

Beyond Cultural Self-awareness: Enhancing Intercultural Learning Among Educational Leaders Through Cultural Field-Awareness

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Abstract: Educational leaders, notably ESL/EAP leaders, must be able to engage with increasingly diverse social contexts. Although these people tend to have considerable international experience, they may seek to further enhance their intercultural skills through various professional development (PD) opportunities, especially those offered by prominent organizations in their field. The theoretical or conceptual approaches to interculturality were examined for PD offerings in the Ontario (Canada) ESL/EAP context, as well as other approaches in the literature. Since these approaches fail to account for sociopolitical field, what is missing is an acknowledgement of the tension leaders may experience between authentic leadership ideals and actual practice. Applying Bourdieu's concepts of field and intercultural capital, this paper presents a call to move beyond the typical emphasis on cultural self-awareness to cultural field-awareness to enhance the intercultural learning of educational leaders in the ESL/EAP sector.

Keywords: English for Academic Purposes (EAP), English as a Second Language (ESL), educational leadership, intercultural learning, cultural self-awareness, authentic leadership, Bourdieu,

Introduction

The position of educational leaders means that they have a profound influence, consciously or unconsciously, on the culture of their organizations. Lahdenperä (2006) offers an English translation of Alveson's (2001) Swedish definition of leadership as "a culture-influencing activity" (p. 10). At the same time, the Canadian educational context at all levels is becoming more and more diverse in every conceivable way (Guo & Guo, 2017; Michalski et al., 2017; Tuters & Portelli, 2017), requiring successful leaders to fulfill their multifaceted roles within this complex reality.

This literature review was conducted as part of a proposed study whose purpose is to broaden the scope of inquiry and reflection for educational leaders, as well as those who may seek to offer support to educational leaders, in their developmental journey to engage effectively, appropriately, meaningfully, and justly with diverse others by considering possible tensions between sociopolitical field and authentic leadership.

Research Context

Nowhere is this complexity more relevant than in the field of second language education, including English as a Second Language (ESL) or English for Academic Purposes (EAP). While there has been some scholarship focusing on intercultural leadership in the contexts of elementary (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2014; Leeman, 2007; Tuters & Portelli, 2017; Zembylas & Iasonos, 2010, 2017), secondary (Anderson, 2016; Andersen & Ottesen, 2011; Gómez-Hurtado et al., 2018; Tuters & Portelli, 2017), and post-secondary (Guo & Guo, 2017; Michalski et al., 2017) education, little attention has been focused on understanding intercultural leadership in the ESL/EAP field, in spite of its obvious inherent cultural diversity.

Many leaders in the ESL/EAP field have lived and worked overseas, so it may be assumed that they have a certain ability to engage with cultural differences (Eaton, 2017; Rawley, 1997). Some EAP leaders, however, may seek additional ways to enhance their intercultural skills and confidence through reflective practice or professional development (PD) made available by Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) certifying bodies or other related professional associations.

A survey was conducted of such PD opportunities offered by the organizations most connected to the ESL/EAP sector in Ontario. This gives some indication of the approaches to interculturality that are prominent in this professional and regional context. A summary tally of these resources can be found in Table 1, organized by source and the general theoretical approach or focus of each. These date back as far as 2015, which was used as an arbitrary cutoff year with the assumption that this provides an adequate sample of current and recent resources. Some resource records started more recently than 2015 and were tallied as far back as records allowed. There are a few things the reader should note:

- No relevant articles were found in the *TESL Canada Journal*.
- A new section in the *TESL Canada Connects* newsletter was introduced in November 2021 (the most recent issue when the researcher consulted the TESL Canada website to retrieve this data) called “PD Corner”, which features PD resources from third party providers recommended by TESL Canada committee members. The theme of the first PD Corner was “Antiracism and antiracist pedagogy”. This explains the high number of resources from TESL Canada focusing on this theme.
- It should be noted that all resources counted equally in the tally regardless of the level of rigour or time commitment involved. For example, one major resource recommended by TESL Canada is an entire certificate program from Bow Valley College called “Intercultural Competencies for Leaders”. This counts as one resource in this tally, the same as a short 400-word blog entry.

Table 1

Tally of PD resources provided by key organizations in the ESL/EAP field in recent years (Ontario, Canada)

Theoretical approach, major focus	TESL ON <i>Contact</i> (Number of articles) (All listed - back to 2016)	TESL ON Blog (Number of blog entries) (Back to 2015)	TESL ON Webinars (Number of Webinars) (Back to 2015)	TESL Canada resources (Number of newsletter articles) (back to 2015)	Languages Canada resources (back to 2015)	CBIE webinars, training (all listed - back to 2019)	Total number of resources
ICC	1	2	3	1			7
CQ	1				1	1	3
IC, IS	1	1	6	1	5	1	15
Anti-Racism, EDID	3		1	9	2	1	(16)
Indigenous reconciliation	1			1	1		3
Plurilingualism, use of L1	6		2	1	1		10
S name choices	1						1
Barriers to diversity efforts				4			4
NNESTs				1			1

Note. Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC); Cultural Intelligence (CQ); Intercultural Competence (IC); Intercultural Sensitivity (IS); Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Decolonization (EDID); student name choices (S name choices); non-native English-speaking teachers (NNESTs)

The related intercultural approaches of intercultural communicative competence (ICC; Byram, 1997, 2008), cultural intelligence (CQ; Earley & Ang, 2003), and intercultural competence (IC) or intercultural sensitivity (IS; Bennett, 1998, 2004; Deardorff, 2009) feature quite prominently throughout all PD source categories listed. Anti-racist and Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Decolonization (EDID) approaches also feature prominently in the sources above, though nine of the sixteen resources tallied were from the specially themed PD Corner in the autumn 2021 Connections newsletter. This may in part be a response to the notable rise in profile that racial issues took following the George Floyd killing in May 2020. The concept of multiculturalism is also used liberally throughout, including critical multiculturalism, which incorporates an awareness of power and injustices (Hajisoteriou, & Angelides, 2014; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Zembylas, & Iasonos, 2010). The data here suggest that anti-racist and EDID approaches have not been as prominent or widespread as the intercultural approaches of ICC, CQ, IC, and IS, but that perhaps there is a growing trend recently toward these more critical approaches in the PD offerings of the ESL/EAP field.

Resources addressing plurilingualism and the use of L1 feature quite prominently, especially in TESL Ontario's PD offerings. It should be noted that most of these resources support a plurilingual approach and the use of L1 in language teaching, but there was one resource that questioned the extent to which this should be put into practice. Some approaches to interculturality that were not represented in the PD resources surveyed above, but which nonetheless appear in educational literature and may therefore be influential in the intercultural learning of educational leaders in the ESL/EAP field, include intercultural awareness (Baker, 2011), relational cosmopolitanism (Marginson & Sawir, 2011; Rizvi, 2009), international mindedness (Tarc, 2018), and cultural proficiency (Lindsey et al., 2019).

Approaches to Interculturality Inherent in the Individual

This section looks more closely at several of the above approaches to interculturality to highlight their fundamental elements and to point out their common focus on developing some form of cultural self-awareness in individuals.

Multiculturalism Types

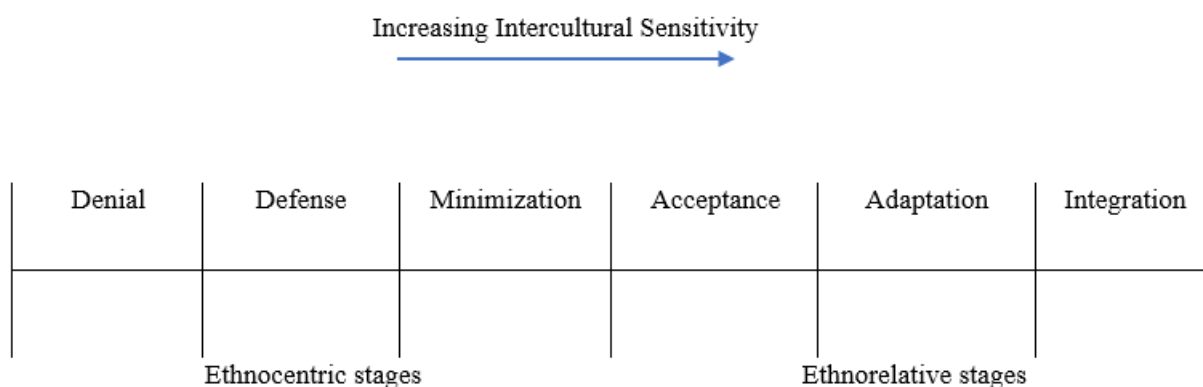
Multiculturalism is a concept that appears frequently throughout the PD offerings listed above. The concept of multiculturalism may generally refer to societal responses to cultural diversity that in one form or another “[reject] the ideal of the ‘melting pot’ in which members of minority groups are expected to assimilate into the dominant culture” (Song, 2020, para. 1). Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997), however, focus on beliefs or conceptions of multiculturalism that may be preferred or dominant in different individuals. What they call *conservative multiculturalism*, for example, tends to frame cultural differences as a threat to one's own cultural identity, while *liberal multiculturalism* recognizes “natural equality and a common humanity” (p. 10) across differences, albeit at the risk of masking differences and inequalities that truly matter (Duarte & Smith, 2000; McGlynn, 2008; Nieto, 2000), and *critical multiculturalism* seeks to go beyond a mere recognition of differences to confront and eliminate inequalities and injustices (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997).

Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS)

Bennett's (1998) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) is quite influential among the intercultural approaches noted above (IC, IS, ICC, CQ). Based on a constructivist approach, it focuses on how individuals construe cultural differences and suggests a developmental path from more *ethnocentric* to more *ethnorelative* worldviews (Bennett, 1998). An ethnocentric worldview is characterized by the experience of one's own cultural perspective as “central to reality”, “unquestioned”, and “just the way things are” (Bennett, 2004, p. 62). An ethnorelative worldview, on the other hand, describes the “experience of one's own beliefs and behaviors as just one organization of reality among many viable possibilities” (p. 62). Development toward a more ethnorelative worldview can mean moving from not noticing cultural differences (*Denial*), to noticing differences but feeling threatened by them (*Defense*), followed by a focus on commonalities as an attempt to overcome this sense of threat (*Minimization*), to appreciating and accounting for real differences (*Acceptance*), and ultimately to an ability to adapt to different norms and beliefs by interacting in appropriate and effective ways (*Adaptation*) and an integration of one's identity as a multicultural being (Integration; Bennett, 1998, 2004).

Figure 1

Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity



Note. Stages in the development of intercultural sensitivity from an ethnocentric worldview to a more ethnorelative worldview according to Bennett’s (1998, 2004) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS)

Cultural Intelligence (CQ)

Cultural Intelligence (CQ) is another model that has gained popularity more recently, especially in the broader business world, but also somewhat in the ESL/EAP field. CQ is defined as “the capability of an individual to function effectively in situations characterized by cultural diversity” (Ang & Van Dyne, 2008, p. 3). Earley and Ang (2003), in developing the concept of CQ, drew on the concept of intelligence as the “capability to adapt effectively to the environment” (Sternberg & Detterman, 1986) and applied it specifically to intercultural contexts to create a model that includes metacognitive, cognitive, motivational, and behavioural dimensions (Earley & Ang, 2003; Ott & Michailova, 2018).

There are nuanced differences in emphasis between Bennet’s Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) and Earley and Ang’s CQ model. For instance, CQ tends to emphasize competence in terms of effectiveness or successful adaptation to new cultural contexts, while the DMIS embraces Deardorff’s (2004) slightly broader focus on effectiveness and appropriateness in intercultural interactions based on attitudes, knowledge, and behaviours stemming from a particular world view or orientation around cultural differences (Bennett, 1998). Moreover, CQ is rooted in intelligence theory (Ang & Van Dyne, 2008), whereas the DMIS is rooted in cognitive psychology and constructivist theory (Bennett, 1998). What is common to both, however, is an attempt to understand how people can develop intercultural competence, whether “through didactic programs or sparingly used face to face cultural experiences” (Heath et al., 2017), and how this competence may be assessed along a scale or continuum from less-developed to more developed competence (Bennett, 1998; Earley & Ang, 2003; Gelfand et al., 2007; Heath et al., 2017; Van Dyne et al., 2012). In addition, and largely in common with Kincheloe and Steinberg’s multiculturalism typology, they share a focus on characteristics embodied in individuals and groups, however acquired or developed, to understand their actions in intercultural contexts.

Relational Cosmopolitanism: Accounting for Relational Space

Relational cosmopolitanism, championed by Rizvi (2009) and Marginson and Sawir (2011), offers an interesting alternative to the intercultural approaches of Bennet (1998), Earley and Ang (2003), and Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) discussed above and would relegate these approaches to the contrasting category of *globalist*, or *corporate cosmopolitanism*. Indeed, relational cosmopolitanism is largely a repudiation of globalist cosmopolitanism, which proposes that individuals aspire to a kind of transcendent acultural position reflecting a privileged ignorance and a lack of attention to persistent power differences, inequalities, and local and national identities (Marginson & Sawir, 2011; Rizvi, 2009).

Instead, what is proposed is a relational cosmopolitanism (Rizvi & Beech, 2017; Skrbis & Woodward, 2013) that attempts to go beyond “an individual adjustment paradigm” to a “theorization of relational space” (Marginson & Sawir, 2011, p. 66) that recognizes and promotes “local grounding and interconnectedness” (p. 72). Rather than aspiring to a transcendent position and a shared “unitary language”, a particular position is acknowledged, and a model of “translation” is adopted to engage in “global discourse” (Marginson & Sawir, 2011, p. 73) across cultures that are “dynamic and interpenetrated rather than demarcated” (Rizvi, 2009, p. 23).

Relational cosmopolitanism effectively problematizes essentialized notions of culture and simplistic understandings of identity (Marginson & Sawir, 2011; Rizvi, 2009). It also attempts to move beyond the limitations of individual approaches to interculturality to account for the relational space that individuals necessarily enter when engaging with others (Marginson & Sawir, 2011; Rizvi, 2009). Nevertheless, it embraces similar ideal characteristics and learning as, for example, Bennet’s (1998) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS). Specifically, both relational cosmopolitanism and the DMIS promote an individual’s development beyond an ethnocentric worldview to a more culturally ethnorelative worldview (Bennett, 1998, 2004; Marginson & Sawir, 2011). To support learners’ development, Rizvi and Beech (2017) propose an educational goal of “a set of normative ideas about how to live with cultural difference” (p. 126).

Moreover, the stated focus of relational cosmopolitanism on relational space, and not just the individual, is aimed at a contextual understanding of one’s position and unique perspective in relationship(s) with others. Its ultimate goal is “a critical and reflexive practice” that enables one to engage in “profound discussion and [listen] to different positions with respect and an open mind” (Rizvi & Beech, 2017, p. 133). It does not, however, focus primarily on how this perspective also implies interaction with certain dominant sets of values, beliefs, norms, and discourses that contribute to the constituting of that perspective. One’s actions may not always reflect one’s true personal perspective, but rather may result from a form of compromise or strategy meant to maintain one’s standing within a certain social context (Anderson, 2016). It is possible that such a consideration may be subsumed within the proposed “contradictory” and “messy” nature of cosmopolitanism (Rizvi & Beech, 2017, p. 131), but its proponents do not make this explicit.

Critical and Anti-Racist Approaches

As noted above, critical and anti-racist approaches to diversity may be increasing in the TESL sector, and they bring with them a sharp criticism of facile approaches that allow for the “decontextualization of questions of race and gender [and that] fail to problematize whiteness and the Eurocentric norm” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 15). In Canada, there may still be a certain complacency borne out of comfortable notions of our identity as a multicultural nation. We (Canadians) may prefer to lean into our status as the first country in the world to establish an official policy of multiculturalism while ignoring the anti-Asian, anti-Black, and anti-indigenous racist policies that plague our history and continue to haunt our efforts toward a more equitable and just society (Lei & Guo, 2022).

Human, cultural, and racial differences can have profound implications for inequality in an historical and social context that serves to “legitimate social categories and divisions” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 25). For example, as discussed further below, in the context of English language education, non-native English-speaking teachers (NNESTs) may experience exclusion or discrimination in the profession even though they are at least as qualified as their native English-speaking (NEST) peers (Barratt, 2010; Barratt & Kontra, 2000; Bunce et al. 2016; Lahdenpera, 2006; Ng, 2018; Tatar & Yildiz, 2010; Wang & Fang, 2020). This demonstrates an instance of linguisticism that Phillipson (1992) argues “has taken over from racism as a more subtle way of hierarchizing social groups in the contemporary world” (p. 241). Similarly, culture, or cultural difference, has too often served as a proxy for race “conveniently used to differentiate, exclude, or privilege certain groups of people” (Kubota & Lin, 2006, p. 476). In the English language education field, the critical lens brings into focus issues of race, oppression, and privilege that manifest themselves in sector-specific issues. The hiring, or non-hiring, of NNESTs, the use and legitimization of learners’ first languages (L1) in pedagogy, and the usage and pronunciation of learners’ names are practices falling largely along racial lines and reflecting an overall English language education sector that “continues to be linked to colonialist systems” (Olding, 2017, p. 5). Critical approaches, more than the other approaches, are interested in addressing injustices by bringing about cultural change through offering counternarratives (Liggett, 2014) and increasing awareness of racial power relations and White hegemony (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Nevertheless, in addition to the broader aspiration of culture change, and in common with the other approaches already discussed above, a primary goal is awareness raising, specifically in the context of English language education, to raise awareness within

individual educators to enable them to facilitate awareness raising among English language learners themselves (Olding, 2017).

ESL/EAP Leadership: Sociopolitical Challenges

As suggested already, leadership in the Canadian ESL/EAP context is necessarily intercultural leadership. It is important to note that ESL/EAP leaders perform their roles in the context of multiple layers of accountability. This accountability comes into play in institutional accreditation requirements (Languages Canada; Ontario Ministry of Colleges and Universities, etc.), teacher certification requirements (TESL Canada, TESL Ontario), and English proficiency admission requirements at postsecondary education (PSE) institutions. Furthermore, students, their families, and their sponsoring and recruiting agencies all have expectations around the quality of the program and the overall student experience (Cunningham, 2019; Elturki et al., 2019; Hajar, 2020). Also significant are the norms, values, and expectations of members of a leader's EAP institution, as well as colleagues in the broader ESL/EAP field (Cotter-Lockard & Gardner, 2018; Militello et al., 2015). These dimensions of accountability mean that any decision or action taken by an intercultural leader in the ESL/EAP field will have repercussions on that leader's social position. The implication for these leaders, therefore, is that any efforts to develop the ability to engage across cultural differences will benefit from going beyond the popular emphasis on *cultural self-awareness* (Bennett, 2004; Byram, 1997; Earley & Ang, 2003; Marginson & Sawir, 2011; Vande Berg et al., 2012) to include a focus on what might be called *cultural field-awareness*.

In the ESL/EAP field, for example, there has been a growing body of literature that values the inclusion of non-native English-speaking teachers (NNESTs) stemming from the globalization of English and its emergence as a lingua franca (ELF; Chen et al., 2016; Llorca, 2004; Mahboob, 2010; Selvi, 2014). Nevertheless, there is often hesitancy or resistance to such hiring practices (Lahdenpera, 2006; Wang & Fang, 2020). Similarly, there is a growing recognition in the literature of the value of incorporating the use of learners' first languages into ESL/EAP teaching, yet such practices face popular resistance, and rigid English-only policies and practices widely persist (Chen, 2020; Cummins, 1996; Kharchenko & Chappell, 2019; Wang, 2015). As another example, although there is a growing awareness of the value of using learners' real names and attempting to learn their pronunciation, there is a persistent reticence to do so, and in fact learners are often encouraged to adopt and use English names (Diao, 2014; Kohli & Solorzano, 2012; Mitchell, 2016; Pennesi, 2016). In all of these examples, a well-intentioned leader may experience tension between practice that might reflect their ideal or authentic self and practice that might reflect the values and norms of relevant sociopolitical fields.

To move beyond idealistic conceptions of intercultural competence and authentic leadership, the sociopolitical realities faced by educational leaders need to be considered, perhaps now more than ever given the increasing politicization and polarization that seems to characterise the world in which we live (Grande et al., 2019; Hutter & Kriesi, 2021; Lee & Johnstone, 2021). The problem with the intercultural concepts in the section above and their underlying models is their tendency toward a narrow focus on the knowledge, attitudes, skills, and worldviews inherent in the individual. Such approaches resonate well with the concept of authentic leadership, which emphasizes the importance of continual learning and development of greater self-awareness (Nair et al., 2021; Walker & Chen, 2007). Nevertheless, despite any benefits that might be gained from the above attempts at self-improvement, they do not focus on the competing interests, expectations, and explicit and implicit values at play within intersecting sociopolitical fields that may affect the decisions and actions of educational leaders. Authentic leadership is characterized by an "alignment of actions with an identity grounded in the *true self*" (Latta, 2021, p. 30; see also George, 2003), even if such a true self is viewed as "formed in relationships . . . a fluid work in process" (Ladkin & Spiller, 2013, p. 2). Balancing authentic leadership with contextual political demands, therefore, is a major challenge to any aspiring authentic leader (Ellen III et al., 2013).

Moving beyond Embodied Interculturality: Applying Bourdieu's Theory

To understand more fully how an individual may engage with diversity in particular situations, it is necessary to broaden the scope of consideration beyond characteristics inherent in the individual. The actions one takes, the decisions one makes, and the words one speaks are not a function simply of "a critical and reflexive practice", nor a

function solely of the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and worldviews, inherent in the individual, but rather they also reflect the interaction of the individual with their social context, which can be characterized by Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) concepts of *habitus*, *capital*, *field*, and *practice*.

Applying Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) theory, Pollman (2009, 2013, 2016, 2017) proposes the concept of *intercultural capital*. Intercultural capital implies a sociopolitical contextualization of intercultural knowledge, skills, attitudes, and worldviews, that has implications for an individual's position in intersecting sociopolitical fields in which that individual is invested. This means that a self-aware individual in an intercultural situation must consider at least two objectives when deciding on language and actions, or *practice*, to use Bourdieu's term: (a) that which will lead to appropriate, effective (Bennett, 1998, 2004; Deardorf, 2004), and meaningful (Dostilio et al., 2012) engagement, and (b) that which will lead to the enhancement (or management) of one's standing in relevant sociopolitical fields (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990; Pollmann, 2009, 2013, 2016, 2017). Even if the individual is not consciously aware of these objectives, the person will still face the consequences of their actions in both dimensions. Such a recognition of context challenges idealistic notions (Pfeffer, 2015), and leads to a more comprehensive understanding, of interculturality and authentic leadership in practice as a relational phenomenon (Ladkin & Spiller, 2013).

Bourdieu sought to account for social context and individual agency without assigning either one an overriding determinacy of an individual's actions and outlook on the world (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990; Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006; Maggio, 2018). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) framed the concept of habitus as "an open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them" (p. 133). The individual has a degree of free agency, but this agency also reflects "attitudes . . . conditioned by past experiences" (Maggio, 2018, p. 11). This is also true of how people interact in contexts of human and cultural diversity; how a person interacts will be influenced by one's past experiences, and this aspect of habitus is largely consistent with the emphasis on cultural self-awareness prominent in many approaches to intercultural learning.

Bourdieu's concept of capital, however, adds additional elements to this understanding. Bourdieu sought to move well beyond the Marxist notion of capital as financial means or access to "[ownership] and control [of] the means of production" (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006, p. 32). Rather than strictly "something that is owned, [capital] can also be something that is embodied" (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006, p. 70) in the form of *symbolic capital*, "the accumulation of which, [along with financial capital,] determines location in social space" (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006, p. 70). Symbolic capital includes *social capital*, one's accumulated social connections, contacts, and networks, and *cultural capital*, which itself can be further subdivided into *institutionalized*, *objectified*, and *embodied* forms. Institutionalized cultural capital refers to credentials and official certifications one might accumulate; objectified cultural capital refers to culturally marked products such as writings, paintings, musical works, architecture, tools, and machinery; and embodied cultural capital refers to one's "personal reservoir of cultural knowledge and know-how" (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006; Pollmann, 2013, p. 2).

What the Bourdieusian concept of cultural capital, or Pollmann's modified term *intercultural capital* (2009, 2013a, 2013b, 2016, 2017), adds to an understanding of interculturality is a recognition of the implicit value which is socially assigned to people's intercultural behaviours. Intercultural capital, at least in its embodied form, takes into consideration the full spectrum of a leader's past experiences, both formal training and education, as well as less conscious experiences that have nevertheless been embodied in the leader as a social agent that more or less equip a person to interact with diverse others (Pollmann, 2013). Marginson and Sawir (2011) refer to the value that they claim corporate cosmopolitan places on "individuals who use mobility, cultural adaptability, and flexible citizenship as tactics to broaden their career options and accumulate capital" (p. 63). There is a sense of derision in Marginson and Sawir's argument regarding this aspect (and others) of corporate cosmopolitanism; it is too essentialist, too elitist, too oblivious of persisting inequalities, and too narrowly focused on economic advantage (Marginson & Sawir, 2011). They do, nevertheless, concede that this relative valuing of intercultural capabilities is a very real feature of the world in which we live (Marginson & Sawir, 2011).

In the case of educational leaders, it is useful to consider how this valuing, or devaluing, can influence the behaviour of leaders in intercultural contexts. Perhaps they simply wish to bring as much potential economic advantage to themselves as possible, thus buying into the shared dominant taken-for-granted values – Bourdieu's *doxa* – of the sociopolitical context in which they operate – Bourdieu's *field* (Maggio, 2018; Marginson & Sawir, 2011). It could also be possible that there are other non-economic motivations at play, such as ethical or other more pragmatic

considerations, or an authentic attempt at a deeper “generative reciprocity” (Dostilio et al., 2012). Whatever the motivations might be, the concept of intercultural capital is still useful since it brings into focus the value assigned to behaviours – Bourdieu’s *practice* (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006) – and the resulting influence of a sociopolitical field on this practice. If a reflective leader wishes to understand or develop their intercultural practice, this leader must consider not only their habitus -- cultural self-awareness -- but also their intercultural capital and the effect that their sociopolitical field(s) might have on their behaviour -- cultural field-awareness -- both in specific situations and as patterned behaviour across multiple situations.

Bourdieu (1984) proposed the following formula to express the interrelationships among capital, habitus, field, and practice: $(\text{Habitus})(\text{Capital}) + \text{Field} = \text{Practice}$. Maton (2014) offers a concise summary of this equation: “one’s practice results from relations between one’s dispositions (habitus) and one’s position in a field (capital), within the current state of play of that social arena (field)” (p. 51). In the context of intercultural leadership, in other words, it might be said that a leader’s actions in intercultural situations result not only from factors such as their conception of multiculturalism, or their intercultural competence, cultural intelligence, or reflective positionality (habitus), but also from how their intercultural capital is valued within their social field and how they choose to, or are able to, navigate their position within that field. As Pollmann (2013) suggests, “intercultural capital does not solely relate to intercultural proficiencies as such, but also to their relative exchange value and the circumstances under which they are more or less likely to be realized” (p. 2). As educational leaders navigate their interactions in culturally diverse contexts, they draw on resources, experiences, and dispositions that are inherent in their person, which have been influenced by but not determined by their social field, yet they also reckon with the effects of their actions on their place within that social field. This is an important way in which Bourdieu’s theoretical framework is helpful, for “in welcome contrast to less contextually embedded approaches to the study of human agency, [Bourdieu’s] conceptual framework reminds us of the vital importance to conceive the development of people’s reflexive capacities as closely related to their positions within fields of struggle over (symbolic) power” (Pollmann, 2016. P. 5). ESL/EAP leaders, as noted earlier, may need to navigate their positions in sociopolitical fields when faced with challenging decisions around the hiring of NNESTs, addressing the use of learners’ L1, and addressing the use of learners’ real names. A deep awareness of the norms and expectations of these sociopolitical fields may help with this navigation. Thus, what is required is not only cultural self-awareness, but also cultural field-awareness.

This brings us back to the notion introduced at the beginning of this paper that educational leaders tend to have a strong influence on their organizations and that leadership is a “culture-influencing activity” (Lahdenperä, 2006, p. 10). This influence, however, is not unidirectional, and leaders are also influenced by their organizational cultures, which can be viewed as important Bourdieusian fields. For example, in Lahdenperä’s study (2006) of head teachers, the author notes that “a head teacher cannot achieve more than his/her staff understands and allows, and the surroundings permit, and can only pursue issues that are considered as problems in school” (p. 12). She goes on to conclude that “to actively lead multicultural school development requires both an acceptance of one’s own ethnocentrism and a certain multicultural maturity among the staff” (p. 13). Bolman and Deal (2017) also note several scholars have suggested that “leaders are not independent actors: they both shape and are shaped by their constituents (Gardner, 1989; Heifetz & Linsky, 2002; Simmel, 1950)” (p. 336; see also Ho, 2009; Wong, 2011). In Bourdieusian terms, while practice does influence field, as well as habitus and capital, the reverse is also true; practice is influenced by field, habitus, and capital.

Anderson (2016) notes a further complication in the relationship between field and practice among educational leaders when she points out that the actions of school principals in her New Zealand study cannot be understood simply as a reflection of field doxa. She applies Bourdieu’s theory to highlight strategies used by individuals who choose not to follow the rules of field doxa. As Anderson (2016) puts it,

People don't always follow the rules. If they are highly competent, they know not only how to abide by the rules of a field, but also how to take liberties with, or to bend, those rules. They know how to make it look like they are abiding by shared rules and upholding doxa, while actually working for personal advantage. (pp. 696-697)

The objective may simply be a sophisticated attempt to maximize one’s sociopolitical standing or capital in one or more fields, but it may just as well be an attempt to maintain some measure of authenticity and fidelity to one’s own values while avoiding or minimizing any potential loss of social standing. Such strategies may be used by ESL/EAP

leaders to navigate sociopolitical fields when making decisions around the hiring of NNESTs, addressing the use of learners' L1, and addressing the use of learners' real names.

Furthermore, it should be recognized that “an individual habitus is always constructed at the intersection of many social fields” that “overlap and are interrelated” and whose boundaries “are not fixed but fluid” (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006, p. 67, 68). In the case of ESL/EAP leaders, their fields are not restricted simply to their educational organizations but should be recognized as also including any relevant social fields that hold some level of significance for these leaders, for example professional associations, informal peer networks, local communities, colleagues at partner universities or colleges, overseas agents, and families of students, all of which have their own and sometimes contradictory doxa to navigate.

Conclusion

There are many approaches to interculturality that focus rather narrowly on the individual, perhaps taking authenticity for granted. This literature review draws attention to the fact that educational leaders always perform their roles in real social contexts. It seeks to expand the scope of inquiry by contextualizing the individual within sociopolitical fields with which that individual interacts. Educational leaders may have a significant influence on their organizational, sectoral, and broader social contexts, but they are also subject to the influence of these contexts. Those who wish to develop a capacity to engage effectively, appropriately, meaningfully, and justly with diverse others need to develop, not only cultural self-awareness, but also cultural field-awareness, by considering the possible tensions between sociopolitical field and authentic leadership especially as they navigate their roles in a world that seems to be becoming more polarized and politically charged.

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