights into women's exclusion may be disproportionately influenced by personal experiences, potentially creating bias. Additionally, both women share similar political views, skewing their discussion of national identity towards an outlook which may not holistically reflect the beliefs of Australian academics. The demographics of the women may also impact the validity of the research, as both women are white and of the Baby Boomer generation. As race adds an extra dimension to experiences of exclusion, interviewing a person of colour alongside these women would have contributed greatly to the depth of my research and improved its validity. Additionally, while interviewing Caro and Cox was highly useful for my cross-generational component, interviewing a young person would have provided an interesting juxtaposition to their experiences and knowledge, especially as my cross-generational research found significant differences in connection to national identity between younger and older generations. Overall, the interviews were the most influential primary research method in my PIP, providing a highly valuable and credible synthesis of private experience and public knowledge.

Content Analysis

My final primary research method was a qualitative content analysis of 30 articles published in the last six years by *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Australian* and *The Daily Telegraph*. The articles, acquired through the Newsbank database, were evaluated if they in some way discussed or meaningfully mentioned one or more of three key characteristics of Australian national identity determined in the questionnaire analysis: 'mateship', 'equality' and 'fair go'. The content analysis found that women were excluded from discourses surrounding national identity through both a lack of inclusion in the discourses themselves and a lack of participation. This information supported my hypothesis that the national identity was male-centric and excluded women. In Chapter 1, this finding allowed me to prove that the language used to describe the national identity was masculine, integrating well with analysis of my questionnaire. In Chapter 2, the content analysis was integral to my discussion of women's exclusion from discourses on national identity, helping to situate secondary research exploring the impact of this exclusion. While clear trends emerged from the content analysis, the validity of these findings is not as strong as it could have been. As only 30 articles were analysed, it is possible that these trends are only reflective of a small sample, and would not be sustained in a wider content analysis, especially given that five articles were analysed from each year. Additionally, while an effort was made to randomly select articles and the name of the author was obscured, the database occasionally included articles which did not provide enough information for analysis, and there was therefore a minimal level of personal discernment involved which may have affected the validity of the results. The articles were chosen from three sources, with analysis of each year comprising two articles from *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Daily Telegraph*, and one article from *The Australian*. The newspapers were chosen for their high levels of readership, as well as their left-center and right wing bias, to create a balanced analysis. However, it should be noted that the content analysis is therefore only reflective of discourse on national identity in a small subset of Australian news media. Additionally, 3 out of 5 of the articles analysed each year were from right-wing newspapers, with 2 articles from a left-center bias, meaning that the analysis is more reflective of discourses in right-wing news media than Australian news media as a whole. Therefore an analysis of a wider range of newspaper articles would be required to ensure the validity of my conclusions. The findings which emerged from my content analysis were nonetheless highly useful and important to my PIP.

Due to constraints of the ERJ publication we are unable to publish the full annotated bibliography of secondary research or the accompanying appendices, which form part of this PIP. The original document containing the annotated references and appendices is available [HERE](#)

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ADVICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

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What's your question?

A good research paper addresses a specific research question. The research question—or study objective or main research hypothesis—is the central organising principle of the paper.

Whatever relates to the research question belongs in the paper; the rest doesn't.

Structure of your research article

Once your research question is clearly defined, writing the paper becomes considerably easier. The paper will ask the question, then answer it. The key to successful scientific writing is getting the structure of the paper right. The basic structure of a typical research paper is the sequence of Introduction, Methods, Results, and Discussion (sometimes abbreviated as IMRAD). Each section addresses a different objective. The author states: (i) the problem they intend to address—the research question—in the Introduction; (ii) what they did to answer the question in the Methods section; (iii) what they observed in the Results section; and (iv) what they think the results mean in the Discussion.

In turn, each basic section addresses several topics, and may be divided into subsections.

In the Introduction, the author should explain the rationale and background to the study.

What is the research question, and why is it important to ask it? While it is neither necessary nor desirable to provide a full-blown review of the literature as a prelude to the study, it is helpful to situate the study within some larger field of enquiry. The research question should always be clearly defined.

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