EVERYDAY LANGUAGE PRACTICES OF REFUGEE BACKGROUND YOUTH IN NEW ZEALAND

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Abstract

This article reports on findings from an ethnographic study with six young refugee background learners from Syria resettling in New Zealand. The focus is on their everyday language practices and making sense of what they do in relation to learning English, and why they do it. Bourdieu's (1991) theory of practice is the main theoretical lens used to focus on how learners reposition themselves and are positioned (habitus) within their local school, New Zealand society and transnational online world (field) as well as the importance of different resources (capital) in their language practices. Photo-voice was utilised as a key method to elicit participants' voices as well as to capture their everyday language practices. There are three main findings that relate to language learning that emerge: 1) the role of 'doxa', 2) the field that includes the social structure, particularly the gendered norms and expectations, and 3) the role of capital and more "durable" social position that influence participants' language learning and resettlement experiences. I conclude by noting how the narratives and photo images from participants illustrate the complexity involved in language learning and learners' motivation/investment and signal the importance of individual narratives to understand language learning alongside wider social processes.

Keywords: motivation, investment, refugee learners, resettlement experiences, language practices, photo-voice, multimodal narratives

Introduction

The social turn in SLA (Second Language Acquisition) has led to a multiplicity of socially and contextually grounded theoretical frameworks, shifting the focus from the individual to the setting and its associated activities. Within these approaches a language learner's motivation is understood to be individually as well as socially constructed as each learner is situated in a specific community where certain norms and values are shared by other members of the community (Williams & Burden, 1997). Ushioda (1996), for example, has argued that a learner's motivation can be shaped and reshaped by their unique social history that includes various learning experiences with other people (e.g., peers or teachers) in social environments. Dörnyei (2005; 2009) has similarly suggested that language learners visualise their future images and these images influence how they shape their current motivation and how they position themselves as language learners.

While these socially oriented studies have made important conceptual contributions to motivation theories, Norton-Peirce (1995) provides more critical insight into some of the social dimensions of language and motivation, which tend to underplay the significance of power relations in the social settings. With this post-structuralist viewpoint on motivation Norton-Peirce (1995) advocates for the use of 'investment' as an alternative way of rethinking the concept of 'motivation'. Investment incorporates concepts from sociology such as 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1977; 1990) and 'subjectivity' (Weedon, 1987), into the study of motivation (Norton-Peirce, 1995). The emphasis on cultural capital and subjectivity helps to recognise the uneven power relations and a language learner's position in relation to their own language learning. This focus has been elaborated in Norton-Peirce's (1995) research into how migrant females invest in English as cultural capital as a means to enter mainstream Canadian society and to achieve success in Canada. Central to Norton-Peirce's work is the claim that despite their high motivation, all participants' accounts revealed difficulties in engaging with target language speakers and the need to constantly negotiate identity in relation to target language speakers and mainstream Canadian society. Thus, she argued that an individual language learner's identity is in constant flux, changeable, and fluid according to the contexts he or she is engaged in. This paper also deploys Bourdieu's (1991) theory of practice as a useful overarching theoretical framework to capture the above key points of socially grounded motivation theories and provides further insight into a number of important underlying aspects of the concept of investment.

Why habitus? Not investment?

> [The] concept of habitus, field, and capital, for instance, constitute what is arguably the most significant and successful attempt to make sense of the relationship between objective social structures (institutions, discourses, fields, ideologies) and **everyday practices (*what people do, and why they do it*). [Emphasis added]**
>
> (Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002, p. 1).

As the above quotation suggests, Bourdieu's (1991) theory of practice is an important addition to understanding motivation/investment in terms of addressing "why people [language learners] think and behave as they do" (Dörnyei, 2001, p. 1). Bourdieu's theory includes three key elements – field, capital, and habitus – to explain identity and motivation and how they influence individual actions and choices. Field is the arena where an individual mediates her position while interacting with other individuals in the field. An example of field for language learners is the context where language learning takes place – it doesn't only account for classroom or school environment but also includes non-classroom environments such as home, work, and migrant communities (e.g., Norton-Peirce, 1995) and even online communities (e.g., Darvin & Norton, 2015). Additionally, it should be noted that a field cannot exist independently but rather overlaps with other micro and macro fields, which include various social structures such as class, ethnicity, gender, language, religion,

institutions, and ideologies, thus, complex power relations (Bourdieu, 1991). Capital refers to the different economic, social, cultural, and symbolic assets individuals possess – we could understand these as the resources people have in society, and these four types of capital can be converted from one to another. For example, the female participants in Norton-Peirce's study (1995) were trying to attain cultural capital (i.e. learning English) so they could potentially convert this cultural capital to economic, social, symbolic and linguistic capital in Canadian society (i.e. to enter mainstream Canadian society and to achieve success in Canada). Bourdieu (1990) defined habitus as "a system of cognitive and motivating structures" (p. 53) and "the product of the embodiment of immanent necessity of a field" (p. 54); in other words, individuals are always situated in a certain social world where it is necessary for them to share cultural knowledge, norms and desires (i.e. what is desirable/undesirable or acceptable/unacceptable). Thus, individuals' choices and actions are subject to cognitive and behavioural dispositions that have been developed through social experiences. In this regard, habitus shapes the interactions learners have with others, language choices that are made, and the language performed between individuals, which reveals the relations of power in these interactions (e.g., teacher and student, native English speakers and non-native English speakers). Bourdieu (1991) argued that an individual's habitus, capital, and field don't only interact with each other but also influence other individuals' habitus, capital, and field.

Like the investment concept promoted by Norton-Pierce (1995), habitus is closely related to social identity and power relations and embodied through social history (Menard-Warwick, 2005a). However, there are clear differences between Norton-Pierce's (1995) and Bourdieu's (1990) ways of viewing identity (habitus). The model of Investment (Norton-Pierce, 1995) has little theoretical engagement with the preconscious or unconscious level of embodied dispositions that influence actions and practices. Norton-Pierce (1995) argued that a language learner invests in language learning for the "perceived benefits" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 42). This suggests that language learners are clearly aware of the social structures around them and can manipulate their positions within these social structures to achieve certain outcomes, hence, they 'invest' in language learning. By contrast, Bourdieu's (1990) notion of habitus places emphasis on the interrelationship between individual actions and social structures. In this regard, Bourdieu (1990) paid a great deal of attention to 'doxa'. He argued that an individual is situated in a particular socio-cultural context where a set of structures such as values and discourses are articulated as 'the truth' or 'necessary' – doxa. He further explained that doxa is never questioned and individuals internalise or accept doxa unconsciously as part of their habitus. These sets of structures often favour a particular social layout and benefit the dominant group (e.g. native speakers vs. second language learners).

For example, Lin (1999) investigated the motivation of four different socio-economic groups of language learners in Hong Kong drawing on the notion of habitus and capital (Bourdieu, 1990). In this research she found that although all learners were aware that English competency was essential to succeed in Hong Kong there was variation in students' orientation to learning. Working class students (those with blue

collar parents, or from public housing estates or industrial areas) tended to feel 'threatened' by the necessity of learning English and showed less engagement in language practices, while middle-class and elite background students (with wealthy and educated professional parents) tended to already possess higher English competence and actively engaged in the linguistic practices of the classroom environment. These results demonstrate that reactions to language learning and linguistic practices can be derived beyond conscious choices.

Whereas the post-structuralist' view of Norton-Pierce (1995) emphasised the moment by moment construction of identity – more flux, changeable, and fluid – in different discourses, Bourdieu's (1990) habitus emphasised the more "durable" and consistent social identity (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 133). Bourdieu (1990) claimed that as habitus is embodied through socio-cultural experiences, it reflects social identity and embodied social structures such as gender, ethnicity, and class. Consequently, habitus is also closely related to various forms of capital: economic (e.g., financial assets), cultural (e.g., education), and social (e.g., family and friends). This means that an individual is (re)positioned in a certain way in a specific society but we should not disregard the fact that one is also (re)positioned by the structure and by other agents in society.

Paying attention to habitus and various forms of capital provides a different account of the key claims made by Norton-Pierce (1995). For example, in Norton-Pierce's study (1995), one participant, Martina, identifies as an immigrant, a mother, a language learner, a worker, and a wife. While for Norton-Pierce (1995) these are forms of multiple and flexible identities we need to recognise that they are constructed by both Martina and the social structures involved in Martina's social history. Martina is constantly (re)positioning and (re)positioned, in the origin country, the new migrant society, the home environment, in the language classroom and school, the workplace and any other social contexts within which she associates with other agents. Bourdieu further argues that habitus "is durable but not eternal!" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 133) as it can be transformed with new social experiences and education. However, he noted that such change is "never radical because it works on the basis of the premises established in the previous state" (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 161). Bourdieu's (1990) habitus focuses on individuals' consistent identity, which wasn't discussed in Norton-Pierce's study (1995).

The present study

The primary aim of this paper is to understand settlement experiences of refugee background learners in New Zealand with a particular focus on their everyday language learning and make a sense of "what they do, and why they do it" (Webb et al., 2002, p. 1) by drawing on Bourdieu's (1991) theory of practice. In other words, the key question of this research is "How do these refugee background youth engage in day-to-day language learning?". In particular, the concepts of capital, habitus and field are explored to highlight the interconnection between everyday language

practices and sociocultural experiences in the early period of resettlement in New Zealand. By doing this, the study also aims to make important contributions both to identifying the learning needs and challenges of refugee background learners in their everyday language learning in New Zealand and conceptualising the connections between social context and second language learning.

Research context and methodology

Refugees and language learning

Despite the increasing number of refugees internationally and the obvious importance of language learning for the resettlement of refugees, very few studies have focused on the needs of refugee background learners relating to language learning in SLA (Nelson & Appleby, 2015). In SLA, Menard-Warwick's study (2005b) has revealed the adversity that is experienced by learners from refugee backgrounds. In that study of a refugee learner from Guatemala in the USA, little education (three years of formal education in Guatemala) and few financial resources in her social history constrained this learner's English learning journey. Although she had motivation to learn English in order to provide a better life for her son she was more concerned with getting an immediate full-time job rather than continuing her English education. De Costa's (2010) ethnographic case study explored a language learning trajectory of Vue Lang, a male learner from Hmong refugee background, in America in terms of habitus, capital, and field (Bourdieu, 1991). De Costa (2010) argued that the habitus of Vue Lang, a language learner with Hmong refugee background, also needs to be understood in relation to the patriarchal Hmong culture – as a husband, father, and son, he was under pressure to support his family and to be responsible for learning English. Ishii (2017) has also investigated learning journey and agency of George, a male learner with Iranian refugee background in New Zealand. In this study, Ishii (2017) pointed out that regardless of George's effort to learn English, his day-to-day interactions with other people in New Zealand society served as 'gatekeeping' experiences that marginalised him and limited his access to linguistic, cultural and social recourses in New Zealand.

Refugee settlement in New Zealand

In New Zealand, refugees are classified into three groups: 1) Quota Refugees – individuals referred by UNHCR (1000 annually); 2) Convention Refugees – people who claim asylum upon arrival in New Zealand (200-500 annually); and 3) Family Reunion Refugees – those sponsored by family members to settle in New Zealand (300 annually) (New Zealand Immigration, 2018). Between 2003 and 2013, the five main origin countries of quota refugees in New Zealand were Myanmar (28.7%), Afghanistan (16.3%), Bhutan (10.9%), Iraq (10%), and Colombia (5.4%); (New Zealand Immigration, 2013). With the on-going Syrian refugee crisis appearing worldwide in 2015, the New Zealand government agreed to take more Syrian refugees, increasing the number of quota refugees from 750 to 1000 from July 2018, with plans now established to increase to 1500 refugees annually by July 2020 (New

Zealand Immigration, 2018). As Figure 1 shows, since 2015 the number of Syrian refugees received annually has increased more than three times and they have now become the largest refugee group in New Zealand (New Zealand Immigration, 2019).

Participants

Prior to and throughout data collection for this research, I have undertaken volunteer work with the New Zealand Red Cross Refugee Pathways to Settlement Programme, a period of more than four years. A total of six participants, two males and four females, between the ages of 12 and 24 were recruited through a 'snowball' approach. Two female participants in this study, Amal and Fatimah (all names are pseudonyms), are from the families I have supported through the Settlement Programme. Amal and Fatimah and their family members introduced me to the remaining participants and their families. All the participants are of Palestinian heritage, were born in Iraq and their last country of asylum was Syria prior to coming to New Zealand. They were all attending local schools in New Zealand. At the beginning of the data collection, Amal and Fatimah had been in New Zealand about two years and the four other participants had been in New Zealand for five months. Table 2 provides brief background information about each participant in this study.

Table 1. Refugee quota arrivals by nationality and financial year (New Zealand immigration, 2019)

Nationality	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18
Afghanistan	157	143	123	114
Bhutan	96	31	60	18
Colombia	76	99	139	159
D R of Congo	-	-	-	12
Ecuador	12	7	12	20
Egypt	6	-	-	-
Eritrea	-	7	-	-
Ethiopia	-	-	-	5
Iran	-	-	19	40
Iraq	44	19	23	8
Myanmar	159	217	187	177
Nepal	9	-	6	-
Pakistan	-	-	39	44
Palestine	31	26	59	73
Somalia	27	13	12	9
Sri Lanka	35	24	27	7
South Sudan	-	-	-	9
Syria	83	252	302	307
Vietnam	-	16	-	-
Others	21	22	9	18
Totals	756	876	1017	1020

Ethical and health considerations

A number of procedures were put in place in order to protect refugee background youth in this research. Firstly, before the data collection, the participants and their

guardians (for those under 16 years old) were given full written and oral information on this research in Arabic. A psychologist at Refugees as Survivors New Zealand (RASNZ) was also consulted for information on relevant issues in refugee resettlement in Auckland; RASNZ also offered to provide support where appropriate during my research if needed.

Ethnography

This nine-month study employs an ethnographic approach to collecting data. I have gathered a range of qualitative data that includes interviews, photo-voice (Wang & Burris, 1994), and research notes to enhance insights generated through "deep hanging out" (Heigham & Sakui, 2009, p. 92) with the participants and their immediate and extended families in Auckland. During the data collection, I met participants and their families regularly and assisted them as a Red Cross volunteer worker (e.g., accompanied them to Work and Income, school and health appointments). I was also invited to many of their social gatherings, including regular 'women's gatherings' which include all the women in the family including aunties, cousins, and sometimes friends (men were not allowed). In this ethnography, my position as a Red Cross volunteer for refugee resettlement, a migrant in New Zealand, and a mother with a young child, was crucial. These positions helped me to be 'not a complete outsider nor observer' (Kearns, 2010) when I interacted with participants and allowed me to participate more meaningfully in participants' life and community as well as to build 'trust' with the participants.

Table 2. Participants' profiles

Learner (pseudonyms)	Gender	Age	Origin country	First country of asylum	Second country of asylum	Time in NZ (months)
Amal	Female	14	Iraq (5 yrs)	Yemen (2 yrs)	Syria (5 yrs)	24
Fatimah	Female	24	Iraq (20 yrs)	Syria (2 yrs)		24
Sami	Male	12	Iraq (1 month)	Syria (12 yrs)		5
Rami	Male	18	Iraq (5 yrs)	Syria (12 yrs)		5
Sarah	Female	20	Iraq (7 yrs)	Syria (12 yrs)		5
Noura	Female	14	Iraq (1 yr)	Syria (12 yrs)		5

Photo-voice

I utilised a method called photo-voice (Wang & Burris, 1994), as a way for participants to reflect on their language learning, rationales for learning English, and life in New Zealand. All participants were given an iPod touch with an instant

message application called 'Viber' pre-installed. The participants' photo-voice in this study involves 1) participants taking photos in their everyday lives and sending the photos with some written text to me through the Viber application, and 2) monthly storytelling interviews based on the photos that were sent to me. Figure 1 shows an example of the kind of message, which was sent by a participant.

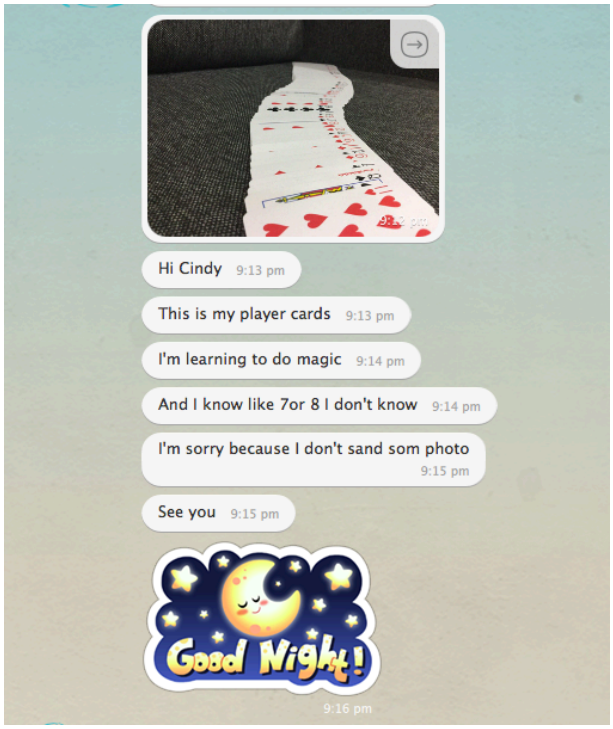

Figure 1. An example of the messages sent by a participant

Data analysis

Over 60 hours of monthly story-telling interviews and nearly 1000 photo images were gathered from participants. All data was saved and analysed utilising NVivo 11 software. The oral and written data from photo-voice was initially analysed using open coding, which allows emergent themes to be identified from the data (bottom-up) (Glaser, 1978). Some themes were informed by insights from socially grounded motivation theories (Dörnyei, 2005; 2009; Ushioda, 1996; Williams & Burden, 1997). The photo images were analysed using visual content analysis outlined by Rose (2001). For example, I initially coded the data according to the sub-themes that arose from data (e.g., Muslim or Arabic speaking friends at school). Then I grouped these themes under the bigger themes (e.g., social networks at school). Then I looked at the bigger themes across the participants and sought to identify similarities or differences. I use this data to varying degrees in this paper focusing on the primary aim of this research. I used the data in this paper not to generalise across the participants or across the refugee background youth more widely, but rather to provide indicative examples for exploring the various aspects of refugee background learner's experiences of language learning in New Zealand.

Findings and discussion

The role of 'doxa' in language learning

Bourdieu (1991) has pointed out the critical role of 'doxa', the unconscious level of embodied dispositions, in influencing an individual's everyday actions and choices. Doxa is also closely related to habitus because it indicates the possibility for gradual, but never radical, change in habitus and social positions. This insight was evident in this research in terms of the way in which participants related to or thought about language learning. Like the participants in Lin's study (1999), all of the participants were aware of the value of learning English and its potential benefits – more opportunities in New Zealand society in the future – a view also emphasised by their parents. However, many participants put limited effort into English learning other than completing homework from school. This extract from Sami after his parent and teacher interview on his learning progress at school provided an indicative example of the attitudes towards learning, manifested in the interviews with many of the participants.

> RESEARCHER: What did the teacher say about your learning?
> SAMI: Yeah Maths yeah. But in a, what's name? Yeah the reading nah.
> RESEARCHER: Your reading is not very good?
> SAMI: Nah.
> RESEARCHER: You need some more practice?
> SAMI: Yeah. Little bit.
> RESEARCHER: I have some English books you can read. Do you want them? Do you have English books?
> SAMI: Yeah but doesn't read.
> RESEARCHER: You don't want to read?
> SAMI: Nah I don't like it (laugh). My mum say everyday go read go. (.) But I don't like it.
> RESEARCHER: Oh, you don't like it. (laugh) OK. I see.

Participants' everyday language practices as evident in photo-voice images also demonstrated that they had little opportunity to use or learn English. Throughout the nine months of research, especially in the early stage of data collection, many participants spent a lot of their time with people within their own community where they usually spoke Arabic and where there was a little opportunity to use or learn English. The montage images from all participants in Figure 2 provide some examples of these everyday experiences that were quite common across the participants. As illustrated in Figure 2, the participants spent their time with their immediate family, extended family, Muslim Arabic speaking friends at school, peer groups from their community, extended Muslim community in Auckland and Arabic-speaking friends and relatives both inside and outside of New Zealand (including online practices).

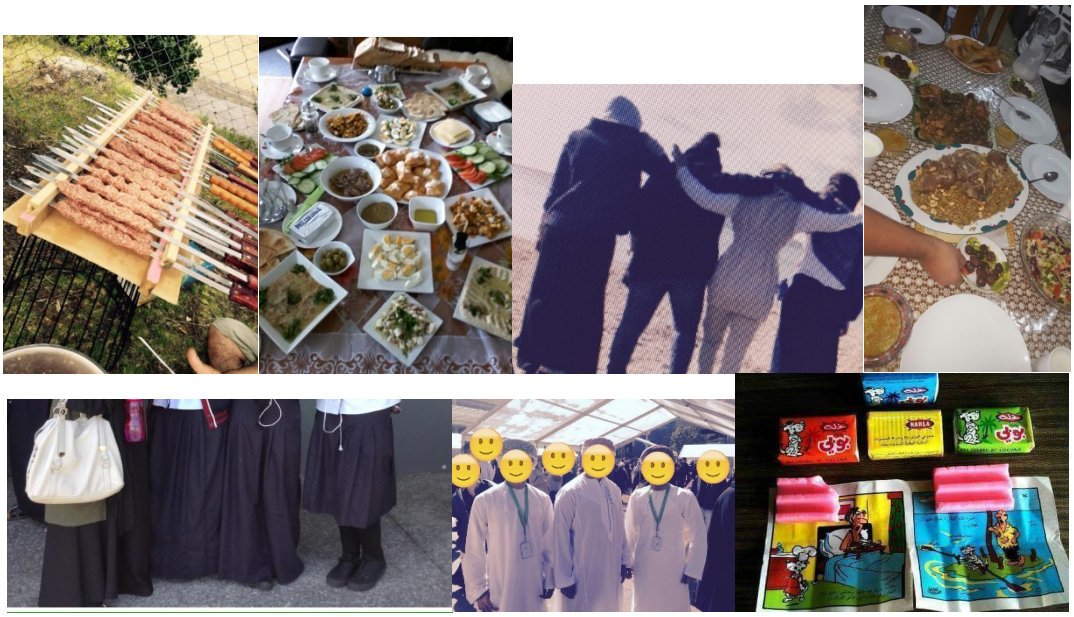

Figure 2. Montage based on photos from all participants

These photo images not only show aspects of participants' cultural and social capital in New Zealand but also reflect participants' doxa – the 'preconscious' or 'unconscious' level of habitus that was discussed by Bourdieu (1990). Although these participants' fields have been significantly changed in their move from Syria to New Zealand, most participants are habitually doing what they have always been doing – meeting their own community people, speaking Arabic, cooking and eating Arabic food. These photo images include shish kebab, hummus, hijab, dolma (stuffed vine leaves), abaya (Arabic female full cloak that covers the whole body), thawb (ankle-length garment for men), taqiyah (Muslim prayer skullcap for men), and the Arabic language, all reproductions of cultural capital from early life experiences and traditions brought to New Zealand. Spending a lot of time with people within their own community reflects internalised elements of habitus and activities with people from their community. This in turn reflects who they are and how they establish their immediate position in a new field.

Although associating with people within their own community seems to be a lower priority for English learning for these participants, their wellbeing in New Zealand seems to be enhanced through this interaction. Amal's story is a good example of this. After school or on weekends, Amal usually spends a lot of time socialising with her cousins, extended family and friends. One of Amal's regular social gatherings is with her female cousins, aged between 14 and 20. They have been in New Zealand for six years and been educated through local schools – many of them can communicate in English quite fluently. Some of her friends are still wearing hijabs but some of them are not. When they get together they speak Arabic but they do a lot of activities that were not part of Amal's life prior to coming to New Zealand. These activities are quite common among local New Zealand girls. These activities include going to movies, playing games, having parties, going to amusement parks, picnics, shopping, swimming, skating, cycling, using Facebook and eating out at fast-food

restaurants as seen in the following photo images taken and edited (using Retrica Application) by Amal (Figure 3).

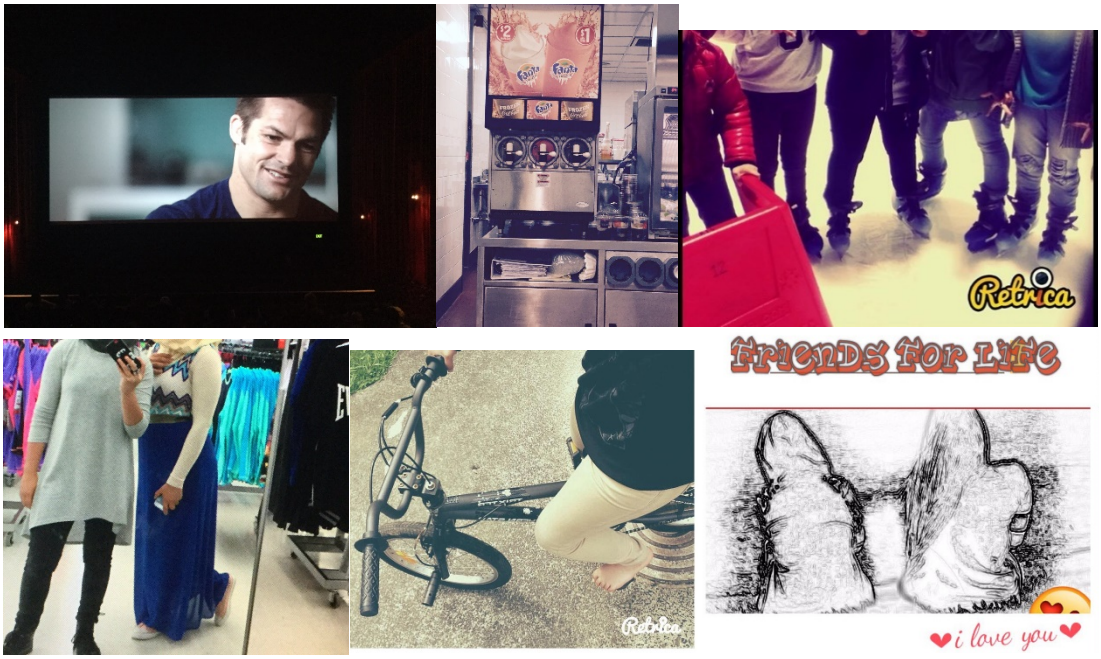

Figure 3. Photo images by Amal

As these photo images show, Amal's social life has helped her to be exposed to local teen culture and settle as a teenage girl in New Zealand society. These activities may not be particularly special for local teenagers in New Zealand but they do have the potential to expand Amal's field of practice and to provide opportunities for an incremental change of habitus. These activities also have potential to create opportunities for Amal to learn language. By contrast, for other female participants, these opportunities appeared to be more restricted. For example, Noura and Sarah were forbidden to go to movie theatres without parents or other family adults. Their parents insisted that going to movie theatres is "bad", and even if they have friends who are doing so they were not permitted to engage in these activities in the same ways as their friends. This certainly had an impact on the kinds of interactions that these learners can have and their exposure to broader New Zealand society. Unlike Amal, Noura and Sarah are more oriented around the particular sorts of norms and values that their family support in their everyday lives. This example shows that the opportunities for different sorts of language practices vary between individuals depending on cultural capital and more or less durable habitus.

The field and language learning

Bourdieu (1991) has argued that a field includes various social structures such as class, ethnicity, gender, language, religion, institutions, and ideologies and, thus, is involved in an individual's habitus. In this regard, De Costa (2010) argued that gendered norms and expectations in relation to a certain social setting play an important role in an individual's habitus and language learning. A second finding in

this paper also relates to the way the social structure influences how participants of different gender learn English. In this study, participants' particular gendered forms of habitus clashed with established gendered cultural norms in New Zealand. Although both male and female participants are Muslim, all of the female participants experienced and reported racism while male participants did not report experiencing explicit racism. One potential reason may be their outward appearance. All female participants wear hijab which means that their identity as a Muslim is much more apparent than it is for men. This can lead to social challenges in New Zealand society. For example, while all other female participants wear a hijab and casual but modest clothing (e.g. long sleeves shirts and jeans), Fatimah often wears an Abaya, a full cloak that covers her hair as well as the body except her face. Perhaps because of her strict Muslim dress she has been a target of racial abuse in public. She reported that she has been shouted at by people on the street, treated unfairly by a driving instructor and excluded by other parents at her children's school. Even her neighbours told her "This is not your country, go back to your country you f****** Muslim!". She finds that her Muslim attire often makes it difficult for her to associate with local people and to integrate into New Zealand society, substantially influencing her well-being. The following extract illustrates one of the incidents she reported on:

> FATIMAH: And then swearing for Muslim... My religion.
> RESEARCHER: Oh.
> FATIMAH: I say yeh. Yeh, this is, this is very very difficult for me. Just swearing for, for me and for my rel, relig...?
> RESEARCHER: Religion, yeh.
> FATIMAH: Religion, yeh. Sometime. I walk and the road. And then people swearing for me and my scarf. Just swearing for me and then I came back in my home, then I cry. Why I came here? Why? Because, because I'm I'm in my country not swearing for me, and any woman and man. You know? Just I came here, then swearing for me, man and woman, this is, this is difficult. Because, yeh. Not every everyday but sometime I, I going and then swearing for me. I ask "why?". Sometimes I ask "why" because I am not doing any anything. Yeh?

One of the most important English learning environments for all participants is their school. Some school environments presented social challenges for female participants. Noura, for example, sent me a photo of a swimming pool with the following message in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Photo messages (Noura)

When I received this photo with the above message I assumed that she had a swimming lesson at school. However, when we met for the storytelling she told me another story.

> NOURA: No I'm not swimming. No. Because you know it's just one hour. And I must wear all thing (the burkini). I am so shy about I wear from the swimming wear from the Islam. Because the the girls just talk for (.) any girl… Just (.) "Oh my god! What that? What she wear?" I don't like this thing. (...) So the Mr. (..) Yeah, like when the teacher all (..) up, she, he always tell me (.) why you not swimming. I think (.) always the teacher in the school some teacher he she don't they don't know what why Islam no swimming, not doing yeah. (...) I feel good and no good. Um (..) but you know I, I look for the swimming, and I look and I want to swimming I want because in Syria I like summer the swimming. It's my favourite.

This example reveals Noura's cultural values as a Muslim woman, her feelings as a teenager to not stand out or to be cool, the social exclusion she experiences as a minority Muslim girl, how teachers value swimming, and how these different aspects interact. This also reflects each individual's own habitus in this situation. Noura's teachers' and peers' immediate thoughts and actions on swimming lessons would be "of course, I swim in a swimming class" while Noura's immediate reactions would probably be "oh, I cannot swim without my Burkini, especially I am with a lot of boys in the same pool". In this swimming lesson, Noura's English and embarrassment made it hard for her to explain to the teacher what was exactly going on and the teacher didn't have knowledge about Muslim female's swimming practices in order to appropriately respond to the situation. Furthermore, there was no teacher or peer who understood Noura and made enough effort to provide scope for her to swim in a safe and secure setting. Her exclusion provides an example of the ways in which opportunities for interaction can be limited even in an English speaking school environment. For Noura, this was a common experience and this may be one reason why she primarily socialises with one other Arabic speaking female student.

By contrast, one of the male participants Rami's social experience is quite different. Rami was allowed to swim in his swimming class at school. Furthermore, as the following photo images (Figure 5) and his story demonstrate, he sometimes socialized with his school friends at a local public swimming pool over the weekend. His freedom to participate in such activities made it possible for him to socialise with his peers outside of the school environment and to spontaneously engage in a wider range of English language interactions. Although Rami has similar Muslim values to Noura, there are different expectations on Rami in terms of social practices because of his positionality as male. Thus, despite the change of societies from his home country to New Zealand, broader New Zealand values do not clash with male practices in the same way as they do for female practices.

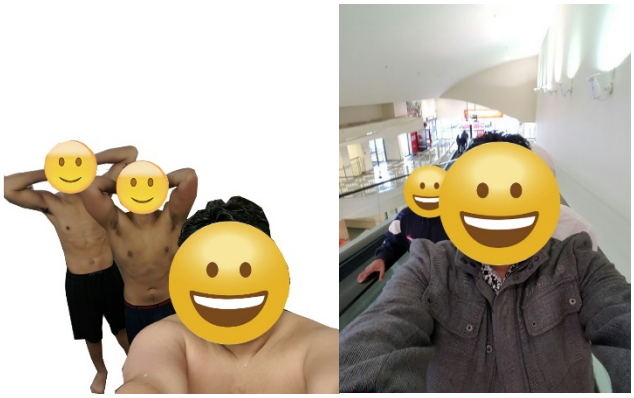

Figure 5. Photo images by Rami

The role of capital and more "durable" social position

Drawing on Bourdieu (1991), Lin (1999) and Menard-Warwick's study (2005b) addressed the important role of social, cultural and economic capital that plays in a language learner's more concrete habitus. One of the points Norton-Pierce (1995) makes in her research is that an agent has a choice to change their identity relatively quickly and in multiple ways. While that might be the case in some instances, Bourdieu (2000) refers to changes that he describes as "never radical" (p. 16), sets of changes that create a more "durable" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 133) sense of identity and position in society. We can see the evidence for this when we look at participants' interests and hobbies in relation to resettlement. Interests and hobbies were key for my participants in terms of positioning themselves in New Zealand society. The cultural capital evident in interests and hobbies has the potential to interact with social capital and individual positionality in a positive way. This interaction is demonstrated through two participants' narratives, one male and one female. Figure 6 represents Amal's story.

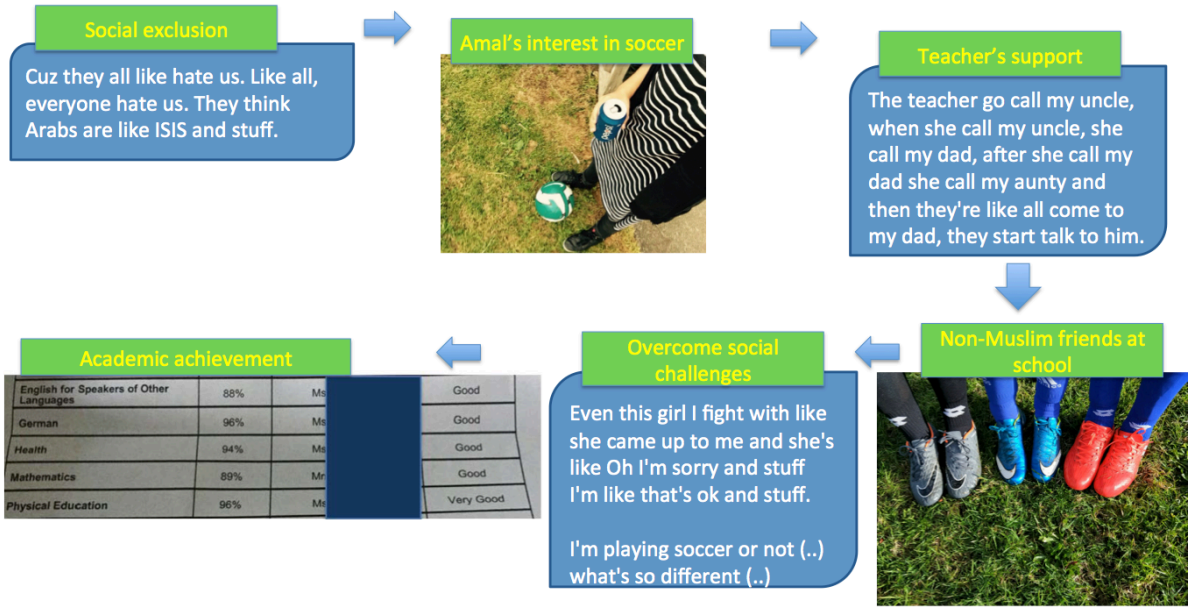

Figure 6. Amal's story

Amal initially had to face social exclusion at her school. She only had a few friends who were Arabic speakers and Muslim. Some of her peers at school labelled her or her friends as "terrorists" or "ISIS" and as a result she had been involved in a number of fights. Amal has always been interested in playing and watching soccer. One of her teachers noticed Amal in her PE class and suggested that she join the school soccer team. The teacher convinced Amal's immediate family and extended family to allow Amal to play in the school soccer team. Amal started playing soccer for two hours every Wednesday after school. Through this activity, she started socialising with non-Muslim friends at school. Amal and her school team started playing quite well and she started to be quite popular and to have fewer problems with her peers at school. Further, at this time she achieved better results in school subjects as her father told her that if her academic achievement is not good she wouldn't be able to continue to be on the school soccer team.

Figure 7 represents another story from Rami. In the later stages of data collection, Rami started to be interested in cars and car events as many of his classmates and some friends from his community were interested in cars and car events. He attended car-related events in New Zealand and he was involved in car parts trade, online and offline. He also started hanging out with friends he met through these car-related activities including people from outside his own ethnic community. As he practiced English more in these contexts his English at school improved. As a result, he was awarded an ESOL class prize at the end of the school year. This extract from his storytelling activity demonstrates how such activities led him to be in environments where he could use English more regularly.

Figure 7. Rami's story

RESEARCHER: How come they sold the wheels at very low price?
RAMI: Because (.) I'm speak with him long time. One hour. (laugh) Yeah. (laugh) Speak with Kiwi with Maori. Everyday.
RESEARCHER: But how did you know that he was selling the wheels?
RAMI: In Facebook.
RESEARCHER: Oh Facebook? Is this site for second hand car parts?
RAMI: Yeah. (.) I call him where the place and (..)
RESEARCHER: But why did you talk to him for one hour?
RAMI: Because it is (..) he want eh eh eh two hundred fifty.
RESEARCHER: Oh right!
RAMI: I told the man, can I pay by cash. I don't have money. I want it. I'm a student. (laugh)
RESEARCHER: (laugh)
RAMI: He give me.
RESEARCHER: Wow, so you talked to him for over an hour so you get the wheels with a lower price?
RAMI: Yeah.

These narratives from Amal and Rami reveal that individual interests and hobbies are a key element of positioning themselves in NZ society. Both Amal and Rami did not invest in English learning for their future in New Zealand but they invested in their interests instead and English learning opportunities emerged through the practices involved in these interests. Thus, their stories showed that habitus can shift through subsequent experiences and interventions (the teacher or peers in these cases). However, it should be noted that while Amal's current positionality shows an incremental change, Rami's current positionality has a more notable change. Because of Rami's positionality as male, there are different expectations on Rami in terms of

social practices, which provide potential scope for Rami to reposition himself as a young person in New Zealand society. Although he was expected to be a good Muslim boy within his home and extended Muslim community, he was allowed to interact more freely with males or females online and offline in New Zealand society.

Conclusion

The findings from this study illustrate that Bourdieu's (1991) notion of field, capital and habitus can be used as a new theoretical lens to capture the dynamic processes of everyday language practices that refugee background learners experience in their early years in New Zealand.

Central to this claim is that an individual's motivation/investment is not always about one's enacting agentive will towards "perceived benefits" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 42) but can also be derived beyond conscious choices, or 'doxa' (Bourdieu, 1990). In this case, all the participants are living in New Zealand where the teachers, the parents and extended family emphasise the benefit of acquiring English as a means to succeed in New Zealand society. The findings also suggest that the relationship between language learning and social power is perceived more vaguely by these participants. Thus, assuming that language learners are 'fully aware' of the relationship between language learning and social power is problematic. However, their everyday language or social practices are oriented around their micro and macro communities (e.g., extended family, Palestinian Syrian, Palestinian Iraqi, Arabic, and Muslim). Rather than being oriented to language learning the emphasis that clearly came through in this research was a need to establish a sense of identity through the cultural and social capital they have brought to New Zealand society.

Participants' narratives showed that their habitus is intertwined with the field that involves social structures and the capital that is possessed by individuals (Bourdieu, 1990). Social structures such as participants' gender was a substantial influence on participants' social experiences. Although these participants came to New Zealand where the gendered norms and expectations are different from Iraq and Syria, they are still involved in micro level fields such as extended family gatherings or the Muslim community where Muslim values and gendered social expectations are shared. Within the micro and macro fields of New Zealand society, the social structures and cultural and social capitals sometimes limit or expand participants' social interactions and as a result influence how they learn and practice English.

This study also illustrates that a language learners' everyday language practices and their habitus should be considered in relation to different forms of capital that are available to a language learner. An individual constantly interacts with micro fields in New Zealand society (e.g., soccer team), other agents in the field (e.g., teacher or peers), gain new cultural capital (e.g., new interest and hobbies) and this influences their everyday language practices. Through these interactions, participants are also constantly positioning themselves in relation to social interactions while they are

learning English in New Zealand society. The repositioning process discussed in this paper is incremental rather than radical, partly because a large part of participants' lives are oriented around Muslim and family values. This account of incremental changes contrasts with Norton-Pierce's (1995) view of multiple and flexible identities. However, as Amal and Rami's stories demonstrate, interests such as soccer or car racing have helped them to build new relationships with others over time and establish their social position in a new language environment. These interests, which are common amongst some young people in New Zealand, provide an opportunity to expand their social interactions, bring them into new fields, and thus, gain opportunities for language learning.

The narratives from these participants, then, tell us about the complexity involved in language learning and resettlement and point to the importance of exploring individual narratives in relation to wider social processes. They also point to some areas for moving forward. Firstly, we need to rethink motivation and investment studies within the definition of 'language learning' as 'everyday language practices' to help reveal how an individual language learner's choices and actions are both socially constructed and situated in relation to social interactions.

Secondly, we also need to rethink the traditional way of conceptualising second language learning that automatically expects language learners to become members of a somewhat monocultural society as soon as possible. Rather, teachers and researchers should open up spaces for language learners to make habitus transformation in their own ways. Teachers' understanding of language learners' communities and their values and norms can assist in this. They can also add to facilitating inclusion in a classroom or school environment and further facilitating language interactions and learning.

Finally, digital photo-voice methods can provide an insightful tool for participants to articulate/communicate aspects of their everyday lives, which cannot be solely represented in other methods such as interviews. Photo-voice enables a shift of focus away from the research. My participants tell me about their life stories rather than I, the researcher, asking participants specific questions. By doing so, the power differential between researcher and participant is modified. Photo-voice gives participants a more empowered position in research.

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