Habitus and Capital in Play: Practices of Assessment in English Studies in Indonesian and Australian Higher Education

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List of abbreviations

Adelaide: The University of Adelaide in South Australia is an established university in Australia founded in 1874, a member of the Group of Eight.

ATN: Australian technology network (a group of Australian universities)

AusE: Australian English

BAN-PT: Badan Akreditasi Nasional Perguruan Tinggi, Indonesian national accreditation agency/body.

EAL: English as an additional language

EFL: English as a foreign language

ELP: English language proficiency

ESL: English as a second language

ESP: English for specific purposes

Flinders: Flinders University of South Australia is a less established university in Australia founded in 1966.

Go8: The group of eight (a group of Australian universities)

GPA: grade point average

HE: higher education

IAIN Surakarta: Institut Agama Islam Negeri (State Islamic Institute) in Surakarta is a recently established Islamic HE institution in Indonesia founded in 2011 (starting in 1997 as a lower status of STAIN).

ICT: Information and communication technologies

IELTS: International English language testing system

IRU: Innovative research universities (a group of Australian universities)

LC: Language centre

MoEC: Ministry of Education and Culture (Indonesia)

MoRA: Ministry of Religious Affairs (Indonesia)

RUN: Regional university network (a group of Australian universities)

SES: Socio-economic status

TEQSA: Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (Australia)

TESOL: Teaching English for Speakers of Other Languages

TOEFL: Test of English as a foreign language

UGM: Universitas Gadjah Mada (Gadjah Mada University) in Yogyakarta is an established public university in Indonesia founded in 1949 as one of the two

oldest public Indonesian universities (the other one is the University of Indonesia in Jakarta).

UU: Undang-Undang, Indonesian law or regulation

Glossary of key terms

Habitus:

Bourdieu defines habitus as "a system of lasting and transposable dispositions which, integrating past-experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 18). He wants to emphasise a combination of "a system of dispositions, that is of permanent manners of being, seeing, acting and thinking" and a system of "long-lasting (rather than permanent) schemes or schemata or structures of perception, conception and action" (Bourdieu 2016, p. 43). Habitus is understood in this study as dispositions (systems of propensity, tendency, inclination) working as the mechanism of an individual's behaviour (e.g. perceptions, appreciations, actions) that are gradually ingrained from the societies s/he is involved in through the process of inculcation (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Maton 2008). Mills (2013, p. 44) calls habitus embodied "habit of mind".

Assessment habitus:

This is a new concept proposed in this study which is derived from Bourdieu's habitus. Assessment habitus is suggested as a limited application of Bourdieu's habitus with exclusive reference to assessment, that is, habitus regarding assessment. By designation, assessment habitus is here understood as the dispositions or system of propensity about assessment inculcated by social agents (individuals or institutions) from societies throughout their lives in order to behave accordingly within current and/or future educational or academic life, predominantly in a university.

Institutional habitus:

As a conceptual invention initiated by Reay (1998) when studying the influence of the family and the school on ten students' preferences to continue studying at higher education in UK, institutional habitus (habitus of the school) together with familial habitus (habitus from family upbringing) interplay within the students and significantly influence their HE choice. This invention was debated by Atkinson (2011, 2013) and responded to by Burke, Emerich and Ingram (2013). Tarabini, Curran and Fontdevila (2017, p. 1178), furthering the study, theorise institutional habitus as "the set of predispositions, taken-for-granted expectations and schemes of

perception on the basis of which schools are organized". Another designation has been resulted from a scholarship/literature study on the idea by Byrd (2019, p. 194) who defines institutional habitus as "an institution's values, common sense, beliefs, behaviors, and taken-for-granted positions as situated within historical and contemporary social relations". I understand institutional habitus in this study as school or university culture, values or dispositions which are institutionalised in policy documents (visions, missions, objectives and so on) and embodied in the individuals (leadership people, academics, students) (see Appendix 1).

Capital:

According to Bourdieu, capital is a "species of power whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 97). From this quotation, I understand capital as a form (or token) of power or authority that is required to gain positions or recognition in a social space or social *field* and has an "exchange/able value" or "efficacy" (Bourdieu 2004, p. 16; Skeggs 2004b, p. 75). Typically, there are three types of capital, namely *economic*, *cultural* and *social capital*, and, in relation to one another, they can be mutually transformed. According to Bourdieu (2004, p. 16), economic capital is "immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights". Cultural capital is the accumulated "experience and knowledge" (Bourdieu 1984, p. 23), which "may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications". This study understands cultural capital as symbolic entitlement for knowledge, skills, experiences or expertise possessed by an individual. Social capital is "the possession of a durable network … or institutionalized relationships … or membership in a group …, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit" (Bourdieu 2004, p. 21). So, social capital is a symbolic entitlement of being a member of a group which, to a great extent, allows the persons of socially recognised credentials (social status, respect or legitimacy) for appropriation accordingly, and may be institutionalised in the form of a title of nobility or proper name.

Assessment capital:

Assessment capital is a terminology extended from Bourdieu's concept of capital, particularly cultural capital. It is a type or form of (embodied) *cultural capital* designating the accumulated "experience and knowledge" (Bourdieu 1984, p. 23) regarding assessment, predominantly inculcated during academic interactions. More

specifically, it manifests in self-evaluative skills and knowledge regarding one's learning. For students, it is their accrued personal qualities or capacity to assess their own learning accumulated from their active involvement in higher education and, predominantly, assessment for/as learning. Assessment capital for academics has two dimensions: internal – for assessing their teaching – and external – for assessing the students' learning. In his book, Sadler (1989) mentioned self-evaluative knowledge and skills of students in assessment. Simply said, assessment capital is thus part of embodied cultural capital – it works as cultural capital within the practices of assessment.

Symbolic capital:

When discussing capital, Bourdieu also outlines *symbolic capital*, which he theorises as "symbolic properties" (Bourdieu 1984, p. 20) or "symbolic benefits" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 2013, p. 293) applicable to every kind of capital (economic, cultural, social) when it is exemplified, represented or gained "symbolically" as opposed to that of material, measurable objects such as money or gold (Bourdieu 2004, p. 27). This concept of "symbolic effects of capital" is only legitimate when it receives recognition within the habitus and its specific logic (Bourdieu 1997, p. 242; Bourdieu & Wacquant 2013). Alongside with cultural and social capital, this type of capital is most significant in the field of HE where institutions and academics are positioned based on their symbolic capital, whether they have prestige or otherwise (Bourdieu 1988a). Symbolic capital has symbolic efficacy or symbolic exchange value, which entitles the owner to gain symbolic profits (Bourdieu 2004; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Skeggs 2004a, 2004b).

Field:

Field is a social space where individuals interact with one another and, for Bourdieu, is organised by a system of operations or "the rule of the game" or "regularities" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, pp. 18, 98). Field is therefore theorised by Bourdieu as "a network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions … in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 97). This conception implies that the positions in the field are interrelated by objective reasons in the form of the rules of the games in the field. The positions are determined and distributed by power or authority legitimate in the field.

As a social space, field refers more to the actual 'locus' or contextual boundaries where society is working (Bourdieu 1989; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Costa & Murphy 2015). Bourdieu adds that "a field consists of a set of objective historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital)" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 16). As fields "are organized around specific types or combinations of capital" (Broberg 2015, p. 51), field would essentially include the arena of interactions and the systems it operates by agents' exercising capital/power for positions in the field. There are force and struggle in this social field, namely, struggle and power relations to secure positions or influence. In the field of higher education, the type of power or authority most legitimate here is not money – economic capital – but predominantly symbolic and cultural capital.

Tacit knowledge:

Conceptualised by Polanyi (1968), *tacit knowledge* is human knowledge that is 'hard' to articulate explicitly. An example is our knowledge about a person's face (recognisable among a thousand or million others) but we cannot tell how we recognise the face we know. As opposed to explicit knowledge, tacit knowledge can also be referred to as "the quiet storehouse of information that exists though it cannot necessarily, or at least easily, be put into words" (Johnson 2016, p. 2). According to Turner (2012, p. 387), "there are two families of tacit knowledge", namely the *collective* form and *personal* tacit knowledge. Collective tacit knowledge is equal to the general tacit knowledge, which is socially shared among the members of a society, such as a general understanding of English language enabling English-speaking people to understand one another. Personal tacit knowledge refers to the tacit knowledge of an individual, like my understanding of English which is different from anyone else's English. In regard to assessment, there are aspects of quality/criteria/standards which are (or should be) shared by academics and students. However, especially in the actual practices of assessment, each academic and student possesses "personal" tacit knowledge of quality, which is very likely to be different. Thus understood, the personal tacit knowledge of assessment held by academics should be shared with students by 'consecrating' assessment practices continuously. In other words, each institution suggests its collective tacit knowledge of assessment for academic and students, mediated by *institutional assessment habitus*.

Language game:

Theorised by Wittgenstein (1968), language games are believed to be intimately linked to assessment as a social practice. According to him, "Here the term 'language-game' is meant to bring into prominence the fact that the speaking of language is part of an activity, or of a form of life" (Wittgenstein 1968, p. 11). In a simpler expression perhaps, language game is the concept that *language* – a word, a sentence and so on – means something only when it is in context and can mean something different in another context based on conventional rules. The word game also implies "the rule of the game" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 18), as necessary knowledge to participate in a social field, in the assessment world. It involves "noticing" and "thinking" altogether (Dinishak 2013; Wittgenstein 1968). The language that is used in assessment, feedback, questions, commands and so on only means something when the people (the academic and the students) know the game they are in. Language games are a vehicle that helps us make what we highlight or notice in assessment – quality, standards, excellence and the like – explicit; noticing is thus naming and bringing to light what is assessed. Thus understood, we can refer to all the (language) activities in the assessment as *the language game of assessment* or simply the *assessment game*.

Pedigree or *pureblood* and *hybrid:*

Pedigree is mentioned by Bourdieu to refer to the educational status of an individual of having "pertinent properties as legitimate membership" (1988a, p. 11), exclusive to a specific HE institution associated with an "upper-class" group (1996, p. xv). I thus understand a pedigree as a *pureblood*, that is a group member of best graduates of an established university as "constructed individuals" (Bourdieu 1988a, p. 9) possessing high symbolic cultural capital and inculcated by the capital of the institution. In contrast, *hybrid* is a term I introduce referring to the status of a pedigree with an additional cultural capital of overseas HE biographies valued highly within the institution.

Summary

The assessment practices of academics working in English studies in the higher education contexts of Indonesia and Australia remain severely under-researched. How academics assess (and teach) English has implications for the quality of students' English (linguistic) capital as well as the development of their evaluative skills and knowledge. I present comparative case studies of two Indonesian and two Australian higher education institutions which differ substantially in their symbolic capital, student intake and staffing. Drawing on key policy documents and the experiences of twenty academics – 10 in Australia and 10 in Indonesia – I examine the factors influencing their beliefs and experiences concerning assessment. To further my analysis, I draw on Bourdieu's tools of *habitus* and *capital* – with additional concepts of *institutional habitus, assessment habitus, assessment capital, assessment of/for/as learning*, *tacit knowledge* and *language games*.

Assessment habitus, as the dispositions academics draw upon that foster propensities and tendencies when undertaking assessment, is the main focus of study. Assessment habitus is inculcated gradually in education. It is generally aligned with *assessment capital* which is self-evaluative skills and knowledge in regard to someone's learning. This study found that, regardless of location, *assessment habitus* and *assessment capital* – whether aligned or not with *institutional habitus* and *symbolic capital* – inform the participants' practices concerning assessment.

Institutional habitus has a role in structuring assessment practices, but the study suggests that the less established universities are more adaptable and inclined towards innovation in assessment practices than the more established universities. There exists a complex dialectic between the institutional habitus and professional habitus of the participants. Arguments could be made that the institutions influence the academics' assessment habitus and vice versa. Adding further complexity, I found the participants' practices around assessment *of* learning (AoL), assessment *for* learning (AfL) and assessment *as* learning (AaL) develop in relation to their institutional and country context. The institutions in Indonesia have a more explicit focus on AoL than those in Australia, by requiring mid-semester and end-of-semester examinations, which can indicate less attention to AfL and AaL.

This research study seeks to make a contribution in four main areas: 1) how the professional biographies of academics influence their level of autonomy, how they engage with colleagues and how they assess; 2) advancing understandings of how institutional

habitus structures the assessment habitus of academics and thus students; 3) advancing our understanding of assessment capital and how it is inculcated through rigorous practices of assessment as learning (AaL) and assessment for learning (AfL); and 4) understanding how institutional standards, tacitly ingrained and possessed by academics, are shared through explicit *language games* and consecration of practices, thus influencing how they assess. The research study presented here has implications for how we understand inequality, symbolic capital and professionalism in higher education, including how individuals are positioned in the institution based on their *academic capital*. The research is also vitally important to how we understand the future of higher education.

Declaration

I declare that:

this thesis presents work carried out by myself and does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; to the best of my knowledge it does not contain any materials previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text; and all substantive contributions by others to the work presented, including jointly authored publications, is clearly acknowledged.

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Chapter 1: Introducing assessment practices in Indonesia and Australia

Abstract

My prolonged engagement with Indonesian higher education and my education in Australia both inculcated my professional habitus as an academic in an Indonesian Islamic university. These two differing experiences have contributed to how I teach and assess my students. Eventually, my increased interest in assessment theory and practice led me to instigate this study on how assessment practices by Indonesian and Australian academics are informed by their habitus, institutional expectations, and their perceptions of capital within institutions. English (or English studies) was selected as the focus of study as the language is considered essential in the two countries, with interestingly different contextual emphasis, traditions and practices.

The primary objective of this chapter is to set the scene of my study, which includes a presentation of the background and purpose of the current study, followed by analytical explorations of the field of operation, specifically the field of higher education (HE) in Australia and Indonesia. The different characteristics of those two fields of HE are considered an influencing factor in academics' jobs as educators, including how they practise assessment. The history of education in the two countries, including primary and secondary education, is also briefly explored. However, it is worth highlighting that, while the history is important in both countries, this thesis focuses predominantly on the current situation and the comparison between the two. Secondly, this study does not look in any great detail at the high school experiences of students in preparing or offering them opportunities to seek entrance to university. In other words, the transition from high school to university is outside the scope of this thesis. The questions that this research aims to answer are presented in the following section with the supporting rationale, before the structure of the study is presented at the end of this chapter.

1.1 Background and purpose of study

My professional experiences as an English language academic in the *Shariah* Faculty at the start of my career in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta in 2000 provided me with the opportunity to apply the pedagogical knowledge and background in assessment I had

previously obtained from my undergraduate study at IKIP Yogyakarta,[1] majoring in English teaching. However, I found out that teaching English to students in the *Shariah* Faculty was quite different from my previous teaching experiences[2] in many different aspects: materials, students, objectives, facilities and also teaching methodologies.

Not long after my tenure in the *Shariah* Faculty, I was lucky enough to be invited to join the university's language centre. In the language centre, my roles were both being a member of a committee (English division) and teaching English. My teaching and assessment practices in the language centre were quite different from those in the Shariah Faculty.[3] While my job in the Shariah faculty was predominantly helping students develop their English for reading (and writing) English texts for their law study, more diverse English courses are offered at the language centre including English for communication or Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) preparation. My involvement with the language centre has thus contributed to the development of my professional skills as an English academic as well as my educational management skills.

My professional experience was further developed during my Master's degree in education at Flinders University in 2007–2009, during which the style, format and design of educational assessment began to be part of my academic interests. And now my tenure in the English department in the *Adab* Faculty (or Faculty of Humanities) at UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta has given me extensive insight into how teaching English is different there in terms of the content of English as well as the contexts of the students and the institutional goals I need to meet.

Inevitably, during my tenure at each institution, my assessment practices have also adapted in line with institutional expectations – how the institutions constrain my teaching and assessment. Furthermore, as I tried to fit with the institutional policies, my values as an academic needed to be shifted and altered. Each institution or university I worked in has served a different student population, each with their own distinct needs.[4] Furthermore,

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[1] IKIP Yogyakarta was a state institute for teacher training, and has now been transformed into UNY, the State University of Yogyakarta.

[2] My first English teaching experience was in fact my involvement in a private course to prepare high school students and graduates for the national examination (like the Australian NAPLAN) as well as the national public university entrance test (known as UMPTN or SBMPTN). I taught the subject English there (the other major school subjects were taught by other teachers) predominantly in terms of 'tips and tricks' to answer questions in those two big examinations in Indonesia at that time.

[3] At that time, the main mandate of the language centre was providing services such as 'paid' language courses (Arabic and English), standardised language tests, and language training for university academics.

[4] Students at the Shariah Faculty need English as a tool for their core study, specifically to understand legal resources written in English and to write about law-related issues in English. Students at the English

each institution had its own expectations. These professional experiences, together with my academic experience during my former education in an Australian university, have enriched my 'reflexivity' about being an academic (Bourdieu 1998; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). Indeed, my interest in the work of Bourdieu also dated back to this time, after I took a sociology topic at Flinders.

Reflexivity, in a Bourdieusian sense, is often theorised as "actualising a practical intelligibility shaped by the dispositions of the habitus" (Farrugia 2013, p. 283). My reflexivity concerns "making explicit the 'unthought' categories, perceptions, theories and structures that underpin any pre-reflexive grasp of the social world" (Deer 2008, p. 202). For Bourdieu, reflexivity requires a process of looking back at oneself by 'thinking or behaving' reflexively and differently on the basis of the experiences or practices one has been through, specifically "an objectification of the social conditions" (Grenfell 2010, p. 23; see also Stahl 2015), as a kind of 'self-reference' or 'self-awareness' about social experiences (Bourdieu 1998; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). My dispositions (tendencies, propensities or inclinations) about teaching and assessment are indeed "acquired through a gradual process of inculcation" (Mills 2013, p. 44). As a result of reflexive deliberations on such differing experiences in my professional life, I am interested in how academics develop their knowledge and skills pertaining to assessment; how they adapt to, exert an influence upon and change various contexts of education institutions they work for; and how their values as educators influence how they assess students' learning.

Assessing the learning of students is a major responsibility of all educators, which can in fact serve various purposes, including accountability purposes (Winters 2008) or 'measurement of outcomes' (Boud & Falchikov 2007b) as well as formative purposes of both the students' learning and the teaching (Sadler 1983, 1989, 1998, 2016). In my institution in Indonesia, however, to my knowledge and experience, academic/teaching staff have had few opportunities to take part in such discussions and explorations about the very crucial role of assessment and its contemporary developments. This highlights that assessment is often taken for granted. In my experience, workshops by the university or faculties and other professional development activities have focused on curriculum development, teaching methodologies, classroom management or material developments. Issues about assessment such as how, what or why to assess, or philosophical debates

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Department in the Adab Faculty learn English literature as their core study in that English is not only a medium of instruction in the classroom but also a subject of their study (covering the linguistic, artistic and cultural aspects of English). Meanwhile, students in the language centre courses need to develop their English for either communication, a job or test preparation (TOEFL or IELTS).

behind the increasing use of 'assessment for and as learning' (Dann 2002, 2014; Earl & Katz 2006; Torrance 2007), for instance, are also important. Furthermore, a critical consideration of assessment should also include the level of autonomy academics have, and the ethics around it. Such a provocation fuels my inquiry.

There is still a lack of informal discussions or academic studies on assessment (and pedagogy in general) in the *Adab* Faculty (or Humanities) at UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, where English is studied. I have always wondered why and how the induction into and the learning of assessment practices are on the one hand important to HE, and on the other hand, seem to be so neglected at the individual and institutional level. While policies exist and are made available, how policies are enacted and how staff are trained in reference to such policies is addressed so rarely. The ethical considerations in assessment and lack of discussions on assessment practised in Indonesia are not necessarily apparent in an Australian context, which surprised me and therefore encouraged me to draw more of a connection between the two places.

Before beginning the research, I anticipated that this lack of concern about the role of assessment in the institution may have an impact on academics' philosophies and practices of teaching and assessment. Investigating the institutional impact on academics necessitates a consideration of their academic and professional life and how they develop what is called 'teacher identity' (Pennington 2015; Pennington & Richards 2016).[5] According to Pennington (2015, p. 17), a teacher identity is "a construct, mental image, or model of what 'being a teacher' means that guides teachers' practices as they aim to enact 'being a teacher' through specific 'acts of teacher identity'." Directly related to a teacher habitus (Mills 2013), a teacher identity can also be defined as a teacher's "sense of self" (Timma 2007) or "teachers' self-concepts" (Buchanan 2015, p. 700). In a broader perspective, identity is conceptualised as 'a sense of self' (Wetherell 2007, 2010), as what individuals understand about themselves.

Teacher identity, in my case the identity of academics, has been studied with a wide range of approaches from those psycho-social and also quantitative researchers, but for the purposes of this research I am drawing primarily on sociological theory. From the psycho-social side, teacher identity is often associated with Foucault's concept of 'self-formation' or 'technologies of the self' in an attempt 'to improve the self' involving the bodies,

[5] I use "teacher identity" here to adopt the well-known terminology, but the term "teacher" means "lecturer" (or I prefer "academic") in the HE sector throughout this thesis, rather than "schoolteacher" in a primary or high school.

thoughts, beliefs and behaviours of the teacher (Miller, Morgan & Medina 2017, pp. 91–93). Sociologically, according to Wetherell (2010), identity is configured and assembled within society. Teacher identity is here approached using an epistemology associated with 'social constructionism' (Burr 2015). Using sociological theory, teachers' identities and their sense of agency are always linked to their social context.

Identity formation can hence be understood as an individual's unique development affected by their society; it involves a dialogue between the habitus and the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). "This dynamic relationship between habitus and field allows us to understand identity as always in process, influenced by context but simultaneously influencing and having an impact on that context" (Reay 2010, p. 284). In this sense, identity "is formed by social processes and is maintained, modified, or even reshaped by social relations" (Timma 2007, p. 164). In academia, a professional identity is shaped or reshaped by interactions in the institutions (past, present and future) and may also be influenced by changes outside of the institution.

Sociology allows me to consider the individual in relation to society, to consider the individual in relation to institutions/employers, as well as to explore how identities and subjectivities are constituted. Also, this study is not focused on gender, class and disability but will capitalise on sociological tools to explore people's practices at work. Sociological research has contributed heavily to studies of organisations and workplaces. The system of beliefs and interactions of a society penetrates into academics' professional habitus (or pedagogical or assessment habitus more particularly). At the same time, academics are contributing to shaping the institutional habitus of the university where they work (Bourdieu 1988a; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992).

In this study I seek to explore how academics make critical decisions and how their context influences such decisions. I use the sociological tools of habitus, field and capital (Bourdieu 1990b; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992) as well as recent reinterpretations such as 'institutional habitus' (Burke, Emmerich & Ingram 2013; Byrd 2019; Reay 1998; Tarabini, Curran & Fontdevila 2017). I endeavour to operationalise habitus, institutional habitus and capital in my comparative study of the assessment practices of academics working in English studies in Indonesian and Australian HE.

A comparative perspective was selected for this study predominantly because, as an academic inquiry, comparative education can be utilised "to improve understanding in many domains, including the forces which shape education systems and the roles of education systems in social and economic development" (Bray 2014, p. 20). In this

particular study, an understanding of how habitus and capital may inform an academic's practices of assessment is expected to inform a better education system. Ultimately, in terms of the institutions involved, the results of this study might be useful to generate "appreciation of domestic education systems as well as heightening awareness of shortcomings" (Bray 2014, p. 40).

Four HE institutions, two from Indonesia and two from Australia, were selected in order to provide the opportunity to compare and account for institutions that are vastly different and yet in some ways similar in terms of reputation (symbolic capital). In each institution academics who were teaching English studies courses volunteered to be interviewed. The terminology of 'English studies' is used here to accommodate various studies regarding English, such as English education, literature and (to a small extent) linguistics in the Indonesian context, and English and creative writing, education, linguistics and literature in the Australian context.

The focus on English studies was chosen because English has become a global language (Kirkpatrick & Sussex 2012; Stroupe & Kimura 2015) and is therefore highly required and taught in Indonesia with various approaches and focuses (Lauder 2008; Simbolon & Restall 2014; Widodo 2016; Zentz 2015). However, the status of English as a foreign language in Indonesia is inevitably different from the Australian context where English is the predominant mother tongue, and this study endeavours to see similarities and differences between the two contexts. In addition, as literature itself is a work of creativity, there is an expectation that academics of English studies, especially language and literature studies, practise innovative assessment with their philosophical rationale.

Another rationale of selecting these institutions is that each of them has its own status in each country, with one established university of long-standing high status, thus having more symbolic capital, in each country, and the other a less established institution, which is still developing its capital (Bathmaker et al. 2016; Bourdieu 1998, 2004; Moore 2008). In addition, to accommodate my scholarship sponsor, the less established institution in Indonesia is a public Islamic institute/university.

Having outlined the background and purpose of this study, the following section introduces the field of Indonesian and Australian HE to set the context for the later analysis in the thesis. This introduction is presented predominantly to explore the 'field' of HE in the two countries (Bourdieu 1990b, 1998; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992), which may share similar features, but may also differ on other aspects. I offer a brief commentary on the development of Indonesian and Australian general HE systems (and policies) to portray the

academic culture of HE in both countries. This context will enhance our understandings of the practices of the academics working in these institutions in terms of their identities, pedagogical practices in general and assessment in particular.

1.2 The field of Indonesian and Australian higher education

In embarking on a comparative study, it is essential to look at the commonalities and differences in the assessment practices in each country or institution, or the practices of individual academics. This study also considers that some academics may well believe that assessment is a global and to a large extent universal practice, irrespective of their country's unique culture, history and development. However, this study seeks to understand the role of the differences in culture, values and history in the two countries as key variables that account for the local/national context in each country as well as 'units of comparison' of the study (Bray 2014).

In this section, a critical review with comments on the teaching and assessment of English studies in the two countries begins with Australia and is followed by Indonesia, because on a global scale Australia is perceived to have a more established HE system, habitus and capital than Indonesia. The review covers the tradition, development and current issues of the HE systems in each country then demonstrates how this informs both the status of English studies and the current assessment procedures. In considering the university cultures in Australia and Indonesia economically, historically and socio-culturally, a greater breadth of understanding regarding how academics negotiate these pedagogic contexts and, thus, how they come to see assessment and themselves as well as others with regard to such practices is gained.

These critical explorations predominantly provide an informed background to the analysis, considering the sociological dialogue between social 'structure' and 'agent' in general, and how habitus – both at the institutional and the individual level in each institution and with each participant – may shape or influence pedagogical practices, including assessment. In traditional sociology, such as that of C Wright Mills (2000), the connection between structure and agent is understood as the manner in which personal biographies are formed and form the large institutional and societal levels. Such an approach allows me to explore how teacher identity is influenced by different country and institutional contexts. The participants of this study have been developing their approach to assessment within the institutional culture of their university and the field of HE more broadly. They have experienced different management styles and institutional changes

which have informed their own position in the university as well as their philosophy and practices of assessment (and education in a wider context). Also, institutional practices regarding who can be let in and who can study what (symbolic capital) may influence how these academics perceive their students and, as a result, how they assess them. In what follows I outline the main trends shaping the institutional cultures of the universities in Australia and Indonesia. Rather than supplying an extensive review, my focus is on the how 'English' is represented as a subject area within these contexts.

Australian higher education system

Australian HE has evolved from the Oxbridge model of the university when it was a group of English colonies in the nineteenth century, to the Federation era of the twentieth century, and the modern neoliberal system of the university which frames our contemporary times (Lawless 2012; Ramsey 1987, 1988). So understood, Australian HE, as perhaps everywhere else in the world, has essentially evolved from the idea of the university as a "small elite institution" towards today's "mass system" of HE (Forsyth 2014; Marginson 2006, 2007a). Indeed, during colonial times, the Australian university was perceived by the population as an elite institution offered to a limited number of chosen individuals (Collins et al. 2016; Forsyth 2014; Seddon & Angus 2000). In contrast, present-day statistics show that 1,046,835 Australians were enrolled in HE in 2015 alone and 37% of 25–34-year-old Australians now have a bachelor's degree or more (Robinson 2017).

Australian institutions have attracted a huge number of international students.[6] The latest data from the Australian university sector, for instance, shows that more than 150,000 international students came to Australia to study during 2001, and this increased to over 350,000 students in 2015 (Commonwealth of Australia 2008; Robinson 2017). The same data indicates that the number of international students had reached the equivalent of almost 35% of domestic students in 2015. This industry has made a key contribution to the Australian economy: "The education of international students is Australia's 3rd largest export behind iron ore and coal", with a worth of $20.1 billion in 2014/2015 (Robinson 2017, p. 28).

[6] Australia began to implement international education through the Colombo Plan in the 1950s, which provided open access to Australian HE for international students of Asian countries in particular (Commonwealth of Australia 2008).

In terms of legislation and funding, the first six Australian universities[7] used to be under the authority of colonial or state governments. However, under the Dawkins reform in 1987/1988, the federal government took over the regulation and funding of Australian HE (Forsyth 2014; Harman 1989; Lawless 2012; Ramsey 1987, 1988; Toncich 2008). During this long history, Australian HE has witnessed three major periods of development: first period (colonial and early federation, 1890s–1940s), second period (1950s–1990s), and third period (2000s–present) with their specific milestones (Collins et al. 2016; Forsyth 2014; Lawless 2012; Toncich 2008). It might be noted that in the time of writing in a COVID-19 world all universities and especially Australian universities with a high percentage of international students may well be entering a new period of significant enforced change and transformation, the extent of which we do not yet know.

The first period of Australian HE development was characterised by the establishment of the first Australian universities: one in each of Australian six states and the Australian National University (ANU) in 1946. During this period students had to pay fees for their HE, with some scholarships from the state governments, with the exceptions of free tuition for University of Western Australia students (DET 2015a; Coombe 2015; Forsyth 2012, 2014; Lawless 2012). The number of students increased steadily during this time, from 3,000 enrolled students in 1911 to 30,000 in the 1940s and 50,000 in the 1950s (Toncich 2008). As a result, universities were under-funded and development was "uncoordinated on a State by State basis" because of the old system (Ramsey 1988), and so the second development took place.

The second development period (1950s–1990s) witnessed the federal government taking control of the Australian HE system (Ramsey 1988; Toncich 2008), which was mostly absent during the first period. In fact, federal government involvement had started by the introduction of incentive funds for 'qualified' universities during the last part of the first period.[8] The federal government increased its involvement with the launch of the *binary system* of HE during the 1960s and 1970s.[9] This binary system was terminated in the late 1980s[10] with the mergers of colleges of advanced education into universities, resulting in 36 universities: an addition of 17 new universities from 19 in the 1970s

[7] The first Australian university (the University of Sydney) was founded in 1850, then the University of Melbourne in 1853, the University of Adelaide in 1874, University of Tasmania in 1890, University of Queensland in 1909, and University of Western Australia in 1911 (Ramsey 1987, 1988; Toncich 2008).
[8] Each university needed to apply for the grant and to show that it met certain requirements and conditions.
[9] There were two types of HE institution, namely universities for diplomas and degrees, and colleges of advanced education for vocational and professional training.
[10] The Commonwealth Government dispensed with the binary system and created the Unified National System of Australian HE, which was officially operational on 1 January 1989 (Harman 1989).

(Harman 1989; Lawless 2012; Ramsey 1988). This second period also saw free tuition and the Tertiary Education Assistance Scheme for Australian students until the 1970s. However, this policy of free tuition was then terminated and adapted into HECS (Higher Education Contribution Scheme)[11] by the notable Dawkins reforms in the late 1980s for a number of reasons.

The third period started with the Nelson Review in 2002 and was advanced by the Bradley Review in 2008. The Nelson Review resulted in the increasing focus of Australian HE on "efficiency, quality, and competition" (DET 2015a). The Nelson Review recommended four key principles for reform, specifically sustainability, quality, equity and diversity (Nelson 2003). This review is widely recognised by the jargon of 'A Fair Chance for All', understood as a fairer Australia and fairer access to HE, which in fact is a reflection of the four principles of the reform made by Minister Nelson (Gale & Parker 2014; Sellar & Gale 2011). This reform also introduced a new direction in Australian HE towards privatisation of HE, presumably under neoliberal principles being adopted across the globe. The Bradley Review, as the major review of the Australian HE system after the Nelson Review, led to a significant increase in students but a different system of funding for universities (DET 2015a; Coombe 2015). Money was reallocated so if universities could bring in non-traditional and/or disadvantaged students they got more money. The recommendation of the Bradley Review was to open student numbers, and to allow privatisation and neo-liberalisation in education (DET 2015a; Forsyth 2014; Meyers 2012). Both the Nelson and Bradley reforms had a significant influence on Australian HE, especially on funding and on the population of universities. Efforts have indeed been made to make universities more diverse and more international.

As a consequence, staff in the Australian HE sector serve both national and transnational as well as traditional and non-traditional students. These students present a wide range of strengths and weaknesses. Some may require learning support and may approach assessment in unexpected ways. This clearly has an impact on the work of educators in terms of their workload and also how they assess students' academic work. Increasing student numbers will inevitably also impact on assessment policies and practices; academics' workload (both teaching and assessment) is more challenging, and they may need to adapt the ways they assess students. Furthermore, as workloads increase,

[11] The students owe the tuition fees to the federal government on the condition that the money will be paid back when the graduates have got jobs and are earning a certain amount of money. If this condition is not met, graduates may not pay back their tuition debt.

universities have also sought to cut costs. The Bradley Review marked the beginning of business-oriented management of Australian HE in the forms of the "corporate university", similar to other business institutions (Dollery, Murray & Crase 2006), which requires higher workloads and more efficient funding. All these changes influence how staff approach assessment practices and therefore significantly contribute to the focus of this study.

Indonesian higher education system

Indonesian HE was initiated before the Dutch colonial period, prior to 1831, in *pesantrens* (Islamic dormitories). They were characterised by Islamic, non-formal and less structured education led by *Kyai* (clerics) to study advanced levels of Islamic subjects or studies in the form of *ngaji sorogan*[12] (Buchori & Malik 2004). The graduates of this highest education level of *pesantren* were expected to establish their own *pesantrens* in their home villages or they might continue to postgraduate Islamic studies, at Al-Azhar University in Egypt, for instance.

Indonesian western or secular HE was officially started during the Dutch colonial time in the 1850s. The Dutch colonial government established a medical school in 1851 to educate prospective indigenous doctors (Buchori & Malik 2004; Fahmi 2007).[13] In 1902, the medical school became STOVIA (School Tot Opleiding Van Indische Artsen, school for training of Indian doctors) and in 1927 it became GHS (Geneeskundige Hogeschool, medical high school/college) located in Batavia (Jakarta).

Another education institution, THS (Technische Hogeschool), an engineering or technical college, was founded in Bandung, West Java, in 1920 by a private group of Netherlanders. In 1924 the school was taken over by the Netherlands East Indies government and it became a government institution. Also in 1924, LHS (Landbouwkundige Hogeschool), an agricultural school in Bogor, and RHS (Rechtskundige Hogeschool), the law school/college in Batavia (Jakarta), were established (OECD & Asian Development Bank 2015). A government academy for the training of civil servants was then established in 1938, and in 1941 a literature faculty began operation

[12] An individual, independent and direct type of teaching with *Kyai*. The tuition for this HE was not prescribed and was mostly voluntary since teaching was an obligation for the *Kyai*. In the lower levels, *santri* (students) usually start with Quranic study: reading, reciting and understanding the main Islamic values. Subsequantly, they continue to study the Arabic language and then Arabic literature on *fiqh* (Islamic law), *syariah* (rules and regulations), and *ibadah* (worshipping Allah) (Buchori & Malik 2004).
[13] Indonesia used to be called the *Netherlands East Indies* during Dutch colonialism.

with a program leading to advanced degrees in the humanities (Fahmi 2007; Van Der Kroef 1955).

These HE institutions were established mainly because of the shortage of engineers, lawyers, medical doctors and other professionals caused by World War I. Quite understandably, the need for technical and professional people had started during the war itself when communication between the Netherlands and the East Indies (Indonesia) had been very difficult (Van Der Kroef 1955). The curriculum and system of these HE institutions imitated those prevailing in the Netherlands at that time.

Efforts to unite all colleges into a single university were interrupted by the war. The total faculty of the technical, law and medical colleges (all paid by the colonial government) was small: in 1940 it consisted of 42 professors, 22 instructors and 61 assistants. The total number of students for the three colleges in the same year was 1,246, including 245 Europeans, 637 Indonesians and 361 Chinese (Van Der Kroef 1955). The total number of graduates of these institutions rose but slowly. For example, in the year 1933–34, eleven Europeans (Dutch), eight Indonesians and three Chinese completed their studies, and in 1939–40 the numbers were 19, 37 and 23, respectively. These numbers were small compared to the total size of the three population groups in 1940, specifically 300,000 Europeans (mostly Dutch), 65 million Indonesians and 1.8 million Chinese (Van Der Kroef 1955). Stratification in the institutions was still emphasised by the Dutch with the Europeans (mainly Dutch) as the top rank, followed by the local royal family and prominent Eurasians, then Chinese businessmen, and various layers of local students at the lowest stratum (Buchori & Malik 2004). This shows that HE was still an elite privilege, like Australian HE during colonial times.

The next phase of development in Indonesian HE was during and post-independence.[14] In 1947, the first Indonesian HE institution, the University of Indonesia, was founded in Jakarta as a unification of various colleges established during colonial times (Buchori & Malik 2004; Cummings & Kasenda 1989; Van Der Kroef 1955).[15] In 1949 another university, Gadjah Mada University, was established in Yogyakarta for studies of law, literature and philosophy (Fahmi 2007; Universitas Gadjah Mada 2017; Van Der Kroef 1955). While these institutions were formed from the elements of the

[14] Indonesia proclaimed its independence on 17 August 1945.

[15] The law, medical and literary faculties of the university were located in Jakarta (Batavia); the technical and natural science colleges in Bandung; the veterinary, medicine and agriculture colleges in Bogor (Buitenzorg); the economic studies faculty in Makassar on the island of Sulawesi (Celebes); and another medical school in Surabaya (East Java). When Indonesia obtained her official freedom in December 1949, the University of Indonesia became a republican institution (Cummings & Kasenda 1989).

former Dutch institutions, academics and graduates, they managed to leave their colonial heritage behind, apart from the buildings, and developed an 'Indonesianised' university system (Cummings & Kasenda 1989). Two pioneer private universities were also established during this period, namely the National University in Jakarta in 1949 and the Indonesian Islamic University in Jogjakarta in 1946 (Fahmi 2007).[16] As they became Indonesian owned, all Indonesians had equal access to these universities. Nevertheless, HE was still for the elite for early independent Indonesians (Ayling 2019; Maxwell & Aggleton 2015).

During Suharto's presidency, education was oriented to the primary level with the 1973 Presidential Instruction to build 40,000 primary schools by the late 1980s from oil revenue (OECD & Asian Development Bank 2015). In this way HE was still understood as an elite institution. Currently, Indonesian HE has evolved into a major asset of the country. Participation in HE has been a success story for Indonesia, at least by quantity with more than three million graduates of Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) universities during 2011–2015 (Kemenristekdikti 2016).[17] The statistic is higher as there is another ministry, the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA), that also coordinates the HE sector in Indonesia.

To a certain extent, the overlap of the administration and supervision of HE between the two ministries became inevitable (Brodjonegoro 2002; Buchori & Malik 2004; Rosser 2016), which significantly benefits the MoEC institutions. Furthermore, as Islamic education had been marginalised during Dutch colonialism and during Soekarno's presidency, Islamic education was regarded as "a second-class system" (OECD & Asian Development Bank 2015, p. 71); as a consequence, there are classes of MoEC and MoRA HE institutions in Indonesia. Each class of HE possesses its own "symbolic capital" and "distinction" in many aspects (Bourdieu 1997; Costa & Murphy 2015; Wacquant 2004), especially in regard to capacity, human resources and facilities. It is my view based upon personal experience and observation that in the last 10 years or so more Indonesians want their children to have a more international education, which I suppose closely relates to the role of English in Indonesia as the language of aspiration.

[16] The establishment of a separate Islamic university was partly triggered by the segregation of nationalist and religious leaders at that time.

[17] Statistically, based on data in 2016, Indonesian HE under MoEC during 2011-2015 has produced 3,137,217 graduates. With the predicting increase of 10% a year, the total number of graduates during 2011-2018 should have doubled the 2016 data, that is, around 6 million graduates.

The overall HE landscape, by way of contrast to Australia, is quite complex, undoubtedly related to the large population in Indonesian and a neoliberal post-independence that has encouraged multiple actors in this field. For example, the MoEC is the chief ministry to regulate HE with 3,276 institutions (122 public, 3,154 private), while MoRA supervises only 701 Islamic HE institutions (58 public, 643 private; with an addition of 8 Christian, 4 Hindu and 2 Buddhist), according to 2017 data (cf Ditjen Pendis Kemenag RI 2017; Kemenristekdikti 2017). The difference is understandable because MoRA only supervises religion-related institutions – mostly Islamic institutions – while MoEC supervises non-religion-affiliated organisations. With this in mind, the field of HE in Indonesia, since its inception, has been framed by a distinct hierarchy.

However, while this hierarchy exists, all institutions under MoEC and MoRA are subject to parallel regulations in each ministry. Adding some bureaucratic complexity, non-religious departments such as psychology, sociology, English studies (literature, education, linguistics) and so forth in MoRA universities are double-supervised by MoEC as well as MoRA in terms of technical and administrative affairs (Indra 2016; Lukens-Bull 2016; Priandono et al. 2016; Wicaksono & Friawan 2011). This double supervision can lead to some complications in administration, such as various standards of accreditation or different nomenclatures used by MoRA and MoEC. In terms of English studies those institutions under MoRA are considerably disadvantaged because of the complications around regulation. Drawing on Bourdieu, this potentially results in the institutional and individual *dispositions* becoming influenced – in this case disadvantaged – by the institutional design (cf Grenfell 2010).

Furthermore, HE institutions under MoRA (read: Islamic institutions) are also different from those under MoEC in terms of their students (and academics). Most students of MoRA HE are graduates of *madrasah* (Islamic high schools) and *pesantren* (Islamic dormitory schools) in the public and private sectors (Indra 2016; Lukens-Bull 2016). As products of a second-class education system, these groups of students are generally behind those in non-Islamic schools in terms of academic performance. Additionally, students of Islamic schools (and universities) mostly come from a low socio-economic status (SES) background (Indra 2016; Zuhdi 2006), and less capital when entering education. In other words, education means so much to them as a way of accruing legitimised *cultural and social capital* (Bourdieu 2004; Bourdieu & Wacquant 2013).

Thus understood, with such lower *symbolic capital* and habitus structured in the society of the institutions (including educational institutions), these *madrasah* students

tend to pursue their HE in the universities with parallel sociological image or status, specifically Islamic HE. Some high achievers from *madrasah* may choose to continue their studies in MoEC universities with higher perceived symbolic capital (Lukens-Bull 2016; Wajdi 2016). This occurs because *madrasah* are not so marginalised as before, and some are even regarded as "preferred schools" for the Indonesian middle-class Muslim community (OECD & Asian Development Bank 2015, p. 71). A quite similar case may apply to the academics, in that Islamic HE academics tend to be perceived as second-class (or third-class) people with lower SES background in Indonesia. Thus said, it is a common perception among Indonesians that Islamic HE under MoRA is second class, as largely mirrored in the primary and secondary schooling sectors, with some few notable exceptions of course. To some, this low public perception has encouraged Islamic HE to intensify (and maximise) their capacity-building projects to catch up with modernity (Wajdi 2016; Zuhdi 2006).

In addition to those divisions of universities under MoRA or MoEC, Indonesian HE can be classified as belonging to either state/government/public or private organisations. This classification applies to all HE either under MoRA or MoEC. Differences in a number of aspects can indirectly result from this classification. Even though quality assurance is a prerequisite for all institutions required by Indonesian government through MoRA and MoEC for instance, state HE institutions are generally more "quality-standardized" than the private counterparts as they tend to be struggling for survival instead of maintaining excellence (Zuhdi 2006, p. 419). Each of the two (public and private institutions) preserves distinctive *symbolic capital* giving them distinctive *symbolic power* in the field of Indonesian HE (Bourdieu 2004; Grenfell 2010; Schatzki 2018; Wacquant 2018). Additionally, from my own experience as a head of department, the grade point average (GPA) aggregate of the students is included in Indonesian accreditation. In other words, mainly for Indonesian academics, the institutionalised cultural (assessment) capital of the students can affect institutional accreditation significantly.

Examining how such disparities in Indonesian HE in terms of social classes, habitus and symbolic capital contribute to academics' practices of assessment in their own contexts of MoEC and MoRA HE institutions thus becomes an objective of the current study.

1.3 Research questions

Based on the background outlined in Section 1.1 and the fields of HE in the two countries in Section 1.2, this study therefore aims to answer the following overarching question:

> *How does an academic's habitus and (perception of) capital influence his/her practices in assessing English studies in Indonesian and Australian HE?*

This overarching question is broken down into sub-questions making it possible from an analytic and theoretical perspective to focus upon capital, assessment and their inter-relationship:

1. How does the habitus of an academic and his/her perception of capital as well as institutional expectations influence practices of assessment of English studies in Indonesian and Australian HE?
2. How are the concepts of assessment of/for/as learning reflected in Indonesian and Australian academics' practices of assessment?
3. How are assessment capital and assessment habitus negotiated in Indonesian and Australian academics' practices of assessment?

1.4 Thesis structure

In order that the analysis of the academics' practices of assessment of English in Indonesian and Australian HE flows plausibly, this research report is organised in 8 separate but interconnected chapters. It starts with an introduction in Chapter 1, covering the background and purpose of study, the fields of HE in Indonesia and Australia as the social ecosystem of the academics, the research questions, and thesis structure.

Chapter 2 reviews previous studies of the assessment of English in HE. The chapter is broadly divided into two parts: first, research projects that have been conducted on the issue, and secondly, diverse theoretical perspectives on assessment in general and in HE. Those previous research projects are grouped into different thematic focuses, specifically teaching and assessment of English, HE assessment, and HE assessment of English, which is subsequently completed with a summary of research gaps. The chapter then continues with a section on concepts about teaching and assessment in HE, covering theoretical perspectives on HE and high-stakes assessment. The concepts of assessment of/for/as

learning (or formative and summative assessment) are analytically explored in the next section, then an examination of academics' roles and responsibilities successively. The next two sections are dedicated to analysing the close relationship between assessment and tacit knowledge, and the pivotal roles of noticing and language games in assessment. The chapter ends with a section on how assessment of English is intertwined with such diverse factors.

Chapter 3 discusses the epistemology and theoretical framework for this comparison of assessment in HE. It covers the epistemological bases of the study, constructivism which is indivisible from subjectivism and objectivism, as well as the debate about interpretivism and/or interactionism. The theoretical framework predominantly discusses Bourdieu's philosophy of social life, which includes his concepts of habitus, field and capital. However, the chapter starts with Bourdieu's framework of social analysis. Institutional habitus, a new concept derived from Bourdieu, is also reviewed after the section on habitus, capital and field. The chapter concludes with the introduction of assessment capital and assessment habitus, as a theoretical exercise of this study.[18]

Chapter 4 elaborates the methodology and methods of study. It discusses qualitative research, comparative study and case study inquiry. The methods of this study are presented, including data collection through documents and policies as well as semi-structured interviews, followed by a discussion of reflexivity, research design, data analysis, triangulation and ethical considerations.

In Chapter 5, the first major findings about Indonesian academics' assessment of English are presented and rigorously analysed. It begins with an explorative analysis of government policies about the English language and its study as a contributing factor influencing the habitus and capital that informs the academics' assessment practices. The chapter then continues with various categories of English studies, with their own symbolic capital development, which is then followed by analysis of institutional stratification in Indonesian HE. Discussions on the dialectical relations between academics' autonomy and institutional habitus are presented afterwards, and then a comparison of English studies at an established and a less established university. The chapter concludes with analytical discussions of the academics' practices of assessment under Bourdieu's lenses, and academics' perspectives on and applications of assessment of/for/as learning.

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[18] This theoretical proposition on assessment capital and assessment habitus is to a great extent inspired by my intensive discussions with my principal supervisor Stephen Dobson on Sadler's philosophical contributions to assessment studies.

Chapter 6 presents the equivalent analytical examination of Australian academics' assessment of English. The chapter starts with an analytical exploration of government policies about the English language and its study across the country. It continues with an exploration of different symbolic capital being developed within various kinds of English studies in Australia, followed by an analysis of institutional stratification in Australian HE. Examination of the (assessment) institutional habitus of an established and a less established institution is presented afterwards, followed by analysis of the assessment practices of the academics. The chapter concludes with the academics' perspectives on and application of assessment of/for/as learning.

Chapter 7 presents a comparative analysis of the academics' assessment practices framed by Bourdieu's sociology, assessing the influence of country, institutional reputation and academic aspiration. The chapter considers how the symbolic capital of English is developed (differently) in Indonesian and Australian HE. How assessment habitus and tacit knowledge are interplayed in the academics' assessment practices is presented afterwards. The third section offers a theoretical exercise on the concept of assessment capital at stake in HE assessment. The chapter concludes with the argument that the language game of noticing is critical in the academic assessment of English.

Chapter 8 presents conclusions, including a concise discussion of the sub-questions in relation to the overarching question. The following section on future challenges and opportunities attempts to raise some issues in relation to HE, with an emphasis on the key contributions of assessment *as* learning (AaL) alongside assessment *for* learning – widely known as formative assessment – to nurture the *assessment capital* of both academics – or teachers in the wider context – and students as independent learners.

Chapter 2: Literature on the assessment of English studies in higher education

Abstract:
Introducing the theoretical framework of the study, this chapter synthesises the literature on the assessment of English in higher education. Assessment of English is inseparable from its teaching, which are contextually bound to the role of English as a first or second, additional or foreign language. Bourdieu's sociological approach has been utilised to study student identities pertaining to assessment but there is little study on teacher or academic identity regarding their assessment, which affirms the urgency of this study. A framework is proposed to explore the assessment of English in higher education incorporating multiple theories about adult education, the high-stakes nature of higher education assessment, assessment of/for/as learning, the pivotal role of tacit assessment and the language game of noticing.

The overall argument of this chapter is built upon a view that practices of assessment – specifically those in English studies – are greatly informed by academics' beliefs around educational assessment as well as the institution's expectations. Key arguments on how adult university students best learn, how assessment can truly help students develop self-evaluative skills, and the pivotal role academics play in the students' learning journey through assessment are central in fuelling academics' logics of their assessment practices. Thus said, the chapter will be approached by dividing it into two significant domains of knowledge, namely earlier *research studies* and *common theoretical perspectives* concerning the assessment of English in HE. The diverse research studies surveyed (Section 2.1) are analysed thematically: teaching and assessment of English; HE assessment in general; and HE assessment of English, which includes teacher identity and assessment. After this knowledge is synthesised, this first section concludes with a summary of the research gaps around the assessment of English in HE.

The second domain of knowledge explores contemporary theoretical perspectives about the assessment of English in HE (Section 2.2 onwards). Nevertheless, to set the context it starts with concepts about teaching and assessment in HE, covering issues on adult education and the high-stakes nature of HE assessment. This is followed by a recapitulation of debates about assessment *of/for/as* learning; the role of academics' identity and values in their assessment; the role of academics in students' learning;

assessment and the tacit; the concept of noticing; and, finally, language games in assessment. At the end, a framework that combines these theoretical perspectives is proposed as a foundation of the analysis of the assessment of English in HE.

2.1 Research on assessment of English studies in higher education

In understanding how the assessment of English studies in HE has been researched, I start by examining studies about the teaching and assessment of English in various contexts (EFL, ESL, EAL) and levels of education. This research provides an ample understanding of the parallel nature of English/language teaching and assessment across different circumstances. Then, research about how assessment has been practised in HE is mapped out to postulate a wider umbrella of this project, before research on the more exclusive area of HE assessment of English studies is examined. The purpose in portraying this wide spectrum of studies is to illustrate that assessing English is not as straightforward as people may think. Lastly, Section 2.1 (and its subsections) is not intended to be an exhaustive review, but instead to highlight some recent research developments in order to provide context.

Teaching and assessment of English in various contexts

This section starts with an examination of research on the *role of assessment in teaching and learning* in general as a wider background to analysing the teaching and assessment of English. Currently, there is consensus in the scholarly community that assessment is a pivotal element in both teaching and learning. In other words, the field of assessment studies has witnessed a shift in focus, from the old view that assessment is just an end part of teaching – but not learning – towards the integration of assessment, teaching and learning (Black 2015; Black & Wiliam 1998; Dolin 2017; Flores et al. 2015; Nitko & Brookhart 2007).

Aligning teaching with learning outcomes or curriculum has been considered ‘best practice’ in contemporary times (Harlen 2007). However, another view is that *teaching* and *learning* have to be *accorded equal value with assessment* (Andrade & Heritage 2017; Biggs & Tang 2011). In an attempt to link the three (teaching, learning and assessment), scholars suggest the equal utilisation of summative and formative assessment, for instance (Black & Wiliam 2009; Brookhart 2013; Sadler 1989). Various studies have thus supported an *emphasis* on complementary function of *summative* and *formative* assessment (Black & Wiliam 2009; Sadler 1989; Torrance & Pryor 1998; Wiliam 2010). *Feedback* has

become an important component of modern-day assessment. In the contemporary digital world of education, for instance, *online* formative assessment can give *instant and direct* feedback to students. The ultimate objective of this instant feedback is to "align assessment with teaching and learning and inevitably change how learning and assessment occur" (Gikandi, Morrow & Davis 2011, p. 2345).

Studies about teaching and *assessment of English* have been largely focused on challenging *theories and policies* (Hodgson & Greenwell 2017; Locke 2018; Marshall & Gibbons 2018), as well as proposing *empirical, practical strategies* in different contexts (Duc 2016; Ghufron & Rosyida 2018; Sánchez, Diego & Fernández-Sánchez 2017; Lim 2017). Within such studies we see examples of the empirical informing theory and vice versa where all seek to make a contribution to assessment policy and practice. Above all, the field of assessment of English also depends largely on the status of English as the first language or mother tongue (L1) or a second or additional language (L2) or a foreign or other language (L3) which, of course, has significant implications for how it is studied.

In the study of theories and policies concerning assessment, there has been attention to how assessment practices influence learning and vice versa. For example, Ricky Lam (2018) found that assessment of *students' writing* using a *portfolio* technique enhances the teaching and learning of English as a second language. Lam's research highlights that portfolio writing assessment is a good example of the emerging concept of *assessment as learning* (AaL) in application. Assessment as learning was first discussed by Ruth Dann (2002) and supported by Lorna Earl (2003) to promote students' capacity to learn from assessment itself. Furthering the study of such practices, Marshall and Gibbons (2018) completed a comparative study of English assessment policy in England and Canada where their findings suggest that teachers in England tend to be concerned *more about exams, results and tables* while teachers in Canada are *more autonomous* in their assessment. Their research confirms that assessment practices are country specific and that classroom assessment practices vary according to the way 'high-stakes' summative assessment is viewed and undertaken in each country.

The relationship between curriculum and assessment remains a significant aspect of studies of assessment. Terry Locke, examining the curriculum policy of English in New Zealand, found that "subjects like English … become constructed by the summative assessment regime that prevails – the assessment tail really does wag the programme dog" (Locke 2018, p. 13). He concludes that pressures surrounding 'teaching to the test' are caused by a curriculum which focuses on outcomes rather than theory-based content.

Meanwhile, Lionel Warner (2009) studied how the wording of questions in English literature tests influences students' answers. He recommends that test questions should be framed to fit the 'mark scheme' in order to make it more valid and transparent. Another research by Hodgson and Greenwell (2017) focused on English literature assessment policy in the UK. They found that the current policy tends to be results-oriented instead of valuing students' creativity and 'personal response'. The authors propose greater connections between external and internal value of assessment of English literature in the UK in policy and practice. Their study confirms that "pressure on students and teachers to produce 'results' ensures that the extrinsic value of a grade or mark *matters more* than the intrinsic value of authentic student creation and interpretation" (p. 110, emphasis added).

Research on practical strategies of English teaching and assessment has also been conducted in different contexts (Duc 2016; Ghufron & Rosyida 2018; Sánchez, Diego & Fernández-Sánchez 2017; Lim 2017). For example, a study was conducted in Indonesia to examine the use of the software *Grammarly* in assessing students' English writing (Ghufron & Rosyida 2018).[19] Using a quantitative approach with a quasi-experimental design and studying 40 university students of English education at a private university, their study suggests that corrective feedback offered by the software is helpful for Indonesian students' writing in terms of improving their vocabulary, grammar, spelling and punctuation. Another research study conducted in Spain focused on quizzes to assess and enhance learning of English in a similar EFL context (Sánchez, Diego & Fernández-Sánchez 2017). The authors conclude that quizzes (focusing on modal expressions and verbs) are beneficial for students to review, focus and regulate their own learning; as well as for teachers to generate efficient and quick corrections.

Highlighting another dimension of assessing English, research has also sought to address the digital milieu. In Vietnam, for instance, a study examined the possibility of using computers to assess learners' writing abilities. Duc (2016) suggested that a score could be assigned by a computer to assess students' writing performance. With adjustments, he says, the model could assess English proficiency more broadly. In the US, multiple case studies were done to "investigate how the Common Core State Standards (CCSS) for writing and teacher evaluation system based in part on CCSS assessments might be influencing writing instruction in elementary schools" (Wilcox, Jeffery & Gardner-Bixler 2016, p. 903). They found that the schools achieving predicted outcomes

[19] English in Indonesia is regarded as a foreign language. So, the context was EFL teaching and learning.

whose teachers tend to 'teach to the test' need more collaboration and professional development in implementing CCSS for writing, focusing on students' independent writing instead of the scaffolding scheme prepared by teachers.

Other studies have explored the link between assessment and the conceptualisation of English literature in a country. Lim (2017) compared assessment instruments (tests) of English literature in Malaysia in 1968 and 2013 and found there was a shift in the assessment from assessing the reader's response to a text-centred (content) assessment. Lim highlights that recent Malaysian English literature tests have put more emphasis on assessing students' textual knowledge instead of their "personal meaning" and interpretation of the text. Similarly, in the UK, Vowles (2012) found that controlled assessment for assessing English literature (to replace coursework) "has not yet proved itself a valid, reliable and apposite replacement for coursework". This means that English literature is such a complex topic that a simple controlled assessment is not enough, thus requiring more methods such as coursework. An older study by Warner (2009) compared two types of assessment from two separate decades and found that more recent tests tend to be less valid and less reliable than the previous one as a good English literature assessment. These studies indicate that the assessment of English literature is quite challenging and has shifted over time, depending on various influences. In summary, research has explored how teaching is strongly determined by assessment policies, how assessment strategies can promote students' learning, to technical ways of how to teach and assess English as L1, L2 or L3. In what follows, research on the role of assessment in HE is examined further.

The role of assessment in higher education

This section reviews literature and research on HE assessment in all subjects with the purpose of outlining practices in HE assessment which diverge from assessment in primary or secondary education. Quite a large number of studies advocate better applications of assessment *for* learning (AfL) or *formative* assessment in HE, which include the pivotal roles of *feedback* and *feed-forward* (Carless et al. 2017; Gikandi, Morrow & Davis 2011; Jackel et al. 2017; Klenowski, Askew & Carnell 2006; Raymond 2014). These studies call attention to the consolidation of AfL in HE assessment policies and practices, quality assurance through collaborated standards, leadership and development of assessment literacy, promoting peer- and self-assessment, and the use of technology in assessment.

Other studies have examined perceptions from students, faculty, assessment leaders and administrators about assessment practices in HE around the globe (Alquraan 2007; Emil 2011; Flores et al. 2015; Lee 2008; Pagano 2007). These research studies have commonly confirmed the sceptical views from faculty members (academics), leaders and administrators about standardised testing and assessment practices in general around summative, high-stakes assessment or examinations. Also consistent within these studies is the value students place on feedback from educators in HE. Wass et al. (2018), Day et al. (2018) and Patton (2012) document students' negative feelings of "annoyance and frustration" or feeling "patronised" or "weird" in their experiences of being assessed in universities. Quite similarly, Norton (2007, p. 92) note that in the UK National Survey of Student Satisfaction academics' assessment and feedback are perceived poorly by students "in most disciplines with one or two notable exceptions". Boud and Falchikov (2007b) also recorded that HE students are anxious about assessment, especially in terms of certification.

In considering the identities and assessment practices of educators in HE, according to Emil (2011), faculty engagement with assessment is a determining factor in both institutional development and effective student learning. When leaders provide a clear vision, professional expectations and resources, according to him, faculty members can become highly engaged in assessment activities for personal-professional development, student learning and institutional improvement. Based on Emil's research, fostering a 'culture of assessment' is integral to teaching and learning. Furthering this work, Sadler and Reimann (2018) found that there is a significant correlation between UK academics' understanding about assessment and their assessment practices (of both AoL and AfL).[20] In their research, it was clear that the relationship between academics' thinking and practice is bi-directional: in some cases, a change in thinking stimulated a change in practice, whilst in other cases, a change in practice stimulated a change in thinking.

Studies on the policy, theoretical and philosophical influences on assessment in HE have also been conducted by various experts and interested parties. McArthur (2018), for instance, examines the relationship between assessment and social justice. She suggests that *justice* needs to be upheld with rigour in assessment within the HE sector, and that assessments need to be designed to promote greater social justice. Her proposal is inspired by AfL as a powerful driver of how and what students learn, and thus its potential to drive

[20] As widely used, AoL is an abbreviation for assessment *of learning*, while AfL denotes assessment *for learning*.

a commitment for greater social justice within and through HE. McArthur's study corresponds to Coate's (2009) study on the graduate-level class she taught in England. She observed that her international students were neglected or treated as outsiders, thus being subordinated or disadvantaged, by the local students in group discussion. She concluded that there was power relation within a class of students which should be taken into consideration by academics when assessing students' work. In other words, assessment – including feedback provision – needs to incorporate aspects beyond the content of the study. Dobson (2018) supports the use of a viva or oral defence as the (final) assessment in HE as it promotes equal power between the assessor and the assessed. Holistically reflecting upon the tradition of the viva, its socio-philosophical considerations, its validity and its use in HE around the world, he concludes that "the epoch of the viva still holds currency as an ontological space of Being, where candidates and examiners alike can meet face-to-face and create something of value" (p. 177).

One of the final dimensions to be explored regarding assessment in HE is accountability. Yorke and Vidovich (2016) examine accountability and quality policies relating to learning standards and their implications for assessment in HE focusing on Australian data and OECD reports on the UK and US. They concluded that narrow quantitative indicators to measure, compare and improve quality only result in weakening quality itself. However, quantitative measures on quality (learning) standards are unavoidable because of the impact of global pressures as well as the expansion of HE may degrade quality. A similar study was done by Sadler (2012), suggesting that academic achievement standards in HE need to be ensured and re-assured. He offers ways to assure quality by encouraging academics, for example, to maintain "grade integrity, which is focused on the trustworthiness of course grades recorded on student academic transcripts" (p. 201). The implication is that methods of maintaining learning standards, accountability and quality of assessment in HE are institutionally mediated by policies as well as the individual practices of teachers.

Other studies have scrutinised assessment reforms to assess and improve higher order thinking – or to assess critical thinking (Liu et al. 2016) – and the practical capabilities of students in HE (Brookhart 2010; Sadler 2016) mainly through assessing students' written communication (Sparks et al. 2014). Likewise, Bold and Hutton (2007) did an action-based research project to support students' critical reflection through "self-managed practice-based module assessment" by asking the students to do reflective writing in their portfolio – what they call reflective practice. Meanwhile, Kinash, McGillivray and

Crane (2018) studied the link between quality student assessment and graduate employability in Australian universities. Based on their research, they recommended an increased focus by academics and educators in general on "the design of assessment as well as guided reflection and explicit articulation on the links between assessment, graduate employability and career identity" (p. 311).

In summary, research on HE assessment, which has undergone significant change in recent years, has many dimensions with a continual focus on improvement of practice. It is clear that policies and institutional practices have a huge influence on whether assessment improves teaching and learning. Also, how assessment is approached varies dramatically from country to country. The next section is dedicated to mapping out the literature and research on the assessment of English in HE in particular, which is closely related to my study.

The assessment of English studies in higher education

There exists a longstanding international research agenda around the *assessment of English in HE* which is diverse and multifaceted. Within this in mind, I focus on three main domains of knowledge which pertain to my research: how assessment of English informs the wider educational system in significant ways; how assessment can assist students' (self) learning or development; and practical techniques to assess English in HE. I highlight each domain briefly below with an emphasis on the main trends and key influential pieces of scholarship.

First, research has confirmed that assessment of English in HE is influential in directing the wider educational system and vice versa. For example, Breland, Bridgeman and Fowles (1999) found that writing assessment formats/schemes for university admission strongly affected the teaching and learning of teachers and students at the secondary level. Specifically, through analysing different US standardised tests which determine college admission – focusing on the writing section – they found that those tests are biased (favour some groups over others) and influence curriculum (thus the educational system) because the assessment encourages teachers to 'teach to the test' (p. 10). Meanwhile, in studying the English proficiency assessment of HE graduates in Hong Kong, Qian (2007) suggested that the government choice of assessment system is greatly influential in determining the quality of teaching and learning English in universities. In the end, according to Qian, the assessment system greatly affects the overall English proficiency of university graduates in employment and business, and thus the Hong Kong

economy in general. Qian's study is recapitulated in a study by Campoy-Cubillo (2015) in Spain who substantiates that assessment can inform how students learn after graduation. By researching models of dictionary skills proficiency assessment, she called for such skills to be addressed sufficiently in language learning. These studies substantiate how assessment of English in HE dialectically informs the educational system, university teaching and pre/post-university learning.

Research on HE assessment of English also reveals that assessment can play a role in assisting students' self-learning and development. One study in Indonesia by Manuputty (2000) concluded that assessing students' writing tasks, accompanied by written reflections on learning, increased students' ability to self-assess their learning problems and needs. In other words, Manuputty's study illustrated the way that self-reflection and assessment techniques help students' writing performance as well as their self-assessment of learning goals. Similarly, in Spain, Sánchez, Diego and Fernández-Sánchez (2017) have completed an experimental study of two groups of "English studies" degree program students to determine the effectiveness of quizzes – as a repeated, short, periodic form of assessment – in learning grammatical aspects of EFL, specifically modal expressions and verbs. Sánchez, Diego and Fernández-Sánchez confirm "the effectiveness of repeated testing with quizzes" (including but not limited to grammatical aspects of English) in assisting students to learn the material. Thus understood, according to this study, quizzes are not a high-stakes form of assessment but instead are "a quick and an effective tool for long-term learning" (p. 333). Furthermore, a study by Ma (2013) also suggests the backwash effect of assessment, that is the effect of assessment to influence teaching and learning. She found that an automated EFL essay assessment system used in China contributes greatly to improving graduate students' writing, and enhancing their motivation and autonomy in learning English.

Lastly, research studies have also focused on the technical aspects of assessing English in HE (Asmin 2016; Duc 2016; Ghufron & Rosyida 2018; Jones et al. 1999). For example, research by Asmin (2016) suggests that different models of assessment or testing yield different reactions and results from students. In assessing an *English and media* course by asking the students to choose a text to present, she found that students were more enthusiastic and earned higher grades than in a formal test. A classic study by Street (1999) in the UK examined how feedback given by academics on students' writing assignments (including academic writing) is understood by the students. They found that feedback using such vocabulary as "explain more, elaborate, etc." are difficult to understand for

non-native or international university students (p. 194). This may be because writing skills reflect students' cultural perspectives: in this case, students' home cultural perspectives may be different from the British culture of writing, for instance.

In summary, research on HE assessment of English has observed diverse applications of assessment for learning (formative assessment) in universities, especially in writing skills, using computer-assisted devices, portfolios, reflective writing, quizzes and vocabulary. It has also focused on how assessment of English informs the wider educational system and vice versa and how assessment can assist students' (self) learning during university study and post-graduation.

Summary of research gaps

The literature and research studies analysed in the above sections have produced a mixture of insights that are relevant to my study. Such investigations highlight some consistencies in the research focus on HE assessment of English studies. Research on the teaching and assessment of English has been conducted in various contexts, from how teaching is strongly determined by assessment policies, how assessment strategies can promote students' learning, to technical ways to teach and assess English in different contexts.

Research on HE assessment (including assessment of English studies) has generally observed supports for and diverse applications of assessment for learning (formative assessment) in universities – including assessing writing skills by computer-assisted devices, portfolios, reflective writing, quizzes and vocabulary. Policies are highly influential, structuring efforts to achieve the ideals of assessment for improving teaching and learning. Research also shows how academics' understanding significantly influences their assessment practices, especially regarding AoL and AfL.

This mapping of the current state of research demonstrates where scholars have sought to focus their attention and opens up some areas that are yet under-examined such as non-European and North American contexts. My research study approaches academics' assessment practices using Bourdieu's sociological tools, involving the interplay of the professional (pedagogical, academic) habitus of the academics – or educators in general – and the institutional habitus of the university, which inform the assessment practices of Indonesian and Australian academics in the area of English studies. Similar to Çelik (2017), the international comparative design of my study is intended to enable rich analyses of the inter-relationship between the two types of habitus within the distinctive but overlapping fields of each institution. We now move to the analytical elaborations of

the second domain of knowledge of this chapter, namely the critical explorations of contemporary theoretical perspectives about teaching and assessment in HE, which include assessment of English.

2.2 Teaching and assessment in higher education

Studies on teaching and assessment in HE are inseparable from the core philosophical foundation of HE or adult education. The primary rationale of such an association is that students in HE are technically considered adults and, as initially suggested by Malcolm Knowles, that "adults and children learn differently" (Knowles, Holton & Swanson 2015, p. 3). With the expectation of delivering teaching to adults, this brings forth another dimension of assessment in HE which is the very high-stakes nature of this practice which has significant implications in the field of HE. These two facets – adult education and high-stakes assessment – will be analysed in the following subsections.

Adult education and implications for teaching and assessment

Adult education is essentially associated with *andragogy*, a method or practice of teaching adult learners based on certain pedagogical considerations. Two other terminologies are increasingly encouraged in adult learning and HE, namely *heutagogy*, self-determined learning, and *metagogy*, teaching and learning from human potential (Green & Schlairet 2017; Halupa 2015; Peterson & Ray 2013; Snowden & Halsall 2016). Nevertheless, the principles of *pedagogy* are still applicable in HE. In what follows the four educational philosophies are analytically explored with an emphasis on andragogy and heutagogy. These education philosophies, which are foundational to HE, contribute significantly to how the participants in my study perceived their students and how they assessed their academic attainment.

It is widely accepted that the principal philosophy of education is *pedagogy*, which in my view still holds its ground in the field of HE largely to refer to the generic teaching philosophy, that is, the way how "knowledge is taught" (Rata 2016, p. 168). This view understands pedagogy quite apart from its conventional label as "the art and science of teaching children" (Knowles, Holton & Swanson 2015, p. 19) or as a "traditional instructional approach based on teacher-directed learning theory" (Noor, Harun & Aris 2012, p. 674). It is my belief that the key aspect of pedagogy in HE is its focus on the

knowledge that students need to acquire and *how to achieve* that purpose.[21] Quite reasonably, in pedagogy, teachers or academics lead the students' learning (Muduli, Kaura & Quazi 2018).

Pedagogy in HE has also witnessed the dynamics of new "emerging pedagogies" (Halupa 2015, p. 148), such as *critical pedagogy* (Lawrence 2015), *Pedagogy 2.0* (McLoughlin & Lee 2008) or *Education 2.0*, and later *Education 3.0* – which is self-determined learning or heutagogy (Gerstein 2014), and will be discussed later in this section. Critical pedagogy aspires "to empower individuals [learners] to begin to question not only the type of knowledge presented to them but the meaning of this knowledge" (Lawrence 2015, p. 252). Education 2.0 suggests more interaction between the teacher and student; student to student; and student to content, while experts are also required in the learning process. In other words, new pedagogy encourages communication, contribution and collaboration among those involved in education (Gerstein 2014), which are even more relevant during (or after) the COVID-19 pandemic with the intensification of what Siemens (2007) terms *connectivism*.

Andragogy is conceptually understood as "leading adults" (Loeng 2018, p. 2) or "the education of adults" (Knowles, Holton & Swanson 2015, p. 50) or "the teaching of adults" (Halupa 2015, p. 158) or "teaching adult learning" (Gerstein 2014, p. 88). Andragogy is thus perceived to be more appropriate for the level of maturity of university students. Under this educational philosophy, which assumes learner independency, teaching is centred in the students, "who take the initiative in, control of, and responsibility for achieving their learning goals" (Muduli, Kaura & Quazi 2018, p. 169). Thus said, andragogy delegates the responsibility for learning to the students, with some degree of assistance from academics as facilitators or guides, emphasising problem solving rather than merely the content. In other words, andragogy is framed as a philosophy of helping adults learn (Peterson & Ray 2013), by encouraging and facilitating them to take control of their own learning. Andragogy nicely suits HE because university students are regarded as personally prepared and ready for learning independently and meaningfully.[22]

The key effort of andragogy is to encourage "partial self-direction" or "partially self-directed learning" of HE learners, which significantly involves "transactions" between the

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[21] Conceptually, pedagogy is based on "Big 3" educational theories: cognitivism (learning depends on the individual brain), behaviourism (learning needs stimulus, rewards, punishment), constructionism (learning is the active construction of new knowledge based on personal past experience) (Halupa 2015; Knowles, Holton & Swanson 2015).

[22] See Table 1 in Appendix 3 summarising the characteristics of andragogy compared to pedagogy.

instructor and learners, within the learners themselves, and among the learners (Cunningham & Wandei 2019; Halupa 2015; Knowles, Holton & Swanson 2015; Loeng 2018; Muduli, Kaura & Quazi 2018; Snowden & Halsall 2016). The basic tenet of andragogy is designing teaching and assessment to help adults learn for and by themselves. Most significantly, andragogy is better understood as "a concept or a system of assumptions" (Knowles, Holton & Swanson 2015, p. 50) rather than "a true epistemology or a theory" (Halupa 2015, p. 150). While pedagogy is a theory that excludes the andragogical assumptions, andragogy is a system of assumptions that still includes pedagogy. This argument has potentially led to the interchangeable use of pedagogy and andragogy in HE, which is plausibly acceptable.[23]

University students are adults and ready to take control of their own learning, with a little assistance from academics or lecturers as facilitators or collaborators in their learning journey. Thus said, feedback needs to be provided concisely and directed towards developing students' autonomy for assessment. Peer assessment and peer feedback should be encouraged and practised more frequently in the classroom in order to improve students' autonomy and confidence in doing self-assessment at the end of the day. Assistance from academics is still required in this philosophy but is very limited. When this tradition of peer assessment and peer feedback has been gradually inculcated and internalised into students' assessment identity, they are closer to the self-determined way of learning advocated by heutagogy.

With its emphasis on the complete "self-determinedness" of learning, heutagogy is perceived to be an extension of andragogy (Blaschke 2012; Gerstein 2014; Green & Schlairet 2017; Halupa 2015; Hase & Kenyon 2000, 2013).[24] This has significant implications for teaching, learning and assessment practices in HE. Initially introduced and conceptualised by Hase and Kenyon (2000, p. 2, 2013) as "the study of self-determined learning", heutagogy empowers the learners themselves to set up the learning process and product, including assessment. In other words, while in andragogy academics design teaching and assessment based on the learners' needs, the students in heutagogy are fully autonomous and hence self-determine their own learning and assessment (Gerstein 2014). In this way, heutagogy accentuates the development of learners' capacity and capabilities beyond andragogy's competencies (Gerstein 2014; Hase & Kenyon 2000, 2013). However,

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[23] This inclusion of pedagogy in andragogy, in addition to the greater popularity of pedagogy, may have influenced the use of the terms *critical pedagogy, pedagogical habitus* and *pedagogical challenges* in HE contexts.

[24] See Table 2 in Appendix 3 showing the continuum of andragogy and heutagogy.

heutagogy is not a replacement for other learning theories, but it offers an alternative approach to learning. Blaschke (2012) claims that heutagogy is on a *continuum* with andragogy (and also pedagogy in general). Heutagogy emphasises the full autonomy of learners.

In essence, heutagogy is built upon "the concepts of double-loop learning" (Argyris & Schon 1974 cited in Halupa 2015, p. 152), suggesting that all learners possess "mental maps and governing variables". Another key notion of heutagogy is "self-reflection" (Blaschke 2012, p. 59). In double-loop learning, learners perform self-reflection to find "the governing variables" or "the root cause of a problem" holistically to potentially influence their own "beliefs and actions" (Blaschke 2012; Halupa 2015). Double-loop learning occurs when learners "question and test one's personal values and assumptions as being central to enhancing learning how to learn" (Blaschke 2012, p. 59). With this in mind, learners experience and engage in self-determined and self-driven learning "where they are not only deciding the direction of their learning journey but they can also produce content that adds value and worth to the related content area or field of study" (Gerstein 2014, p. 93). In other words, the experience of students and academics in HE is structured around practising reflexivity (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992) in order to develop their personal qualities to question and enhance their values, beliefs or identities.

Assessment under the perspective of heutagogy is totally in the hands of the students and privileges notions of self-assessment. Since students are self-determined in their learning, assessment is necessarily a compulsory skill for them in progressing towards the objectives of their learning. The role of academics is accompanying the students as a mentor or a partner in discussion during the students' learning journey.

The last term is *metagogy*, introduced by Lavoie in 2003 and conceptually popularised by Stroschen in 2011. It refers to "a variety of *gogies* (pedagogy, andragogy, critical pedagogy, etc.)" (Peterson & Ray 2013, p. 83). In other words, metagogy is a collective term for various learning theories instead of an exclusive use of a single *gogy*. Simply put, metagogy involves combining andragogy, heutagogy and conventional pedagogy, providing that they are appropriate to the context, learner needs or stated goals.

Briefly, the three *gogies* (*pedagogy, andragogy, heutagogy*) are used in a conventional sense when talking about learning theories or assumptions, while metagogy is a "neologism", a newly coined word or phrase (Peterson & Ray 2013). The key is that the three common gogies are better regarded as a continuum instead of in opposition (Halupa 2015; Hase & Kenyon 2013). The application of each of them is heavily dependent upon

the context of the teacher/academic, students/learners, level of (complexity of) education, and other institutional contexts. In the context of HE, the institutional preference is arguably to encourage a combination of all *gogies* with an emphasis on andragogy and heutagogy, given that the learners are technically adults and may bring with them a wider variety of skills and aptitudes into the HE context.

High-stakes assessment in higher education

This section discusses the high-stakes nature of assessment in HE. It is presented to examine how this aspect of HE assessment affects students' independent (and lifelong) learning and their future life, as well as how it can influence how academics and institutions assess the students. Under a Bourdieusian approach to knowledge, this section critically considers how the high-stakes, high-impact feature of assessment – as part of the field of HE – can inform and influence not only the individual (professional) habitus of academics but also the institutional habitus of each university.

Within the field of HE, supports and encouragements for assessment for learning – or formative assessment – in HE have been exercised and developed in a diverse number of policies and practices (Brown, Bull & Pendlebury 1997; Brown & Glasner 1999; Carless et al. 2016; Jackel et al. 2017; Joughin 2009; Kinash, McGillivray & Crane 2018; Liu et al. 2016; McArthur 2018; Sadler 1989, 1998, 2009, 2010; Sadler & Reimann 2018; Yorke & Vidovich 2016). Within this field, assessment needs to be reported in the form of a grade, grade point, award and/or certification; thus knowledge is structured in a particular way, based on assessment of learning (AoL). In other words, various reports are essentially derived from AoL, or summative assessment (Barnett 2007; Boud & Falchikov 2007a; Dixson & Worrell 2016; Harlen & James 1997; Knight 2007; Zuiker & Whitaker 2014).

For students in HE, grades, awards or certifications are extremely important in their academic life as well as for their future progression beyond university, their professional and social life. Therefore, the daily assessment practices are frequently regarded as *high-stakes assessment* (Boud & Falchikov 2007b; Dixson & Worrell 2016; Knight 2007; Wass et al. 2018). Harlen (2007, p. 1) defines high stakes as the condition that "the results [of assessment] are used for making decisions that affect the *status* or *future* of students, teachers or schools." Due to this high-stakes nature of marks and grades, HE assessment tends to make "summative assessment" paramount (Boud & Falchikov 2007b, p. 4). Ultimately, this high-stakes assessment in HE will inform and influence how academics assess students.

It is hence considered critical to pay more attention to the milieu of assessment judgements in HE, especially the final judgement in terms of grades or certification, which should be well-informed and robust and be based on substantial information about students' qualities or performance (Benson & Brack 2010; Dobson 2008; Joughin 2009; Knight 2007). A key requirement is that all the students' work needs to be counted for their final marks and grades. Boud and Falchikov (2007a, p. 181) call assessment judgement "informed judgement", namely judgement which is based on robust data about students' work and cover various works from them. They then suggest this notion of informed judgement should be reinforced in assessment practices instead of merely "rhetoric" in HE.

Considering the fact that HE assessment in terms of grades or certification has a very high impact on students, Knight (2007) prefers to call it "warrants or warranting".[25] By warranting, he means "all the high-stakes processes of producing grade point averages, classifications and awards" commonly practised in HE (Knight 2007, p. 72). In relation to this, Harland et al. (2015) conducted a study in a New Zealand university and contend that all assessment is high stakes and high impact. They suggest that "coursework marks and examinations throughout the three years of a programme form part of a student's record, and every grade is taken into account when determining the level of the award of the final degree" (p. 529). In this respect, Barnett (2007) suggests that these judgements even characterise HE and the virtue of academic life itself. In other words, this kind of warrant or judgement needs to be strictly upheld by academics in order to maintain and enhance the quality of HE assessment. On the other hand, constantly informed of this warranting, students can gradually inculcate (Mills 2013) this assessment culture as part of their assessment habitus.

The prominent impact of HE assessment, henceforth, requires sufficient precaution, by academics in particular, in assigning the judgement process of their assessment into the grades of the students. At the same time, Barnett (2007) argues that students, as those most affected by such warrants, need to be encouraged to embrace warranting or judgement as a central feature of academic life. Thus understood, assessment practices in HE need to incorporate what Polanyi (1962) calls a language game, examined later in this chapter, for sharing the key characteristics of warranting. When judgement is well-realised and becomes the academics' and students' awareness (conscience), Barnett (2007, p. 39)

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[25] *Merriam-Webster's Dictionary* defines the verb *warrant* with various meanings, but essentially it means *to ensure, to guarantee,* or *to give proof/ground/reason/assurance* (https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/warrant).

believes that HE contributes significantly to the development of "students' educational being … and becoming" as HE students.

Given the high-stakes nature of assessment, there are important parallels with adult learning theories of andragogy and heutagogy outlined in the previous section. Furthermore, this spirit of educational being and becoming needs to be accentuated in practice in terms of curricula, teaching, learning and most significantly assessment. Students need to develop a capacity to "live well with questioning" (Barnett 2007, p. 34). For academics, or tutors, it is critical to pay more attention to the ongoing venture of practising informed, reliable, accountable judgement in student assessment (Kirkwood 2007).

2.3 Approaches to assessment in higher education

Having analysed the philosophical aspect of HE and the high-stakes nature of its assessment, a thorough examination of the debates about assessment of/for/as learning is offered in this section, with a particular emphasis on assessment as learning (AaL) in HE. These concepts inform my analysis of how academics conceptualise the assessment practices in their own institution. This section intends to show that all three types of assessment are applicable in HE in different contexts and circumstances. What follows is my analytical interpretation of each concept and its role in HE contexts. To be clear, these forms of assessment are offered at every level of education but have special implications given the nature of HE.

Assessment of learning (AoL)

In this study I prefer to use *assessment of learning* (AoL) but I accept that it corresponds to *summative assessment*. This preference is merely in support of the integrative relationship between assessment and (student) learning, while the term summative assessment is largely inattentive to such a relationship. Assessment experts and philosophers differ on the two terminologies; some prefer *assessment of learning* (Assessment Reform Group (ARG) 2006; Earl & Katz 2006; Harlen 2007) while others like *summative assessment* (Dixson & Worrell 2016; Sadler 1989; Taras 2005), but, in their essence, they are very similar.

By definition, assessment *of* learning (AoL) is "to evaluate student learning at the completion of a programme of study" (Jackel et al. 2017, p. 14). The program that AoL is evaluating can be a whole semester course or a subject matter during the course. Therefore,

in many contexts, AoL is typically practised in HE in terms of end-of-semester and/or mid-semester assessment or examinations. With regards to its functions, AoL is vital for summarising students' achievements (Harlen 2007; Sadler 1989; Weurlander et al. 2012) or for understanding what they have learned (Dixson & Worrell 2016).

Based on the results of AoL, students are then awarded with some kind of "certification" (Andrade & Heritage 2017, p. 3; Sadler 1989, p. 120; Weurlander et al. 2012, p. 747). In support of this certification function, AoL is often regarded as a cumulative or summary of students' learning (Dixson & Worrell 2016). In order to guarantee that the students' achievements are correctly summarised in the certificate, the process necessitates a number of assessments (AoL) instead of only one or two. Considering this function, especially when related to warranting mentioned earlier, AoL is deemed crucial in the field of HE and lends itself to high-stakes assessment.

Another key function of AoL is recording and reporting the learning to stakeholders needing the information (Andrade & Heritage 2017; Harlen 2007; Sadler 1989). This reporting role of AoL indicates that assessment in HE is based on or "against some standards" as well as functioning to monitor "the quality of the learning" (Dixson & Worrell 2016, p. 156). In other words, the function of reporting "the achievement status of a student" is offered at a point in time during a study or "at the end of a course of study" (Sadler 1989, p. 120).

Essentially, from these definitions it can be inferred that AoL is designed to measure what (or how much) the students have learned of the knowledge or skills of the program at a specific point in time. Subsequently, the results of such AoL are documented as the students' achievement or performance, provided as a report or certificate. The report that AoL makes should therefore be bound to a certain time, which in fact needs to be taken into consideration by all stakeholders. With this in mind, limiting or having a certain period of validity of AoL results, as applied in most standardised English tests such as IELTS or TOEFL for instance, is taken as an alternative way of maintaining the warrant of AoL.[26]

Nevertheless, the grades or judgement in HE AoL warrant how much a student knows or has achieved and are considered valid for the rest of their life, when recorded in academic transcripts. What does this mean when considering AoL? HE assessment is

[26] IELTS stands for *International English Language Testing System*, a standardised English language testing usually preferred by Australian, British, European countries. TOEFL is *Test of English as a Foreign Language* typically preferred by American universities.

always high stakes and valid forever, which is questionable when it is the only assessment practised. Typically, AoL is conducted to measure students' learning against predetermined criteria (Dixson & Worrell 2016). Due to the fact that AoL almost always involves warranting and judgement about students' achievements, it is often regarded as *judgemental* assessment (Brown, Bull & Pendlebury 1997; Harlen 2007). Many hold the view that using AoL alone is not fair; it represents a kind of *one-stop shop* that does not sufficiently reflect or support a judgement on a students' performances, skills and learning journey. Such a rationale has been used by scholars who propose incorporating assessment of learning (AoL) and assessment for learning (AfL).

Assessment for learning (AfL)

Assessment *for* learning (AfL) is a preferred term in this study to highlight the fundamental tenet that assessment should be utilised for improving (student) learning. However, the term *formative assessment* is based on a similar educational philosophy of helping students learn through assessment (Andrade & Heritage 2017; Black & Wiliam 2009; Jackel et al. 2017; Sadler 1989, 1998, 2010; Wiliam 2010). Thus understood, the two terminologies are often used interchangeably in the wider field and within this thesis.

By designation, Broadfoot (2007, p. 111) conceptualises AfL as equal to formative assessment, where she refers to "all those activities undertaken by teachers and by the students in assessing themselves, which provide information to be used as feedback to modify the teaching and learning activities in which they are engaged". Thus understood, the *learning* in AfL refers both to the students and the teachers. Therefore, the primary purpose of AfL is providing rich, meaningful and timely feedback to students on their learning and progress throughout a program of study (Dixson & Worrell 2016; Jackel et al. 2017; Weurlander et al. 2012), instead of assessing what students know at the end of the game.

AfL is correspondingly characterised as *formative* assessment or *developmental* assessment due to its ultimate use as *feedback* to modify, change or adapt the learning (and teaching) activities throughout a program of study (Brown, Bull & Pendlebury 1997; Dixson & Worrell 2016; Sadler 1989, 1998; Torrance 2001). For these scholars, AfL serves as one of the crucial instruments "to shape and improve the student's competence" (Sadler 1989, p. 220), or as a form of "social drive to help learners" to succeed in their education (Sadler 2007, p. 387). Therefore, AfL offers key contributions to improve

students' capacity to navigate their learning with the help of the feedback offered by the teacher/academic.

For pragmatic application in the classroom context, the Assessment Reform Group (ARG) in the UK, as quoted by Broadfoot (2007, p. 127), has proposed ten principles of assessment for learning, namely that AfL:

1. is a part of effective learning;
2. focuses on how students learn;
3. is central to classroom practice;
4. is a key professional skill;
5. is sensitive and constructive;
6. fosters motivation;
7. promotes understanding of goals and criteria;
8. helps learners know how to improve;
9. develops the capacity for self-assessment;
10. recognises all educational achievement.

These principles are considered pivotal to construct assessment that can encourage student learning and development. This form of assessment can send "the right signals" to students so that they can improve their learning (Biggs & Tang 2011, p. 119). For the teacher, AfL is usually conducted to gain information to provide informed feedback that is necessary to modify the teaching-learning activities they engage in.

Some authors have argued that AfL and AoL need to be practised in the classroom in a complementary fashion (Dixson & Worrell 2016; Pereira, Flores & Niklasson 2016; Taras 2005; Torrance 2001). In this way, every assessment can serve the purpose of AfL (or a formative purpose), even if it is commonly associated with AoL such as a test for example. Thus understood, the ideal of AfL is achieved, specifically "When any high-quality classroom assessment is used for formative purposes, it provides feedback to teachers that can inform adjustments to instruction, as well as feedback to students that supports their learning" (Andrade & Heritage 2017, p. 3). This draws our attention to the continuous improvement of the students and the teacher as a result of the feedback that is characteristic of AfL. With this in mind, feedback is the core element of AfL or formative assessment (Jackel et al. 2017; Norton 2007; Sadler 1989; Wiliam 2011). Andrade and

Heritage (2017, p. 3) emphasise the prominent functions of feedback in teaching-learning processes:

> Teachers receive feedback about their teaching and their students' learning from evidence they obtain while learning is taking place, and students receive feedback from their teachers, peers, and their own self-assessment during the course of learning. In formative assessment, the purpose of generating feedback from these different sources is to help students take action to move forward in their learning.

Andrade and Heritage (2017) highlight that there are different roles of feedback, but the main idea is that the feedback resulting from AfL is used to take action for further learning (and teaching), to move forward or to "feedforward" to the final certificate characterised by AoL (Heron 2011, p. 277). It is occasionally practicable that AfL and AoL are joined together in a sense that the summative function of assessment is based upon an accumulation of the results of formative assessment of students' performances. This is plausible, as long as the concept of assessment to help enhance the learning can truly serve to "encourage intrinsic motivation, build learner confidence, give learners a sense of ownership and control, provide detailed feedback, enhance learners' strategic awareness, and encourage collaboration between students" (Broadfoot 2007, p. 126). In other words, AfL with its feedback needs to be encouraged and promoted in HE, characterised by adult students, to develop their capacity to learn from feedback, learn with peers, and learn by/for themselves. From these features of AfL, some scholars extend the concept and suggest assessment as learning (AaL), which is examined in the following section.

Assessment as learning (AaL)

Recently, there has been growing attention and discussion on the new concept of *assessment as learning* (AaL) in terms of both a theoretical perspective as well as practical exercises (Dann 2002, 2014; Earl & Katz 2006; Torrance 2007). I support the new idea, suggesting that assessment should enable students to go "beyond feedback provision" promoted in AfL (Sadler 2010). It is also my contention that the conceptual rigour of AfL offers an avenue for developing students' "evaluative skills" (Sadler 1989) or their "own assessment skills through a process of consolidation, reflection and revision" (Dann 2002, 2014). In order to get there, students need to be involved in the process of their own assessment as a learning process, through activities such as peer assessment and eventually self-assessment. To some extent, assessment as learning can be derived from the idea of

formative assessment, when understood as a means for development, in a more advanced fashion (Dann 2002, 2014; Earl 2003; Sadler 1989, 2010).

Other authors understand assessment *as* learning (AaL) as a conceptual perspective that assessment serves as a means for students to learn how to self-assess their learning (Benson & Brack 2010; Earl 2003). In other words, AaL is achieved "when students personally monitor what they are learning and use the feedback from this monitoring to make adjustments, adaptations, and even major changes in what they understand ... [which] is the ultimate goal where students are their own best assessors" (Earl 2003, p. 25). However, other authors such as Torrance (2007) understand AaL quite adversely, which is fairly supported by Sadler (2007) who personally prefers the term formative assessment to cover both AfL and AaL.

For Torrance, based on his study of the post-compulsory learning and skills sector in England, teachers who operationalise AaL seek merely to comply with criteria, usually in terms of competence or a set of skills, rather than directing attention to the connection between assessment and learning. In this sense, according to Torrance, AaL refers to 'only' training the students to comply with the standards or criteria commonly pre-set by a government or institution. Assessment is directed towards "achieving awards … accumulating marks or elements of competence" (Torrance 2007, p. 292). In other words, AaL is assessment as *learning to get good grades*. AaL is thus contradictory to the philosophical and theoretical basis of learning, namely assisting the "social and intellectual development" of the students, teacher, and all people involved (Torrance 2007, p. 293). With this in mind, for Torrance, AaL fails to improve the true essence of learning, to improve the personal qualities of the students, due to teachers being driven by the pre-set criteria.

For Torrance, teachers tend to practice "convergent assessment", that is to strictly refer to the criteria previously set, and forget the "divergent aspect of assessment", which concerns the individual differences of students as they exhibit qualities not necessarily recognised by the pre-set criteria. Convergent assessment may imply that students are to a large extent guided to succeed in assessment by demonstrating what they "know and can do" merely by complying with assessment criteria (Torrance 2007, p. 292). Students thus displace learning. Sadler notes that assessment as learning, thus understood, has "a deservedly pejorative ring to it" (Sadler 2007, p. 388). Sadler's terms are even stronger as he suggests assessment as compliance cheats the learner and others involved.

It is worth highlighting that Sadler prefers the term formative assessment for AfL and AaL but in fact supports the development of students' evaluative skills/knowledge. For Sadler, in working to achieve high-quality work, students need to develop or possess evaluative skills to "compare with some objectivity the quality of what they are producing in relation to the higher standard, and that they develop a store of tactics or moves which can be drawn upon to modify their own work" (Sadler 1989, p. 119). Thus understood, Sadler's conception of developing students' self-evaluative skills by experiencing high-quality assessment is what I believe to be AaL. My conception is that AaL as the development of self-evaluative skills entails students developing meta-cognitive skills to judge and self-assess their own learning and that of their fellow students.

It is my belief that academics significantly incorporate the three concepts of AoL/AfL/AaL as underlying perspectives or frameworks in their practices of assessment. This study strongly supports the idea that academics should be encouraged to exercise AaL and AfL more, with occasional practices of AoL for contextual reasons and informed bases. It is my contention that the tradition of AoL is strong in HE sectors, especially in programs of study that lead to a professional qualification such as law, health and teacher training. Thus understood, the emergence of AfL has challenged some academics' accustomed and accepted AoL experiences, which perhaps seem less labour intensive and more efficient. Some educators may also regard AaL as implicit in AfL but this perspective misses the point that AaL builds assessment and learning capacity in both the academics and the learners. When Torrance (2007) writes that there is a move from AoL through AfL towards AaL, it implies a choice while indeed the three complement each another. Regardless of these debates, AoL/AfL/AaL have unique meanings in the HE context and have been largely unexplored in educational research. These approaches – as ways of developing students' learning in general, and their self-evaluative skills in particular – involves academics being strategic. Not all academics though will receive sufficient training or feel comfortable diversifying their approaches to assessment. The roles of academics in embracing the concept of developing students' self-evaluative skills are analysed in the following section.

2.4 Roles and responsibilities of higher education academics in modern times: Implications for assessment practice

It is increasingly recognised that we live in a world that is both interconnected and highly complex (Boud & Falchikov 2007b); we live in a world of connectivity or connectivism

(Dobson & Schofield 2020; Siemens 2007). The HE sector has seen dramatic changes in the nature of work as well as academic labour, which has significant implications for how assessment is conducted. Furthermore, HE institutions are where people expect to possess and practice twenty-first-century skills associated with independent learning. Therefore, it is often suggested that HE (academics and students) should embrace the concept of independent or lifelong learning, considering the complexity of quality assessment for developing students' capacities and the fact that they are adult learners (Blaschke 2012; Tummons 2007). Lifelong learners are "learners who have the capability to effectively and creatively apply skills and competencies to new situations in an ever-changing, complex world" (Blaschke 2012, p. 57).

Considering the shifting roles and responsibilities of HE academics, the concepts of andragogy, heutagogy and metagogy are theoretically more relevant than ever in the HE sector (Gerstein 2014; Halupa 2015; Hase & Kenyon 2000; Peterson & Ray 2013). With this in mind, HE academics encourage their adult students to engage in their own learning through assessment and increasingly take more responsibility for their progress. In terms of their educational roles, the academics should be dynamic in the interplay of being a facilitator, consultant, guide, peer or colleague for the students (Gerstein 2014; Halupa 2015; Hase & Kenyon 2000, 2013). These roles reflect the equal relationship between the academic and the students, because university students need to learn "to be" (in terms of personal development) in addition to learn "about" (content) (Andrade & Heritage 2017, p. 20).

Such practices foster students' identities as independent learners influenced and encouraged by a high-quality assessment culture in the university. This assessment culture is gradually developed and thus characterised by equal respect and trust as well as collegiality between academics and students. AoL/AfL/AaL is premised on the notion of all students getting involved in assessment and taking 'ownership of their learning' which historically is quite a new development. Furthermore, in doing so, it is further expected that students can develop "their identities as capable, self-sustaining, lifelong learners" (Andrade & Heritage 2017, p. 21). Thus understood, assessment is a collaborative project done not only by teachers but also by students. Assessment in this sense is a practice "by and for students as well as teachers" (Andrade & Heritage 2017, p. 1). In this sense, both academics and students are consecrating (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992) assessment culture – or assessment habitus – through the actual practices of assessment.

The literature also discusses self-determination and self-regulation in assessment – as characterised in heutagogy – developed among students as personal development and achievement. According to Benson and Brack (2010, p. 121), "Engaging students in the assessment process can be a motivating strategy as well as a learning opportunity for them." Other scholars, like Dann (2002, 2014) and Earl and Katz (2006), suggest that self-regulation in assessment can be nurtured through students' reflection and revision via assessment practices. When students actively learn more about assessment (as a complex process of setting standards, asking questions, looking for the standards in students' work, etc.), it is expected that they develop self-assessment skills or self-evaluative skills, which are critical for independent learning and the essence of AaL. There is an institutional expectation here that academics promote this type of students' personal quality by means of assessment practices.

Briefly, the role of HE academics in selecting an appropriate assessment culture with the students necessitates contextual application of the various -gogies (pedagogy, andragogy and heutagogy) examined earlier in this chapter. Considering the disparity of HE students, traditional teaching in pedagogy, AoL and AfL may still be suitably applied to some learners requiring more assistance from academics. For some other students who are more independent and ready, practising andragogy, heutagogy, problem-based assessment, AfL and AaL is preferable. The primary rationale for the choice of the academic should be "based on content area and student need" (Halupa 2015, p. 155). In attempting to develop such an assessment culture, it is critical to examine how assessment is gradually ingrained through constant practice and how it becomes part of academics' and students' tacit knowledge. The following section analyses this relationship.

2.5 Assessment and the role of tacit knowledge

It is my contention that assessment practices in HE are to a large extent hidden from the outside observer and embedded in the habitus of the institution and its academics. In this section I will explore this hidden character by discussing the concept of *tacit knowledge* or *the tacit* and thereafter I will look at language games to further understand the nature and character of tacit assessment practices. Tacit knowledge is involved in assessment practices in terms of academics' knowledge (philosophy, techniques, criteria or standards, feedback and so forth) as well as that of the students. The concept of the tacit is also present in what the academic knows and understands about AoL, AfL and AaL, which includes most significantly the idea of developing students' self-evaluative skills and

knowledge or self-assessment capacity (Brookhart 2013; Dann 2002; Jackel et al. 2017; Lam 2018). More importantly, academics' conceptions about "quality" in assessment – what they are looking for in students' work – are naturally "held inside their heads as tacit knowledge" (Sadler 1989, p. 126). This is also the case for students when talking about quality or standards for their assessment.

The concept of *tacit knowledge* (and *tacit knowing* or simply *the tacit*) was introduced by Michael Polanyi in his Terry Lectures of 1962 at Yale University. The concept is hard to define and Polanyi himself conveys it merely by writing "we can know more than we can tell" (Polanyi & Sen 2009, p. 4). From this proposition it can be implied that tacit knowledge is human knowledge that is 'hard' to explicitly articulate. For illustration, Polanyi mentions our knowledge about a person's face (recognisable among a thousand or million others) but we cannot tell how we recognise the face we know. This type of knowledge is what Polanyi calls tacit knowledge. And because it is difficult to articulate, it can also be referred to as "subsidiary awareness" with some extent of consciousness (Polanyi & Sen 2009, p. 95). Johnson (2016, p. 2) understands tacit knowledge as "the quiet storehouse of information that exists though it cannot necessarily, or at least easily, be put into words. It is the underlying framework that makes explicit knowledge possible." Thus said, tacit knowledge covers all kinds of human understanding even if it can't be easily spoken.

Turner (2012, p. 387) contends that "there are two families of tacit knowledge", namely *collective* and *personal* tacit knowledge. The collective tacit is equal to the general tacit, which is socially shared among the members of a society, such as a general understanding of the English language among English-speaking people. With this tacit knowledge, people know how to communicate using the language, its structure, vocabulary, formality, genres and so on. The personal tacit refers to the tacit of an individual, like my understanding of English which is different from anyone else's English. For Sadler (2005, p. 192), "Tacit knowledge refers to the expertise people carry around with them, mostly in their heads but also, in some academic and professional fields, embedded in psychomotor skills." In this sense, Sadler refers to Turner's personal tacit, which plays a pivotal role in assessment.

Under Turner's perspective of collective tacit, in regard to quality in HE assessment, there are aspects of quality or criteria or standards which are (or should be) shared by academics and students. However, especially in the actual practices of assessment, each academic and student possesses "personal" tacit knowledge of quality which is very likely

to be different. Thus understood, the personal tacit knowledge of assessment (including necessary self-evaluative knowledge) held by academics should be shared with students through experiencing good quality assessment practices continuously. In other words, each institution suggests its collective tacit knowledge of assessment to academics and students. This collective tacit knowledge includes the *institutional habitus* of assessment, which is critically discussed in the next chapter of this thesis.

In other words, academics should encourage and help students to "develop tacit (as distinct from explicit or propositional) evaluative knowledge through experience" in high-quality assessment (Sadler 1989, p. 136). Ultimately when it has been accumulated inside the students' mind, this self-evaluative skill or knowledge becomes what Polanyi calls a *subsidiary awareness*, which draws subconsciously on a body of tacit evaluative knowledge (of academics and students equally). As a result, the adage that "I can't exactly tell you what quality is, but I know it when I see it" (as a natural feature of the tacit) works well because the standards of quality at stake in assessment are shared. Institutions make this sharing possible as tacit knowledge is institutionally mediated and based on assessors' previous experience. By institutional mediation, this tacit evaluative knowledge is collectively possessed by academics and students equally.

On the other hand, the repertoire of tacit knowledge, including tacit evaluative knowledge, is accumulated over time by academics and needs to be articulated and shared with colleagues in a community of experts (Johnson 2016; Sadler 1998). Through practices of assessment, academics should transmit (Sadler 2005) or *share* (as a more dialogical form of pedagogy) *this tacit of assessment*, if I may call it so, to the students. Therefore, explicit communication needs to be encouraged because "Standards based on tacit knowledge commonly exist in unarticulated form but can be shared among experts, or transmitted from expert to novice, by joint participation in evaluative activity, including moderation of grades" (Sadler 2005, p. 192). If no transmission (or sharing as a more dialectical model) takes place, mystification can develop, whereby transparency is undermined, and the students become overdependent and too reliant on academics as experts (Sadler 2005). It is the responsibility of institutions, by way of institutional cultures and the collective tacit of assessment, to avoid this mystification.

The ultimate purpose of this sharing of the tacit of quality standards, by way of making it explicit first through experiencing high-quality assessment, is well-articulated by Sadler (2010, p. 542):

> The key feature of the alternative approach is to provide students with substantial evaluative experience not as an extra but as a strategic part of the teaching design. The overall aim is to induct students into sufficient explicit and tacit knowledge of the kind that would enable them to recognise or judge quality when they see it and also explain their judgements. To the extent that this is achievable, several additional benefits would ensue. These include deeper student engagement with the content and structure of the academic programme; a downplaying of teacher-constructed feedback as the critical element for improved learning; and the development of evaluative knowledge and skills of the types that are valued in advanced studies or careers after graduation.

Academics' tacit knowledge is often regarded as a form of guild knowledge which exists in some "quiescent and pliable form" (Sadler 1989, p. 127). *Quiescent* here means that it is tacit and dormant or latent, while *pliable* denotes the opposite as it can be woken and manipulated. In other words, the tacit can be readily accessible by academics as the masters. Assessment practices are a form of "connoisseurship" where "the apprentice unconsciously picks up the rules of the art, including those that are not explicitly known to the master" and thus tacit (Sadler 1989, p. 135). In other words, tacit knowledge can be communicated "by example rather than precept" (Mullins 2010, p. 21; see also Sadler 1989). This communication is important because, as previously articulated, students potentially possess different tacit knowledge than academics, including the tacit evaluative knowledge and self-assessment capacity encouraged by the concept of AaL.

Communicating tacit knowledge is not easy. In order that this guild knowledge is also known to the students, it needs to be activated or made explicit through academic's examples before, during and after assessment practices. The academic's examples are a form of telling where the tacit can be made explicit and the teacher is a presumed expert in this activity. But in the telling the students as apprentices may not notice what they are expected to notice. Put differently, not all telling leads to learning because the student may not share the same understanding as the academic.

It becomes important to look at the telling as a way of using the concept of *language games* popularised by Wittgenstein as inspiration. This concept of language games constitutes a useful answer to the question of both what and how something is identified or "noticed" for the assessment by the academic, and how this is shared with the students. An explorative analysis of these concepts is presented in more detail in the next section.

2.6 Noticing and language games in assessment

In this thesis, Wittgenstein's concepts of *noticing* and *language games* provide crucial insight into the communication and sharing of quality standards of assessment, which are typically associated with the tacit. For Wittgenstein (1968), the tacit enables a person to make a kind of psychological form of *shifting perception* or *noticing aspects* or attributes. An example of the role of tacit knowledge in Wittgenstein's book is the different perceptions of people looking at the same image: one person sees rabbit ears, while another or the same person might see a duck beak in the next instance (Wittgenstein 1968, p. 194). Wittgenstein also uses other terms such as "seeing" or "aspect perception" and "thinking" to describe this concept of noticing an aspect (Dinishak 2013, pp. 320–321). In other words, noticing involves seeing, perceiving and thinking, and they can take place simultaneously or in reverse order.

Wittgenstein claims that we speak using multiple language games, such as *to assert, to evaluate, to confirm, to appreciate* and so on. According to him, "Here the term 'language-game' is meant to bring into prominence the fact that the speaking of language is part of an activity, or of a form of life" (Wittgenstein 1968, p. 11). In a simpler expression perhaps, language game is the concept that *a word, a sentence, or language at large* means something only when it is in context and can mean something different in another context. Thus understood, we can refer to all the (language) activities in assessment as *the language game of assessment* or simply the *assessment game*.

The language that is used in assessment, feedback, questions, commands and so on only means something when the people (academics and students) know the game they are in. Language games are a vehicle that help us make what we highlight or notice explicit: *noticing* is thus to name and bring to light. In parallel, an assessment language game points out what we are *looking at* in an ostensive fashion, such that it can be assessed. I will return to this as I explore how and if assessment games can be manifested as forms of assessment capital in Chapter 7.

The academic and students can understand assessment games when they have the capacity to *recognise* or what Wittgenstein calls to *notice* an aspect of assessment. This is a noticing or bringing to the surface of not only the set criteria related to the performance, but also noticing the pertinence of other often tacit aspects of intellectual or skill development amongst students such as disappointment, enthusiasm or courage. This offers a more holistic understanding of how the tacit components are drawn into the ring of perception and valued (Sadler 1989, 2005). Through various stages of the assessment

processes, both academics and students need to possess the capacity to notice not merely something of high *salience* and out of the ordinary or extraordinary (e.g. an essay based upon set criteria), but personal or psychological qualities (e.g. resilience or motivation) that are also worth noticing and valuing.

A criteria-oriented way of noticing, looking for the salience of criteria items, might be significant for grading academic achievement in order to maintain 'grade fidelity' (Sadler 2010), for instance. This rests upon the proposition that the language game notices and makes explicit one or more aspects of student performance. Put simply, noticing is the process by which the tacit is made explicit. Sometimes, the noticing of academics is different to the noticing of students. A student might be looking the other way, so to speak, and thus fail to notice what the academic notices. They are therefore not using the same language game of noticing as proposed by the academic.

The next section endeavours to incorporate all the theoretical perspectives outlined in earlier parts of the chapter as a working conceptual model to make a theoretical and practice foray into the academic practices of assessment.

2.7 Approaches to analysing assessment of English studies in higher education

To reiterate, this section outlines the framework of this study for examining the assessment of English in HE practised by Indonesian and Australian academics. The framework is drawn from the studies outlined earlier in this chapter, particularly the theoretical perspectives on assessment and HE. In so doing, the examination of the phenomenon of assessment practices in such different contexts is conducted on an informed theoretical basis.

This study focuses on how assessment in HE is practised and considers the concepts of AoL, AfL and AaL, or to use the more popular terms summative and formative assessment. Such concepts have long been familiar at all levels of education, including HE, except that AaL is obviously getting attention only recently in this context. Additionally, as andragogy is widely accepted in HE, AfL and AaL need to be increasingly delivered in everyday assessment. With the new idea of self-determined learning in heutagogy, peer assessment and self-assessment need to be increasingly encouraged in the HE sector.

Typically, before students can practise self-determined learning and assessment, academics should engage them in understanding the language game in play, which includes the quality standards or criteria being looked for or worth noticing in the

assessment. By intensive and continual exposure to practices of engaging the students in the assessment process, it is hoped that students will gradually accumulate self-evaluative skills and knowledge and the required self-assessment critical for lifelong learning within and beyond the university. The following figure summarises the theoretical framework of this study of academics' assessment practices.

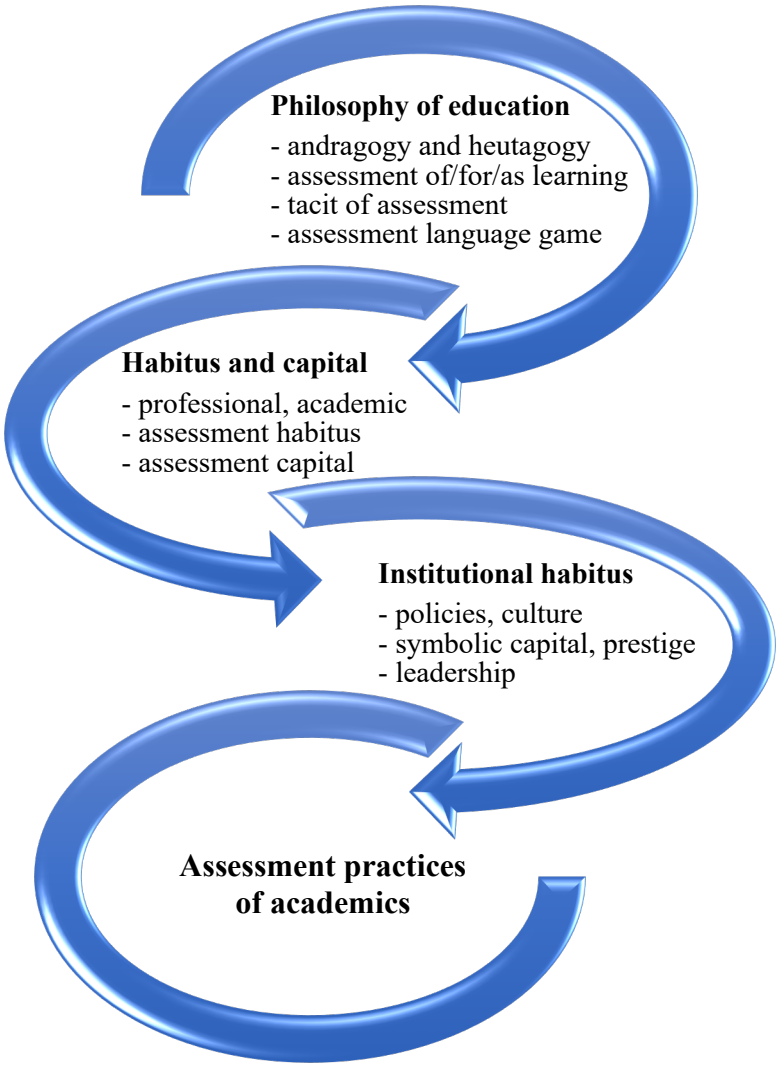


Figure 1: Theoretical framework of the analysis of assessment practices

Chapter 3: Epistemology and theoretical framework for comparing assessment in higher education

Abstract:
In understanding practices of assessment by the academics, the epistemological basis of the study is constructivism. Constructivism understands reality – in this case academics' assessment practices – as socially constructed through meanings conveyed by the participants in this research and the researcher. This approach assists readers in "the construction of knowledge" (Crotty 1998, p. 67) through double interpretations: by the participants and the researcher. The second theoretical framework of the study is the application of Bourdieu's sociology to assessment of English in higher education. The threefold concepts of habitus-capital-field are investigated in relation to academics' assessment practices. An emerging concept of institutional habitus which informs academics' assessment is also analysed. A theoretical exercise is proposed in the last part of this chapter, namely assessment capital and assessment habitus, as an application of Bourdieu's sociological tools to assessment.

This chapter presents a critical exploration to justify the epistemology and theoretical framework of this comparison of assessment practices in HE. The epistemology section serves to outline the foundations of the approach to knowledge in this study, which covers predominantly constructionism/constructivism, interpretivism and symbolic interactionism. This is followed by the analysis of key socio-philosophical frameworks of Bourdieu and other scholars that will be used to answer the research questions, more specifically the overarching question, namely: *How does an academic's habitus and (perception of) capital influence their practices in assessing English studies in Indonesian and Australian HE?* The chapter is divided into five main parts: epistemological perspectives (Section 3.1), Bourdieu's framework of social analysis (Section 3.2), Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capital (Section 3.3), revisionist approaches to Bourdieu: institutional habitus (Section 3.4), and assessment capital and assessment habitus (Section 3.5).

3.1 Epistemological perspectives

Epistemology, for researchers, is a certain way of 'understanding what it is' to know. Epistemology is therefore used to position the researcher towards the phenomenon being

studied. In my study, I consider epistemology that is relevant to how we can understand academics' identity practices in relation to assessment. In considering epistemology as a grounding, a number of essential considerations are required for a thorough study, such as the dominant discourse of assessment in HE, the institutional and country-specific contexts of the universities where the participants work, as well as the academics' philosophical perspectives on assessment. A consideration of such knowledge domains informs my own knowledge and extends my previous experience studying and working in HE. Applying this knowledge allows me to properly address some of the competing explanations and holistic perspectives that exist within the debates on assessment in HE (Boud 2007).

Before I discuss how epistemology informed the study, I first want to briefly consider the shifting domain of HE. HE is regarded as an institution providing resources not only for acquiring "high-level knowledge, understanding and skills" but more importantly also for developing "human qualities and dispositions, of certain modes of being" that are necessary in the twenty-first century (Barnett 2007, p. 29). The expectation that institutional practices should align with this mission structures the working procedures of HE, where assessment plays a pivotal role. With this in mind, the relationship between learning and assessment within institutions serving adult learners has become increasingly focused on self-sufficiency where the onus is on students to acquire and develop self-evaluative skills and knowledge (Sadler 1989). This expectation, I would argue, contributes to pedagogical practice and assessment procedures, which are also practices. The student in the centre aligns with the overall global trend from monitoring teacher input to student progress throughout their courses and output understood as graduate attributes.

Table 1: The research framework

Research framework	My research framework
Epistemology	
The theory of knowledge that formed the basis of my theoretical perspective and methodology	Constructionism/constructivism
Theoretical perspective	
The philosophical position behind my methodology	Interpretivism/interactionism
Methodology	
The 'plan of action' which was used to conduct the research	Qualitative approach Multi-site case study Comparative study

Methods	
The way in which data was collected and analysed to answer research questions	Documentation of policies, semi-structured interviews, thematic analysis

This study endeavours to uncover, among other things, whether the academics in this study also incorporate considerations such as the philosophy of adult education or the connection of learning and assessment when doing their assessment practices. To conduct this study, I drew upon Crotty's (1998) notion of suitable methodologies and methods, which are selected to inform the researcher along with the underlying epistemology and theoretical perspective behind such methods. Crotty highlights that research should be founded on the philosophies of knowledge that are most appropriate for the study. The key is thus the nature of the knowledge being sought. Some experts such as Denzin and Lincoln (2005b) consider that the terms (or they prefer 'labels') *theory, ontology, epistemology* and *methodology* are interconnected and thus overlap. Put simply, therefore, all research is based on epistemological or ontological assumptions, and this current study is no exception. Ontology is a certain way of understanding reality. By definition, "Ontology is the study of being. It is concerned with 'what is', with the nature of existence, with the structure of reality as such" (Crotty 1998, p. 10). There is consensus that ontology answers "basic questions about the nature of reality and the nature of the human being in the world" (Denzin & Lincoln 2005b, p. 183).

Epistemology asks the questions "How do I know the world?" and "What is the relationship between the inquirer and the known?" (Denzin & Lincoln 2005b, p. 183). In other words, epistemology, for researchers, is a certain way of understanding what it is to know. Thus, from an ontological perspective, while reality may exist independent of one's mind (specifically realism as an ontology), the implication of that reality is a consequence of the meaning one ascribes to it as a result of one's social, cultural and historical positioning. Furthermore, by such a definition, every epistemology implies an ethical-moral stance of the researcher towards the world he/she wants to know. Therefore, in this way, epistemology can involve me both expanding my knowledge while considering how my previous experiences contributed to biases. With this in mind, Crotty (1998) asserts there are three main epistemologies: *objectivism, subjectivism* and *constructionism* or *constructivism*. Each epistemology is essentially an "attempt to explain how we know what we know and to determine the status to be ascribed to the understanding that we reach" (Crotty 1998, p. 19). These will be detailed in the next section.

Objectivism, subjectivism and constructivism

Even though I believe that *constructivism* is the most suitable epistemological assumption with the aims and focus of this research, *objectivism* and *subjectivism* are briefly explained first as the bases of *constructivism*.

Objectivism believes that reality operates away from conscious thought, judgement or feeling. Therefore, realities are as they are without any other realities impacting upon that reality. Objectivism "ends up projecting into the minds of its agents a (scholastic) vision of their practice that, paradoxically, it could only uncover because it methodically sets aside the experience agents have of it" (Bourdieu 1998, p. 7). This objective epistemology is aligned with a positivist (and post-positivist) theoretical perspective on inquiry using methodologies such as survey research and methods such as questionnaires, measurement and scaling (Creswell 2009). According to Creswell (2009) in the case of quantitative research, objectivist epistemological assumptions are made when the researcher is independent of the subject, working deductively with data of the world 'out there'. Objectivist researchers begin with a theory, collect data that either supports or refutes the theory, and then make necessary revisions before additional tests are made.

In sociological study, therefore, as Bourdieu (1988b, p. 775) asserts, "exclusive attention to the methods of data collection and analysis promoted by the dominant conception of science fosters a sort of blindness for the operations, most often unconscious, by which a research object is constructed". Using a positivist philosophy, social researchers can adopt a quantitative methodology to look for causation in the social laws governing social behaviour, for instance. However, with regards to my research questions, objectivist epistemology would be useful for accessing large samples and increasing reliability (Creswell 2009) but would potentially be limiting when attempting to elicit findings about identity, habitus and capital (at the individual and institutional level) that have contributed to the assessment practices of academics.

The second epistemology, subjectivism, is the opposite of objectivism. According to a subjectivist paradigm, "meaning does not come out of an interplay between subject and object but is imposed on the object by the subject" (Crotty 1998, p. 9). Thus understood, meaning is constructed by the subject (e.g. the researcher) with no contribution to such meaning construction from the object (e.g. the phenomena or participants of the research). Under this epistemology, the focus is merely on the "subjective meanings" (Creswell 2009, p. 8) of the phenomena or the practices under scrutiny. My research to some extent takes these subjective meanings (both from myself and the participating academics) into

account. Therefore, I must accept and articulate that I have subjective bias and must actively address the limits of my reflexivity concerning the research findings based on my previous experience in Australian HE as well as my knowledge of Indonesia and Indonesian HE.

The third epistemology is constructionism and/or constructivism, which I believe is most appropriate in this current study. Lying at the midpoint between objectivism and subjectivism, constructionism and constructivism are epistemological views (Crotty 1998) or epistemologies (Bryman 2016; Stake 2005) which are characterised by their interpretivist nature, each with a different emphasis.[27] Unlike objectivism and subjectivism, the interaction between the 'object' and the 'subject', specifically human engagement with the world, makes meaning. Constructionism is theorised as "the view that all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world" (Crotty 1998, p. 45). In other words, knowledge is constructed by people's interpretations of the world which are then transmitted in a social context. As a consequence, reality in constructionism consists of a "universe of integrated interpretations" (Stake 1995, p. 100). As a result of interpretations, social phenomena and their meanings are "continually being accomplished by social actors … in a constant state of revision" (Bryman 2016, p. 33). Knowledge and meanings are thus dynamically appropriated by social contexts and actors. Keeping both objectivity and subjectivity in play, constructionism believes that reality is socially constructed through the academics (as participants of this research) negotiating "experiential and contextual accounts" and the researcher assisting the readers in "the construction of knowledge" (Stake 2005, p. 454). It requires the subject bringing the object world into the world of the subject, and vice versa, through language and by concretising them in writing.

Simply put, *meaning and understanding* are generated by people's interaction with the world and constructed by people's own thoughts, interpretations and meanings in their different ways. Truth and meaning do not exist externally in the world but are created by the subject's interactions with the world (Gray 2013). Thus understood, our comprehension of the truth is a 'social construction', which is socially built by each of us in an unexpected

[27] The term constructivism emphasises "the meaning making activity of the individual mind" while constructionism deals with "the collective generation [and transmission] of meaning" through enculturation (Crotty 1998, pp. 62, 84). In other words, constructivism is to do with the meanings that people make in their own minds (a person's view is unique and valid), whereas constructionism is to do with how we create and transmit meaning collectively (culture gives us a distinct view of the world) (Dawson 2013, p. 30).

way, with words and occasions conveying varying degrees of importance for every individual in every circumstance (Gray 2013; Maxwell 2011; Thomas 2015). According to constructionism, "we do not create or discover meaning; we construct meaning" in different ways (Crotty 1998, p. 55; see also Gray 2013), that is, meaning about the world and objects in the world. Simply put, under a constructivist perspective, there is no objective reality; there are instead multiple realities which co-exist and overlap, constructed by human beings or, in this case, the participants who experience a phenomenon of interest (Krauss 2005) with a second interpretation by the researcher.

In conclusion, based on these perspectives, the current study – in epistemological terms – primarily draws on a *constructivist approach* in order to seek knowledge about how academics construct their assessment practices and how their assessment practices are constructed in terms of identity, habitus and capital. In this perspective, there is no 'true or valid' interpretation; instead, there are 'useful or liberating' interpretations under this epistemology of research (Crotty 1998). With constructivism and/or constructionism in mind, the next section details the theoretical perspectives guiding this current study, namely interpretivism and interactionism.

Interpretivism and interactionism

A theoretical perspective commonly associated with constructivism is *interpretivism* (Gray 2013, p. 17). The term *interpretivism* is often linked to the thought of Max Weber (1864–1920), who suggested that in human sciences we are concerned with *Verstehen* (understanding). According to Weber, an interpretative approach is required in the human and social sciences, instead of the explicative approach (*Erklaren*, explaining) focusing on causality, which is widely utilised in the natural sciences (Crotty 1998, p. 79). This perspective nicely suits the social phenomenon of how academics understand their assessment practices in this study, in order to seek understanding of their practices.

By definition, *interpretivism* "looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world" (Crotty 1998, p. 67). The main objective of this current study is to examine how academics interpret their assessment practices and how such practices are constructed and derived from their interactions with colleagues, the students, and the institution/s they are involved in. These interpretations by academics are then re-interpreted through the researcher's lenses or perspectives on identity, habitus and capital by Bourdieu. Furthermore, as a characteristic of social inquiry, the researcher deals with the actions of the individual (ideographic) and thus often emphasises those aspects

that are unique, individual and qualitative (Crotty 1998; Gray 2013), such as the various academics' practices of assessment in this current study.

Among other popular interpretivist approaches (Crotty 1998; Gray 2013), *symbolic interactionism* is adopted for this study due to its feasibility and fits with the phenomenon under scrutiny. This study is based on the belief that knowledge is about meaning, through the process of meaning making and interpretation mediated by human interactions with the world. These meanings of the world upon which people act, according to Crotty (1998) and Gray (2013), are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the world or phenomena s/he encounters.

Thus understood, meanings are not fixed or stable but are revised on the basis of experience. This includes the definition of 'self' and of who we are (Gray 2013). If someone is promoted from an ordinary academic to the head of department, for example, his/her perception of him/herself and the institution may change significantly, which in turn leads to changes in the meaning of the world, and eventually in behaviour. In order to understand this process, I studied the academics' practices from the perspective of the academics themselves. By doing so, the academics' assessment practices are explained in terms of how they interact with their fellow academics as well as with students via symbols of meaning or interpretations (Dawson 2013). In addition, policy documents analysed in this study are also symbolic texts, which are subject to interpretation.

As the epistemological perspectives on studying academics' assessment practices have been adequately presented, the chapter moves to Bourdieu's social philosophy as working tools to understand such practices of assessment. In order of sequence, the sections first present Bourdieu's sociological understanding of people's actions in society, with particular reference to HE assessment practices. The analysis then continues with a section on Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capital. The concept of institutional habitus is presented in the next section to portray how institutions behave within themselves (in maintaining systems of interactions among their members) and in wider societies. The chapter concludes with the ideas of *assessment capital* and *assessment habitus*, making a contribution to theoretical exercises on assisting students to develop and accumulate the capacity for self-evaluation and/or self-assessment and ultimately to become independent learners.

3.2 Bourdieu's framework of analysis of the social

Bourdieu is a renowned sociologist – or social philosopher more appropriately – and is often grouped as one of the so-called structuralist-constructivist scholars. As with all theorists, his social philosophical approach to understanding the world around him was developed throughout his life and within the various societies he encountered.[28] With this in mind, it is important to analyse his biographical-academic journey in diverse worlds and different institutional positions. Born in 1930 in Denguin, Bearn, France with the full name of Pierre Felix Bourdieu, he died on 23 January 2002 in Paris, France (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2017; Grenfell 2008b). His childhood was rural and modest, and through his schooling Bourdieu showed sufficient academic talent to be accepted into the *École Normale Supérieure* (a reputable public university producing French intelligentsia such as Sartre, de Beauvoir and Derrida) through a highly selective competitive examination in 1951. He graduated with a degree in philosophy in 1955 (Grenfell 2008b).

After graduation, Bourdieu taught in a high school in Moulins, before doing military service in Algeria in late 1955. Then he taught at the University of Algiers (1958–60), then the University of Lille (1961–64), during which time he became Director of Studies at the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales* and founded the Center for European Sociology.[29] In 1975, he founded the journal *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, "which acted as a vehicle for Bourdieu's shorter articles as well as those of his collaborators" (Grenfell 2008b, p. 14; see also Encyclopaedia Britannica 2017; Crossman 2019).[30]

Two events occurred to Bourdieu in 1981: he became the chair of a selective group of French academics and won a national gold medal in research.[31] These events established his academic status and standing in successful and prestigious institutions, which served in contrast to his humble childhood. Most significantly, in sociological studies, Bourdieu broke new ground by positing an analytical approach which considers a *reconciliation* of

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[28] Bourdieu's work was influenced by founders of sociology, including Max Weber, Karl Marx and Émile Durkheim, as well as by scholars from the disciplines of anthropology and philosophy (Crossman 2019).
[29] Grenfell (2008b) writes that Bourdieu's principal early publications addressed the Algerian situation and its consequences: *Sociologie de L'Algérie* (1958), *Travail et travailleurs en Algérie* (1963), *Le déracinement, la crise de l'agriculture traditionelle en Algérie* (1964).
[30] Bourdieu received many honours and awards in his life, including Médaille d'Or du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in 1993; the Goffman Prize from the University of California, Berkeley in 1996; and the Huxley Medal of the Royal Anthropological Institute in 2001 (Crossman 2019).
[31] In 1981, he was elected as Chair in Sociology at the Collège de France, an august institution which groups just fifty-two elected members of French leading academics. He was awarded the gold medal of the CNRS – the French national research centre – in the same year (Grenfell 2008b).

agency and structure in the *individual* (Reay 2004; Wacquant 2002), in the form of his predominant concept: *habitus*. Before providing an analytical elaboration of habitus, Bourdieu's understanding of social practices and individual actions require some scrutinising.

For Bourdieu, in society there are basically two enabling powers that govern social actions, interactions and relations, namely: individual *agency* and social *structure* (Bourdieu 1989). Simply put, agency is the power of the individual to engage in thinking and actions, while structure refers to the power of society and its institutions (upon individual actions). In Durkheim's words, structure is the "outer" social, and agency is the "inner" self (Maton 2008, p. 50). For some social philosophers including Bourdieu, both powers work together and eventually blend in an individual into a kind of driving worldview and power that influences his/her actions, behaviour and judgements in social life. For Bourdieu, the blended power of agency and structure is manifested in the form of what he calls *habitus*. Habitus is developed as a dialogue between the power of individual agency and the structure within an individual agent (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Reay 1998; Wacquant 2016). Thus understood, for Bourdieu, each individual is basically a "socialised agent" (Bourdieu 1989, p. 19), where agency is also structured by society.

In other words, Bourdieu understands that the powers of agency and structure are in constant interaction, mutually constituting one another, in such a way that one's judgement is both a product of one's creativity – agency – and to some extent is influenced by the surrounding social context – structure (Bourdieu 1985, 1990b; Bourdieu & Passeron 1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). This dialectical interaction is perceived as a process of "the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality" with the continual exercise of reflexivity (Wacquant 2016, p. 65) where *the external* is the social structure and *the internal* is individual agency. This combination of structure and agency was a theoretical breakthrough on which Bourdieu built his approach to understanding the social world. However, it is subject to many critiques and criticisms.

In short, Bourdieu's tools seek to "capture the intentionality without intention, the knowledge without cognitive intent, the pre-reflective, infra-conscious mastery that agents acquire in the social world" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 19). Nevertheless, social practice is not simply circumscribed within habitus but rather "a phenomenon emergent from relations between social agents' habituses and their contextual social fields" (Maton 2008, p. 61). With this notion in mind, assessment practices by academics are influenced by the *layers* of academics' habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 135; Decoteau 2016,

p. 303) – professional, pedagogical, academic – in the context of institutions or universities and the students they are working with.[32]

Put differently, the social action of individuals, for Bourdieu, is guided by the practical sense of the habitus (instead of conscious strategies), by what he calls a "feel for the game" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 128). It is actually in this "game" analogy that Bourdieu interplays his concepts into what Wacquant (2011, p. 86) calls the "nexus of habitus, capital and field". Bourdieu's socio-philosophical concepts comprise habitus, field theory, capital, symbolic power, doxa and some others which are predominantly applicable for analysing particular social phenomena (Wacquant 2002). These concepts from Bourdieu are not separate but should be thought of as relational, linked to one another, as a way of enabling scholars to understand society at a deeper level. Among these concepts, two are foregrounded in this study, namely *habitus* (at the individual and the institutional level) and *capital*. However, other concepts such as *field theory* and *symbolic power* receive secondary attention in order to better understand how assessment practices are constituted by individuals working as Indonesian and Australian academics as the topic of the study. Bourdieu's trident "thinking tools" (Grenfell 2008a, p. 2) of habitus-capital-field are hence elaborated in the following section.

3.3 Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capital

As aforementioned in the earlier chapters, the teaching and assessment of English are influenced in diverse ways by institutional-national contexts which, in turn, structure the professional practices of academics. The social drives how assessments are created and administered and is considered pivotal in examining academics' assessment of English in two different countries, Indonesia and Australia. The research presented in this thesis uses Bourdieu's theory of practice to investigate this phenomenon. Bourdieu's theory has informed investigations of HE (Bathmaker 2015; Gopaul 2011; Mills 2013) and has also been used to compare different country contexts (Czerniewicz & Brown 2013; Feldman 2016; Lingard, Sellar & Baroutsis 2015). In this regard, this section is presented to create a theoretical framework for this study using Bourdieu's sociological perspectives. As a social philosopher and social theorist, Bourdieu's core concepts of *habitus-capital-field* are

[32] Bourdieu mentions the term 'layer' in his *Invitation to reflective sociology,* explaining that habitus implies "multilayered filter of dispositions" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 135). Decoteau reconfirms that habitus is "always layered" (2016, p. 303).

discussed in detail to build an understanding of how they can be appropriated to analyse how academics practise assessment in diverse countries and institutional contexts.

Expanding *habitus-capital-field*, the analyses in the coming sections include not only scholarly attention to the professional *habitus* of the academics but also the formation of their habitus in relation to the whole culture of the university (or faculty or school) as a collective entity, which is often referred to as *institutional habitus*. The analytical approach also incorporates theories on how *symbolic capital* is exercised and exchanged in two different fields of HE as well as in diverse institutions.

Among Bourdieu's various concepts, three have been extensively espoused in academic debates and empirical studies in diverse sectors: habitus, capital and field. This is particularly notable in the field of education. The interrelations of the three are summarised in the equation (Bourdieu 1984, p. 101; Yang 2014, p. 1523):

[(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice

In a Bourdieusian sense, "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)" (Maton 2008, p. 51). Practice here relates to a 'practical sense' of one's habitus based on one's understanding of the logic of the field and the capital that can be operationalised to secure one's advantage. Practice also relates to tacit knowledge, which was mentioned previously in Chapter 2 and will be discussed in Chapter 7. For the purposes of this thesis the Bourdieusian concepts of 'practice' and 'assessment practice' have significant overlaps and will be used interchangeably unless otherwise noted. Therefore, social practice should be thought of as a dialectic of habitus and capital within a field. The analogy of a game or playing a game can illuminate how the three are relational, working in tandem to structure social practice. Bourdieu himself explains a *feel for the game* briefly as follows:

> [In the game] We can picture each player as having in front of her a pile of tokens of different colors, each color corresponding to a given species of capital she holds, so that her relative force in the game, her position in the space of play, and also her strategic orientation toward the game … the moves she makes, more or less risky or cautious, subversive or conservative, depend both on the total number of tokens and on the composition of the piles of tokens she retains, that is, on the volume and structure of her capital. (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 99)

Within this assertion, the volume and structure of capital as well as the agent's position in the field is prominent in our understanding of how the game is played. This is essential for our understanding of identities realised in an HE institution, specifically in relation to assessment practices by academics. To support the analysis in the chapters to come, each of these thinking tools is examined in the following sub-sections in more detail.

Habitus

Bourdieu defines habitus as "a system of lasting and transposable dispositions which, integrating past-experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 18; Wacquant 2016). In the words of Wacquant (1998, p. 220), habitus significantly contributes to how "we perceive, judge, and act in the world". From these definitions, there are three essential things to note: the dispositions, past experiences and the matrix (of perceptions, appreciations, actions), which are conceptualised as follows.

Dispositions, according to Bourdieu, result from "Cumulative exposure to certain social conditions … that internalize the necessities of the extant social environment, inscribing inside the organism the patterned inertia and constraints of external reality" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 13). These dispositions are ingrained or internalised through the process of gradual inculcation (Mills 2013), internally accumulated by individual agents from their experiences in societies (e.g. the individual's past experiences). Dispositions also mean "tendency, propensity, or inclination" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 18). Simply, dispositions can be understood as a system of propensity to behave (perceive, appreciate, act) in current (or future) social situations. Dispositions are not static or stagnant (which means that they are always changing or developing) but are also durable and long-lasting (which calls attention to a certain strength or degree of determination). As a consequence, individuals theoretically possess collections or 'layers' of habitus/dispositions (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 135; Decoteau 2016, p. 303). Meanwhile, the notion of matrix denotes that dispositions are used as "mechanisms" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p.18) informing the person's behaviour accordingly in a given society. Habitus, therefore, informs how an individual behaves according to the social space he/she encounters – where dispositions "may generate practices in multiple and diverse fields of activity" (Bourdieu & Johnson 1993, p. 5).

From the above definition, I want to expand on how habitus is characterised as *lasting* or *durable* and *transposable*, which means that ultimately, according to Wacquant

(2016), habitus, "designates a practical competency, acquired *in* and *for* action that operates beneath the level of consciousness and is continually honed in the very movement of its deployment" (p. 66). Thus understood, even though habitus are personal systems of perceptions, values and actions owned by an individual agent, at the same time, this habitus is developed from the internalisation of the social systems and values of all the societies the individuals have participated or lived in.

In other words, as these dispositions are gradually and eventually internalised into the agent, habitus thus consists of "a set of historical relations 'deposited' within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation, and action" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 16). These dispositions later become "unconscious schemata" (Wacquant 1998, p. 221) informing individual agent's actions, which to a great extent are also subject to their social contexts, specifically social milieu, conditions or situations around the self (Elder-Vass 2007). Due to the fact that it is a mechanism, to a certain extent, habitus guides or even determines people's actions. In regard to this governing power of habitus and thus the predictability of people's actions based on habitus, Bourdieu writes:

> The habitus, as a system of dispositions to a certain practice, is an objective basis for regular modes of behaviour, and thus for the regularity of modes of practice, and if practices can be predicted … this is because the effect of the habitus is that agents who are equipped with it will behave in a certain way in certain circumstances. (Bourdieu 1990a, p. 77)

Here Bourdieu highlights the notions of routines and regular practices structuring an agent's conduct in the social world. The nature of habitus, therefore, includes both "a principle of *sociation* and *individuation*" (Wacquant 2016, p. 67). It is *sociation* because the habitus (as our system of judgements and actions) is learned from and shared by society, which also means that someone's habitus may have similar components as others' in the same society. Simultaneously, it is *individuation* because habitus is also unique to each member of the society, which means that, even though they live in the same society, every member has their own distinct habitus. Additionally, as habitus is both structured (by past experiences) and structures (present conditions), as understood by Wacquant (2016), an individual's habitus is regarded as consisting of 'layers' of different but at times overlapping frameworks of thinking and action (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Decoteau 2016). As these layers of habitus are inculcated from various societies, it is largely assumed that the more social fields an individual has experienced, the more layers and

complexity of habitus he/she possesses. We now move to the other central Bourdieusian concepts, specifically capital, which always links to social field.

Field and capital

People (or individuals or agents) interact with one another in a space, the social space. This social space, for Bourdieu, is called a *field* which is basically organised by a system of operations or "the rules of the game" or "regularities" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, pp. 18, 98). Field is therefore theorised by Bourdieu as "a network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions … in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or *capital*) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 97). This implies that the positions in the field are interrelated through *the rules of the game* in the field. The positions are determined and distributed by the power or authority that is legitimate in the field.

As a consequence, individual agents endeavour to follow and exercise the rules of the game in the field for their own interests. Due to this drive to fulfil individual interests, they interact in struggle for their securities or positions. Struggle here is the operative word, as there is a struggle for power that is "based on a shared set of understandings, beliefs, values, and norms that form *the rules of the game*" (Broberg 2015, p. 51, emphasis added). Bourdieu explains the struggle in the field this way:

> A field is simultaneously a space of conflict and competition, the analogy here being with a battlefield, in which participants vie to establish monopoly over the species of capital effective in it – cultural authority in the artistic field, scientific authority in the scientific field. (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 17)

A field can be analogous with a game but "a field is not a product of a deliberate act of creation and it follows rules or, better, regularities, that are not explicit and codified" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 98). Based on this notion, social field does not exist by design but predominantly by the nature of the members' common interests. The system (or rules or logic) of interactions in the field is not written down and exact; it is dynamic and fluid. In the game, master cards (or trump cards) represent 'capital' with the force frequently changing depending on the game (field) in play. In a certain field, HE in a university classroom for instance, a trump card for a student would be his/her knowledge about 'advanced' reading, writing, critical thinking or maths above the standard level of achievement of the cohort. Possessing such capital, a student might get more access to the

teacher's attention, extra challenges, or rewards in any form unlike his/her classmates. For Skeggs (2004b), this student's capital has an "exchangeable-value or exchange-value" based on the logic of the field: a worth or merit that can be substituted for other things in HE.

Henceforth, field can be understood as a social space especially the actual 'locus' or contextual boundaries where society is working (Bourdieu 1989; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Costa & Murphy 2015). Bourdieu adds that "a field consists of a set of objective, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital)" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 16). As fields "are organized around specific types or combinations of capital" (Broberg 2015, p. 51), a field includes the arena of interactions as agents exercise capital/power to compete for positions in the field. There are force and struggle in this social field; struggle and power relations to secure positions or influence. In the economic field, for instance, people may have business relations of gains or losses while the idea of charity might not be emphasised (thus highlighting a certain logic in the field). The types of power that are at stake in this field include financial capital, in that the wealthier an agent is the more power he/she can exercise when required. The case is different in the field of HE where the type of power or authority that is most legitimate is not money. The following section presents the system of interactions in HE in more detail, analysing specifically how agents navigate their capitals.

Operationalising Bourdieu in higher education

In 1988, Bourdieu wrote *Homo academicus*, mapping out the constructions of the intellectual field in France and specifically analysing the forms of symbolic capital and power and how they work in the field of HE. In this work, he writes that the university field is organised by "principles of hierarchisation" (Bourdieu 1988a, p. 48). Intellectuals, academics and institutions may legitimate a "hierarchy of prestige" in the field (Bourdieu 1988a, p. 14) based on the species of capital they possess. Thus said, using the species of capital they possess, individuals and institutions gain power or authority to privilege them for positions or recognition. This system of operation may be operationalised differently due to the contextual conditions of a country, for instance.

In the context of this study, the field is the HE system in Australia and Indonesia. While I consider field to be country specific, I recognise that many consider HE to be a field unto itself (Bathmaker 2015). Like all types of social field, HE is generally organised by a network or a system of relations of the members' positions which are determined by a

certain quantity of their capital. In practice though, the field is constructed through government policies and funding structures. In regard to how HE is influenced by globalisation, for instance, Lingard, Taylor and Rawolle (2005, p. 668) found that "the field of educational policy has reduced autonomy" of the institution and the academics, with strong influences from the world of economy and journalism. Also, HE policies are increasingly dominated by external power where institutions are largely framed to maintain "positions of domination within a field" (Rawolle & Lingard 2013, p. 126). This current system of relations within HE significantly influences how each institution organises practices of teaching and assessment through their policies and institutional habitus, which is elaborated in the coming section. Often, it becomes HE's responsibility to facilitate national responses to globalisation and neoliberalism by way of the *corporate university* (Di Leo 2017; Marginson 2007a), for instance, where knowledge is a commodity for trading (Winn 2015). Academics are perceived as productive achievers of *capital* in terms of research and funding (Lawrence & Sharma 2002). These studies recapitulate how the field of HE is structured by power relations largely from outside the academic milieu.

Referring to Bourdieu, the important element for agents that enables participation in such a system of relations is what he calls *capital* (Bourdieu 2004; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Moore 2008; Wacquant 1998). People use capital to gain and secure positions in society. Typically, there are three basic kinds of capital in society: *economic, cultural* and *social capital*, and they can be mutually exchanged or transformed. In regard to the types and conceptualisation of each type of capital, Bourdieu (2004, p. 16) writes as follows.

> capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as *cultural capital*, which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility.

In this excerpt, Bourdieu captures a general feature of capitalism, with the prominent position of economic capital as objective transfer for both cultural and social capitals. Presumably, economic capital, often termed *material capital,* is the most apparent and highly valued by many in each society.

Adding a layer of complexity to the category of cultural capital, Bourdieu writes that it can be manifested in three forms:

> Cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the *embodied* state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, and so on), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.; and in the *institutionalized* state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee. (Bourdieu 2004, p. 17)

For Bourdieu, cultural capital is predominantly embodied because this capital is in fact "external wealth [which is] converted into an integral part of the person, into a habitus" and thus cannot be "transmitted instantaneously (unlike money, property rights, or even titles of nobility) by gift or bequest, purchase or exchange" (Bourdieu 2004, p. 18). Thus understood, (higher) education performs as a social institution primarily in order to develop this cultural capital in the form of embodied qualities (knowledge, competence, skills, authorities, expertise). It is a place where people work hard to get a piece of paper. It can also be a social mobility ladder for many. In other words, it contrasts with notions of ascribed status. However, ultimately (or even largely) such symbolic capital is then formalised into the institutionalised capital of educational qualifications, which is easily recognised and highly valued in present-day neoliberal society.

As a means of developing cultural capital, education first needs to facilitate the students to accumulate cultural capital in its embodied state. HE institutions, according to Bourdieu (1988a, p. 74), serve a social function of "consecration and conservation" as students socialise in the field within the institutional rituals of the university, including teaching and assessment. Arguably, as people come to the university with various backgrounds of cultural capital ingrained from previous experiences (education, family upbringing and social interactions), HE ideally reduces (through sharing and teaching) the disparities in the levels of knowledge and skills, particularly between academics and students. By way of such a sharing and assisting culture in teaching and assessment in particular, as conceptualised by andragogy and heutagogy, HE contributes to advancing what this study calls *assessment capital,* outlined later in this chapter.

Connoisseurship, a concept Sadler (1989) mentions in relation to assessment for instance, is essential to reduce the different levels of assessment capital possessed by individuals and groups in universities. Arguably, Sadler is inspired by Polanyi who outlines connoisseurship as "skills", understood as a combination of "an art of doing" and

"an art of knowing" (Polanyi 1962, p. 56). Connoisseurship is an alternative means of experiencing high-quality assessment guided by an expert academic, but is eventually aimed at encouraging self-directed, self-determined learning by the enduring exercise of self-assessment as capital. Assessment capital is again understood in this study as self-referential assessment, evaluative knowledge or assessment as learning. It is a core generative mechanism in the building of predominantly cultural capital in the life of the university (faculty, school, department), classroom and other educational institutions. This idea of "connoisseur" is suggested by Bourdieu in his *Distinction* as "unconscious mastery" resulting from "slow familiarisation" with the work in the field of HE (Bourdieu 1984, p. 66).

On the other hand, social capital, according to Bourdieu, is

> the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. (Bourdieu 2004, p. 21)

Put simply, social capital is a symbolic entitlement of being a member of a group which, to a great extent, allows the member to gain socially recognised credentials (social status, respect or legitimacy) for appropriation accordingly.

Social capital is often institutionalised in names in order to maintain and reinforce positions in society, such as a family name, a party or a clan. In the context of HE, social capital is predominantly instituted in the name of the university as the valued alma mater of the alumni and everyone linked to it. A certain class or year is additionally assigned with the name of the university for more exclusive, limited membership and thus social capital, such as Class of 2000 of the University of South Australia.

Bourdieu also outlines *symbolic capital,* which he theorises as "symbolic properties" (Bourdieu 1984, p. 20) or "symbolic benefits" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 2013, p. 293) applicable to every kind of capital when it is exemplified, represented or gained "symbolically", as opposed to through material, measurable objects such as money or gold (Bourdieu 2004, p. 27). Symbolic capital is generally unrecognised as economic capital but is recognisable as legitimate competence or as authority, and "the social conditions of its transmission and acquisition are more disguised than those of economic capital" (Bourdieu 2004, p. 18). Symbolic capital has inevitable symbolic efficacy or symbolic exchange

value, which entitles the owner to gain symbolic profits from his/her capital (Bourdieu 2004; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Skeggs 2004a, 2004b). This concept of "symbolic effects of capital" is only legitimate when it gains recognition within the habitus and its specific logic (Bourdieu 1997, p. 242). Alongside with cultural and social capital, this type of capital is most significant in the field of HE where institutions and academics are positioned based on their symbolic capital, whether they have prestige or otherwise (Bourdieu 1988a).

Briefly, the field of HE plays a pivotal role in nurturing everybody's – more specifically students' – symbolic capital, that is, cultural and social capital. The development of embodied cultural capital is emphasised in HE, which is largely in line with the ideas of andragogy and heutagogy. More importantly, in regard to assessment practices, the idea of developing the "assessment capital" of the students as well as the academics needs to be encouraged and intensified in the field of HE. In so doing, the concept of assessment habitus is at the same time appropriated in high-quality assessment practices, which are collaboratively owned and performed by academics and students.

However, while the concept of social field covers the broader arena of HE preferably shared by all universities, there is potentially deviation in the actual practices of teaching and assessment within individual institutions. As a consequence, this study adopts the emerging concept of institutional habitus, which is believed to be able to capture the social practice in each institution under scrutiny. A section analytically exploring this concept follows.

3.4 Revisionist approaches to Bourdieu: Institutional habitus

Adapting the idea of habitus possessed by individual agents (but informed by the social milieu), some scholars have attempted to apply it to an institution or organisation in order to depict the collective dispositions working mutually in the institution, commonly termed *institutional habitus*. This has been particularly common in education. Some scholars believe this conceptual invention of institutional habitus can capture the dynamic milieu of an institution as an entity in a bigger social field of HE in a country or even in global society. Presumably, this theoretical innovation, which has gained increased attention in recent years, is rooted in Bourdieu's idea of class, or what he refers to as a collective habitus (Wacquant 2016). It is also possible to envisage the revisionist approach to institutional habitus as akin to Bourdieu's concept of habitus, where it may have its own dispositions, is dynamic and possesses its own agency.

Institutional habitus was initiated by Reay (1998) when studying the influence of the family and the school on ten students' preferences to continue studying in HE in the UK. She found that habitus from family upbringing, called *familial habitus*, and the habitus of the school, so called *institutional habitus*, interplay within the students and significantly influence their HE choices. Her concept of institutional habitus has gained supports from a number of authors such Burke et al. (2013), Tarabini et al. (2017) and Byrd (2019), but also criticism from Atkinson (2011, 2013), causing some debate. Based on her study, Reay understands institutional habitus as factors including "institutional influences, advice, support, certainty, uncertainty and degrees of exclusion" (Reay 1998, p. 528) of the school that validate students' choices for (their future) HE.

In response to Reay's concept of institutional habitus, Atkinson (2011) criticised it as flawed, unsound and motivated by "simply pragmatic empiricism" (p. 331). For him, the newly coined terminology refers to school ethos and is thus similar to Bourdieu's *doxa*. He refers this school ethos or doxa as the systems or mechanisms of how "the school operates" which manifests in the forms of expectations, standards, missions, policies and so on of the school (p. 342). Atkinson also suggests that the leadership of the school or university (principal, head of school or vice chancellor) can represent the school and its doxa; namely, he/she speaks "as the school" (p. 342).

In turn, Atkinson's viewpoint invited another theoretical exercise on the issue by Burke, Emmerich and Ingram (2013), who supported Reay and insisted that Bourdieu's habitus – like all his tools – is highly flexible, and able to include individual and collective concepts. They argue that social actors are interrelated to each other and "constitutive of fields rather than as mere individuals plotted in social space" (p. 165). In other words, according to them, institutional habitus is thus a collective endeavour; namely, how the individuals in an institution work together to generate a system of actions within the institution as well as when interacting with other institutions (schools or HE). Thus said, these authors understand institutional habitus as a socio-analytical tool for understanding the "interactions between individuals, and between individuals, groups and institutions within the wider sociological landscapes of modern society" (p. 179).

In due response, Atkinson (2013) further objected to Burke, Emmerich and Ingram's (2013) ideas, saying that institutions do not possess emotions, and that individuals do not share a single "super habitus" (p. 183) of the institution or family. According to Atkinson, this super habitus is in fact Bourdieu's doxa or family spirit/school ethos, thus institutional habitus is redundant. Furthermore, Atkinson suggested that Burke, Emmerich and Ingram

misunderstood Bourdieu's "class of habitus" in *Pascalian meditations* (1997) as the conceptual basis of institutional habitus. Based on similar conditions of existence, class of habitus is not "bounded to groups of all kinds in the social space but to proximity within a space of difference on the basis of the capitals operant there" (p. 185). Above all these debates, however, I suggest that institutional habitus is much more flexible than the concept of *doxa*, which is used to understand the truths of the social and natural world, the taken-for-granted and self-evident. Henceforth, institutional habitus may also exist and be interpreted separately as an institution may have its own dispositions, dynamics and agency.

As these debates on the theoretical bases of institutional habitus played out in the UK context, in the United States Cornbleth (2010) endeavoured to apply Reay's (1998) concept in terms of how it is negotiated by prospective teachers – who are academically successful and mostly white and middle class – during their pre-service teacher field experience in a New York City high school serving a racially and ethnically diverse student cohort. Her focus was on the "unofficial 'diversity curriculum' of the school", and how such collective habitus is communicated to the student teachers. Highlighting both her understanding and operationalising of institutional habitus, she concludes that:

> Messages constituting and reflecting institutional habitus can be communicated personally as in a student imitating the principal making announcements over the public address system or a teacher telling stories in the teachers' lounge. Messages also can be embedded in bureaucracy as in rules and regulations, prevailing norms, or simply advice about 'how we do things here.' Finally, messages can be carried by organizational practices or technical means such as the school schedule, the nature and availability of facilities and materials, AP courses, or mandated exams. (Cornbleth 2010, p. 286)

For Cornbleth (2010), institutional habitus is *collective habitus* and is communicated in different ways, such as personally (in principals' announcement or teachers' talks), through bureaucracy (in rules, regulations, norms, advice), and by organisational/technical practices (schedule, facilities, materials, mandated exams).

Some years after the debate, Tarabini, Curran and Fontdevila (2017, p. 1178), furthering the study, theorise institutional habitus as "the set of predispositions, taken-for-granted expectations and schemes of perception on the basis of which schools are organized". In their reflections on the legitimacy of institutional habitus, Tarabini, Curran and Fontdevila (2017) draw our attention to the use of institutional habitus in studying how

social composition is reproduced and navigated internally through and within institutional (school, university) practices. Tarabini, Curran and Fontdevila (2017) suggest decomposing and hence operationalising institutional habitus into three main components, namely, *educational status* (public/private, position, rank and so on), *organisational practices* (leadership, power relations, value of diversity and the like) and *expressive order* (school identity, shared beliefs, responsibility and so forth). In a more practical way, they offer the following:

> In short, institutional habitus research involves inquiring into how schools, collectively, think, perceive and have an impact on their students. It implies asking about the shared beliefs of teachers from one institution as to the nature of students, education and the schools themselves. In sum, it means examining how schools are positioned in relation to their social context and how they respond to this background through a variety of organizational and pedagogical devices. (Tarabini, Curran & Fontdevila 2017, p. 1179)

Correspondingly, for Çelik (2017, p. 12), institutional habitus "refers to educational status, organizational practices and expressive order, expectations, conduct, character, and manners" of the school. By comparing the institutional habitus of two secondary schools, one in Istanbul (Turkey) and one in Bremen (Germany), and the influence of institutional habitus on the educational performance of students from working-class minority and immigrant backgrounds and drawing upon institutional habitus, Çelik concludes that schools' institutional habitus strongly influence students' identity and their academic performance. Çelik's scholarship highlights empirically how school-related factors – as institutional habitus – accommodate students from different backgrounds within the school structures.

Most recently, Byrd (2019) composed a meta-analysis of the concept of institutional habitus drawing from a field of scholarship that was both theoretical and empirical. Surveying the different uses and emphases within studies of institutional habitus, Byrd concludes that there are two frameworks of its operationalisation:

> [whether] institutional habitus is understood as the element(s) that generate the preferential treatment (*Institutional Attribute*) or whether the treatment's outcome is institutional habitus itself (*Institutional Effect*). That is, institutional habitus as attribute captures a mechanism of influence – for example, institutional norms and practices – whereas institutional habitus as effect reflects the influence of these norms and practices. (Byrd 2019, p. 181)

Byrd (2019, p. 194) then defines institutional habitus as "an institution's values, common sense, beliefs, behaviors, and taken-for-granted positions as situated within historical and contemporary social relations". With this assertion in mind, she reconceptualises institutional habitus as institutional status that (institutionally and socially) determines an institution's perspectives, which guide the normalised practices, attributes, beliefs and assumptions of the institution. According to Byrd, institutional habitus "shapes institutional policy and practice in much the same way that individual habitus influences individual social action through interpretive schema governed by the objective and subjective effects of social position" (2019, p. 194). From Byrd's work we can deduce that, as a tool, institutional habitus allows us to study how a HE institution (school, department, faculty, university) intrinsically structures its academic practices as well as how it serves as a mechanism in response to the field of HE locally, nationally and globally. Put simply, institutional habitus can be understood as *the habitus of an institution or organisation*.

To conclude, institutional habitus continues to be contested and there appears to be very little consensus as to how it is defined and how to operationalise it as a conceptual tool to understand social practices. While its legitimacy remains suspect, what is clear across all the studies is that the habitus of people can be organised collectively around institutional practice manifested in policies, culture, system of operation, vision, mission and leadership. A meta-analysis of institutional habitus and its relation to Bourdieu's original concept of habitus is presented in Appendix 1.

In the actual practice of teaching and assessment in each university (and in HE in general), it is conceptually suggested that the professional/pedagogical habitus of the academics as well as the students works in a collaborative manner with this institutional habitus of the university, faculty, department or school.[33] Eventually, it is my belief that by inculcation of such collaborative habitus the students and the academics can significantly nurture their cultural capital. This symbolic capital is increasingly critical in the era of neoliberal education, where (higher) education institutions "are now encouraged to trade in skills and qualifications that will act as passports for their pupils to a future somewhere else" (Moss 2012, p. 104). Bearing in mind that through institutional habitus not all institutions are the same; they have different levels of symbolic capital and distinction.

[33] It is my contention that insitutional habitus can cover various levels: at the uiversity level (in terms of policy documents about assessment) or at the faculty/department/school level (that implement the central policy and/or have their own versions).

Therefore, in particular reference to (teaching and) assessment, this study's concept of *assessment capital*, as part of such symbolic capital and distinction, and the corresponding *assessment habitus* need to be critically explored in more detail.

3.5 Assessment capital and assessment habitus

It is worth noting that Bourdieu was not specifically interested in educational assessment. However, it is my belief that a Bourdieusian approach to theory which concerns itself with how people put a value on things and use their stock of capitals (cultural, social, symbolic) is useful for understanding the practice of assessment today. Accordingly, he had thoughts on the assertion that individuals need to measure the value of their capital to appropriate the position, recognition or objectives of their education, especially HE. In this thesis I seek to use Bourdieusian concepts innovatively to provide new lines of understanding in a) assessment, b) universities, and c) understanding the practices of English learning and the assessment that takes place.

I assert that what happens in each university concerning teaching and assessment is to some extent structured in the same way as the field of HE in general. As suggested by Bourdieu, in this social field – and institutions as microcosms of society – it is important for agents to participate in such a system of relations using *capital* (Bourdieu 1988a, 2004; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). Additionally, the professional habitus of the academics as well as the students works in collaborative manner with this institutional habitus of the university (faculty, department or school) outlined in the previous section/s. With particular regard to the teaching and assessment practices in each university, the capital at stake can be referred to as *assessment capital*, which corresponds with the concept of *assessment habitus*, which needs to be further examined. This section is hence dedicated to the examination, or conceptual exercise, of such theoretical innovation.

To reiterate briefly, capital can be defined as "the currency used within the [social] field by participants to accrue status or power or to exert control over it" (Broberg 2015, p. 54). In other words, capital is validated by and within the field, where individuals use capital to exchange, gain and secure positions in the social space (see previous section on "Field and capital").

As aforementioned, HE is required to advance, primarily, students' symbolic capital – more specifically their *embodied cultural capital*. And as they are adult learners, the propositions of self-directed and self-determined learning within the concepts of andragogy and heutagogy are critical. Thus understood, it is also crucial that teaching and

assessment are designed and directed towards these goals. Practising high-quality assessment as a social experience of the students in a university is a substantial means to develop their cultural capital. This cultural capital in the form of the students' (or learners' in a universal sense) *accumulated personal qualities* or *capacity* to assess their own learning and to act accordingly towards their goals is what this study suggests as *assessment capital*. In other words, assessment capital is the *learners' capacity* to perform self-assessment of their learning; it is the *self-evaluative knowledge and skills* of the students, in Sadler's (1989) words. In this sense, assessment capital is part of embodied cultural capital – it works as *cultural capital within the practices of assessment*.

With these lines of argument in mind, it is clear that the concept of assessment capital operates within the notion of assessment as learning (AaL) (as well as assessment for learning, AfL). AaL is a means for students to advance their self-evaluative skills (and knowledge) through experiencing (and, more importantly, becoming involved in) high-quality assessment and its whole processes. Such self-evaluative skills developed in AaL include setting the objectives or goals as standards, how to (self-) assess one's learning during the course, how to define the quality of the works in assessment, and how to act upon such assessment for progress. By becoming involved in and practising that quality assessment, as it informs social practices at university, students – or learners in general – internalise such a mechanism or system of actions, which is characterised as *assessment habitus* in this study. In other words, assessment habitus (and hence assessment institutional habitus) is conceptualised as the students' (academic) habitus of assessment: their system of actions in assessment embodied from experiencing AaL and AfL in HE.

Due to the fact that assessment habitus is tacitly gained from social practice in HE institutions, a number of lines need to be drawn. First, feedback advocated in AfL is still crucial from the academic as a connoisseur so that the students can gradually learn during assessment processes. Secondly, self-evaluative skills encouraged by AaL should be shared and practised in everyday social practices in a university. In turn, students will be socially nurtured by their university's quality assessment to become independent, lifelong learners.

First, educators are aware that the results of assessment should be used as a kind of feedback for the academic to adjust his/her teaching, including to provide assistance to some of the students for example. For the students in particular, assessment feedback informs their level of understanding and learning, or the stage of their journey towards the knowledge they seek to understand. Indeed, feedback is of the greatest importance in this

understanding of assessment for learning. However, the increasing practice of giving feedback to students per se can lead to a situation where the academic is just telling the students what to know or what to do.[34] If this is repeatedly and continuously practised, it may lead to a habit of dependency for those involved, seemingly not a good one. To a great extent, this over-reliance on the practice of 'telling' can be viewed as another way of academics spoiling their students by always telling them what to do. This practice of giving feedback is understood as merely an initial step in showing the students the whole process of assessment as a structured system of knowledge seeking or lifelong learning.

Secondly, the concept of AaL is pivotal in the sharing of 'the tacit evaluative knowledge' of students and academics, ensuring they are inculcating the same assessment habitus, outlined later. It is the same logic of practices as it is lived in the classroom and as the institutional habitus of the university (faculty, department, school). The students and academics share the experience of reflecting on the whole practice of assessment. A basic tenet of this study is that the ultimate aim of assessment is to support students as they understand and equip themselves through engaging in the practice of assessment. I am interested, in terms of assessment capital, in how academics perceive the ways students advance their tacit knowledge of their own self-referential assessment skills for studies of an academic or vocational character in the social life within and outside educational institutions.

Assessment influences practices of teaching and learning. At the same time, the relationship between academics and students is formed and maintained through assessment practices. Within the academic endeavour, experiencing AfL and AaL and doing critical thinking on quality feedback is expected to become part of students' personal practices and thus their "dispositions" for the rest of their life (Sadler 2002, p. 45). Indeed, by continuous practices of critical and reflexive thinking towards AfL and AaL, students slowly familiarise themselves with the requirements of the assessment and work with the connoisseur (Bourdieu 1984) in order to be inculcated into their assessment habitus.

Therefore, assessment plays a role in establishing students' habitus of lifelong or independent learning. As a condition, conducive contexts of AfL, AaL and feedback

[34] It is increasingly clear that, in the last 20 years or so, there has been a move in HE from a focus upon using teaching as an indicator of quality to using student graduate outputs as an indicator of quality. In other words, there has been a shift in focus from inputs to outputs, and this has also meant a debate about AoL and AfL, with feedback by academics to students during their programs and courses becoming increasingly important. Sadler's work (1989) has been important in this movement on the theoretical and policy stages. He initiated the focus on formative assessment or assessment for learning (AfL) which is also in line with key points of AaL advocated in this study.

should be maintained so that the students can constantly exercise their critical and reflexive thinking on the quality of feedback they receive. Gradually, such practices can therefore form and create "independent learners" or "independent learning" (Phakiti, Hirsh & Woodrow 2013, p. 243; Walkinshaw, Milford & Freeman 2015, p. 1) among students possessing higher-order thinking skills.[35] When HE students possess such evaluative skills, which they can gradually develop through experiencing high-quality assessment in HE (such as formative assessment and feedback during their academic lives in universities), they might also have "sufficient working knowledge" to understand assessment for their own learning (Sadler 2010, p. 537). However, while this may be true, assessment practices are not formed in a vacuum. In fact, they are subject to the values and constraints of the HE institutions which are structured through the logic of the field.

HE students need to inculcate the institutional assessment habitus of the university/faculty/department, mediated by academics, in assessment practices that familiarise them with such assessment habitus and encourage them to advance their personal qualities as independent learners – including assessing their learning independently. In so doing, through assessment practices, the students are socially involved in accruing the embodied cultural capital – the assessment capital in particular – that is necessary for their HE academic life. In the long run, this accumulated assessment capital – as part of embodied cultural capital – is transferable into other forms of capital or can be appropriated as intellectual currency or authority in social and professional fields after graduation.

[35] Independent learners in a Bourdieusian perspective, though, are regarded as products of the field; they are agents who are "socially constituted as active and acting in the field under consideration by the fact that they possess the necessary properties to be effective, to produce effects, in this field" (Wacquant 1989, pp. 6–7).

Chapter 4: Methodology and methods of study

Abstract:
Ontologically, this study attempts to gain verstehen (understanding) of people's actions, namely, academics' assessment practices in higher education. On the basis of constructionism and interpretivism, methodological arguments for using a qualitative approach, comparative study, and (multiple) case study inquiry are discussed analytically. To operationalise the methodology, practical methods of data collection are presented and justified, predominantly choosing documents and policies as well as semi-structured interviews. A detailed recount of reflexivity, research design, data analysis procedures, triangulation, and ethical considerations is offered in the subsequent sections.

This chapter presents a critical exploration to justify the methodology and methods employed to answer the overarching research question – *How does an academic's habitus and (perception of) capital influence his/her practices in assessing English studies in Indonesian and Australian HE?* Henceforth, the chapter is divided into two main parts: methodology (Section 4.1) and methods of study (Section 4.2). The methodology section discusses the detailed rationale for adopting a qualitative approach, comparative study, and more specifically a case study inquiry. In Section 4.2, the methods of data collection – specifically documents and policies as well as semi-structured interviews – are presented and justified before a detailed recount of reflexivity, research design, data analysis procedures, triangulation and ethical considerations.

4.1 Methodology

Based on the epistemology of constructionism or constructivism and the theoretical perspective of interpretivism examined at the beginning of Chapter 3, this chapter presents the methodology of study in more detail, with specific reference to qualitative strategies, comparative study, and case study inquiry.

Qualitative approach

A qualitative approach was adopted primarily due to its fit with the nature of the phenomenon being studied, namely the practice and experience of individuals. Qualitative research, according to Saldaña (2011, p. 3), "is an umbrella term for a wide variety of

approaches to and methods for the study of natural social life". In this study I intended to examine assessment practices by the academics in the 'natural' (Yin 2011) academic life of Indonesian and Australian HE. Consequently, the phenomenon is complex and deeply embedded in each context and so requires a qualitative strategy (Audet & d'Amboise 2001).

Central to this focus is how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences. Put differently, this study is aimed at understanding participants' experiences and interpretations of their experiences, in this case, how academics assess students and their interpretations of this. Therefore, a qualitative research strategy was preferred, due to the fact that qualitative research allows the researcher to interpret people's or participants' viewpoints, stories, behaviour or values (Silverman & Marvasti 2008; Tracy 2013). Researchers offer "second-order interpretations" in that researchers construct explanations of the participants' explanations (Tracy 2013).

While recognising the value of quantitative research, a quantitative methodology was rejected because such an approach sits uncomfortably with the fundamental underpinnings of the current inquiry. A quantitative methodology emphasises "testing objective theories" (Creswell 2009, p. 4) and the research tends to focus on explanation, thereby leaving less room for understanding the complex and fluid nature of academics' identity, habitus and capital encapsulated in their assessment practices. Indeed, rather than 'testing' a theory, the current study seeks to build new understandings of assessment practices in Indonesian and Australian HE, in order to uncover their rationale and interpretations. The qualitative approach is thus preferred as the insight, discovery and interpretation of data is considered more important than hypothesis testing (Merriam 2009).

Some researchers have anticipated an etic/emic tension in qualitative research where the etic – the outsider or the researcher's perspectives – is in juncture with the emic – the insider or participants' views (Guba & Lincoln 2004, 2005; Stahl 2015). Thus understood, the data in the current study should be considered a 'holistic portrait' (Creswell 2007, p. 72) of academic assessment practices because the study incorporates the views of the participants (emic) as well as the views of the researcher (etic) in a blended fashion of critical interpretation and exploration. In the words of Tracy (2013, p. 22), this current study uses an 'inductive emic approach' by drawing conclusions or theory based on conceptualised general patterns of observed interactions in social life, namely the

academics' assessment practices. In what follows, the nature and rationale of employing a comparative perspective on the phenomena being studied is presented and justified.

Comparative study

Comparative study is generally employed to identify, analyse and explain similarities across groups, societies, institutions and cultures. It can be approached in different ways based on "the type of research and the epistemological and methodological standpoint" of the study (Dawson 2013, p. 178). Researchers can compare and contrast theories, schools of thought, case studies, historical personalities or literary texts, for example (Dawson 2013). Meanwhile, drawing on Mills (2008), comparative research is conceptualised as a general strategy that endeavours to evaluate the similarities, differences and associations "between entities … [which] may be based on many lines such as statements from an interview or individual, symbols, case studies, social groups, geographical or political configurations, and cross-national comparisons" (Mills 2008, p. 100). It is deducible from these authors that studying assessment practices by HE academics in Indonesia and Australia needs to be a comparative study.

Comparative study examines two or more entities (or cases in this study) in order to analytically explore not only similarities but also differences as well as relations among them. Furthermore, due to the fact that this study cross-compares cases of assessment practices by academics in two countries, it can be categorised as a study in *comparative education* (Arnove, Torres & Franz 2013; Bray 2014; Cowen 2018; Huaman 2019; Manzon 2011; Trethewey 1976). Conceptually, "comparative education has always directed attention to educational ideas, processes and practices in other societies" (Trethewey 1976, p. 2), which is well-suited to this study of academics' practices of assessment of English in two different countries: Indonesia and Australia.

In terms of aspects of comparison, Bray (2014, p. 9) writes that comparisons are often conducted on three bases: *geographic/locational levels* for comparison (including regions/continents, countries, states/provinces, districts, schools, classrooms and individuals), *nonlocational demographic groups* (including ethnic, age, religious, gender and other groups, and entire populations), and *aspects of education and of society* (such as curriculum, teaching methods, finance, management structures, political change and labour markets). With this proposition in mind, this current study thus endeavours to incorporate the three aspects of comparison advocated by Bray in the analysis of HE academics' assessment practices. The research design allows me to cross-compare aspects of seniority

and tenure among the academics. Comparing aspects of the academics' institutional background such as the age of the institution is also relevant in this study. This comparison is in line with Gray's (2013, p. 256) contention that "cases can be studied in one field that are similar to cases in another". With this in mind, I will now discuss the case study inquiry approach employed by the research.

Case study inquiry

There are typically three characteristics of *case study* research, namely "particularistic, descriptive, and heuristic" (Merriam 2009, p. 44). A case study is considered *particularistic* for it focuses on a particular phenomenon or situation and what that phenomenon might represent. In the words of Gillham (2000, p. 6), this particularistic feature is termed the 'specificity' character of case study. Case study is *descriptive* in the sense that a case study has the capacity to create a thick description of the studied phenomenon, with different angles or dimensions (Gobo & Marciniak 2016). In other words, case study includes as many variables as possible, and accommodates in-depth data and multiple, thick information (Creswell 2007). Lastly, a case study is *heuristic* in the way that it illuminates the readers' understanding of the phenomenon under study (Merriam 2009). Case study research can bring about the discovery of new meaning, extend the reader's experience, or confirm what is known, drawn from "highly pertinent" characteristics of the phenomenon under research (Yin 2003, p. 13).

The specific rationale for adopting a *comparative case study* design in this thesis is that, first and foremost, a case study approach offers the opportunity to examine the unique phenomena, specifically academic assessment practices in Indonesian and Australian HE, while the comparative perspective lends the research to contrast multiple poles of the phenomenon under scrutiny such as countries, institutions or seniority of the academics. More specifically, a *multi-site case study* was selected to answer the research questions (Audet & d'Amboise 2001; Bishop 2010). However, diverse terminologies are suggested by other scholars to refer to this type of case study.

The term multi-site case study is often used interchangeably with *multiple-case studies* (Gillham 2000), *comparative case studies*, and what Stake termed *collective case studies* (Bishop 2010, p. 2). For Stake (2000, quoted in Silverman and Marvasti 2008), the term collective case studies (or multi-site case study) is preferable when the research involves a number of comparative cases, which in my study are assessment practices by twenty academics from four institutions in two countries.

According to Bishop (2010), a multi-site case study "investigates a defined, contemporary phenomenon that is common to *two or more real-world or naturalistic settings*" (emphasis added). In this current study, the two real-world/naturalistic settings are Indonesian and Australian universities. In fact, since two institutions are involved from each country, the current study investigates four naturalistic contextual settings. In so doing, a multi-site case study is used as a means of understanding individual academics, institutional policies and programs (on assessment), and groups of academics through multiple representations of their assessment practices. Ultimately, the common phenomenon in the multiple settings of this study is the academic assessment practices.

There are many definitions of case studies available in the literature, such as by Merriam (2009, p. 40) contending that a case study is "an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system". The term *bounded system* is here understood as a single entity, a unit around which there are boundaries. In the current study, the bounded systems concern the institutional habitus and culture, but cases can be individuals, events, programs, institutions or a society, as contended by Hesse-Biber (2017). Furthermore, as aforementioned, the current study was a multi-site case study of multiple contexts or institutions.

Creswell (2007, p. 73), describing case studies in more detail, writes that case studies belong to qualitative research, which can examine a single "case" or multiple "cases" through "detailed, in-depth data collection". In order that the data was detailed, I used "multiple sources of information", for example interviews, documents and reports, and then reported in the form of descriptions and themes on the case/s (Creswell 2007, p. 73). Using diverse methods and data sources (Bloor & Wood 2006; Creswell 2007; Gobo & Marciniak 2016; Merriam 2009; Tracy 2013), the understanding of the significant characteristics of the phenomenon under scrutiny was comprehensively reached.

A case study can be seen as studying *what* or *what is known* about the case and *how* as the process. The case is generally a noun, a thing, an entity (Stake 2010, p. 1), while the process is an "empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context" (Yin 2003, p. 1). The 'what' aspect in this case study is the academic assessment practices of English. Meanwhile, the 'how' refers to the phenomenon of how the academics' identities and experiences reflect their own contexts of assessment practices.

Saldaña (2011, p. 9) classifies three methods of selecting a case to study: *deliberately* because of its unique character, thus presenting itself as a rich opportunity and exemplar

for focused study; *strategically* because it is deemed to represent the most typical example of its kind; or simply and purposively for *convenience*. Referring to these three categories, the cases in the current study were selected for at least two reasons: *strategically* to represent groups of established and less established universities as well as the two countries of Indonesia and Australia with their own characteristics; and *conveniently* as the locations of the four institutions could be comfortably accessed by the researcher.

Indeed, according to Eidlin (2010, p. 64), case studies are at times undertaken "for the uniqueness of the case". The implication here is that the assessment practices by Indonesian and Australian academics were unique and distinctive and thus needed exploration and examination. However, the application of case study inquiry implies that the current study does not rely merely on empirical data from the research sites, but also requires a theoretical analysis that identifies scholarly concepts which ultimately help the reader "make sense of the case in more complex ways" (Tracy 2013, p. 265). These multiple cases of academics' identities and assessment practices are used to establish a more holistic understanding of the cases and to produce fruitful knowledge for application in other contexts (Silverman & Marvasti 2008).

At the same time, these critical descriptions of the cases, albeit unique and limited, can be used as a basis for subsequent further exploration and theorising; or to understand what is missing from our more generalised theorising. Therefore, the case study approach also has "the intent of developing or modifying theory" (Eidlin 2010, p. 64). Thus, the intention of the study is to develop new knowledge through collecting rich data which speaks to how identity, habitus (both at the individual and institutional level) and capital play out in assessment practices. Again, the ultimate intent is not generalisation. Instead, the aim is to gain a more complex and richer understanding of the data through intense, in-depth exploration of the cases. As a result, the findings from the cases may hold a wealth of "transferable information" to wider contexts or other institutions (Hesse-Biber 2017).

4.2 Methods of study

This section is presented to critically elaborate the actual methods used to attempt to understand the academics' practices of assessment. Subsections are included in the following order: data collection through documents and policies, in-depth interviews, research design and data analysis.

Documents and policies

According to Bloor and Wood (2006, p. 28), case studies often use "multiple methods of data collection" including interviews, observations, documents, and audio or video recordings. Field-notes are also a key source of data (Creswell 2007; Flick 2011; Silverman 2016). This section focuses on documents as one of the key sources of information. Briefly, these documents contain information about English assessment policies and practices from the four institutions in Indonesia and Australia. Data was collected between August 2017 and March 2018. In what follows, the nature of and rationale for using each data source is put forward and justified.

As a resource, documents are understood as a means to understand the producers of the document, their purpose, and their audience. As a topic of research at the same time, documents are critically analysed to uncover their features, the particular conditions of their production and so on (Flick 2011). In theory, documents can be treated as a resource for triangulation (of other data sources such as interviews) or as a topic in themselves (Flick 2011; Silverman 2016) because documents are produced for certain practical and contextual purposes or intentions. Documents can take the form of printed materials, soft-copy files, or webpages (Hesse-Biber 2017).

In this study, the researcher collected a number of documents related to (English) assessment policies and/or general academic policies, which also included teaching process and curriculum, in four institutions in both Australia and Indonesia. These academic "administrative" documents (Silverman 2016) are largely issued by a university and its faculties. However, other documents on assessment policy which were issued by the schools or departments within the university were also examined either as a complement to the university's or faculty's regulations or a distinctive policy as an interpretation and enactment of more central regulation. A list of documents under scrutiny is provided in Appendix 4.

In addition to the above institutional academic and/or assessment policies, course outlines predominantly prepared by the academics were also examined because those documents include information about assessment, which is accessible by the students too. These documents are classified as both the policy and practice of assessment by the academics. Examples of assessment and feedback by the academics – as described by them – and transcripts of audio recordings taken from the interviews are also included in this category, which are gathered as research data to complement other sources of information. By doing so, triangulation of specific information was done at the same time to maintain

credibility of the information (Flick 2011; Hesse-Biber 2017; Seidman 2006). How these documents were analysed will be explored in the section "Data analysis procedures".

Semi-structured interviews

The second type of data source in this current research is interviews, which were undertaken with twenty academics from four different institutions. As a method, interviews were selected because this study involved gathering the academics' stories about their assessment (Seidman 2006). From their stories, which according to Butcher (1902, as quoted in Seidman 2006, p. 7) are a way of knowing as well as a meaning-making process, the academics' details of their experiences with assessment, their reflections on them, and the rationale behind the assessment they practise were uncovered.

For Miller and Glassner (2016, p. 52), qualitative in-depth interviews provide access to social worlds "as evidence both of 'what happens' within them and of how individuals make sense of themselves, their experiences and their place within these social worlds". Through the interviews with the participants this study could create an understanding of how the academics reflexively interpret the practices of assessment that they have been doing within the institution. As Merriam (2009, p. 88) asserts, as "the best technique to use when conducting intensive case studies of a few selected individuals", interviews were appropriate for obtaining rich data for my study from only twenty voluntarily participating academics in Indonesia and Australia.

A number of characteristics of in-depth interviews are described in the literature, but some significant requirements are mentioned by Seidman (2006, p. 32): that "interviewers must not only identify their connection with the subject of the interview; they must also affirm that their interest in the subject reflects a real desire to know what is going on, to understand the experience". Thus understood, the researcher is in a middle position, not too close and not too detached from the interviewed participants.

Semi-structured interviews with each of the participants were conducted face-to-face for this research study. By definition, semi-structured interviews are "guided by a list of questions or issues to be explored, and neither the exact wording nor the order of the questions is determined ahead of time" (Merriam 2009, p. 90). In order to maintain the in-depth feature of the interviewing, Seidman (2006) proposes what he calls a "three-interview structure". Briefly, the interviews (or more precisely the questions in the interviews) were structured into three categories or headings: questions about *life history* in

regard to the academics' educational biography, *contemporary experience* regarding their practices of assessment, and *reflection on meaning* about why they did such practices.

I asked questions about life history to reveal information about how they became academics, their educational backgrounds, and the like. Contemporary experience questions were asked to uncover the academics' current situations in regard to their professional and academic roles in the institution, their relationships with students, colleagues and supervisors. Meanwhile, questions about how the participants make sense of their work as academics, or their rationale for choosing to practise a specific assessment, or of changing to a different model of assessment, for example, can lead the participants to offer reflections on meaning (Seidman 2006).

The interviews were mostly used to reveal how the academics' interpret and reflect on their assessment practices (based on the institutional policies) and why they do so (Miller & Glassner 2016; Seidman 2006). In addition, interviews were directed towards gaining information on the academics' identity, habitus and capital from their assessment practices in Indonesia and Australia. While we need to be critical about how people represent themselves in interviews, in this study, I believed that interviews are an immense and critical source of data for rich analyses in order to answer the questions about the institutional and, more particularly, individual habitus of the academics.

A list of questions for the interviews is presented in Appendix 2. An informal style of interviews was chosen so that both I and the interviewees would be more comfortable and elicit rich conversations. The interviews were conducted in English for Australian academics and Bahasa Indonesia for Indonesian academics with the aim for allowing the interviewees to feel more comfortable. The interviews were held at the same time and after the document analysis. The interview participants were informed that the conversations would be recorded, but their names were kept anonymous. The interview transcripts were only viewed by me and my supervisors. I told the interviewees that if they felt uncomfortable about being recorded at any point, they could ask me to turn off the recorder. Table 2 shows each data collection method along with the rationale for its use.

Table 2: Data collection tools and purposes

Data collection method	**Participants**	**Data**
Documents	A range of documents	• What assessment policies exist in Indonesian and Australian HE? • Which are different and which are similar? • Examples of assessment by academics

Interviews	Academics (20 participants)	• How the educators define their values about assessment (and education in general) • How assessment policies have been developed • How assessment policies are enacted by the educators both at institutional and classroom levels • How their habitus influences their enactment of assessment policies • What enacting such assessment policies means for classroom practices

Researcher reflexivity

Another critical aspect of data collection and analysis in this current research is reflexivity (Bourdieu 1988b, 1998; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Deer 2008; Farrugia 2013; Stahl 2015). For Bourdieu (1988b), reflexivity requires a process of looking back at oneself by 'thinking or behaving' reflexively and differently on the basis of the experiences or practices one has been through (Stahl 2015), as a kind of 'self-reference' or 'self-awareness' about social experiences (Bourdieu 1998; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). In other words, reflexivity is aimed at "making explicit the 'unthought' categories, perceptions, theories and structures that underpin any pre-reflexive grasp of the social world" (Deer 2008, p. 202).

This reflexivity plays pivotal roles for both the researcher and the academics as research participants. For the researcher, reflexivity is important in the process of data collection as well as during data analysis. During data collection, reflexive thinking and behaving were involved in the process of discussions or interviews with the academics, in asking the appropriate questions, in responding to the academics' statements, and the like (Farrugia 2013; McLeod 2003). Most significantly, reflexivity plays a greater role during data analysis when I performed reflexive thinking about the academics' interpretations, their persona during interviews, and the contextual situations of the interviews (McLeod 2003). Additionally, reflexivity involves considering the theoretical perspectives around the issues (e.g. assessment) and my own experiences of such situations.

For the participating academics, reflexivity includes their thinking or recalling of the actual contexts and situations when they assessed students. It is assumed the HE educators are also thinking reflexively when answering most of my questions such as those about their experiences of being assessed during their past education, about their first teaching

and assessing experiences, or their ideas about feedback, formative assessment, summative assessment, and so forth.

In summary, reflexivity is significant not only in data collection and data analysis but also in the researcher as well as the participating academics. To a great extent, such reflexive thinking and actions are a combination of "intelligibility" and "dispositions of the habitus" (Farrugia 2013, p. 283). In other words, the researcher's reflexivity was influenced by his academic, professional habitus and the participants' reflexivities were also structured by their academic, professional habitus. In what follows, the actual research design is elaborated incorporating key aspects of this study.

Research design

Since this research was conducted in two countries and four universities with twenty educators, it can be classified as a collective case study, multi-site case study or multi-case study research (Audet & d'Amboise 2001; Bishop 2010; Silverman & Marvasti 2008; Stake 2005, 2010). The cases in the collection are, to a certain extent, categorically bound together in that they may be regarded as members of a group or examples of a phenomenon. Ultimately, the research design allows multiple levels of comparison, specifically comparison across countries, across institutions, and/or across levels of seniority.

The selection of the two countries, Australia and Indonesia, has been previously explained, with both representing significant variations of the role and value of English in each country. Two universities from each country were selected on a number of conditions specifically the existence of English studies (in either education or humanities faculties/schools), feasibility aspects, and time and budget limitations. On these conditions, the University of Adelaide and Flinders University were selected to represent Australian HE while Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) Yogyakarta and IAIN Surakarta were selected to represent Indonesian HE. These were institutions that were not University of South Australia (where I was enrolled) and/or that I had very little experience with for minimising conflicts of interests.

From each institution, five educators were selected on the basis that they could represent habitus variations in terms of policy drivers, full-time or part-time/casual employment, and early or late career. A one-on-one semi-structured interview was conducted with each participant to collect data, with a follow-up interview (or correspondence via online methods) whenever necessary. Documents on each institution's

assessment policy (or the broader academic policy) were also collected and analysed in addition to the data from interviews in an attempt to examine the institutional policies and habitus of their assessment. Data were also collected from documents on the academics' assessment practices. The following table summarises the sites and the participants of this study.

Table 3: Research sites and participants[36]

Indonesia Site 1 (Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta, UGM)	**Indonesia Site 2 (IAIN Surakarta)**
Eko (full-time, Head of Graduate Program, male) Agus (full-time, male) Budi (full-time, male) Arum (contract, female) Ayu (contract, female)	Lusi (full-time, Head of Department, female) Lukman (full-time, Secretary of Department, male) Zen (full-time, male) Ulfa (full-time, female) Asih (full-time, female)
Australia Site 1 (University of Adelaide)	**Australia Site 2 (Flinders University)**
William (full-time, Associate Dean: Learning and Teaching, male) Jay (full-time, male) Ray (full-time, male) Ron (full-time, male) Lily (contract, female)	Grace (full-time, former Head of Department, female) Karen (full-time, female) Pablo (full-time, male) James (full-time, male) Mia (contract, female)

In addition to them, another academic named Andi, who is the Rector of an Indonesian university as well as a professor at another private university in Yogyakarta, was interviewed particularly on institutional policy.

As summarised in Table 3, the participants in this study consist of ten academics of English studies in Australia (University of Adelaide and Flinders University) and ten academics in Indonesia (Universitas Gadjah Mada and IAIN Surakarta), and an additional key informant from Yogyakarta, Indonesia. After ethics approval, a formal letter – supported by a letter from the School of Education at UniSA – was sent to the Dean of each institution. The Deans of Australian institutions replied promptly and asked me to

[36] Participants are in pseudonyms.

further contact the Heads of Department, which I did immediately, and the heads gave me permission to contact the participants directly. Afterwards, emails were sent to potential academics with the aforementioned criteria. Theoretically, a purposeful sampling technique (Merriam 2009; Patton 2002) was utilised in the selection of the research participants, where a set of criteria was determined first as the basis of selection. Eventually, the participants replied voluntarily to the email and were then interviewed in a convenient time and place of their choice.

The academics were selected on the first basis that they include representation of both a School of Education (SE) and a School of Linguistics/Literature (SL). This consideration was part of the comparative purposes of this research study in order to portray similarities and differences that may exist in the institutional habitus and/or the individual habitus of the participants in enacting assessment policies. The assumption that those academics working in SE may have a more conducive atmosphere to choose their assessment policies and practices, compared to their colleagues working in SL, was explored. The fact that their different contexts of English studies may result in different perspectives about assessment is perhaps obvious, but individual use of creativity in assessment may also come from each context and therefore needs to be researched further to uncover the rationale behind that.

Secondly, in order to compare professional identities in four very different fields, the participating academics were also recruited according to their employment status, specifically some permanent/salaried and some casual/contract staffing. By choosing representatives from each category, this study was thus seeking information on how such factors as employment and pay security may have an impact on the academics' practices of assessment and their habitus on assessment (and education in general). In the era of fragmented neoliberalism and capitalism, specifically shaping the HE sector (Ball & Olmedo 2013; Di Leo 2017; Hursh & Wall 2011; Lawrence 2015; Stahl 2015, 2018), it is important to draw on a diverse range of individuals working in HE to see how this form of governance may or may not alter the academics' perspectives on assessment and students' learning.

The next criterion was that some participants were academic staff who had the capacity and experience to get involved in the institution's design or development of assessment policy or to hold leadership positions. From these participants, data and information on the institutional habitus of the university/faculty/department could be obtained. This category meant that senior academics needed to be recruited. Requiring a

certain duration of institutional involvement could open up another factor that may contribute to participants' individual habitus of assessment. The selected participants in this category may be academics in a leadership position as a gatekeeper of assessment policies and practices in the institution. Whichever applicable and feasible, these two criteria of having experience in the development of assessment policy and of having the authority to act as gatekeeper in the implementation of such policy could be fulfilled by different educators in two distinct institutions to compare their habitus. I attempted to ensure that all the criteria were represented by an equal proportion of men and women, and people from different cultural backgrounds, to increase the width and depth of this research.

Data analysis procedures

In this study, data analysis was done qualitatively and simultaneously with data collection in order to suggest and present new knowledge of the study (Creswell 2009; Saldaña 2011; Tracy 2013). Drawing on Saldaña's (2011, p. 89) statement that "the purpose and outcome of data analysis is to reveal to others through fresh insights what we've observed and discovered about the human condition", this study examined the influence of habitus and capital on the assessment practices of academics of English studies in HE in two different countries. As a consequence, the data were qualitative in terms of participants' interpretations as well as documents and so the analysis was also conducted qualitatively. In my study, data analysis, in some ways, is done simultaneously with the data collection and alongside research design (Tracy 2013).

However, drawing upon a conceptual perspective, "the focused analysis stage … move[s] recurrently back and forth – between considering the emergent data on the one hand and reviewing existing theories, literatures, and research interests on the other" (Tracy 2013, p. 200), the data analysis in this study by and large involved a dialectical interaction between interpretation of data and referential evaluation of theories, which was predominantly guided by the research questions. This is where reflexivity played a significant role in the analysis. I reflexively analysed the data against the theories as well as reflexively interpreting what the participants really wanted to mean by their words. In this way, the data analysis was done using a combination of "inductive" and "deductive" methods (Dawson 2013, p. 184), also called an "iterative analysis" combining an *emic* reading of the data and an *etic* use of theories (Tracy 2013, p. 184).

In terms of procedures, analysing and interpreting qualitative data can be categorised into three general procedures called description (of the big picture), classification/analysis (of essential features in systematic themes/categories), and interpretation (of the meaning from the researcher's perspective) (Creswell 2007; 2009, pp. 185–190). Thus understood, *thematic analysis*, by which "the researcher works through textual data to identify specific themes (clusters of linked categories that convey similar meanings)" (Dawson 2013, p. 179), was preferred for its fitness and feasibility for this study.

In a more practical sense, Saldaña (2011) and Tracy (2013) elaborate three main procedures of qualitative data analysis. The first is *pattern construction*, where data are instinctively ordered, instead of just reorganised, "to look for and construct patterns out of it" (Saldaña 2011, p. 91). The process is demanding, because it involves selecting "from the vast array of interview transcripts, fieldnotes, documents, and other forms of data" (Saldaña 2011, p. 91). According to Tracy (2013, p. 188), this step is often called coding, or "primary-cycle coding" to be more precise. In terms of the form, the organised data were coded in "short phrases, ideas, or key concepts" (Creswell 2007, p. 151). I was assisted by the computer software NVivo in organising the codes.[37]

The next procedure is what Saldaña calls *category construction*, where the patterns in the first step are clustered into "the most seemingly appropriate groups" of "the most seemingly alike things" (2011, p. 91). This step is when the "secondary-cycle coding" takes place, where the researcher goes beyond asking "what" to asking "why" and "how" the data are interesting and significant (Tracy 2013, p. 200). In this procedure, the codes are to a great extent analytical in nature and constructed on the basis of disciplinary or theoretical concepts. Here is where I moved back-and-forth from theories on my left hand, secondary-cycle codes in the middle, and data on my right. This step is equivalent to what Creswell (2007, 2009) calls c*lassification/analysis*, which is conceptualised as the process of making sense of the data in a more systematic way based on the interrelating themes of the data towards the objectives of the research, in order to answer the research questions.

The last procedure of data analysis is called *interaction, interplay, and interrelationship* in order to "explore the ways our patterns and categories interact and interplay" (Saldaña 2011, p. 92). Put simply, interaction sees how categories influence one another or how they connect each other, while interplay captures the "structural and processual nature of the categories" such as overlaps or ordinate relations among them, or

[37] The codes in NVivo are closely linked to theoretical perspectives on the left of the screen and the actual data, predominantly from the interviews, to the right.

networks. Interrelationship means that those categories are related in a complex nature, more than a simple relationship.

This procedure is in essence equivalent to what Creswell (2007) refers to as *interpretation*. Interpretation means that "the researcher steps back and forms some larger meaning about the phenomenon based on personal views, comparisons with previous studies, or both" (Creswell 2007, p. 257). In other words, in this step the researcher is basically making sense of the data and drawing conclusions. Also included in this step are a review of the major findings and how the research questions were addressed, personal reflections of the researcher about the meaning of the data, personal views compared or contrasted with the literature, limitations of the study, and suggestions for future research (Creswell 2007).

The analysis also incorporated policy documents gathered from various sources – some were given to me by the participants, others were accessed from the websites of the institutions. The policy documents were collected and analysed with a focus on understanding the institutional key concepts and policies on assessment within those documents' practical and contextual purposes (Bray 2014, p. 325). This kind of analysis can be categorised as content analysis which is focused on "message" (Stacks 2013, p. 1). Indeed, according to Crotty (1998, p. 4), content analysis is one of the paramount methods for data analysis which exists amongst others such as interpretive methods, document analysis and conversation analysis. Again, the content analysis applied to the documents in this study was a qualitative content analysis "concerning the general import or message of the existing documents" instead of quantitative analysis focusing on "counted characteristics" of the documents (Kothari 2004, p. 110).

In addition to the analysis of the institutional academic and/or assessment policies, I also collected and examined 20 course outlines predominantly prepared by the academics because those documents include information about assessment which is accessible by the students too. Examples of assessment and feedback by the academics – as described by them – and transcripts of audio recordings taken from the interviews were also included in this category and were gathered as research data to complement other sources of information. Handwritten field-notes or "field texts" from every interview were composed as "key words" as important instruments to support the audio recording (Denzin & Lincoln 2005a; Gubrium & Holstein 2012). Transcripts of audio recordings taken from the interviews were coded with the assistance of NVivo to generate key themes. With the integration of different angles of data sources, triangulation of specific information was

maintained to improve the credibility of the information (Flick 2011; Hesse-Biber 2017; Seidman 2006).

As Merriam (2009) suggests, the basic strategy in data analysis is comparative, which means that the initial classification and analysis should be comparable to previous studies and to the concepts and theories used as analytical lenses. As this research involves a multiple case study, there were two stages of comparative analysis, namely *within-case* and *cross-case* analysis (Merriam 2009, p. 204). Within-case analyses were conducted for each participant (among academics within the same institution), while the cross-case analysis was performed after the within-case analysis was completed across participants from different institutions and different countries. In the end, as an important part of the research objectives, the researcher eventually seeks abstraction, generalisation, or similarities and differences across particular cases.

After all, beyond all these processes of data analysis, such a research design is believed to enable the researcher to do multiple cross-comparisons of the data and participants. A cross-comparison of the habitus of the full-time/salaried educators, who might have more power, and the casual/contract ones in the same institution can be examined for instance. Another cross-comparison may also be conducted between the same full-time/salaried academics across institutions and/or across countries. The same comparison can equally be done among the casual/contract academics too. Other aspects of cross-comparison among the participants can also include their positions in the institution, their gender, cultural background, or educational background.

Triangulation

To maintain credibility and trustworthiness as well as to increase confidence in the claims from the analysis, *triangulation* was applied (Saldaña 2011; Stake 2010). Another terminology, *crystallisation*, is often preferred as "a postmodern version of triangulation". It means "a feature of research that uses multiple methodological approaches, data sources, researchers and/or theories and seeks the complexities that come from this process" (Tracy 2013, p. 248). Crystallisation represents multiple facets of qualitative research as analogous to crystals, which "reflect externalities and refract within themselves", displaying different colours depending on the angles we view (Tracy 2013, p. 249). The more angles we see the phenomenon, the more comprehensive we see it.

Similarly, the basic idea of triangulation in qualitative research, according to Stake (2010, p. 123), is "a form of confirmation and validation, but … may be a form of

differentiation". If inconsistency is found, triangulation can indeed be used to gain "more complex, context-reflecting explanations" as well as to reduce "inappropriate certainty" (Miles & Huberman 1994, p. 267). In practice, the triangulation employed in this study involved two kinds of sources, specifically interviews as the first-hand accounts, and documents as the second-hand accounts. These two sources of data complemented each other as one data source filled the gaps from the other source. At the same time, the two sources confirmed one another, meaning that data from the documents were in line with data from the interviews. Additionally, this study also involved triangulation processes in each institution as the researcher was speaking to multiple stakeholders in that institution. Thus the methodology ensured the researcher had a good understanding of what was going on from a range of viewpoints/perspectives of the participants.

Triangulation was also understood in this study as the incorporation of different kinds of reflexivity, subjectivity, and habitus with regard to the assessment practices of the academics in the two countries. Being an academic in an Indonesian HE with the privilege of experiencing Australian HE in the past and present has allowed me to become an insider in the phenomena of assessment practices in the two countries. As a consequence, data from the participating academics' reflexivity, subjectivity and habitus regarding their assessment were simultaneously triangulated against my professional and academic competence on assessment in HE. This type of academic and professional test was a different method of triangulation.

Ethical considerations

The main purpose of incorporating ethical considerations in any research, according to Bresler (1995, p. 29), is to ensure the participants' rights to "dignity, privacy, and confidentiality, and avoidance of harm". In other words, ethical considerations help the researcher maintain "awareness and sensitivity … [which are translated into] the degree of honesty and truthfulness in their dealings with others" (Clark, Prosser & Wiles 2010, p. 90). The nature of qualitative research involving going to the field, making observation of others' behaviour, thoughts, and feelings, and later making these private areas public may cause hurt, pain and harm to the participants. Therefore, this study carefully included a number of general principles of ethical considerations (or codes of ethics) in social sciences proposed by Christians (2005, pp. 144–145), namely: informed consent, absence of deception, privacy-confidentiality and accuracy. In doing so, ethical considerations were carefully incorporated internally throughout the research design as well as externally

through the Ethics Committee of the University of South Australia. Copy of ethics approval is in Appendix 5.

First, it is the right of the participating academics to be informed about the nature of the study, the degree of their involvement with the study, and the consequences of their involvement. Informed consent represents that the researcher respects the participants' autonomy, freedom and dignity (Barbour 2013). Under this aspect of ethical considerations, in addition to the level of maturity of the participants, the ethical standard of this research is increased by the permissions obtained from the participating academics. The umbrella of informed consent ensured that the academics participated voluntarily and without any duress or obligation whatsoever. Only when the explicit approval of the participants was gained through informed written consent, could data collection (through interviews) proceed.

In this study, consent was sought both from authorised persons in each institution and from individual academics, supported by a signed consent form. Included in the consent form was key information about the research, a request for involvement, assurance of confidentiality, anonymity, and the option to withdraw, as well as how the data would be documented and utilised. After obtaining the consent of authorised persons (e.g., deans and heads of department), an email outlining all necessary information and consent was sent to identified academics who were possible participants (with the help of relevant authorised persons). Written consent forms were signed by the participating academics on the day of the interviews. In this way, two elements of consent, namely voluntary (participation) and full information (Christians 2005), were provided to the participants, in addition to information about the research protocol (number 200015) gained from the University of South Australia Ethics Committee as an additional guarantee.

Secondly, deception was avoided to the largest extent in this study in that truthful information was offered between the researcher and participants. Nevertheless, it is also possible that during interviews the participating academics might not have told the whole truth about their assessment practices. Similarly, I might have expressed deceptive information that was culturally relevant to each situation. This fact of deception was a part of the ethical considerations for this study. Most importantly, as Barbour (2013) suggests, reciprocity, expectations, as well as impacts on both researcher and participants should be shared truthfully, with no or very little deception (Christians 2005).

Third, privacy and confidentiality – similar to what Barbour (2013) calls confidentiality and anonymity – are paramount ethical considerations and thus were treated

carefully in this study. Respecting the participants' privacy commenced with the way I approached them with respectful words and in a culturally decent manner. This respect included offering the most convenient place and time for the interview, as well as asking their permission to record the discussions for the sake of data protection. Meanwhile, the confidentiality or anonymity of the participating academics was preserved by assigning a pseudonym for each of them. Only I and authorised persons (including my supervisors) can identify them and only when necessary.

Lastly, accuracy was addressed carefully in this study in order to ensure that the "data are accurate" (Christians 2005, p. 145). Recording the conversations with all participating academics was a key means of maintaining accuracy of data. Triangulation of data sources from interviews and documents, for instance, is another way to ensure accuracy of information.

All these precautions have been addressed very carefully as an ethical way of respecting participants' rights and to protect the personal information used in the study. In so doing, there is no harm done to the participants by this study. Cultural, contextual and humanistic approaches were used in order to treat the academics respectfully.

To summarise, this chapter has presented the methodology and methods used to study the assessment practices of English studies by Indonesian and Australian academics. Methodologically, a qualitative comparative research design was adopted to examine twenty cases of assessment practices in two Indonesian universities and two Australian universities. Gathered from key policy documents and interviews, the data were analysed qualitatively using Bourdieu's sociological tools of habitus and capital.

Chapter 5: Understanding the assessment practices in English studies by academics in Indonesian higher education

Abstract:
This chapter investigates Indonesian academics' assessment of English in two universities – the well-established UGM and the less established IAIN Surakarta – in terms of, first, institutional capital and distinctions. National policies on English in Indonesian higher education, namely compulsory or expertise/professional English, are also investigated using Bourdieu's concept of capital. Within the established institution, analyses of the academics' assessment are framed using habitus and capital in terms of their educational background (as cultural capital) in transactions within the high institutional capital of the university. Within the less established institution, a public Islamic university, collegial relations among the academics and between the academics and leadership are emphasised in developing both individual and institutional habitus and capital. Practices of assessment of/for/as learning are examined, including the academics' perspectives.

The chapter seeks to capture the practices surrounding the teaching of English and assessment of student works by the academics in Indonesian HE. The first part of the chapter analyses policies – on English studies at school and HE level, institutional distinction and symbolic capital – whilst the second part examines the assessment practices of the academics, structured by their professional habitus in dialectical relation with the intuitional habitus of each university.

In more detail, this chapter begins by establishing the context which informs the status of English in Indonesian society, followed by a description of the field of English studies in Indonesian HE, its symbolic capital, and the institutional habitus of each university with particular reference to its policies concerning teaching and assessment. Subsequently, the chapter supplies an analysis of empirical data when I explore how the participating academics have practised assessing their university students. I consider how the assessment practices are influenced by academics whom I label as 'hybrid' – whose educational biographies are international – and 'pedigree or pureblood', which indicates they are homegrown, and their habitus has not been influenced in quite the same way. These empirical data were predominantly obtained from interviews with participants and

therefore it is an analysis of the subjectivities they present (McLeod 2003), though I also draw on policy documents.

5.1 Indonesian policies: commitment to English as global cultural capital

The national policy on English language and studies associated with English started in Indonesia not long after its independence in 1945. In the early 1950s the first Indonesian government under President Soekarno decided that English should become a compulsory foreign language in schools (Mappiasse & Sihes 2014; Widodo 2016; Yuwono & Harbon 2010).[38] This national policy of promoting English as the selected foreign language involves ideological, socio-political and economic considerations (Hamied 2012; Widodo 2016; Zentz 2015) which I will now explore in more depth.

From an ideological perspective, we can note that Indonesia has chosen the national language, *Bahasa Indonesia*, as the unifying language across the archipelago, which has hundreds of local languages, at the 1928 Indonesian Youth Congress. Therefore, Bahasa Indonesia has been integral to Indonesian history and serves as the language of official documents such as the constitution (Zentz 2015). The entire population of Indonesia speaks Bahasa Indonesia and this language is also taught in many schools in Australia. The choice of English as the "first" foreign language in Indonesia was made strategically in consideration of the fact that English is perceived as the first international or global language. It was made legal in the Decree of Ministry of Education and Culture No. 096/1967 dated 12 December 1967 (Madya 1987), which was then reaffirmed by Indonesian Law No. 2 of 1989 (Lauder 2008). This policy requires the teaching of English as a school subject, ensuring that all Indonesian students are equipped with a certain level of English competence. Despite Bahasa Indonesia being a unifying language, Indonesia's recognition of the status of English is evident by the wide use of English in a range of fields within Indonesia such as "politics, diplomacy, international trade and industry, commerce, science and technology, education, the media, information technology, and popular culture" (Lauder 2008, p. 12).

[38] For information, Indonesia was colonialised by the Dutch for over 350 years from 1595 and by the Japanese in 1942–1945 during World War II (Lauder 2008). English was thus the officially preferred foreign language in Indonesia for a number of reasons, such as that it is a more important language for world science and knowledge (Mahayanti & Madya 2020).

This policy of promoting English for Indonesians demonstrates that the Indonesian government is concerned to ensure Indonesians possess the necessary *cultural capital* to participate and compete in an increasingly globalised world (Bourdieu 2004; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Gee, Allen & Clinton 2001; Grenfell 2010). English is thus perceived, as in many other non-English-speaking countries, to be "the ultimate commodified linguistic resource" with the ever-increasing recognition that English has become an invaluable "linguistic capital" easily convertible in the global market (Park & Wee 2012, pp. 126, 142). An argument could be made that Indonesian policy actors (Lingard, Sellar & Baroutsis, 2015) possess a habitus aligned with the logic of a globalised field and view English as a crucial capital.

As the first foreign language, the status of English in Indonesia is different from other foreign languages such as Arabic, Dutch, French, German, Japanese and Chinese. Arabic has long been learned predominantly in relation to the Islamic faith and studies. It is not learned for social interaction but for religious purposes, especially for Qur'anic recitation and prayers (*sholat*). Dutch continues to be learned by students intending to study in the Netherlands and among businesspeople. This is also the case with French and German. Chinese is increasingly gaining popularity because of economic, cultural and social factors (Lauder 2008).

In other words, English is perceived as a priority, as the most important of these foreign languages to be taught to Indonesian students (Lauder 2008). Nevertheless, English in Indonesia is not used as a means of communication in society (Widodo 2016). The public roles of English in Indonesia are reading comprehension (Iftanti 2012; Mappiasse & Sihes 2014; Sabrina 2016), curriculum-driven purposes to master English grammar and language functions (Manara 2014; Soepriyatna 2012; Widodo 2016), as well as for white-collar professional life such as for doctors, flight attendants, tourism operators, and so forth (da Silva 2014), in addition to its function in academic life in schools and universities.

Officially, Law Number 2 of 1989 on the National Education System (*UU No. 2 Tahun 1989*) regulated the position of English in the school curriculum (Lauder 2008) and, by default, its status in Indonesian society. Aligned with these national policies, English remains a well-established school subject. The pivotal role of English in Indonesia is further regulated in Law Number 20 of 2003 on the National Education System, emphasising the increasing role of English as a language for international communication that Indonesian people need to learn and acquire (Widodo 2016). While there is fragmentation in the implementation of policies around the language, it is clear that

English remains part of the school curriculum and is formally taught in the majority of secondary schools as well as at the university level throughout the country.

As a consequence, in practice, there may be variations of focus in English language teaching and learning. In the formal school curriculum – in addition to the national English language curriculum – the Indonesian government encourages provincial governments, regencies and local-school managements to have their own curriculum for all subjects including English. As a result, the English curriculum in a school in a certain region, for instance, may be different from its counterparts in other regions, even if they are at the same level. For example, schools in big cities – where English is frequently used in public spaces – tend to have a different English curriculum incorporating contemporary contexts (Lie 2007; Manara 2014). It is difficult to document the significant variations in how English is taught as well as the pedagogies used at nearly every stage of education. What is clear is that both teachers and students have been exposed to different backgrounds and styles of teaching and assessment around English. Furthermore, in considering how social class contributes to inequalities in how English is taught, there are many private, fee-paying English courses in almost every city throughout Indonesia offering different focuses of study.

Despite a number of changes in school curriculum in general (and English curriculum in particular), the teaching of English as a foreign language (EFL) has been consistently focused on reading competence over communicative skill (Hamied 2012; Lauder 2008). Indeed, there is a growing tendency within the Indonesian population towards accommodating the contemporary usage of English as a lingua franca (Manara 2014) to foster increased communication in a globalised world (Madya 2016; Zentz 2015), or as a medium for prestigious economic activities (da Silva 2014), tourism, or instruction in schools (Hamied 2012), and even as a way to prepare learners/students for life and a good job after school (Lie 2007). English has maintained considerable authority and prestige in Indonesian society (Lamb & Coleman 2008; Widodo 2016). Besides, in this current "information-driven global world" (Gee, Allen & Clinton 2001), English has also become essential cultural capital for everyone, including Indonesians (Bourdieu 2004; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Schatzki 2018). Through the implementation of various policies, the Indonesian government wants to ensure that all of its people, having at least graduated from secondary school, are equipped with English as a form of linguistic capital (Park & Wee 2013) that is necessary for global interactions which can enhance their progress socially, academically or professionally.

Nevertheless, there are still various critiques concerning the effectiveness of the school English curriculum. In spite of the total 606 contact hours in English that Indonesian students receive for six years of secondary school (Dardjowidjojo 2000, quoted in Yuwono & Harbon 2010), the expectation that high school graduates can use English "fairly well" is to a great extent not realised. The critical mass of students is unable to communicate in English adequately after finishing high school (Hamied 2012; Yuwono & Harbon 2010).

A number of factors contribute to the teaching of English being below an acceptable standard in Indonesian secondary schools. Some commonly discussed factors include time allotment, lack of instructional materials, and an emphasis on receptive as opposed to communicative skills (Hamied 2012; Mappiasse & Sihes 2014). Others are related to the teacher, such as lack of professional development, poor class preparation, poor mastery of the content and large classroom cohorts (Marcellino 2008), significantly linked to their training and competence (Madya 2003). Some scholars contend that students may lack motivation or have limited opportunity to practice (Hamied 2012; Mappiasse & Sihes 2014; Yuwono & Harbon 2010). There are indeed some successful practices of English teaching in Indonesian secondary school as documented in a study by Irambona and Kumaidi (2015), for example.

Despite the fragmented picture and the constraints involved in teaching English, it can be concluded that the Indonesian government has politically and economically invested in the language, understanding the potential power of English, or the (cultural) linguistic capital of English, to transform the future lives of Indonesian students and citizens (Grenfell 2012; Lamb & Coleman 2008). The following section offers an analysis of English studies in Indonesian HE in reference to Bourdieu's cultural capital.

5.2 English studies in Indonesian higher education: Stratification and access to the cultural capital of English

English studies in Indonesian HE – both under MoEC and MoRA – can be classified into two core categories, namely English for students of non-English departments (termed *compulsory/mandatory English*) and English for those students in an *English studies department*. Each involves differing levels of quality and focus. Furthermore, these two domains of English studies often differ in terms of the number of credits, components of the language, the academics and resources, which contribute to important symbolic differences. In providing an example to illustrate, a non-English department student takes

only 2–4 credits (units) of English during their undergraduate study, while English department students need to take most of the credits (units) of English studies, including linguistics, literary studies, pedagogical aspects of English and other national/institutional topics.[39]

The common practice of (national) compulsory/mandatory English is practically and institutionally oriented towards English for comprehension (Floris 2008; Marcellino 2008; Poedjiastutie 2017). Meanwhile, the 146–160 units of English departments are provided in varied topics/subjects of 2–6 units each. In surveying websites and curriculum documents, we see courses such as (introduction to) linguistics, (introduction to) sociolinguistics, English skills (listening, reading, speaking, writing), (introduction to) literature, literary criticism, TEFL methodology, and so on (FIB Universitas Airlangga 2017; FIB Universitas Indonesia 2014; Gunadarma 2010; Universitas Gadjah Mada 2017; Universitas Indonesia, 2016; Universitas Nasional 2016; Universitas Negeri Semarang 2017; Widyatama 2016).[40]

In sociological terms, each type of English studies in Indonesian HE develops students' cultural capital or linguistic capital of English differently. The compulsory English studies are perceived as an "additional cultural or communicative capital" to the student's core study (non-English majors), whereas the students who are considered English majors are viewed as gaining "major/expertise cultural capital of English" for distinct professions (such as a researcher, teacher or analyst). The following sections examine these different English studies using Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capital for a more detailed exploration.

Compulsory English for additional or communicative cultural capital

The compulsory English subject in the Indonesian HE curriculum exists because of the Law Number 2 of 1989 which affirmed English as the first foreign language in Indonesia (Lauder 2008). Considered as a continuation of English studies taught at secondary school level, compulsory English is provided to all students. This mandated English subject is predominantly directed towards enhancing learner's reading competence (Mistar 2003, p. 2; Poedjiastutie 2017), which is similar but different from the secondary curriculum.[41]

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[39] For a Bachelor of Arts, students need to take 146–160 credits in 3.5–4 years. Meanwhile, a 2-credit English subject would require students to attend a 100-minute lecture, do a 100-minute assignment (related to the lecture), and 120 minutes of reading/research activities (learner's autonomy) each week (Belmawa 2016).
[40] Some institutions use *Introduction to* for the names of the topics as they believe that the course of 2–3 units can only cover introductory aspects.
[41] Secondary curriculum include the four skills (listening, reading, speaking, writing) but attention is more on listening and reading because these are tested in the national exam (Madya 2007).

Other skills such as writing, listening and speaking are poorly addressed. The time allocation and the contents can vary due to institutional policy, but the minimum weighing is 2 credits (units) nationally, with the flexibility to do more credit hours (Mendiknas 2000; Belmawa 2016).[42]

Albeit with some variation, the actual practice of this compulsory English in each institution is generally designed as an English for specific purposes (ESP) course (Kirkpatrick 2007; Marcellino 2008; Poedjiastutie 2017). With the introduction of a competency-based language curriculum by the government in 2004/5 (Hatmanto 2017; Madya 2007; Wirianto 2014), in surveying websites and policy documents it is clear that some institutions also ascribe to their own English curriculum by implementing an English for General Academic Purposes course, a branch of ESP, emphasising the use of the language for academic work as well as study skills (Floris 2008). Other institutions have attempted to using English as medium of instruction in their universities (Ibrahim 2001). While some institutions implement compulsory English to develop the students' skills to comprehend written texts related to their field of study, more popularly called content-based instruction (Simbolon & Restall 2014). This shows that the implementation of the policy is quite heterogenous across institutions.

In Indonesian HE, the delivery of compulsory English courses is usually organised by either each individual faculty or the language centre of the university and is usually run for first-year students. When organised by the faculty, the academics who teach English are commonly selected from faculty members who have been overseas for study (master or doctoral degrees) or those who are considered to have good English proficiency (Mistar 2003; Rozi 2011). This means that some of those academics may be lacking a pedagogic background in English language teaching, which may lead to reluctance or underperformance in their teaching English to students (Hamied 2012, p. 71). Furthermore, these HE academics can be compelled to teach English regardless of their level of comfort. Some supporters of this model of management tend to argue that English academics, having also mastered the "core content/knowledge" of a faculty, are far more credible when discussing the content of certain reading materials of their (and the students') field of study. Drawing on Bourdieu, there is often a pervasive belief that faculty-oriented English teaching is a pivotal means for the students to obtain their core *cultural capital* as an

[42] Some institutions offer 4 credits of English. It is worth highlighting that the credit system in Indonesia is publicly understood as consisting of in-class lectures, assignments, and out-of-class reading with a similar time allocation (Belmawa 2016).

engineer, for example, which after graduation can be transformed into a kind of professional and economic capital. English is thus perceived as an *additional cultural capital* of their core study.

Regardless of the HE institution they are attending, many Indonesian students are engaged in compulsory English courses/programs organised by the language centre on campus. A number of concerns may motivate the university, for example, to assign the language centre (LC) to run all English courses for students of all faculties. Under the language centre management, English studies can also be directed towards contemporary needs of English in global interaction in such programs as communicative English, English for academic purposes, as well as the usual general English (Solikhah 2015). These practices, through a Bourdieusian lens, are arguably based on the belief that English teaching should contribute more to the development of the students' social and communicative cultural capital in an age of increasing global relations and communication. Summarised in the equation (Bourdieu 1984, p. 101; Yang 2014, p. 1523): [(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice, here 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)" (Maton 2008, p. 51). Thus understood, there is a pervasive expectation that this type of capital can open up opportunities for students and positively contribute to their futures – especially those from low SES backgrounds who depend on formal schooling to acquire their English language proficiency.

With regards to the staffing of such programs, based on my experience and research I have undertaken, the language centre (LC) is typically given autonomy to select academics from all faculties, or academics from the English department (if any), or to recruit new "part-time" academics with the required qualifications. An open recruitment system is usually conducted for this. All academics are subject to LC rules which include curriculum, timetables, class divisions, facilities and salaries. Under LC management, the English curriculum can remain directed towards general English or ESP (including English for academic purposes), after extensive discussion with all stakeholders, especially the university and faculties. The LC can still run content-based English programs for the students in accordance with their fields of study if the faculties need it. With this in mind, the institutional habitus of the LC is maintained in the spirit of developing students' English proficiency according to their agenda.

Such different contexts of English studies lead to different English curricula, significant variations in the student cohort as well as different pedagogies employed to

advance student learning. Adding to the complexity, prior to attending the HE institution both teachers and students have been exposed to different backgrounds and styles of teaching as well as assessment. In the above practices, albeit with institutional varieties or focuses, compulsory English is thus still directed to written English – reading comprehension and a little writing – rather than oral communication. Thus understood, university students may experience a similar atmosphere of English to their previous English in secondary schools, which indicates less of a *habitus* or "cultural lag" (Bourdieu 1984, p. 384). However, the significant difference here is that the assessment of university compulsory English is consequential to their core study programs.

Critiques concerning the results of this compulsory English have yet to emerge. Despite the extensive provision of English courses/subjects, the results may still be disappointing for many people, especially if the focus of English teaching is communication. A number of factors lead to these disappointing results, including, as Kirkpatrick (2007, p. 22) observes:

> The focus of instruction is on developing reading skills, translation into Indonesian, and sometimes on writing in English. As the entry level of most students is very low, this ESP-based English class is a grammar and translation class. Most ESP programs fail to develop students' proficiency in English.

Drawing upon Lingard, Sellar and Baroutsis (2015, p. 25), it can be argued Indonesian policy actors possess a "middle-class embodied habitus in terms of schemes of perception" aligned with the logic of a globalised field with "a cosmopolitan outlook and sensibility" and thus view English as a crucial capital. Thus understood, compulsory English is nationally designed by the government to advance students' cultural (linguistic) capital of English (Grenfell 2012). In practice though, there are two main ways of implementing the policy: *first* as an additional capital complementary to their core study and *secondly* as a social-communicative capital. The first type of practice is based on the view that English capital is necessary for accessing the knowledge resources of the Indonesian student's major study, which can together be exchanged for a decent job after graduation. The second type puts more emphasis on the primary use of language – to converse in society – in the globalised world of our time using the international language of English, which later can be capitalised for global job vacancies. Each of these practices depicts the efforts of the Indonesian government to advance the necessary capital for graduates during their university study and more importantly for their future lives. The question is how English

major studies are structured to develop distinctive linguistic (cultural) capital for English-related professions in various contexts. The following section further analyses those English studies.

English majors for different language professions

The other main context of English studies in Indonesian HE involves English departments. Unlike compulsory English, these studies are designed to prepare the students for future professions of/with the language; these studies are present in both MoRA and MoEC institutions. They are differentiated by government rules (in various levels of law) into the following three clusters:

- English language and linguistics: from diploma (*D-III, D-IV Bahasa Inggris*), bachelor (*S-1 Bahasa Inggris*), Master of Arts (*S-2 Bahasa Inggris*), Master of Applied Linguistics (*S-2 Linguistik Terapan Bahasa Inggris*), to Doctor of applied linguistics (*S-3 Linguistik Terapan Bahasa Inggris*),
- English teaching/education: from bachelor (*S-1 Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris* in non-Islamic HE and *S-1 Tadris Bahasa Inggris* in Islamic HE), professional or graduate certificate (*Profesi PPG Bahasa Inggris*), Master of Education (*S-2 Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris*) and doctorate (*S-3 Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris*),
- English literature: bachelor (*S-1 Sastra Inggris*), and master's (*S-2 Sastra Inggris*) (Menristekdikti 2017b, 2017a).

Similarities and differences among English departments throughout Indonesia in terms of curriculum, academics and facilities can exist in addition to those of their students, resources, localities and government supports. In regard to curriculum, for example, the Indonesian government has indeed implemented standards for all HE but again allows and encourages each institution to have their own "uniqueness" as a selling point to stakeholders (*Undang-Undang No. 12 Tahun 2012*; Pemerintah RI 2014). In other words, English studies in Indonesian HE, in terms of institutional policies and practices, are subject to the national policies, as contended by many educational policy theorists such as Birenbaum et al. (2015), Comber and Cormack (2011), and Rawolle and Lingard (2013). National policy has a similar impact in Australia, for instance, "national policies are mediated in different institutional contexts – specifically in state and regional policy sites

and in schools" (Comber & Cormack 2011, p. 77). Thus said, national policies are adapted and enacted by organisations with variations based on institutional contexts.

There are significant gaps in academics, facilities and resources across Indonesian HE institutions, but simultaneously these gaps can be regarded as local policy enactments leading to the 'uniqueness' of each institution. From the perspective of the government, supports can only be given to every institution in accordance to the budgets and priority lists of the government (Pemerintah RI 2014; Unizar 2015). Each university can send proposals to the government in relation to the programs they already have and/or are going to run in the future to seek support in cash or other developmental assistances.

By design, the above three categories of English departments are preparing students for the capital of English required for different professions. The English language and linguistics department develops students' skills in English for the purposes of becoming a language/linguistic researcher. On the other hand, English education is designed to train students to become English teachers, while English literature prepares students with literary and language capital to become literary critics or writers. The curricula of each of the majors are specifically planned to support those intending to pursue professions where the English language features prominently, as stipulated by national policies (Mendiknas 2000; Pemerintah RI 2014).

In Indonesia, English-related professions – in terms of symbolic capital – are highly valued by both government agencies and the public. In other words, students of English departments are to some extent advantaged by both *institutional* and *individual* forms of *cultural capital* commonly associated with English (Bourdieu 2004; Schatzki 2018). This capital can be exchanged to secure a privileged future. With this in mind, English departments possess a high symbolic power that both attracts a certain class of students and translates into valued symbolic capital within the institution and its members (Schatzki 2018; Wacquant & Akçaoğlu 2017). Therefore, within the field of Indonesian HE, English departments have high symbolic capital (and power), higher than for instance Arabic departments or French departments. The institution capitalises on this high symbolic power to attract students and staff in order to maintain and develop their accumulated high cultural capital, the process that Bourdieu (1988a, p. 14) calls "objectification of symbolic capital".

5.3 Institutions, stratification and symbolic capital

Another significant aspect informing the analysis of Indonesian academics' assessment of English studies is the field of Indonesian HE, which affects the institutional habitus and symbolic capitals of each institution. According to Bourdieusian scholars, the field of HE is one of the factors which has a perverse effect on maintaining in/equality (Bathmaker 2015; Bourdieu 1988a; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). In the context of Indonesia – specifically in the area of English studies and assessment – the affiliation of the HE institution determines the calibre of education (and assessment) students can access, which has implications for equality of opportunity.

Before I focus on institutional habitus and symbolic capital in Indonesian HE, it is worth recalling that the HE sector in Indonesia is mainly under the coordination (and administration) of two different ministries: the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) and the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA),[43] which often overlap in some respects (Brodjonegoro 2002; Buchori & Malik 2004; Rosser 2016). Secondly, after being marginalised during Dutch colonialism and under Soekarno, Islamic education is regarded as "a second-class system" (OECD & Asian Development Bank 2015, p. 71), which eventually manifests into classes of MoEC and MoRA HE institutions in Indonesia – including those of English studies.

As I outlined in Section 1.2, the higher symbolic power – thus capital – possessed by MoEC is depicted in the number of HE institutions under its coordination: 3,276 in contrast to 701 of MoRA. In addition, MoRA HE institutions of non-religious departments including English studies (literature, education, language and linguistics) are disadvantaged because of their double supervision by MoEC and MoRA (Indra 2016; Lukens-Bull 2016; Priandono et al. 2016; Wicaksono & Friawan 2011). Thus understood, this structure of the field can potentially result in the MoRA HE institutional and individual *dispositions* or habitus of "being underprivileged" imposed by the system.

Another aspect affecting the lower symbolic capital of MoRA HE institutions is due to the symbolic capital of the people – the academics and the students. Most students of

[43] MoEC also assists with the HE of certain ministerial organisations, such as *PKN STAN: Politeknik Keuangan Negara STAN* (Indonesian/State Polytechnics of Finance, formerly called STAN: State College of Accountancy) under the Ministry of Finance, *Institut Teknologi Telkom* (Telkom Institute of Technology) and *Universitas Telkom* (Telkom University) under PT Telekomunikasi Indonesia (the government-owned telecommunications company), *Sekolah Tinggi Intelejen Negara: STIN* (Indonesian Academy of Intelligence) under Badan Intelijen Negara (Indonesian Intelligence Agency), and many others. Meanwhile, most of the MoRA HE institutions are Islamic HE, considering the fact that 80 per cent of the Indonesian population is Muslim.

MoRA HE are graduates of Islamic high schools and *pesantren* (Islamic dormitory schools), both public and private schools (Indra 2016; Lukens-Bull 2016). These students are generally behind their peers who study in non-Islamic schools, in terms of academic performance. Within Indonesia, students of Islamic schools (and universities) mostly come from a low SES background (Indra 2016; Zuhdi 2006).

Therefore, drawing on a Bourdieusian approach, these students tend to possess lower capitals (e.g. financial, cultural, social, symbolic), which contributes to the institutions they have access to and participate in. These experiences contribute significantly to shaping their habitus. Similar to findings in the United Kingdom (Brown, Reay & Vincent 2013; Reay 1998; Reay, David & Ball 2005), students in Indonesian HE tend to pursue their HE in universities that parallel their class status. Thus there exists a powerful relationship between societal attitudes and experiences which shape the working-class habitus in such a way that they do not aspire beyond their present circumstances. However, as a caveat, some high achievers in Islamic high schools may choose to continue their studies in MoEC universities with higher perceived symbolic capital – however, similar to findings in other countries, working-class students who attend historically elite institutions are limited in numbers (Lukens-Bull 2016; Wajdi 2016).

The class segmentation is similar for academics, where people working in Islamic HE tend to be perceived as coming from a lower SES background in Indonesia. Quite a big proportion of these academics were formerly the best graduates of Islamic schools or *pesantren*, mostly with expertise in Islamic studies. Based on my own experience, other academics majoring in non-religious (non-Islamic) studies or expertise also have affiliations or at least contacts with *pesantren* or graduates of *pesantren*.[44] It is a common perception among Indonesians that Islamic HE under MoRA is second or third class, partly due to the members who are considered traditional. This disadvantaged situation has in fact encouraged Islamic HE to intensify its capacity-building projects to catch up with modernity and so-called secular education (Wajdi 2016; Zuhdi 2006).

Thus understood, the field of Indonesian HE is segregated by MoRA or MoEC affiliations, preserving a distinctive *symbolic capital*, and also by public/state and private organisations with their own *symbolic power and capital*. MoEC HE has higher symbolic capital than its MoRA counterparts. Similarly, public/state HE is generally perceived as possessing higher symbolic capital than the private universities, partly due to the fact that

[44] *Pesantren* is a non/semi formal Islamic education in Indonesia, briefly explored in Chapter 1 on Indonesian education.

the former is more "quality-standardized" than the private counterparts as they tend to be struggling for survival instead of maintaining excellence (Zuhdi 2006, p. 419). In what follows, the practice of English studies in Indonesian HE is critically analysed further, in an attempt to develop the different strands of the cultural capital of English.

5.4 Distinction at the institutional level

This section begins with an analytical exploration of the position of each university, faculty and department in the field of Indonesian HE as well as the policies in place in regard to academic and social relations or culture of English studies, starting with the established institution (UGM Yogyakarta) then the less established institution (IAIN Surakarta). The detail regarding the institutions is recounted in order to portray the institutional habitus and symbolic capital of each institution. Such institutional contexts contribute significantly to how the academics practise teaching and assessing their students.

English studies in an established university

UGM is nationally regarded as one of the oldest and most reputable universities in Indonesia. It was officially established as a state/public university in 1949 not long after Indonesian independence was proclaimed in 1945. English has been taught in all faculties (six when first established, and now eighteen plus graduate and vocational schools) as a compulsory subject/topic (Universitas Gadjah Mada 2017) as well as in an English literature department (FIB UGM 2015). Sociologically, as the oldest state university, UGM has gained its symbolic capital as one of the most reputable universities in Indonesia. This symbolic capital has had a number of advantageous consequences for UGM such as the 'high position' and thus more 'symbolic power' in national policy and academic society. As a consequence, the best academics and students from all over Indonesia aspire to join UGM and become a part of such an elite institution.

At the same time, as many alumni of UGM have reached prestigious and influential positions in national government and institutions, the symbolic capital of UGM as a whole institution including the academics and students is further developed. In other words, the "university power" of UGM is substantial and is highly ranked in the "hierarchy of prestige" in Indonesian HE (Bourdieu 1988a, p. 14). This prestige and increased symbolic capital have had a number of further logical consequences leading to normative practices, that is, as people accept symbolic power as normative. The academics and students who

can join UGM have been selected from those who are considered to be the most academically able people in the country. These people often possess comparably high symbolic and financial capital. Similar to other work on elite institutions (Ayling 2019; Maxwell & Aggleton 2015), it can be inferred that UGM academics and students are the 'best and brightest' people in Indonesia, which has a bearing on both the staffing of these institutions and how teaching and assessment is conducted.

My research suggests that UGM academics often exercise their power by practising authoritative teaching and assessment with very little negotiation with their students. Examples of authoritative teaching and assessment, as mentioned by participants Ayu and Arum (see Table 3 in Chapter 4) from UGM in their interviews, are an absence of dialogue or negotiation between the academic and students about components of grades, types of assessment or teaching methods. However, it is worth highlighting that this may only be true for some academics and not others. It is widely acknowledged that the disposition of HE academics – how they teach and assess – can affect students' engagement with the lessons (Cayanus, Martin & Goodboy, 2009; Haryadi 2018; Liew, Tan & Jayothisa 2013; Nasution 2016).

In summary, the respected position of UGM in Indonesian HE, validated by its symbolic capital, has arguably had positive impacts on academic teaching and assessment. Both the student intake and the academic staff have sustained engagement with fields commonly associated with elite education; thus they are exposed to certain norms. Because the HE educators can be regarded as embedded in a network of prestige and having assumed a good quality of academic and professional knowledge for their positions, it is assumed that the success of students' learning can thus be ensured. This symbolic capital can negatively impact learning when the academics consider their high symbolic capital as authoritative power over the students. With this in mind, in what follows the institutional habitus, capital and policies on teaching and assessment are analysed through a more detailed exploration of the role prestige plays in how academics assess in English studies.

The UGM English Department (currently named *Prodi Sastra Inggris*: English Studies Program) was established in 1961 under the Faculty of Letters and Culture (*Fakultas Sastra dan Kebudajaan*), which was transformed into the Faculty of Cultural Sciences (*FIB, Fakultas Ilmu Budaya*) in 2001 (Musliichah 2016). During this era, English

literature was the only foreign language taught in the faculty.[45] Staff of the UGM English literature department (hereafter called UGM English) has gained respected positions in the national academic society of English studies in Indonesia. Together with the long-established UI English department in Jakarta, this institution has been referred by other departments of English literature studies across the country. UGM English has respectable influence in Indonesian academic society and thus possesses high symbolic power, which can be exercised directly through the institution or indirectly through the people either nationally or even regionally in (Southeast) Asia.

The symbolic capital of UGM is further privileged by the academics being on the national academic society, in the form of valued voices and/or important positions on the national board of English studies, for instance. In this case, the academics have a high position in the field of Indonesian HE, transforming the institution's symbolic capital into social capital for their benefit, in addition to the academics' own cultural capital. According to Bourdieu (1988a, p. 48), this could be evidence of the transformation of aspects of "cultural hierarchy" into "social hierarchy", the two principles of hierarchisation practised in the field of HE. In other words, the authority gained from the institution and their expertise is appropriated by the academics into social positions in the Indonesian HE field. Quite logically, UGM tends to preserve this high institutional (symbolic) capital or increase it when possible, in numerous ways including by recruiting the best alumni.

As frequently mentioned in this thesis, habitus is internalised by a gradual process of inculcation (Bourdieu 1988a) where, for educators, it works to "orient their actions" in their profession (Mills 2013, p. 44). Similar to other parts of the world, in Indonesia it is not uncommon that high-achieving students spend most of their academic and social lives in the same institution, with limited interaction with outside societies. In Indonesia, it is often common practice that such a highly respected institution accepts academics or staff from its own graduates or the graduates of "perceived" similar or more respectable institutions, such as from UI Jakarta or reputable overseas universities. This normative practice works as a way to maintain the "elite status" of UGM (Maxwell & Aggleton 2015, p. 5). In my interviews, it was clear that this recruitment of pedigree/pureblood academics functioned as a kind of unwritten tradition in most well-established Indonesian HE institutions, even though there is government regulation of academic recruitment

[45] Indonesian and Javanese (a local language) literatures already existed at that time. Currently, there are other foreign (literature) studies, namely Arabic, French, Japanese and Korean. The local Javanese literature has now become 'archipelago literature' (*Sastra Nusantara*) to accommodate other local languages across Indonesia (FIB UGM 2015).

(Menristekdikti 2015).[46] This practice of academic recruitment on the one hand is directed towards maintaining the quality of the institution, with the new academics already known to the institution. The academic and personal qualities of the new recruits can be assured since they may have been on the radar during their studies at UGM.[47]

However, this practice around recruitment of new HE academics can also hinder the development of the institution in terms of its institutional habitus, for instance. As the new members come from the same institution, their habitus and tacit knowledge that contribute to the institutional habitus of UGM English are quite similar. If UGM was to recruit new academics from different institutions, they would bring in new habitus ingrained from their experiences in their previous institution as well as the institutional habitus of that institution. Keeping this in mind, I now move to discuss the actual policies of teaching and assessment, as partly reflecting the institutional habitus of UGM English.

Teaching and assessment in UGM English are essentially regulated by both the faculty and department's policies, currently the faculty's '*Manual Akademik Program Sarjana'* and the department's 'Academic Guide of English Studies Program' (Fakultas Ilmu Budaya UGM 2018; Sastra Inggris UGM 2017). The faculty's academic manual includes all important information on PALAWA (student academic online accounts), registration or enrolment, academic advisory, credit system, teaching and learning, cross-department/faculty/university enrolment, assessment, grading, undergraduate theses, community service and progress evaluation. In this document, teaching and assessment are specified in a general fashion as two different parts of the manual, which will now be elaborated on.

According to the 'Teaching and Learning' section of the faculty's academic manual, students may enrol in courses run by different departments and faculties within UGM or other universities with official approval by the Dean or Rector. This policy of cross-department/faculty course enrolment is not common. UGM students are advantaged by this policy which can increase their symbolic capital (cultural and social) in addition to their knowledge of their departments' majors. Within the 'Teaching and Learning' section common words were "teaching and learning can be done inside or outside classroom, a course consists of 16 meetings including UTS and UAS, and so on" (Fakultas Ilmu Budaya

[46] Article 27 and 30 of this regulation prescribe the qualifications and competence of academics and administrative staff in Indonesian HE.
[47] All five participants of this study are graduates of the same institution for their undergraduate and/or postgraduate level of education; they are pureblood. They said that they started by being assistants to their senior academics or professors.

UGM 2018, p. 10). Phrases concerning assessment that were particularly striking were "students may resign during study and get a transcript (of grades), inter-department course, inter-faculty course, and inter-university course" (Fakultas Ilmu Budaya UGM 2018, pp. 10–12). These policies demonstrate how UGM structures their practices of education in order to advance students' cultural capital, which significantly influences how the academics practise teaching and assessment.

Teaching methods are also suggested in this academic manual, which include lecturing, book/article reviews, presentations, field/lab work and so forth (Fakultas Ilmu Budaya UGM 2018, p. 10). Plagiarism is a significant issue also raised in this document, with the maximum penalty being failing the course or even expulsion from the faculty. In regard to assessment, the faculty's academic manual requires both mid-semester and end-of-semester exams as the formal assessment of student learning, counted as classroom meetings. It is the responsibility of each academic to conduct these exams.[48] This academic manual also states that keeping a record of academic and student attendance in classrooms is very important and should be done manually or electronically through a fingerprint reader (Fakultas Ilmu Budaya UGM 2018, p. 11). The records should show a minimum of 75% of student attendance as a requirement to attend the final exam.[49]

Complementing the faculty's policy documents, UGM English also stipulates an academic guide for students and staff (Sastra Inggris UGM 2017). Comprehensively covering diverse substantial topics, the document demonstrates how UGM English ensures its institutional habitus is communicated, shared and eventually owned by all the people, especially the students as they always come and go over time. Thus understood, the document also serves as a systematic way of preserving the institutional habitus of UGM English, as it is written and published internally.

The academic guide is presented in the English language (while others are, quite naturally, in Bahasa Indonesia), which ensures that the document is perceived by the people in UGM English as something belonging exclusively to them as a matter of pride and serves as a distinctive, effective means of sharing its institutional habitus. Additionally, the English written document reinforces the prestige of UGM English as an

[48] This policy implies that the actual classroom meeting is 14 times per semester, for a 2- or 3-unit topic/course. For a 4-unit topic, the classroom meetings would be doubled, reaching 28 meetings in total.
[49] This kind of attendance policy is commonly practised in Indonesian HE, which also shows that the institutional habitus of UGM values participation in the classroom to potentially maintain commitment, cooperation and interactions between students and academics in particular.The institution thus formally requires that both academics and students commit to their duties in teaching and learning. This fact, on the other hand, implies that traditional face-to-face classroom interactions are more valued than modern online teaching (and learning).

established institution. The visual design of the document, with various pictures of the institution's academics, students, administrative staff (doing various activities), as well as buildings, events and partnerships, makes it more attractive for most people and increases its value as a pivotal element of UGM English's institutional habitus. The document successfully delivers the "practical and contextual purposes" (Bray 2014, p. 325) of consecrating the institutional habitus and maintaining its symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1988a).

The representative design – combined with the usage of English in the document – lends itself to building UGM English's symbolic capital. In the field of Indonesian HE, and particularly English studies, such official publications function as a way of presenting the academic quality of the institution and thus are linked to symbolic capital. Excellent presentation in terms of visual design, the use of good English, and the clarity and comprehensiveness of its contents work to validate the high symbolic capital of the institution. In summary, UGM English has its own historically informed institutional habitus which promotes a belief in the high symbolic capital of English studies within Indonesian HE. The key to this endeavour is continuously improving the quality of its services, which include the provision of comprehensive policies (and quality academics) through representative publications and documents. In the next section, I will explore the case of a less established Islamic HE institution, IAIN Surakarta, which will, to a great extent, serve as a contrast.

English studies in a less established university

Officially, the name IAIN Surakarta was stipulated by Presidential Regulation No. 1 in 2011. Formerly, it was called STAIN Surakarta from 30 June 1997 (25 Safar 1418 H). Before then, the institution had been a Surakarta branch campus of IAIN Walisongo Semarang (now UIN Walisongo) since 12 September 1992 (IAIN Surakarta 2018a, 2018b).[50] Within Islamic HE, IAIN Surakarta is a relatively new, less established institution, compared to UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta and UIN Sunan Kalijaga

[50] At that time, it was a common practice that a 'central' IAIN at a provincial capital city would have branches in some cities within the province. Semarang is the provincial capital of Central Java and hence had a branch in Surakarta, Purwokerto and Kudus at that time (IAIN Surakarta 2018c). Essentially, IAIN and STAIN vary with regard to the mandate given by the government, in that the first is an institute (with a number of Islamic faculties) while the latter is an academy or college (with focused Islamic studies equal to a faculty). Meanwhile, UIN is the highest level of state Islamic HE institution in Indonesia, with a fully fledged mandate of offering non-Islamic studies such as psychology, health and medical sciences, and social sciences, in addition to the usual Islamic studies such as *Syariah* (Islamic law), *Tarbiyah* (Islamic education), *Adab* (Islamic culture) and *Ushuluddin* (Islamic philosophy).

Yogyakarta, which were both founded in the 1950s (UIN Sunan Kalijaga 2016; UIN Syarif Hidayatullah 2017).

Sociologically speaking, as a young, less established Islamic institute, IAIN Surakarta is still developing its symbolic capital in order to become one of the reputable Islamic HE institutions in Indonesia. With this in mind, IAIN Surakarta's *position* and thus *symbolic power* in the field of Indonesian HE is lower than UGM's. However, within its regional context, IAIN Surakarta still enjoys the 'privileged' symbolic capital of being a *state*/*public* Islamic institution, which is highly valued by Indonesian students, especially within the surrounding areas of the city. Even in 2018, IAIN Surakarta received an award from MoRA for having the most applicants during the admission process organised by the ministry among all IAINs (*Institut Agama Islam Negeri* or State Islamic Institutes) in Indonesia (IAIN Surakarta 2018c).

In terms of its position in the field, IAIN Surakarta belongs to the third class of Indonesian HE. This is the case because, first, Islamic HE is generally labelled second class in the field of Indonesian HE, partly indicated by their position in the world ranking. None of the top 10 Indonesian universities in the world ranking are (state) Islamic universities.[51] The highest state Islamic university in the ranking is UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, which ranks 31 (2017) and 42 (2019) within Indonesia only, and sits at around 4000 in the world ranking (Cybermetrics Lab 2019; Times Higher Education 2019), and outside of the top ten (state) Islamic HE institutions ranked by webometrics (LPM UIN Syarif Hidayatullah 2017). In what follows the analysis moves to the English studies in the institution.

In English studies at IAIN Surakarta, there are two main categories: English majors and compulsory English. As a consequence of the wider mandate of IAIN, it is currently overseeing two English majors, English education and English literature (IAIN Surakarta 2018b; Yahya & Suharto 2016).[52] Compulsory English is also provided through two separate schemes. The first scheme is offered in the first year (2 semesters) and is run by the language centre; while the second strand is provided in each faculty with a specific focus on the faculty major (Penyusun 2016; Untari 2018; Yahya & Suharto 2016). Students of English majors are also required to attend first-year compulsory English in the language centre (Untari 2018). Drawing upon Bourdieu's tools, these different strands of

[51] The top ten Indonesian universities sit at 600 or more in the world ranking.
[52] The English Literature department was founded first in 2001, then English Education in 2007. Previously, they were under the faculty of FITK, but now they are under the new faculty of FAB (FITK 2019; Untari 2018).

English studies confirm how IAIN Surakarta perceives the pivotal roles of English as a *valued cultural capital* for the students in *various dimensions* as well as its institutional habitus of continuous improvement.

According to formal documents, IAIN students are working on listening and speaking skills in semester 1 (equal to 3 units) and reading and writing/grammar in semester 2 (also 3 units) in the language centre, as a compulsory preparation for TOSE (an institutional standard test of English). This TOSE certificate is a prerequisite before they can have a *munaqosah*, or the oral defence for their undergraduate thesis/paper (Penyusun 2016; Untari 2018). This means that the first dimension of compulsory English for the students is a necessary form of capital that enables them to graduate from the institution, hence called *graduation academic capital* – an aspect of *cultural capital*.

Meanwhile, the second scheme of compulsory English administered in each faculty is more focused on the comprehension skills required for students' major studies. In this sense, the linguistic capital of English is perceived as the *resource or reference capital* for their study. It is also aimed at developing students' English capital for writing or communicating their ideas to the global community. In other words, IAIN Surakarta aligns with the Indonesian government's policy of English as *linguistic capital* in the global linguistic market where English, as a capital, is valued over other languages carrying a certain currency (Grenfell 2012). Accumulating such a capital is a key part of the education project of IAIN Surakarta. I will now continue with an analysis of other studies of English, English letters/literature departments or majors.

At IAIN Surakarta, English majors are administered in two different departments: English Education and English Literature/Letters (English Letters, IAIN Surakarta 2016). Historically, English literature/letters was founded in 2001 while English education was founded in 2007 (Penyusun 2016; Untari 2016, 2018). As an older discipline of study, English Literature is generally viewed as more established and therefore possesses a higher *institutional (symbolic) capital* than English Education (Bourdieu 2004; Wacquant & Akçaoğlu 2017). As a consequence, English Literature has become a locally reputable institution of English studies in the city and the eastern part of the province, more particularly among Islamic secondary school (*madrasah*) graduates.

On the other hand, English Education has developed and outnumbers English Literature in terms of their students, having 1,184 students compared to 439 students of English Literature in 2018 (IAIN Surakarta 2018c; Untari 2018). In this sense, English education has gained an increased institutional capital over time. Obviously, one of the

factors in its high status is the institutional distinction of producing English teachers, a profession that is highly valued in Indonesia (Manara 2014; Novianti 2016; Yuwono & Harbon 2010). Thus understood, each of these two English major studies has its own symbolic capital which is distinctive and influences (or attracts) certain members of society, contributing to how these institutions are socially constructed (Bourdieu 1989, 2004; Wacquant & Akçaoğlu 2017). Focusing on assessment practices, I will now further explore the institutional habitus espoused in its policies on teaching and assessment.

IAIN Surakarta has officially stipulated a number of policies in regard to teaching and assessment within its academic guidebook (Penyusun 2015, 2016; Yahya & Suharto 2016). In addition to the academic administration presented in Chapter IIA, the documents specifically dedicate a section to teaching (and assessment) in Chapter IIB.[53] Information about the credit system, curriculum (outcome-based curriculum), lecturing, academic advisory, examinations, and assessment are comprehensively covered in the guidebook.

In the section concerning examinations and evaluation, the documents stipulate various types of examination while the actual application of these procedures is decided at the faculty level (Penyusun 2015, 2016, translated): "Evaluation includes examination regarding a subject/topic, practicum, proposal (of undergraduate thesis), and undergraduate thesis (exclusively called *munaqosah*). Implementation of these examinations are organised by the faculty."

The section of IAIN Surakarta's official policy also includes information on evaluative assessment of study. The role of the document is to share the institutional habitus (institutional assessment habitus) in which it establishes criteria for assessment and professional conduct for all staff and students. Such documents contribute to reinforce the institutional habitus in three ways: *first*, it sets "the rules of the game" (Bourdieu 1988a, 1988b), of assessment, as a shared reference in the faculty; *secondly*, it is conceived as a means of circulating institutional values to its members; and *lastly*, it can develop pride in the institution among the people in the institution (Reay 2015).

As stipulated in the document, a part of IAIN Surakarta's institutional habitus advocates the continued use of *formal* examinations as a form of assessment, which is still widely practised in Indonesian HE, including more established universities such as UGM as mentioned earlier. Nevertheless, IAIN Surakarta also encourages other types of assessment for a course such as assignments, quizzes and participation. More significantly,

[53] Chapter II is called *Pendidikan dan Pengajaran* or "Education and Teaching".

IAIN Surakarta necessitates evaluation of each semester and overall study based on students' GPA, which signifies the institutional habitus of concern about the *progress* of the students' study and achievement. In other words, IAIN Surakarta equally values students' pathways of developing their academic capital in the university and wants to ensure that they are on the right track.

Another important facet of assessment is the requirement that students are actively involved in class discussion and participation. The policy sets a minimum of 75% of class attendance as a prerequisite for entrance into end-of-semester examinations (Penyusun 2015, 2016). From the perspective of English studies, the policy reaffirms the position that English language acquisition is not just about reading and writing; English capital is about speaking and listening as an important facet of cultural capital (in this case, linguistic capital) and for being a citizen of the world within its linguistic market (Grenfell 2012). However, reading and writing are much easier to assess where there is a subjective element at play in terms of speaking and listening (dialect, accent, etc.). Most significantly, this policy serves as both a gatekeeper and a boundary enforcer and is integral to how the institutional habitus is structured. Assessing class participation functions as a process of developing the students' cultural capital within the institutional culture and their trajectories with the academics' professional habitus as well (Braun 2012; Feldman 2016; Vincent & Braun 2011).

Within the section on topic evaluation, information about assessment and its systems, which includes the grading system, components of assessment, and the passing grade is presented. The documents are presented in a concise but ample guidebook, which clearly offers the institutional concerns about (teaching and) assessment but is also open to contextual interpretation and application. With regards to student assessment, IAIN Surakarta requires two formal examinations, mid-semester and end-of-semester tests, organised by the faculty to ensure the policy is shared and owned by the faculties. In other words, there is institutional alignment between policies and assessment practices. The documents also encourage another component – assignments – which are more flexible and contextualised within the academics' authority, as stated in the following excerpt: "At the end of semester, students get a grade based on the results of mid-semester exam, end-of-semester exam, assignments by the academic, and practicum (if integrated in the topic)" (Penyusun 2016, p. 32, translated).

In addition, the documents explicitly state that the weighting of each of the assessment components is fully within the academics' authority. This delegation of the

institutional power of grading the students' achievement (or learning) to the academics reflects the common practice of a university as an intellectual society with intellectual authority, as also practised in Australia and other western countries (Forsyth 2014; Ramsey 1988), though this remains a fragmented picture. The autonomy in the policy has implications for the academics in that they are required to offer a number of assessments during a course which they design, which are, we assume, influenced by their personal biographies, experiences and their values around delivering effective assessment.

Thus understood, IAIN Surakarta hereby accommodates the academics' professional habitus, or what Braun (2012) and Feldman (2016) call their pedagogical habitus, in their practices of assessing and eventually grading the students. In this way, there is a dialectical relationship between the institutional habitus of IAIN Surakarta and the academics' professional (or pedagogical) habitus. Drawing on empirical data, the following section explores these dialectical relations further where the focus of analysis is on how assessment practices are defined by the academics within their own institutional contexts.

5.5 Assessment of English: academic autonomy and institutional habitus

While the assessment of English in Indonesian primary and secondary education is more frequent and strict, including a national examination as well as provincial and school assessment (c.f. Mappiasse & Sihes 2014; Sabrina 2016; Widodo 2016), assessment in higher/tertiary education tends to be more flexible and left to the autonomy of academics (Belmawa 2016; Mendiknas 2000; Priandono et al. 2016; Unizar 2015).[54] Based on university policies and national regulation, assessment policies are mainly made at the faculty level, and often documented very briefly in the academic guidebook (Fudiyartanto 2011), to ensure the principle of autonomy of HE as stated in Indonesian law and

[54] At schools for example, teachers should strictly follow the national curriculum, which in practice is usually translated into nationally or regionally prepared textbooks and workbooks (sometimes called LKS) for students. A number of "reputable" publishers are commonly selected by the national or regional governments to publish those books. A group of academics and teachers are recruited to prepare the materials for publication. A book is usually designed for each semester and the workbook is the one used for developmental assessment. Throughout the country, summative assessment is commonly done twice per semester (mid and end of semester) in the form of tests. Reports are provided for the parents at the end of each semester in the form of grades (in numbers, not letters). Practically, these tests (mid and end of semester) are collectively prepared by the provincial board of English teachers based on the curriculum and the textbooks. Because the focus of English subjects at schools is reading comprehension and grammar, test items are generally reading comprehension questions, some vocabulary questions, and grammar questions.

regulation (*Undang-Undang No. 12 Tahun 2012*; Pemerintah RI 2014).[55] However, in the views of the academics involved in my 2011 study, resources about assessment, which can include books and references on assessment or periodic academic discussions on assessment, were limited and insufficient.

In other words, autonomy in teaching and assessment is structured by each university, faculty and department but actually delivered by – and therefore dependent upon – the academics. It can be argued that the teaching and assessment are structured by the *institutional habitus* of the university but are heavily affected by the *professional habitus* of individual lecturers. Institutional concerns and supports also create different contexts. Arguably, institutional support for teaching and assessment is more accessible in pedagogical institutions such as institutes for teacher training or departments of English Education compared to that in non-teaching institutions. However, the actual practice can vary for a number of contextual reasons.

Briefly put, academics' assessment practices are primarily their autonomous consideration but also are carefully practised within the institutional policies and habitus. Scholars contend that academics' beliefs significantly influence their teaching and assessment, albeit with some constraints from the institutional context (De Hei et al. 2015; Mitcham 2015). Often theorised as professional, pedagogical or vocational habitus (Edgington 2016; Erixon & Arreman 2019; Feldman 2016; Vincent & Braun 2011), such dispositions are "generating principles" for the academics' practice of teaching and assessment (Domingo-Salie 2016; Grenfell 2008a). Institutional habitus includes such factors as policies on teaching and assessment, course content and descriptions, assessment guidelines and rubrics, as well as policy dynamics in the institution. All these factors are inculcated into the agency of the academics and are deciphered in assessment practices.

How the Indonesian academic participants in this study practise this autonomy of assessing their students will be evaluated further within the constraints of the institutional habitus of each institution. Drawing on empirical data, the analyses are focused on

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[55] One of the regulations about Indonesian HE autonomy is Government Regulation of Higher Education Administration and Management (Peraturan Pemerintah No. 4 Tahun 2014 tentang Penyelenggaraan Pendidikan Tinggi dan Pengelolaan Perguruan Tinggi), which refers to the Law of Higher Education (UU No. 12 Tahun 2012). The regulation (especially article 23) states that each HE institution has autonomy in their administration and management including academic autonomy to determine norms, operational policies, and the application of different aspects of the regulation. One of the aspects that should be determined by each institution concerns assessment. Another contemporary regulation on Indonesian HE is the Regulation of Minister of Education and Culture (Permendikbud No. 49 Tahun 2014) regarding the National Standard of Higher Education (Standar Nasional Pendidikan Tinggi), particularly in Part 5: Standard on Assessment (Standar Penilaian Pembelajaran), which refers to the above Government Regulation on Higher Education (PP No. 4 Tahun 2014 tentang Penyelenggaraan Pendidikan Tinggi dan Pengelolaan Perguruan Tinggi).

academics' personal beliefs and values and the influence of their professional habitus in dialectical relation with the institutional habitus. It is evident from the data that the academics' professional habitus is reinforced by the institutional habitus, but they are often in tension with each other.

The dialectical relationship between academics' autonomy in assessment and institutional habitus was confirmed by Agus, Arum and Ayu from UGM. Agreeing on the institutional expectations that academics use rubrics for their assessment, they have autonomy in terms of the weighting, types or modes of assessment and so on. They construct the rubrics with guidance from resources provided by the institution such as references and workshops with experts. UGM English expects the academics to use rubrics "to maintain the objectivity of the assessment", said Agus. However, each academic has the authority to set the criteria of the rubrics and the like, which are often composed in teams. With regards to this, Arum said: "[in the rubrics] each of us determines things such as the percentage of each component or item … they can be different, and not always the same … and the assessment techniques, too [all depending on us]".

The experience of these UGM academics regarding rubrics demonstrates how the institutional habitus significantly structures their assessment practices (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992), which eventually influences their professional habitus. In other words, UGM institutional habitus here notably *structures* the academics' *pedagogical habitus* (cf. Feldman 2016; Wacquant 2016; Wacquant & Akçaoğlu 2017).

In regard to the more political rationale of this particular practice of rubrics as part of UGM policies and thus institutional habitus, Ayu reflexively recalled that it is an effect of international benchmarking or accreditation by AUN-QA.[56] Ayu said: "A while ago, but I forget the year, UGM English cooperated with AUN-QA and rubrics were one of the requirements."

This fact also confirms that the symbolic power of accreditation or external quality assurance contributes 'another layer' of the institutional habitus of UGM, like other institutions in the field of Indonesian HE. This type of recognition advances the symbolic capital of the institution (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Bourdieu 2004). In the end, the professional habitus of the academics is also structured by this institutional habitus. This practice confirms that "power relations … differentially affect students and institutions [and teachers]" (Byrd 2019, p. 197).

[56] ASEAN University Network – Quality Assurance assessment, <http://www.aun-qa.org>.

An argument can be made, from these practices of assessment by UGM academics portraying autonomy within their institution, that UGM's institutional habitus is notably stronger than academic autonomy in influencing the professional habitus of the academics. This also confirms the status of UGM as a well-established university appropriating very high symbolic capital and it very much informs the academics' assessment practices. Therefore, inequality in power or authority between the institution and its academics is evident in their relations (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). The case is different with the less established institution, as outlined in the following.

Even though it is subject to supervising bodies at the faculty, institute and national levels, IAIN Surakarta English has autonomy over its own teaching and assessment policies provided that they are in line with the policies of the institute and the faculty. These policies include assessment components, weighting, as well as course content or type and so forth, which can also be adopted directly from the institute or faculty's policies. As aforementioned, the institution has a habitus that is cohesive and equal in terms of the social interactions among its members, and between management and the academics.

The leaders of the institution are responsible for encouraging all the members to intensively develop their symbolic capital, through enhancing their institutional habitus (Bourdieu 1988a, 1989; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). The head of the department understands that they are less recognised than bigger institutions by saying "if we follow UGM or other big universities, we will certainly lose" (Untari 2018). Therefore, they need to create distinctions in order to develop their *symbolic capital* required in competition within the society of (Islamic) HE in Indonesia or at least in the eastern part of Central Java. On top of that, as mandated by the above national regulations, Indonesian HE is required to gain national accreditation from an independent organisation, BAN-PT: *Badan Akreditasi Nasional Perguruan Tinggi* (BAN-PT 2016).

With those considerations, and from a number of study visits, consultations and internal meetings, the institution's leaders have come to realise that they need to have their own *distinctions* as their unique institutional habitus and symbolic capital. In the end, such distinctive institutional attributes are expected to be developed and shared among the academics and students for the sake of their collective development. With regard to the actual teaching and assessment, however, autonomy is still in the hands of the academics especially in terms of practical consideration such as timing or types of assessment based on the students or classroom contexts.

While they collectively strive for enhancement, the academics are encouraged to exercise their autonomy over assessment within the parameters of IAIN Surakarta English's institutional habitus. Innovative teaching and assessment practices have been implemented by the academics with reference to and guidance from the institutional habitus. The following paragraphs examine a number of examples of their teaching and assessment innovations, representing how the academics are exercising their autonomy, professional habitus and symbolic capital within the institution.

The analysis begins with the department's policy which I consider to be an integral part of the institutional habitus, motivated, to a large extent, by innovations and accreditation. Untari, the head of the department, stated that they started to reconsider and rebuild their distinctions soon after the separation and establishment of English Education in 2007, which affected the institution a great deal. Formerly, the staff had been holding an annual festival to exhibit students' works from a couple of topics in IAIN Surakarta English. With the split of the department, only about fifty students remained in the institution at that time, and the new department (English Education) did not want to participate anymore, as Untari (2018) described:

> When English Education department separated from us, some topics were deleted, such as topics with products, and so the products (students' works) became inadequate for exhibitions as we just had about 50 students. One or two topics cannot create enough productions for exhibitions, so we need to restructure our curriculum for that and for accreditation as well.

A kind of distinction has been espoused by the department in grouping their topics into three classifications: task/theory, product and project, with a comprehensive and well-informed academic rationale (Untari, Purnomo & Pujiyanti 2017). The task category includes theoretical topics, while the product category contains topics producing audio-visual work that can be uploaded on the institution's website. Project includes topics that produce works for offline dissemination in an exhibition or show and for online dissemination through the website and the institution's account in Google Play Store. It is evident here that they are developing a higher standard of institutional habitus and symbolic capital of the institution and all the members (academics and students).

As a result, they got an A for institutional accreditation in 2017 from BAN-PT (a national accreditation body in Indonesia). In the Indonesian context, A is the highest accreditation and is valued exceptionally highly, especially for an English department in Islamic HE. Currently, there are only two public Islamic HE institutions that are accredited

A in Indonesia (BAN-PT 2019). This high accreditation is the result of not only the collegial relations in the institution but also the appropriate strategy, as the head of the department explained:

> The well-established [universities] are always [over] there … so we just focus on our students … if we want to follow UGM and the other big ones, we will lose because our inputs are different [much weaker]. … when attending conference at UGM, UKSW, Sanatadharma[57] we learn from them how they change organisational system which is 'bloody' hard. (Untari 2018)

The constraints of being a less established institution with a more diverse student intake have encouraged the management and the academics (and the students) to innovate in teaching and assessment. For example, assessment for the topic Translation is done through a Wikipedia submission. Students are required to find content in Wikipedia (a paragraph or two, depending on the students/class), translate it, and submit it to Wikipedia, of course after review and editing by the academic, said Lusi. If the students' paragraphs are accepted, they will receive a high grade for the topic. In addition, the students and the academics contribute to the development of Wikipedia, which is equally beneficial for society in general and Indonesian people (with the Indonesian content) in particular.

Another example of how the academic habitus is inculcated by the institution involves the exhibitions and fairs held every year which are open to public. Competitions among the students are also conducted each semester for encouragement and reward. Festivals are another way of publicising and internal developing their habitus and capital. They have proved to be a good means of not only promotion of their symbolic capital for public recognition, but also maintaining and developing their institutional habitus of cohesive and collegial relations. To ensure that all the academics get involved in all the activities, the festivals, exhibitions and competitions are based on the topics the academics are teaching. All those activities are part of the assessment for each topic.

> The topics are selected … by the department, which ones are put into competitions. Usually, the topics in the categories of product and project are put into competitions among the students. (Lusi)

[57] These are nearby universities with highly reputable English studies.

> We have … a student fair for their works to be exhibited and to compete. For example, in my topic Speaking, students perform on stage and then the best ones are selected for the competition. (Ulfa)

In addition, the academics I spoke with also encouraged their classes to take part in student competitions conducted by other universities, such as the drama competition which they have won twice, as Lukman described. All these projects or endeavours have been consistently and carefully prepared with the academics' involvement as part of the institutional habitus. At the same time, each academic equally develops their professional or pedagogical habitus in terms of teaching and assessment. In so doing, the academics enhance and accumulate symbolic capital of assessment for themselves and for the sake of their future students too. This shows how the professional habitus of the academic contributes to the development of institutional habitus, but at the same time institutional habitus and capital also encourage the academics to build their habitus and accumulate their capital (Çelik 2017; Reay 2004).

In summary, there is a dialectical relation between the institutions' and academics' autonomy over English teaching and assessment. On the one hand, the academic practices associated with teaching and assessment involve their professional habitus, identity and values on education in general and assessment in particular (see Sections 2.2 and 2.7). On the other hand, the institution has its own habitus, which is manifested in institutional policies, culture, system of operation, vision, missions, as well as leadership. Both sides work together in order to ideally serve the students as the priority, with the ultimate objective to develop students' habitus and capital.

In what follows, I present an analytical exploration of English teaching and assessment in two HE institutions, an established one first before the less established, drawing on data from five academics from each institution. In terms of English studies, the academics I interviewed varied in their positions within the institution and thus also their (symbolic) cultural capital (see Chapter 3), which, as we will see, led to distinctive practices of assessment. The analysis reveals that the academics' biographies and previous educational experiences shape how they are positioned in the institution, how they design and execute assessment, and what opportunities are made available to them.

5.6 Assessment practices in an established institution: habitus and capital of a pedigree and a hybrid

In this section, the assessment practices of five participating academics in the established institution, Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM), are critically explored with specific regards to the concepts of habitus, capital and assessment of/for/as learning (Bourdieu 1988a, 1990b; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Earl 2002; Black 2015; Boud & Falchikov 2007a, 2007b). To maintain anonymity, the academics are named in alphabetical order by pseudonyms: Agus (male), Arum (female), Ayu (f), Budi (m) and Eko (m). It is important to the analysis to consider how their assessment practices may be influenced by both their demographic and their academic background.

Development of habitus within the institution

The assessment practices of UGM academics are structured by the professional habitus of the academics informed by their previous experiences, their biography (Bourdieu 1990b), within the context of the institutional habitus of UGM (Byrd 2019). Habitus, as an internal matrix of dispositions, is a framework of opportunities and constraints that bounds a person's choices (Reay 2004). The institutional habitus, which tends to be more static, has a structuring power over the members (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Byrd 2019; Reay 1998). On the other hand, as the habitus is generative, the academics' habitus is more fluid and dynamic due to their interactions in different societies and institutions. The academics' interactions within various aspects of the institution can contribute to the formation of many dispositions within their habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). As a consequence, individuals will possess various 'layers' of habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Decoteau 2016), and in the end each of those layers is subconsciously signified and deployed by individuals within the corresponding societies.

With this in mind, in the context of academic assessment practices, it is henceforth acceptable to refer to the pedagogical or professional habitus of the academics in general (Edgington 2016; Feldman 2016), and more specifically to the assessment habitus as a layer of their professional habitus, informing their actions when assessing (and teaching). This is apparent in the case of Agus. His assessment practices are informed by some adaptation and negotiation between his professional habitus and the institutional habitus of UGM English.

Agus has a core expertise in anthropology (instead of English), which he obtained from his undergraduate study in the same university, UGM. He obtained his MA and PhD from Temple University, Philadelphia, USA in religious studies, and comparative religion in particular. He officially joined (or was reallocated to) the English department in 2014.[58] Arguably, his reallocation to the English department was influenced by his *symbolic capital* of being an overseas university postgraduate, specifically an American university with English as the medium of instruction and communication. His symbolic capital of having an English-speaking American alma mater is thus valued highly by the UGM English department, and he was hence offered a place in the institution.

From this educational background, it can also be construed that his professional habitus has been exposed to a certain degree of complexity due to his experiencing multiple institutions with their *varied institutional habitus*, specifically UGM Anthropology, Temple University and UGM English. Eventually, these different experiences fostered different dispositions within his habitus which not only influenced his values and attitudes concerning assessment practices, described below, but at the same time may potentially also contribute to the institutional habitus of his current institution, UGM English. In regard to his previous teaching and assessment experiences, Agus said that he started teaching in the USA at Temple University and never before then: "before leaving [for America to study] I had no teaching experiences … I was teaching in the US for the last 3 years of my study … starting around 2009 until 2012, on religious studies."

Thus understood, Agus' professional habitus in relation to teaching and assessment was structured by the institutional habitus of Temple University, arguably a typical western university. In *Pascalian meditations*, Bourdieu (1997, p. 64) describes a habitus as "systematic (or, on the contrary, contradictory) and constant (or fluctuating and variable)" where it is dependent on "the social conditions of its formation and exercise". The experiences at Temple – which we assume led to durable dispositions within his habitus – contributed significantly to Agus' teaching and assessment at UGM. At the same time, as a considerably new academic in UGM English, Agus is still in the process of developing his identity as an academic, which is more widely known as 'teacher identity', which is often defined as a teacher's "sense of self" (Timma 2007) or a "teachers' self-concepts" (Buchanan 2015).

[58] In UGM Agus taught religious studies and Islamic studies in the Anthropology department when he came back from America in 2012. He took his master's in 2003 and finished his PhD in 2012 in the United States.

Identity is formed by "social processes and is maintained, modified, or even reshaped by social relations" (Timma 2007, p. 164). In other words, identity formation can be understood as a link between an individual and others and as their own unique development. Bourdieu's concept of habitus opens up this space further. How dispositions are formed within the habitus "requires attention to the dialectic of competing fields as well as the generative and creative capacity of the habitus" (Stahl 2015, p. 66). As a set of durable and transposable dispositions, the habitus is not 'set' but is evolving as the field too is in constant flux involving a constant dialogue between the habitus and the society (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). It is through the tension of habitus and field that identity is formed (Reay 2010). In Agus' case, and arguably other academics, his identity as an academic is shaped or reshaped by his experiences and interactions in all of the institutions he encounters (past, present and future), although his current institution, UGM English, is most prominent.

Agus' identity as an academic, according to Miller, Morgan and Medina (2017), can also incorporate ethical considerations and is influenced by his habitus which – when interacting with both the field and the institutional habitus – influences his teaching and assessment. Thus understood, habitus as dispositions (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992) or schemata (Wacquant 1998) is also part of the tacit (Polanyi & Sen 2009), which in many cases cannot be made explicit. The most important thing to note here is that habitus implies internalised power, which guides the academic's thoughts and actions. The habitus (of the academic) is always in its dynamic stance because "habitus offers the only durable form of freedom" (Reay 2004, p. 432). Agus' habitus also contributes to the institutional habitus of UGM English, which is equally affected by other academics' habitus. This also applies to Budi, who experienced varied institutional habitus: UGM English, the language centre and Flinders University.[59] Each institutional habitus contributes to informing Budi's teaching and assessment practices as well as his identity as an academic, or as a teacher.

These experiences of multiple institutional habitus have influenced these academics' values and practices concerning both teaching and assessment. They seek inspiration about teaching and assessment from their educational experiences (of being taught and assessed), which they then apply in their current institution. The perceived characteristics of students and the general contexts of their former educational institutions are different from the current institution. According to Agus: "It was my experience teaching in the US in fact …

[59] Budi got his MA (TESOL) from Flinders University, Australia in 2009.

students often complain [about their grades there]. Here, students never complain … whatever grade they get."

As habitus is a collection of experiences, past experience during his study in Australia also contributed to Budi's dispositions. Budi talked about the way Australian students are informed about the criteria for their assignments and their grades, in comparison with his past experience in UGM with limited access to grade criteria and standards of assessment:

> When I studied my undergraduate in UGM, [at the end of semester] we got whatever grade from the academics and we did not do anything about it let alone protest … When I did my master's, the criteria were clearly shared, and students could question the academic when the grade was felt unfair.

It is evident from this excerpt that those two different experiences (at UGM and, as we will see in the next chapter, Flinders) have contributed to Budi's dispositions around pedagogy and assessment, which influence his current teaching and assessment practices such as sharing assessment criteria with his students.

The cases of Agus and Budi's assessment practices strongly suggest that there is a dialectical relation between their professional habitus and the institutional habitus of UGM English. Basically, both Agus and Budi are *negotiating* their ingrained pedagogical (or professional) habitus from their overseas educational experiences with the current institutional context of UGM English. By *negotiating* I mean certain dispositions inform their thinking, but equally certain dispositions are underlying, not brought to the fore. For example, Agus believes that students' character is different between those in America and Indonesia in terms of accountability of grade: "In the US students are demanding of their rights. If they are treated unfair, they will clarify … Here in Indonesia as soon as I give the grades, I wait for them to clarify but none so far … no complain."

Agus frequently tells his class that, based on his experience, American students ask a lot of questions and speak up in the classroom. He wants to encourage his UGM students to speak up and ask questions in the classroom. In other words, a disposition in his practice allows him to help the students grow, develop and accumulate their *cultural capital of English* through experiencing the best teaching and assessment the academic believes, with his professional rationale. The next section examines the participants' integration within the institution, which is directly related to their experiences with overseas education and thus institutional habitus.

Budi, unlike Agus, got his undergraduate degree from UGM English and then joined his alma mater after graduation through a different process. He was initially invited to become an assistant of his former lecturer, Pak A, at a private university (not UGM). In sociological terms, Budi was advantaged by both his cultural and social capital, giving him the opportunity to be the assistant of his former lecturer. In particular, Budi's cultural capital in English, which was well developed during his undergraduate study, was noticed as it aligned with the institutional logic and was thus valued by Pak A. To some extent, Budi's social capital was also exerted in this case, supplementing his cultural capital. Arguably, there were other excellent students on Pak A's radar but because Budi was perceived as having good relationships with others, and more particularly with Pak A himself, Budi was selected to assist Pak A at UPN. The implication here is that social relations influence social capital, which has an exchange value in terms of employment.

When reflecting on his appointment, though not explicitly said, Budi related being invited to teach at the language centre and later also at his alma mater UGM English to his apprenticeship with Pak A in UPN. Budi's cultural and social capital were noticed and valued by his former academics and English authorities mediated by Pak A.

> Then about a year later [after helping Pak Aris] I was offered and began to teach at the Language Centre, teaching courses, not English subject like that in UPN … then in 2006 I was offered a position in the department.

Thus understood, Budi's social capital he gained through his cultural capital played a considerable role as it gave him the necessary currency with Pak Aris and some other influential people with institutional authority. Budi's knowledge of English was also influential in his appointment as an academic in UGM: being one of the best alumni of the institution entitled Budi to be noticed and valued by the institution. In this case, his academic capital was derived locally but from a legitimate institution (Grenfell 2012). The capital he has corresponds directly to the institutional habitus.

Due to his MA from an Australian university, Budi's symbolic capital is even more developed and therefore increases his status in UGM. The capital from a foreign university opens up opportunities in the Indonesian context and he teaches more 'demanding' topics or subjects for UGM English. For example, Budi described his trajectory as:

> Then I continued teaching [after returning from Australia]. Since 2009 I began to teach linguistics topics, in addition to skill topics (listening),

> pragmatics, then phonetics and phonology, introductions to linguistics … English teaching methodology and course design.

His appointment to teach linguistics topics, teaching methodology and course design shows the respect that Budi received as a consequence of his MA from an Australian university. In the Indonesian context, topics in skills (especially listening and speaking) are considered 'easier' topics in the English department that therefore suit junior academics (Poedjiastutie 2017; Yuwono & Harbon 2010). It is apparent that Budi's symbolic capital has been appreciated, authenticated and highly valued by UGM English in different ways. In addition to his teaching 'harder' subjects, he was also offered respected positions (and their entitlements) in UGM English and the language centre. Also, he was recently appointed as an assistant editor of the Academic Guide of UGM English (Sastra Inggris UGM 2017), a respectable committee in the institution. This is what Bourdieu (1988a, p. 40) calls "educational determinants", which define Budi's symbolic (cultural) capital which is valued highly by the institution.

In terms of his habitus, Budi's experiences in different institutions (UGM English, the language centre and Flinders University) have contributed equally to his pedagogical (professional) habitus in a mutual fashion with the institutional habitus. He inculcated dispositions (Mills 2013) of teaching and assessment gradually during his education in UGM English and Flinders University, mostly as a student being assessed, and in the language centre as a tutor. Regarding rubrics, for instance, he supports the institutional expectation of using rubrics in current assessment of courses, even though there were no rubrics or syllabus during his undergraduate studies at UGM English.

Budi also mentioned aspects of institutional habitus of his previous institutions which he has practised in his current institution, such as motivating or encouraging students through assessment: "[I] remember once my academic [at Flinders] … gave rewards … as motivation. So, I want to practise giving such a motivation as a sense of achievement [for my students here]."

To a great extent, Budi inculcated the institutional habitus of giving rewards to students as encouragement during his education experience in Australia, which he then practises in UGM English. By incorporating parts of the habitus of previous institutions, such as giving rewards, and parts of the current institutional habitus, using rubrics for instance, it is apparent that Budi is developing his professional habitus through adopting the best practices of all involved. The cases of Agus and Budi demonstrate how their "hybrid" habitus works indirectly to develop the institutional habitus of UGM English. In

what follows, I change my focus to how the other three academics who were "pedigree or pureblood" reflexively discussed their assessment practices.

From their educational backgrounds, Arum, Ayu and Eko have experienced a similar institutional habitus, that of the UGM English department. Drawing on a concept of institutional habitus as the school or university culture and dispositions which are institutionalised in policy documents (visions, missions, objectives and so on) and embodied in the individuals (leaders, academics, students), as the three academics experienced the same organisation, UGM English, the institutional habitus that affects their professional habitus would be similar. However, Eko is a slightly different case; due to his involvement and interactions within various societies and organisations, Eko has experienced more disparate institutional habitus. Organisations such as Indonesian Association of English Studies, National Forum for Comparative Literature (*Sanding*), and so forth are among those societies he has been involved in, but the intensity of Eko's interactions in those institutional habitus is less frequent and thus less influential than that in UGM English. An analysis of how their situations have influenced Arum, Ayu and Eko's assessment practices as "pedigree or pureblood" follows.

In the cases of Arum, Ayu, and Eko, who have experienced the same institutional habitus, UGM, it becomes crucial to see how influential the assessment practices of their former academics have been on their professional, or more precisely assessment, habitus. Such influences can be observed and extrapolated from the discussion with them and the actual assessment practices they perform. It is apparent from the discussion that their past experiences of being assessed have influenced their assessment habitus in two ways. They develop their assessment habitus from past practices they engaged in, including both inspiring experiences (which they adopt or adjust) and unfortunate experiences (which they avoid) in their assessment practices.

With regard to their negative experiences of being assessed, they reflexively avoid such experiences while assessing their current students. For example, when Arum was reflecting on her experience of being assessed, she said:

> Once I got a C and so I questioned my academic. He said that it was wrong and would be reviewed. But in the end, I only got C+. The following year, I took the topic again [to get better grade]. At that time, we could only ask and that was it. We were not given further explanation.

From the above excerpt it can be inferred that, during her undergraduate study, Arum's academic had the practice of having and exercising his higher power in assessment over the students in a negative fashion. Arum's lecturer did not explain in detail and in advance how students got a specific grade, which was presumably practised by other academics. The degree of accountability and transparency of the academic's assessment (in terms of criteria, standards or even rubrics) during Arum's past education was low, which, we can infer, informed Arum's practices as an academic. Another possibility is that she had only earned a C grade. In this case, it shows that Arum had a middle-class habitus of entitlement and she thought she could question the grades she received. These experiences figure into how she assesses in a positive way, as explored later in this section.

This finding that past educational experiences in UGM shape the (future) academic assessment habitus was confirmed by Ayu. She experienced similar situations to Arum, in terms of academics' refusal to disclose the assessment criteria, let alone rubrics, to the students. Ayu said:

> Well I don't know whether the academic had rubrics or not. [They are not shared?] I never questioned as I had no idea about rubrics at that time … when I got an unexpected grade, I just tried to understand my own mistakes, tried to guess.

It is obvious here that, as a student, Ayu felt she had no power to question the academic about the assessment, and thus the grade she got. The practices of the academic not sharing the assessment system and criteria with the students seems to be the cause of this practice. What makes it more interesting is that those negative experiences of being assessed during their past education, which according to Decoteau (2016) contribute to the layers of the habitus of Ayu (as well as Arum), is ingrained in a more positive way.

When Arum became an academic, those assessment habitus she had ingrained from her past education were negotiated and compromised with the current institutional habitus of UGM English. It is to some extent an encouragement for her that UGM English is now promoting integrity, accountability and transparency of the academics' assessment, as recorded in the policy document (Sastra Inggris UGM 2017), which is in line with her professional (assessment) habitus of openness. Academics are now more transparent and encourage students to question the grades they get. Here is what Arum conveyed about this aspect of habitus: "But … when I became an academic it was [practised here] … [that]

students are encouraged, if their works during a semester are not properly assessed, to question the academics."

Another way of maintaining the transparency and accountability of academic assessment, as a part of her professional as well as UGM institutional habitus, is giving feedback to students. On top of that, she described how the feedback is discussed in class, particularly through common feedback for the class. During the discussion, students can query anything related to the feedback including their objections to the assessment, whenever necessary, as reflected by Arum's explanation:

> And in regard to transparency, for example, assignments are given back to students with feedback. This includes the mid-semester exam, which is given feedback and discussed in class. So, there is a chance for students to complain. That's what I've been doing … to ensure that students are informed about the assessment and its criteria. That's the point.

From the above statements, it is apparent that Arum practises formative assessment, as a layer of her professional habitus, with provision of feedback and discussion. Giving feedback has been practised quite widely done by UGM English academics since Ayu's undergraduate education. Ayu related her experience of receiving feedback from her academic: "I don't understand … not fully understand [about my academic's feedback] and so I ask, 'Sir, what does this mean, this feedback … and this feedback too?' … And [he said] it was about my citation techniques."

It is evident from the above experience that Ayu's lecturer was already giving feedback during her past education. Arum also received feedback from her academics. Eventually, these inspiring assessment experiences contributed to their habitus, informing their assessment practices with their current students, by giving encouraging feedback, for instance. Thus understood, giving feedback to students in the form of rewards is a part of her professional or pedagogical habitus (Erixon & Arreman 2019; Feldman 2016). In other words, Arum ingrains the concept of giving a reward or feedback into her habitus because she believes it can encourage the students and boost their motivation to do even better next time. Reay's (2004) work emphasises the permeability of habitus and how the habitus works in a continual dialectic with institutional habitus, informing individual subjectivities and how agents position themselves. To a great extent, Arum has developed her habitus through being inspired by her former academics during her past education.

Another form of inspiration which contributed to the dispositions formed in the habitus could be what Ayu described as a course called Course Design, which she took in

her past education. In this specific course, she learnt that "assessment should use certain criteria, and the criteria should be [followed]".

In her current role, however, Ayu described how she always consults the institutional policies of UGM English. The criteria are now implemented in more detail in the form of rubrics, which has become a part of the institutional habitus of UGM English as noted by Agus, Arum and Ayu. For example, Eko described it as a '*perkembangan pemikiran' (development of thought)*, which can be understood as his integration of the dispositions informing his professional habitus inculcated over time.

In summary, it is evident that there is a dialectical relation between professional habitus and institutional habitus informing the assessment practices of these academics. The habitus of the academics is both 'structured' by the institution and 'structuring' the institution. In application, the habitus of the academic negotiates with the current institutional habitus; there is no domination of the one over the other. Reay (1998) writes that institutional habitus indicates institutional influences, but the professional habitus of the academic still plays a key role in the actual assessment practices. The next question is how exactly these kinds of habitus are capitalised in the form of positions and recognition in the power relations of the institution, which will be explored further in the following section.

Negotiating symbolic capital for positions and recognition

Given the dialectical relation between the habitus of the academic and institutional habitus within the contextualised practices of assessment, I now focus on the UGM English academics participating in this study. Similar to other studies focused on agents within institutions, this dialectical relation at the same time shows various negotiation processes by the academics in relation to the symbolic power they possess and thus exercise within the context of the institution. Arguably, these negotiations in and around symbolic power, involving both habitus and capital, are made by the academics for their objective reasons. Ideally, the ultimate objective of exercises around assessment is students' learning and development. However, those negotiations are also appropriated for positions and recognition, including being accepted in the society of the institution.

The academics negotiate their symbolic power within the institution in a number of ways. Most of the time, the academics employ a moderate approach, instead of a radical approach, to deal with symbolic power in the forms of adaption and some degree of struggle for recognition or positions, for instance. At the same time, by adopting a

moderate approach the academics are exercising as well as accumulating capital within the institutional habitus of UGM. As a result, the academics gain recognition from leaders, colleagues and students which is valued differently dependent on both the academic in question and the institution they are a part of. Let us explore these social constructions further in the following paragraphs.

First, the academics take a moderate approach when tensions arise between their professional habitus and UGM institutional culture and expectations with regard to academic life in general and teaching and assessment in particular. When the faculty requires the academics to include course descriptions for each topic they are responsible for, as stated in the academic guides of the faculty and department (Fakultas Ilmu Budaya UGM 2018; Sastra Inggris UGM 2017), the academics endeavour to meet the policy, share it with colleagues (in formal meetings or informal communications) for feedback, then inform the students at the beginning of each semester. Arum, for instance, even takes a further step by developing a course guidebook (or module) as a basic reference for the students: "syllabus is supplemented with modules; so, syllabus first then the module for detailed materials. Recently, we are encouraged … to have RPKPS [detail of minute-by-minute activities] of all the topics we teach."

In practice, in the case of Arum and Budi for instance, the academics are often selected by the head of the department (either individually or in a group) to develop the modules. The selection of the academics appears to be predominantly based on their perceived expertise, which means it is grounded on the *professional (academic, intellectual) capital* associated with the academics. Arguably, the selection also involves the *social capital* of the academics which they have, we assume, accrued over time, as evidenced in their academic labour, in order that they can work together as a team to deliver the project. Academic labour here is conceived as the "knowledge commodity" (Winn 2015, p. 9) possessed by an academic in the neoliberal world where the "corporatized university" is widely practised and the work of academics is measured by its "exchange value" instead of its "use value" (Lawrence & Sharma 2002, pp. 663, 674). In other words, the *cultural capital* of the academics is valued by UGM in the form of recognition and in exchange they are appointed to various project teams (modules, RPKPS, and so on).

Agus perceives himself as being valued by the institution even if he did not say so, partly due to his Javanese humble personality of being "quiet" (Herliana 2015; Pruetipibultham 2012). However, as a graduate from an American university, he has

gained high symbolic capital which is respected by his current institution (Atkinson 2011; Bourdieu 1990b; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). He was thus invited to teach at CRCS, a graduate program managed by the English department, due to his qualifications, cultural capital and thus his symbolic capital as an American doctoral graduate. He was also appointed to teach in the graduate program in UGM Anthropology, his alma mater. In the field of Indonesian HE, teaching in graduate programs is more respected than in undergraduate programs. His positions as a graduate academic in two institutions shows his high position in the field. It can be viewed as an indirect appropriation of his academic and symbolic capital.

On the other hand, as UGM values his academic capital, and thus appoints him to positions suitable for him, his cultural capital of an American doctorate has been exchanged into social capital in his interactions with the department and faculty's managers or policy makers, leading to his appointment in the graduate school of the institution and other respectable positions available. Agus' appointments are made for various reasons, but predominantly taking his expertise or symbolic cultural capital into account. Again, there is no direct quotation from my interview with Agus that can justify this, but my analysis is based on the position he gained after completing overseas study – teaching in the graduate program in Anthropology and CRCS – which is highly valued in UGM. Therefore, Agus' academic (cultural) capital has been validated by the institution in various ways such as his appointment to respected positions (and their entitlements) in and outside UGM English as well as his voice being heard in formal meetings of faculty managers or leaders of the institution.

By being recognised through such projects, the academics are also exercising as well as accumulating symbolic capital directly aligned with the institutional habitus of UGM. By working in the project teams, which has obviously been practised in UGM, the academics share and develop their professional habitus, within the frame of the institutional habitus of UGM English. Once the projects are successfully completed, in addition to their developed professional habitus (as another layer, for instance), the academics gain recognition from the leaders of the institution. This recognition can often be manifested in the form of their salary or an honorarium (economic capital). Mostly, however, the achievements are accumulated by the academics in the form of symbolic capital such as good reputation, promotions or personal integrity, which can eventually be exchanged for other projects or respectable positions in the future. The more

responsibilities or projects they accomplish with satisfaction, the more capital is gained and accumulated by the academics.

This accumulated symbolic capital of the academics is not only valued by the institution (through the management) but also by peer academics or colleagues in various kinds of recognition. It is a common practice in the field of Indonesian HE that the more achievements an academic has, the higher position s/he gets (often in the form of respect, acknowledgement or appreciation). In the end, the colleagues will support or at least have no objection when Arum, Ayu, or Eko gain respectable positions in the institution, simply because the colleagues (who, we assume, are influenced by the institutional habitus to varying extents) recognise and value their achievements, their accumulated symbolic capital, within (and outside) the institution. Due to his considerably higher symbolic capital (cultural and social) among the three, Eko, for example, is currently appointed as the head of the graduate (doctoral) program in UGM English.[60]

5.7 Assessment practices in a less established institution: institutional habitus and staff experience

This section presents the experiences and perceptions of assessment practices of five participating academics in a less established Islamic institution, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Surakarta (IAIN Surakarta), English department.[61] Their assessment practices – and academic labour – are critically explored predominantly with a consideration of habitus, capital, tacit knowledge and language games (see Chapters 2 and 3).

The participating academics are here named by their pseudonyms in alphabetical order to maintain anonymity, they are Asih (female), Lukman (male), Lusi (f), Ulfa (f), and Zen (m).[62] Their demographic and academic background are also incorporated into the analysis in order to see the influence of those backgrounds on the academics' assessment. Nevertheless, I have chosen to present my exploration of these academics' assessment in a

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[60] Achievements that are recognised outside the institution such as being a board member of an academic organisation at the regional, national or international levels are highly valued. This was one reason for Eko's appointment as the head of the graduate program. It is a way of increasing the institutional capital within the field of Indonesian HE; when the head is nationally recognised the institution can get recognition too. As a public university, respected positions in UGM English are usually filled internally from within the institution, and again the symbolic capital of the candidate is crucial.

[61] For practical reasons, I will call it IAIN Surakarta English, in parallel to UGM English.

[62] Asih first joined the institution in 2011 after gaining a bachelor's degree from IAIN Surakarta and master's from UGM. Lukman arrived in 2006 with a bachelor's and master's from UNS. Lusi arrived in 2005 with a bachelor's from UMS, master's from UNS, and a doctorate from UGM. Lusi is the head of the department. Ulfa arrived in 2009 with a bachelor's and master's from UNS. Zen joined the institution in 2003 with a bachelor's from Undip Semarang and master's from UNS.

blended fashion, considering habitus and capital both at the institutional and individual levels.

Aspects structuring habitus

In reflecting upon their assessment, the participating academics claim that diverse sources of inspiration have contributed either encouragingly or undesirably to the development of their habitus and capital. Those sources of inspiration are critical because they were so influential that they marked them in their reflexivity (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). Briefly, inspirations and insights contributing to the development of their habitus and capital come from their former academics, senior academics from other institutions, and their fellow academics in IAIN Surakarta. The accreditation aspiration of the institution also plays a significant motivating role.

The first source of inspiration, according to the academics, are the former academics of their past education in particular, and the institutional habitus of their former educational institutions in a broader sense. As a new institution, established in 2001, IAIN Surakarta English appoints academics from different institutions around the city, with one academic from its own alumnus, Asih. With this in mind, it is a plausible consequence that those academics' habitus is significantly *structured* by their past social interactions (Wacquant 2016), more specifically by their former education. Meanwhile, the dispositions in their habitus are *structuring* new layers of (pedagogical or professional) habitus in their current institution, IAIN Surakarta English, which at the same time also mutually contributes to the development of the current institutional habitus.

Even among these five academics, the only IAIN Surakarta alumna/alumnus, Asih, claims that during her undergraduate education many of her academics were from other universities around Surakarta such as UMS Surakarta, UNY Yogyakarta or UNS Surakarta.[63] Asih said:

> I did my undergraduate in IAIN [Surakarta] but I felt studying in other [universities] … the academics were mostly from UMS, UNY and UNS perhaps for cooperation like Pak X, Ibu Y, Ibu Z, Ibu W [names of respected academics in the area]. So, I am inspired by them because even though the academics were not physically attractive, the students seemed

[63] These universities are located around Surakarta. UMS is Surakarta Muhammadiyah University, UNS is Sebelas Maret State University Surakarta (formerly an institute for teacher training), and UNY is Yogyakarta State University (formerly an institute for teacher training). All these universities offered English studies long before IAIN Surakarta.

> hypnotised for they respected us. When they wanted to correct us, they didn't directly say "you're wrong" like that.

It is evident from the excerpt that Asih's inspirations from her 'outside' former academics had a positive impact on her professional (pedagogical, assessment) or academic habitus. The way she saw other academics teach and assess their students, specifically giving feedback with respect and empathy, has been internalised into Asih's dispositions, contributing to hers layers of habitus. In short, the dispositions structure her practices of teaching and assessment.

The influence of the habitus of other universities of their former HE is even stronger with the other four academics. Nevertheless, such experiences with their former academics are sometimes discouraging, which still develops their professional habitus around avoiding such experiences. Ulfa, for example, recounted that her former academics were "*sepuh-sepuh*" (elderly, very senior) and thus their teaching and assessment methods were "*begitu-begitu*" (old-fashioned), and were often very hard to understand. Similarly, Lukman and Lusi discussed their former academics: "they were old-fashioned" (Lukman) and "We are all UNS alumni … we all struggled with the same things" (Lusi). In their new institution, IAIN Surakarta English, they agreed to find new methods of teaching and assessment, "we want to find … [something] new" (Lusi), which will be explored further in the next section on their institutional habitus, distinction, and thus capital too.

Inspirations contributing to their professional habitus also come from (senior) academics from other institutions, who became involved in IAIN Surakarta mainly as consultants when it was first established, as recounted by both Asih and Lusi. When I spoke with Lusi and Untari, they described a senior consultant who made a presentation to the IAIN Surakarta academics with regard to curriculum including assessment. Other academics from UNS Surakarta, UMS Surakarta and UNY Yogyakarta were also invited to share their expertise – what we would consider their professional habitus and symbolic capital – with IAIN Surakarta English academics (Untari 2018), through various programs: workshops or focused group discussions or mentoring programs.

As they work at a considerably new institution, the academic and leaders use more experienced academics as resources as they develop their professional or pedagogical habitus. IAIN Surakarta English has also sought inspiration from other respectable institutions such as Sanata Dharma University in Yogyakarta and UKSW Salatiga by visiting them and learning from their institutional habitus and policies, according to Lusi and Untari. One thing to note here is that the modest perspective on their institutional

habitus (and their professional habitus as well) has led IAIN Surakarta English to always seek role models or higher institutional habitus and capital for inspiration. Thus, a key aspect of IAIN Surakarta English's institutional habitus is eagerness to learn from institutions with higher symbolic capital and institutional habitus.

Correspondingly, fellow academics within IAIN Surakarta English also supply valuable insights on the process of developing their assessment habitus as another source of inspiration. They share their professional or pedagogical habitus among themselves each semester, usually before the semester begins:

> Here we have each semester an upgrading session for academics, sir. (Asih)
>
> we have workshop about the use of Google Maps … so we learn and consult with Pak S and Pak Lukman as our IT support, sir. (Ulfa)

New innovations in the implementation of ICT in language learning for instance are discussed in what they call a 'refreshment program', with the lead from Lukman, who has additional expertise in ICT and game development. By doing such sharing sessions regularly, they keep informed not only about the department's projects and agendas but also about innovations they co-create for their teaching and assessment.

On top of that, they also make contact, discuss and thus develop their professional habitus with fellow academics in other universities. All these sources of inspiration have an impact on the academics' *structured* professional habitus. Concurrently, these inspirations also influence the *structuring* of the academics' *pedagogical habitus* and the *institutional habitus* as well (cf. Feldman 2016; Wacquant 2016; Wacquant & Akçaoğlu 2017). Eventually, when this kind of disposition becomes automated, it can be understood as a part of the academics' tacit knowledge of their subconscious milieu (Polanyi 1962; Polanyi & Sen 2009).

Collegial relations for capital and habitus enhancement

Another worthy aspect of IAIN Surakarta English academics' assessment practices in this study is the *collegial relationships* among them. This mode of professional relationships and interactions has a big impact on the structuring and development of their professional habitus as well as the institutional habitus. This is in line with Byrd's (2019) contention that "power relations … differentially affect students and institutions [and teachers]" (p. 194) and that all members of the institution "strongly direct the ways in which institutional habitus is lived through their interaction with and (re)negotiation of it" (p. 198). Thus said,

this type of relation is an example of "collectivism and community cultural wealth" (Kolluri 2019, p. 109) which is emphasised by the institution to inform the interactions of its members. This practice is possible partially due to the fact that IAIN Surakarta English is a relatively small organisation with only 7 academics (FITK 2019).

In addition, IAIN Surakarta English is staffed by relatively young academics (aged 34–44 years old). With this small disparity of age, the institution becomes more cohesive so that everybody is involved in and contributes to decision making. Portrayals of this institutional cohesiveness include the reference the academics always use, namely, "*kita*" or "*kami*" meaning "we", which shows inclusiveness and a sense of belonging to the institution. The inclusivity of the institution will, to a great extent, result in ownership of the institution and its habitus by the academics. This sense of ownership of the institution influences the institutional or organisational habitus of IAIN Surakarta English.

As the process involves all the members, the results become their distinction informing their institutional symbolic capital, in the society of English studies in the city and surrounding areas. It is obvious from their interactions, during my visit to the institution for example, that the academics are enthusiastic about their job, and in discussing their experiences with me during the interviews. Furthermore, integral to our understanding of the affective dimension of the habitus (Reay 2015; Wacquant 2011), a sense of pride in the institution was apparent from their expressions such as "*Kalau kita punya jurusan ada web, pak"* (Our department has our own website, sir) (Ulfa). In addition, during the interviews, I could sense that the academics are treated equally by the leaders of the department regardless of their tenure status (senior or junior), or educational background (purebloods or having an external institutional background).

This equal recognition and inclusive participation of all the academics in IAIN Surakarta English is also possible because of the leadership style of the leaders (head and secretary) of the department. Leadership qualities of good communication or equality have enhanced the 'sharing' institutional habitus of IAIN Surakarta English. Through a consistent practice of sharing, the institutional habitus has become collectively realised, and the academics perceive a sense of power sharing in the institution. There is a very small distance between ordinary academics and the formal leaders of the department. Power, responsibilities, projects and recognition are shared and delegated to appropriate academics on the basis of their cultural capital (expertise). Lukman, the secretary, who is good at ICT is mandated by the institution to manage its website and other ICT-related matters for the department, for instance. Other academics have their own responsibilities

and contributions to the department; all are involved in the development of the institution and thus of the institutional habitus.

The result of this collegial institutional habitus is innovations in assessment. For example, after careful discussions, Lukman, Lusi and Ulfa introduced the use of Google Maps for assignment submission or a Wikipedia contribution as a part of the final assessment of a number of relevant topics. Ulfa presented an example of these innovations:

> This semester for the mid-semester assessment in my topic Speaking I used the assistance of Google Maps. As my students are from different places in the country such as Kalimantan and other cities, I ask them to mark their hometown and give a review, which is linked to a narrative (spoken) about the place such as legends or folklore of the area. So, they upload their speaking assessment on G-maps.

The above paragraph is only an example of the academics' innovative assessment; it is indicative of both their professional expertise and institutional culture. In what follows, other innovations are further explored which provide insights into how the Indonesian academics practise the concepts of assessment of/for/as learning in the context of academics' autonomy for the enhancement of the students and the institution collectively.

5.8 Commitment to different types of assessment

All the above analyses have emphasised the sociological nuances of the academics' practices of assessment within the contexts of their own institutions. Therefore, this section examines the academics' assessment in terms of the concepts of assessment of learning, for learning, and as learning, which have been widely discussed (Andrade & Heritage 2017; Black 2015; Griffin 2017; Harlen 2007; Jackel et al. 2017; McArthur 2018; Sadler 1989; Torrance 2007; Wiliam 2011). These analytical explorations cover the academics' conceptualisation of and perspectives on the three concepts of assessment, as well as their implementation or application in the assessment they have practised. The analyses are henceforth undifferentiated by their institutional backgrounds.

Institutional control mechanism using assessment of learning (AoL)

It is worth reiterating that the concept of *assessment of learning* is here understood as assessment that functions as a means to measure students' level of achievement, understanding or learning. In other words, its main purpose is "to summarize achievements in order to record and report on learning to those who need this information" (Harlen 2007,

p. 1), and thus it is rightly associated with *summative assessment*. The current study does not differentiate between the two terminologies: assessment of learning and summative assessment.

Assessment of learning is universally practised by the academics in the two institutions in this study, UGM English and IAIN Surakarta English. The other terminology, summative assessment, is more familiar to the academics, but the essence is the same. The concept is practised from the level of institutional habitus through its policies to the assessment by the academics. At the institutional level, assessment of learning is marked by the regulated use of *mid-semester* and *end-of-semester* examinations (Fakultas Ilmu Budaya UGM 2018; Penyusun 2016; Sastra Inggris UGM 2017). As it is regulated in the supervising policies, assessment of learning is delivered by the academics in every topic they teach, as recorded in the following statements:

> In regard to mid-semester and end-of-semester examinations, they are indeed required by the policy here. (Ulfa)
>
> The policy of the faculty says that we should include at least three components: mid-semester exam, assignments, final exam (Asih)
>
> Mid-semester and end-of-semester exams for my topic Sejarah Kesusastraan Inggris (History of English Literature), as a basic topic, are ordinary written tests. (Agus)
>
> Then the rubrics for mid-semester and final exam, so there are two of them. (Arum)

On top of that, the academics in this study contend that they need to know the students' level or point of achievements in their learning, and summative assessment is the way to do it. Generally, they put more weight on the end-of-semester or final examination as the last checkpoint of the students' learning, which, after incorporating other assessment results, will be recorded in the form of a final grade. Moreover, Agus and Asih believe that having two separate points of achievement set at the beginning of each semester can make the materials more manageable for the students.

Briefly, the academics believe that assessment of learning is necessary for knowing (and judging) the point/level of students' learning. Mostly, it is utilised as an informed basis for the academics to maintain accountability and to report students' achievements to all stakeholders. Assessment of learning is a means for the academics to tell the students that they are at a certain level of understanding the targeted objectives or criteria. Students

need to know how far or close they are to the objective, and it is through assessment of learning that they know it.

In terms of the methods, the academics use various assessment techniques ranging from multiple-choice tests, short answer written tests, open-ended questions, essays (short or longer) to argumentative papers and even performances. They choose different methods that are most appropriate, first, to the content of the topic they teach and, secondly, to the students. In other words, autonomy over assessment practices is indeed in the hands of the academics as mandated by the national policies, including the 'high-stakes' grading, which is sometimes not recognised by the academics.

Byrd (2019) writes: "Habitus, which is acquired through implicit and explicit socialization early in life, undergirds the rationale for thought and action within specific fields" (p. 173). Agus explained his rationale for using a multiple-choice and short-answer test for his topic *Sejarah Kesusastraan Inggris* (History of English Literature) due to the fact that it is a basic topic requiring low-level thinking and knowledge. He said: "I think … I have 10 multiple-choice questions about basic information of the text weighing 20%. The other 80% for short essay questions … I expect around 100-150 words or so."

For a more advanced topic *Sastra Dunia* (World Literature), Agus asks the students to write a paper based on the readings and theories discussed during the semester: "In the topic Sastra Dunia (World Literature), as it is more advanced, the final assessment is a paper. Students write a paper based on the readings and theories discussed in the class … around 6 pages."

Similarly, in his topic Drama, for the final assessment Lukman requires the students to perform in public and even compete for prizes. In this way, according to him, he motivates the students to deliver a big project and work together in a team to develop their skills in teamwork and communication. At the same time, the drama performance both promotes the institution and entertains the public with a distinctive performance. Lukman explained the details of this project:

> Drama is a project course/topic for public consumption. My assessment is based on the students' worthiness and readiness for their performance. The class is treated as a theatre company with financial division and other divisions, so the students work together in a team, not individually, to prepare a performance on stage.

Lukman sets another real-life project for his topic Translation in which students translate video games. Lukman's expertise in ICT is an advantage here, but he (supported by the

department's leaders) believes that the students' skills in translation are not sufficiently distinctive for employment after graduation. Additional skills in ICT and translation and their application in translating video games, in this case, are distinctive and valuable skills (or capital in Bourdieu's terminology) for the students. This kind of innovation is encouraged and supported by the institution's leaders, who have collaborative agreements with private companies, providing permission for internships and financial support, albeit the amount is limited according to Lukman and Lusi. The institutional policy is owned and enacted by the members because it has an effect on their "collectivities" (Ball 2006, p. 22; Comber & Cormack 2011).

The academics find diverse ways to apply different assessment methods based on the context of the students. Often, the academics choose a different method from the previous semester/year because they find that the current classes are more or less well-prepared. However, there are cases where the academics choose to use the same method with some variations in outcomes. These variations are explored in the following paragraphs.

Asih, for example, chooses a different method of assessment for her topic Poetry because she finds that her current students are more ready for a challenge than her students in the previous semester/year. She said:

> Variation is always based on students' progress … For example, in Introduction to Poetry, I used to do a written test for both mid- and end-of-semester assessment, but when I see that the students like to explore themselves, I do a written test for the mid-semester assessment and a product of visualised poetry for the final assessment.

It is evident here that the academics' autonomy and innovation play a significant role in their decisions to use the same or different methods for their assessment, whether it is for mid-semester or end-of-semester assessment of learning. In summary, despite its variations, assessment of learning is institutionally and personally practised by the academics in this study based on informed rationales. This is in line with the concept of habitus as having the power of subjective agency informed by objective structure (cf. Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Grenfell 2008a; Maton 2004; Stahl 2015).

Assisting students by assessment for learning (AfL)

First, it is worth highlighting that this study supports the idea of *assessment for learning* as a concept that corresponds to *formative assessment*. Assessment for learning is grounded on the philosophical perspective that assessment is "key not simply to what students learn,

but also to how they go about learning" (McArthur 2018, p. 2), that is "assessment is carried out to help learning" (Harlen 2007, p. 21). Thus understood, the main purpose of assessment here is to continually develop how students learn and to improve the academics' teaching as well. In order that assessment can improve learning (and teaching), the results of assessment need to be communicated by the academics to the students. This process of communication, discussion and criticism is known as *feedback* (Jackel et al. 2017; Sadler 1983, 1989, 2010). With this in mind, this section predominantly analyses the academics' perspectives and application of this concept of feedback. The discussion also includes institutional policies on formative assessment.

Institutional support for the idea of assessment for learning is manifested in the policies they have stipulated. This encouragement is commonly displayed in the institution's accommodation of such components of assessment as assignments, participation and classroom attendance (Fakultas Ilmu Budaya UGM 2018; Penyusun 2015, 2016; Sastra Inggris UGM 2017). These assessment components indicate that the academics are motivated to set a number of assignments, other than the mid-semester and end-of-semester examinations, to monitor the students' progress in the course. Regulating attendance in the classrooms during courses is a means to ensure that the students are participating progressively in their own learning. By these policies, the institutions in this study can ensure that the students remain on the right track on their academic and intellectual journey. Eventually, it is expected that the students will develop their personal qualities along this journey, with assistance and guidance from the academics.

I did not explicitly ask the academics about assessment for learning, but I have drawn conclusions from the discussions about their actual assessment practices on the basis of the above concepts. The academics are aware and informed about formative assessment and have been practising it in their assessment. Most significantly, the academics believe in the pivotal role of feedback in helping students to reflect on their current stage of their learning journey and also to improve in the future. The following statements illustrate how this notion is put into practice:

> So today students do the assignment to be submitted tomorrow, and the feedback is also given tomorrow. Then students review and resubmit it the next day. (Ulfa)
>
> I also give feedback for everybody to discuss further. Similarly, every week I give feedback on the intellectual journal that students submitted last week. (Ayu)

The academics have practised assessment for learning to help the students and ensure that they understand everything about their learning: if they are on the right track, whether they need to adjust anything, or when they need to realise their faults and correct them. The academics give feedback in front of the class, so that every student can learn from the feedback. Ayu and Zen shared their opinions on this issue:

> After students finish their presentation, I give feedback on what they have presented. By doing this, I want to know what they understand about it. If something is wrong, it needs to be corrected; if anything is missing, it needs to be added; if everything is good, I give positive feedback to close the meeting. (Ayu)
>
> I give feedback during the course … I give feedback to the students answering questions on the board [in Grammar topic], so the others can learn from the feedback. After the mid-semester test, we review the answers in class. (Zen)

The academics often practise peer feedback – feedback from fellow students. This peer feedback is usually done in groups. One group presents their assignment for other groups to give input and then the academics give further feedback. Each group takes turns in presenting and giving feedback to other groups. In the end, according to Lusi, each group needs to rewrite their assignment and submit it.

Furthermore, by giving feedback in front of the class, the academics want to maintain transparency and accountability about each student's learning and progress. On top of that, as introduced and encouraged by the institutions, rubrics are used to ensure objectivity, especially for grading purposes.

> Recently, to maintain objectivity, every academic is requested to have rubrics. (Agus)
>
> For transparency, assignments are returned to students … The mid-semester assessment is also given back to students and discussed in class. (Arum)

In summary, the institutions have encouraged formative assessment in their policies and the academics have practised it in each topic they teach. The function of formative assessment, namely to help students to progress and develop their learning, is valued highly by the academics. Accountability and transparency are also perceived positively by the academics and providing feedback on students' work is a means to obtain that objective. In the next section, academics' perspective and applications of the emerging and

quickly spreading concept of assessment as learning are explored based on their assessment practices.

Assessment as learning (AaL): a new promising path

Recently, there has been growing attention and discussion of the new concept of *assessment as learning*. This study argues for the new idea, which is generally conceptualised as assessment that enables students to develop their "evaluative skills" or their "own assessment skills through a process of consolidation, reflection and revision" (Dann 2002, p. i; see also Dann 2014; Sadler 1989). In order to get there, students need to be involved in their own assessment as a learning process, through activities such as peer assessment and eventually self-assessment. Assessment as learning is derived from the idea of formative assessment, when understood as a means for development, but in a more advanced fashion.

I did not ask the academics participating in this study direct questions about AaL, because the concept is quite pedagogical in nature and participants may not have been aware of it. Their perspectives about assessment as learning were gleaned more indirectly from the ways they elaborated on their assessment practices and the accompanying rationales.

It is observable from the academics' assessment practices that they value students' learning by various means. Feedback, accompanied by discussions about students' learning and work, is the key feature of their assessment practices. Innovative assessment of drama performances to develop students' capacity to work in a team and to develop life skills in show business, to some extent, actualises the concept of developing students' evaluative skills. Despite the fact that it is still implicit in nature, life skill development through projects and their assessment is perceived to be an initial step towards assessment as learning. Explicitly improving students' evaluative skills via peer assessment and self-assessment are obviously required for further innovation and implementation.

To summarise, this chapter has analysed how the Indonesian policies of English studies are structured to advance students' English linguistic capital for global interaction as well as for diverse professions. In comparing the two institutions, the analyses have demonstrated how their symbolic capitals vary significantly within the field of Indonesian HE. Within the established institution, the academics' practices of assessment are influenced by their habitus as a pedigree or a hybrid in transactions within the institutional habitus. Within the less established institution, collegial relations among the academics and

between the academics and leadership influence both habitus and capital at the individual and institutional levels. Lastly, assessment of/for/as learning are evidently practised by the academics in both institutions, revealing the interplay of their professional habitus, institutional habitus and capital. The analyses reinforce the intertwined relations of the academics' educational philosophies, values, habitus and capital within the institutional habitus and symbolic capital of the universities as illustrated in Figure 1 in Chapter 2.

Chapter 6: Understanding the assessment practices in English studies in Australian higher education

Abstract:
In parallel to the previous chapter, Australian academics' assessment of English in two universities – the well-established Adelaide University and the less established Flinders University – is investigated in terms of, first, institutional reputation implying habitus, capital and distinction. National policies on English in Australian higher education are analysed using Bourdieu's capital. Within the established institution, analyses of the academics' assessment are framed by an examination of how their habitus and capital intersect with the high institutional habitus and capital of the university. How innovations are implemented in Adelaide is examined. Within the less established institution, collegial relations among the academics and between the academics and leadership are emphasised in developing both individual and institutional habitus and capital. Practices of assessment of/for/as learning are examined, including the academics' perspectives.

This chapter presents the main findings of this study on the teaching and assessment of English (or English studies) by academics in Australian HE. Similar to Chapter 5, the findings are discussed in relation to an understanding of the status of English in Australia, followed by English studies and assessment in HE. The status of English in Australia influences how the language is perceived as capital. The country and institutional context influences the academics' assessment practices as well as the philosophical rationale underpinning their practices. This approach emphasises the dialectical relationship between habitus, capital and the symbolic meanings attached to each institution.

6.1 Australian policies: commitment to English and symbolic capital in multicultural societies

Australia is often regarded as the "second most English country in the world" and, based on the 1986 and 2001 censuses, "over one-third of Australians declared their ancestry to be English, or of predominantly English origin" (Jupp 2006, p. 1). The dominance of the English language is linked to Australia's colonial past, as Australia was established as a convict colony of England in the eighteenth century, with the first fleet arriving in 1788

(Ramsey 1988). Since then English has been Australia's official language, the "national language of Australia" (Bianco 1987, p. 7). This historical development of Australia as a 'migrant' country from its early history (Cox 2015; Fritz 2004; Mitchell 2003) has worked to devalue numerous Indigenous languages throughout Australia and no official efforts exist in education toward bilingualism though there are efforts to conserve Indigenous languages.

A number of experts, predominantly sociolinguists, have even recognised the existence of Australian English (AusE) as a variety of English with particular accent and vocabulary items (Cox 2015; Cumming & Wyatt-Smith 2011; Fritz 2004; Jupp 2006; Mitchell 2003). The federal government perceives AusE as a 'distinction' for Australians in the worldwide societies of English-speaking countries (Bourdieu 2004; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Moore 2008; Schatzki 2018). This belief is then envisaged in the Australian national language policy, affirming that "Australian English is the uniquely Australian way of using English which ought to be used with confidence here and overseas" (Bianco 1987, p. 13). With English as the de facto language for all Australians, Australia's national language policy is thus designed specifically:

> to enhance the competence of Australians in English, to extend and improve the teaching of English both as a first and as a second language to children and adults, and to improve Australia's capacity to assist, primarily, the countries of the Asian/Pacific region with English language training. (Bianco 1987, p. 4)

Viewed through Bourdieu's sociological lens, this language policy works to ensure that English literacy is critical for Australians where it can be exchanged for other capitals in order to ensure one's success within society (Bourdieu 2004; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Moore 2008).

Australia's immigration policy has been heavily critiqued, particularly around three pillars: maintaining British/white domination; strengthening the Australian economy and security; and delegating control to state authority (Cox 2015). Therefore, the role of teaching English is directed towards developing the literacy of Australian citizens and supporting immigrants' communication both at work and in wider society. While varieties of English inevitably emerge through immigration processes, the government encourages the use of standard (Australian) English in public and formal interactions or communications (Bianco 1987). However, it should be noted the Australian government also has policies of multiculturalism, and thus language pluralism, implying that

community languages (various non-English languages used by different communities) are equally recognised and valued by the government in addition to English.[64]

In so far that English is the focus, there are two types of English studies or English teaching in Australia: English as the first language for Australian native speakers and English as a second (or additional) language for others whose first language is not English (Davison & Ollerhead 2018). These two approaches to English studies imply different policies and strategies of teaching and learning the language. The first orientation is commonly termed English literacy (or English and literacy), while the latter are often called ESL (English as a second language) or EALD (English as an additional language and/or dialect) (Cormack 2003; Cox 2015; Green 1996). By providing different types of English studies, the government wants to develop the symbolic capital of English/literacy for various societies: as a first (standard and formal) language for Australian native speakers of English and as a second (additional) language for migrants, for their work and social life in Australia.

Australian policies on English literacy in school curriculum has been based on the belief that language is central to the intellectual and social development of individuals and "basic to all learning and concept formation" (Bianco 1987, p. 1). In other words, literacy skills are regarded as crucial in life because they are used to "develop, track, and communicate" knowledge and science (Moje 2018, p. v). Building on this, English literacy is regarded as an essential capital in Australia, necessary for citizenship, and as a result it is formally taught in Australian schools, often known as the 'English subject' (Bishop & Isbester 2016; Wall 2017). This pivotal role of English literacy is supported by the development and implementation of the *Australian Curriculum: English* and *National Assessment Program: Literacy and Numeracy* (NAPLAN), which has been annually conducted since 2008 (ACARA 2016; Wall 2017).[65] These two policies, among other things, were put in place to ensure that all Australians are English literate. In the Australian context, English is the primary (if not the only) medium in which people access and share knowledge. In regard to the distinguished position of English in schools, Cormack (2003, p. 122), writes: "Whereas other subjects import into school the knowledge and procedures

[64] There are also different Englishes according to socio-economic backgrounds that are recognised by the Australian government.
[65] NAPLAN consists of tests in four areas: reading, writing, language conventions (spelling, grammar and punctuation), and numeracy. These series of tests have been given to students at Years 3, 5, 7, and 9 annually since 2008.

of disciplines whose centre of practice lies outside, English, as part of its responsibility, teaches the literacy on which the practice of other subjects is built."

English is here depicted as a tool of reasoning and thinking, in addition to its use as a means of communicating knowledge. This view understands a further dimension of literacy, that is, literacy "suggests a broad understanding of the essential philosophic, historical, artistic, scientific and religious concepts underpinning one's civilization" (Hayden 1992, p. x). This foreword by the Australian Governor-General highlights the importance of English literacy in the country in order primarily to advance Australian civilisation. In fact, in Australia (especially Australian schools), "learning is accessed through English, and achievement is demonstrated through English" (Cox 2015, p. 18). These are the reasons why English is regarded as one of the most important 'symbolic capitals' in Australia, for Australians and migrants.

The curriculum of English or literacy at school has undergone various changes and orientations in recent Australian history (Bishop & Isbester 2016; Cox 2015; Doecke 2007; Hastie 2010). First, the nomenclature for English literacy is differentiated between primary and secondary school, that is, *literacy* at primary and *English* at secondary schools (Doecke 2007). This current study uses the term English/literacy or English literacy to refer to both of those nomenclatures interchangeably. Secondly, Australian policy requires that the teaching of English/literacy should be done in a context of its use, be it in science, arts or other areas/domains of studies, in terms of structures and vocabulary for example (Cox 2015).

Research finds that there is a contradiction between the policy and the implementation of the school curriculum of English/literacy in Australia (Doecke 2007). While the national English curriculum puts its focus on language in context and critical, creative and multimodal literacies, students are prepared for multiple choice NAPLAN tests on 'Language Conventions,' 'Writing' and 'Reading', more particularly those at Years 7 and 9 (Doecke 2007, p. 31). This fact has often led teachers to teach to the test (Rose et al. 2018; Wilcox, Jeffery & Gardner-Bixler 2016). However, this section focuses on the government's policies on English/literacy, even if they are not fully implemented. This situation may also be experienced by other countries such as Indonesia (Hamied 2012; Lowenberg 1991; Widodo 2016), where national standardised tests do not always match the school curriculum.

Cumming and Wyatt-Smith (2011) conducted a comprehensive study of literacy, English and the multimodal emphasis in Australia since 1989. They found that in the

Hobart Declaration of 1989, English literacy includes "skills in listening, speaking, reading and writing" (p. 50). In addition, the document also ensures the equality of education opportunities by providing necessary resources for groups with special learning requirements. The next document, the national literacy plan/goal of 1997/98, that from the first year of schooling teachers should comprehensively assess (using a state-based system) students' literacy, particularly against "the Year 3 benchmark for ... reading, writing and spelling for 1998 onwards" (Cumming & Wyatt-Smith 2011, p. 50). The government wants to ensure that every child leaving primary school should be able to "read, write, and spell at an appropriate level", which will be developed into the "agreed national benchmarks in literacy and numeracy, against which all students' achievement in these years can be measured" (Cumming & Wyatt-Smith 2011, p. 50; see also Doecke 2007).

In this 1998 document, the terminology of "effective literacy" is also introduced and encouraged, which refers to the "purposeful, flexible and dynamic" nature of literacy and involves the "integration" of speaking, listening and *critical thinking* with reading and writing (Cumming & Wyatt-Smith 2011; DEETYA 1998). Other policy statements found in later documents include the Literacy Benchmarks of Year 3, 5, 7 and 9 students for writing, reading and spelling. The next policy introduces multimodal texts in literacy (texts of different modes: pictures, writing, audio-visual modes), "the capacity to critically interpret and construct spoken, written, visual and multimodal texts in a broad range of mediums" (Cumming & Wyatt-Smith 2011, p. 44). In the newer policy, National Statements of Learning (literacy), the government puts additional focus on different features of English as entertaining and imaginative in "real and imagined worlds, with illustrations that clarify meaning" (Cumming & Wyatt-Smith 2011, p. 52; see also Cox 2015; Doecke 2007).

By all these statements, modern English literacy currently includes the use of the language in various media: printed materials, illustrations and digital media. In other words, the government has also focused on the pivotal role and the integration of ICT in English literacy as an integral and essential part of the symbolic capital of English for all Australians, as an essential skill for twenty-first-century life. The integration of English literacy in other contexts "including science, history, geography and technologies" is emphasised and reinforced in the national curriculum, while ICT competence is promoted by learning "to use ICT effectively and appropriately when investigating, creating and communicating ideas and information at school, at home, at work and in their

communities" (Cumming & Wyatt-Smith 2011, p. 43; see also Bishop & Isbester 2016; Cox 2015; Hastie 2010).

The ultimate statements of English/literacy policy for Australians can thus be summarised as "the ability to listen, read and view, write, speak and create print, visual and digital materials accurately and confidently to enable students to become effective individuals, workers and citizens" (Cumming & Wyatt-Smith 2011, p. 52; see also ACARA 2018; Bishop & Isbester 2016). This summary of literacy policy illustrates the government's concerns about Australians' symbolic capital of English/literacy in different contexts and roles: in the personal, social, professional and civic worlds, all need to be developed in balance. Most notably, the idea of Australian English as a distinction is acknowledged by the government in conjunction with the idea of multiculturalism and different (world) Englishes.

6.2 English studies in Australian higher education: stratification and access to the cultural capital of English

As I explored in Section 6.1, English is regarded as the national and de facto language of Australia; and so, the basic policy on the language and its pedagogical consequences is towards English/literacy (ACARA 2018; Bianco 1987; Bianco & Wickert 2001; Bishop & Isbester 2016; Cumming & Wyatt-Smith 2011; Wall 2017). In practice, English/literacy is mandated in school curriculum with the monitoring mechanism of NAPLAN at different levels. The policy of English/literacy is sustainedly developed in HE, with slightly different emphases (AUQA 2009; Blake et al. 2018; Briguglio 2011; Moore & Harrington 2016). In addition to this key role of English/literacy, Australian HE also facilitates English studies for professional orientations (as students' major studies). So, briefly speaking, there are two main strands of English studies in Australian HE: as literacy/proficiency and for a profession. I will now analytically elaborate on each focus of English studies.

First, Australian HE aspires to develop English/literacy as English language *proficiency* (ELP) or *speaking* and *writing* in an *academic* context (AUQA 2009; Briguglio 2011; Holbrook & Bourke 1989). Thus understood, this perspective on English proficiency is believed to be equally applicable to domestic and international students (Dunworth 2010; Moore & Harrington 2016). The concept of English proficiency in HE is predominantly driven by a multicultural perspective on English/literacy, by virtue of the real conditions of contemporary Australia being a multicultural society (Cumming, Kimber

& Wyatt-Smith 2012; Gauci & Curwood 2017; Hamston 2012; Hastie 2010; Myers 1992). This perspective of multicultural English/literacy is further encouraged by studies showing that multicultural skills in communication and social interaction are a determining factor for people's welfare in Australia (Blake et al. 2018; Briguglio 2011; Dunworth 2010).

Moreover, the English proficiency policy is integral to the international reputation of Australian universities resulting in the increasing numbers of international students (DET 2015b; Harman 2005; Levatino 2017). As a consequence, standards of English proficiency are set by Australian HE, especially for international students. In support of this standard of proficiency, Australian universities also provide centres to support international students to develop their English language and academic skills for instance (Briguglio 2011; Moore 2012). For domestic students, English proficiency is applied with a different standard, namely by their grade in the English subject in secondary school, Year 12 in particular (University of Adelaide 2018a; ANU 2019; University of Melbourne 2019b).

There is a common commitment among Australian universities that students must meet a certain standard of English proficiency when they apply as a part of entry requirements (University of Adelaide 2018a; ANU 2019; University of Melbourne 2019b). In practice, each university is independent in setting the standard of English proficiency but again the requirements are dissimilar for domestic and international students.[66] The main rationale for this different standard is the belief that all students participating in Australian HE need to be able to communicate well in English, particularly in academic or scientific contexts. For international students, English proficiency is proven by certificates of IELTS, TOEFL, Pearson Test of English, Cambridge English, Advanced/Certificate in Advanced English with a certain standard score for fluent English (University of Adelaide 2019b; ANU 2019; University of Melbourne 2019).

Australian universities have a responsibility to develop students' English proficiency through two avenues: by practising English as the medium of instruction and discussion in class, and by providing assistance in centres/programs for those in need (AUQA 2009; Phakiti, Hirsh & Woodrow 2013), such as in bridging programs or (online) resources for academic literacy development and English language support (ANU 2019; University of

[66] For domestic students, often called students with an English-speaking background, an approved Australian Year 12 English subject is generally the standard. Some other certificates can be used, such as IB English at at least Grade 4 Standard, an approved Australian Foundation Program English subject, New Zealand National Certificate in Educational Achievement (NCEA): at least 18 credits of English at level 3 with a minimum grade of 55% (merit), or General Certificate of Education subjects (University of Melbourne 2019b). For international students, English proficiency is proven by certificates of IELTS, TOEFL, Pearson Test of English, Cambridge English, Advanced/Certificate in Advanced English with a certain standard score for fluent English (University of Adelaide 2019b; ANU 2019; University of Melbourne 2019b).

Adelaide Melbourne 2019b). Still, the standard English proficiency criteria are widely debated, typically concerning a single-oriented (usually British) standard English as the only accepted English, or whether different Englishes should be acknowledged and accepted too (Briguglio 2011; Dunworth 2010; McNamara & Ryan 2011; Moore & Harrington 2016). Regardless of such debates, Australian HE perceives English/literacy proficiency as a prerequisite for entry, with various supports and resources for those in need. Students' English is then developed in academic communication during their study with continuous support/ resources accessible when necessary.

Judging from the prospectus and websites I surveyed, the second type of English studies in Australian HE comprises specialised programs for various professions that use English, such as English teachers, writers, journalist, linguists and so forth.[67] Those programs are available at either diploma or bachelor level (University of Adelaide 2019a; Flinders University 2019d; University of Sydney 2019a; UniSA 2019). Major and minor study are also available, with a variation of two majors in UniSA for example, to develop students' special interests and to advance their (current or future) professional careers (University of Melbourne 2019a; University of Sydney 2019a; UniSA 2019). For careers requiring expertise in English studies, an English major is the most suitable pathway.

As a major study, English studies are designed in diverse courses/units, generally classified as core and elective. Those courses/units (names, content, scope, depth, etc.) are all within the autonomy of each university. For example, Adelaide emphasises literature and creative writing in "neutral classic names" such as *Literature and Society in Victorian Britain* or *Reading and Writing Poetry*, while Flinders uses a similar fashion in naming their courses such as *Literary Interpretations* and *Epic Literature: Medieval to Early Modern*, but the University of Sydney uses more creative names similar to an American liberal arts style of education for their English units such as *Global Literature and Times of Perpetual War* or *Utopias and Dystopias: Literature; Films; TV* or *Writing Country: Indigenous Ecopoetics* (University of Adelaide 2019a; Flinders University 2019d; University of Sydney 2019a, 2019b). The content and materials of these courses/units might be consistent among the three universities in the example but their design and

[67] Some universities use 'profession' in a broader sense as "a career in teaching, the media, public and community service, and academia, and in any vocation or area that demands intellectual flexibility and versatility, critical thinking and the ability to communicate" (University of Sydney 2019a) or as work in "teaching, academia, industry, community and government in local and global contexts" (UniSA 2019). Some focus on graduate career opportunities such as "Writer, Journalism, Teaching, Publishing, Advertising, Media, Administration, Business, Public Policy, or Research" (University of Adelaide 2019c) or "rewarding careers in publishing, public relations, advertising, media, communications, the creative industries, and teaching" (University of Melbourne 2019a).

organisation in different fashions reflects the institutional habitus of each university. Adelaide and Flinders seem to present their almost similar distinction of English studies through classic, long-established terminology while – judging from the website – Sydney is evidently more innovative in their unit names.

Despite this variety of design and nomenclature of their courses/units of English studies, Australian HE is obviously committed to provide courses to help students develop the necessary English competency. University policy documents describe English competency as "proficiency and expertise" (UniSA 2019) with "a broad and dynamic discipline" (University of Sydney 2019a) of English where one learns "how to reason and write with artistic merit" (University of Adelaide 2019a) with an academic culture that encourages "learning and transferable skills in both independent and collaborative contexts" (Flinders University 2019d). English major studies in the field of Australian HE have long been associated with certain professions such as teacher, writer or journalist, and now contemporary careers in creative industries and media as well. It is evident that Australian HE has also been aware of and proactive in the current contextual milieu of English studies, including multiculturalism (Bianco 1987).

6.3 Institutions, stratification and symbolic capital

The two Australian institutions where the participating academics work possess their own *symbolic capital* at a national and state level and *institutional habitus*, particularly at the institutional level. This section examines the institutional habitus and capital of the two universities involved in this study, University of Adelaide (Adelaide) and Flinders University (Flinders), with their own distinctions and power in the field of HE in South Australia, in Australia, and in the global community. As we will see the social construction of the institution is highly influential. *Institutional habitus* (Byrd 2019; Çelik 2017, 2018; Reay 1998; Tarabini, Curran & Fontdevila 2017), or what may be called *organisational habitus* (McDonough 1997; Kolluri 2019) contributes to structuring the habitus (professional, pedagogical, academic) of the academics. With this institutional capital in mind, there is some stratification in HE. This social stratification in Australian HE has been confirmed by a number of studies, and it has an impact on not only the academe but also Australian society in general (Cassidy 1998; Marginson 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Rizvi & Lingard 2011; Sellar, Gale & Parker 2011). Similarly, the *institutional habitus* significantly influences academics' practices of assessment in terms of how the academics follow the institutional policies or how the standard of assessment is maintained. In this

sense, assessment practices result from "relations between habitus (dispositions) and capital (position in the field) within the logic of the field (arena)" (Bourdieu 1984, p. 101; see also Yang 2014, p. 1523; Maton 2008, p. 51).

The University of Adelaide (Adelaide) has long possessed *very high symbolic capital* in Australian HE, and even more in South Australia. Adelaide has aspired to be one of the best universities in the world, as exhibited in its official website profile: "By every measure, the University of Adelaide – a member of Australia's prestigious Group of Eight research-intensive universities – stands tall among the world's leading institutions of learning and innovation" (University of Adelaide 2019c). One of the measures is its position in the world ranking of universities; Adelaide is currently sitting around 100th best university in the world: 135 in Times Higher Education world university rankings and 114 in QS World University Rankings (University of Adelaide 2019c; QS Quacquarelli Symonds Limited 2019b; Times Higher Education 2019).[68] In other words, the adage that Adelaide is consistently "ranked in the top 1% of the world's universities and is recognised globally as a leading research university" (University of Adelaide 2019c) has evidently been achieved.

Within Australia, the University of Adelaide is also a member of the Group of Eight (Go8), an exclusive group of those universities perceived as "Australia's Leading Universities: leading excellence, leading debate" (Group of Eight 2019).[69] In addition, Adelaide is one of the oldest Australian universities, founded in 1874, only the third after the University of Sydney in 1850 and the University of Melbourne in 1853 (Ramsey 1987, 1988; Toncich 2008). With such advantaged settings, Adelaide has been quite privileged and so gained excellent reputation, respect, recognition and thus *symbolic power and capital* in Australian HE sector. This institutional capital also privileges all the members of the university – academics, staff and students – regardless of their awareness of it or not.

Adelaide's *institutional capital* has arguably attracted high achievers to join the institution, including the academics, whether they are Australians or people from around the globe. As a further consequence, the institution has also attracted students with high (personal) symbolic capital established in their previous academic lives. Individuals tend to aspire to institutions of higher or equal positions, within the social fields that they can fit in

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[68] Among all Australian universities in the year 2019, Adelaide ranked 8th with an overall score of 58.3. It is the top among the three South Australian universities, with UniSA second with a rank of 13th scoring 49.5–53, and Flinders third at 16th position scoring 46.4–49.4 (Times Higher Education 2019).

[69] The Go8 members are the University of Sydney, University of New South Wales (NSW), the University of Melbourne, Monash University (VIC), the University of Adelaide (SA), the University of Western Australia (WA), and Australian National University (ACT).

(Atkinson 2019; Grenfell 2010). As a consequence, it is evident that Adelaide has been perceived by society as among the 'elite schools' that mobilises the advantaged elitist class to flow to Adelaide (Ayling 2019; Bourdieu 1996; Maxwell et al. 2018).

A further consequence of the above collection of individuals that would be considered elite is arguably Adelaide's *elitist* and *high-profile habitus*, most prominently at the institutional level but also within the individuals. As an institutional agent, Adelaide operates with its system of interactions among its members (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Grenfell 2008a; Wacquant 1998, 2014). This dialectical system of interaction contributes significantly to the *institutional habitus* of Adelaide (Çelik 2017, 2018; Poromaa 2017; Reay 1998; Tarabini, Curran & Fontdevila 2017). Adelaide's institutional habitus of excellence can be characterised by the 'institutionalised properties' of its policies, visions, missions, objectives and so forth (see Chapter 3 and Chapter 7). The members of the institution, as a collective, contribute to the institutional habitus, but at the same time their personal (professional, pedagogical, academic) habitus is also structured and constructed by those collective systems of institutional habitus (Bourdieu 1988a).

The institution is perceived as having 'academic or intellectual prestige' (Bourdieu 1988a) within the Australian HE market. Its academics are collectively contributing to the ongoing development of Adelaide's institutional habitus. Each of the academics' habitus contributes a part in a mutual relationship to develop the institutional habitus (Atkinson 2019). In the end, these mutual interactions of habitus between the individual and institutional levels have an impact on the academics' teaching and assessment.

The second institution, Flinders University (Flinders), is characterised differently. It is a less established university and belongs to the alliance of Innovative Research Universities (IRU). The group is perceived as "a coalition of seven comprehensive universities committed to inclusive excellence in teaching, learning and research in Australia" (IRU 2019).[70] According to the Australian Education Network (2019), there are currently four groups of Australian universities: Go8, ATN, IRU and RUN.[71] Even though the alliances are established mainly to foster "the mutual objectives of the member universities" and may not "signify anything special about the member universities"

[70] The IRU members are Charles Darwin University (NT), Flinders University (SA), Griffith University, James Cook University (QLD), La Trobe University (VIC), Murdoch University (WA) and Western Sydney University (NSW).

[71] Australian universities are currently associated in four different alliances: Go8 (Group of Eight), ATN (Australian Technology Network), IRU (Innovative Research Universities), and RUN (Regional Universities Network).

(Australian Education Network 2019), it is implied that members of each association have similar or equal institutional habitus and capital.

With this in mind, the groups inevitably signify the social class of Australian universities. This can also be construed from each member's position in the world university rankings. By this sociological perspective of social classification, Australian universities can thus be categorised into four classes and Flinders is in the third (or second) group of South Australian (and Australian) universities. In world university rankings, for instance, currently Flinders sits in the 251–300th position of Times Higher Education World University Rankings and at 478 of QS Global World Rankings (QS Quacquarelli Symonds Limited 2019a; Times Higher Education 2019).[72] Among all Australian universities in the rankings, Flinders is 16th position in the Times rankings and 24th in the QS world university rankings. Within South Australia, Flinders is third, Adelaide is first, and UniSA is second in both world university rankings.

With Bourdieu in mind, the symbolic capital of Flinders is considerably lower than that of Adelaide. This lower institutional capital inevitably influences society's recognition and aspirations towards Flinders. Even though numerous factors can affect why people join a certain university, it is quite common that people (including academics) aspire in the first place to such "indices" of quality or symbolic capital of the university, Flinders in this case, as "academic or intellectual prestige" (Bourdieu 1988a, pp. 7–9). In other words, people in Flinders to some extent may carry the perception that their degrees are considered second or third class in Australian society. However, these degrees may carry more symbolic weight outside of Australia where institutional reputations matter less depending on the discipline. Nonetheless, the academic and professional expertise of the academics is still high. Due to their lower symbolic capital, their symbolic power in the society of academics in (South) Australia and Australian universities is considerably lower. With this in mind, Flinders academics' influence on national or state policies is not as strong as those of the University of Adelaide.

The social construction of second- or third-class academics at Flinders contributes to the development of the institutional habitus of Flinders. This is not only because staff and students are encouraged to be better and work harder with the core values of Integrity,

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[72] In 2019, Flinders University sits at 16th position (scoring overall 46.4-49.4 of THE rankings) among all Australian universities. In South Australia alone, Flinders is the third while Adelaide (ranks 8th of THE with the overall score of 58.3) is first and UniSA (rank 13th of THE scoring 49.5-53) is second. Previously in 2016, Flinders sits at 46th of Young University Rankings, which is quite moderate (Times Higher Education, 2019). By QS world university rankings, Flinders is currently at 24th, Adelaide 8th, and UniSA 16th of all 37 Australian universities measured (QS Quacquarelli Symonds Limited 2019).

Courage, Innovation and Excellence, and an ethos that is Student Centred (Flinders University 2019c), but also because there are institutional discourses around moving up in the rankings. As a result, the habitus not only serves as a distinguishing feature of the Flinders experience but promotes the notion of 'innovation' and 'excellence', which are powerful words in the field of HE domestically and internationally. All these features of habitus can be perceived as the distinctions of the university, a "distinctive value" or "symbolic value" that is legitimate for accruing power or capital in the field of Australian HE (Bourdieu 1984; 1996, pp. 30, 97). The institutional habitus directs or structures another layer of professional (pedagogical, academic) habitus of the academics. The impact of this institutional habitus on the academic pedagogical practices of teaching and assessment is significant to examine in the following sections.

Briefly, it is evident that Adelaide and Flinders – as with all universities in this study – have their own habitus and capital which work to facilitate the personal (professional, pedagogical, academic) habitus of staff and students. How the institutional and professional habitus are dialectically related to each other will be further analysed in Section 6.5. What follows, though, is a section to examine the actual contexts of English studies in Australian HE as a social background in which the academic pedagogical practices of assessment take place.

6.4 Institutional distinction and English studies

Analysing English studies at the two institutions, Adelaide and Flinders, highlights the different habitus and capital that each institution endeavours to develop. From Section 6.3, we learned first that Adelaide and Flinders tend to possess different habitus and capital (at the individual and institutional level). From Section 6.2, it is evident that different types of English studies in Australian HE as proficiency/literacy and/or for various professions yield practices that develop differing cultural capital among institutions. This section analyses the institutional distinction of Adelaide and Flinders in terms of their English studies with a focus on the cultural capital and habitus each institution has been developing.

While the University of Adelaide is perceived as a more established institution, with higher symbolic capital in the field of Australian (and South Australian) HE, this is a social construction. Each university has its own strengths that are significantly developed as excellence and thus become institutional *distinctions* (Bourdieu 1984), which are, again,

social constructions. What follows is a critical analysis of the distinctive features of English studies valued by Adelaide as an institutional agent.

In Australia the HE curriculum is nationally regulated (AUQA 2009; Briguglio 2011; Moore & Harrington 2016). In terms of English proficiency, all four skills associated with English are prerequisites for all students, as stated in formal policy "As English is the language of instruction at the University of Adelaide, proficiency in speaking, listening to, reading and writing English is essential" (University of Adelaide 2018a). Evidence of such proficiency can be in the form of a pass in the Year 12 subject English or a standardised English test (with different scores for each faculty).[73] Thus, the English proficiency entry requirement in Adelaide is not especially distinctive, except that the best students are potentially applying to Adelaide due to its highly valued institutional capital. For prospective international students with academic qualifications but less English, Adelaide also provides "Academic English (PEP Pathway) in Adelaide at the University's English Language Centre" (University of Adelaide 2018a).[74]

English studies for professions in Adelaide are provided in different strands and levels of study (undergraduate, diploma and postgraduate). Generally, English studies are offered in 17 different courses, as an elective in most University of Adelaide degrees, or as a major or minor as shown in Table 4 (University of Adelaide 2019a):

Table 4: English studies at the University of Adelaide

Undergraduate	Diploma	Postgraduate
Bachelor of Arts Bachelor of Arts (Advanced) Bachelor of Arts (Creative Writing) Bachelor of Arts (English) Bachelor of Creative Arts Bachelor of Environmental Policy and Management Bachelor of Liberal Arts and Sciences	Diploma in Arts	Graduate Diploma in Interpreting, Translation and Transcultural Communication Master of Arts Master of Arts (Interpreting, Translation and Transcultural Communication) Master of Education

[73] Those standardised English tests include *IELTS* (International English Language Testing System) – Academic Test, *TOEFL* – internet based and paper based, *Pearson Test of English* – Academic, and Certificate in Advanced English (Cambridge English: Advanced).

[74] The Pre-Enrolment English Program (PEP) is a direct entry pathway into further studies at the University of Adelaide for students that have not met the minimum English language entry requirements of their award program. The PEP Pathway benefits students who have received offers to the University of Adelaide conditional upon English proficiency (University of Adelaide 2018a).

Bachelor of Teaching (Middle) with Bachelor of Arts Bachelor of Teaching (Secondary) with Bachelor of Arts Honours Degree of Bachelor of Arts		

Thus understood, English, as an integral part of cultural capital, is offered by the university for students who want to be *teachers*, to work in *creative industries* and to be *linguists* – including translators (University of Adelaide 2019b). These professions are perceived to be closely linked to the expertise of English studies, and thus the linguistic (cultural) capital of English (Grenfell 2012). Adelaide demonstrates a strong commitment to equipping students "to reason and write with artistic merit" (University of Adelaide 2019b).

We now move to analysing English studies at Flinders University, which is generally perceived as a less established university in Australian HE. The analysis is conducted to see how the perceived conditions of Flinders – belonging to the second- or third-class universities of Australian HE, with *fair/lower symbolic capital* – influence Flinders' institutional habitus, which is predominantly institutionalised in its policies (Bourdieu 1988a) on English studies.

First, as nationally mandated, English at Flinders is set as a proficiency necessary for admission. In other words, there are "the minimum specified English language proficiency levels" that have to be met by every prospective student (Flinders University 2019c). For native speakers of English and Australian Year-12 school leavers (with a pass or higher in the subject English), their English proficiency is accepted by Flinders. For those who cannot meet the standard of English proficiency required, Flinders also accepts "English language pathways" through approved ELICOS providers (Flinders University 2019c, 2019a).[75] After being admitted, students have free access to the English Language Support Program, which has been developed to assist students who come from a non-English-speaking background to improve their English for the academic context (Flinders University 2019c).[76]

[75] ELICOS stands for English Language Instruction Course for Overseas Students. Flinders University has approved a number of providers in this regard, namely Flinders International Study Centre, Intensive English Language Institute, Eynesbury College, South Australian College of English and English College of Adelaide.

[76] Modules are free and consist of a series of seven consecutive two-hour workshops, run by experienced English as a second language (ESL) tutors. Currently, the available modules are: Academic Writing, Grammar, Listening & Discussion, Pronunciation and Reading Academic Texts.

Secondly, similar to Adelaide, Flinders predominantly offers English for professions in the College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences with different concentrations or majors/minors and levels of study, summarised in Table 5 (Flinders University 2019b, 2019e, 2019c, 2019d).

Table 5: English studies at Flinders University

Undergraduate	Majors	Graduate
Bachelor of Arts Bachelor of Arts (Education (Primary R–7) Pathway) Bachelor of Arts (Education (Secondary) Pathway) Bachelor of Arts – Enhanced Program for High Achievers Bachelor of Arts pathway to Master of Teaching (Primary R–7) Bachelor of Arts pathway to Master of Teaching (Secondary) Bachelor of Arts, Master of Teaching (Early Childhood) Bachelor of Arts, Master of Teaching (Primary R–7) Bachelor of Arts, Master of Teaching (Secondary) Bachelor of Education (Early Childhood), Bachelor of Arts Bachelor of Education (Primary R-7) / Bachelor of Arts Bachelor of Education (Secondary) / Bachelor of Arts	English Creative Writing Applied Linguistics (TESOL)	Bachelor of Letters (English) (Graduate Entry) Master of Arts Master of Arts (TESOL) Master of Education

Flinders builds upon the arts dimension of the English language to train students for professions that rely on the *cultural capital* of English, such as *teachers* or *creative artists* – in creative industries or literature. Flinders designs its distinction of English in education or teaching as presented on its official website: "Flinders University is ranked No. 1 SA University in undergraduate teacher education for overall quality of educational experience, teaching quality, and learning resources and enjoys a well-justified reputation for excellence in teaching and research" (Flinders University 2019e, 2019c).

Evidently, the privilege of being the top South Australian university for teacher education[77] imbues Flinders' institutional values and symbolic capital. In other words, English teaching or education is assigned as Flinders' distinction as an essential part of its symbolic capital both to attract prospective students and, more importantly, to advance students' cultural capital as future English teachers. In terms of its concentration or focus, it is also evident that Flinders wants to build students' cultural capital of teaching English for speakers of other languages or English as a second language, popularly called TESOL. The program is thus offered from undergraduate to postgraduate levels of education.

In summary, I find parallels and disparities in how Adelaide and Flinders value and embrace English studies as their own distinction. Based on this distinction, the symbolic capital of the institution is historically informed, and students are educated for future and current professions. There are similarities with regard to English proficiency as a prerequisite for all students before admission, with resources and assistance – especially for international students – provided to everyone for free or a small fee. It is deducible from the official documents that each university has its own distinction (or distinctive linguistic capital) in regard to English studies for professions, being creative artists and linguists at Adelaide and teaching or education at Flinders.

The following sections examine the participating academics' trajectories within each institution, especially in regard to their pedagogical practices of teaching and assessment. Section 6.5 discusses the academics' autonomy over their assessment within each institutional habitus, Section 6.6 discusses academics' assessment at Adelaide, while Section 6.7 is for those at Flinders.

6.5 Assessment of English: academic autonomy and institutional habitus

This section draws on empirical data to analyse Australian academics' assessment practices with a focus on academics' personal beliefs and values, the influence of their professional habitus in dialectical relation with institutional habitus. These factors at times are complementary but often are in tension with each other. This is one of the reasons why the assessment practices of academics are primarily within their autonomy but also are thoroughly bounded by institutional policies and habitus.

[77] Based on the QILT Student Experience Survey 2018, covering only the public South Australian universities.

Research has documented how academics' beliefs shape their teaching and assessment, albeit with some constraints from their institutional contexts (De Hei et al. 2015; Mitcham 2015). Aspects of professional habitus are ingrained by academics' educational background, teaching and assessment (active and passive) experiences, inspiration from (former) educators, and their involvement in academic forums (organisations or societies). In this way, professional, pedagogical or vocational habitus (Edgington 2016; Erixon & Arreman 2019; Feldman 2016; Vincent & Braun 2011) covers the "generating principles" of the academics in practising their teaching and assessment (Domingo-Salie 2016; Maton 2008). Meanwhile, as mentioned in Chapter 3, institutional habitus includes such factors as policies on teaching and assessment, course content and descriptions, assessment guidelines and rubrics, as well as policy dynamics in the institution (see Appendix 1). All of these factors contribute significantly to the agency of the academics as they implement assessment practices.

Ten South Australian academics, five from Adelaide and five from Flinders, voluntarily took part in this study. To maintain anonymity, pseudonyms are used. The five participant academics from Adelaide are all from the Faculty of Arts. They will be referred to as Jay and Ron (School of Humanities – Linguistics), Ray and Lily (School of Education), and William (School of Social Sciences, leadership position). From Flinders University, the participants are all from the College of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences but in different concentrations. They are Karen, Grace and Pablo (English and Creative Writing), and Mia and James (Applied Linguistics – TESOL). Grace had previously held a leadership position as department head. Analyses of their academic, education (and demographic) backgrounds as parts of their *habitus* are intertwined in the overall analysis of their assessment practices within the contexts of the *habitus and capital of the institutions* they belong to. Even though the academics come from two different universities, their assessment practices (and rationales) are not analysed in oppositional ways between the two institutions. Instead, the analyses are considered in reference to the context within each university in order to examine the dialectical relations of academics' autonomy and/within each institutional habitus.

Diverse indices of pedagogical practices show the amalgam of the academics' beliefs about teaching and assessment, their professional (pedagogical or academic) habitus, in negotiation with the institutional habitus they work in. One participant, James, who worked at Flinders uses a variety of different assessment methods in his course, reflecting his primary belief that "the assessment matches the content of the topic very closely". He

matches assessment and content by assessing students' completion of the *study guide* for the topic. James also offered his belief that "I'm assessing what I taught" in the *take-home exam* method of assessment. He does this by asking questions in the exam taken from the study guide. This study guide and exam are standard policy at Flinders, and are regularly reviewed and discussed in the lectures and tutorials. It is evident that James' practices of assessment reflect his beliefs about assessment, such as that he assesses what he teaches. At the same time, he also takes Flinders' institutional habitus into consideration when using a study guide.

Other academics from the University of Adelaide equally engage with assessment practice by incorporating their personal belief and habitus – pedagogical, vocational or professional – with the institutional habitus. One participant, Jay, said that the university has what is called "*assessment guidelines*" which inform the academics about the principles, types, components and weighting of assessment as part of the institutional habitus. However, in practising assessment for his courses, he believes that the most important thing is the actual "tasks or assignments" for the students. Therefore, it is important to him that "assessment is … built across, usually a minimum of three (written) assignments". These assignments, said Jay, involve different kinds of activities: "Some is book research, … do some research, collect some data, and so some analysis … then presentation in groups" capitalising on a wide range of skills and giving a wider evidence base regarding what students have learned.

By taking this approach to assessment, Jay puts into practice his belief that university students need to demonstrate the skills of research, critical analysis and writing. University students need to develop the capacities of higher order cognitive and practical capabilities, as this is argued to be the essence of HE (Sadler 2016). In other words, Jay is exercising his autonomy over (teaching and) assessment on the basis of his professional, vocational or pedagogical habitus (Braun 2012; Erixon & Arreman 2019; Feldman 2016). However, at the same time, Jay is also incorporating Adelaide's institutional habitus by following the assessment guide.

Another academic, Lily, has similar practices, implementing at least three tasks in a semester. This does not mean that she only follows the policy. She believes that the most important consideration is that "I can cover the learning outcomes and the criteria in the three [assignments]". For her, setting more tasks may become counter-productive in that "students are busy doing the tasks" instead of "learning and reading" as much as possible. Thus understood, Lily is exercising her professional (pedagogical) habitus of encouraging

her students to read and learn. This practice of Lily's professional habitus is presumably inspired by the concept of andragogy or adult education (Egetenmeyer, Schmidt-Lauff & Boffo 2017; Halupa 2015; Knowles, Holton & Swanson 2015) which was outlined in Chapter 2, a perspective most applicable to university students.

The autonomy of the academics in practising their assessment was also confirmed by another academic from Flinders, Pablo. His autonomy over his assessment practice is not absolute but within the framework of Flinders' institutional policies: "I have a certain amount of freedom to do with some of the assessments." Pablo's expression "a certain amount of freedom" confirms that he has autonomy within constraints. Thus understood, the disposition within his professional habitus of assessment aligned with Flinders' institutional habitus contributes to his assessment practice. This dialectic between the academic's autonomy and institutional habitus is also experienced by Ron from Adelaide, who follows the policy but adjusts it flexibly. He said:

> Well, there is policy, … Yeah, it has to be a minimum assignment of each task, and not more than such many tasks, a minimum percentage for each task. Yeah, I just got to conform to that assessment policy but within that there has a fair bit of flexibility as to what you actually do.

It is apparent that Ron needs to conform to the policy, as a part of Adelaide's institutional habitus, but at the same time he believes that the policy can be applied with some pliability. It is in the hands of the academics at Adelaide to perform any assessment deemed necessary for and applicable to their courses, providing it is in line with the policy. In summary, the data confirms the prevalence of dialectical relationships between the autonomy of academics (personal, professional habitus) and institutional habitus in their assessment practices in the two institutions. The following two sections move the analysis to institutional distinctions and the capitals of each institution in terms of their English studies.

6.6 Assessment practices within an established institution: interplay of habitus and symbolic capital

This section examines the academic participants' pedagogical practices of teaching and assessment at Adelaide, focusing on the trajectories of their professional habitus (and capital) within the strong institutional habitus and capital of an established institution.

Arguably, the stronger the institutional habitus the more influence it has on the academics. A university has significant power which is institutionalised in its policy documents (Bourdieu 1988a). However, as academics coming to Adelaide also possess high symbolic capital and dispositions in their habitus concerning academic excellence, it is noteworthy to see such navigation or interplay of strong habitus and capital in practices of struggle and negotiation.

Biography of the academics and institutional habitus

From a sociological standpoint, an academic's background, especially his or her academic and intellectual background, is a significant contributing factor to his or her professional habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). This is evident in the interview with Jay, an academic who teaches English linguistics at Adelaide:

> [I was working at UniSA for] six years, and I came from the department of education, from the government, I worked for the Department of Education. I looked after English as second language program, so I looked after intensive English program. I was the manager of the program in South Australia. So, I did that, and then I had become more interested in academic work.

Formerly, Jay was a program manager in SA's Department of Education before moving to work as an academic staff member at UniSA. Arguably, his background of being a manager in the state government has influenced him in terms of, for example, the pivotal role of policies in regulating the academic conduct of the academics. As a consequence, he tries to follow the policies at Adelaide as, I assume, they align with his professional habitus. In relation to pedagogical practices of teaching and assessment, Jay was formerly also a schoolteacher, before becoming a manager: "I didn't work at university before I was 45. I was always a schoolteacher. And then I was inside the department, come out from the school, working for the department."

Based on his former experiences as a schoolteacher, university assessment for Jay seems more formal. He said, "Well, here [in university] it is much more formal. So we have to, have an assessment, how can I say, assessment … guideline … [and] We have assessment policies." This interpretation is counter-intuitive because generally speaking academics in Australia tend to have much more authority over their pedagogical practices (of teaching and assessment) than schoolteachers. Potentially, Jay's belief in the formality of assessment at Adelaide represents how strong the institutional habitus of the university

is. The existence of assessment guidelines is a common practice in HE, but the formality that Jay feels is indication of the higher power of the institution over the academic, Jay, and thus he views it as very formal (Bourdieu 1988a).

In a similar way, another Adelaide academic, Ron, viewed assessment policies as a part of institutional habitus that have to be met, but that these policies are subject to interpretation and recognise the expertise and autonomy of the academic. He explained:

> There is policy, … Yeah, I just got to conform to that assessment policy but within that there has a fair bit of flexibility as to what you actually do. [Researcher: Is there any like monitoring from the policy maker in relation to the assessment that you are doing?] Oh yeah, well, you have to submit the course profile. And it has to measure up to the policy. Someone in the faculty office does all of those. And if it doesn't, they'll take it back to you to conform later.

Ron conveyed that the institutional habitus of Adelaide is strong in terms of stipulating pedagogical conduct and, more significantly, in gatekeeping to ensure the policy is followed by the academics. Even though Ron did mention the 'flexibility' of the policy, the interview suggests that Adelaide's institutional habitus is put in place, shared and maintained by academics as well as the faculty office.

Another academic, Lily, described the trajectories of her professional habitus within the University of Adelaide:

> Okay, so I'm a senior secondary teacher, by both practice and profession. I left teaching as a senior secondary teacher in 2009 … at the end of 2009. and then I was doing some [education] sector jobs and I was a principal for eighteen months. So my assessment practices are very much shaped by the senior secondary, so the Senior Secondary [Assessment] Board of South Australia. And my practices are very much assessment for learning, of learning, as learning.

Based on Lily's words, her professional habitus has been structured by her duty and background as a senior secondary teacher, and a school principal at one point, under the coordination of the state board for secondary teachers. It is apparent here that she is familiar with the concepts of formative and summative assessment, and in particular assessment *of/for/as* learning. Arguably, there is little disparity between senior secondary and university students due to their mature ages.

More significantly, her close interactions with the Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia, and potentially her experience as a principal, have greatly influenced her professional habitus (or her *assessment habitus*) including her awareness of assessment *of/for/as* learning. These three concepts of assessment are central to many theoretical and practical research studies internationally (Dann 2014; Earl & Katz 2006; Harlen 2007; Sadler 1989; Weisler 2016). Her professional (assessment) habitus is potentially contributing to Adelaide's institutional habitus of teaching and assessment, especially through her close interactions with colleagues and university management. In other words, conceptual innovations on *assessment as learning*, which is currently on the radar of experts (in addition to assessment *of/for* learning), are practised by this Adelaide academic. This fact also shows that both professional and institutional habitus in Adelaide are informed by contemporary views on assessment.

In summary, the trajectories and interplay of professional habitus of the academics and Adelaide's institutional habitus are reciprocal and simultaneous. Institutional habitus is developed and maintained through institutionalised policies, vision, mission and other documents. This institutional habitus is shared and upheld by the members: leaders and academics. At the same time, the actual practices of assessment by the academics are to a great extent influenced by their professional habitus in line with the institutional habitus of Adelaide. Thus understood, individual and institutional habitus work together in the actual assessment practices of the academics, and hence develop in a mutual fashion.

Development of habitus within an established institution

As an established university, Adelaide has always kept up with the development of the modern world. In terms of pedagogical conduct of teaching and assessment, for instance, Adelaide has included *graduate attributes* as the primary standard of teaching and assessment (University of Adelaide 2018b). Even though a study on Australian HE has revealed the problem of teaching and assessing graduate attributes across the country (de la Harpe & David 2012), Adelaide's institutional habitus still includes an aspiration to nurture holistic qualities authorised in terms of graduate attributes. This aspect of Adelaide's institutional habitus has been promoted and thus shared by the members, including most importantly the academics. One participant, Ray, for example, who taught at the University of Adelaide for more than 25 years, suggested how graduate attributes as institutional habitus is shared by the academics. Ray thus emphasised the importance of complying with Adelaide's assessment policies as institutional habitus:

> Now, in term of assessment practices, we have policies that we have to follow which obviously correlates with the rest of the outcomes. One of the important things for us is that courses have to link with the university's graduate attribute, so that is the first determinant, one of the first determinant in any course which is correlating to those.

Ray also highlighted the primary standard of policy compliance in Adelaide, specifically that assessments should be in line with the university's graduate attributes. Adelaide conceptualises graduate attributes as "the qualities, knowledge and capabilities that students are encouraged to take responsibility for developing throughout their studies at the University" (University of Adelaide 2018b).[78] It is evident here that the primary standard of graduate attributes is shared, followed and met by academics; and this fact shows that Adelaide's institutional habitus is developed and maintained by all members (leaders and academics in particular).

The impact of Adelaide's institutional habitus on pedagogical practices of teaching and assessment was also confirmed by William, who is a Deputy Dean for teaching and assessment. He believes that it is the ultimate, ideal endeavour of each university to ensure a *link and match* between learning outcomes and assessment. As a leader in charge of teaching and assessment, it is William's responsibility to be a gatekeeper of the institution's vision – on teaching and assessment in this case. William's appointment to a leadership position is evidence of Adelaide's commitment to teaching and assessment. Ultimately, his role is to assure that the institutional habitus is shared by the members, particularly the academics as the main actors of change. William ran through this university vision as follows:

> So, what the university is trying to do, and this is true across Australia and the world, is to line up assessment with specific learning outcomes. And it turned out to be quite difficult, although you can design constructive alignment, as it is called, what you don't necessarily know is whether or not assessment is actually testing and making an enduring change in the students' capacity in line with the learning outcomes. So, some learning outcomes are quite simple around knowledge and you can test that knowledge at one particular time and doesn't mean that it can be recalled

[78] Adelaide's *graduate attributes* are articulated as: 1. Deep discipline knowledge, 2. Critical thinking and problem solving, 3. Teamwork and communication skills, 4. Career and leadership readiness, 5. Intercultural and ethical competency, and 6. Self-awareness and emotional intelligence. While the graduate attributes are fostered in the context of the curriculum, they are also developed within the total university experience as they encourage students to reflect on the broader purpose of their university education (University of Adelaide 2018b).

> later on. And that's an old problem in education. Some of the capabilities are more difficult to assess and difficult to ensure that a student's work is actually being assessed when you have issues with plagiarism, and you have issues with students working in teams, and not knowing for sure who's done what. Some of the new things that we're trying to do like teamwork and leadership and digital capability in which we're trying to assess those without assessing it in one course.

William outlined at least three crucial aspects of assessment that are emphasised at Adelaide, namely, how collective institutional habitus drives the practices of assessment in the institution, how institutional habitus is embodied in leadership, and how assessment can measure *soft skills* like teamwork or leadership. The quotation confirms that, as its institutional habitus, the policies on "graduate attributes" structure all conduct at Adelaide, particularly teaching and assessment. Policies are a powerful means to communicate and preserve the institutional habitus of Adelaide. Secondly, William's quotation demonstrates how Adelaide's institutional habitus is ingrained in the authorised person. Through authority, the institutional habitus is mediated to influence academics' assessment practices, embodying it too as Ray as outlined earlier. Thus, Adelaide's institutional habitus is well preserved and upheld by the members. The third aspect William raised is how the institution operationalises its policies such as assessing soft skills or *life skills* not directly related to the course, as supported by experts like Sadler (2011, 2012, 2017), which is challenging. William's office is designed by the university to maintain Adelaide's institutional habitus including its teaching and assessment practices. This strategic office again indicates that Adelaide's institutional habitus is developed and maintained on excellence, and thus shows how powerful it is in structuring the professional habitus of the academics. The next section analyses the experiences of academics employed at the younger institution, Flinders University.

6.7 Assessment practices in a less established institution: institutional habitus and staff experience

Compared with the University of Adelaide, Flinders is a much younger university at only 54 years old in 2019 (Flinders University 2017b, 2017a).[79] Arguably, as a former second campus of Adelaide before independence, we can assume Flinders' institutional habitus

[79] Flinders University officially became a separate university from the University of Adelaide on 1 July 1966, which is marked as its Independence Day.

was initially influenced, to a great extent, by its parent university. However, at the same time as a newly established institution, Flinders' own 'distinction' (Bourdieu 1984; Ayling 2019) in the market and distinctive institutional habitus (and thus symbolic capital eventually) is valued by all the members of the university. According to its marketing material, the institutional habitus is focused on innovation with four core values of "Integrity, Courage, Innovation and Excellence" to be collectively owned and proud of (Flinders University 2019c).

In the next two sub-sections, the interviews with the academics reflecting upon their assessment practices are analysed to portray two different aspects of social relations within the institution. First, I will examine how collegial relationships among the academics contribute positively to Flinders' institutional habitus. Then I will analytically explore how the academics work out their autonomy over (teaching and) assessment within the contextual conditions of present-day institutional life at Flinders.

Collegial relations for capital and habitus enhancement

Typically, a new institution is more appealing to younger individuals and this includes academics. As a consequence, the relationships and thus interactions among the members of a less established institution tend to be more fluid and equal in nature, partly due to the smaller age deviation. They often come to the institution with lower but equal symbolic capital and power (Bourdieu 1989; Bourdieu, Thompson & Raymond 1991; Wacquant & Akçaoğlu 2017) to share knowledge and develop together. The institution requires its members to work together to increase Flinders' symbolic capital and to foster an institutional habitus. In Australia symbolic capital is produced through competitive national grants, publications and securing employment opportunities for students. Often, quality teaching can be sidelined and not properly appreciated.

Institutional habitus is conceptualised in this study as the collective system of interactions within an institution which are possessed and shared by its members (Byrd 2019; Reay 1998; Tarabini, Curran & Fontdevila 2017). Karen confirmed that relationships among the academics at Flinders are collegial when she talked about teaching and assessment. She informally talks to her colleagues about her teaching (and assessment), and about HE in general, in order to gather suggestions for future improvements. In answering my question about discussing teaching and assessment with colleagues, she explained:

> With my colleague, Johnny. When I started here I just read books that I can find on teaching, yeah there were some directions, because that was a big challenge for me. Suddenly you are the authority, while I felt much more like colleague with the students, which I think it is still good. But they also need you to be an authority, so you have to kind of inhabit that tradition, and let them have that as well, yeah. I would keep up with the higher education. I talk about teaching to colleagues quite a lot. We often have discussions like, "Hey, say, look … I want to do this. How do you think we can do this? Have you done anything like that?" So we do informal discussion with my colleagues. Or "We can do that next time. Any suggestions on what you might change?"

It is evident from the interview that academics at Flinders such as Karen have been having discussions (or sometimes consultations) about their pedagogical practices of teaching and assessment, predominantly in an informal manner. Such informal discussions are potentially more productive and effective for finding solutions. Informal discussions also reflect the collegial relations among the academics at Flinders.

Academics at Flinders have also had conversations, arguably in more formal situations, about curriculum development, as Grace explained: "It's a conversation we continue to have about how first year learning needs to be differentiated from second level and third level learning. It needs to be more obvious especially in developmental and incremental." This kind of conversation represents the equal relationships among the academics in sharing ideas, finding solutions, and coming to an agreement for, ultimately, the betterment of Flinders.

Grace also mentioned less formal talks on teaching or pedagogical matters among the academics. However, the quantity and frequency of such talks has declined because of a change in the political focus of the university. When asked whether such conversations on teaching and assessment exist in the department, Grace said:

> [laughs] Yeah, you know what? … we used to have far more and there's no one particular reason why it drops a bit. Well, Flinders is undergoing a restructure and most of the conversation that is driving our meeting and any gatherings we have is very much on research at the moment.

Even if there are fewer discussions at the departmental level, the nature of discussions among academics shows that their collegial relations are still maintained albeit fragmented. Through these social interactions, habitus is gradually inculcated (Mills 2013). Reay (2004, p. 434) states that "Current circumstances are not just there to be acted upon but are internalized and become yet another layer to add to those from earlier socializations", thus

affecting academics' professional habitus. Pablo also confirmed the practice of informal discussions among his fellow academics, even though organisational restructuring has affected such conversations. Pablo explained:

> [Do you also have, like, a group or discussion with your colleagues here?] Yeah, I have a lot of informal discussions. We have got to restructure at the moment, some of the formal structures are being broken down, are being replaced by new things.

We see here that Pablo has a lot of informal discussions about academic life in the university with his colleagues. Again, this informal nature of the discussions suggests an equal relationship among the academics, where they tend to be more open which improves their professional habitus.

Indeed, intensive discussions about teaching and assessment are still conducted at the university level. Grace, who was formerly the head of the English department at Flinders, is still involved with decision makers and working groups in the university on important matters. She said: "Certainly, to other network, I spent more time talking about teaching than ever before and assessment than ever before, because I attend regularly the first-year curriculum discussion group, the university-wide discussion group." Thus, discussions – potentially in a more formal manner – never stop. Arguably, the decrease in formal discussions among the academics funded by Flinders is due to the fact that the university needs to effectively manage its resources because of the government cuts in HE funding Australia-wide.

Drawing on the data, the participants feel that insights about teaching and assessment or (higher) education in general are shared and owned. Their professional (pedagogical) habitus is developed in a dialectical relationship with the institutional habitus. Thus understood, Flinders' institutional habitus of collegiality among the academics has been taken on by the members and is productive for each individual. Eventually, the solutions and insights resulting from such discussions will contribute to institutional habitus of Flinders as it undergoes re*structuring* and will be institutionalised into policy documents later on (Bourdieu 1988a).

Practising professional habitus within the institution

As a further consequence of the dialectical relations between the professional habitus of the academics and Flinders' institutional habitus, the academics practise their assessment

within two interrelating frameworks: academics' authority and university policies. The authority of the academic is here understood as a manifestation of the academics' professional habitus, while university policies represent Flinders' institutional habitus. How the dialectical relations of these two kinds of habitus are reflected in the academics' practices of assessment are explored in more details in the following paragraphs.

Mia, from Flinders, explains that she practises assessment by her own choices but obviously within the boundaries of university policies, which suggests a congruence between her professional habitus and the institutional habitus. According to Mia,

> When I started working there or here, everything is already fixed, like this is the topics and this is the assessments, and assessment criteria, everything is fixed. But the way I give the feedback to the students is very personal, so I can do it the way that I believe is good for the students … even though we have the guidelines, and we have some policies there, like in term of percentage of each assignment and also assessment criteria is already unified among the faculty and the school. But in term of the way you deliver the assessment I think it depends on the academic's passion and belief and intention and also commitment.

Mia believes that assessment is predominantly personal, in that it is in the hand of the academic to do what s/he believes is good for his/her students. Henceforth, she believes she has freedom to assess her students the way she wants and that the institutional policies support her expertise to do so.

In other parts of the interview, Mia also mentioned a number of factors she believes influence the way an academic practises assessment, including passion, belief, intention and commitment. Such factors influencing an academic's assessment are indeed embodied in academics as their habitus (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992), particularly their professional (pedagogical, assessment) habitus. Thus understood, academics' autonomy over assessment at Flinders is influenced by their professional habitus within the delineation of Flinders' institutional habitus manifested in its assessment policies or guidelines.

A similar response was given by James, whose expertise is in TESOL and linguistics at Flinders. He uses different methods of assessment for the diverse courses he teaches. The kinds of assessment are not mandated or stipulated explicitly by Flinders; it is James' own choice based on his professional habitus. Here is what James said in the interview on his choice of assessment:

> Ok. So … I use a variety of different assessment methods in my topics. So one of my topics I teach is Introduction to English Linguistics and for this topic I use take-home exams. I also use "in-class participation" and "study guide completion" which means students have, err, study guide or a workbook where they have to complete on a regular basis, and I check that they've completed activities several times during a semester … There is policy about assessment, so for example we have a set of 4.5 topics. So that means that in each topic students are supposed to write 4500 words for assessment or the equivalent of, say, oral presentation or participation … Apart from that, there's no rules to tell us what kind of assessment we can and/or can't have. It's really up to the topic coordinator to decide.

It is obvious that there is policy on assessment, but it is very brief and intended to be university wide and to satisfy a multitude of disciplines. James' words suggest the actual practices of assessment are autonomously selected by the academics (or the topic coordinator) to suit the course and the students. Furthermore, James also explained that he has meticulously thought about the assessment he practises. More significantly, according to him, he believes that he employs various methods of assessment for a reason which is embedded in his professional belief about assessment:

> and one of the reasons behind this is that I'd like to make sure that the assessment matches the content of the topic very closely … so I find that by using take-home exams, for example, all of the questions in the take-home exams are things that come from the study guide or the textbooks … so in … there's a good match in making sure I'm assessing what I taught.

One of the reasons why James employs different assessment methods is that he wants to ensure the assessment very closely matches the topic content so that diverse aspects of the course content he teaches are assessed. Indeed, it is a basic principle of assessment to examine how students understand the content or materials of the course, with increasingly diverse features (Gordon & Rajagopalan 2016).

Karen also exercises her autonomy over assessment by using different kinds of written assessment. She believes that written assessment is most suitable for her topic 21st Century Literature. However, she sets written essays of different lengths. For her, students need to do a lot of essay assessments to demonstrate their competency and to establish their academic capital, an integral part of their *cultural capital*. Karen asserted her belief in the importance of doing a lot of assessment:

> I think it is really important to do lots of assessments, so the students can understand where they are at … So I have different lengths of written assessment ... but to check in the end, the essay question will be overarching question. So their works would be like: How is this text an example of 21st century literature? Or what kind of issue of 21st century literature are there?

Karen contends that multiple assessments can help the students understand the progress of their learning. Karen's practice of assessment here reflects her beliefs, or professional habitus. Habitus, as outlined by Reay (2004, p. 433), has agency power in terms of "a wide repertoire of possible actions, simultaneously enabling the individual to draw on transformative and constraining courses of action", which in Karen's case is how she assesses her students. Typically, her assessment also follows Flinders' policies on assessment, which according to James tend to be brief and general.

Briefly, the Flinders academics' assessment practices are predominantly influenced by their professional habitus, including their educational beliefs. At the same time, however, their assessments are in line with Flinders' institutional habitus manifested in its assessment policies. In what follows, Australian academics' assessment practices in both institutions are critically analysed in order to examine their commitment to the concepts of assessment *of/for/as* learning.

6.8 Commitment to different types of assessment

This section examines Australian academics' commitment to practising various types of assessment, namely assessment o*f, for* and *as* learning. These three conceptual frameworks of assessing students are deemed pivotal in contemporary research on assessment in HE. These terminologies are interchangeable with *formative* and *summative* assessment (Andrade & Heritage 2017; Black 2015; Black & Wiliam 2009; Sadler 1989, 1998), but there are still some disparities among those compatible concepts.

Practising assessment of learning (AoL)

Australian academics' awareness and perspectives about assessment *of* learning reflect their assessment practices in both institutions. Again, this concept is to a great extent parallel to *summative* assessment. It is worth noting that assessment of learning or summative assessment is a tool to gauge students' level of achievement, understanding or learning at a particular time. The purpose of AoL is thus predominantly "certifying and reporting learning" (Andrade & Heritage 2017, p. 3) or "summing up or summarizing the

achievement status of a student" (Sadler 1989, p. 120). Arguably, assessment of learning is necessary for the academics to report students' achievements in the form of grades. This idea was observable in the various interviews I undertook. Ron supplied a good example: "And I have an exam. I want to know, what if, what they come away with at the end of the semester. And within an exam, I can tap into little areas that haven't been assessed during semester necessarily."

Ron practises assessment of learning by examination at the end of each semester. This is a typical way of doing summative assessment, specifically in the middle or end of a program, which is semester-based in university courses. The practice of assessment of learning is also exercised by Karen from Flinders, who delivers a mid-semester test. Karen explained, "With the test, essay questions, we do it in week 7". Other academics from both Adelaide and Flinders equally practise assessment of learning (summative assessment), predominantly at the end of the year or at the end of the course. They include Ray and Lily from Adelaide, and James and Pablo from Flinders.

Based on this small case study, Australian academics contend that they practise assessment of learning for different reasons and also in various formats. Typically, as the main purpose of summative assessment, they do it to understand students' achievements about the course they teach. Nevertheless, the academics also assess students' learning for other reasons. In their own words, here are what the academics from Adelaide and Flinders do with their students:

> [I assess] content knowledge questions … so basic questions just about the content knowledge to test where the students have learned the main concepts, the main ideas, the main themes in the topic. (James)
>
> And my practices are very much assessment for learning, of learning, as learning … because I have to result my students, so I'm compelled to do the assessment of learning because I need to see how they meet the criteria and grade them accordingly. (Lily)

James, for example, uses tests to examine students' achievements and to what extent the students have understood the main concepts or content of the topic/course. Ultimately, he can grade each student using the results of this assessment, obviously supplemented with results from other assessments. Correspondingly, Lily explicitly mentioned the term 'assessment of learning' in her interview. She practices AoL to grade the students based on the 'criteria' she has set and shared with the students. This implies that Lily is well-informed about the idea of assessment of learning. These assessment practices also

demonstrate how the academics' professional habitus is operationalised; the practices are therefore "the operation of the habitus" (Reay 2004, p. 433).

In terms of the format of the assessment, most of the academics tend to use written tests or examinations, as evidenced in my interviews with James, Karen, Pablo and Ron. In exams, the academics generally ask short questions (essay questions instead of multiple choice) which have to be answered on the spot. Pablo and Karen explained their tests:

> We do test at the end of the year as, say for example open book, so you know, it's not about having people remember things and it's not about, err, you know, we don't say, explain how noun works in sentences. It is not that sort of the test. This is comprehension test, so they need to read an article and answer some questions. (Pablo)

Other academics use different formats for their assessment of learning. Ray from Adelaide, for example, uses a group oral presentation and a final essay for his summative assessment; while James from Flinders uses a take-home exam for his assessment of learning:

> So in the end of particular course, they have to do group presentation … [and] final essay. (Ray)
>
> I also use a take-home exam. (James)

So, the academics of English studies at Adelaide and Flinders practise assessment of learning for different reasons and in different formats. They deliver it at a particular time, in the middle or end of the semester, in order to gauge their students' understanding of the (main) content of the course. The academics can thus assign appropriate grades to the students based on the results of the assessment, in combination with other assessment results. The formats of the assessment are usually tests or examinations – on the spot or take-home – or an oral presentation and final essay. Next I analytically explore the academics' practices of assessment for learning, generally associated with formative assessment.

Assessment for learning (AfL) in Australian higher education

Assessment for learning (AfL) is grounded on the philosophical basis that assessment is pivotal "not simply to what students learn, but also to how they go about learning" (McArthur 2018, p. 2), thus similar to formative assessment. The primary notion of assessment for learning is "using evidence of student learning to make adjustments that

advance learning" (Andrade & Heritage 2017, p. 3), or to develop how students learn as well as to improve the academics' teaching. As a consequence, the results of assessment need to be communicated to the students, through a process of *feedback* (Jackel et al. 2017; Sadler 1989, 2010). Thus understood, assessment for learning requires frequent feedback, largely from the academics to the students, and thus is potentially demands more time. This section is dedicated to analysing Australian academics' assessment for learning or formative assessment. Assessment for learning was particularly important to Karen:

> Mostly formative ... and what that means in my understanding is that every text that I want them to read might be not as interesting as they find it ... they won't read it if they're not going to be assessed on it. So if I said that, which I have in 21st Century Literature [her topic], five texts, that is five pieces of different reviews, ... a full page and they get two days to do that. So they have time, not a long essay.

It is apparent from Karen's words that she does formative assessment in one of her topics by asking the students to write a critical review of each of the five texts she chooses during a semester. She believes that by asking students to write a review for each text she can ensure that the students read the texts. Moreover, by marking and giving feedback for each review she can let the students know how well they understand the text and how good their reviews are. It is expected that the students will use the input or feedback Karen gives to improve the next review, a typical function of feedback.

Ron from Adelaide also implied that he practises assessment for learning by requiring the students to write numerous essays for his subject/course during the semester. Ron said, "I did plenty of essays in another subject". He explained this issue when he talked about assessment of learning by testing the students. Ron's statement 'plenty of essays' here arguably suggests that the students write several written works for the course assessment during the semester. He added that he focuses on the content rather than the form of the essays: "What I look for from students is the content, if we talked about the essay, I look for the content." He believes that the content is more important than the form. For him, grammar and structure can be learned by process.

As a result, he gives feedback mostly on the content of students' essays. One of the main reasons, said Ron, is that he needs to teach the students to do critical thinking (and writing) and analysis: "I want to teach someone to think and to be critical in fact and to analyse". His belief about students' capacity to think critically and analytically is aligned with the principles of adult education in HE (Egetenmeyer, Schmidt-Lauff & Boffo 2017;

Halupa 2015; Knowles, Holton & Swanson 2015). This accentuates Ron's professional habitus of assisting his students to grow and develop by practising assessment for learning, specifically, helping students to learn more by means of assessment. Assessment for learning was also practised by Mia at Flinders, where she prefers to use the word formative:

> About the assessments here, from what I have done here, I could tell that we use formative assessment. We do not use just one exam or one assignment. We have ongoing assessments from the beginning to the end … And I believe we use this kind of assessment on ongoing basis and these are formative, so their grades are accumulated through the semester not just one shot.

She understands that assessment for learning is an ongoing process to help students learn the course appropriately. It is different from summative assessment which depends on just one exam or assignment, typically at the end of the program. In other words, as part of her professional habitus, she operationalises AfL (Reay 2004).

Based on the accumulated results of each formative assessment, Mia grades the students. This understanding of accumulating a number of assessments which are then bunched together into a grade is in line with AfL perceived as a bunch of 'graded assessment' (Torrance & Pryor 1998). In other words, she puts more emphasis on the 'recorded marks' (Black 2015) of students' works. This is reasonable due to the nature of the grade as the essence of summative assessment.

On the other hand, though, Mia considers that feedback is paramount in assessment for learning. Therefore, she gives very detailed and extensive feedback to her students. The students can then improve their learning by referring to the detailed feedback Mia prepares. She said: "I am a strong believer in feedback, and I give student very detailed and extensive feedback. Because I believe when I give extensive feedback, my students can learn."

It is evident that Mia is helping the students to improve their learning by giving feedback on their work. It is always possible, though, that the extensive feedback Mia gives can lead students to rely on it. Mia needs to carefully monitor students' over-reliance on her feedback for their learning (Sadler 2010). As long as academics maintain awareness of the potential drawback of giving too much feedback, they are still implementing assessment for learning. Lily, who worked at Adelaide, explicitly mentioned her practice of assessment for learning:

> And my practices are very much assessment for learning, of learning, as learning. … but I very much structure my lectures and my tutorials around supporting them to gain a knowledge, skill and understanding in order to complete their assessment tasks. So yeah that's very much … two big influences on my assessment practices are three but two major ones are Lorna Earl, so problems…who first came up with that problem called Ideals around Assessment and Dylan William. So they're the two big and operating states of me in terms of assessment practices.

Lily's primary rationale for assessment for learning is to support the students in learning the knowledge and skills authorised in the course and, more importantly, students' understanding of the course. This interview also demonstrates that Lily has a sophisticated knowledge of assessment, as she is referencing notable authors on the topic. For her, developing students' understanding is paramount. Thus, Lily is operationalising her professional habitus in her assessment practices (Reay 2004). Her mention of two figures who advocate assessment for learning also shows her awareness and inclination towards this well-supported concept.

In summary, it is evident from the interviews that Australian academics at Adelaide and Flinders are aware of and practise assessment for learning or formative assessment. They deliver their assessment in a number of assignments or tasks as an ongoing process of developing students' understanding of the content of the course. Feedback that the academics carefully prepare for the students on their assessment attempts is generally presented in a detailed and extensive fashion so that it is easy for students to understand. Another emerging concept, assessment *as* learning, is perhaps not as popular as the other two, but some academics are aware of and have practised it with their own interpretations. They are presented in the next section.

Developing assessment as learning (AaL)

The emerging concept of *assessment as learning* has gained popularity and support in theoretical perspectives as well as practical exercises (Dann 2002, 2014; Earl & Katz 2006; Torrance 2007). Basically, assessment *as* learning is conceptualised as assessment that enables students to develop their "own assessment skills through a process of consolidation, reflection and revision" (Dann 2002, p. i; see also Dann 2014). To some extent, assessment as learning is potentially more advanced than formative assessment, understood as a means for development, as it helps students enhance their "evaluative skills" and goes "beyond feedback provision" (Sadler 2010, 2013).

In most of the interviews with the Australian academics, I did not explicitly mention the concept of assessment as learning to avoid implying they were academically ignorant. Therefore, the academics' perspectives about assessment *as* learning are predominantly appropriated from their rationales for their assessment practices. Even though there were no direct questions about the concept in the interviews, one academic, Lily, did mention it when she discussed her assessment practices at Adelaide. According to Lily: "And my practices are very much assessment for learning, of learning, as learning … I think it [assessment as learning] is the most authentic type of assessment especially if you make it a real-life situation."

For her, assessment as learning is the most authentic type of assessment in the sense that assessment needs to be like a real-life situation. Thus, the academics need to make assessment contextual, personal and meaningful to the students' real-life situations. Lily gave an example of the task for her subject Educational Policy in Multicultural Societies, where students are required to make a policy for their own contexts: school, classroom, country, problems and so forth as long as it is meaningful to them. Another example from her other subject Thesis Writing is an assessment to compose writing based on research. Research is a real-life task every student faces outside the classroom; that is the idea of assessment as learning for Lily. In real-life situations, people do research and by assessing it "the teacher teaches how to put it together, all the hard work with the data, how to analyse, do sampling using cluster or random sampling", Lily said.

Ron also practised a similar perspective on assessment in his course on linguistics by asking students to solve real-world problems, which he calls real fieldwork. When I interviewed Ron, he said, "I want them to learn their methods and approaches to doing field works and to work solely with the newspaper in doing that." Ron is aware that students can become too dependent on the internet and lose the essence of doing real-life linguistic analysis (or research) by themselves as required by the course objectives. By his rationale, it can be deduced that Ron is in essence practising assessment as learning, as the students learn real-world expertise by attempting to complete the assessment Ron has designed. His understanding of assessment as learning is perhaps different from what Sadler (1989) articulates as a means of developing students' evaluative skills. Still, Ron wants the students to learn real-life expertise by attempting his assessment.

James understands the concept of assessment as learning quite similarly to Lily and Ron, that is his assessment links the topic with the real world or real-life issues in society:

> and where possible I'd like to have assessment to show how the topic contents link to the real world … so presentation in English as a global language, the idea is to show how the things that we learn in the topic are relevant to the real world … the students to find newspaper articles and then they have to discuss it in terms of the concepts and the theories that we learn in the topic … what to do with real life issues.

In this way, when doing the assessment, his students learn that the course they are taking is closely linked to real-world situations. The expertise gained in the topic, including while attempting the assessment, can be applied to problems in society.

Put simply, Australian academics have basically practised the conceptual innovation of assessment as learning even though most of them did not explicitly mention it. They understand the concept quite differently from the experts' perspectives quoted in this study. Nevertheless, their understanding of assessment is to help students realise and consolidate the links between the course and the real world, so that the expertise (cultural capital) gained in the course is relevant to solving actual problems in society. Such an understanding is theoretically consistent with the idea of assessment as learning, that is, assessment as a process of students learning to solve actual social problems with the expertise from the course. The practices of assessment by Australian academics analysed in this chapter confirm the relations of the academics' educational philosophies, values, habitus and capital within the constraint of the institutional habitus and symbolic capital of the universities they work as summarised in Figure 1 in Chapter 2.

Chapter 7: Habitus and capital in assessment of English studies: comparing Indonesian and Australian academics

Abstract:

The comparative analyses of the academics' assessment practices in Indonesian and Australian universities starts with how the symbolic capital of English is developed (differently) in Indonesian and Australian higher education. An interplay of assessment habitus and tacit knowledge is investigated, as reflected in the academics' assessment practices. Drawing on further empirical data, a theoretical exercise on the concept of assessment capital is analytically explored, including how it is at stake in higher education assessment practices by the academics within their assessment habitus. Lastly, the pivotal role of the language game of noticing in academic assessment is examined under the concept of assessment for/as learning for sharing with students.

This chapter presents a comparative analysis of the assessment practices by the academics of English studies in Indonesian and Australian HE using the tools of habitus and capital. The chapter draws on further empirical data to illustrate the points. In order to portray a holistic comparison of the cases, a number of aspects are analysed, which include distinctive policies (national, local, institutional) regarding the language affecting teaching and assessment, and the academics' unique philosophical rationales for their assessment practices. Arguably, the symbolic capital of English is valued differently in the policies of the two countries, which has implications for the field of HE in each country.

In addition to the main focus of cross-country comparisons, inter-institutional comparisons are also made, drawing on institutional habitus to scrutinise how the institution impacts the academics' practices of assessment within each country and/or across countries. Furthermore, the chapter also considers how assessment habitus and assessment capital dialectically inform one another, constituting the academics' assessment practices in each institution. The last part of the chapter discusses how the language game functions as a means of sharing the tacit world of assessment habitus and assessment capital between academics and students by way of noticing the quality or standards in the milieu of assessment of/for/as learning. The formal curriculum delivery and assessment practices concerning this delivery will be the primary consideration, demonstrating how

the academics' habitus and capital influence their assessment in the context of their own institution.

7.1 Developing the different symbolic capital of English

There appears to be scholarly consensus that the twenty-first century has witnessed the prevailing influence of *neoliberalism* in people's lives and in the field of education. Neoliberalism in this study is understood as a "politic and economic ideology" or "political, economic and ideological system" which is based on the *power of the free market* to distribute public resources in a better, more efficient, more transparent, and accountable way (Ball & Olmedo 2013; Di Leo 2017; Lawrence 2015; Mok 2010; Naidoo & Williams 2015; Stahl 2015, 2018). Furthermore, this concept of free market forces is now globalised. With regards to the HE field in particular, neoliberalism has generated the concept of the *corporate university* (Di Leo 2017; Jankowsk & Provezis 2014), where universities are managed as a corporation. Knowledge is thus considered as a commodity which can be bought and sold (Winn 2015). Academics, therefore, are "commodified as productive achievers of research rankings, and attractors of funding" (Lawrence & Sharma 2002, p. 672), and students are perceived as consumers in this knowledge economy. This neoliberal tradition significantly influences the field of HE in the two countries, which eventually informs how English studies are perceived within Indonesian and Australian education. These phenomena are comparatively evaluated in the coming analyses, demonstrating how habitus and (perception of) capital is valued in English studies in each HE system.

On the one hand, this mechanism demands that the field of HE provide high-quality services and courses that are relevant to the workplace or market. A further consequence of this mechanism is that 'good' students (as consumers) compare the market in order to get the best value for money (Naidoo & Williams 2015). More than ever before HE has become a site where individuals "are now encouraged to trade in skills and qualifications that will act as passports for their pupils to a future somewhere else" (Moss 2012, p. 104). Drawing on Bourdieu's terminology, these skills and qualifications are forms of *symbolic capital*, which can simply be understood as globally valid money/wealth/value to be traded or exchanged as required. *Symbolic (embodied and institutionalised) cultural capital* becomes an essential part of understanding the experiences of academics and their practices around assessment. Symbolic capital structures their social lives (Häuberer & Jeřábek 2011, p. 37). Within this global market, Australians and Indonesians are equally

motivated to pursue this symbolic capital, accumulate it, and ultimately exchange it when required.

Through their educational policies, governments play a significant role in supporting the development of "the accumulation of symbolic capital" (Bourdieu 1990b) of its citizens. English and its studies play a significant role in the structuring of symbolic capital as these policies reflect how the government perceives the language as a distinct form of symbolic capital. Despite differences in resourcing, Indonesia and Australia share a similar policy perspective that English is an essential capital for both countries and their people, though there are some nuances when examining policy implementation historically. Both countries hold a current belief about the increasing role of English as "the common denominator" for each country to survive in today's complex global world (Murray 2016, p. 28). The following section compares the two contexts in more detail.

Comparing English studies in the Australian and Indonesian higher education contexts

As I outlined in Chapters 5 and 6, HE English studies in both countries is categorised in two ways: *compulsory/mandatory* English (or English *proficiency* linked to literacy in the Australian context) and *professional* English or English *major* studies. Within each category, English is perceived as a distinct capital: English as an *essential* or *additional* cultural (linguistic) capital and English as an *expertise* cultural (linguistic) capital.

Compulsory English is delivered as a 2–4 credit course in Indonesian HE (administered in individual faculties or LC), while it is a prerequisite for admission to Australian HE (authenticated by a secondary school grade or a score on a standardised test). In Indonesia, compulsory English is oriented towards English for specific purposes (ESP) in support of students' core study. This mandatory subject is hence perceived as an *additional* cultural (communicative, *linguistic*) capital of English to complement students' core or major studies (Grenfell 2012).

In Australian HE, English is used as the medium of instruction. Therefore, English is viewed as a proficiency (in terms of English language proficiency, ELP), which applies to both English as a first language and as an additional language. The Australian government encourages universities to provide ELP supports, in the forms of centralised units to support the development of necessary "skills" in HE (Dunworth 2010; Moore & Harrington 2016). The main focus of this support is international students who use English as an additional language (EAL), but it is also seen as increasingly relevant for domestic

students in culturally and linguistically diverse contexts of Australia as a multicultural (and multilingual) country. It is worth highlighting that English proficiency is an entry requirement for Australian universities, but this is not the case in Indonesia.

For professional English, English majors are offered in Indonesian HE as a degree in various faculties and departments or schools. These studies prepare students for future professions of/with English. They are differentiated by government rules into three clusters and levels of study (Menristekdikti 2017b, 2017a), as I outlined in Chapter 5.

Australian HE also offers English studies for diverse professions. English studies for professions in Australian HE tend to be under the autonomy of each university. This is contrary to Indonesia, which nationally stipulates English studies across all universities and HE institutions. However, there are some common professions that privilege English cultural capital developed by Australian HE, which include teachers or academics (usually in the school of education or teaching department), writers or authors – including journalists – and linguists or researchers (in the school of humanities). In terms of their levels of education, as I outlined in Chapter 6, English studies for the professions are offered in undergraduate, diploma and postgraduate strands. This is important to note because the expertise or cultural capital obtained and accumulated within such different levels of study may entitle the graduates of HE to enter different professions.

It is evident that Indonesian and Australian HE do share a common perspective about English studies, in that the language is perceived and thus developed on two foundations: as essential capital or as professional expertise. First, English is valued as an essential form of capital for all students, which manifests as an entry requirement in Australia and as a mandatory English subject in Indonesia. In other words, English in Indonesia is valued as an additional cultural (communicative or linguistic) capital of Indonesian university graduates primarily for participating in global interactions. In practice though, there are gaps in the actual English capital possessed by Indonesian university graduates due to disparities in access (between city and rural locations, public and private institutions, and other social factors).

Meanwhile, the mastery of the language for all Australians (natives or migrants) is regarded as an essential cultural capital for all types of social life and welfare – and for all citizens. In this case, English is perceived as a form of knowledge which allows the acquisition of other skills, which can thus enhance one's social status and employability. Considering different complexity of English in each faculty or school, Australian

universities – as sites of capital accrual – set various standards of English proficiency in terms of scores of standardised tests of English.

In terms of similarities, English is regarded as a core expertise cultural capital for a number of professions both in Indonesia and Australia. In Indonesian HE, English studies for professions are predominantly oriented towards preparing EFL teachers, a highly valued profession in the country (Afrianto 2014; Widodo 2016; Zentz 2015). Other professions also seek this ingrained English capital, such as (linguistic, literary or cultural) researchers, academics, government officials, and journalists (FIB Universitas Airlangga 2017; FIB Universitas Indonesia 2018; UGM 2017; Universitas Negeri Jakarta 2019; Widyatama 2016). On the other hand, English studies for professions in Australian universities tend to develop students' expertise cultural capital to work in more diverse industries such as in government research and policy, private enterprise, education, television and radio journalism as well as news broadcasting, creative arts, teaching, academia and publishing (University of Adelaide 2019a; ANU 2018; Flinders University 2019d; University of Melbourne 2019a; University of Sydney 2019b). However, overall, each institution of English studies develops its own distinction in terms of the aspects of excellence that are selected as paramount.

The professions that capitalise English expertise cultural capital are on the one hand perceived commonly in both countries but on the other valued distinctively in each country. For example, English teachers in Indonesia and Australia are similar in one way but quite different in another, such as EFL learners in Indonesia and ESL/EAL learners in Australia. The most obvious difference between the two contexts is the opportunity to use English outside the classroom: being limited (or even non-existent) in an EFL context and abundant (immersive) in an ESL/EAL context. A quite different scenario also applies to the profession of a journalist, for instance. While Australian journalism tends to give more attention to political issues and public policies, Indonesian journalism is more focused on day-to-day news and crimes (Gordon 2018; Kedutaan Besar Australia di Indonesia 2011).

Table 6 summarises the comparative features of English studies in Indonesian and Australian HE.

Table 6: Comparing English studies in Indonesian and Australian higher education

Types of capital in focus	Indonesia		Australia	
	Featured aspects of capital	**Modes of provision**	**Featured aspects of capital**	**Modes of provision**
English as *essential* cultural (linguistic) capital	Adds, highly valued capital (to the students' major study) Communicative/ linguistic capital in global interactions	Mandatory or compulsory English subject	Essential capital for academic and social life	- Benchmark for admission to HE (grade/score on English tests) - English is offered in support centres for academic life
English as *expertise* cultural (linguistic) capital	Essential professional capital for teachers, academics, researchers, journalists	- Undergraduate degrees - Graduate courses - Postgraduate research	Professional capital for journalists, writers, teachers, academics	- Undergraduate degrees - Graduate courses - Postgraduate research

There are significant differences in how the symbolic capital of English is developed as a *distinction*, which manifest in academics' assessment practices within inter-institutional contexts in each country. Such differences contribute to each institution's institutional habitus and methods of teaching and assessment. Therefore, an argument can be made that each institution has developed certain aspects of English (symbolic) cultural capital which are socially constructed as a form of distinction for the institution and the students in general. The academics have embodied this aspect of institutional habitus articulated it well in the interviews, more notably within less established institutions.

How English is constructed and developed in each country and each institution informs the implementation of the actual practices of teaching and assessment. Therefore, the next part of this chapter evaluates how the actual practices of assessment by Indonesian and Australian academics involve (cultural) capital – or as proposed by this study assessment capital – of both the academics and the students, based predominantly on the interviews with those academics.

7.2 Assessment capital in higher education

As mentioned in Section 3.5, this study adopts a concept of *assessment capital* derived from Bourdieu's (2004) theory of capital (see also Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). Assessment capital is thus conceived of as part of Bourdieu's overarching theory of cultural capital in reference to assessment. As a theory, assessment capital is here understood as the accumulated "experience and knowledge" (Bourdieu 1984, p. 23) regarding assessment, predominantly inculcated during academic interactions. In other words, assessment capital, as part of cultural capital, works in the form of the accumulated personal qualities or capacity acquired by the students (and the academics) to assess their own learning and to act accordingly towards their goals. I assert that *assessment capital* incorporates self-evaluative skills, including and most significantly self-assessment, and to some extent grades (GPA) or awards. In the interviews I conducted, the term *capital* was very scarcely (or even never) mentioned explicitly regardless of the location. Instead, I use the theory of *assessment capital* to investigate the academics' statements to discern the type of symbolic power perceived and exercised by the academics in regard to their assessing the students. Thus, drawing on the words of Sadler (1989), assessment capital is the self-evaluative knowledge and skills of the academics and students that is embodied within them.

Keeping the notion of embodiment in mind, I explore assessment capital as a sub-type of cultural capital which, according to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), can take the form of *embodied capital* (ingrained knowledge, expertise, skill and the like) or *institutionalised capital* (conventional manifestation as certificates, grades, awards and so forth). In his book *Distinction*, Bourdieu calls the former "internalised capital" and the latter "objectified capital" (1984, p. 114). Drawing on the theory of embodied assessment capital, in my study the academics' capital is conceptualised as expertise in two areas: doing self-assessment concerning their professional job and performing high-quality assessment of the students' learning. For students, assessment capital refers to their capacity to conduct self-evaluation of their own learning, but my study did not address this directly in the interviews with the academics.

However, it is worth highlighting here that assessment in education is almost always inseparable from teaching. Due to this interconnection of teaching and assessment, assessment habitus is thus a part of teaching or professional habitus (Edgington 2016; Erixon & Arreman 2019). In addition, as Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) explain, assessment habitus is both shaped by past experiences (or social interactions) and

influences current social interactions. Assessment habitus is dynamic and in continuous interplay within different societies. At the same time, assessment habitus is developed and ingrained by academics as a result of their "consecration to fulfil the highest academic destinies" (Bourdieu 1988a, p. xxv), that is, to become an academic within the institutional rituals they have been through, predominantly those of their current institution.

For students, embodied assessment capital is their fundamental capacities or qualities of performing self-assessment for their own learning. This type of capital serves as a powerful currency in HE and it should be fostered by effective assessment practices like AaL. While AaL occurs, though it varies from institution to institution and academic to academic, there is also an institutionalised aspect of assessment capital for students' learning which is documented in the grades they receive for each course/subject they study. The grades are in fact the institutionalised manifestation of not only the students' expertise on (the content of) the course but also the students' assessment capital (the skill of undertaking assessment of/for/as learning). These grades are provided by the academics I spoke with and thus show their autonomy as well as their concern about its high-stakes nature.

This study has found that the assessment capital of academics plays a significant role in the assessment practices in both countries: Indonesia and Australia. The data suggest that assessment capital is accumulated or embodied by academics predominantly from their educational biography as well as their professional trajectories and development of their teaching and assessment. They accumulate such capital (knowledge, skill, expertise) from diverse resources – including formal education, books, workshops, seminars, as well as informal conversations with colleagues and so forth – in various societies. Their assessment capital is also influenced by their pedigree and previous institutions. The academics possessing more assessment capital would have a more comprehensive view on how to assess students appropriately.

It is nearly impossible to measure the assessment capital of the academics; however, the academics' knowledge about assessment of/for/as learning needs to be explored through deeper examination than just an interview, for example. Their skills in assessing students may be visible through the actual practices or techniques of their assessment, whether they use clear criteria for their assessment, or whether they utilise rubrics (not only for their own standards but also for common reference), their general rationale and so on. Other aspects of the academics' education (as institutionalised cultural capital) can also be taken into consideration as contributing to their assessment capital. As outlined in

Chapter 5, the ideas of "a pedigree" and "a hybrid" in the Indonesian context is worth revisiting. In addition, their professional experiences and trajectories involving teaching and assessment from their past and present jobs, duties, or responsibilities equally accrue into their cultural capital.

Based on my small-scale case study, a number of Australian academics have completed graduate certificates in education which signifies that their cultural capital in HE is enhanced or even advanced. This was not offered in the Indonesian HE context. During this education and training their disposition toward assessment capital developed, which has implications for their assessment capital. It is expected that the academics will incorporate this high assessment capital (as symbolically validated by the institution) in their assessing of students. For example, Karen explained that her assessment capital accumulated from her teaching experience during her doctoral education influenced her teaching and assessment:

> I had a very good mentor, I had my PhD supervisor, was one of the people I did teaching for. And she was a very good teacher. So, I could model off what I saw her doing. And, uhm, I planned everything before the class.

It is evident here that the capital she has accumulated during her education (at the doctoral level) greatly influences the way she performs her teaching and assessment.

Assessment capital can also be accumulated by professional experiences of teaching and assessment over time and in a range of subjects. Across the two countries, there was evidence that assessment capital was influenced by the academics' professional biography, revealing that the Australian academics (with experience of teaching in HE for around 15 years or more) tend to possess more capital than their Indonesian counterparts (with around 5–10 years of teaching experience). The academics accumulate the knowledge and skills of teaching and assessment during their professional duties and responsibilities, with various institutional contexts and students. Over time, this knowledge and skills become part of their cultural capital, including their assessment capital. Ultimately, the assessment capital they have gained is operationalised in the way they assess their students.

Within each country, the academics in the less established institutions (Indonesian IAIN Surakarta and Australian Flinders) tend to develop their embodied assessment capital more significantly. This kind of capital accumulation is to a great extent accelerated by the institutional habitus which fosters collegial relations among the members in these less established universities. The culture of mutual sharing in informal conversations, for

instance, works as a catalyst in improving everybody's cultural (assessment) capital. As a result, their knowledge and skills of assessment increase significantly, resulting in their confidence to adopt innovative and creative assessment methods such as drama performances, real-life products, and other outputs (of assessment) for public use previously outlined in Chapters 5 and 6.

On the other hand, the academics in the more established universities (Indonesian UGM and Australian Adelaide) are more inclined to see their assessment practices as based on individual endeavour. It can be implied from the interviews that they always attempt to comply with formal institutional policies and expectations, with little personal initiative to develop their embodied assessment capital. This practice tends to validate more traditional pen-and-paper literacies, instead of critical or digital literacies (Street 2014; Weninger 2018). This is not often expressed explicitly but is implied. Part of the individualised nature of assessment in established institutions could also be the demands around workload, particularly research. High workloads may limit opportunities for the academics to have meetings or conversations among themselves for (informal) professional development, so the development of their assessment capital is marginalised. Again, this deduction is based more on the researcher's perceptions about the academics' expressions and persona instead of explicit words from them.

Another aspect of assessment capital that is at stake and taken into careful consideration by the academics across all institutions in this study is their perceptions of the students' assessment capital both in its embodied and institutionalised state. These are their perceptions of where students need to improve. The data suggest that the academics practise AfL or AaL to help students learn how to monitor and improve their own learning (by giving feedback and the like), which develops the students' embodied assessment capital.

The academics intend to develop students' embodied assessment capital by consistently practising AfL and AaL, as they believe in the pivotal role of such concepts in assisting students, even though they might not say it explicitly. The academics in in Indonesia and Australia adopt different practices to develop students' assessment capital. The academics offer feedback on the students' work or assignments during the course in each semester, including on the mid-semester examinations, which are still encouraged in Indonesia. On the other hand, drawing attention to the role of institutional habitus in structuring assessment, Australian universities prefer not to specifically use mid-semester examinations and let the academics choose their own sequences of assessment. They are

all “strong believers in feedback”, as directly stated by Mia and Lily but implied by other academics when they discussed offering feedback in their practice. By giving feedback, the academics want to help students understand their progress, know what to improve, and learn better in the future. It is the essence of embodied assessment capital of the students, which is developed by the academics’ provision of feedback. The constraints I found with this practice is that the follow-up is totally in the hands of the students and are rarely checked by the academics, as an Indonesian academics must teach many students (six classes of 30–40 students) each semester.[80] In other words, the workload of AfL through feedback, outlined in the previous chapters, prevents academics from checking how the students understand and implement the feedback. This is particularly difficult for academics teaching big classes, which often happens in Indonesia,

The study found some variations in how academics provide feedback. Most of the academics I spoke with in Indonesia offer written feedback on students’ work individually (on paper). They believe that this feedback can be personalised and contextualised to the students’ needs, even though there is no system in place to hold them accountable. Again, as the number of students increases, the work of the academics is more demanding with little remuneration, especially in Indonesia. As a consequence, some academics prefer to practise giving feedback on the whiteboard or oral feedback on group presentations, for instance, in front of the whole class. These practices are offered by Indonesian academics as an alternative to personalised individual written feedback. Secondly, class feedback was provided with the rationale that it is important and useful for the class, specifically feedback that is appropriate for the whole class instead of for certain students only. In other words, whole-class feedback is provided by the academics for general or fundamental aspects of the students’ work or assignments that need to be addressed.

This assessment practice saved the academics time and, most significantly, can promote peer assessment by inviting fellow students to respond to a student’s attempt on the whiteboard, for instance. Encouraging peer assessment in this way can be expected to result in self-assessment. Class feedback on the board was practised by Zen from IAIN Surakarta: “for instance, I give examples and then ask [someone] to do it on the whiteboard in front of the class so that all students can learn together when I explain.”

However, especially in the Indonesian context, careful consideration should be taken when choosing the student to write on the board. When possible, students are encouraged

[80] Zen from IAIN Surakarta even mentioned that he once taught 10 classes in one semester.

to volunteer first before the academics nominate them, and arguably those who possess the resilience to be publicly examined in front of the class will volunteer. This type of peer assessment can be initiated in small groups first, before being encouraged in front of the whole class. When these assessment practices are implemented consistently, the ideal concept of AaL where students have the capacity to self-assess their own learning can be achieved.

Meanwhile, the academics also carefully consider the institutionalised aspect of the students' assessment capital (in the form of grades or awards). Indonesian academics are more concerned about this aspect of students' assessment capital than their Australian counterparts due to a number of factors. First, there is a difference in cultural and public perceptions of HE (and grades) in the two countries. Generally, Australian culture is less formal than the Indonesian and the general public pays less attention to the grades (GPA) of HE graduates. Indonesian parents (and the public in general) are still incredibly worried about their children's GPA in addition to their university degree. In both countries the institutional capital of the university really counts but, unlike Australians, Indonesians pay more attention to graduates' grades and awards as well as the university's symbolic capital. Given the differences in the field, the implications for how assessment is practised are therefore substantial, in that Indonesian academics were constrained by general public's perception of high GPA in assessing students. Australian academics, not worrying about the high GPA of the students, were more independent in grading their students based exclusively on the standards or criteria of assessment.

Another factor influencing assessment practices is how the national accreditation in each country is perceived by Indonesian and Australian universities as well as the academics. Accreditation means so much for Indonesian institutions due to the vast number of universities (or HE institutions) in Indonesia, which have reached 3,982, in contrast to 43 in Australia.[81] As a consequence, the highest level of institutional accreditation will raise the symbolic capital of the institution, which also includes the symbolic capital of the academics. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, the GPA aggregate of the students is included in Indonesian accreditation.

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[81] Australian data were obtained from <https://www.studyinaustralia.gov.au/english/australian-education/universities-and-higher-education>, which includes two international universities and one private specialty university. Data on 2017 Indonesian universities under MoEC were 3,276 institutions (122 public, 3,154 private) while the other 716 were under MoRA (701 Islamic HE institutions: 58 public, 643 private, 13 Christian, 1 Hindu, 1 Buddhist) obtained from <https://forlap.ristekdikti.go.id/files/downloadinfografis/Ng~~> and <http://diktis.kemenag.go.id/rankingptai/>.

As a consequence of the logic of the field, Indonesian academics are very careful in assigning grades (as the final results of HE assessment) as they are aware of their significant contribution to institutional accreditation.[82] In other words, Indonesian academics suggest that the students' good grades (and completing studies on time) supports the institutional accreditation of the university. Based on this perception, Indonesian academics are inclined to assess students fairly 'generously' (even over generously, as Agus said) as they believe that if they give low grades it can disadvantage both the students and the institution in terms of accreditation. Agus mentioned this issue in his interview as follows: "If our students graduate with low grades, or even fail, the score of our accreditation by BAN-PT is not good, for example. So, the wicked BAN-PT makes us give over-generous [grades] to the students."

Thus, Indonesian academics are indirectly 'required' to give generous grades in order to help the students in terms of their perceived institutionalised (cultural) assessment capital for their future life and also to improve or maintain institutional accreditation. This is arguably a sign of the influence of neoliberalism on Indonesian HE which uses performativity as a standard: "Results are prioritised over processes, numbers over experiences, procedures over ideas, productivity over creativity" (Ball & Olmedo 2013, p. 91).

This phenomenon of assessment conflated with institutional accreditation is less apparent in the Australian context as the grades students are given do not figure significantly in the accreditation process, which instead is focused on practices of teaching and learning and covering essential topics. When they grade their students, representing the students' institutionalised assessment capital, those academics purely consider the students' work. Lily from Adelaide commented on this matter: "I have to give result to my students, so I'm compelled to do the assessment of learning because I need to see how they meet the criteria and grade them accordingly."

Lily grades the students based on the criteria that she has set regarding the contents of the course.[83] She, and the other Australian academics I interviewed, tended to focus on aligning the grades of the students with the standards, which can represent students' knowledge and/or skills pertaining to their cultural capital (including, in this case,

[82] Components of accreditation in Indonesia include period of study (calculated from initial enrolment to graduation) and the approximate GPA of graduates.
[83] The criteria have also been communicated to the students in the form of topic information (at Flinders) or course outlines (at Adelaide), available online on each university's website and on paper commonly printed by the academics at the beginning of each semester.

students' institutional assessment capital). Unlike their Indonesian colleagues, Australian academics are not burdened by institutional accreditation when performing assessment. Arguably, this accreditation burden may cause disparities in the validity of academic grades (or grading) in the two countries. Therefore, further research is required to examine this issue.

The following part of the chapter evaluates another important aspect of the academics' assessment practice, that is, how such assessment practices are fundamentally informed by their habitus (termed assessment habitus) and tacit knowledge. Additionally, this evaluation also attempts to understand the contributing factors that have structured the academics' assessment habitus as well as their tacit knowledge.

7.3 Assessment habitus and tacit knowledge

This study investigated how habitus and the tacit play their roles in informing assessment practices, and how Indonesian and Australian academics practise them similarly or differently. The term *assessment habitus* proposed in this study is conceptualised as the dispositions about assessment (a sophisticated understanding of the rules of the game) inculcated by social agents (individuals or institutions) from societies throughout their lives in order to behave accordingly in current (or future) educational or academic life in the university. The assessment habitus of an individual contributes significantly to his/her assessment capital.

I will now consider the relationship between assessment capital and tacit knowledge theorised by Polanyi and apply it to assessment. To reiterate, tacit knowledge is human knowledge that is often 'hard' to explicitly articulate, and so is subsidiary awareness with some degree of consciousness (Polanyi & Sen 2009, p. 95). Johnson (2016, p. 2) defines tacit knowledge as "the quiet storehouse of information that exists though it cannot necessarily, or at least easily, be put into words". In this respect, the *tacit of assessment* proposed in this study is conceptualised as the storehouse of information that academics (and students) possess in regard to assessment which works subconsciously and may not instantaneously be expressed in words. As the storehouse of information regarding assessment, the tacit of assessment can thus be associated with assessment capital as self-evaluative knowledge or skills possessed by learners.

In the field of HE, as a social field, academics and students need to possess this knowledge about assessment as legitimate capital in a university. However, capital can only work when the possessors also have "a different set of skills (habitus) to play the

cards (activate the capital)" (Lareau & Horvat 1999, p. 39). Thus, the tacit practices of assessment correspond to (assessment) habitus, which according to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p. 135), can be understood as "dispositions acquired and active over the social and biographical trajectory of the agent". Simply put, the tacit of assessment is analogous to the knowledge of an experienced driver, who implicitly knows when to accelerate, brake or turn the car. Assessment habitus and the tacit of assessment play significant roles in academics' assessment practices which may not be easily reflected in the interviews or documents but is implicit. Henceforth, the analytical explorations of the academics' assessment practices are presented using the two perspectives in an interrelated fashion.

Arguably, academics' assessment habitus strongly informs their practices of assessment and works in a mutual interplay with the institutional (assessment) habitus of the university – in the form of institutional expectations and policies. Indeed, the interplay of individual and institutional habitus is quite a natural process in an institution as a micro society. In this respect, academics' assessment habitus, as part of their professional habitus, is developed by the significant influence of their academic and intellectual backgrounds as well as their duties and responsibilities.

These substantial influences were evident in the interviews with participant academics, such as Lily and Jay from Adelaide. Their academic or professional backgrounds strongly influence their assessment habitus. For example, Lily, who was previously a senior secondary schoolteacher and a principal (for a quite short period of time), believes that her assessment practices at Adelaide are based on her assessment experiences with her former secondary students. Such experiences have been ingrained into her assessment habitus over time. Similarly, Jay's assessment habitus also developed during his former job as a schoolteacher as a part of his assessment habitus.

The experience of tutoring when doing her PhD has greatly informed Karen's assessment habitus. Observing exemplary teaching and assessment from her PhD supervisor, Karen developed her teaching and assessment habitus. Quite differently, Mia of Flinders has experienced different systems of education which contributed to her assessment habitus: being a primary schoolteacher then a university academic in Vietnam before moving to become an academic in UNSW and eventually Flinders. In other words, Mia has been immersed in different academic systems which have all made contributions to her ingrained assessment habitus. She can recall, for example, that summative assessment was the only assessment she did as a schoolteacher in Vietnam, while she was

and is eager to practise formative assessment in HE in both Vietnam and Australia. Mia's story demonstrates that her assessment habitus is structured by her professional experiences as well as the varied institutional habitus she has worked with.

Indonesian academics' teaching and assessment habitus is structured by their academic-intellectual background/biography, duties and responsibilities. For example, Agus' assessment habitus was first developed by tutoring/teaching at Temple University USA while doing his PhD. Meanwhile, other UGM academics such as Budi and Arum developed their assessment habitus during their teaching assistance experience with their mentor academics. As mentioned earlier, UGM has a very high symbolic capital in Indonesian HE, sitting second or third in the country's university rankings. Nevertheless, Budi's assessment habitus was also influenced by his overseas education at an Australian university and by being assessed instead of by assessing his students. Most of the academics from IAIN Surakarta recalled that their assessment habitus has been heavily influences by their experiences of being assessed during their undergraduate education. However, past experiences of being a high school teacher in West Java before becoming an academic also contributes to Asih's assessment habitus.

It is obvious here that the academics' assessment habitus – as a part of their professional habitus – have been strongly shaped by their academic background, including their duties and responsibilities of teaching and assessment. In other words, their educational biography structured their dispositions which influenced their practice. This deduction was confirmed by the academics in each country who remarked that they tend to assess the way they were assessed. The detailed feedback they got from their former academics or from doing workshops, for instance, are greatly valued by the academics as motivation and internalised into their assessment habitus.

Nevertheless, the academics' assessment habitus is not stagnant and continues to develop along with their professional trajectories and the different HE fields they encounter (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Mills 2013). Therefore, their assessment habitus is informed by their social contexts (e.g. the people they interact with, their institutions) while also informed by the habitus ingrained from their educational biography. Within the cases of this study in both countries, the academics incorporate new knowledge about assessment (and education in general) gained from contemporary interactions, particularly within their institutions. Based on the data, there are disparities in the level of collegiality of interactions the shape the assessment habitus of the academics between Australia and Indonesia and across institutions.

The academics explained their structuring assessment habitus in their interviews. They reflectively mentioned discussions with colleagues – mostly about their jobs as academics – as factors that have shaped their assessment habitus, in addition to more formal means of knowledge or professional development such as workshops, seminars, academic meetings and so forth. Furthermore, new institutional expectations manifested in policies and departmental or faculty meetings are equally incorporated into their assessment habitus.

Comparing the Australian and Indonesian contexts, Australian academics tend to be more independent and individualistic in their assessment habitus, while Indonesian academics exercise such endeavours in a more collaborative fashion. Aspects of the culture of each country may lie behind these exercises, as Australians are more familiar with independent learning from early or primary education (Cumming & Wyatt-Smith 2011; Gale & Parker 2014). In contrast, Indonesian people are more collective in nature, expressed in the national adage of "*gotong royong*" (meaning *working together*) in most aspects of life. The development of the academics' assessment habitus equally exist but Indonesian academics' sense of belonging to their institution tend to be higher than that of their Australian counterparts.

Across institutions, there are also disparities in the level of collegiality among the academics, which significantly contributes to their assessment habitus. The data in the study suggest that collegiality among the academics in the new institutions (Flinders, Australia and IAIN Surakarta, Indonesia) is higher than in the more established ones (Adelaide, Australia and UGM, Indonesia). Collegiality among the academics within these newer universities is reflected in the participants statements in the interviews as well as implied in the academics' gestures and persona. Collegiality can accelerate the development of habitus – and assessment habitus in particular – in synergy with the institutional habitus and expectations.

To a great extent, collegial relations among the academics as well as between the academics and the leadership are a catalyst for the sense of ownership and belonging of all people (including the academics) to the organisation. With this in mind, they willingly work hard to comply with institutional expectations and actively contribute to the institutional habitus and assessment practices. At the same time, the academics are also developing their professional habitus – in this case, assessment habitus – through discussions (mostly informal) with colleagues facilitated by the conducive atmosphere and ecosystem of the university. Eventually, all these processes contribute to shaping the

academics' assessment habitus as well as the institutional habitus through inculcation (Mills 2013).

As those experiences and educational biographies become internalised and thus form a part of the academics' professional habitus, they eventually turn into parts of the academics' *tacit knowledge* (Polanyi 1962; Polanyi & Sen 2009), more specifically their *assessment tacit knowledge (or the tacit of assessment)*. In this way, assessment tacit knowledge is hence working subconsciously for the academics in their job of assessing students. Assessment tacit knowledge is then implemented almost automatically by the academics within the constraints of each institutional context. To reiterate Turner (2012), this type of assessment tacit is categorised as the personal tacit of the academics.

It is arguably hard to decipher assessment tacit knowledge in application, as Sadler (2005) contends that tacit knowledge is the expertise of the academics which is mostly in their heads. However, as Johnson (2016) understands, tacit knowledge is the underlying framework that makes explicit knowledge possible, which means that explicit knowledge is always based on tacit knowledge. Thus, all the academics' actions including assessing students are based on tacit knowledge, or assessment tacit knowledge as suggested in this study. When Australian academic Karen, for instance, mentioned "teaching smarter" in response to the current institutional (or even national) policy of the corporate university, she showed that she tacitly understands the institutional expectations such as tight budgets, big classes and so on which have to be implemented by the academics. It is also evident from Karen's ideas that she embraces her professional habitus as well as her educational philosophy in her job within the constraints of the policy. Parallel cases are found in all other academics in their "smarter" assessment tacit – using Karen's word – to deal with institutional policies and expectations.

The Indonesian academics also described so-called 'smarter' assessment tacit in their interviews. For example, they comply with institutional policies in the form of academic guidelines (which include assessment) but adapt them to the contexts of their courses (whether they are introductory or advanced, for instance) and their students. However, as Agus from UGM highlighted, Indonesian national accreditation by BAN-PT, which becomes an institutional demand, is perceived as an additional burden for the academics, in the form of pressure to inflate grades. Due to accreditation, Agus said, students' grades need to be better, otherwise the institution and the students are disadvantaged compared to counterparts at other Indonesian universities. Similar responses from academics in UGM and IAIN Surakarta in regard to national accreditation affirm that their job as academics

can significantly affect the institutional grade. In other words, they are well aware of the accreditation requirements which has becomes their tacit knowledge, including how to assess students accordingly. The difference lies in the public perception that the institutional reputation of UGM is higher than that of IAIN Surakarta. This phenomenon of accreditation is absent in the Australian HE sector.

The academics at IAIN Surakarta have tacitly internalised in their habitus the perception that their students are not as good as UGM's, for instance. This perception was reflected in the conversations and is interestingly – and most significantly – translated into a driving force to define their own distinctions institutionally and for the students. Such efforts are a means of developing their symbolic capital institutionally. In other words, the tacit knowledge of IAIN Surakarta academics regarding the mediocre status of their students encourages them, for example, to design a distinctive curriculum and innovative assessments such as class competitions, drama performances, or socially useful products as outlined in Chapter 5.

These innovations are to a great extent encouraged by their collegial relationships among themselves and between the academics and leadership. This type of relationship can increase academic and social proximity among the academics and, as a result, they become close to each other in their social life in the university. Combined with the Indonesian culture of *gotong-royong* (or togetherness), such relations catalyse communication and sharing of their tacit knowledge, including their assessment tacit. For subjects in parallel classes, the academics work together to design the course content/outlines or descriptions, lesson plans, and so on. Such collaborative work contributes to the development of their knowledge on teaching and assessment. As this knowledge is regularly exercised in practice, it becomes internalised, automated and tacit within each academic, and thus in their habitus. It becomes part of their expertise in teaching and assessing their students, and thus their cultural capital.

Meanwhile, as required by institutional policies and expectations, the academics at UGM have recently practised using rubrics in their assessment, a policy which is still absent at IAIN Surakarta. Interestingly, UGM academics believe that they tacitly incorporated certain criteria and standards into their assessment even when previously rubrics were not overtly required by UGM. Thus understood, the institutional expectation of using rubrics in assessment can be viewed as a means of making the academics' assessment tacit (regarding standards or criteria) become explicit and therefore allowing it to be shared with the students. In this respect, the conceptual endeavour of AfL and AaL

(Black 2015; Dann 2002, 2014; Earl & Katz 2006; Sadler 1989) to help students' learning through their assessment can be encouraged and developed in the institution. The use of rubrics is not formally expected or encouraged at IAIN Surakarta, but the academics confirmed that they tacitly use certain criteria or standards for their assessment.

Another aspect of tacit knowledge that has been practised by the academics is the assessment tacit on AfL (assessment *for* learning or formative assessment), characterised by the provisions of feedback on students' work. Regardless of the country, most of the academics involved in this study have consistently offered feedback to students. Without doubt, the practice of giving feedback is an indications of the academics' assessment tacit knowledge of the pivotal role of AfL in students' learning. As it is part of their tacit knowledge, the academics instinctively offer feedback on students' work in order to help the students in terms of giving rewards (for good attempts) or providing guidance (for poor attempts) with the ultimate objective to improve students' learning. This deduction can be traced back from the interviews with the academics explored extensively in Chapters 5 and 6.

In short, this study found that the academics' habitus (assessment habitus) and tacit knowledge (tacit knowledge of assessment) playing a pivotal role in the academics' mindset as they assess their students. From a comparative perspective, the assessment habitus of the academics in both Indonesia and Australia has been structured by their educational biographies, duties and responsibilities. However, the academics' assessment habitus within the younger institutions (Indonesian IAIN Surakarta and Australian Flinders) tend to be more dynamic and developed in a collaborative fashion along with their colleagues and the vibrant institutional habitus of the university. On the other hand, the more established universities (Indonesian UGM and Australian Adelaide) are inclined to have stronger institutional habitus and capital and thus work with more orthodoxy. The academics' habitus within these established institutions are exercised conservatively, although with some autonomy. As a consequence, their habitus is structured more formally by professional development and institutional expectations expressed in policies.

Having explored the habitus and tacit aspects of the academic assessment practices, I now move on to how these important elements are communicated (and thus shared) by the academics to the students through understanding the language game of noticing.

7.4 Language game of noticing in assessment

The last feature that is prevalent in the academics' assessment practices found in this study is the role of the *language game of noticing* (Wittgenstein 1968) in their assessment. Briefly, this concept means that, first, assessment uses a specific language of communication, and secondly, assessment has rules that should be shared and followed by academics and students. Most significantly, how language is understood and expressed is critical as a means for academics and students to share a common *assessment habitus* and *assessment tacit*. This section is thus dedicated to examining how the academics implement this concept in their assessment and whether those practices are comparable between the two countries or among the institutions.

First, this study adopts the concept of the language game as introduced by Wittgenstein, who claims that a language game "is meant to bring into prominence the fact that the speaking of language is part of an activity, or of a form of life" (Wittgenstein 1968, p. 11). In other words, a language game is here understood as the notion that language (a word, a sentence, or language at large) as a form of life means something only when it is in context and can mean something different in another context. Simply put, it is the system of language in use, language in practice, instead of language as a system of representation, naming or bearing per se (McGinn 2009, 2013). In the game, there are rules (of the game) that should be followed and known to the people involved. Popular sayings such as "we are on the same page" or "we are using the same language" represent this concept of shared rules known by the people.

In the context of assessment, therefore, all the activities involve particular language (games) that can be regarded as "*language games of assessment*" or simply "*assessment games*". Assessment games use a specific language and rules. Feedback, questions, directions and other assessment-specific language games only mean something when the people (the academics and the students) know the game they are playing. In this sense, a language game is viewed as a vehicle that helps us point out explicitly what we really mean, such that it can then be assessed. Thus, language games contribute to academics' habitus.

In order that academics and students understand such assessment games, they need to have the capacity for *recognising* or what Wittgenstein calls *noticing* them. This noticing is part of assessment capital which requires assessment habitus as "a set of skills to … activate the capital" (Lareau & Horvat 1999, p. 39). Most significantly, this capacity of noticing is equal to *bringing into the open* the notion that standards of quality or criteria

are central in assessment. However, it is still expected that other aspects of intellectual or skill development amongst students such as resilience, enthusiasm or courage also need to be included in the language game of assessment in play. In so doing, a more holistic perspective on which aspects of assessment are worth noticing (and valuing) are shared by academics and students as well as institutions in a broader sense.

Following these lines of argument, this study has found that Indonesian and Australian academics *understand* the language games of assessment reasonably well. Their understanding of these assessment language games was reflected in the interviews with the academics as well as the assessment documents involved. In terms of the *aspects* that are worth noticing in assessment, the academics in this study understand that the standards or criteria set in advance about the course or subject they teach need noticing and thus are central in their assessment. Let us examine these phenomena further in the following paragraphs.

The academics present themselves as understanding the language games of assessment by their responses indicating such understanding, even though no direct questions using the term 'language game' were asked. The academics from both countries talked about assessment using important terminologies such as feedback, formative assessment, summative assessment, assessment of/for/as learning, grade, grading, test, examinations and so on. Moreover, they were aware of the debates about using different kinds of assessment to accommodate institutional policies about assessment, to assist students to learn the course as well as to promote personal development.

These aspects of the language games of assessment, including the key concepts, were confidently discussed by the academics in their interviews. Their understanding of the language games of assessment is comprehensive and deep, depicting the multiple and complex relations of such key terms. This was evident when Pablo from Flinders discussed the relationship between feedback and critical thinking: "And to rise that ability to absorb that and to work constructively with constructive and negative feedback is really critical skill that they learn."

Pablo's knowledge about the assessment language game of feedback as central in formative assessment or assessment for learning helps him use it to develop (students') critical thinking, which is characteristic of HE. Pablo's colleague Mia has a similar comprehensive understanding of assessment language games, which she portrayed in her interview as follows:

> I am a strong believer in feedback, and I give student very detailed and extensive feedback … The grade is important because it reflects their effort but with the feedback, we help them learn and also grow. I do give the students very detailed feedback in the form of both of quantitative and qualitative feedback.

Mia showed that her knowledge about assessment language games is deep, understanding the complex interplays of diverse concepts in assessment. Her view on the pivotal role of feedback in the language games of assessment leads her to provide meticulous and extensive feedback to help the students. On the other hand, she still considers the central function of grades to reflect students' effort and the level of their learning, characterised by assessment of learning (or summative assessment). From such a small excerpt her holistic understanding of the language games of assessment was clear.

Another academic, Lily from Adelaide, also exhibited her mastery of the language games of assessment, as assessment (cultural) capital, in regard to her educational philosophy. Her embodied assessment capital informs her that the functions of assessment tasks are merely triggers for the students to really learn instead of burdens, as she explained:

> You can have more assessment tasks, but my philosophy is that why would you do it? Why would you have more? Uhm, so if I can cover the learning outcomes and the criteria in the three then I do so. I would rather my student be learning and reading and that thing more often than doing the assessment task.

Lily limits the number of assessment tasks she sets because she believes that the tasks should be treated as learning prompts that encourage students to work better on their own. Other than that, the number of tasks is also part of the institutional expectation in Adelaide. For Lily, limiting the tasks encourages students to do more reading or research on the topic/s independently. As characterised by andragogy and heutagogy, university students need to be encouraged to do more independent and peer learning (or collaborative learning) where assessment (and assessment tasks) and feedback act as guidance or assistance only.

There were similar findings in the Indonesian context, where the academics apprehend the language games of assessment adequately. They, for example, understand that feedback is essential in formative assessment, but feedback can also be offered for mid-semester or end-of-semester examinations (summative assessment), which are still

widely practised in Indonesia. Zen from IAIN Surakarta discussed his feedback provision as follows:

> Yes, I give feedback during the course especially Q&A, … [also] on the tasks and exams when students ask questions, so perhaps it is more personal because after end-of-semester exam the course is finished, or I give feedback on mid-semester exam [in class] mainly to talk about the correct/acceptable answers.

It is also evident here that Zen offers different kinds of feedback to the students: in class or in person. Additionally, he often uses a Q&A (questions and answers) technique especially in class as it can help all the students at once. He encourages students to learn together (or collaboratively) by giving open feedback in front of the class about the general content of his courses in addition to other individualised feedback he offers personally to each student.

Another academic from UGM, Ayu, understands the language games of assessment similarly well. She sets diverse assessment tasks including presentations:

> They need to make *intellectual journal* about a topic then present it … in a short group presentation … and when finished I then provide feedback about what they presented. It is a way for me to know the students' knowledge about the topic.

Ayu's design of group presentations indicates that she encourages collaborative learning and she realises the complexity of knowledge and skills involved in oral presentations. Her feedback also helps other students learn lessons for their future presentations. Nevertheless, cultural barriers of personal inferiority or public disgrace may affect these kinds of practices, especially in Java or Indonesia in general where public criticism can be regarded as an insult. However, Ayu ensures that she delivers feedback that is appropriate for the context.

Another element of the importance of the language games of assessment practised by the academics in this study across countries and institutions is how the rules of the game are shared by the parties involved, more particularly the academics and the students. It is largely the responsibility of the academics as the actors in assessment to make sure the students are well aware of the rules, which are obviously agreed in advance. Broadly speaking, the rules of the language games of assessment were communicated in the form of documents and spoken explanations by the academics. The documents that function as a

means for sharing the rules of the assessment language games include course outlines, academic guidelines and rubrics. The academics attempt to share the rules of the games by explaining the assessment to the students, initially at the beginning of each semester in conjunction with documents and, more notably, every time they set an assessment (tasks, questions, projects, etc.).

Documents related to assessment are arguably more effective than verbal instructions in developing the collective assessment language games in each institution. As a written reference point, such documents function as policies which can act as a common resource. They contribute to the institutional habitus. I found a number of documents containing information in support of assessment language games, namely course outlines, course descriptions, topic information and/or academic guidelines. Within these types of documents in each institution, a section (or more) is dedicated to assessment in both Indonesia and Australia.

Disparities between the two countries include such factors as the way the documents are provided to students. In Indonesia, such documents are generally printed out and internally distributed in the institutions.[84] Whereas in Australia they are often online and referenced in lectures and tutorials by staff members. At the time of this study, online versions of such documents have not been widely available in Indonesia including in the two institutions involved. General web-based information is publicly provided through the university, faculty and department's (official) websites but the academic guidebook containing information about assessment has sadly not been made accessible on the internet. At least, the faculty has provided the printed version freely to the academics and students. In Australia, all the information about assessment (and other academic and non-academic matters) is accessible on the internet, including documents on institutional policies.

The practice of documenting the rules of the games in the form of rubrics also differs between Indonesia and Australia. In Indonesia, the established institution (UGM) has required the use of rubrics only since 2016/2017, and it is still perceived as challenging by some academics. Here are some of their discussions about rubrics in UGM.

> since the last few years, for maintaining objectivity, each academic is required to develop rubrics for assessment. (Agus)

[84] These documents include an academic guidebook (*Pedoman Akademik*) provided by the faculty and/or the department as well as course descriptions/outlines generally prepared by the academics (in groups or individually) and approved by the head of department.

> It is harder to mark students' works; it is more challenging to assess them when there are rubrics. (Ayu)

The practice in the less established IAIN Surakarta is quite different as the institution has not regulated assessment according to rubrics. However, the academics were aware of such documents when I questioned them. Here are some of their responses to the questions about whether rubrics are required in their institution:

> No, there is no obligation. (Lusi)
>
> No, even if there is a requirement, it is not an obligation. (Zen)

Distributing such documents can assure that the rules of the language game of assessment are commonly understood by both academics and students. The Australian practice of providing all information and resources for HE online is appropriate for its context, where there is a public culture of personal independence, infrastructure supports and so on. Nevertheless, the delivery (and most importantly comprehension) of such rules of the assessment language games in universities cannot be ensured, especially by international students with different cultural backgrounds. Academics still need to check students' understanding.

It is also evident from this study that the academics provide information about the assessment language games in use within the courses they teach. At the beginning of each semester, the academics explain the rules of the assessment language games provided in the course outlines or course descriptions. These practices of explaining the rules of the assessment language games of the course are common to Indonesian and Australian academics in all the institutions partaking in the study. General information about the assessment including the components, time and frequency, weighting and/or grading is provided in a concise way. The main purpose of this sharing of the rules of the assessment language game is that the students develop their capacity of "noticing an aspect" of salience in the language games of assessment they are in (Dinishak 2013; McGinn 2009, 2013; Wittgenstein 1968, 2001).

In addition to this brief introduction at the beginning of each course, the academics also include the rubrics of each assessment during the semester. It is therefore expected that the students are well aware of the standards or criteria for the assessment games of the course, predominantly by making explicit what is in the tacit world of the academics and students (Sadler 1989, 2005, 2010). As a result, it is expected that the quality of work or

standard of learning required of the students are shared and commonly comprehended among the two players of the assessment game. Furthermore, a more detailed explanations of each assessment task is added by the academics at the appropriate time. Such explanations can act as a review of the rules of the assessment game as well as an advanced or extended exploration of the rules worth noticing.

Theoretically, when students comprehend the assessment games in place, their work for assessments becomes well focused and on target. Consistent practices of noticing key qualities of learning need to be exercised as much as possible in order to develop students' capacity to review their own pace of learning and to master the key standards in the course. In the end, it is expected that the potential of AaL (assessment as learning) can be developed for the sake of the students' personal qualities or embodied cultural capital (or assessment capital) for their own learning. Thus said, the concepts of andragogy (self-directed learning) and heutagogy (self-determined learning) can be practised and developed through good quality assessment. The ultimate ideal of lifelong learning with the assistance of self-evaluative skills (conceptualised as assessment capital accumulated over time) sharpened during assessment in HE can finally be achieved. Comprehending the language game of noticing "the quality" of their (own) work with help from the academics' sharing the rules of the game plays a key role in reaching that ideal.

To summarise, Indonesian and Australian academics equally understand that students need to comprehend the assessment language games (including their rules) they are playing. The academics attempt to develop students' comprehension by sharing the rules of the assessment games through written documents (course outlines, course descriptions and rubrics) and open discussions about each assessment (task, work, standard of quality and so forth) at appropriate times. Such efforts ensure that the academics and students are playing the assessment games fairly with agreed rules or codes of conduct. However, there are some disparities between countries and institutions regarding access to the written documents (online or printed) and how to guarantee delivery of information about the assessment games to all parties.

Chapter 8: Conclusions and future challenges

Abstract

The conclusion revisits the key research findings and limitations of this study on how Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and capital influence practices of assessment by Indonesian and Australian HE academics. The chapter also highlights pivotal aspects of assessment in higher education that require further research, including methodology, theoretical concepts and practical-empirical perspectives.

My study is centred around understanding the assessment practices of English language and literature by the academics in Indonesian and Australian HE using the sociological perspective of Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and capital. This chapter revisits the key research findings and limitations of this study as well as several challenges and opportunities for further research. To recall, my study aimed to answer the following overarching question:

> *How does an academic's habitus and (perception of) capital influence his/her practices in assessing English studies in Indonesian and Australian higher education?*

I narrowed this down into three questions as follows:

1. How does the habitus of an academic and his/her perception of capital as well as institutional expectations influence practices of assessment of English studies in Indonesian and Australian higher education?
2. How are the concepts of assessment of/for/as learning reflected in Indonesian and Australian academics' practices of assessment?
3. How are assessment capital and assessment habitus negotiated in Indonesian and Australian academics' practices of assessment?

My thesis, while empirical and comparative in reach, has sought to combine two sets of theoretical concepts. Firstly, I have advanced the understanding of institutional habitus and its connection with field and symbolic capitals. Secondly, I have highlighted the need for the concepts of assessment of/for/as learning to combine with an understanding of capital.

Thus, I have proposed my own concepts of assessment capital and assessment habitus. This has not been attempted before theoretically, let alone by drawing upon comparative cross-national empirical studies.

8.1 Research findings

People's behaviour and actions are subject to numerous considerations and dynamics. Sociologists understand that people's actions are influenced by the power of individual *agency* (or the inner self) and social *structure* (or the outer social) (Bourdieu 1989; Maton 2008; Rawolle & Lingard 2013; Stahl 2016). Put simply, agency is the power of individuals, accounting for their perceptions, thinking and actions; while structure refers to the power of society and its institutions upon individuals' actions. For Bourdieu, both powers work together and eventually blend into an individual body (thus are *embodied*) as a kind of driving worldview and power that influences his/her actions, behaviour and judgements in social life. He eventually calls this driving power *habitus* (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Reay 1998; Wacquant 2016). Thus said, each of us is basically a "socialised agent" (Bourdieu 1989, p. 19) – with agency that is also structured by society.

These concepts also apply to Indonesian and Australian academics when assessing their students, in that their assessment practices are informed by their habitus, and most significantly their *assessment habitus*. The concept of assessment habitus was introduced in this study to refer to the specific layer of the habitus of an academic that concerns their job of assessment (and teaching) of their students in universities. Thus said, assessment habitus is a part or a layer of the *professional, pedagogic/al* or *academic habitus* of the academics (Bourdieu 1988a; Edgington 2016; Erixon & Arreman 2019; Feldman 2016).[85] Their assessment habitus is developed and "consecrated" (Bourdieu 1988a) during their educational experiences and during their tenure within the current institutions.

Habitus is ingrained or embodied by academics through the process of gradual inculcation (Mills 2013) within societies, namely the social spaces, social arenas or social *fields* (Bourdieu 1989; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Maton 2008) that the academics have participated in. These social fields are organised by a system of operations or logic or "the rule of the game" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 18), which are implicit, uncodified and immanent within each of the fields. According to Bourdieu, in order for individuals to

[85] Bourdieu uses the term 'layer' in his *An invitation to reflective sociology*, explaining that habitus implies a "multilayered filter of dispositions" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 135). Decoteau (2016, p. 303) later highlighted this by saying that habitus is "always layered", due to the fact that individuals ingrain numerous kinds of habitus which often overlap.

participate in the field, they need to possess and exercise legitimate currency or token (or types of power) called *capital* (Bourdieu 2004; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). In the field, individuals objectively struggle for positions, recognition or power using the capital they possess. How the capital is gained, accumulated, exchanged and/or valued depends on the field (the social space) and the rules in play.

In the field of HE where academics interact, it is *cultural capital* that plays the most significant role and is thus the most highly valued of the three types of capital: *economic, cultural* and *social* (Bourdieu 1984, 1988a, 2004). Cultural capital can be *embodied* inside the academics – and the students too – in the form of *skills, knowledge* or *expertise* related to their academic life, as well as *institutionalised* (or objectified) in the forms of *certificates, grades, awards, honours* or *medals* recognising their scholastic achievements. Due to its connection to the milieu of the academics, Bourdieu often associates cultural capital with the terms *academic capital*, *intellectual capital* or *scholastic capital* (Bourdieu 1984, 1988a). In this respect, assessment capital is intertwined with assessment habitus, as outlined previously, as "a set of skills to … activate the capital" (Lareau & Horvat 1999, p. 39).

When discussing capital, Bourdieu also outlines *symbolic capital* which he theorises as "symbolic properties" (Bourdieu 1984, p. 20) or "symbolic benefits" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 2013, p. 293) applicable to every kind of capital when it is exemplified, represented or gained "symbolically" as opposed to material, measurable objects such as money or gold (Bourdieu 2004, p. 27). This concept of "symbolic effects of capital" is only legitimate when it gains recognition within the habitus and its specific logic (Bourdieu 1997, p. 242). Alongside with cultural and social capital, this type of capital is most significant in the field of HE where institutions and academics are positioned based on their symbolic capital, whether they have prestige or otherwise (Bourdieu 1988a).

Within this type of capital, I humbly propose a new concept of *assessment capital*, which signifies the specific type, a sub-type, of cultural capital in particular reference to assessment. In other words, assessment capital is a part of cultural capital in assessment. Predominantly, assessment capital is *embodied* by individuals in the form of knowledge and skills of assessment. However, to some extent, it can be objectified into grades, awards and so forth. Most significantly, academics' assessment capital covers the knowledge and skills they require to perform quality assessment for their students. Additionally, academics' assessment capital also includes their capacity for self-assessment of their teaching, which Sadler (1989) calls *self-evaluative skills and knowledge*. For students,

even though they were not properly covered in this study and thus this is an area for future research, assessment capital is essentially their self-evaluative skills and knowledge of their own learning and is accumulated over time in the form of embodiment. It can thus include their capacity to set up objectives, how to reach them, and where they are now with their learning. Also, students' assessment capital can be *institutionalised* in the form of grades or certificates, which represent how well they have attempted assessment tasks. This type of objectified assessment capital can also be possessed by academics.[86]

Academics and students interact with one another within educational institutions (universities, faculties or departments/schools) as of social spaces. These institutions are organised by a system of operations similar to those within the wider field of HE. At the same time though, educational institutions interact with one another within the field of HE in a region, a country or internationally. Thus educational institutions, like individuals, are social agents within these fields of HE (Bourdieu 1988a; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Maton 2008). Owing to this fact, Reay (1998) introduced the term *institutional habitus* to emphasise the agentive power of educational institutions informing their actions in the social field of HE. Even though Reay's concept has been critiqued by Atkinson (2011, 2013), it has been supported by Burke, Emmerich and Ingram (2013); Tarabini, Curran and Fontdevila (2017); Stahl (2018); Byrd (2019) and others as well.

This study supports the concept of institutional habitus, which is here understood as the school or university culture, values or dispositions; which is *institutionalised* in policy documents (visions, missions, objectives, regulations at different levels of the university: university, faculty, program, course and so on) and *embodied* in individuals (leaders, academics, students). Institutional habitus is a university's mechanism of acting within the field of HE and a way of deciphering its capital, its institutional capital.[87] In participating within the field of HE, each institution possesses *institutional capital* (predominantly *symbolic capital*) which it has gained and accumulated over time since its establishment.[88] Also, institutional capital is equally increased by diverse contributions from its people, including and most significantly the academics with their own symbolic (cultural and social) capital.

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[86] It is worth highlighting that the grades record not only assessment capital but also, more significantly, intellectual or scholastic capital, that is, knowledge, skills or expertise in the subject matters.
[87] Institutional habitus is arguably less dynamic than the habitus of an academic.
[88] Again, symbolic capital is "symbolic properties which are affixed upon them [social agents] through a relationship with subjects capable of perceiving and evaluating them and which demand to be grasped according to their specific logic" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 2013, p. 293).

Following these lines of argument and with reference to the first question of this study, my data show that academics' assessment practices are mutually informed by their habitus (their assessment habitus), their capital (especially their assessment capital and cultural capital in general), and institutional expectations depicting institutional habitus and symbolic capital. These three factors work together in a constructive fashion where academics' assessment habitus and assessment capital inform assessment practices in accordance with the institutional habitus and symbolic capital, regardless of the country or institution. However, academics encounter various constraints within their own context. Most significantly, the habitus of an academic is formed in relation to the current institutional habitus where it also contributes to structuring the institutional habitus; therefore, there is no domination of the one over the other but instead a mutually informing dialectic.

In the Indonesian context, my data show that academics' assessment habitus and assessment capital, which have mostly been ingrained during past educational experiences, are constrained by the stronger institutional habitus and institutional capital deciphered in regulations and accreditation aspirations of their universities. In other words, the institutional habitus and capital are so strong that they compel academics to assess the students in particular ways. Interestingly, within the younger institution, the institutional habitus is more dynamic and fluid in that all the academics contribute collegially to the development of their institutional habitus as well as institutional capital. As a less established institution, the habitus of continuous learning is shared among the members, leaders, academics and students, and acts as a driving force for all of them to work collaboratively. As a result, they aspire to developing their institutional habitus and capital with their own uniqueness perceived as distinctions. At the same time, they inculcate an institutional habitus of constant learning and improvement (Ingram 2009; Mills 2013).

On the other hand, within the older, more established institution that possesses higher symbolic capital, the institutional habitus is quite strong thus leaving little space for the voices of the academics (especially the younger ones) to contribute significantly to the development of institutional habitus. As pedigrees or purebloods, their assessment practices are greatly constrained by the institutional habitus, consecrated during their past education and during their junior tenure as academics in the institution (Bourdieu 1988a, 2004). More importantly, the academics' assessment capital as a key instrument in their assessment practices has been inculcated and embodied within the same institution (Mills

2013; Bourdieu 1988a), with additional elements accumulated during their overseas study for some academics.

Within the Australian context, it is evident in my data that the academics' assessment practices are predominantly informed by their assessment habitus and assessment capital as long as they are in line with the institutional expectations mostly deciphered in assessment policies and regulations. This supports my perception that Australian academics possess more power than the Indonesians when dealing with the institutional habitus and capital of the university pertaining to assessment. Their assessment habitus and assessment capital inculcated during their past education and professional experiences are continuously augmented through individual professional development regarding teaching and assessment (Bathmaker, Ingram & Waller 2013), as Lily stated for instance. Additionally, formal and informal discussions with colleagues are perceived by the academics as a means to augment their assessment capital and habitus.

When comparing the older, established and the younger, less established institutions, this study found that there is a sense of collegiality and thus frequent communication and discussions among the academics in regard to their professional responsibilities as an academic, including assessment, in the less established university. This lends itself to the development of their assessment habitus and assessment capital through collegial discussions in addition to individual endeavour. To a great extent, this means of communication can nourish and augment the academics' assessment habitus, their assessment capital as well as the institutional habitus. Meanwhile, perceived as "a respectable member of the elite" (Bourdieu 1988a, p. 58), the academics in the established university appear to have limited time for collegial discussions regarding academic and professional life. Thus understood, their perceived high cultural capital (including assessment capital) constrains the academics in sharing among themselves; they tend to prefer to turn to a resource person outside the institution for their expertise. Regrettably, my study did not reveal other kinds of communication among the academics.

With regards to the second question, *How are the concepts of assessment of/for/as learning reflected in Indonesian and Australian academics' practices of assessment?*, data from this study suggest that the participating academics are all aware of and understand the three concepts. Nevertheless, they are more familiar with the terms *summative* and *formative* assessment, terms preferred by many authors such as Sadler (1989, 1998), Black (2015) and William (2010). I do not oppose the summative/formative terminology, except that my preferred terms assessment of/for/as learning (AoL, AfL, AaL) attempt to expand

formative assessment into AfL and AaL, while AoL still equates to summative assessment. In essence, the three approaches, AoL, AfL and AaL, are reflected empirically in the actual assessment practices by the academics with different interpretations.

In Australia, the academics have practised AoL in terms of *tests or examinations*, predominantly at the end of the course, at the end of the semester or at the end of a certain content or topic. The objective is to examine *students' achievement* of the contents of the course as well as to grade the students based on the 'criteria' that the academics have set (and shared with the students) (ARG 2006; Earl & Katz 2006; Sadler 2005). The academics prefer written tests or examinations (to be answered on the spot or taken home) as well as oral presentations and final essays. Similarly, the Indonesian academics set AoL at least twice during a course, namely mid-semester and end-of-semester examinations. These practices are in accordance with the institutional expectations (or institutional habitus). The academics suggest that AoL is appropriate to know the point/level of students' learning and then judge it in the form of grades (Harlen 2007). In terms of weighting, the end-of-semester exam commonly carries more weight than the mid-semester exam for varied reasons. With regards to techniques, the academics use various assessment methods including multiple-choice tests, short answer written tests, open-ended questions, essays (short, longer) and even performances. Again, the term *summative* assessment is more familiar to the academics than AoL.

The practices of AfL by the academics in both countries are empirically evident in their use of multiple components of assessment in addition to examinations and tests, such as participation, assignments, or classroom attendance. By setting *multiple assignments* or tasks, they see AfL as an ongoing process of developing students' understanding of the content of the course. In addition, and most significantly in AfL, the academics offer *feedback* to the students, as a means of communicating where the students are in their learning. By giving feedback, the academics help the students understand their own learning and where to go from there towards their learning goals (Birenbaum et al. 2015; Sadler 1989, 1998; Wiliam 2011), which are generally set by the academics and shared at the beginning of the semester. In regard to the methods, the academics offer feedback through written comments and corrections on the students' works. Discussions about general feedback are also practised in front of the class based on the students' work when applicable, including feedback on group or individual presentations. Often, the feedback is detailed and extensive for the sake of easy understanding by the students. Australian and

Indonesian academics differ in terms of the detail in their feedback due to the fact that Indonesian academics teach many more students than the Australians.

The third concept, AaL, is the least directly addressed by the academics in this study, except by an Australian academic who confidently discussed it in the interview. AaL is essentially assessment which can encourage or develop students' *own assessment skills* (Dann 2002, 2014) or students' *self-evaluative skills and knowledge* (Sadler 1989, 2010). Inspired by Bourdieu, I understand AaL as assessment that functions as a means of augmenting *assessment capital*, as a part of (embodied) cultural capital, which thus can be accumulated over time. A great number of the academics in this study have evidently understood AaL as assessment that helps students realise and consolidate the links between the course and the real world, namely learning to solve actual social problems with the expertise (cultural capital) from the course instead of just developing self-evaluative skills (assessment capital), as advocated in this thesis. Interestingly, one Indonesian academic's innovative assessment through drama performances in order to develop students' capacity to work in a team and to resemble life skills needed in show business actualises the concept of developing students' evaluative skills on their performance. Despite the fact that it is implicit, developing real life skills through projects and their assessment is an initial step towards AaL. In Indonesian context, it is highly relevant with the instilment of character values in education which is advocated through assessment.

Referring to the third question, *How are assessment capital and assessment habitus negotiated in Indonesian and Australian academics' practices of assessment?*, it is evident in the data that the validation process is dialectical. In essence, the academics' assessment practices serve to substantiate and also enhance their assessment capital as well as their assessment habitus. On the one hand, by offering different types of assessment, the academics are exercising and consecrating (Bourdieu 1988a) assessment habitus both at the individual and the institutional level. On the other hand, when dealing with various challenges and contextual constraints during assessment, the academics are also accruing their assessment capital. Most of the time, the academics' assessment habitus and assessment capital are in conformity with the institutional habitus and thus are manifested quite smoothly in assessment practices. At other times, the academics' assessment capital is highly valued and reinforced within the institutional habitus and is thus strongly deciphered in assessment practices. Often though, the institutional habitus and capital are stronger and inform the academics' assessment habitus and assessment practices. The degree to which assessment capital and assessment habitus are validated in the actual

practices of assessment depends largely on the power relations between the individual and the institution. Additionally, the assessment habitus and capital which are tacitly possessed by the academics and institutions have been reinforced and made explicit in their assessment practices through written documents so that everybody can notice the assessment language game in play.

Summing up the results, this study has observed that academics' assessment practices are greatly informed, structured and driven by their assessment habitus and assessment capital in accordance with the institutional habitus and symbolic capital of the university, faculty or department. Within such practices, there are processes of validation, constraint or adaptation of those habitus and capital among the agents involved. The study also confirmed the intertwined relations of the academics' educational philosophy and values inculcated in their assessment habitus and capital as well as institutional habitus manifested in their practices of assessment as suggested in Figure 1 in Chapter 2.

8.2 Future challenges and opportunities

I have attempted to approach academics' assessment practices using Bourdieu's sociological tools to offer a humble contribution to the milieu of assessment studies in HE. My study has advocated the concept of institutional habitus, as an extension of Bourdieu's habitus, and examined how it works in informing academics' assessment practices in the two distinctive countries. I have also suggested the term *assessment capital* and promoted the emerging concept of assessment *as* learning (AaL), which is best applied in HE to refer to the *self-evaluative skills and knowledge* (as embodied cultural capital of assessment) which can be inculcated gradually, accrued over time and exchanged accordingly.

The reader of this thesis may have noted that I have adopted a sociological approach to studying academics' assessment practices. In many studies on assessment, the approach is not sociological and focuses upon performance, often understood quantitively. This means it is more difficult to understand the processes and structures supporting and hindering assessment and its connection with learning. I have deliberately focused upon the academics themselves and the fields in which they interact with each other and with students and institutions.

However, I found that examining assessment practices using Bourdieu's sociology is more suitable methodologically using *ethnography* instead of case studies. Interviews with academics, as the key source of information in this study, did indeed open the door of reflexivity for the participants and me. Still, longer observations of academics' interactions

with their students during assessment practices would be essential to confirm the reflexive interviews and to yield richer information. It goes without saying that habitus (and its layers) is very subtle, and that assessment habitus is always intertwined with other layers of habitus as well as institutional habitus. This kind of inquiry needs more in-depth study that could be more longitudinal in scope, and my comparative design might well be quite ambitious or even distracting, but necessary. Lastly, Bourdieu's sociology rests upon an inequality of power among those involved in education. This has not been at the forefront of my study and future research needs to revisit my work with this in mind.

In Indonesia, a new direction in HE was launched by the new Indonesian Minister of Education and Culture at the beginning of 2020 called *Kampus Merdeka* or freedom campus (Kemdikbud 2020). One of the four key policies is closely related to my study, namely accreditation. Accreditation is a large part of the symbolic capital of an institution (*institutional capital*) in Indonesia; and it works very differently in Australia. Two factors, at least, contribute to this accreditation issue.

First, Indonesia has a huge number of universities (or HE institutions) reaching 3,982 which is very different to Australia with only 43 universities. As a consequence, the highest level of institutional accreditation will lead to very high symbolic institutional capital, which also includes the symbolic capital of the academics. Secondly, the tradition of national accreditation as a competition to gain institutional capital is not encouraged in Australia, perhaps throughout its history of HE, because of the global orientation and emphasis on research and teaching emphasis tendency (Marginson 2004, 2007a, 2007b; Meyers 2012). While both countries have independent bodies that set national standards, namely Badan Akreditasi Nasional Perguruan Tinggi (BAN-PT) in Indonesia and Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA) in Australia, their orientations are different. BAN-PT accreditation is perceived as highly valued symbolic institutional capital in Indonesia, while TEQSA accreditation is a prerequisite and less valued than global rankings in Australia. Thus understood, especially for Indonesia, quality standards of HE should be accelerated towards international criteria, without losing sight of local and national characteristics. For Australia, the challenge would be escaping from the trap of neoliberalism and capitalism in HE; education institutions are not corporations. Thorough research is required to evaluate how different accreditation orientations inform educational practices in universities.

The concept of *assessment capital*, which I humbly proposed in this study, has only been examined from the perspective of academics, while it can also be associated with the

emerging concept of assessment as learning (AaL), which is more linked to students. Conceptualised as self-evaluative skills and knowledge with regards to one's own learning and a part of embodied cultural capital resulting from AaL (and AfL), assessment capital needs to be studied from students' point of view, which was regrettably excluded from this study. Future studies on how AaL is empirically practised in universities and how students inculcate such assessment habitus, accrue assessment capital, and exchange it into positions, recognition or other types of capital are extremely necessary but challenging.

The challenge of measuring assessment capital, perhaps using psychometric assessment, needs to be addressed by future scholars. Issues about how academics' institutionalised assessment capital relates to grades or awards in regard to assessment knowledge and skills or how an individual's embodied assessment capital can be measurable from the courses taken (or taught) by the academics and students, for instance, are feasible topics for further research. In addition and closely related to my second question, a more focused study on how the emerging concept of assessment as learning (AaL), as a complement to AfL, is explicitly articulated and shared by both academics (or teachers in general) and students including its impact on students' learning could contribute significantly to the future of formative assessment.

The current worldwide pandemic of COVID-19 has inevitably impacted upon education in general and HE too. Online teaching and learning have become the new normal life with their own productive powers and constraints. New pedagogy known as connectivism (Siemens 2007) during this disruptive era is characterised by the utilisation of ICTs, online education, student-centred learning, adaptive skills, creative and critical thinking. This needs more research attention, while the ability of HE to augment students' "self-esteem, self-supervision and social skills" (Hartley 2003, p. 87) also requires academic and empirical studies from various scholars. Put in a different way, studies on how new literacies (Street 2014; Weninger 2018) are addressed in HE and assessed appropriately are highly necessary. In this disruptive era, everybody needs to prepare themselves for a continuously changing world. Investigating how HE can contribute significantly to this ideal through developing assessment capital via assessment (AfL and AaL) is a never-ending endeavour for educators.

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Appendix 1: Institutional habitus – meta analysis

Bourdieu suggests that institutions or organisations are social agents, which implies they have organic capabilities, and thus validates the concept of *institutional habitus*. For example, he writes: "the information necessary for statistical analysis is generally attached to individuals or institutions" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 107) or "'private' agents or organizations" (p. 112). Similarly, Maton (2008, p. 51) writes that Bourdieu defines habitus as a property of social agents (whether individuals, groups or institutions) that comprises a "structured and structuring structure". Institutional habitus implies the dynamics and agentive power of habitus in wider societies, in the social field of HE.

Author/s	Reference	How Bourdieu is approached	How habitus is theorised	How institutional habitus is theorised
Reay	1998 '"Always knowing" and "never being sure": familial and institutional habituses and HE choice'	Bourdieu has created tools to play with and adapt.	How the social world is in the body and how the body is in the social world	"institutional influences, advice, support, certainty, uncertainty and degrees of exclusion" of the school, which validate students' choices for (their future) HE (p. 528).
Atkinson	2011 'From sociological fictions to social fictions: some Bourdieusian reflections on the concepts of	Do not lose sight of his wording	The agent's action-generating predispositions and schemes of perception based on a tacit	'Doxa' is preferred instead of institutional habitus. "Only individuals possess those traits and capacities. Ultimately this is because the habitus and all its components (dispositions,

	"institutional habitus" and "family habitus"'		anticipation of objective probability	schemes of perception) are necessarily corporeal or, to put it in broader terms, organic" (p. 337).
Burke, Emmerich, and Ingram	2013 'Well-founded social fictions: a defence of the concepts of institutional and familial habitus'	Bourdieu's habitus is sufficiently flexible to include individual and collective concepts.	The nature of habitus as the principle of production of practices that are "collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of the conductor".	"… [the] collective notions go beyond individualist accounts that perceive only the relational aspects of the individual with the social field" (p. 165). "… collective practices of groups of individuals rather than individuals per se" (p. 166).
Tarabini, Curran and Fontdevila	2017 'Institutional habitus in context: implementation, development and impacts in two compulsory secondary schools in Barcelona'	Bourdieu's concept is an inspiration to be appropriated.	objective structural conditions produce particular schemes of perception, appreciation and action … (now embedded within an institutional realm)	"as a heuristic and socio-analytical tool for the analysis of school culture. First, institutional habitus involves the incorporation of the social composition of schools as an intrinsic element to understand their practices, regulations and forms of organization. Second, it goes beyond the perceptions and actions of teachers on an individual level by introducing an analysis of school culture from a collective perspective. Third, the concept entails going beyond organizational practices of schools per se, incorporating cultural and expressive

				elements into the analysis of the daily life of schools" (p. 2).
Çelik	2017 'Institutional habitus and educational achievement: a comparative case study in Germany and Turkey' 2018 'Social class, institutional habitus and high school choices in Turkey'	Bourdieu's concept of habitus applies as a grand theory of dispositions	Students' habitus is predominantly formed and developed in the family and schools, representing class habitus Habitus 'as the systematic choices' (2018, p. 126)	"refers to educational status, organizational practices and expressive order, expectations, conduct, character, and manners" of the school (2017, p. 12).
Stahl	2018 'Ethnography of a neoliberal school'	Bourdieu has created tools to play with and adapt.	Rather than considering each school as having predispositions, taken-for-granted expectations and schemes of perception – or the "mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation, and action" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992. p. 16) – my interest is in the collective habitus of people who populate the institution.	"Institutional culture, institutional practice, institutional strategies, school effects: to capture how discourse structures a collective spirit which, in turn, structures the model of schooling" (pp. 4, 6, 8, 16).

Byrd	2019 ‘Uncovering hegemony in higher education: a critical appraisal of the use of “institutional habitus” in empirical scholarship’	A conceptual extension of Bourdieu’s theory of practice	Habitus helps to link social power relations to individual decisions, experiences, and practices within education	“I define institutional habitus as an institution’s values, common sense, beliefs, behaviors, and taken-for-granted positions as situated within historical and contemporary social relations” (p. 194).
This study	2020 ‘Habitus and capital in play: practices of assessment in English studies in Indonesian and Australian higher education’	Bourdieu’s habitus is essentially applicable to social reality (whether an agent or an institution: Bourdieu 1988b, p. 776)	An agent’s tacit system of action (perceptions, appreciations and behaviours) is structured within a social field or social space.	Institutional habitus is school or university culture, values or dispositions; which is institutionalised in policy documents (visions, missions, objectives) and embodied in individuals (leaders, academics, students)

Appendix 2: List of guiding questions/interview prompts

A. Background profile

1. How long have you been teaching in the faculty?
2. Tell me how you started teaching in this faculty? Were you recruited or did you apply?
3. Tell me about your family background
4. Tell about your cultural environment where you lived or live in.
5. Tell me about your education background.
6. What do you think about your job and position in the faculty?

B. Structured academic habitus and capital

1. How did you choose being educator among other careers?
2. How did your teachers/role models inspire you in your current assessment?
3. What beliefs did you have about assessment when you were a learner/in university?
4. What beliefs did you have about assessment when you were a beginning lecturer/educator?
5. Which experiences in your past inspire you in your current assessment?
6. How does your previous education relate to your current assessment practice?

C. Structuring academic habitus and capital

1. Tell me about your duties in this faculty.
2. Tell me about your experience of doing assessment in the beginning of your career in the faculty.
3. Tell me about your students in the faculty.
4. Tell me about your colleagues in the faculty.
5. Tell me about your connection with your colleague educators in your department/school.
6. Tell me about your connection with your colleague educators in your faculty.
7. Tell me about your connection with your colleague educators in other faculties.
8. Tell me about assessment policies and practices in your university.
9. Tell me about literature of assessment you have accessed/read.

10. How does literature affect your past and current assessment?
11. Tell me about assessment in your country in general.
12. Tell me about your university's concerns about assessment.
13. Tell me about the professional development that you are doing may affect your assessment.
14. Is there any assistance/ support available for you?
15. How do you reflect upon your experience of doing assessment for your students?

Appendix 3: Pedagogy, andragogy and heutagogy

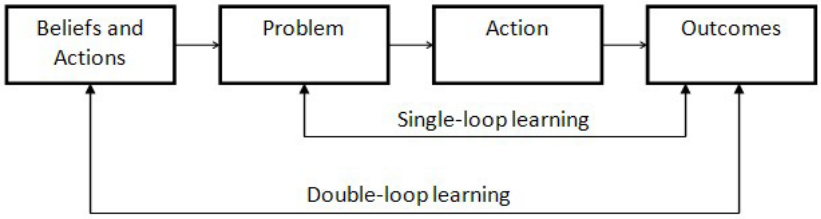
Table A.1: Comparing andragogy to pedagogy (Halupa 2015)

Concept	Pedagogy	Andragogy
Role of Learner	Dependent	Self-Directed
Role of Faculty Member	Delivers knowledge	Facilitates Knowledge
Experiential	No	Yes
Primary Activities	Lecture-Based; Objective Testing	Experiential Strategies: group work, case studies, simulations, field experience; varied types of testing
Readiness	Are told when they are ready	Decide what additional knowledge is needed
Sequencing	Step-by-step uniform progression	Based on learner skills and readiness
Learning	Facts which will only be useful later on	Process-oriented for future potential
Curriculum	Simple to Complex	Competency-based or categorical
Age Group	All age groups; but primarily K-12	Higher education (although concepts can be applicable to K-12)
Motivation	External	Internal
Knowledge	Done without question	Must understand why it is important
Readiness to Learn	What is required	When content is relevant
Focus	Subject-centered	Life-centered

Table A.2: A continuum from andragogy to heutagogy (Blaschke 2012, p. 61)

Andragogy (Self-directed)	▶	**Heutagogy (Self-determined)**
Single-loop learning	▶	Double-loop learning
Competency development	▶	Capability development
Linear design and learning approach	▶	Non-linear design and learning approach
Instructor-learner directed	▶	Learner-directed
Getting students to learn (content)	▶	Getting students to understand how they learn (process)

Figure A.2: Single-loop and double-loop learning (Blaschke 2012, p. 59)



Appendix 4: List of documents analysed

Australia	Indonesia
Flinders University 2017a, *Flinders University timeline*, Flinders University, <https://www.flinders.edu.au/about/history/flinders-timeline>.	Sastra Inggris UGM 2017, *Academic guide English Studies Program, Gadjah Mada University*, English Studies Program, Yogyakarta.
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Course outlines or course descriptions by the academics.

Appendix 5: Ethics approval

