MULTICULTURALISM:
PERSPECTIVES FROM
AUSTRALIA, CANADA
AND CHINA
21–22 NOVEMBER 2011
CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS
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Over the years calls have variously been made for our nations to offer a more ‘productive diversity’ (Kaltzis & Cope, 1997) and for us to re-think multiculturalism (Jin, Wang & Yu, 2006; Parekh, 2000). Yet many would judge progress in the ways that our political and educational systems have dealt with multiculturalism as being very modest. Australia, Canada and China continue to grapple with diversity and equity issues in regard to their offering of educational experiences and social services to their nations’ diverse populations. Each nation continues to assess educational and social needs yet difficulties arise in regard to policy and strategy implementation (Kirova, 2008; Welch, 2010).

The ‘Multiculturalism: Perspectives from Australia, Canada and China’ conference was held on 21–22 November 2011 at the University of Sydney, Australia and brought together leading educators from these three nations. The idea for the theme of this conference was initially suggested by colleagues at Southwest University, Chongqing, China. The conference was convened through a collaborative partnership between the Faculty of Education and Social Work at the University of Sydney; the University of British Columbia in Canada; Beijing Normal University, Beijing Normal University Zhuhai, Northeast Normal University and Southwest University in the People’s Republic of China.

Represented at the conference were scholars from many different disciplines, each with their own particular interpretation of the term ‘multiculturalism’. These reflected the social, political, geographical, linguistic, economic, religious and other explorations of the notion of multiculturalism and pluralism.

The conference was organised into three major themes: policy and multiculturalism; language, education and multiculturalism; and diversity and multiculturalism. Within these strands scholars presented multiculturalism through a variety of themes and theoretical perspectives.

This collection of peer-reviewed papers from the conference is organised around the three conference strands/themes. Within the policy strand, scholars presented discussions about social justice, ethnic groups and cultural policy. In the language and education strand, scholars discussed the teaching of languages, multiliteracies and issues concerning English as an academic lingua franca. In the diversity strand, scholars presented papers about multiculturalism in higher education, migrant issues, the role of the media, and other international perspectives.

The proceedings of the ‘Multiculturalism: Perspectives from Australia, Canada and China’ conference have been prepared according to a refereeing process which involved a number of steps outlined below. The refereeing process for these proceedings matches processes for the preparation of similar sets of conference proceedings. It has ensured papers of an excellent quality. The set of papers as a whole represent a solid contribution to knowledge on the theme of multiculturalism.

Refereeing processes for the conference proceedings were overseen by an Editorial Committee consisting of Associate Professor Lesley Harbon (Associate Dean, International), Dr Lindy Woodrow (Co-Director, China Education Centre), Margery Hornibrook (Honorary Associate) and Britt Putland (Project Coordinator) from the Faculty of Education and Social Work at the University of Sydney.

Authors who wished to have their papers considered for inclusion in the conference proceedings were required to submit their manuscript for blind, double-peer review. Academics from within the University of Sydney network were invited to act as referees and the responsibilities of this role were made clear to those who accepted. As far as was possible, the research interests of referees were taken into account when papers were allocated for review on a specific theme. Referees were asked to assess manuscripts in the light of the conference’s paper submission guidelines and style specifications. They were then asked to recommend to ‘accept as is’, ‘accept with revisions’ or ‘not accept’ the paper and to provide comments justifying their decision.

Referees’ recommendations and comments were then evaluated by the editors, and an outcome of review was sent to authors. Papers which were recommended for acceptance ‘as is’ by two referees were accepted for publication. If either or both referees recommended acceptance pending revisions, the referees’ comments were sent to the author/s for consideration and a revised paper was required to be re-submitted for consideration by the editors. If either referee recommended non-acceptance of a paper, the Editorial Committee would consider both referees’ comments and determine whether resubmission with revisions was reasonable or not. Where both referees recommended non-acceptance, the paper was not accepted for publication in these proceedings.

The editors wish to thank all who generously agreed to act as referees for submitted papers and to authors who gladly attended to the requirements for submission/publication.

Lesley Harbon and Lindy Woodrow
Editors

REFERENCES


THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY
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NATIONAL IDENTITY AND CIVICS CLASSES: THE LIMITATIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF AUSTRALIA – AUSTRALIA’S MULTICULTURAL POLICY

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ABSTRACT
In the wake of the incremental abolition of the White Australia policy over the course of the twentieth century and the introduction of various anti-discrimination laws, there is no longer widespread and persistent formal discrimination on the basis of culture, ethnicity, religion, language, etc, in Australia. Despite much progress having been made, Australia is by no means an unqualified multicultural success story. Not only is there a significant amount of residual racism in Australian society, many Australians of non-Anglo-Celtic background rightly feel that they are not fully accepted as Australians by large segments of the Anglo-Celtic majority. While The People of Australia – Australia’s Multicultural Policy appropriately celebrates multiculturalism, it does not provide us with the tools to confront residual racism and combat the alienation of minorities. To effectively tackle these problems, we need to explicitly engage with the question of how to define Australian national identity. This is because residual racism persists and non-Anglo-Celtic Australians are often alienated precisely because Australian national identity is conventionally defined by reference to Australia’s Anglo-Celtic, Christian, English-speaking majority. What is needed is a redefinition of Australian national identity such that Australian-ness is defined exclusively by reference to liberal democratic political values. This will not only make all Australians feel fully Australian, irrespective of their culture, ethnicity, religion, language, etc, it will also diminish residual racism by marginalising those Australians who attack non-Anglo-Celtic Australians on the grounds that they are supposedly un-Australian. To ensure that Australia’s multicultural society remains socially sustainable, it is crucial that future generations of Australians are incultated with an appreciation of Australia’s liberal democratic national identity. It is for this reason that, in addition to redefining Australian-ness by reference to liberal democratic political values, The People of Australia – Australia’s Multicultural Policy should have included the introduction of mandatory civics classes in Australian schools.

1. INTRODUCTION
On the 23 December 1901, less than a year after federation, what has become colloquially known as the White Australia policy received royal assent (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2010). Consisting in a dictation test and restrictions based on character and medical conditions, the policy was effectively an attempt to ensure that Australia’s population remained largely of European heritage (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2010). Over the course of the 20th century, the White Australia policy was incrementally abolished. This culminated in the excision of the last vestiges of the policy in 1973 by the Whitlam Government (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2010). This movement away from the White Australia policy was given further impetus in the 1970s and 80s through the introduction of various anti-discrimination acts, such as the ‘Racial Discrimination Act 1975’ and the ‘Australian Human Rights Commission Act 1986’ (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2007).

The upshot of the abolition of the White Australia policy and the introduction of anti-discrimination laws is that there is no longer widespread and persistent formal discrimination on the basis of culture, ethnicity, religion, language, etc, in Australia. Given the relatively compacted time-frame during which these dramatic changes have occurred – from White Australia to multicultural Australia in less than a century – it seems reasonable to conclude that, assuming one shares a commitment to liberal values, Australia has indeed made great strides forward in this arena. However, despite much progress having been made during the century which started with White Australia and ended with a multicultural Australia, Australia is by no means an unqualified multicultural success story. In our view, there are two central and deeply interrelated barriers to Australia fully realising its multicultural aspirations. The first barrier is the significant amount of residual racism in Australian society. This manifests itself in, for example, the not infrequent racist verbal abuse and physical violence on Australian streets and the casual racism often exhibited in the workplace or classroom. This level of residual racism is hardly surprising in light of the recent finding that one in ten Australians have outwardly racist views (“One In 10 Are Racist”, 2008). Arguably in large part an upshot of Australia’s residual racism, the second barrier to Australia fully realising its multicultural aspirations is the sense amongst many Australians of non-Anglo-Celtic background that they are not fully accepted as Australians by large segments of the Anglo-Celtic majority. The commonplace example of Australians of non-Anglo-Celtic background being asked where they are really from if they indicate that they are Australian is symptomatic of this.
Official government policy has supported multiculturalism in Australia since 1978 when the Fraser Government introduced the first national multicultural policies (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011a). This official support for multiculturalism was reaffirmed in February 2011 when the government released The People of Australia – Australia’s Multicultural Policy (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011b). Though the policy reaffirms the Australian Government’s support for multiculturalism and introduces new programs to strengthen Australia’s multicultural society, we maintain that it does not provide us with the necessary tools to confront residual racism and combat the alienation of minorities.

To effectively tackle these problems, the policy needs to explicitly engage with the question of how to define Australian national identity. This is because residual racism persists and non-Anglo-Celtic Australians are often alienated precisely because Australian national identity is conventionally defined by reference to Australia’s Anglo-Celtic, Christian, English-speaking majority. In this paper we argue that to effectively tackle residual racism and the alienation of Australians of non-Anglo-Celtic background, the Government’s new multicultural policy needs to redefine Australian national identity such that Australian-ness is defined exclusively by reference to liberal democratic political values. This will not only make all Australians feel fully Australian, irrespective of their culture, ethnicity, religion, language, etc, it will also diminish residual racism by marginalising those Australians who attack non-Anglo-Celtic Australians on the grounds that they are supposedly un-Australian.

In light of the centrality of liberal democratic values in both combating residual racism and ensuring that all Australians feel fully Australian, it is unsurprising that we also claim that the Government’s new multicultural policy ought to include a strategy to strengthen Australia’s liberal democratic culture. In particular, to ensure that Australia’s multicultural society remains socially sustainable, it is crucial that future generations of Australians are inculcated with an appreciation of Australia’s liberal democratic political culture. This is because a truly inclusive national identity that can accommodate multicultural diversity is only possible if Australians take Australian-ness to be a function of political values such that all citizens can subscribe to, irrespective of culture, ethnicity, religion, language, etc. It is for this reason that, in addition to redefining Australian-ness by reference to liberal democratic political values, mandatory civics classes in Australian schools should have been included in The People of Australia – Australia’s Multicultural Policy. Civics classes would ensure that Australian national identity remains open to cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, etc, diversity by tying it to liberal democratic political values. Though a departure from past education policies, we believe that civics classes could be successfully taught alongside or as a core component of ethics curricula similar to the ethics curriculum currently being taught in New South Wales public primary schools.

2. UNREALISED MULTICULTURAL ASPIRATIONS

As indicated in the introduction, Australia has indeed made immense progress in realising its multicultural aspirations. Equally, however, these aspirations have not yet been fully realised. This is primarily a function of both residual racism and the alienation experienced by many minorities. Though distinct and problematic in their own right, these two central barriers to Australia fully realising its multicultural aspirations are deeply interrelated.

The significant amount of residual racism in Australian society manifests itself in, for example, the not infrequent racist verbal abuse and physical violence on Australian streets and the casual racism often exhibited in the workplace or classroom. Although a great deal of anecdotal evidence could be marshalled to confirm the widespread existence of residual racism in Australian society, it is perhaps more instructive to consider the results of sociological research into the prevalence of racism in Australia. Recent findings that 27 percent of Australians are called names or similarly insulted because of their ethnic origin and that 10.7 percent of Australians believe that not all races are equal are positive indicators of widespread residual racism in Australian society (Dunn, Forrest, Babacan, Paradies & Pedersen, 2011). Combining these findings with the extensive anecdotal evidence that could be brought to bear on the issue, we have good reason to conclude that there is still a significant amount of residual racism in Australian society.

Arguably in large part an upshot of Australia’s residual racism, the second barrier to Australia fully realising its multicultural aspirations is the sense amongst many Australians of non-Anglo-Celtic background that they are not fully accepted as Australians by large segments of the Anglo-Celtic majority. The commonplace example of Australians of non-Anglo-Celtic background being asked where they are really from if they indicate that they are Australian is symptomatic of this. Though data is not available, extensive anecdotal evidence could once again be marshalled to demonstrate that many Australians of non-Anglo-Celtic background do not feel as if they are fully Australian. What is more, the data regarding residual racism referred to earlier lends itself to the conclusion that many Australians of non-Anglo-Celtic background are made to feel un-Australian. More specifically, it is unlikely that someone who is called names or similarly insulted because of their ethnic origin would feel as if they were fully accepted as an Australian. We happily accept that some or even a majority of Australians of non-Anglo-Celtic background feel fully Australian. Our claim is only that this is not the experience of a significant portion of Australians of non-Anglo-Celtic background and that, because of this, Australia is yet to satisfactorily realise its multicultural aspirations.

These phenomena are deeply interrelated because each of these barriers to Australia realising its multicultural aspirations strengthens the other. In a fairly obvious way, residual racism contributes to alienation amongst minorities insofar as being the victim of racist verbal abuse or physical violence is likely to, amongst other things, produce the
impression that one does not, in a very concrete way, belong. In a discreet but no less real sense, the factors that give rise to the alienation of minorities serve to increase residual racism. The alienation of minorities is in large part a function of these groups not being considered truly Australian. This contributes to residual racism because when minorities are not considered truly Australian it is easier to justify racist attitudes towards them.

The relationship between these two central barriers to Australia realising its multicultural aspirations aside, the key point is that residual racism and the alienation of minorities pose significant and real threats to the health and sustainability of Australia’s multicultural society.

3. Realising Multicultural Aspirations and National Identity

In February 2011, the Minister for Immigration, the Honourable Chris Bowen MP, launched The People of Australia – Australia’s Multicultural Policy. Though the policy includes concrete initiatives, such as the creation of the Australian Multicultural Council and the implementation of a national anti-racism strategy, the primary function of the policy is to serve as a reaffirmation of the Australian Government’s commitment to multiculturalism (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011b, pp. 7–8). In addition to rehearsing statistics that highlight the diverse composition of Australia’s population, the core of the policy document is the reaffirmation that “[t]he Australian Government is unwavering in its commitment to a multicultural Australia” and that “Australia’s multicultural composition is at the heart of our national identity and is intrinsic to our history and character” (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011b, p. 2).

In light of the importance of the health of Australia’s multicultural society to both social well-being in Australia and Australia’s international reputation, the Australian Government’s reaffirmation of its commitment to multiculturalism is a positive development. However, as welcome as it might be, reaffirmations of this kind are largely ineffective tools in the battle against residual racism and the alienation of minorities.

Though repeatedly stating that the Australian Government is unwavering in its support of multiculturalism may limit, up to a certain point, residual racism and make non-Anglo-Celtic Australians feel more fully Australian than they otherwise would, measures of this kind are ultimately utterly limp instruments. The reason for this is simply that residual racism and alienation are intimately related to Australia’s conception of itself and this cannot be fundamentally altered by the Australian Government reaffirming its commitment to multiculturalism. Residual racism persists and non-Anglo-Celtic Australians are often alienated precisely because Australian national identity is conventionally defined by reference to Australia’s Anglo-Celtic, Christian, English-speaking majority. Though reaffirmations of the Australian Government’s commitment to multiculturalism may not be counter-productive, they will not be able to effectively bring about the reconceptualisation of Australian national identity necessary to combat residual racism and the alienation of non-Anglo-Celtic Australians.

Let us first consider the connection between persistent residual racism and the way in which Australian national identity is conventionally defined by reference to Australia’s Anglo-Celtic, Christian, English-speaking majority. Though not invariably the case, there is often an explicit connection made by those expressing and acting on racist sentiments between the perceived identity of the victims of racism and the justification of the racism. In more concrete terms, racial prejudice against certain groups is often considered acceptable precisely because those groups are not considered to be truly Australian. Not surprisingly, data is not available which demonstrates this connection. As such, this cannot be a quantitative and thoroughly empirically justifiable argument. Be this as it may, we are by no means willing to concede that it is implausible. Though it is obviously dangerous to boldly extrapolate on the basis of anecdotal evidence, we are quite confident that both our own anecdotal evidence and the reader’s alike will confirm the connection between commonplace residual racism and the perceived un-Australian identity of the victims of racism.

As regards the alienation of minorities, the connection with the way in which Australian national identity is conventionally defined by reference to Australia’s Anglo-Celtic, Christian, English-speaking majority is quite clear. If a connection is typically made between the culture, ethnicity, religion and language of Australia’s Anglo-Celtic, Christian, English-speaking majority and Australian national identity, it is hardly surprising that members of minorities often do not feel fully Australian. To concretise this point, the claim that an individual is markedly Australian (ie they have the appearance and manners of an Australian) will typically be taken to mean that they have the cultural, ethnic, religious and linguistic markers generally associated with members of Australia’s Anglo-Celtic, Christian, English-speaking majority. In light of this, it is to be expected that some Australians who lack the cultural, ethnic, religious and linguistic markers generally associated with members of Australia’s Anglo-Celtic, Christian, English-speaking majority will not feel fully Australian.

This sense of alienation is particularly acute because the connection between the culture, ethnicity, religion and language of Australia’s Anglo-Celtic, Christian, English-speaking majority and Australian national identity is often made in the public arena. Beyond the countless personal examples of this pernicious assumed equivalence, examples such as former Australian Prime Minister John Howard asking a young Australian-born school student of non-Anglo-Celtic background how long she had been in Australia serve to further strengthen the connection between the culture, ethnicity, religion and language of Australia’s Anglo-Celtic, Christian, English-speaking majority and Australian national identity.

Towards this objective, as regards the people of Australia, the importance of the health of Australia’s multicultural society is self-evident. However, though the Australian Government’s commitment to multiculturalism may not be counter-productive, it will not be able to effectively bring about the reconceptualisation of Australian national identity necessary to combat residual racism and the alienation of non-Anglo-Celtic Australians.

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identity. As one would expect, prominent public figures explicitly condoning in practice this assumed equivalence further fuels the sense of alienation amongst at least some members of minorities.

The upshot of the relationship between residual racism and the alienation of minorities and Australia’s conception of itself is that to effectively tackle these problems the Australian Government’s new multicultural policy needs to explicitly engage with the question of how to define Australian national identity. It is not enough to simply reaffirm a commitment to multiculturalism. What is required is a policy response which ensures that Australian national identity is defined in such a way that it is consistent with Australia’s multicultural reality.

4. AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY AND LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL VALUES

Beyond diagnosing the ailment (i.e., tackling residual racism and the alienation of minorities requires a redefinition of Australian national identity), we need an account of a conception of Australian national identity consistent with Australia’s multicultural reality.

A wide variety of anchors have historically been used to define national identity. Different anchors are typically combined, the result of which is that national identity is contested and indeterminate. For example, cultural, ethnic, religious, political and linguistic markers, amongst others, all undoubtedly play a role in fixing French national identity. However, the importance of these anchors in constituting French national identity will vary radically depending on who is speaking on behalf of the French.

Notwithstanding the power of the traditional anchors of national identity, we maintain that if Australia is to realize its multicultural aspirations, the only viable anchors for Australian national identity are Australian political values. To effectively tackle residual racism and the alienation of Australians of non-Anglo-Celtic background, the Australian Government’s new multicultural policy needs to redefine Australian national identity in terms of liberal democratic political values. This in effect means that rather than being defined by reference to cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, etc., markers, Australian-ness would be defined exclusively by reference to liberal democratic political values.

Before proceeding any further, it is crucial to clarify what we mean by liberal democratic political values. Liberal democratic political values are, we believe, fairly innocuous and can be affirmed by the majority of, if not virtually all, Australians. In essence, liberal democratic political values amount to commitments to individual freedom (people should be able to live as they see fit, provided that does not undermine the freedom of others to do the same) and popular government (the decisions of government should be referred to either the people or the representatives of the people). It should be clear that we are not proposing to redefine Australian-ness in terms of an unrepresentative strain of liberalism like libertarianism. By referring to liberal democratic political values we are simply pointing to what is at the heart of Millian liberalism and Jeffersonian republicanism (Mill, 1998, p. 14; Jefferson, 2006, p. 236).

The reason why a redefinition of Australian national identity in terms of liberal democratic political values is the only viable anchor for a truly multicultural Australian national identity is that all definitions of Australian national identity in terms of cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, etc., markers are fundamentally incongruent with Australia’s multicultural reality. The precise significance of Australia’s multicultural reality is wide diversity with respect to culture, ethnicity, religion, language, etc. The upshot of this is that if Australian national identity is defined by reference to specific cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, etc., markers there will be a serious mismatch between Australia’s wide cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, etc., diversity and a culturally, ethnically, religiously, linguistically, etc., exclusive conception of Australian-ness.

By contrast, a definition of Australian national identity in terms of liberal democratic political values would be entirely consistent with Australia’s multicultural reality. Indeed, we go so far as to argue that a redefinition of Australian national identity in terms of liberal democratic political values is the most effective means of buttressing Australia’s multicultural society.

As regards the first barrier to Australia realizing its multicultural aspirations, redefining Australian national identity in terms of liberal democratic political values would combat residual racism by marginalising those Australians who attack non-Anglo-Celtic Australians on the grounds that they are supposedly un-Australian. As indicated in section three, defining Australian national identity by reference to specific cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, etc., markers serves to validate residual racism in a very real sense. This is because racism is often motivated by the fact that the victims of racism lack the relevant cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, etc., markers. Though it would be recklessly naive to assume that redefining Australian national identity in terms of liberal democratic political values is enough to neutralize all forms of residual racism, it would severely undercut many forms of enduring residual racism. In particular, if Australian national identity were redefined in terms of liberal democratic political values, racism motivated by the perception that certain cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, etc., markers are incommensurable with Australian-ness would be untenable.

Concerning the alienation of minorities, redefining Australian national identity in terms of liberal democratic political values will contribute in a very real and substantial way to making all Australians feel fully Australian, irrespective of their culture, ethnicity, religion, language, etc. Liberal democratic political values are not, of necessity, attached to any particular cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, etc., markers whatsoever. This means that by redefining Australian national identity in terms of liberal democratic political values no cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, etc., minorities will be precluded from claiming Australian-ness for themselves. Put simply, this
redefinition of Australian-ness in terms of liberal democratic political values will significantly mitigate the alienation of minorities because it will ensure that Australian national identity is open to the cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, etc, diversity of Australia’s multicultural society.

In response to the likely objection, made, for example, by Wayne Norman, that liberal democratic political values cannot effectively serve as the basis for national identity, we refer the reader to our paper ‘From Liberal Nationalism to Nationalistic Liberalism: Liberal Values and the Prospects for Progressive Nationalism’, in which we give an account of what a viable form of national identity which centres on liberal democratic political values would look like (Norman, 1995; Bal & Herscovitch, in press). Our central claim in that paper is that liberal democratic political values can in fact serve as the basis for national identity provided these liberal democratic political values are temporally and spatially situated (Bal & Herscovitch, in press).

5. SOCIALLY SUSTAINABLE MULTICULTURALISM AND CIVICS CLASSES

In light of the centrality of liberal democratic political values in both combating residual racism and ensuring that all Australians feel fully Australian, the Government’s new multicultural policy ought to include initiatives to strengthen Australia’s liberal democratic political culture. In fact, Australia’s liberal democratic political culture needs to be strengthened to the point that Australian national identity centres not on particular cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, etc, traits, but on liberal democratic political values. Arguably one of the most effective means of opening Australian national identity to cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, etc, diversity is to anchor Australian national identity to liberal democratic political values through civics classes. In other words, Australian national identity can be kept open by closing it by means of civics classes.

In practice, civics classes would be aimed at replacing conceptions of Australian national identity that centre on cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, etc, traits with a civic national identity. Though Australia has arguably long had a civic national identity (eg Australia’s democratic anti-authoritarian ethos), civics classes could both raise the prominence of Australia’s civic national identity and purposefully fashion a suitable civic national identity for Australia’s multicultural reality.

Not only would civics classes help combat residual racism and the alienation of minorities by reconceptualising Australian-ness in terms of liberal democratic political values, they would also ensure that Australia’s multicultural society remains socially sustainable. It is perfectly reasonable to affirm and reaffirm a commitment to multiculturalism. However, for Australia’s multicultural society to healthily endure, this commitment needs to be carried forward by future generations. It is for this reason that it is crucial that future generations of Australians are inculcated with an appreciation of Australia’s liberal democratic political culture.

Simply put, if future generations of Australians are taught to conceive of Australian-ness in terms of a commitment to liberal democratic political values, then Australia’s multicultural society will remain socially sustainable for generations.

Given the centrality of liberal democratic political values in both combating residual racism and ensuring that all Australians feel fully Australian, and the power of civics classes to disseminate liberal democratic political values, we argue that The People of Australia – Australia’s Multicultural Policy should have included the introduction of mandatory civics classes in Australian schools. To be sure, insofar as Australians are in fact committed to liberal democratic political values, future generations of Australians will likely come to subscribe to liberal democratic political values. This organic process of values transference granted, civics classes can potentially propagate liberal democratic political values where they would otherwise not naturally grow and, as indicated earlier, purposefully support the dissemination of a suitable set of liberal democratic political values for Australia’s multicultural reality.

In short, in addition to redefining Australian-ness by reference to liberal democratic political values, the Government’s new multicultural policy ought to include the introduction of civics classes to close Australian identity in terms of liberal democratic political values so that it remains open in terms of culture, ethnicity, religion, language, etc.

6. CIVICS CLASSES AND ETHICS CURRICULA

New South Wales is currently piloting an ethics-based alternative to scripture in public primary schools (St James Ethics Centre, 2011). As a first step, civics classes could be fruitfully taught alongside or as a core component of ethics curricula. The primary motivation for combining civics with ethics is the conceptual relationship between ethics and politics, broadly speaking. At a cursory glance, a liberal democratic system of government is undergirded by a rights framework which, of course, relates to many of the fundamental concepts in the study of ethics. The New South Wales ethics-based curriculum as it stands does not deal with political values in any extensive way and instead focuses on topics like truth-telling, the status of animals and so on. We are not arguing that these are unimportant topics. On the contrary, we believe that they are of first-order importance. However, given the centrality of political values for both the individual and society at large and their relation to ethics, explicit mention and exploration of them should be undertaken alongside ethical studies.

A second and related reason for teaching civics alongside ethics is, notwithstanding the affinity of the ethical and political, the significant differences between ethical and political values. Whilst the ethical and political overlap in large and obvious ways, including in debates about abortion legislation or the issues surrounding Australia’s refugee policy, there are marked differences. Firstly, in ethical deliberation, one can use a variety of different methods for
reasoning. For instance, one may use a consequentialist framework or a rights-based approach when thinking about whether Australia’s live-export trade is moral or immoral. In the political sphere, the deliberative process is in some sense more rigid because decision making is conducted within a democratic system and in accordance with liberal rights and liberties. Secondly, ethics often does not provide instruction as to how precisely one should make decisions. In fact, at times ethics is characterised by general vagueness. For instance, the injunction to respect or care for the environment is widely affirmed to some degree in the population at large. However, it may be reasonably asked, in what does caring for the environment consist? If the charge of vagueness seems unfair, we can at the very least claim that many ethical principles are general and indeterminate. It is in fact precisely this generality and indeterminacy that allows for divergent and subtle analyses of ethical dilemmas. By contrast, in the political sphere, regardless of the complexity of the problems, we have a clear structure for making decisions, even if they are tentative decisions. Thirdly, ethics often concerns itself with personal morality, the veracity of one’s judgements and rigorous reasoning. In matters of ethics, true statements and sound reasoning are of crucial importance. In the public sphere, where group decision-making is required and there are potentially opposing values and genuine disagreement, different standards must be applied. Though truth and rigorous reasoning are by no means unimportant in political deliberations, other considerations tied to liberal democratic political values, such as the need to arrive at a consensus or protect individual freedom, ought to trump truth or argumentative rigour.

Given that the current New South Wales ethics curriculum states that it will be taught in classrooms operating under rules that accord with the liberal democratic ethos, such as listening to others, respectfully disagreeing, giving others a chance to speak and so on, there is the potential for a great affinity between civics classes and ethics-based curricula (Russell, 2010). The fact that the structural aspect of this pilot program is liberal democratic in nature should be made salient, articulated and examined thoroughly. In order to truly appreciate the liberal democratic ethos, an environment of debate and inquiry is much more befitting than simply learning about the institutions and machinery of the state. What is more, the grass-roots and democratic format of the New South Wales ethics curriculum would perfectly complement civics classes because it would ensure that liberal democratic values become substantive rather than simply formal notions. This shift is, in the spirit of John Dewey’s and Walt Whitman’s ideas of “democratic methods in all social relationships” and “democracy in all public and private life”, crucial for creating an active and vibrant civil society (Dewey, 2002, p. 1199; Whitman, 1950, p. 483).

To sum up these concerns, liberal democratic values and the accompanying political system are an extremely important mechanism for making decisions and acting and thus should be taught alongside or as core component of ethics curricula. Though an ethical education may be a useful preparation for students, the differences between ethical and political values and the importance of political values mean that an ethical education without a civic education will leave students ill-prepared for life in a liberal democratic polity.

7. CONCLUSION

Despite decades of progress, two barriers to the realisation of Australia’s multicultural aspirations remain. Its laudable reaffirmation of the Government’s commitment to multiculturalism notwithstanding, The People of Australia – Australia’s Multicultural Policy does not furnish us with the necessary tools to tackle residual racism and the alienation of minorities. Given the connection between residual racism and the alienation of minorities and the commonplace equation of Australian-ness with the cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, etc, markers of Australia’s Anglo-Celtic majority, Australia can only realise its multicultural aspirations if Australian national identity is reconceptualised. Indeed, a truly inclusive national identity that can accommodate multicultural diversity is only possible if Australians take Australian-ness to be a function of liberal democratic political values that all citizens can subscribe to, irrespective of their culture, ethnicity, religion, language, etc. To borrow Henri Bourassa’s turn of phrase, it is precisely a conception of Australian-ness which unifies all Australians around a thin culture of liberal democratic political values which will provide us with the basis for a form of national identity that is consistent with Australia’s multicultural reality (Tardivel & Bourassa, 1969, p. 149). This equivalence between Australian-ness and liberal democratic political values can in turn only be effectively propagated by means of civics classes in Australian schools. It is therefore by inculcating future generations of Australians with liberal democratic political values that the social sustainability of Australia’s multicultural society can be ensured.
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“MULTICULTURALISM WITHIN A BILINGUAL FRAMEWORK” AND “A COHESIVE, UNITED, MULTICULTURAL NATION”: MULTICULTURAL POLICIES IN CANADA AND AUSTRALIA, 1970s–THE PRESENT

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ABSTRACT
Multiculturalism or more precisely its alleged failure has been the topic of political speeches by various European leaders recently. Prominent examples are Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany and Prime Minister David Cameron of the United Kingdom (UK). In an address to young members of the Christian Democratic Union party towards the end of 2010, Chancellor Merkel declared that Germany’s attempt to create a multicultural society had utterly failed (“Angela Merkel”, 2010). Prime Minister Cameron in a speech incidentally in Munich in early 2011 argued that the doctrine of state multiculturalism was not working in the UK (“Multiculturalism”, 2011). This was quite fascinating, as neither country has ever adopted an official policy of multiculturalism. So, it was not quite clear what exactly both national leaders were advocating should be abandoned. By contrast multiculturalism is still going strong in two of the most well-known countries to have adopted official multicultural policies: Canada and Australia. These two large immigrant receiving nations introduced official policies of multiculturalism in the 1970s. A brief survey of the way in which the policies developed in Canada and Australia could offer some useful insight for the current European debate.

THE ADOPTION OF MULTICULTURAL POLICIES IN CANADA AND AUSTRALIA IN THE 1970s
In the 1970s official policies of multiculturalism were adopted in Canada and Australia. Migrants were actively encouraged to preserve their home cultures. Multicultural policies were introduced in Canada and Australia after a philosophy of multiculturalism was adopted as the basis of their respective national identities. Therefore, there was a distinction between the two. A multicultural philosophy replaced the ‘new nationalism’ as the foundation of English-speaking Canadian and Australian national identity. The ‘new nationalism’ had stressed a local identity with newly created national symbols, such as the new maple leaf flag in Canada and ‘Advance Australia Fair’ as the national anthem in Australia. An official integration policy was adopted towards migrants at this time in both Canada and Australia. This recognised the potential benefits that migrant cultures could bring to the ‘national’ cultures. However, the ‘new nationalism’ had little substance and could not fill the void left by Britishness in English-speaking Canadian and Australian national identities. British race patriotism was the belief that English-speaking Canadians and Australians were an integral part of a wider British world and it formed the basis of English-speaking Canadian and Australian national identities from the late 19th century to the 1960s. ‘Whiteness’ was a crucial capillary of this identity in both countries. Thus, White Canada and White Australia immigration policies were introduced which barred non-Europeans, mainly Asians from entering the two countries. But these were abandoned during the period of the ‘new nationalism’ and post-White Canada and post-White Australia immigration policies were adopted during the era of multiculturalism. However, during the period of Britishness and whiteness a policy of assimilation was adopted towards migrants in Canada and Australia. By this migrants were expected to abandon their home cultures and customs immediately and become a part of the Anglo-conformist or Anglo-Celtic cultures respectively in their new adopted societies (Mann, 2011).

Throughout these three major periods: Britishness; the ‘new nationalism’; and multiculturalism the French-Canadian factor was an important point of difference in the Canadian experience. They represented a competing founding group to the British in Canada, one that was incidentally there before them and hence complicated Canada’s search for an idea of national community. The fact that Canada received large non-British migration considerably earlier than Australia was another important variation between the two countries (Mann, 2011).

The short term cause of the introduction of a policy of multiculturalism in Canada was though the publication of Book IV of the Bi-Bi commission on ‘The Other Ethnic Groups’ in 1969 (Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1969). One of the most significant statements in the report was that:

Among those of non-British, non-French origin, some accept official bilingualism without hesitation but categorically reject biculturalism. They consider Canada to be a country that is officially bilingual but fundamentally multi-cultural. It is clear that we should not overlook Canada’s cultural diversity, always keeping in mind that there are dominant cultures, the French and British. (Innis, 1973, p. 135)

The volume was one of the later ones of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, which had been established by Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson on coming into power in 1963. The earlier volumes of the Bi-Bi commission had looked at British and French equality in Canada. But this had garnered considerable criticism from Canadians of neither British nor French origin who argued
that they were being treated as second class citizens. Ukrainian-Canadians were the most vociferous exponents of this argument. However, Pearson’s successor as Prime Minister, Elliott Trudeau went beyond the recommendations of Book IV of the Bi-Bi commission and advocated the introduction of an official policy of multiculturalism in Canada within a bilingual framework in a Parliamentary speech in October 1971:

A policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework commends itself to the government as the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians...National unity, if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence in one’s own individual identity. (Trudeau, 1971, p. 8545)

Trudeau’s primary motivation in introducing an official multicultural policy was to contain growing French-Canadian separatism whilst at the same time trying to appeal to non-British and non-French Canadian concerns.

The French-Canadian position on the new multicultural policy was generally quite critical. They perceived the policy as an attempt by the federal government to place their culture on the same level as one of many others. This they were strongly opposed to as they considered their culture to be the foundation of the nation. They were the true Canadiens.

The government of Quebec declined to introduce an official multicultural policy within its jurisdiction. It instead decided to adopt an intercultural policy. This essentially emphasised settlers speaking French and integrating themselves into the society of French-Canada. This was an illustration of the defensive psychology of French-Canadians trying to maintain their culture and language in a North American continent predominantly made up of Anglo-Saxon culture and English-speakers.

The equivalent immediate precipitator of an official multicultural policy in Australia was the Galbally Report of 1978 (Report of the Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants, 1978). The most salient passage of the report was: “We believe Australia is at a critical stage in the development of a cohesive, united, multicultural nation.” (Report of the Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants, 1978, p. 3) The report also stressed the importance of encouraging migrants to preserve their cultures: “We are convinced that migrants have the right to maintain their cultural and racial identity and that it is clearly in the best interests of the nation that they should be encouraged and assisted to do so if they wish” (Report of the Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants, 1978, pp. 104–5). The Report of the Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants as it was officially known was the culmination of an enquiry established by Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser in the previous year which was given the task of evaluating the effectiveness of government services towards migrants. Fraser responded to the recommendations of the Galbally Report, in a parliamentary speech on 30 May, 1978 in which he announced that the government recognised that services to migrants needed to change direction and that multicultural policy should be further encouraged. In addition, considerable support by the government was needed to develop a multicultural attitude in Australian society. The retention of the cultural heritage of diverse ethnic groups would be fostered and intercultural understanding would be promoted (Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, 1978, pp. 2728, 2731).

In contrast to the Fraser government, the Trudeau government took quite some time before responding to the recommendations of Book IV. However, the actual multicultural policies adopted in the two countries were quite different. In Australia although in theory it was aimed at all groups, in reality it was directed towards migrants. Contrarily in Canada it was genuinely aimed at all sections of Canadian society. This was largely a result of the French-Canadian factor in Canada. However, the longer-established non-British and non-French groups in that country also played a part. In that the Canadian population had always been considerably less homogenous than its Australian counterpart for much of its history.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MULTICULTURAL POLICIES IN CANADA AND AUSTRALIA IN THE 1980S AND 1990S

The multicultural policies in Canada and Australia developed over the course of the 1980s and 1990s. In Canada after the publication of Book IV of the Bi-Bi commission Report the next major policy document on multiculturalism was the report Equality Now! of 1984 during the second Trudeau ministry. The report was produced by the Special Committee of the House of Commons on Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society, Its main recommendation was that, “The government must now consciously choose to remove all roadblocks preventing the full participation of all citizens in the cultural, social, economic, and political life of the country” (House of Commons, 1984, p. 1). The report specifically argued that, “There is evidence of racially discriminatory mechanisms that provide different advantages and benefits to people of different races ... Canadian society is in reality a ‘vertical mosaic’ with some pieces raised above the others” (House of Commons, 1984, pp. 4–5). Therefore, this report signalled a new concern for social and economic equality compared to cultural equality previously. Furthermore, this was largely to do with more relatively recent ‘visible’ minorities from the West Indies, Asia and Africa rather than more long-established ethnic groups.

Canada went one step ahead of Australia and actually legislatively enshrined multiculturalism in 1988 during the Mulroney government. The main features of the proposed Canadian Multiculturalism Bill were outlined by David Crombie, the Secretary of State for Canada the previous year. Multiculturalism had previously been included in the constitution in 1982 in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The aim of the Multiculturalism Bill was to give
legislative expression to those constitutional provisions. The bill was based on the following principles of multiculturalism:

1. Multiculturalism is a central theme of Canadian citizenship...
2. Every Canadian has the freedom to choose to enjoy, enhance and share his or her heritage...
3. The federal government has the responsibility to promote multiculturalism throughout its departments and agencies.

(Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, 1987, pp. 3, 19)

By passing the bill the following year Canada became the first country in the world to introduce a national multicultural act.

The next major policy document after the Galbally report in Australia was the National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia of 1989 during the Hawke government. It drew on the advice of the Advisory Council for Multicultural Affairs. It defined the fundamental principles of multiculturalism based on three rights and three limits. In summary these were:

- the right to cultural identity (expressing and sharing one’s individual cultural heritage, including their language and religion)
- social justice (equality of treatment and opportunity, and the removal of barriers of race, ethnicity, culture, religion, language, gender or place of birth)
- economic efficiency (the need to maintain, develop and utilise effectively the skills and talents of all Australians)
- the obligation to have an overriding and unifying commitment to Australia, to its interests and future first and foremost
- to accept the basic structures and principles of Australia
- to accept that the right to express one’s own culture and beliefs involves a reciprocal responsibility to accept the right of others to express their views and values.

Therefore, the government whilst still maintaining its support for multiculturalism recognised the importance of placing limitations, and most importantly stressed the need for a national sense of community. The continued importance of the British heritage in Australia’s self identity was illustrated even as late as the 1980s by Prime Minister Bob Hawke in the foreword to the agenda in which he claimed that immigrants and refugees had “been attracted by our British heritage and institutions” (Office of Multicultural Affairs, 1989).

The Howard government’s New Agenda for a Multicultural Australia a decade later was the next notable policy statement on multiculturalism in Australia. This was in response to the National Multicultural Advisory Council (NMAC) report Australian Multiculturalism for a new century: Towards inclusiveness. The agenda generally supported the NMAC recommendations. It defined an ‘Australian’ multiculturalism, created the Council for Multicultural Australia and announced a plan of action to give practical effect to four principles for multicultural Australia to continue to flourish for the good of all Australians:

- civic duty (concerned with support for the basic structures and principles of Australian society)
- cultural respect
- social equity (concerned with equality of treatment and opportunity)
- productive diversity (which seeks to maximise the major cultural, social and economic dividends arising from the diversity of the Australian population). (Department of Immigration, Multiculturalism and Indigenous Affairs, 1999).

MULTICULTURAL POLICIES IN CANADA AND AUSTRALIA IN THE PRESENT DAY

Moving to the present day, towards the end of 2006 the Conservative Harper government officially recognised that Quebec was a nation within a united Canada. This legitimised at a federal level what many Québécois had believed for many decades. Michael Ignatieff, who later became leader of the Liberal Party, supported the Conservative government’s position at the time as he argued that Québécois’ culture, history, language and territory marked them out as a distinct people that should be recognised as a nation (“Québécois form a nation within Canada”, 2006, p. 1). In the Quebec election the following year the politics of the province and perhaps even the nation were transformed. However, incumbent Liberal Premier, Jean Charest remained in office. The separatist Parti-Québécois suffered what seemed a potentially terminal defeat. As a result, the federalist-separatist divide that had defined the French–speaking province’s politics and infected the politics of the rest of English-speaking Canada for more than a generation appeared to have become a thing of the past (The recent Canadian federal election in May 2011 saw the Parti Québécois’ federal counterpart; the Bloc Québécois almost completely wiped out. This indicates that separatism is not a pressing issue in Quebec, at least for the moment.)

In its place emerged a new party, the Action Démocratique du Québec (ADQ) and a new demand for ‘autonomy’. The surge in support for the ADQ turned a two-party system into a tripartite one (“Au revoir separatism”, 2007, p. 66). This demonstrated that Quebec politics was moving away from the traditional mould it had been set in for decades. However, in a snap provincial election in 2008 the Parti Québécois’ federal counterpart; the Bloc Québécois almost completely wiped out. This indicates that separatism is not a pressing issue in Quebec, at least for the moment.) In its place emerged a new party, the Action Démocratique du Québec (ADQ) and a new demand for ‘autonomy’. The surge in support for the ADQ turned a two-party system into a tripartite one (“Au revoir separatism”, 2007, p. 66). This demonstrated that Quebec politics was moving away from the traditional mould it had been set in for decades. However, in a snap provincial election in 2008 the Parti-Québécois and the ADQ’s fortunes were reversed, with the former becoming the official opposition again and the latter losing official party status in the Quebec national assembly. However, after a succession of leaders the ADQ appeared to be rebuilding its electoral support in 2010 as demonstrated by strong showings in by-election victories. Therefore, Quebec politics has entered a very uncertain chapter and what this means for future relations with the federal government remains to be seen.
The release of the report of the ‘Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences’ in Quebec, or the Bouchard-Taylor Commission as it is more commonly known, in May 2008 highlighted the problems Quebec was experiencing in incorporating its religious minorities into Québécois society. The establishment of the commission was precipitated by incidents of religious intolerance in the province, particularly of Islamophobia. The report argued that the Quebec government should preserve secularism, while encouraging understanding and interculturalism. However, the most controversial recommendation of the report was that the French-Canadian identity could no longer be the only part of Quebec identity (“Quebec’s day of reckoning”, 2008; Bouchard and Taylor, 2008). This was a fundamental statement as the two identities had been synonymous for centuries.

The 400th anniversary of the founding of Québec City in July 2008 provided an opportunity for those with different views towards the position of Quebec in Canada to express their viewpoint. Prime Minister Stephen Harper was accused of revising history when he asserted that Samuel Champlain (the original French founder of Québec City) not only established a city and the start of Quebec as a French-speaking nation in 1608, but he also established Canada, despite the actual formation of the country occurring under the British some 259 years later. Therefore, Harper was attempting to establish one historical narrative for the country, which firmly included French-Canadians. In contrast, Prime Minister Fillon of France referred to Quebec as a country on four occasions as he discussed the talks between France and Quebec over a manpower mobility agreement (“Quebec’s 400th bash”, 2008, p. 1). Premier Charest instead emphasised the importance of bilingualism in Canada (“Charest applauds bilingualism”, 2008, p. 1). However, because language is so important politically in the province, he counterposed his remarks with references to the “exceptional history” of the survival of French in North America:

> It is the history of a people, of a nation that had learned to preserve its language and its culture despite being surrounded by 300 million people who speak English [on the continent] ... Our history is the history of our firm will, an unshakable will, to preserve our language and culture. (“Charest applauds bilingualism”, 2008, p. 1)

Thus, Charest illustrated a long-standing theme in French-Canadian history.

In spring 2008 the Harper government commissioned research into multiculturalism. The paper entitled *The current state of multiculturalism in Canada and research themes on Canadian multiculturalism 2006–2010* written by the respected social scientist Will Kymlicka, emphasised the importance of the integration of migrants. The context of the research paper was the decline in support for multiculturalism in Western Europe and the argument that Canada would follow the same fate. However, the paper actually argued that multiculturalism had been a success in Canada compared to other Western nations (some of the measures used included naturalisation rates, earnings of second-generation migrants, views held by native born Canadians and migrants as well as Canadians’ views towards Islam) and that it had been instrumental in the integration of migrants into Canadian society. Emphasis should be placed on the use of the phrase integration of migrants.

Jason Kenney, the Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism elaborated on the Canadian government’s new approach to multiculturalism in a speech to the National Metropolis Conference in Calgary in early 2009 in which he stressed the importance of integration in the multiculturalism programme. By this he meant ensuring migrants who arrived in Canada developed a competency in at least one of the two official languages of the country; faster recognition of the foreign qualifications of educated migrants; and a focus on migrant youths who were “at risk either to criminality or extremism” (“Speaking notes for Jason Kenney, 2009”). Therefore, there has definitely been a shift in multiculturalism policy in Canada to a greater emphasis on incorporating migrants into mainstream society. Nevertheless, nearly four decades since its introduction a policy of multiculturalism still exists in Canada in some form and looks likely to remain for the foreseeable future.

Under the Howard government at the end of 2006 multiculturalism was abandoned as the preferred government policy towards migrants in Australia, and was instead replaced with that of integration. So, this was a more overt move compared to the Canadian one above. The Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs was replaced with the Department of Immigration and Citizenship. National cohesion was stressed first and foremost. This was regarded as a pressing concern due to the large numbers of non-Europeans that had migrated to the country since the late 1970s. This emphasis on national cohesion has been a part of official migrant policy in Australia since the demise of Britishness in the 1960s. The change in policy actually had bipartisan support with Kevin Rudd, leader of the ALP (and subsequently Prime Minister) also supporting the new emphasis on integration rather than multiculturalism (“Unity, not diversity, is PM’s word”, 2006, p. 2). However, the Rudd government did resurrect an Australian Multicultural Advisory Council at the close of 2008 to provide it with advice on the country’s cultural diversity. Although, it still did not reverse the Howard government’s decision to downgrade the responsibility for multiculturalism to a parliamentary secretary as opposed to a minister as previously (Evans & Ferguson, 2008).

However, Chris Bowen, the Minister for Immigration and Citizenship reaffirmed the now Gillard government’s commitment to multiculturalism in an address to the Sydney Institute in early 2011. The overriding theme of his speech was mutual respect between Australians and new migrants. Bowen made his speech in the international context of an...
increasing number of countries questioning the benefits of multiculturalism, including Germany and the UK. However, he emphasised that multiculturalism had “strengthened Australian society”. But Bowen made the point though that Australian multiculturalism was unique. He identified three main features of Australia’s policy: respect for traditional Australian values; the basis of it being citizenship; and political bipartisanship (Bowen, 2011). These three core principles formed the basis of the government’s new policy statement on multiculturalism, The People of Australia – Australia’s Multicultural Policy in February 2011. Thus, the current political rhetoric appears to be more supportive of multiculturalism in Australia than Canada. Nevertheless, despite challenges from within and without, in both countries multiculturalism has survived as government policy for over thirty years and is likely to do so for the near future.

So, returning now to my original premise of how developments in Canada and Australia with their official multicultural policies over the last few decades can inform the current European debate. As I have clearly illustrated above the policies of multiculturalism that the two countries introduced in the 1970s have not remained static. In contrast they have changed in quite fundamental ways. This is best demonstrated by the shift away from cultural rights to more of an emphasis on economic and social rights. However, throughout all these changes there has been bipartisan agreement and commitment on the whole towards multiculturalism being the best way to manage their societies. Though there has been an understandable emphasis, which is quite justified in my opinion, on migrants adhering to the laws and values of their adopted societies. This is probably the best lesson European states can learn from the Canadian and Australian experiences: that it is possible to have multicultural societies without losing national cohesion.

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CANADA

ABSTRACT
This paper examines some differences not so much in the policies and histories of Indigenous negotiations between Canadian and US Coastal Salish peoples, but more in the ways that contrasting contexts and stories emerge showing us a hegemonic landscape almost too complex to describe, but possibly illuminating themes that are emerging out of conditions related to divergences in the national cultures of Canada and the United States as well as the diversity of Indigenous responses to globalizing economic and cultural forces. I should emphasize the point that this is an exploratory piece of writing because I am not sure that I can actually describe what has occurred or what is occurring among the Coastal Salish people I know and talk to. However, I can describe my experiences, thoughts, and try to make connections between larger themes of how Indigenous negotiations about identity and knowledge are filled with ironies and strange stories. Just as there is no pure culture, there is no pure Indigenous knowledge and no pure Indigenous values. If what we mean when we use these terms is elusive, it might make more sense to look at these concepts as negotiated realms of encounter with colonial settler societies and as affected by modes of response and reciprocity in these culture conflict zones. While few scholars have taken on the comparative task, there is widespread recognition that Canada has a history of relations between Native and non-Native people which is distinct and apart from the policies and conditions in the United States. Most of the work which has compared the two countries with regard to relations with Indigenous people has focused broadly on themes of policies and the Aboriginal responses to these government policies such as educational, economic and development, or approaches to the appropriation of Native lands. While these works, such as Roger L. Nichols’ Indians in the United States and Canada: A Comparative History, offer important overviews of different conditions on each side of the border, they don’t take us up close to the stories about differences that define communities divided by the border. This work takes up this task that Indigenous reality is both political and personal; that understanding Coast Salish space and thought requires traveling throughout the region in a kind of metaphorical canoe journey akin to the intervillage journeys of the past. In this journey, we frequently cross an invisible, but powerful colonial border. The border and all the injustices of Indigenous containment is a signifier of all that colonial othering has produced for Native peoples.

The Coast Salish people represent one of the most powerful cases of cultural survival and renewal in the Indigenous world. Although these communities have faced leviathan forces of assimilation and dislocation, they have both resisted and adapted to modernity maintaining their languages, ceremonies, and core traditional values. Despite colonization and urbanization, the Coast Salish world of interconnected villages has remained, in many ways, a vital and separate reality from the mainstream dominant societies that surround them. Families experience the geography of the region based on their connections to traditional ways of life, ceremonies, and cultural relationships to other families and communities across borders and waters. It is through the intricate regional connections of families, villages, and ceremonies that traditional knowledge has been protected and nourished.

Two unique factors of Coast Salish history and living patterns that are presently receiving more attention from scholars have to do with:

1. ways that the border between Canada and the United States divided a common people who resisted the policies of separation, continuing to pattern their lives around traditional relationships to place
2. the effects of having been engulfed by urbanization more than any Indigenous group in North America.

The border divided extended family groups while the booming cities pushed Coast Salish cultural life into private and protected spaces. Understanding the Aboriginal people of the Straight of Georgia and Puget Sound means both comparing and contrasting histories and policies across the border and, at the same time, recognizing the permeability and even invisibility of the border in the Coast Salish world.

While anthropologists and historians have tended to research and write about the Coast Salish in a way to stay on one or the other side of the border, ethnographers have followed the stories from Native people back and forth to communities on both sides of the line. People often live for a time in one community and then move across the border to live with relatives in another community. While, in one sense, the border has been fairly invisible to the Coast Salish, it has also been a powerful signifier
of differences between government policies and national cultures. Recently, environmental groups have joined with Aboriginal communities in renaming the entire ecosystem the ‘Salish Sea’. Such alliances between environmentalists and Aboriginal leaders are part of a movement beyond the immobilizing politics of modern nation states to a consideration of Indigenous knowledge as a framework for reconceptualising the deep interconnections between human economies and the natural ecosystems. These realities related to Indigenous place based knowledge and the unique histories of colonization in the region have placed Coast Salish peoples outside of discussions of multicultural pluralism. Elsewhere, I have written that,

the oral traditions and narratives of First Nations are not simply one of a plurality of cultural perspectives on the environment. They are the local points of reference for engaging the intricacies of human relationships with the natural world. The schools have attempted to relegate Indigenous people to a mere splash of color on the multicultural mural. (Marker, 2006, p.15)

I learned about Coast Salish place based educational values when I moved to the Lummi reservation in Western Washington in the 1970s. I became a teacher for Lummi high school students in 1988. In 1996 I started a teacher education program at the tribal college. Throughout this time I made friends and listened to elders talk about community life in the past and their experiences with schooling. My own family history and my Arapaho ancestry helped me to understand some aspects of the narratives from community members. My PhD dissertation was a history of Lummi education with a focus on the stories from Lummi people who survived racist public schools during the 1970s when backlash against Indian fishing rights victories was so explosive in Puget Sound. Later, as I began teaching at the University of British Columbia, I visited Coast Salish communities in the Fraser Valley and listened to elders and Aboriginal leaders discuss history and the challenges of revitalizing the economies and traditional values of the people of S’olh Téméxw (Stó:lo territory). Travelling back and forth across the Canada-US border to participate in events in Coast Salish communities, I began to see some of what Aboriginal people experienced in their connections to each other in a zone divided by powerful nation states.

Anthropologist Bruce G. Miller emphasizes that,

both the academic and popular literatures have commonly split the Coast Salish world in two, treating those living in Puget Sound and adjacent lands as constituting one world and those in British Columbia as constituting another. This practice fails to conform to the prior Aboriginal reality, before contact with whites and before treaties and borders. (Miller, 2006, p.6)

Anthropologists, historians, and Aboriginal community leaders such as Tom Sampson, former chief of the Tsartlip First Nation, have recently put more emphasis on the reality of the border; the sometimes shared and sometimes separate experiences of Coast Salish people in this transnational region. During the time I was teacher education director at Northwest Indian College at Lummi, the students I recruited for the program were from both sides of the border. My program coordinator in the Bachelor of Education program was both Musqueam and Lummi. As we drove together back and forth between the two reserve communities, he often talked about how permeable the border was for him and his family. His family, like so many other Coast Salish people, travelled throughout the region for fishing, ceremonies, and jobs in resource industries. He had a whole set of commitments and responsibilities to his extended relations that required travelling and visiting communities on both sides of the border frequently. Working with him and getting to know his family, I saw how Coast Salish people had mental maps of the territory that were still connected to pre-contact understandings of place. As I developed the teacher education curriculum working with elders and cultural specialists, we negotiated the tension between emphasizing local knowledge and responding to the expectations of accreditation agencies for more universalized and standardized kinds of learning outcomes.

One of the goals of the teacher education program was to have the curriculum reflect and respect the culture of the local Aboriginal people. Naming is important. I talked with Bill James, Director of Lummi Language. He provided us with the name, Oksale (aahksaalku) meaning ‘teacher’ in Lummi Straights Salish. First Nations control of education has evolved to re-insert the local into both program and curriculum development. This Indigenous educational movement toward a more place-based curriculum is occurring at the same time that globalizing forces are pressuring public schools to prepare students for participation in competitive international contexts. While mainstream schools may be giving students the message that they have no stake in the local, Aboriginal education must take the opposite stance. Self government and community sustainability requires an education that supports traditional cultural values and a collective commitment to the land. Youth must be prepared to take up the challenge of connecting the ethnohistoric past to the goals of healing, community development, and positive transformation of their communities.

In working with students and community members at Lummi, we began to use local stories and history as the central element of curriculum development. Integrating local knowledge into the teacher education curriculum was already a core element of the Native Indian Teacher Education (NITEP) Program at the University of British Columbia (UBC) where I taught courses and received advice from Coast Salish elders. NITEP began in 1974 and has been the leading model for Indigenous teacher education in Canada. The program has a Coast Salish emphasis since the university is located on the territory of the Musqueam nation. At the First Nations House of Learning at UBC events are begun by Musqueam elders who offer both prayers and welcome words in the Hun’qum’um’ language. I took many ideas from NITEP and introduced them into
the Oksale Teacher Education Program. Because many of the students at the tribal college were Coast Salish and attached to communities on both sides of the border, we developed courses and curricula that emphasized both a borderless geography and a comparative approach to policies of colonization and Indigenous resistance. My work in educational anthropology has emphasized how place based pedagogy activates and formulates an Indigenous critical consciousness guiding the work of decolonization.

Thinking of the Coast Salish region as an international zone of cross cultural negotiations comes closer, I think, to the ways that Native communities have experienced the two surrounding dominant societies that have occupied their world rather than speaking of Canadian Coast Salish and American Coast Salish as separate entities. The Coast Salish people have had categories and borders imposed upon their world. The borders of the reserves and the international border between Canada and the United States are the borders of colonization and empire. Meanwhile, the borders drawn by anthropologists of their cultures, languages, and communities were also inventions of powerful outside Others. Governments and academics continue to constrict and classify aboriginal were also inventions of powerful outside Others. Governments and academics continue to constrict and classify aboriginal

In the pre-contact world and in the 19th century Coast Salish world, families travelled by canoe from village to village for ceremonies, trading, and just to visit friends and relatives. There was a tendency for people to marry outside their own village creating an extended network of kinships, and social connections that knit the communities together. Annual canoe journeys were necessary to maintain relations or advance social status through ceremonies and exchanges of goods and people. The Coast Salish world is a set of multi-village communities. The relationship of families and individuals within this multi-village reality is affirmed by intergroup gatherings.

Hereditary privileges, such as the claims to ancestral names and the authority to tell certain stories were reaffirmed by ceremonies and seasonal visits. Such privileges were passed down in families but required public recognition at ceremonies and traditional events. Moreover, the Potlatch, central to the Coast Salish economic and social system, required that families travel throughout the region as wealth and status was distributed and re-distributed at potlatches that could last days or even weeks. The canoe journeys connected the villages as components of a social and ecological consciousness; a universe in constant motion.

Coast Salish people often define their world differently from the ways academics have created divisions for the culture region. Saanich elder Dave Elliot, for example, made distinctions between communities based on whether a people’s village was located where a river brought salmon every year or whether they had to devise technologies such as reef netting to get the fish out in the tidal salt water. In reef netting, a salmon run would swim over the net operated between two or more canoes. With expert timing, fishermen would lift the net and haul the fish into the canoes. Dave Elliot also explained how the Canada-US border had divided the Coast Salish people and kept them from fishing on the US side of the boundary. Saanich people lost reef net locations on the US side of the border and fell into poverty as a result (Elliot, 1983). On the Washington State side of the border, Lummi elder Al Charles, during an oral history interview in 1973, explained how the border divided Lummi and Saanich families: “Our people lived right in the Islands across the boundary line. There was no boundary line between your people and other people. They put a boundary line and split us in half, and got us all balled up here” (Charles, 1973). He told a traditional story of Si’malh, a powerful young man who had raided villages and violated the laws. In the story, a group of warriors pursue him to Vancouver Island where they decide to turn back. On the return trip, storms disperse the group to different islands and beaches where they form the customary villages of the San Juan Islands and Gulf Islands. Listening to the recording, it becomes obvious that Al Charles is trying to get the interviewer to understand that the Lummi world is seamlessly connected to other Coast Salish communities across the border. His people are the people of the islands and the Canada-US border has little meaning in this context. His traditional story of Si’malh is told in an effort to establish, in the mind of the listener, that the border is a conceptual impediment, for understanding the Coast Salish sense of place. Aboriginal people on both sides of the border have resisted assimilation and amalgamation into the multicultural policies of these two nation states. Rather than multiculturalism, Aboriginal peoples prefer a nation to nation relationship with the dominant settler states.

In the 1850s both Britain and the US were eager to open up the Pacific Northwest for white settlement. A gold rush brought miners, settlers, and speculators into the region throughout the 1850s. After the Treaty of Washington was signed in 1846, both nations pushed forward to deal with the Native people of the region to advance the interests of each nation state and accommodate the movement of settlers who were eager to establish farming, logging, and mining. In Victoria, James Douglas, chief factor for the Hudson’s Bay Company and colonial governor, negotiated 14 agreements and set aside small reserves for Coast Salish people. On the US side of the border, Washington territorial governor Issac Stevens took a more heavy handed approach to the treaty process than Douglas. Stevens pushed a policy of consolidating different tribes and villages together, crowding people together on reservations that sometimes had mutual hostilities with each other.

The Douglas approach created smaller pieces of land than the American version, but the Aboriginal people were generally able to remain in their traditional homelands – albeit confined to a tiny portion of their original land base. The reserve lands were later further reduced by Joseph Trutch, who, as Douglas’s successor, thought Aboriginal people were an impediment to the necessary development of the colony. He reduced the lands for Sto:lo communities and supported
the white settlers against the Indians. His view, common at the time, was that the Indians had no use for large tracts of land since they were not clearing or farming the land. Trutch’s policies led to Sto:lo protests to the government and to the threat of an Indian war along the Fraser.

The differences in treaties and settler states across the invisible border created somewhat divergent environments for Aboriginal people who also found themselves subject to the borders of reserves in Canada and reservations in the US. The Douglas treaties were template documents based on the Treaty of Waitangi in New Zealand. They were essentially land sales agreements. The Stevens treaties in Washington territory between 1854 and 1856 went beyond simply establishing reservations and included wording that protected fishing rights and provided for medical access and education. Both the text on sharing the fish ‘in common’ with the settlers and the provision for education would become important points for protecting economic and cultural resources in the future for Coast Salish communities on the US side of the border.

TRADITIONAL EDUCATION AND SCHOOLING FOR ASSIMILATION

Coast Salish communities maintained languages, traditions, stories, and ceremonies in the midst of the dramatic changes that were making their world disappear. At the same time, the missionaries and government officials were working to unravel Native social space by banning the potlatches and winter dances. In traditional education, adolescents were prepared by designated adults to not only learn skills associated with subsistence and survival, but to find spirit helpers and visions for connecting practical knowledge to supernatural powers. Learning had stages of development, but was part of a lifelong journey of identity discovery. Sto:lo elder Sonny McHalsie puts it this way:

One of the teachings of the elders is that we’re always learning; we never quit learning from the day we’re born to day we die. It seems like that was one of the teachings of the past. You’re told to do things. You’re never told why. You’re just told to do it. And that’s because that’s how we do it! And it isn’t until later on that you start putting things together, you start realizing why. (McHalsie, 2007, p. 85)

Young people would be told stories as a way to learn both moral and ecological concepts together. These Coast Salish stories often featured the triumphs of Xa:ls, the transformer who changes the forms of reality to bring order out of chaos. Coast Salish people on both sides of the border were sent to residential schools (called Indian boarding schools in the US) and the government policies for assimilation and the eradication of languages and traditional cultural practices were comparable across the border until the 1920s. In the 1930s however, the course of action in Washington DC began to take a new direction. As a result of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and the policies of Indian Affairs Commissioner John Collier, most of the Indian boarding schools were closed. Coast Salish students in Washington State were integrated into local public schools. The two most well-known schools in Western Washington, Cushman in Puyallup, and Tulalip in Everett, were closed by the end of the 1930s. As some Coast Salish students lived in communities in both British Columbia and Washington State, they encountered the differences in educational contexts.

The conditions in the public schools that Coast Salish families encountered on the US side of the border were not necessarily an improvement over the harsh environment of the residential schools in British Columbia. Racism and the denigration of Native culture were entrenched in the public schools of Western Washington State. During the 1960s and 1970s, the heightened political tensions from the backlash against Indian fishing rights victories spilled over into the classrooms and Coast Salish students in public schools were targets of violence from racist students and teachers. The centerpiece for the controversy was the 1974 Boldt Decision which determined that Coast Salish tribes had reserved 50 percent of the salmon fishery for themselves based on the 1855 Point Elliot Treaty. A storm of protest erupted from commercial fishermen and others resentful of what they viewed as special Indian rights. Many Coast Salish parents decided to send their children to Chemawa Indian Boarding School in Salem, Oregon as a way to escape the racism and violence of the local public schools. It is ironic that the boarding school that had been used by the US government for assimilation and the eradication of Salish culture and languages during the late 19th and early 20th centuries actually became a safe haven from the racism in public schools during the 1960s and 1970s. The continuation of residential schooling in British Columbia is contrasted with the experiences for Lummi, Nooksack, Swinomish, and other Coast Salish groups in racist public schools in Washington State.

Recently, there has been a revival of traditional canoe travel throughout the Coast Salish region and in July 2007 Lummi Nation hosted a t’læqən or potlatch/feast gathering of 68 canoe families from communities up and down the West Coast. It was the first potlatch to be hosted at Lummi since 1937. At these gatherings, clan crests are displayed, family privileges are noted, and names are passed down from ancestors in complex protocols. All of this is done in the presence of witnesses and honoured guests. The role of witnesses is a highly specific part of all ceremonies in Coast Salish life. Witnesses are invited from different communities and are expected to pay close attention to all of the speeches and events of the ceremony. They then return to their own communities and must give a validation of the formal aspects of names and any changes in social status that occur in these contexts. They give their support for the legitimacy of all the transactions and affirmations. In return they are provided with food and gifts. The intervillage canoe journeys were essential to preserve the complex social fabric of Coast Salish life; the revival of the journeys help maintain these connections in spite of the dramatic social and
environmental changes that have occurred over time in the region. While the Canada-US border has made the seasonal travels difficult because of increased border security, there is presently a growing awareness that the revival of summer canoe journeys can be an effective way to restore the sense of a Coast Salish eco-region that is not divided by the border.

The canoes are participating in an emerging partnership with the United States Geologic Survey (USGS) helping with scientific research on the water quality changes in the ‘Salish Sea’. Canoe skippers are given water quality probes and global positioning system devices to carry on board during the summer canoe journeys. The canoes are well suited for research on water quality because they move at a slow speed that is ideal for the use of the probes. And, because the journeys cross the border frequently, they can help give environmental scientists an important snapshot of the region that could replicate the way Aboriginal people see a borderless world (Grossman & Gibbons, 2008). The nature of traditional ecological knowledge in the Coast Salish region is also a consideration for scientists as they begin to develop new/old forms of understanding ‘place’ to interpret the interconnectedness of an ecosystem.

Place-based pedagogy, directly connected to the memories and knowledge of elders, holds both the promise and the problem for developing culturally responsive education for Indigenous peoples. The educational institutions that Coast Salish people must attend to receive degrees and job training are culturally oriented toward conditions of advancing globalization. The long sustained presence on the land which was required for Indigenous knowledge becomes clouded by modernist education practices. Coast Salish communities are developing projects to provide a more place based education for youth who can become dangerously disoriented from their own identities. The X:als stories are being used in Coast Salish language courses and in other aspects of studies that emphasize knowledge of the cultural region as a primary focus for education.

CONCLUSION
Canoe pulling and traditional teachings that fortify identity are vital in reviving community life and reorienting youth toward their role as stewards of the bio-region. In this sense, traditional knowledge can provide a template for educational reform toward a broader societal change that centers ecological knowledge and regional, rather than national, multicultural citizenship as a way to a more sustainable human future. The oral traditions are regional ways of making sense of what the land is trying to teach people about how to live. The revival of the canoe journeys that re-establish some of the traditional patterns of intervillage travel has opened a space for modifying thought about the ecology of the region and how it is connected to the stories of humans and animals from an ancient way of understanding the land.

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SOCIAL JUSTICE AND SOCIAL COHESION IN CANADA

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ABSTRACT
Every group – including nation states – must confront the challenges posed by difference. The nature and the magnitude of differences have the capacity to cause fragmentation and rupture. Canada is no exception. In fact the problem of social cohesion is made particularly challenging by Canada’s vast geography, population and linguistic diversity, political fragmentation, regional difference, weak central institutions, and proximity to the United States. Inequalities – especially those associated with ascribed social characteristics or group membership – are among the factors that can and have torn the social fabric of nations. Despite a history of xenophobia and discrimination, Canada has thus far avoided the conflicts and fractures that have threatened other nations because it has developed out of political expediency rather than principle policies that constitute a social justice infrastructure that supports social cohesion.


INTRODUCTION
Instances of civil disorder fuelled in great measure by socio-economic and ethnic tensions occurred in Cronulla, Birmingham and France in 2005, Ürümqi in 2009, and the United Kingdom 2011. While it would be mistaken to draw sharp inferences from the episodic instances of civil disorder, such instances do call attention to a fundamental challenge faced by plural societies, namely the management of difference. The fundamental problem faced by every social unit from the smallest dyad to the largest society is the maintenance of social cohesion in the face of difference. The problem is how much and what kinds of differences can the social sustain and still remain cohesive. When the differences become too great in either number or kind, the unit fragments: marriages and nations dissolve when the management of difference is no longer possible.

Three sociological propositions have significance for social cohesion. People associate with others with whom they share values. The more frequently people associate with one another under conditions of equality, the more likely it is that they will share values. Severe inequality both signals different values and acts as a barrier to the development of shared values and association. To remain a socially cohesive unit requires, among other things, a subjective sense of one’s identity as a unit whose shared values and practices are reinforced by the institutions created to serve the unit.

CANADA: A FRAGILE NATION
Canada is a fragile nation. Its vast geography, population and linguistic diversity, political fragmentation, regional differences, weak central institutions, and proximity to the United States make cohesion challenging. Sparsely populated for its size, Canada’s largely urban population lives along a narrow corridor in close proximity to the United States, a nation that exerts significant economic, political and cultural influence on its northern neighbour.

Despite having elected its first majority government since 2004, Canada’s political landscape is fragmented and unstable. Only earning the support of 40 percent of Canada’s voters, the Conservative Party formed government in 2011 with a majority of seats primarily in western Canada, the prairies, and in regions outside of the Greater Toronto Region in Ontario. Once referred to as Canada’s natural governing party, the Liberal Party’s traditional base of support in Ontario and Quebec, the most populous provinces, collapsed, leaving it with only 11 percent of the popular vote and only 34 seats. Prior to the most recent election, the New Democratic Party had enjoyed thinly diffused support across the country outside of central Canada. Yet, in 2011, it captured 33 percent of the vote and 102 seats, the majority of which were earned in Quebec, a province previously dominated by a social democratic separatist party, the Bloc Québécois whose support was dramatically eroded. Despite its presence in the Canada’s Parliament, the Bloc Québécois’s electoral base is exclusive to Quebec and dedicated to Quebec’s independence from Canada.

Canada’s political fragmentation is also evident in its strong regional identifications and its comparatively weak federal institutions. From its formation to the present, Canada has remained a confederation of disparate regional authorities that have fought to maintain their identities and retain their powers even when doing so negatively affects the general welfare. Meetings of the Council of the Federation, a gathering of provincial, territorial and federal leaders, often find provincial and territorial leaders cooperating with one another in opposition to their own federal government.
National politicians are reluctant to exert the jurisdiction of Canada's central institutions to affect the very matters for which they were originally established. Over time, the powers of these institutions have been eroded by formal agreement, ideology and timidity on the part of national politicians.

Canada does not possess symbols that are strongly evocative or unifying like the United States (the US flag, the Bald Eagle, and the Declaration of Independence, for example). Canada's constitution is a source of discord between Quebec and the rest of Canada. Canada's national symbol is the beaver – a furry creature with an easily and often caricatured dental structure. The Canadian flag is only a half-century old. Canada's anthem, typically sung in both French and English, conveys differences in meaning in each official language.

Like its political landscape, Canadian media are fragmented. Canadians, like many throughout the world, have access to and regularly use media that provide a multiplicity of messages, many originating outside of Canada's borders. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the National Film Board of Canada, institutions that until the mid-20th century provided a clear exposition of the values, experiences and stories that Canadians shared, no longer enjoy the stature or command the attention of the majority of Canadians. In a highly fragmented media universe with a multiplicity of choices, there are no institutions capable of conveying to Canadians a sense of themselves as a nation or commanding their attention.

Canada's population is among the most diverse in the world as a consequence of its dependence upon immigration. Over the course of Canada's history, the proportion of immigrants has averaged above 15 percent, making Canada's population linguistically and culturally diverse (Statistics Canada, 2003).

CHALLENGES TO CANADIAN COHESION

Although the challenge of social cohesion is exacerbated for Canada by these aforementioned characteristics, Canada has not incurred the internecine conflicts faced by many other nations. What is even more remarkable about this achievement is that Canada has taken a unique course among nations in pursuing a vision of itself as a society in which people are able to retain their heritage languages and their cultural identifications while they enjoy the full benefits of a citizenship founded on shared rights, freedoms, and obligations. Canada has embraced poly-ethnicity and multi-nationality through its pursuit of such policies as bilingualism, multiculturalism, and its willingness to negotiate with indigenous groups on a nation to nation basis (Kymlika, 1995).

Chief among the reasons that Canada is able to maintain cohesion even though its citizens are encouraged to retain their heritage languages and their cultural identifications is that it does not allow such retention to engender inequalities within or among groups (see, for example, Boyd, 2004). This has not always been the case. Inequalities within and among groups was of little concern to Canadian policy makers for much of Canada's history.

Throughout much of Canada's history indigenous peoples were mistreated, Asian and South Asian immigration restricted, Francophone Canadians were dominated by Anglophones, Jewish refugees were denied entry to Canada, and Japanese-Canadians were interned. These were more than minor departures from fair and equitable treatment. Beginning during the Second World War, policies changed to make the discriminatory treatment less likely. Though propitiated more by political exigency and circumstance, the policies that evolved in the post war period, when considered in relation to one another, constitutes an infrastructure that has contributed to social justice and social cohesion in Canada.

CANADA'S SOCIAL JUSTICE INFRASTRUCTURE

Human rights

Ironic though it may be, at approximately the same time as Canadians of Japanese ancestry were interned, the province of Ontario passed what is regarded as the first Canadian human rights statute (The Racial Discrimination Act, 1944). Designed to counter the discriminatory treatment which accompanied signs proclaiming ‘Whites Only’ or ‘No Jews or Dogs Allowed’, the act prohibited the publication, display or broadcast of material proclaiming an intention to discriminate on the basis of race or belief. The province of Saskatchewan enacted a bill of rights three years later, establishing freedom of speech, religion and association, and prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, national, or ethnic origin (Saskatchewan Bill of Rights Act, 1947). Several of Canada’s provinces adopted legislation during the 1950s that permitted the launching of complaints about unfair employment practices and discrimination in the provision of accommodation. Human rights were significantly advanced in 1962 with the passage of the Ontario Human Rights Code, prohibiting discrimination based on race, religion, color, nationality, ancestry and place of origin, and establishing a full-time commission responsible for handling complaints, investigation, and remediation. Today, all the Canadian provinces and territories have human rights legislation, though the strength of the legislation varies greatly from province to province and the vigour with which the legislation has been applied has varied over time.

French-English relations

Although Canadian nationhood was, for most of Canadian history, distinctly more British than French (Smith, 1981), the basic duality of two founding nations “prevented the framing of a national idea in terms of a single creed or type”. During the post-war period, growing Quebec nationalism forced Canada to address inequalities between French and English Canadians. Beginning with the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (1949), the Canadian government found it necessary to recognize that there were at least two Canadas that were unequal and almost completely separate.
It was during the same period that the primary basis of self-identification of French Canadians shifted from one that had been primarily upon religion to one based primarily upon language. The transformation of identity from one based on religion to one based on language, diminished the meliorating influence of the Catholic Church and enabled Quebec nationalism to grow. Increasingly cognizant of the changes occurring in Quebec, the Government of Canada made modest concessions. In 1958, simultaneous translation of Parliamentary proceedings began. In 1962, cheques issued by the Government of Canada were issued in French and English. These primarily symbolic gestures did little to quell the increasing demands for more substantive changes.

Circumstances were such that, when the Liberal government of Lester Pearson took power, it called for a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1963) “...to recommend what steps would be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races” (Waddell, 1986). Among the chief findings of the Commission was acknowledgement of the linguistic inequality between French and English speakers. In response, the government developed and proclaimed the Official Languages Act (Asselin, 2001), granting equal, official status to both English and French for all governmental purposes in the proceedings of Parliament, the judiciary and crown corporations. In a brief period that followed the Commission, the government established a wide range of programs to promote bilingualism, including the promotion of second language instruction in Canada’s official languages (Waddell, 1986). Official bilingualism was instrumental in improving the climate of respect between French and English Canadians and among Canadians of other linguistic backgrounds.

Immigration reform
The overtly racist practices of its early history – the attempts to halt or substantially reduce immigration of persons of Chinese or Indian ancestry, for example – are no longer evident. The elimination of the overtly racist approach occurred during the same period that the government was wrestling with the reformation of French Canadian identity and the issue of equality it presented. The Immigration Act of 1910 permitted the government of Canada to “prohibit for a stated period or permanently, the landing in Canada ... of immigrants belonging to any race unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada.” The Immigration Act of 1976, implemented in 1978, removed the aforementioned discriminatory provision from Canadian law and enshrined the point system for immigrant selection adopted in 1967 to more closely align immigration with Canadian labour market needs.

State policy on multiculturalism
Despite the efforts of the Government of Canada to promote harmony among ethnic communities to aid its pursuit of the Second World War (Joshee, 1995), Canada had no official state policy of multiculturalism until October 8, 1971. On that date, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau proclaimed a formal, state policy of “multiculturalism within a bilingual framework” (House of Commons Debates, 1971). Couched as “... the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians,” Trudeau believed that a policy of multiculturalism would ... break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies.” The multiculturalism policy had four objectives expressing Trudeau’s liberal, democratic vision:

1. to assist cultural groups to retain and foster their identity
2. to assist cultural groups to overcome barriers to their full participation in Canadian society
3. to promote creative exchanges and interchanges among all Canadian cultural groups, and
4. to assist immigrants in acquiring at least one of the official languages.

By 1977, the Multiculturalism Directorate had identified its priorities as: incorporating multicultural concerns into existing federal government activities; developing sensitization programs for all sectors of government addressing the public; making clear public statements on the relationship of multiculturalism to bilingualism; developing resource material devoted to multicultural issues; encouraging national media to include multicultural talent in their programs; integrating ‘folk arts’ events into existing ‘non-ethnic’ events; and sensitizing business, labour and professional organizations to the pluralist nature of Canadian society. Two years later, in 1979, the Multiculturalism Sector of the Department of the Secretary of State had begun a process of consultation with major institutions in Canadian society to improve the “awareness of key groups in public life to promote a better understanding of the multicultural nature of Canadian society.” In 1981, the Multiculturalism Sector established a unit devoted to race relations that commissioned situational reports on the state of race relations in Canada’s major cities. A year later, a symposium of Race Relations and the Law was held in Vancouver to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the formal, state multiculturalism policy.

Constitutional reform
Canada’s founding constitution, the British North America Act, made no mention of human rights. From Confederation until the late 1940s, Canada’s courts tended to uphold commercial and propertied interests rather than human rights. When, in 1982, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms was added to Canada’s constitution it significantly strengthened the infrastructure supporting democratic citizenship and social cohesion (Constitution Act, 1982).

Anti-racism in Canada’s third order of government
Policies and programs have been pursued to counter racism in Canadian society. Beginning in the 1980s, Canadian municipalities established civic committees to address racism. With the broad mandate to “foster and improve race relations” the committees were responsible for proposing
to the municipalities that created them short and long-term strategies and actions to promote social harmony and reduce racial tension. These committees engaged in a broad range of activities, including reviewing proposed and current legislation; recommending policies and practices designed to combat racism and promote multiculturalism; and liaising with departments, boards, commissions and agencies inside and outside of civic government about race relations (Ungerleider, 1985a).

School boards throughout Canada began to adopt race relations and multicultural education policies at roughly the same time that municipalities were developing their policies and procedures. In addition to adopting policies, local school boards established guidelines for employee and student behaviour, procedures for handling race related incidents, committees to review curricula and materials for their suitability, and employment equity policies procedures to govern hiring (cf. Metropolitan Separate School Board, 1984; Zinnman, 1988; Echols & Fisher, 1989).

Improving the relations between Canadian police and minorities also became a priority during the 1980s (cf. Ungerleider, 1994; McGregor & Ungerleider, 1993; Ungerleider & McGregor, 1993; Ungerleider & McGregor, 1991). During the 1980s, the Multiculturalism Sector of the Department of the Secretary of State collaborated with the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police, funded a variety of initiatives, including a symposium on Race Relations and the Law in 1982; a police–minority symposium in 1984; research projects devoted to recruitment and selection, intercultural training and police-community liaison; intercultural training pilot projects in Vancouver and Ottawa (Ungerleider, 1985b); the establishment of the National Police Multicultural Liaison Committee of the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police; pilot projects in the Quebec and Atlantic regions to recruit and prepare visible minority candidates for careers in policing; intercultural training programs at police academies in Charlottetown and Nicolet and in other cities across Canada; and provincial conferences on police-minority relations in British Columbia, Alberta, Quebec and Ontario (Winterton, et al., 1984).

Employment equity
Between the early 1950s and the end of the century, Canada became increasingly sensitive to discrimination in employment. In the 1950s Canada passed the Canada Fair Employment Practices Act and the Female Employees’ Equal Pay Act prohibiting discrimination in employment and establishing standards for merit in hiring in areas of federal jurisdiction. The federal government began a voluntary equal opportunity program for the private sector in 1978 that was expanded in 1979 to companies doing business with the federal government and to federal Crown corporations.

The Public Service Reform Act (1992) made the voluntary employment equity policies in the public service mandatory and made them subject to the Financial Administration Act and Public Service Employment Acts. A new Employment Equity Act was proclaimed in 1995, creating a legislative framework for employment equity in both the private and public sectors falling within federal jurisdiction. That Act extended employment equity to the federal public service, mandated the Canadian Human Rights Commission to conduct onsite compliance reviews, and provided for an Employment Equity Review Tribunal to hear disputes and issue orders.

Multiculturalism Act
An Act for the Preservation and Enhancement of Multiculturalism in Canada was proclaimed in 1988, making Canada the first nation to “recognize and promote” as a matter of policy “the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of ... society” and to acknowledge “the freedom of all members of ... society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage.” The Act declared that all federal institutions shall: ensure that Canadians of all origins have an equal opportunity to obtain employment and advancement in those institutions; promote policies, programs, and practices that enhance the ability of individuals and communities of all origins to contribute to the continuing evolution of Canada; promote policies, programs, and practices that enhance the understanding of and respect for the diversity of the members of Canadians society; collect statistical data in order to enable the development of policies, programs and practices that are sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada; make use, as appropriate, of the language skills and cultural understanding of individuals of all origins; and generally, carry on their activities in a manner that is sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada (Multiculturalism and Citizenship in Canada, 1990).

Redress of Past Wrongs
In September 1988, the Canadian government announced the terms of an agreement between the Government of Canada and the National Association of Japanese Canadians, acknowledging “that the treatment of Japanese Canadians during and after World War II was unjust and violated principles of human rights as they are understood today.” In addition to officially acknowledging the injustices suffered by the Japanese, the Government made “symbolic” redress payments of $21,000 and provided $24 million to create a Canadian Race Relations Foundation (Canadian Race Relations Foundation Act, 1991). The Foundation was intended to: act as a clearing house for information by means of an electronic data base; undertake research to provide comprehensive state-of-the-art information for Canadian policy makers, researchers, people who work in the field of race relations, voluntary organizations and the general public; assist institutions, private and public, in seeking to reflect more sensitively Canada’s multiracial nature; assist in expanding knowledge in the field of race relations; and foster effective policies and approaches for the elimination of racism and discrimination (Government of Canada, 1988).
Eight years later, Prime Minister Stephen Harper offered an apology to Chinese Canadians for the Head Tax and expressed regret for the exclusion of Chinese immigrants from 1923 until 1947 (Harper, 2006). Two years later, he apologized to former students of Indian residential schools for the treatment they had received (Harper, 2008).

IS CANADA’S SOCIAL JUSTICE INFRASTRUCTURE DETERIORATING?

Over the course of its history, Canada has made progress toward a socially just and cohesive state. Social cohesion is the outcome of many social forces, including the absence of significant inequalities in such factors as education, employment, income, and health; the absence of discrimination; access to civil society’s institutions; and active and enduring social relations. Notwithstanding the progress made, there are indications that the infrastructure may be deteriorating with the potential to threaten Canada’s social cohesion.

Education

McAndrew and her colleagues (2009) undertook secondary analysis of provincial and school-board data to examine and compare educational pathways and academic performance of students who do not use the majority language used in schools at home in Canada’s three major immigrant destinations, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver (for example, non-French speakers in Montreal and non-English speakers in Toronto and Vancouver). They found that the socio-demographic profiles, the schooling processes, and the characteristics of the schools attended of students who do not use the majority language used in schools at home compared less favourably with those of students who do use the majority language used in schools at home. Despite their less favourable characteristics and circumstances, when taken as a group who do not use the majority language used in schools at home graduate from high school and participate in courses need for admission to post-secondary educational institutions at higher rates than their peers who do use the majority language used in schools at home. However, the positive outcomes achieved by the group as a whole mask significant inter-group differences that show a consistent hierarchy across sites with Chinese speakers exhibiting consistently high outcomes and Spanish and Creole speakers consistently low outcomes (the outcomes of other groups are not consistent across cities). If the inequalities identified by McAndrew and her colleagues persistent across time and locations, they are likely to circumscribe opportunities for further education, employment, income and health. Social cohesion is threatened in societies where the life chances and outcomes achieved can be predicted by group membership.

Income

Between 1989 and 2004, the most recent period for which Canadian data are available, income inequality rose. Heisz (2007) used two measure of inequality: the ratio of after-tax family income between the top and bottom 10 percent and the Gini coefficient, adjusted for family size. The ratio of after-tax income of the top 10 percent to the bottom 10 percent rose from 6.58 in 1989 to 8.85 in 2004 (up by 35 percent), and the Gini also rose. The results indicate that after-tax-income inequality was higher in the post-2000 period than at any other point since 1976 (Heisz, 2007, p.6). During the period, the average income in the bottom 10 percent of families fell by eight percent, rising by eight percent at the median and by 24 percent at the top 10 percent.

The middle class, as defined by income, was diminished in the direction of lower and higher income. The proportion of persons with after-tax incomes below 75 percent of the median increased by 2.6 percent and those with after-tax incomes above 150 percent of the median increased by 2.0 percent (Heisz, 2007). Heisz also examined the difference between inequality in family market income and inequality in family after-tax income to determine how much the state redistributed family income and reduced income inequality during the period.

... in the 1990-to-2004 period, redistribution did not grow at the same pace as market income inequality and offset only 19 percent of the increase in family market-income inequality ... other things equal, redistribution would have needed to expand enough to reduce the Gini by more than twice as much in the 1990s as it did in the 1980s in order to prevent after-tax-income inequality from rising in that decade. (Heisz, 2007, p. 8)

While the source of the inequality in income between immigrants and native-born Canadians is debatable (see for example, Ferrer, Green & Craig Riddell, 2004); there is widespread agreement among analysts that, during the 1980s and 1990s, the earnings of successive groups of immigrants declined in relation to the earnings of those born in Canada (Picot & Myles, 2004).

Racism and Discrimination

Social cohesion is also affected by people’s perceptions others and feelings of their own safety and security. In the aftermath of the attack on the World Trade Centre in 2001, the construction of security (Bahdi, 2003) and the characterization of Canadians alleged to be threats to Canada’s security have evoked charges of racism (Fisk, 2006).

Most Canadians regard themselves as tolerant, but critics say that most people are unconsciously xenophobic and discriminatory. Riley and Ungerleider (2008) conducted the first empirical test of whether Canadian pre-service teachers’ judgments about the performance of Aboriginal students were discriminatory. They asked 50 pre-service teachers to assess the fictional records of 24 students for the purpose of recommending their placement in remedial, conventional or advanced programs. The performance of students whom pre-service teachers were led to believe were of Aboriginal ancestry were under-valued in comparison to non-Aboriginal students with identical student records.
CONCLUSION
During the Second World War, Canada tried to promote harmony among ethnic groups, embarking upon changes that, though unintended at the time, have helped to create an infrastructure that facilitates social justice and social cohesion. That infrastructure has thus far shown itself to be sufficiently robust that it has proven unnecessary for Canada to retreat from its unique path toward a socially cohesive multi-national and poly-ethnic society (Fulford, 2007). Inequalities and discrimination present continuing challenges that, if not addressed, are capable of fracturing the fragile Canadian state.

REFERENCES
Chinese Immigration Act, 1903. S.C. 3 Edw., c. 8, s. 6.
Constitution Act, 1982, Canada
A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF TEACHER CREDIBILITY IN RELATION TO TEACHER CLARITY AND NONVERBAL IMMEDIACY

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ABSTRACT
This study explores teacher credibility in relation to teacher clarity and nonverbal immediacy in the United States (US) and China. Participants consisted of 320 students from a mid-sized public university in the US and 388 students from an equivalent one in China. Statistical analyses revealed significant differences in perceived teacher credibility, teacher clarity, and nonverbal immediacy between the two countries. However, similar patterns were found with regard to perceived teacher credibility in relation to teacher clarity and nonverbal immediacy in both cultures. The similar relationship patterns identified in this study seem to indicate that some teacher communication behaviors may be applicable across national boundaries.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Teacher credibility
The term credibility refers to attitudes people form while listening to communication expressed by others. This concept is attributed to Aristotle’s discussion of ethos in The Rhetoric, in which a speaker’s ethos becomes persuasive when his or her speech promotes a belief in the intended message (Cooper, 1960). Ethos, which later developed into the notion of credibility, is thought to consist of three components: the speaker’s intelligence, character, and intended goodwill (McCroskey & Young, 1981). In instructional communication, teacher credibility refers to the extent to which a student perceives teachers as a valid source of instruction (McCroskey & Young, 1981). It consisted of three dimensions: competence, trustworthiness, and caring (Teven & McCroskey, 1997).

Teacher clarity, educational outcomes and teacher credibility
Teacher clarity, as a concept, emerged from the research literature on effective instruction (Rosenshine & Furst, 1971). It has been described as the extent to which an instructor communicates the desired meaning of course content and processes through the use of appropriately structured verbal and nonverbal messages as perceived by students (Chesebro & McCroskey, 1998). Some have suggested teacher clarity includes oral and written aspects (Sideling & McCroskey, 1997). Oral clarity is displayed through a teacher’s lectures, examples, and feedback to students’ questions. Written clarity is displayed via the teacher’s course syllabi, exam questions, and course outlines, among other things. Others proposed that the message, process, and the receiver all contribute to clarity and called for study of individual and group differences in clarity, including culture and ethnicity (Civikly, 1992).

Teacher clarity relates to cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions to learning. Higher levels of teacher clarity are associated with higher levels of cognitive and affective learning and more positive course instructor ratings (Sideling & McCroskey, 1997). Efforts to enhance clarity with pre-service teachers resulted in more student learning yet did not lead to higher learner satisfaction (Metcalf, 1992). Thus, clarity may be a necessary yet insufficient condition to increase perceived teacher credibility.

However, limited research has been conducted concerning the relationship between teacher clarity and credibility. Toale (2001) found clarity linked to all three aspects of credibility. It is surprising that the highest correlation was found between clarity and caring instead of competence. While verbal communication often contains the content of a message, nonverbal communication often carries messages about the relationship between communicators (Novinger, 2001), and thus may be especially important in perceptions of credibility.

Nonverbal immediacy, educational outcomes, and credibility
Nonverbal immediacy refers to nonverbal communication that reduces physical and psychological distance between communicators (Powell & Harville, 1990). It involves the use of proximity, positive facial expressions, gestures and body movements, and vocal variations. Nonverbal immediacy is identified as one of the most salient teacher communication behaviors, consistently reported as positively related to various aspects of learning (Rodriguez, Flax, & Kearney, 1996). It relates to cognitive learning (Richmond, Gorham, & McCroskey, 1987); for example, short-term recall (Kelly & Gorham, 1988); affective learning (Flax, Kearney, McCroskey & Richmond, 1986) and state motivation (eg attitudes toward a specific class; Christophel, 1990); and overall student ratings (Moore, Masterson, Christophel & Shea, 1996). Some studies report relationships between teachers’ nonverbal intimacy and two or all three aspects of student learning – cognitive, affective, and behavioral (Christensen...
In addition to its relationship with student learning, nonverbal immediacy also predicts ratings of instruction (Moore et al., 1996). Specifically, higher nonverbal immediacy is associated with more favorable character judgment, and facial pleasantness with greater competence (Burgoon & Birk, 1990). Research associates nonverbal immediacy with all three dimensions of teacher credibility: Competence, trustworthiness, and caring. (Teven & Hanson, 2004; Thweatt & McCroskey, 1998).

**Nonverbal immediacy and culture**

More recently, researchers have applied the nonverbal immediacy-learning model to the multicultural settings in and outside of the United States. Research has shown a positive relationship between immediate behavior and all three domains of learning across different ethnic groups within the United States, despite differences between groups (Glascock & Ruggiero, 2006; Sanders & Wiseman, 1990). Powell and Harville (1990) found that teacher clarity had the strongest relationship with students’ course evaluations across ethnic groups in the US, as well as a strong correlation between nonverbal immediacy and evaluation of the instructor for Asians. Neuliep (1995, p. 276) contended that “the specific role of teacher immediacy on student outcome is mediated, to some degree, by culture”.

McCroskey et al (1995, 1996) found that teachers’ nonverbal immediacy positively correlated with attitudes toward teachers across four cultures — Australia, Finland, Puerto Rico and the US. Surprisingly, the correlation between teacher immediacy and the willingness to take another course with the same teacher was significantly stronger for Finland, suggesting immediacy may be important in other non-immediate cultures, like China. McCroskey et al (1996, p. 303) argue that “whether the norms in the culture favor high or low immediacy, if the teacher is comparatively more immediate, the student’s affective learning is enhanced”. Research suggests that the predictive link of immediacy and credibility to learning is higher in the US than in Kenya (Johnson & Miller, 2002). The fact that American instructors may be more immediate than instructors in other cultures, such as Germany (Roach & Byrne, 2001) further substantiates this centrality of nonverbal warmth in American instruction.

**Research questions**

To conclude, teacher clarity and nonverbal immediacy are two promising variables in predicting student cognitive learning, affective learning, and student rating of instructors. Studies indicate that teacher clarity and nonverbal immediacy are positively related to perceived credibility when either of the two is compared with other variables. However, which of the two is a better predictor of perceived teacher credibility and whether the relationships established in the US applies to cultures that are radically different, such as China, remains largely unexplored.

Thus, the purpose of this study is to determine:
(a) whether teacher clarity or nonverbal immediacy has a closer relationship with perceived teacher credibility
(b) how these two variables are correlated with each dimension of perceived teacher credibility, and
(c) the extent to which the relationships between these variables found in the US are also applicable to the Chinese culture.

While exploring the possible relationships between the above-mentioned variables is meaningful in itself, a cross-cultural comparison will broaden our understanding of the cultural-universal and the local features of instructional communication.

**METHODS**

**Participants**

In a cross-cultural comparison, China was selected for this research because, ideally, cultures as far apart on the cultural dimensions are selected (for example, one highly individualistic versus one highly collectivistic) (Gudykunst & Lee, 2002). China and the United States are distant on several dimensions of culture, including most of Hofstede’s (2009) dimensions, making differences between these cultures theoretically relevant. The research sample included 708 participants: 320 college students from a Midwestern university in the United States and 388 students from an analogous university in mainland China. The US sample consists of 166 male and 154 female students, with 90 percent between age 18 and 24. For the Chinese sample, 110 students were male, and 278 were female, with 95.5 percent between age 18 and 24.

**Instruments**

This study utilized three established instruments to gather the information. The Perceived Teacher Credibility Scale (Teven & McCroskey, 1997) contains 18 seven-point bipolar items in three dimensions, with solid alpha reliabilities: competence (.89), trustworthiness (.83), and goodwill or caring (.93). The second instrument, the Teacher Clarity Short Inventory (TCSI; Chesebro & McCroskey, 1998), contains 10 items, measured on a five-point Likert scale, that measure both content clarity and process clarity of instruction. Scale developers reported the alpha reliability of this revised scale as .92 (1998, 2001). The third instrument, the Perceived Nonverbal Immediacy Behavior Scale (PNIBS) is a five-point scale, with 10 items (McCroskey et al., 1995). The PNIBS is a widely used instrument in recent research on teacher immediacy, with consistently high reliability (.82 to .86; Glascock & Ruggiero, 2006; Sideling & McCroskey, 1997; Thomas, Richmond, & McCroskey, 1994).

Back-translation was conducted by a bilingual professional in order to retain linguistic equivalence. In addition, a group of 15 Chinese students studying at a Midwestern university provided feedback to enhance the clarity of the Chinese version after completing the survey.
Data collection
Data collection took place at the 12th week of the semester at both universities from 10 departments (Biology, Chemistry, Computer Science, Curriculum and Instruction, English, History, Math, Music, Physics, and Political Science). Students anonymously rated the instructors in the class immediately prior to the class during which data were collected. This method was first employed by Plax et al. (1986), is supported by McCroskey et al. (1996), and has been adopted by many other researchers in the subsequent studies (e.g., Christensen & Menzel, 1998; Glascock & Ruggiero, 2006).

Statistical procedures
A reliability analysis was conducted for each scale and each subscale for the US sample and Chinese sample respectively. With regard to the Teacher Clarity Short Inventory, Cronbach's alpha was .90 for the US sample. However, the reliability was .74 for the Chinese sample. Reliability analysis suggested that item 5, related to “instructional objectives,” was problematic, and thus it was deleted increasing the reliability to .86 for the Chinese sample, with a minimal change from 90 to 89.5 for the US sample. Analyses thereafter were based on the means of nine items for teacher clarity. As for the Perceived Nonverbal Immediacy Behavior Scale, Cronbach’s alpha was well above alpha .70, the acceptable level in educational research (US = .83; China = .77). Cronbach’s alpha remains equally high (.92) in both countries for Perceived Teacher Credibility Scale, suggesting that the measure works well in both cultures.

Using SPSS 15.0, researchers conducted independent sample 2-tailed t-tests to identify differences between the two cultures, with the significance level set at .05. Multiple regression analyses determined the relationships between teacher clarity, teacher nonverbal immediacy, and perceived teacher credibility including each dimension of teacher credibility in the two cultures.

FINDINGS
Comparisons by countries
Independent t-tests show that US students rated their instructors significantly higher in teacher credibility (Mean = 5.87, SD = .90) than Chinese students rated their Chinese instructors (Mean = 5.07, SD = 1.08, p < .001). In fact, on all three subscales of perceived teacher credibility (competence, caring and trustworthiness), US instructors on all three subscales of perceived teacher credibility. in each case, clarity and nonverbal immediacy were entered into the regression equation in a single step.

Table 1. Comparisons on all variables by country

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLES</th>
<th>USA</th>
<th>CHINA</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CREDIBILITY</td>
<td>5.88 (.90)</td>
<td>5.06 (1.08)</td>
<td>*p &lt; .05. **p &lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPETENCE</td>
<td>6.04 (.98)</td>
<td>5.15 (1.32)</td>
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<tr>
<td>CARING</td>
<td>5.43 (1.30)</td>
<td>4.45 (1.23)**</td>
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<tr>
<td>TRUSTWORTHINESS</td>
<td>6.15 (.94)</td>
<td>5.61 (1.26)**</td>
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<tr>
<td>CLARITY</td>
<td>3.92 (.81)</td>
<td>3.76 (.74)**</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>NONVERBAL</td>
<td>3.87 (.65)</td>
<td>3.17 (.63)**</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMMEDIACY</td>
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</table>

For the US sample, teacher clarity and nonverbal immediacy predict 50 percent of the variance in perceived teacher credibility. When the relative strengths of these two variables were compared, teacher clarity appeared to be a better predictor for perceived teacher credibility (β = .53) than nonverbal immediacy (β = .27). With the Chinese sample, 52 percent of the variance in perceived teacher credibility can be explained by this regression model. When the relative strengths of the two independent variables were compared, teacher clarity appeared to be a better predictor of all dimensions of credibility (β = .54) than was nonverbal immediacy (β = .27) (See Table 2).

Teacher clarity has a similar relationship to the different dimensions of teacher credibility in both countries, in each case predicting more of the variance in credibility than does nonverbal immediacy. Nonverbal immediacy seems to be more closely related to teacher caring for the US sample whereas it is more closely related to competence for the Chinese sample.

DISCUSSION
Culture and perceived teacher credibility
Regarding comparisons of means of the main variables of teacher clarity, nonverbal immediacy, and perceived teacher credibility, descriptive analyses revealed more differences than similarities between the two countries. Multiple regression analyses, however, indicate that more similarities than differences exist in the relationships between the dependent variable and independent variables in the US and Chinese samples.

First, US instructors were rated higher in perceived teacher credibility than the Chinese instructors. This result appears counterintuitive because it seems that teachers who have higher status in a hierarchical culture would have an advantage in perceived credibility. Hofstede (1997, 2009) classifies the US as a lower power distance culture, whereas China is rated as a high power distance culture.
Table 2. Multiple regressions analysis for variables predicting perceived teacher credibility

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<th>VARIABLES</th>
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<tr>
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<td>.05</td>
<td>.53**</td>
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<tr>
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<td>.71</td>
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<tr>
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<td>CREDIBILITY (OVERALL)</td>
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<td>CLARITY</td>
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<tr>
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<td>.09</td>
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<tr>
<td>NONVERBAL IMMEDIACY</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>.11</td>
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Note. N=320 for the US sample; R²=.50 for overall credibility; .43 for caring; .35 for competence; .25 for trustworthiness. N=386 for the Chinese sample; R²=.52 for overall credibility; .38 for caring; .49 for competence; .24 for trustworthiness. **p < .001

Results in this study suggest that higher status in the teacher–student relationship does not necessarily lead to higher perceptions of credibility in a high power distance culture. There are at least three possible explanations for this finding: First, it may be that students respect the teacher’s expertise by showing good manners publicly, following Confucian norms of propriety and respect for social relationships (Yum, 1994), but that this does not infer an actual perception of the instructor’s credibility. Second, students in higher power distance cultures, respecting the teacher more, may hold them to higher standards. According to Lu (1997, p. 20), “Chinese teachers are always regarded as austere authoritarian figures”. Teachers assume the role of an authoritarian, a moralist and a role model in the student-teacher relationship. Teacher credibility as a major component of teacher authority is a valued source of teacher influence in Chinese education (Zhou, 2002). And third, the results may be simply due to a response bias by which Asian participants tend to avoid extreme scores more than do American participants (Gudykunst & Lee, 2002). Similar patterns for other high-power distance cultures (Johnson & Miller, 2002) suggest a need for further research to better understand the relationship between power distance and credibility.

Culture and teacher clarity

Similar to the findings with teacher credibility, Chinese instructors were perceived as less clear by their Chinese students than their American counterparts. This difference might be related to high-context and low-context dimension of culture. Researchers classify the US as a low-context culture and China and other Eastern Asian countries as high context (Andersen, 2003; Hall & Hall, 1998). In a high-context culture, people rely heavily on their shared knowledge and assumptions based on role relationships and situations, whereas low-context cultures imbue the words themselves with more meaning. If explicitness is counted as clarity, it comes as no surprise that American instructors are perceived as clearer than their Chinese counterparts. According to Civikly (1992), clarity does not only depend on the speaker; the audience also has a role to play. This perspective of clarity entails the examination of the characteristic of students surveyed in the Chinese culture. Research suggests that the new generation of Chinese college students differs from earlier generations in the way it communicates: “While young people are certainly becoming more expressive with language, the high context tradition of the Chinese culture may possibly see a sway toward more low-context in the future” (Zhong, 2003, p. 214). If a communication gap exists between the high context generation of instructors and relatively low context generation of college students, students may perceive instructors as less clear in the Chinese culture.

Culture and nonverbal immediacy

The finding that Chinese instructors were less immediate than the US instructors, concords with Hall’s (1976) geographic mapping of high-contact versus low-contact cultures. Like other Asian cultures, China is considered as a low-contact culture compared with the United States (Andersen, 2003). The higher immediacy rating for the US instructors echoes McCroskey and his colleagues’ (1996) conclusion about the US instructors in comparison with instructors in Australia and Finland. Despite anomalous findings in which higher contact Kenyan instructors were rated as less immediate than moderate contact US instructors (Johnson & Miller, 2002), a finding that might integrate power distance and contact in a complicated way, the current findings are more straightforward: The high power distance, low-contact nature of the Chinese culture may be related to the gap in teacher nonverbal immediacy between the US and China as well as to the greater respect afforded to instructors in China, as noted above.
Relationship patterns in cultural contexts

Similarities
The present findings indicate that teacher clarity and nonverbal immediacy are valued in both US, a low context, and China, a high context. The relative strengths of teacher clarity and nonverbal immediacy suggest that teacher clarity is a better predictor of perceived teacher credibility, with nonverbal immediacy being complementary for the same outcome in both cultures. The above-mentioned relationships seem to indicate that some communication preferred in the US classroom may be applicable to other cultures in spite of cultural differences.

Findings regarding the positive relationship between teacher nonverbal immediacy and teacher credibility are consistent with Thweatt & McCroskey's (1998) conclusion that teacher immediacy has positive relationship with all three dimensions of teacher credibility. However, the finding that nonverbal immediacy is equally valued in the US and China contradicts the expectation that Chinese students would not respond positively to teacher nonverbal immediacy (Ho, 2001; Myers, Zhong & Guan, 1998). This suggests a reevaluation of the assumption that nonverbal immediacy is not valued in low-contact cultures such as China. In fact, high-context cultures like China may be more attentive to nonverbal communication (Andersen, 2003). The positive relationship between nonverbal immediacy and perceived teacher credibility found in China seems to support the expectancy violation model (Burgoon & Ebisu Hubbard, 2005), which contends that the positive violation of nonverbal expectancy produces more favorable communication outcomes than does conformity to expectations.

Differences
Even though similar relationships were found between teacher clarity and perceived teacher credibility in both cultures, clarity had a closer relationship with perceived competence than caring in the US sample. This seems to contradict Toales' (2001) finding that teacher clarity accounted for more of the variance in the caring dimension than for competence and trustworthiness. Thus, to determine whether teacher clarity has a closer relationship with perceived competence or caring in the US population calls for further study with wider, multiple-location sampling.

Also noteworthy is that, while nonverbal immediacy has the same predictive power for teacher credibility ($\beta = .27$) in both the US and Chinese samples, this variable seems to be more closely associated with different dimensions of teacher credibility in the two cultures. In the US sample, nonverbal immediacy is most closely related to students’ perceptions of caring, whereas among the Chinese sample, with teacher competence. The difference may relate to the different roles that students assume in classroom communication process in the two cultures. Hofstede (1997) argues that students in low power distance cultures are more likely to see the instructor as a facilitator of knowledge. Further, Friday (1997) notes that an aspect of American culture is the desire to be liked, and teacher nonverbal warmth may make students feel personally liked. On the other hand, students in high power distance cultures usually regard the instructor as a subject expert, while presenting “themselves as an attentive, respectful, and above all, passive audience” (Hu & Grove, 1991, p. 81). Since American students assume the role of active participants during instruction, teacher immediacy communicates the affect toward the interactants. Since Chinese students expect the knowledge to be delivered by the teacher, a knowledgeable and competent speaker, teacher nonverbal immediacy may be viewed as a revealing of the speaker’s ability and confidence in what he or she was lecturing about.

CONCLUSION
This study suggests that, in terms of teacher credibility, teacher clarity is key, while nonverbal immediacy is complementary in predicting perceived teacher credibility in both cultures. The similar relationship patterns identified in this study seem to indicate that some teacher communication behaviors may be applicable across national boundaries.

Like all studies, this one has limitations. First, since researchers relied upon convenience samples to ensure a good survey return rate, the results should be interpreted with caution. Second, even though the reliability of all three instruments from both countries exceeded the acceptable threshold, the alpha value with the Chinese sample appeared to be less desirable than that of the US. Finally, considering the relationships revealed in this study are based on surveying data, rather than experimental, no causal relationships can be derived.

Still, the findings have practical implications. With the increasing international exchange in higher education, teachers and educators need to be equipped not only with what works locally, but what works globally. Hopefully, this study will help international teachers understand communication behaviors and their cultural implications. This study may also help teachers working with diverse student populations and teacher educators who wish to prepare preservice teachers for diverse settings to understand the culture universal and specifics.
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EXPLORATION OF PERCEPTIONS AND APPLICATIONS OF SPOKEN REGISTER AT A SOUTH AUSTRALIAN UNIVERSITY IN RELATION TO IRAQI STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT
It has been suggested that insufficient research attention has been paid to the teaching of academic register to English as a Second Language students studying in Australia (Weger, 2009). Register is important since acquiring a language includes an understanding of the subject matter, relationships between participants, and the channel of communication as well as merely grammar and syntax. It is therefore relevant to discover whether this is in fact the case in Australian pre-enrolment English programs and bridging programs. Research on register should inform its teaching in academic contexts. A number of studies such as those by Martin, Matthiessen and Painter (1997) and Aguirre-Muñoz and colleagues (2006) have explored register in written academic discourse. Far fewer have looked at register in spoken discourse. In addition, these isolated studies have not explored formal spoken discourse. For instance, Sattar and colleagues (2009) focused on informal spoken discourses in the classroom.

In order to address the issue of Iraqi students learning spoken register in Australia, this study explores the literature related to the issue, identifies gaps in the knowledge-base, and defines a theoretical framework and methodology for exploring the complex, real-life content-based classroom interactions related to register. This framework will enable the exploration of materials, curricula, teaching practices and perceptions of what is learnt, in pre-enrolment programs and bridging programs. It will also facilitate the exploration of whether appropriate register is achieved by these learners.

REGISTERING REGISTER
Register is a term used to describe how people use language to express different shades of meaning and thereby achieve a particular purpose or function within a particular social setting (Cope, 1993). In order to explain the processes involved in learning appropriate register, systemic functional linguists use three terms: field, tenor and mode.

The effective interaction of these three elements is vital to achieving successful communication and it has been suggested that language teachers should not only teach vocabulary and grammatical structure, but also use classroom interactions to model and provide practice of real world inter-personal tasks (Firkins, Forey & Sengupta, 2007; Swales & Feak, 2004). For this reason, academic English requires the teaching of field, tenor and mode as well as grammar and vocabulary.

A range of research studies suggests that misunderstandings between lecturers and university students with English as Second Language (ESL) are frequent (Aguirre-Muñoz, et al., 2006; Martin et al., 1997; Sattar, Lah & Suleiman, 2009). This is particularly pertinent in spoken language, where there is little opportunity for self-correction. It appears that traditional teaching approaches including traditional grammar teaching methods have failed to sufficiently address this issue.

In English-speaking countries with large numbers of immigrants, such as the United States and Australia, children from non-English-speaking families are very likely to encounter difficulties in learning English and content knowledge simultaneously (Benson, 2001). In particular, one of the greatest challenges for ESL students lies in their tendency to use everyday language acquired in informal situations in academic settings (Benson, 2001). Other studies have suggested this is also an issue with adults in academic settings who misunderstand the level of formality (Aguirre-Muñoz, et al., 2006; Martin et al., 1997; Sattar et al., 2009).

Research into Arabic learners studying abroad suggests that misunderstandings due to inappropriate register are particularly common (Sattar et al., 2009; Al-Ammar, 2000; Al-Eryani, 2007; Umar, 2004). In a comparative study of questioning techniques, Sattar and colleagues (2009) concluded that Iraqi students in particular expressed directness and indirectness differently from native speakers of English. It is this kind of difference that can potentially cause misunderstandings, especially in academic contexts.

The importance of developing appropriate academic register in Iraqi students has been highlighted due to the fact that post-Gulf War Iraq is increasingly sending students abroad to study. Agriculture has become a very important industry in Iraq due to changes in national policy which seek to reinvigorate the Fertile Crescent following the forced marsh drainage during the Iran-Iraq war, global warming changes and most recently, the War of Water (Clark, 2003; Pearce, 2009; Sands & Latif, 2009). Iraq is determined not
to rely on oil as its only economic resource, but to return to its predominance as an agricultural economy. To achieve this goal, M. Albakry, a stakeholder in the Iraqi Ministry of Agriculture (personal communication, August 10, 2010) was able to confirm that the Iraqi Agricultural Ministry plans to enlarge existing farmland and develop better farming methods and practices. Because Australia has an agricultural history that includes many modern methods and practices, a step toward this goal has been for the Agricultural Ministry to encourage Iraqi postgraduates to continue their studies in Australia, for example to study a master’s degree in agriculture or water resources. In 2009, 58 Iraqi students took up studies in South Australia. The issue of teaching agriculture (personal communication, August 10, 2010) was of many modern methods and practices, a step toward this goal has been for the Agricultural Ministry to encourage Iraqi postgraduates to continue their studies in Australia, for example to study a master’s degree in agriculture or water resources. In 2009, 58 Iraqi students took up studies in South Australia. The issue of teaching agriculture (personal communication, August 10, 2010) was of many modern methods and practices, a step toward this goal has been for the Agricultural Ministry to encourage Iraqi postgraduates to continue their studies in Australia, for example to study a master’s degree in agriculture or water resources. In 2009, 58 Iraqi students took up studies in South Australia. The issue of teaching agriculture (personal communication, August 10, 2010) was important, to avoid misunderstandings in academic and practical research contexts.

In order to address the issue of Iraqi students learning to communicate with appropriate register in Australia, this paper explores the disparate literature related to this topic and describes a theoretical framework and range of methodologies appropriate for examining real-life content-based classroom interactions. A variety of data sources contribute to this complex framework including materials, curricula, teaching practices and perceptions of what is learnt, in a pre-enrolment program and a bridging program. This framework also has the potential to facilitate an exploration of whether appropriate register is achieved by these learners.

TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE CONTEXT

History of teaching English grammar
The value of teaching grammar and appropriate ways to teach it has long been debated. Three ways to define grammar have been identified. Firstly, it is viewed as “the set of formal patterns in which the words of languages are arranged in order to convey larger meanings” (Francis, 1954, cited in Hartwell, 1985). According to this claim, after the age of five or six years, native speakers are able to use complex forms of grammar and organisation with significant skill. Secondly, grammar is viewed as a linguistic science related to the description, analysis, and formulation of formal language patterns, and “linguistic etiquette” which recognises the potential for using derogatory forms of grammar (Hartwell, 1985). Neuleib, however, called for a more careful definition of the word grammar, and she defined it as “the internalized system that native speakers of language share” (Neuleib, 1977, cited in Hartwell, 1985).

Appropriate education teaching methodologies for grammar are controversial and a subject of continued debate. A variety of contested methodologies abound for teaching grammar to ESL students. For example, the June 1999 issue of the Canadian Modern Language Review published an article titled ‘What’s Wrong with Oral Grammar Correction?’ by John Truscott (Taber, 2006). Yet, almost immediately there was the follow up article by Lyster, Lightbown and Spada, ‘A Response to Truscott’s “What’s Wrong with Oral Grammar Correction” which supported oral grammar correction. One researcher insists that educators should remove grammar lessons altogether (Taber, 2006). Another states that, “Students [must learn to] identify the eight parts of speech and learn the rules for their use” (Taber, 2006, p. 1). Although the appropriate form of grammar teaching is still hotly debated, successive movements in grammar teaching have built on each other starting with traditional grammar.

Traditional grammar
English traditional grammar according to Cope (1993) was inherited from the Greeks and Romans. It was passed down through the centuries as a way of helping scholars learn Greek and Latin, in order to access knowledge that was stored in ancient and contemporary Latin texts of the time. During the Renaissance period, Latin was the language of international scholarship in Europe. Traditional grammar was applied to vernacular languages such as English and had begun to be used in schools. In 18th century England the use of grammar was an important issue, since English dialects were often so different that speakers from different parts of the country, or from different social classes, could not understand one another. Traditional grammarians were subsequently concerned with establishing a standard written English language that was shared by speakers of different dialects.

Despite the value of traditional grammar in standardising, Christie (1981, cited in Cope, 1993) describes traditional grammar as a jail for teachers who teach this kind of grammar, because teachers will emphasise language structure without paying sufficient attention to the context. Traditional grammar continued to be taught until the progressive education movement rose during the 1970s and formal grammar became popular.

Like traditional grammar, formal grammar looks at classes of words, including classes of phrases (Cope, 1993). Formal grammar (also known as formal linguistics) is concerned with the description of the structure of individual sentences. It is strongly influenced by the work of Noam Chomsky. Beginning in the 1950s, Chomsky created a revolution by showing how grammar of a language could be represented as a kind of algebra; an abstract list of rules such as those used by the mathematicians or logicians (Chomsky, 1965). These rules, Chomsky argued, could be used to explore the limits of language and that limitations were neurological in origin. Unlike animals, Chomsky suggested, people were born with an innate language faculty and formal linguists had the responsibility of discovering what this faculty was. This enterprise excited linguists worldwide and preoccupied them for more than a generation (Cope, 1993). Hence, Chomsky’s theory views grammar as a set of rules which allow or disallow certain sentence structures. Despite the value of this innate set of formal grammar rules, some researchers have felt that the context within which certain structures are allowed or disallowed has not been sufficiently addressed. This has led to an emphasis on the communicative functions of language in English language teaching from the 1980s.
Communicative language approach (content/social rather than form)
Second language learning is recognised as a highly interactive procedure (Richard & Lockhart, 1994). Through interaction with teachers and other students in the classroom, students have the opportunity to practice their linguistic abilities. Brown states that “interaction is the heart of communication” and that “the best way to learn to interact is through interaction itself” (Kasuya, 2007, p. 159). The language class has also been conceptualised as an inherent series of metalinguistic interactions, since it encapsulates a process of continual juxtapositions of interactions about language and interactions through language (Breen, 2000). This realisation of the importance of context led to the predominance of the Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) approach in most English speaking countries from the early 1980s. This approach focused on providing rich contexts for learners to produce language (McKay n.d., cited in Liang 2007).

Ellis (2002), however, points out those second language (L2) learners who have rich opportunities for interactive and communicative practice also need to receive some degree of form-focus instruction (Ellis, 2002). Therefore, some researchers came to criticise CLT because it provided learners with little content input (Koirala, 2005). Second language teaching in the classroom tends to offer superior and safer opportunities to practice communicative skills to build up L2 learners’ confidence, in comparison to solitary learning in the outside world. In addition, ESL learners may also be offered more high-quality input, output opportunities in a classroom. Therefore, the need for a more scaffolded approach became apparent.

Systemic functional grammar
Some theorists have suggested that more focus on form is required. This came about through functional linguistics. Unlike formal linguists, functional linguists generally have focused on addressing practical concerns of how grammar is applied (Cope, 1993). Functional grammar tries to solve problems posed by the teaching of grammar, for example, using words in their context (the link between text and context). Unlike the formal linguists, who were mainly interested in the relationship between grammar and mind, functional linguists were more sociological in orientation; they were more concerned with relating grammar to its function in society.

This has led functional linguists to develop semantically oriented grammars indicating how people use language to make meaning in order to direct their social lives (Cope, 1993). To become familiar with this type of grammar, three aspects of register have to be understood by teachers – field, tenor and mode (Eggins, 1994). The field is the social action in which the grammar is embedded, that is, what is happening in a specific setting of space and time. It also includes what the interaction is about (the subject matter) and what the participants know about it (shared knowledge). Tenor is the relationship between the participants, which is visualised as a continuum of formality (from most casual to most formal). The social situation heavily influences the level of formality in a context, for example, the acceptability and appropriateness of words, phrases and actions according to the varied situations. The mode relates to the role played by language in the context; what exactly the language is trying to achieve. The mode includes the channel employed, whether written or spoken. Several possible situations arise within a context through the opposition of mode; written texts can be read in silence or aloud, while spoken texts can be spontaneous or prepared, etc (Cope, 1993).

Language choices are obviously affected by the register variables because they reflect three main functions of language. Halliday (1991, cited in Eggins, 1994) states that these are ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions. Ideational function uses language to represent experience (Martin et al., 1997). The interpersonal function uses language to encode interaction and it creates interpersonal relationships. This is realised within tenor via the mood pattern of the grammar used. The textual function uses language to organise information into a coherent spoken or written text which is realised in mode through the theme patterns of grammar (Eggins, 1994, p. 78). Consequently, if choice of word or grammar pattern is changed, then the meaning of the language spoken or written will frequently differ as well.

Genre approach
Another modern approach to grammar teaching which focuses on the function of words is the genre approach. Genre-based approaches are increasingly important in English language teaching (ELT) (Derewianka, 2003), and have been recognised as one of the major trends in the new millennium (Rodgers 2001). Derewianka (2003) states that such approaches are not new, for example, English for Specific Purposes (ESP) and English for Academic Purposes (EAP), include early instances of genre-based approaches. They originated out of the pioneering work in genre analysis that was conducted by Swales (1981, 1990) and other scholars. However, there has been an extension of the notion of teaching and learning around text of genres to generalised mainstream ELT in a number of situations, such as in literacy programs in New South Wales (Lin, 2006).

The genre approach has taken many forms and guises. These include Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST) in North America, and Generic Structure Potential (GSP) theory in Australia (Lin, 2006). These theories share some key features. Since genre-based approaches begin with the whole text as the unit of focus instead of sentences, students will be concerned with achieving specific social outcomes (Lin, 2006).

Teaching grammar in Iraq
In contrast to all these developments abroad, Iraqi English grammar teaching has remained relatively structural in line with Arabic language teaching. Structural syllabi commonly refer to the sentence pattern as the unit of analysis and adhere to the principle of structuralism, especially the notion
of minimally contrasting units (Halliday, McIntosh & Stevens, 1964). The Iraqi textbook, for example Book 6 (2005), follows this principle to ensure that students memorise the structure of the English language in terms of phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. Furthermore, the activities that are published in structural textbooks include dialogues, oral practice (for teaching syntax), pronunciation, reading comprehension, written homework and literary reading. Each lesson comprises a variety of these activities. This variety should decrease monotony when students are learning and provide the varied contexts that are required for acquisition of appropriate register. Yet, the teacher’s manual (guide) emphasises students’ memorisation of such activities. Little or no attention is paid to appropriate field, tenor or mode in English contexts academic or otherwise.

Research on the acquisition of grammar functions amongst Arabic students learning English

Although a number of studies have researched ESL students acquiring grammar functions (Al-Ammar, 2000; Al-Eryani, 2007; Umar, 2004), comparatively few have focused on Arabic students acquiring spoken register. In the Arab context some work has been done on interlanguage pragmatics within the framework of speech acts (Al-Eryani, 2007). Interlanguage pragmatics is related to register since speech acts can be considered as functions of language, for instance thanking, requesting, wanting, demanding, refusing, and inviting. In cross-cultural communication, refusals are known as striking points for many non-native speakers (Beebe, Takahashi & Uliz-Weltz, 1990). Refusals can represent ambiguous or delicate speech acts that are enacted linguistically and psychologically, because the possibility of offending the interlocutor exists in the act being performed (Kwon, 2004). For example, in the context of refusing invitations, offers and suggestions, research has indicated that American English speakers regularly express their gratitude but this act is rare in Egyptian Arabic speakers (Nelson, Al-Batal & Elchols, 1996).

Despite the limited studies focussing on the grammar of speech acts described above, few empirical studies on speech act behaviour involving the Arabic language or even native speakers of Arabic have been undertaken. One study by Umar (2004) examined request strategies as used by advanced Arab learners of English as a foreign language in comparison to those strategies used by British native speakers of English. Umar discovered that these two groups implemented similar strategies when they addressed their requests to equals or people in higher positions of authority or social standing.

The semantic formulae used by Saudi Arabian and American male undergraduate students in the speech act of refusal were examined by Al-Shawali (1997). This particular research highlighted that Americans and Saudis use similar refusal formulae except in the case of a direct refusal. Saudi and Americans also varied in the use of semantic formulae in their refusals’ actual content. In fact, it emerged here that Saudis use avoidance strategies such as postponement and hedging, or they provide non-specific responses. We see from these speech strategies that the relationship between speakers and listeners (tenor) is different in Arabic and English speaking cultures.

Iraqi learners of academic English in other contexts (eg United States/Britain)

Although grammar related issues have been explored in interlanguage situations, there is a dearth of literature focusing on Arab learners learning English in other contexts. One of the few studies, focusing on a mixed-ethnic ESL class, found that as the students’ life trajectories were diverse, so were their learning experiences across the three classes (Haneda, 2008). The classroom practices of the three teachers in this study, however, cannot be treated as representative of those of teachers more generally. Nevertheless, they do raise some general issues concerning the relationships among classroom practices, teachers’ conceptualisations about English language learners’ needs and their perceived roles in responding to these needs.

Iraqis learning English in Australia

Only one study has focused on Iraqi students learning English in Australia and this one is not an academic context. The study was about a group of Iraqi refugees in a country town in Victoria, and their experiences of learning English as a second language and adapting themselves to a new community (De Courcey, 2007). It indicated that these learners could participate in contextualised interactions beyond their immediate needs. They could ask for help and repetition and use basic cohesive features, but unreliably so. They could use more common tense features and some question forms. Higher level learners became confident in English and in learning through English. They participated in expanded interactions with a supportive interlocutor. Most success is experienced in short, spontaneous utterances on familiar topics. There is a tentative use of polite request forms. This study shows how grammar issues needed to be contextualised for pragmatic purposes.

Research on register in general

Limited research has been conducted on register and its relationship to grammar teaching. Academic uses of register, as suggested by Walqui (2010) involve a constellation of features that together construct texts that are difficult for students to understand because of:

- fields of knowledge they appeal to
- tenor of the interpersonal relationships they construct, and
- modes in which students encounter them.

These multiple variations result in academic language registers, or the linguistic variation that results according to contexts of use. This development should be tracked over a unit of work that takes place over several classes, along a continuum, from most spoken to most written (Walqui, 2010, p. 14).
A limited number of studies have explored register and student writing. For example, Christie (1986, 2002a) showed that students’ difficulty in producing the linguistic features within academic language results from misunderstandings of the three metafunctions of field, tenor and mode, with mode and tenor being the most difficult for English learners (Aguirre-Munoz et al., 2006).

**Research on spoken register**

In the last two decades, a few studies have investigated speech acts as given by native speakers of Arabic in general, and the speech act of requests in particular. One study was conducted on Iraqi learners learning English by Sattar and colleagues (2009). Their research focused on speakers of Arabic languages and comparing their performance of requests in English with native speakers. However, in the Iraqi context, the study of spoken register has yet to be undertaken, be it on people’s mother tongues or how it is manifested in English. The study by Sattar et al. (2009) looked at both production and perception of requests. In this study of production, Iraqis’ realisation of requests with a wide range of linguistic forms that are socially and culturally appropriate were examined. It also explored their degree of directness in strategies, and their performance in terms of the content of strategies which might vary cross-culturally.

Sattar’s subjects were confined to postgraduates at Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM), enrolled in either the master or doctoral degree for the year 2007/2008. They were pursuing studies in a subject not related to languages or linguistics. The data revealed that conventional indirectness was the strategy widely chosen by them in almost all situations. The preference for this strategy, according to Reiter (2000, p. 173), “could be explained by the fact that in uttering a conventionally indirect request the speaker is balancing clarity and non-coerciveness, hence ensuring that his/her utterance will have the correct interpretation and the right impact, thus leading to success”.

Although this study looked in detail at one type of speech act and register related issues, no study to date has explored the full range of Iraqi students acquiring spoken register in academic contexts.

**REWORKING RESEARCH ON REGISTER**

This review of the literature has indicated that there is a need for research which explores the rich context of Iraqi students and their development of academic spoken register. For this reason, the researcher has undertaken a PhD project exploring academic spoken register of Iraqi students in a pre-enrolment English program, an academic bridging program and in their first year classes at university. This project is significant since it will be the first study to explore the spoken register of Iraqi students studying English in Australia. This research aims to answer the following questions:

1. How is register in relation to spoken English reflected in the curriculum and teaching in a pre-enrolment program, a bridging program and a coursework master’s program?

2. How does the teaching of register experienced by Iraqi students learning English and academic skills differ in the pre-enrolment, bridging and degree programs?

3. How do Iraqi students assess their development of spoken register during and after completion of these programs?

4. What characteristics of register development can be observed in Iraqi students during and after completion of the programs?

**THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODS**

In order to explore the complex issue of spoken register development, a theoretical framework which takes the complexity of the issue and the huge number of variables affecting the topic into account is needed. Thus a mixed methodology involving qualitative and quantitative approaches is appropriate. In addition, since development of register happens over time, longitudinal study is appropriate since it is likely to produce richer data than previous short-term studies.

Despite the need for triangulation of the various data and hence a mixed methods design, an overall interpretative stance is of value when conducting complex classroom research. Since it allows insight into the experiences of participants:

Interpretive studies assume that people create and associate their own subjective and intersubjective meanings as they interact with the world around them. Interpretive researchers thus attempt to understand phenomena through accessing the meanings participants assign to them. (Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991, p. 18)

In narrative theory, the researcher allows the respondents to structure their own story and give prominence to what they view as most important (Chhuon, Kyratzis & Cynthia, 2010). Thus, a methodology which asks respondents to tell the ‘story’ of their development of English and generic academic skills will allow access to the respondents’ constructions of and intersubjective meanings related to the learning/acquisition of academic register. However, this data needs to be correlated with observational data, the actual curriculum and coursework artifacts and the views of the lecturers involved.

To access the respondents’ register ‘stories’, the following narrative prompts were designed for this PhD project:

**Narrative prompt 1**: Tell the story of your experiences learning English thus far in Australia.

**Narrative prompt 2**: Tell the story of your experiences learning academic skills in Australia thus far.

**Narrative prompt 3**: Tell the story of how register in academic spoken discourse has influenced your learning in Australia thus far.

Because of the importance of a longitudinal view of the subject, these same narrative prompts will be repeated at the different stages of the respondents’ studies. Questions related to the preliminary analysis of the observational data
(either videotaped presentations or observation notes taken in the pre-enrolment program, bridging program or degree classes) will also be asked.

A multi-faceted design of educational research on register should also include the views of the lecturers/teachers in the country where the students are studying and their source country. In this study, the PhD project also encompasses the view of the Australian teachers/lecturers. The researcher will explore their views on the teaching of spoken tenor in academic context. The interviewees will be given a chance to respond to interim analysis of the observation and student interview data and to points of interest in the curriculum documents. Likewise, in the case of the Iraqi high school teacher and stakeholder, the researcher will focus on points arising from the curriculum documents and textbooks and his preliminary observational data. High school teachers and stakeholders were selected since all the participants studied English only at high school prior to their English studies in Australia. All qualitative data will be analysed using NVivo 9, assigning codes to the various themes.

Although this is a longitudinal study, the classroom observations will specifically focus on the issue at hand – spoken register. In the pre-enrolment program, the researcher will observe the students’ formal oral presentations (these will also be video-recorded for further interpretative analysis). In the case of the bridging program, the researcher will observe at least three of their group work tutorials at different stages of the program where the majority of their verbal interactions take place. This will also be the case with the degree program.

Marshall and Rossman (2006) stated that observation entails the systematic noting and recording of events, behaviors, and artifacts (objects) in the social setting chosen for study. The observational record is frequently referred to as field notes which are detailed, nonjudgmental, concrete descriptions of what has been observed. Observation can range from a highly structured, detailed notation of behavior by checklists to more holistic description of events and behavior. In this case, a checklist or observation sheet will be used. This will be developed with the cooperation of the pre-enrolment program teachers and then further refined for use in the other programs. The checklist also references the pre-enrolment program curriculum.

The goals of note-taking are to help ensure the data collection is valid and interpretation processes equally so. The data should be checked with members of the studied context if possible to evaluate if the researcher and subjects influence both patterned and outlying data. In this case, audio recordings will be made along with detailed notes. Participation checks will be conducted in the interviews as described above.

This range of interpretive methods will be triangulated with quantitative data obtained through student surveys. In addition, the researcher will examine his own possible effect on the data at each stage of the study. These are all important aspects of studying complex issues in real-life classroom contexts. Table 1 summarises the types of data, data collection, and analytical methods to be used in this study.

Table 1. Summary of data collection and analysis methods and relationships to objectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF DATA</th>
<th>COLLECTION METHOD / RESEARCH INSTRUMENT</th>
<th>ANALYTICAL METHOD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Curriculum materials from all three programs</td>
<td>Request materials from course coordinators and individual teachers</td>
<td>Textual analysis: In consultation with teachers/lecturers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian teacher/lecturer interviews from all</td>
<td>Interview and audiotape interviews with teachers/lecturers question based on issues identified from</td>
<td>Interpretative analysis using NVivo 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three programs</td>
<td>the curriculum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews with Iraqi high school teachers</td>
<td>Interview and audiotape interviews</td>
<td>Interpretative analysis using NVivo 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraqi student interviews (5–15)</td>
<td>Provide Iraqi students with narrative prompts and audiotape their narratives at various stages of</td>
<td>Interpretative analysis using NVivo 9 and narrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>their academic studies in the various programs</td>
<td>analysis techniques</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey of Iraqi students to ascertain their</td>
<td>Devise a survey instrument and survey all Iraqi students in the various programs at different</td>
<td>Quantitative data analysis using statistical analysis,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perceptions of their tenor development and</td>
<td>intervals during their studies (after the pre-enrolment program, during the bridging program and</td>
<td>interpretative analysis and coding of open-ended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experiences in the programs</td>
<td>and in their 1st year of study in their degree)</td>
<td>answers using NVivo 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations of Iraqi students</td>
<td>Observe students and video record oral presentations (the pre-enrolment program) and classes (bridging</td>
<td>Observational analysis using an observation sheet/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>program &amp; degree)</td>
<td>checklist based on issues identified in curriculum and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>from teacher interviews</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Participants

In the proposed PhD study, data will be collected from Iraqi agriculture students studying at one Australian university over the period of one year. The respondents will be ESL students of Iraqi origin who are participating in a pre-enrolment English program followed by a bridging program run by the School of Agriculture, Food and Wine and a one year master’s qualification. Their language teachers and lecturers will also be interviewed along with stakeholders in Iraq. Thirty-six Iraqi students intend to complete a Master of Agriculture in 2011/2012, while the remaining 15 plan to complete a Master of Water Resources Management in the same time period. Of this sample, 11 are female and 40 are male.

Snowball sampling in the form of interviews will be conducted with participants who are easily accessible and then interviews with people known to the original participants will be undertaken.

REACHING TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS ON REGISTER

It is only through a rich and detailed description that we can begin to explore the complexities of academic register. It is hoped that through these multiple research methods, greater understanding of the process of acquiring academic register and the challenges this group of students face can be obtained and a more nuanced multicultural understanding can be reached. This theoretical framework and methods of this PhD study are a potential model for educational research in other complex contexts.

REFERENCES


DELIVERING PROFESSIONAL LEARNING AROUND NEW EARLY CHILDHOOD CURRICULA IN VERY REMOTE ABORIGINAL AND TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER COMMUNITIES

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ABSTRACT
Remote communities in Northern and Central Australia are amongst the most culturally and linguistically diverse in the nation. They are the ancestral and current homelands to a range of Aboriginal and Torres Strait peoples. They are unique and distinct yet with unifying characteristics of rich cultures and heritage and youthful populations. Unfortunately, many communities also have poor access to mainstream infrastructure and services, including early childhood services. The disadvantages resulting from limited infrastructure and attendant poverty contribute to poor health and education outcomes for many children. The vulnerability of many children living in remote communities has been well documented. Poverty and poor health are linked and are closely connected to educational achievement, school attendance and literacy skills. Strengthening early childhood program quality and participation and later school achievement and retention is a key goal for remote communities. Delivering quality early education and care to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children living in very remote communities is a major challenge for Australian governments, education systems, educators and communities.

This paper details a rationale and model for delivering place-based professional learning to introduce the National Quality Agenda, National Quality Standards and the Early Years Learning Framework to early childhood educators in services across very remote Queensland, Western Australia and Northern Territory communities. It highlights some of the issues facing remote early childhood services and educators that impact on professional learning access, including ‘English as an Additional Language’ issues. The professional learning model is customised to draw on the cultural knowledges, learning styles and other diverse circumstances that apply to Indigenous educators and early education provision in very remote settings. In implementing this model it is important to recognise that quality learning experiences in early childhood education are mainly about intent and relationships. The best learning can happen anywhere – if the setting is rich in language and ideas, responsive to children’s needs, and both process and outcomes focused.

INTRODUCTION
Australia is one of the most culturally and linguistically diverse countries in the world and nowhere is this more evident than in remote Northern and Central Australia. Stretching from east to west across the Top End and centre there are hundreds of small, isolated communities often many hundreds of kilometres from town centres and the normal services expected in regional towns or cities. These remote communities are culturally and linguistically diverse. They are the ancestral and current homes to thousands of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, and increasingly to people from a range of other cultures who contribute to community service provision including early childhood education.

The education and early childhood services in these communities are also diverse. They differ dramatically between communities and within communities in response to the cultural contexts, needs of families and children, and access to resources, especially teachers and other educators. In the case of early childhood provision, a community may have both a crèche or child care centre and a preschool or kindergarten, programs that differ considerably in their resources, educational goals and programs and staffing profiles. There may also be other services such as playgroups and other child and family programs.

Providing consistently high quality early childhood services is a major challenge for governments and communities across Australia and especially in remote communities. Australia has many excellent early childhood services but quality provision is distributed unevenly. From 2012, new national quality standards and protocols will be phased in. Central to these quality reforms is a new national regulatory framework to replace a previous national accreditation system. The new national quality system aims to ensure more consistency across programs, provide an agreed set of learning outcomes, and streamline and standardise regulatory frameworks across jurisdictions and services.

This paper reports on some of the pedagogic challenges for the early childhood sector in remote communities as it transitions to a new era of public accountability in early childhood education and care, a national quality standard and a national Early Years Learning Framework. Key challenges cluster around the readiness and capability of the workforce to build, sustain and improve quality learning experiences and outcomes, pedagogic readiness to deliver around the expectations and intent of the Early Years Learning Framework, educator availability, stakeholder collaboration across ideological boundaries and jurisdictional orientation and traditions.
The key focus of the paper is on the underpinnings and design of a professional learning program around the Early Years Learning Framework for delivery to early childhood services in very remote communities. Specifically, it highlights unique challenges inherent in preparing early childhood services that cater for predominantly Indigenous (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander) children to embrace the new quality agenda and the Early Years Learning Framework. The focus is on services that are staffed by mainly Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander educators – educators who are the backbone of remote early childhood services and who have an intimate knowledge of the culture, languages and kinship structure of their communities, but have few formal qualifications in early childhood education (eg Certificate III in Children’s Services or more advanced qualification), are developing confidence in using Standard Australian English in professional contexts and have few opportunities for relevant on-site professional learning. In conceptualising the program we aimed to balance quality and consistency in terms of overall pedagogic structure and outcomes with a focus on the unique contexts and needs of each service and community and particularly, local knowledge, practice of culture and sense of place. Central to program design is a ‘place-based’ model of learning that requires facilitators to work alongside educators in situ as they become familiar with the goals and requirements of the Early Years Learning Framework.

‘UNPACKING’ THE CONTEXT OF THE NATIONAL QUALITY FRAMEWORK AND THE EARLY YEARS LEARNING FRAMEWORK

The National Quality Agenda, National Quality Standard and the Early Years Learning Framework aim to ensure high quality early childhood programs across all services and improve learning outcomes for children, especially the most vulnerable learners. The National Quality Framework for Early Childhood Education and Care is underpinned by a new National Law and National Regulations which set the National Quality Standard and a regulatory framework for long day care, family day care, preschool (called kindergarten in some jurisdictions) and outside school hours care services in all states and territories. The National Quality Standard operates to ensure the overall safety, health and wellbeing of children attending children’s services, and specifically improving their educational and developmental outcomes. It communicates a national view about the expected quality of early childhood provision and supports better integration of education and care incorporating clear statements (outcomes) about what matters for young children and a focus on ongoing quality monitoring and improvement.

The National Quality Standard brings together structural components of quality such as staff(educator)-to-child ratios, educator qualifications and health and safety matters with the pedagogic aspects of quality programs such as interactions with children, partnerships with families, stimulating environments and learning experiences and with service management and governance. This more integrated approach bring early childhood services within a single unified national system.

The National Quality Standard spans seven quality areas:
1. Educational program and practice
2. Children’s health and safety
3. Physical environment
4. Staffing arrangements, including staff-to-child ratios and qualifications
5. Relationships with children
6. Collaborative partnerships with families and communities
7. Leadership and service management

THE EARLY YEARS LEARNING FRAMEWORK

The National Law requires an approved early childhood services to deliver a ‘program’ to each child:
– in a manner that accords with an approved learning framework
– that is based on the developmental needs, interests and experiences of each child, and
– is designed to take into account the individual differences of each child.

The Early Years Learning Framework is the operational ‘arm’ of the National Law and in most cases will be the ‘approved learning framework’.

The regulations also require:

An approved provider to display an outline of the education program at the service premises...

That a service provides an assessment of each child’s developmental needs, interests and experiences, participation and progress in relation to an education program and document this appropriately. Information about a child’s progress in relation to the program must be made available to the parent/guardian of the child on request.

The Australian Children’s Education and Care Quality Authority oversees the National Quality Framework and guides the consistent and effective implementation of the new system across Australia.

IMPLEMENTING THE EARLY YEARS LEARNING FRAMEWORK

Central to the Early Years Learning Framework is the premise that quality experiences and outcomes in early childhood education result mainly from rich, purposeful interactions, warm trusting and relationships, and clear, high expectations about development and learning. The best learning can happen anywhere – in a dry creek bed in Central Australia or in a more formal ‘classroom’ – if the setting is rich in language and ideas, purposeful and responsive to children’s social and developmental needs.
At the foundation of our work is the idea that education providers must be in tune with the cultural orientations and connections of families and community. They must listen respectfully and actively to families’ views and engage them in planning for children’s development and learning.

The focus in this professional learning program is on the core group of educators in remote Indigenous early childhood services, who are local residents, and who are intimately connected with their communities or key parts of them. They do not normally have the opportunity to engage in professional learning for a range of reasons, predominantly a combination of geographic isolation and inability to access text-dense, teaching and learning materials. Most remote communities struggle to attract qualified early childhood educators and to provide relevant on-site professional learning and support for educators ‘on the ground’. This professional learning program targets educators who must become familiar with the new Early Years Learning Framework and provides personalised, ‘over the shoulder support’ to help operationalise its requirements in a practical, place-based sense.

The program is designed to assist local educators begin a process of developing competence in planning, implementing and evaluating programs that are consistent with the goals and content of the Early Years Learning Framework. Children in remote and very remote communities require the highest quality early childhood education and care and the best start to their education. In places where the quality of early childhood services can be uncertain and variable, successful implementation of the Early Years Learning Framework should contribute to strengthening learning environments and improve developmental outcomes for children in Australia’s most vulnerable communities.

FRAMING PRINCIPLES FOR THE PROFESSIONAL LEARNING PROGRAM

The Remote Early Years Learning Framework professional learning program is built around several interwoven principles first articulated in designing a place-based teacher education program in remote Northern Territory communities (Elliott & Keenan, 2009). These are:

1. Celebration of and response to diverse ways of understanding and doing that promote learning in locally relevant and authentic way
2. Sensitive responses to educators’ specific learning styles and needs: that is, motivation, need for collaboration, modelling; strategy knowledge and preferred learning strategies; procedures or ways of performing learning actions, reaching learning goals and mastering skills that together form learning style; attention to cognitive, metacognitive (planning, monitoring, controlling) and affective dimensions of learning (including attitudes to learning, volition, motivation, resilience)
3. Acknowledging and accommodating family, kinship and skin group conventions, where relevant
4. Building on knowledge confluences of culture, land and place. Asset based learning that values and builds on educators’ domain specific prior knowledge about community, culture, children, families, child development, teaching and learning, and the interrelationships and interactions between the multiple factors that facilitate participation
5. Infusing local cultural identities and knowledge with professionalism as an early childhood educator
6. Knowledge that modelling and demonstration and cooperation, collaboration and team work are central to teaching and learning
7. Children’s developmental progress and assessments must highlight progress over time (or the ‘value-added’ contributions) as well as end-of program status, as required
8. Provision of in-built professional and personal supports
9. Active engagement of family, community and elders and wider ‘school’ community and/or linked-in services (e.g., health services, playgroups; Families as First teachers etc)
10. Program design and delivery that capitalises on and is infused with the day-to-day work of educators in the early childhood service.

Importantly, we believe that this place-based professional learning must be delivered by culturally competent educators who can reflect critically on their existing knowledge and understanding about learning in early education contexts and actively seek information about culture, families and children, listen and talk to early childhood educators, share information, and hold high, but realistic expectations for all participants in the program. Our program scaffolds educators’ learning as they reflect on and extend both local cultural knowledges and practices and contemporary early childhood education ideas and practices as promoted in the Early Years Learning Framework.

While the broad program approach to content and methodology is based on the above principles, it is customised by the deliverer (trainer/educator) for each learning site and/or type of service/program to take into account the strengths, uniqueness and needs of the local context. For example, the context and learning needs of educators in a remote preschool and a crèche setting may be very different, although both might be located in the same remote community and serve families and children from similar cultural and linguistic backgrounds and/or the same families. Similarly, the needs of groups of local educators will differ considerably within and between communities depending on their existing qualifications, cultural obligations, resources, languages spoken and their transition pathways to Standard Australian English, especially written English.

The professional learning program is built around the new Remote Early Years Learning Framework and resources (DEEWR, in press) which is a customised version of the ‘standard’ Early Years Learning Framework. The resources and embedded teaching and learning approaches were
developed in collaboration with Indigenous educators and embrace ‘what works’ for them and ‘why’. Practical aspects of the teaching model grow from Tayler’s successes in delivering Certificate III (in Children’s Services) modules to educators in remote communities over many years (Tayler, 2010). Fundamental to successful program delivery is adaptation and contextualisation for each centre and community and delivery by culturally aware and sensitive facilitators.

The main reason for developing the remote professional learning program was to ensure it was relevant to the varied educational settings in very remote communities and accessible to educators who were not confident using English in professional contexts. Our analysis of the Early Years Learning Framework’s content and ‘terminology indicated that many concepts were difficult to understand as the document is very text dense and there are few examples that would be relevant to families, children and educators in very remote Indigenous communities. Our experience in remote teaching contexts shows that when key concepts are introduced in relevant contextual frameworks, and with richly illustrated visual materials and practical, place-based activities, they are more relevant and easily understood (Elliott & Keenan, 2009; Elliott, 2010).

The resources and activities are designed to be implemented in small group or individual contexts. They provide practical scenarios and opportunities to demonstrate the principles and practices underpinning the Early Years Learning Framework in context and around five key learning outcomes:

- a strong sense of identity
- a connection with their world
- a strong sense of well-being
- confidence and involvement in their learning and
- effective communication skills.

In practice, the professional learning program must also draw on local, ‘every day’ resources to illustrate how the Early Years Learning Framework can be used in each early childhood setting – depending on the contexts of each centre/service and the pedagogic styles of both the learners (the educators) and the program deliverers.

A DVD illustrating aspects of practice in very remote early childhood centres is organised around the five learning outcomes. It contains a range of vignettes that demonstrate the Early Years Learning Framework’s outcomes as they might be applied in a remote early childhood setting with predominantly Indigenous children. The vignettes are aligned to a ‘workbook’ which has been adapted from the original Early Years Learning Framework document using clear text and illustrative material to explain and elaborate the principles, practices and learning outcomes.

As mentioned previously, the learning activities must be customised for each setting to ensure authenticity, yet retain the national consistency envisaged in the Early Years Learning Framework. Each section of the workbook demonstrates a specific learning outcome and provides examples for observation and discussion in a group or individual professional learning context/session. The combination of DVD/film clip examples, workbook and linked activities is designed to engage learners at a variety of cognitive and sensory levels.

In addition to our philosophical belief that learning happens best in context, the structure of early childhood services in remote communities, and especially the inability to employ relief staff means there is rarely time for educators to be away from their normal duties. Thus, any professional learning, and in this case the five day program, must be infused with and/or run alongside the day-to-day educational program and routines of the preschool or early learning centre.

As well as building practical pedagogic skills (that is, culturally relevant learning activities, environments and inclusive practices in partnership with families), the resources are designed to engender discussion and reflection around, for example, the learning outcomes, intentional teaching and planning in unique early learning contexts. Working in contextually relevant ways and determining ‘starting points’ through ‘situational analysis’ focusing on existing educational practices and local educational knowledge and practices is central to this professional learning program’s approach.

**CORE TEACHING STRATEGIES**

Key teaching strategies in the professional learning program are demonstration, modelling, practice and storytelling. The combination of resources (workbook, DVD and support materials) are designed so the facilitator demonstrates and models key concepts using the illustrations and vignettes provided drawing on examples and activities from the context in which the professional learning is being provided.

The educator/s then practice the skill in their own teaching context with scaffolding and support. At the conclusion of the activity or series of activities the facilitator might ask educators to reflect on their thinking, develop and tell a ‘story’ around each concept or idea, thus demonstrating their understandings. The story can be ‘told’ in words or pictures or a combination. It can involve a combination of pictorial images, simple text and small vignettes such as the examples found on the DVD. Educators can use digital media to create their own stories (in video) around the ideas in practice. Later, this serves to document children’s learning progress for both planning, assessment and record keeping purposes and reporting.

With national quality reforms in early childhood education and care, intent, assessment and accountability have become more important than ever. Educators must ‘reflect on action’ in a formal sense for accountability purposes as well as intrinsic, pedagogic purposes. As indicated in the new regulations, they must document their practices and children’s learning and developmental progress. As well as being ‘progress maps’, these reflections will become accountability tools – records of centre performance.
In completing this assessment and documentation process educators must reflect on the outcomes of their teaching and children’s learning and wider practices. Evidence of learning may range from work samples and learning stories to child portfolios, and teaching portfolios.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Complex and challenging aspects of delivering the professional learning around Early Years Learning Framework for very remote communities result from the diversity of educators’ educational and professional backgrounds and skills – complicated by varying ages, cultures, and literacy and comprehension skills in Standard Australian English. At the same time, educators bring a range of unique cultural and pedagogic skills that are consistent with those valued and used in their local communities and within families. These are essential to creating successful learning experiences for children that are consistent with the outcomes of the Early Years Learning Framework.

Importantly, the diverse educational and socio-cultural backgrounds of remote educators generally require a customised, often individualised approach to planning and implementation of professional learning. Our pedagogy must respond to, draw from and anticipate individual learning strengths and needs.

This professional learning program aims to develop positive, trusting, supportive and respectful relationships with educators by understanding the key cultural features, and dynamics of the group, drawing on relevant local Indigenous knowledges where possible and establishing or foreshadowing community learning partnerships and a sense of ownership of the centre’s program. Our teaching must respond to uniqueness of each context, group and setting. It must work with the flow and rhythm of an early childhood centre, how things operate at present, relevant cultural issues and current ways of planning for learning. Building trust, confidence and understanding of the context is a critical step in planning the sequence of activities to introduce the Early Years Learning Framework and empower educators to embrace culturally relevant ways of ‘Belonging, Being and Becoming’.

Early childhood settings in remote communities are dynamic and diverse nature and the importance of domain specificity cannot be over emphasised. Teaching and learning must be customised for each setting. The content and pedagogy of this professional learning program recognises that each educator has unique social, cultural, linguistic and cognitive characteristics and a robust local knowledge base on which to strengthen educational practice consistent with the requirements of the Early Years Learning Framework.

There is as much diversity amongst the centres and educators in remote communities as there is amongst other educators and early childhood services. But there are some distinctive characteristics related to Indigeneity that are foregrounded in shaping the pedagogy of this approach. Broadly, learning styles embed Indigenous ways of knowing, doing and being and specifically collaboration, language, family connectedness, sense of personal and cultural identity, and multilingual skills.

Assessment of the local contexts and of educators’ learning styles must occur primarily on a one to one or small group basis through individual discussion and observations of educators’ interactions with each other and with children.
and their ways of tackling learning tasks. Customisation is implicit in preparing, teaching, and evaluating. Considerations around personalising content and pedagogy include attention to educators’ confidence using Standard Australian English in a professional context, motivation, task focus, work pace and planning, and monitoring and evaluation skills, as well as responses to visual and other (auditory, kinaesthetic) cues, and preferences for collaboration and team work. Concomitantly, ensuring the professional learning program is culturally engaging and supports educators’ unique learning needs and learning styles is an important immediate step to boost early childhood teaching capacity. Finally, this and other programs are only be successful if they draw on locally relevant and culturally responsive knowledge and experience together with contemporary early childhood education pedagogies and child development knowledge and if they can develop both ‘school ways’ of knowing and doing, while strengthening an early childhood knowledge and practice base informed by local content and context.

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REFERENCES


HOW DOES VOCATIONAL EDUCATION THREATEN CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN MAINLAND CHINA? A CASE STUDY ON A NGO-FOUNDED VOCATIONAL SCHOOL FOR MIGRANT YOUTH

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ABSTRACT
With significant urbanization in mainland China, there has been an increasing demand for a skilled workforce in cities. In order to help migrant youth find jobs in industry and to improve their lives, many NGOs have been committed in establishing non-profit vocational schools for the underprivileged.

From the socio-cultural perspective, learning at a vocational school should not be viewed as merely an opportunity of learning skills, but rather an experience of identity transformation – from peasants to technical workers and city dwellers. Bearing this in mind, the research argued for alternative ways of accommodating the development of migrant youth. This argument is not about how curricula and instruction could be better designed to match the demands of the labor market like in most literature on the subject, but how vocational schooling could offer multicultural inclusive opportunities to migrant youth.

This research proposed a case study on one of the NGO-founded vocational schools, exploring possible reasons accounting for the gap between teachers’ good intentions and students’ misunderstandings. With the approach of ethnography adopted, the researcher entered a naturalistic setting, describing the migrants’ world in depth. Based on sufficient classroom observation, open-ended interviews were employed to gain teachers and students’ interpretations of their own school lives.

The researcher’s discussion focused on processes of social inclusion and exclusion at the micro level. This was implemented through institutional ranking practice – evaluating students’ competences in different aspects. It was argued that the self-sealing value that characterized the evaluation criteria gave students little autonomy to cross cultural borders while constructing their identities. This undermined students’ interest and confidence of getting involved in the learning community.

RESEARCH BACKGROUND
Since the middle 1980s, with the fast development of industry, there has been an increasing demand for a skilled labor force in cities. A number of peasants have migrated from countryside to metropolitan areas. In the 1990s, the boom of migrants emerged in large cities and developed coastal areas. However, the economic conditions of the migrants are not optimistic. Most of them are only qualified for low-priced manual labor jobs because of their limited education and training. This also hinders the development of the economy. Against this backdrop, a few local governments have been committed in improving policies to offer equal opportunities for migrant youth to be admitted to local schools, including vocational schools at the senior secondary level. At the same time, some NGOs in mainland China have begun to make efforts in establishing non-profit vocational schools at the senior secondary level (after the nine years of compulsory education) for underprivileged migrant youth aged from 16 to 21. In recent years, as children of the first generation of migrants, these young people began their lives in urban areas.

In order to make vocational schools more welcoming places for migrant youth, the construction of students’ cultural identities should be taken into consideration. As the first step of surviving in a city, every migrant student has to experience identity transformation, from a peasant to a technical worker and a city dweller. For this process, what they need is not only skills, but also cultural confidence for working and living in a city. If the value of multiculturalism is given more significance, vocational education could provide migrant youth with rich learning opportunities in respecting and appreciating different cultures, both urban and industrial cultures and their distinct values. In doing so, students would face fewer conflicts and thereby have less anxiety. Furthermore, values of empathy, mutual understanding and tolerance would be cultivated in the learning process, leading to a more peaceful and harmonious world.

In practice, however, this visionary aim of vocational schooling is usually viewed as much less important than pragmatics, that is, to secure employment. Most literature in vocational education discusses how the curricular system, approaches of instruction and intern activities could be improved to match the demands of the labor market. Although the pragmatic concern would contribute a lot to a migrant youth’s future – equipping them with knowledge and skills – it runs the risk of imposing industrial and urban values on students, while relinquishing their native identities. In view of such a threat that challenges the process of identity transformation, this research attempted to tease out the power process of social inclusion and exclusion at the micro level. The focal question was: what restricted vocational schools’ ability to offer multicultural inclusive opportunities to migrant youth?
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

From a socio-cultural perspective, learning is less about what happens in individuals’ heads, but more about what happens among people’s actions and interpretations of the world. As Wenger (1998) notes, the practice of learning connotes: first, pursuing certain enterprise, such as getting a diploma; second, socializing with teachers and peers; third, identifying with the school community; fourth, interpreting the meaning of the surrounded situation. In order to facilitate students’ adaptation to the urban environment, educators should pay more attention to the social construction of learning, and to the construction of identities as learners and participants in a learning community.

In an institution, the construction of identity is a matter that individuals either take up and/or resist the subject positions offered to them by the institutional context. Walkerdine (1997) argues that most institutions engage in the practice of positioning their members, and in so doing each member becomes institutionalized but depersonalized. According to Foucault (1979), such positioning practice occurs through discourse enacted in an institution. The discourse establishes a set of value metrics with which to categorize and to label people on the basis of their relation to the ascribed norms. Through the ranking practice, individual’s knowledge, behaviors, attitudes and skills would be interpreted as different kinds of ‘competence’. The word ‘competence’ is an evaluative notion of individual’s performance based on judgments made by others.

In this sense, in a school, if a student is viewed as being deviant from the expected competences, his or her identity would hardly be shaped by a legitimate membership of a learning community. Moreover, if the student does not feel secure and positive about his/her own identity, he/she may easily lose the confidence that they can succeed in the culture of school (Carson, 1998). These two aspects lead to social exclusion at the micro level.

With this conceptual framework adopted, an investigation of ways in which competences are evaluated would offer ample insights into the value system that characterizes a school. It is assumed that if the school’s evaluative criteria hold self-sealing value, being apathy or even hostility to alternative ways of meaning making, the migrants are given little autonomy to cross cultural borders while constructing their identities, without reference to the dominant discourse. The research sought to investigate the following three questions:

First, what were the criteria adopted to evaluate students’ competence in different aspects in a vocational school?

Second, how were students being assigned certain subject categories?

Third, how did these labels affect the construction of students’ identities, and to what extent did they constrain the developing of identities as confident, competent, open-minded and reflexive urban residence and technical workers?

In literature, Toohey’s study (2000) offers ample insights into the positioning process under the ‘discourse of schooling’. He investigates five aspects of some ESL students’ school identity, the evaluation of their academic, physical, behavioral, social and linguistic competences. This study provides a holistic picture of the institutional metrics to which students’ identities are ascribed. To address the specialties of migrant students of this age, as well as drawing upon issues emerged from raw data, this research focused mainly on the first four competences, not including the linguistic one. The research also modified the definitions and the scope of each of Toohey’s competences to certain extent. For example, instead of discussing students’ academic achievement, the researcher focused on students’ learning habits. Furthermore, the research explored school discourses that were not only enacted in the curricular system and school regulations, but also those upheld by individual students, which might not be legitimized by the school authority.

RESEARCH METHODS AND INSTRUCTION ON THE CASE

This research proposed a case study of one of the NGO-founded vocational schools in Beijing. The method of single case study focuses on a specific time-and-space bounded system. This allowed the researcher to concentrate on a particular aspect of vocational schooling in great depth, and to take into consideration context issues.

The selected case was a school in which the researcher had worked voluntarily as a lead teacher for three months. This site was viewed as potentially helpful in facilitating researcher’s access to a naturalistic setting, leading to rich experience of migrants’ world. What confronted the researcher most was the high drop-out rate of the school, even though the school was tuition free, and with free lunch served everyday. Those who quit school or were expelled from school made up approximately 43.5 percent of the total student number every school year. The striking contrast between teachers’ good intentions and students’ misunderstandings and even resistance inspired discussions on vocational schooling from a critical perspective. This could be an initial pilot, offering insights into future research on vocational education from the perspective of multiculturalism.

The selected case was one of the targeted schools subsidized by the projects of the China Youth Development Foundation, with the aim of training first-line skilled workers with both practical skills and cultural capacities. Three courses were offered at the senior secondary level: electric work, air conditioning, and hotel and catering service. The school relied primarily on part-time teachers and volunteers who were technical and management staff from business and industries. They were expected to introduce the commonly adopted and updated job descriptions into the teaching process. There were 78 boys and 32 girls in the classes, with the latter all being placed in the hotel and catering service course.
The case study was combined with the approach of ethnography. Classroom observation and interviews were employed as the main research methods. As students have become more and more friendly and open with the researcher, open-ended interviews were conducted with five of them who showed apparent enthusiasm in the research topic, including a student who dropped out at the beginning of the school year. He was a close friend of one of the focal participants. The researcher also found opportunities to interview teachers at class breaks to gain their spontaneous thoughts and feelings about their communication with students. These methods equipped the researcher with background knowledge of the field and in-depth understanding of the interpretive circumstances by which participants orientate themselves.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Learning habits
This school offered a set of courses that were managed by the national curriculum syllabuses. Since the diploma was the key to secure employment, students’ achievements in assessments, especially in those directly leading to the diploma, were given much significance. Therefore, regulations about class attendance and assignments were strict. Furthermore, it seemed that the charitable nature of this school made school regulations much stricter, any transgression of rules led to severe punishment. For example, “if you do not hand in assignment on time for three times, you have to leave school immediately”. The teachers’ reason was the following: this charitable opportunity of learning should only be offered to someone who values it. If you don’t, of course you should go!

However, the majority of students found the course requirements much higher beyond their academic levels. It was quite difficult to follow teachers’ schedule, and pass every exam as required. The teachers always attributed students’ failure to their ‘lazy learning habits’. According to their explanations, many students in this school went to primary and junior high schools in their hometowns without parents’ supervision. In 1990s many peasants moved to cities alone to find jobs, leaving their children with their parents who still lived in countryside. Therefore, the students did not have good learning habits as regular students did, such as doing homework everyday, and doing previews and reviews.

Although the rules and punishments were given to students for their own benefit from the teachers’ perspective, students expressed discontentment against this. They thought teachers had very little knowledge about their real off-campus lives. For example, many students raised the issue that they were not able to finish homework because they did not have a quiet place at home. They had several family members crowded into an extremely closeted living environment. Furthermore, the students usually lived quite far from school, because their families could only afford cheap rents for apartments in suburban areas in Beijing. As one student complained, “it usually takes me two and a half hours to get home from school by bus. After having dinner, it’s almost nine. And you know, in order not to be late for school, I have to get up at four thirty in the morning. I am too exhausted to finish the assignments!”

Physical presentation
Students’ physical presentation on campus, such as their appearance, hairstyle and dress, are always matters commented on by teachers and their peers. These appraisals may have important effects on the construction of individuals’ identities. In this school, uniforms and certain hairstyle were required. However, it seemed that struggles between teachers and students with regard to these requirements happened every school year.

Hair is the knottiest issue. As some of the school managers and teachers described, every time they saw new students on the matriculation day, they were most struck by the students’ hair, which were named “colourful hedgehogs” in teachers’ accounts. The school insisted on changing all boys’ hair to the traditional style – very short and without any dyed colours. This is because, according to teachers’ experience working in business, no job would be offered to people with such weird, untidy, and punk-like hair, especially in hotels and restaurants. As the schoolmaster noted, “at the beginning, I thought that the students did not have enough money to have their haircut as frequently as students in regular schools. Therefore, we brought them to a hair salon and were about to pay for the haircuts. But, ironically, the students refused to get the haircut because they thought theirs in fashion!”

The students accounted for their ‘stubbornness’ as the following: they saw their own style in fashion, just like movie stars. When they still lived in rural areas, they saw this in Japanese and Korean TV series and began to dream it everyday since then. In contrast, they viewed what the school required as very stupid, like a prisoner. Furthermore, in interviews, some boys raised the issue that if they had their hair cut as required, they would be made a laughing stock among their friends in their neighbourhood. That is why they refused to make a compromise.

Behavioural competence
As Fine (1985, pp. 43–50) notes, students’ compliance with school regulations and teachers’ directives is another arena in which judgements about their school identities are made. Unfortunately, many students at this school were not viewed as competent in this regard. This appeared to run in counter with the expectations given to professional working staff, such as being of compliance, responsibility and reliability. In order to prepare students for employment, the schoolmaster was determined to make students get rid of all of their bad habits. In a local TV program, the schoolmaster said: “every teacher in my school has to act as a strict boss, rather than a caring mother. It’s our responsibility to let them know what the real working place looks like ... rules are rules!”
In addition to school conventions, students had to conform to a number of behavioural norms expected by teachers. The school placed great emphasis on cultivating students’ professional manners and nice service attitude. The schoolmaster stood at the campus gate every morning, checking whether students greeted her and their peers as they passed by. Since I started my volunteer job at the school, I was told on several occasions that as teaching staff we should correct students’ behaviour anytime and anywhere it’s necessary, such as reminding them to greet school visitors, to speak in a soft voice, to wash the toilet frequently, and to keep their uniforms tidy.

However, I found that the expected behavioural norms appeared to be ‘icky’ in many students’ eyes. As a few students informed me, some boys often mocked those who showed compliance with teachers. They called them ‘cowards’ or ‘sissies’ and even beat them behind teachers’ back for “selling their guts to get better opportunities in the school”.

Furthermore, as this was a charitable school, students were supposed to show gratefulness to their benevolent contributors, being very polite in front of them. On some special occasions, such as the school’s anniversary celebration, students were organized to rehearse a few performances for the visiting sponsors. According to the observation notes, girls usually appeared to be much more involved in these activities than boys. In a group interview with boys from the air conditioning class, the researcher learned that they were made very embarrassed because teachers always wanted them to show thankfulness in an extremely exaggerated way. A student said, “although we are poor, we hate to be pitied in that way!”

Social competence
Peer acceptance is an important stand of inquiry in sociology of education, such the work of Walker (1988), Schneider (1993) and Ladd (2005).

In this case, in the eyes of teachers, peer relations in schools should be characterized by friendliness and peacefulness. However, as mentioned before, bullying happened sometimes on campus. Although those who initiated fighting on campus were usually given severe punishments, this phenomenon had never been eliminated. Teachers’ intervention even exacerbated peer conflicts. In interviews, many teachers attributed these phenomena to students’ abusive personalities and to their limited family education. As they described, most of the students’ parents were made quite termagrant and even violent because of lengthy periods of poverty or unemployment. Furthermore, school managers were worried by the fact that local gang cultures might reach into schools. Weekends appeared to be the most dangerous time for students to be hanging out with problematic adolescents in neighbourhoods. Therefore, the school made great efforts in organizing extra-curricular activities for students at weekends, such as singing in a choir or doing volunteer work in orphanages or eldercare centres. On the school’s website, there was an advertising slogan, ‘more vocational schools, fewer prisons!’ Its function was to get donators’ attention, but some students were made upset for being discriminated against.

Furthermore, the school’s efforts at isolating students from gang culture appeared to be somewhat naive in the eyes of many students. They thought that the teachers – middle class people doing volunteer jobs – had little experience of dealing with bad people ‘in the real world’. One student told me that he used to do part-time construction work, and the foreman was quite abusive and vicious. If he was not strong and masculine enough, he would not get his salary.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION
To summarize the case, four issues deserved close attention. First of all, the criteria of evaluating competence appeared to be diploma oriented and employment oriented, giving little consideration to students’ differing educational backgrounds, to their off-campus lives, and to their dreams and desires. In these circumstances, the school might exclude some of the important things that may have meaning in the migrant youth’s lives, no wonder many students were frustrated by being excluded.

Second, in the process of identity construction, teachers’ evaluations on students were apparently opposite to how students described by themselves. This was most in evidence in the series of anonymous words and phrases uttered by both parties, for instance, ‘sloppy’ versus ‘fashion’, ‘a hedgehog’ versus ‘a movie star’, ‘disciplined’ versus ‘coward’, and ‘abusive’ versus ‘strong’. In the face of these contradictions, it was only the former – teachers’ viewpoints – that was legitimated in school regulations, leaving little room for students to make choice. That is to say, if they did not give up the undesirable traits as required, they had to leave the school immediately without any alternatives.

Third, it seemed that teachers were used to attribute students’ deviance form the expected norms directly to their economically disadvantaged backgrounds. For example, the schoolmaster always quoted an old Chinese saying to describe the students’ non-collaboration, that is, ’poor family loves spoiling their children’. Issues such as age and gender were seldom referred to in teachers’ interview accounts. This did not seem to solve problems, but to reinforce the negative stereotype of the underprivileged.

Fourth, students were ascribed labels with negative descriptions on many occasions. According to Rogoff (1994, pp. 209–229), if students’ diversified experiences were not to be recognized, appreciated and legitimated by the school authority, their development of identity as participants in a learning community would be restricted. That is, such constant devaluation usually led to their reluctance to be actively involved in learning. It was evident that many students exhibited resistance to the school authority. They chose to give up the opportunity of getting a diploma, and then getting a job and a better life, but to maintain the disadvantaged position.
Based on the discussion above, the researcher attempted to make some suggestions for improvement. First, as Corson (1998, p. 131) suggested, an approach for empowering the disadvantaged students is for schools ‘to redefine the group’s attributes, so that what were once seen as undesirable traits are given recognition closer to the status that the group itself places on those traits’. This was to be achieved if the teaching staff were able to adopt a self-reflexive stance, reflecting upon their assumptions of an ideological nature continuously. For example, they could be able to question themselves, ‘what was the students’ rationale for doing something seemingly irrational?’ Or, ‘did migrant youth have the same access to school norms as other students?’ Or, ‘was it fair to evaluate these students with criteria that were adopted in regular school?’ Since most teachers in this school were volunteers, coming from fields of business and industry, they might not be familiar with the value of multiculturalism in education. Taking into consideration this problem, it may prove useful for governments and NGOs to offer more training programs with regard to related topics to the teaching staff in vocational schools like this case.

Second, it was argued that equal and sufficient communication between students and teachers was the key to initiating teachers’ learning of students’ cultural styles. This would help to improve the school’s tolerance and even appreciation of cultural diversities. In this case, evidence pointed to an urgent need to build channels for students to advance their opinions and make suggestions. The establishment of a students’ congress would make a step forward in this regard, with all representatives democratically elected rather than being appointed by the school. Moreover, instead of merely top-down supervision, students could be allowed to evaluate both teachers and school managers.

Third, it was evident that students’ competences were not only evaluated by teachers, but also by their peers — friends and relatives in neighborhood. In these circumstances, they were confronted by value conflicts and were often made to take a position. In light of this, if the school’s perspectives could be a little closer to those held by migrant youth at the same age and living in similar economic conditions, the students would face less peer pressure and, thereby, become more comfortable in the process of identity reconstruction. It is suggested that educators and researchers in the field of vocational education, especially those at the senior secondary level, may pay more attention to the uniqueness of youth cultures, both in urban and in rural areas.

REFERENCES
MUSIC PERFORMANCE AND CREATIVITY OVER BROADBAND NETWORKS: THE NEW BOUNDARIES OF MULTICULTURALISM

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ABSTRACT
A recent experiment leading to a network concert involving students from the Sydney Conservatorium of Music in collaboration with performers from the Central Conservatory of Music in Beijing took place in a virtual space, no longer dependent on geographical location nor traditional performance spaces such as the concert hall. This article outlines the methods and techniques by which the author was able to interact with a traditional music performer from China and other regions through the language of music and technology over a broadband network. The author will examine the collaborative potential of multimedia and interactive performances in a didactic network environment extending geographic and cultural boundaries. Communication technologies, now ubiquitous to younger generations of many cultures, may ease cultural differences associated with geographic location and might encourage inclusive practices in a more globally conscious society. Multicultural diversity has become a variable of the available communication methods to share and exchange existing socio-cultural and spiritual values and forge new aesthetic territories thus expanding the definition of cultural identity and multiculturalism as a whole. Does multiculturalism influence collaborative music in that new space?

INTRODUCTION
Most socio-cultural studies on the consumption of music are concerned with new technological tools for the large-scale transmission and reception of musical information (Dolfsma, 1999, pp. 1023-1024). Cultural economics often overshadows the underlying potential for these tools to enhance/diversify the cultural value of music production yet the multicultural perspective of music production is seldom discussed. “The economics and technology resulting from globalisation have reformed the patterns of production and reception of music” (Ho, 2003, p. 153). Further to this, there is an increasing trend among young musicians to become all-round artists. Some even claim to play over 100 instruments, such as Japanese experimental pop musician Shugo Tokumaru (Douglas, 2011), implying that in the context of mass consumption and almost limitless information access, the local specificities of musical expression are increasingly difficult to identify, let alone preserve. As a purely technical example, the field of music information retrieval, is concerned by the classification, recognition and distribution of genre and thematic based music, but does not address the cultural and aesthetic features defining local idioms of musical expression within a global context. Instead, the emphasis is made on product related features driven by institutionalised socio-cultural trends for the consumption of symbolic cultural goods (Dolfsma, 1999, p. 1020). A relatively recent study of popular music production in Hong Kong by Wai-Chung Ho reveals that the complementary notions of globalisation and localisation seem to be mutually contradictory, especially in the context of mass-consumption and uniformisation of aesthetic values, “posing a fundamental dilemma for the understanding of the transformation of popular cultures into global forms” (Ho, 2003, p. 143).

The goal of this article is to demonstrate how creativity and technology, when combined, can diversify the local knowledge space to create a global opportunity to integrate, adopt and preserve cultural identifiers in an environment facilitating the exchange of cultural items, such as music and other forms of artistic expression. “The movement of items from one region to another, from one culture or civilization to another, has been noted and observed by scholars for centuries” (Wax, 1993, p. 101). Educational environments today are prone to cultural exchanges at various levels depending on the resources available and strategies to encourage cultural awareness. At a recent conference on cultural diversity in music education held in Sydney in 2010, piano pedagogue Dr Dai claimed that it was possible to achieve significant levels of intercultural music education with non-Chinese students by incorporating contemporary Chinese piano music as a supplement to traditional Chinese music (Dai, 2010). This idea, of course, can be extended to other forms of musical and pedagogical practice, not restricted to traditional acoustic instruments, whereby non-traditional means of creating and generating sound could enhance Chinese traditional instrument performance practice, and vice-versa, traditional playing techniques could be coupled with contemporary mediums of expression to create new forms of expression. To this end, the “area of on-line improvisation and shared sonic environments is quite promising, not only from the fact that it allows the enhancement of known paradigms to make music, but also because it provides a context for stylistic novelty” (Barbosa, 2003, p. 58).

Whilst showing a strong sense of the Australian identity, the contemporary Australian art music scene has been influenced by various modes of cultural expression embedded in the choice of musical parameters such as pitch classes, scale tunings, polyrhythmic structures, subtle textural and timbral effects of various levels of sophistication. In particular, the
inclusion of non-Western musical elements borrowed from Indigenous, Australasian, or Asian musics form an important part of the Australian musical idiom. This form of cross-cultural integration is a known concept to contemporary Australian music composers (Michael Atherton, Anne Boyd, Bruce Crossman, Houston Dunleavy, Matthew Hindson, Ruth Lee Martin, Garth Paine, Peter Sculthorpe, Adrian Sherriff, Tony Wheeler to name a few). Much of the music shows a great appreciation of the Indigenous Australian cultures and their deep understanding of nature and the land. These identifying elements are often found in the form of orchestral soundscapes and inclusions of Aboriginal melodies such as in Sculthorpe’s Port Essington composed in 1977. More recent compositions by Sculthorpe such as From Oceania (2003) also testify to the importance of cultural context in a global community. Further evidence of transmissions of cultural knowledge through music can be found at the educational level. Multicultural perspectives in music education have been a special focus at many important conferences and symposiums for decades (Volk, 1993, p. 140). Book collections intended for use in Australian secondary schools such as Australia’s Multicultural Music Series and the music resource series Sound’s Australian attest the diversity of the Australian cultural climate and, in particular, the cultural awareness of artists, musicians, composers and educators. The series contain classroom activities in performance and composition, selected Australian world music described and analysed, with exercises in listening, improvisation and composition (see http://www.musicaustralia.org/)

NETWORK MUSIC COLLABORATIONS

The main principle behind network music collaborations consists of extending the boundaries of conventional performance and creative practice in a society highly dependant on communication and network technology. The development of new communication protocols has allowed “the creation of musical environments which directly engage participants in the realization of new forms of musical expression” (Kim-Boyle, 2008, p. 3). Part of the strategy is to change the way musicians play instruments and collaborate in musical ensembles and adapt to the changed technological environment. Canada Research Chair in Telemedia Arts, Associate Professor Kenneth Fields, describes “the emergent forms of network performances as forms that extend the concert hall venue into a multi-nodal space, use the network itself as an artistic instrument – a global resonant delay chamber – and that explicitly explore network delay and complex routing topologies.” (Fields, 2010). Network performance presentations, have emerged since the increase of data transfer rates over broadband networks. The most recent internet protocol Internet2 (also named IPv6) enables high speed data transmission within a vast address space allowing more efficient and flexible connectivity between users and devices around the world. It is now possible to transfer uncompressed high definition video and multichannel audio to other regions of the world at rates less than the human perception threshold to distinguish an echo, approximately 30 milliseconds, but at times the range extends to 100ms depending on the sound source and acoustic environment (Howard, 2006, p. 105). This important fact has an immediate impact on sound dependent art forms. In a recent interview published online Associate Professor Ian Whalley of the University of Waikato describes live performances over the internet as an opportunity to create cross-cultural collaborations and generate new forms of art (Whalley, 2010):

The tools and techniques are likely to become increasingly common as significantly higher-speed broadband begins to be rolled out internationally. If you can imagine your closest neighbour being digital through high-speed networks, and you become an interactive participant rather than observer in a combined digital/real world that is increasingly dislocated from your immediate geography, you have a sense of the possibilities this new space presents.

Indeed, as network events are no longer contingent on geographical location nor language as the only method of communication, new and unique forms of artistic practices exist, and can be shared almost instantaneously and interactively over long distances to convey human expression and foster new realms of creativity. One of the most challenging aspects remains, however, the coordination of online events with respect to the local time zones of each participant. This new requirement for direct interactivity implies a change in the dynamics of collaborative processes around the world.

CREATIVE FRAMEWORK

The concert event took place at Musicaacoustica in Beijing, China. This festival has been convened since 1994 and is hosted by the Central Conservatory of Music of China. It is one of the most important music festivals in China. Prestigious musicians and composers representing various institutions and stylistic approaches from around the world participate in a series of concerts, master classes and seminars (Musicaacoustica 2011). For the third consecutive year a telemedia concert was organised by the Syneme research group on artistic performance over high-speed networks (Calgary, Canada). It is, however, the first time a group of students from Australia participates directly in a creative musical performance over Internet2. The interesting fact is that educational institutions in China’s largest cities already have access to Internet2, since it was showcased in China during the 2008 Olympics, as part of the China Education and Research Network (CERNET), a government network platform for education and science research. The most recent IPv6 test in Australia involving over 400 organisations took place in June 2011, this does not merely imply that IPv6 will be deployed for academic and research purposes yet, and the controversy surrounding the National Broadband Network in Australia suggests that it might still take some time to roll out.
The following websites provide more information (beyond the scope of this article) about Internet2/IPv6 networks in Australia, Canada and China:

http://www.worldipv6day.org/
http://ipv6canada.ca/
http://www.edu.cn/

The traditional or conventional music paradigm calls for a praxis based on both aural and theoretical knowledge passed on in the form of scores, tutoring, theory books and musicological analysis of the musical repertoire through the ages. It is customary in the current music educational setting that musicians are engaged in non-improvisational performances and follow a score to keep various aspects of music synchronised either with other musicians or even visuals. On the other hand, improvisation is only a small part of conventional musical training, and takes the form of a musical cadenza for example or relates to a specific musical genre such as jazz or live electronics. “With pure improvisation, musicians are not engaged in such a systematic approach, leaving more space available for spontaneity, free expression and continuous development of elaborated interactive relationships between the participants” (Barbosa, 2003, p. 57).

The communicative dimension of network music performance has changed the relationship between performer and performance environment, it has created a flexible setting for improvisation and interactivity where musical processes, structures and forms take on a new significance (Föllmer, 2005, pp. 190–191). From a technical perspective, the higher bandwidth of the new internet protocol Internet2 allows a better quality of audio-visual content transmission, thus allowing the use of uncompressed audio (Helmuth, 2005, p. 201). This technical aspect is of great significance as it virtually eliminates the previous challenges imposed by lower bandwidth transmission and allows musicians to explore various sound synthesis methods to transform and generate sound in real-time, and share these transformations interactively over a network with a standard CD quality stereo audio (Helmuth, 2005, p. 202).

The creation of a live collaborative musical performance, weaving cyber electronics and traditional musical elements changes the aesthetic framework in which the composer functions (Kapur, 2005, p. 215). The traditional role of the composer then shifts to one of concept designer, director and perhaps participant (Kim-Boyle, 2008, p. 1; Whalley, 2011, p. 7). In the case of the Musicacoustica event, the author’s role was to facilitate the creative process during the drafting phase, and coordinate/orchestrate the collaborative process in creating/constructing a musical piece. The original concept was to design a performance system where a traditional erhu player would perform in Beijing at the festival, and the sound would be captured by a microphone during the live performance and sent via network to the computer music studio at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music (see figure 1). The sound would then be manipulated and transformed to create sonic effects in a computer lab at the University of Sydney and be sent immediately back to the location of the performance at the Central Conservatorium in Beijing. Assuming that the audience would have a seamless listening experience in the concert hall in Beijing, the time lag would depend on 1. the broadband network speed 2. the digital signal processing techniques on location (in Sydney) 3. efficiency of the equipment used for signal processing and 4. the proficiency of the hardware/software operators (ie the students under the supervision of a lecturer/composer/coordinate).

Figure 1. Sydney Conservatorium of Music Computer Music Lab connecting to Syneme studio in Calgary for the first network music collaboration experiment.
CULTURAL CONTEXT

To place this experiment in a geocultural context, let’s first describe the erhu, a Chinese traditional musical instrument. Although the fascinating history of Chinese musical instruments spans over several centuries, even millennia, the intention of this description is not to provide a detailed account from an ethnographical, musicological, archeological or organological perspective, but is merely to provide a context to understand the value of integrating traditional musical instruments in the digital communication era, to serve musical and intellectual curiosity by achieving new levels of intercultural understanding.

The erhu has been omnipresent in Chinese musical culture since the 11th century (originally named huqin) and “has entered almost every music form in China” (Stock, 1993a, p. 100), but the last hundred years coincides with historical and intercultural influences drastically affecting the aesthetics and development of Chinese traditional and modern musical genres, to the point entirely new styles were fashioned by Western and neighbouring societies and values. The establishment of The Republic of China after the Manchu Qing dynasty was overthrown in 1911 was a catalyst for reforming socio-cultural values in a new century (Thrasher et al. in Grove Music Online). Concomitant to these changes, the Western-influence of the early 20th century became an important pretext in establishing teacher training colleges, music conservatories, research institutes and university departments modelled on Western-style art music practice, and remains a major trend in music education programs in China today (Thrasher et al. in Grove Music Online). Although, it is generally thought Western classical music study is important, about half of music students in tertiary institutions choose to study traditional Chinese music (http://shcmusic.edu.cn/).

It is thought that the great masters of Chinese music have influenced the playing techniques and the design of the erhu in earlier centuries, but the modern version of the instrument has been particularly marked by the influences of Western classical music, Chinese politics, and these influences pervade the “performance technique, aesthetics, the organisation and composition of music and instrument construction” (Stock, 1993a, p. 102). The establishment of the conservatory system thus led not only to the rise of new musical styles in China but also to transformations of performing practice and expectations. This desire to modernise the instrument has lead to a standardisation of performance style and repertoire, and is taught in a “Western educational manner” (Stock, 1993a, p. 103). Furthermore, since the repertoire and playing techniques have become more uniform, with less stylistic variations once associated with regional differences, it has become a concern that important cultural heritage is fading with time, amid popular perception that instruments of this type are perhaps representative of the old and past culture.

**Erhu construction** (Stock, 1993a) (see Figure 2):

The wooden soundbox of an erhu is diametrically pierced by a long, rounded wooden neck. Two steel strings are fastened to the protruding lower end of this pole and then, by means of a small bamboo bridge are passed over the snake skin face of the hexagonal soundbox. After being constrained by a loop of cord, the strings are wound onto tuning pegs, which are themselves dorsally inserted into the upper part of the neck. Bow hair made from horsetail is fed between the strings before being reattached to the bamboo bowstick, a practice which decisively affects performance technique and, thus, the musical style of the erhu. A standard erhu stands approximately 79 cm high, excluding any rest, and the hexagonally-faced body measures 10 cm in diameter and 13 cm from snake skin front to latticed rear. (p. 85)

For a more thorough description and historical development of the erhu over the centuries see (Thrasher et al. in Grove Music Online and Stock, 1993a). Other traditional instruments include pipa, yueqin (plucked strings), xiao, sheng, guan, suona (wind instruments), bajiao gu, shi gu, yao gu (drums), paiban, muyu, sibao (woodblocks and clappers), ling, bo (small bells and cymbals), luo, xiangzhan, yunluo, xiaolu, daluo (gongs), qin, tiqin, huqin, sanxian, yangqin (string instruments) (Thrasher et al. in Grove Music Online).

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**Figure 2. Huqin (bowed lutes): jinghu (left) and erhu (private collection), (Grove Music Online).**
MUSIC PERFORMANCE PRACTICE OVER A NETWORK

As mentioned earlier, the formal settings of music education has generated a recognisable performance style, even when improvisation is used in a creative context. It has eventuated in formal structures associated within a specific stylistic framework, “improvisational procedures have become a relatively fixed product” (Stock, 1993b, p. 147). In the context of teaching and learning music at an institutional level perhaps it is not possible to deviate from conventional performance practice, but in experimental music settings such as the one proposed with this project, it is interesting to observe performance variances in a virtual environment. “Stereotypes have their usual meaning and are parts of the norms of musical style, but are often avoided by the best improvisers” (Pressing, 1988, p. 146). Traditional musical instrument performance and high-end technology is not a common mix and calls for a new mindset to adopt new performance strategies. In this case, the computer is used to complement and transform the sounds of the erhu. This in turn is played back over the network and the player then makes immediate decisions on how to react to the sounds being heard. “The melody player can interdependently enrich his or her own playing experience while attempting to accommodate the melody to the new timbres and dynamics [generated by the computer system]” (Weinberg, 2005, p. 38). The goal in this new virtual environment is to encourage spontaneity and interactivity in the performance, with technology being as transparent as possible in the interaction process to ensure uninterrupted musical flow.

A series of preliminary experiments have illustrated that musical style and context play an important role in determining aesthetic outcomes (Stock, 1994, p. 9) and improvisational proficiency: how easily the performer detached him/herself from previously learned musical habits or precepts. Musical precepts refer to stylistic embellishments naturally arising from previously learned performance mechanisms/reflexes derived from conventional or traditional music repertoire. Network timing and latency issues were immediately noticeable through the analysis of a simple data packet transfer and results of about 230 milliseconds were obtained, which is normal given the distance between Australia, Canada and China. “In order for the musicians in a network music performance session to interact with one another in a natural way, the end-to-end delay must be kept below human perception [to distinguish an echo]” (Kurtisi, 2006, p. 52). Technical decisions would be made to avoid exposing this technical hurdle, which would have the effect of blurring musical coherency of the melody or rhythm through audible echoes. This points towards the idea of “mediation of asynchronous interaction, and creative musical response” described in (Mills, 2010, p. 188), which prompts musicians to create new ways to circumvent the unfortunate side effect of network latency (caused by the distances between two respective geographical locations).

In this case, a time-domain signal processing algorithm called granulation was used to modify the incoming signal and generate sound textures (Zölzer, 2002, pp. 229-232). Other typical signal processing techniques found in the studio such as stereo delays, filters and chorus would create an obvious echo and were therefore avoided. The resulting textural material was used to support the sound of the erhu, and provide a directional feedback in anticipation of the forthcoming musical material from the performer.

The musician was asked to choose and perform a reference piece representing his/her cultural background, where the performer was born or brought up, or where the family lives, in other words, a piece of music with social or cultural significance. In this particular case the chosen work was entitled Mo Li Hua, literally “Jasmine Flower”, and it represents the Jiangsu province, which is located on the east coast of China. The performer is considered to be of advanced level and has been playing the erhu for 14 years (see figure 3). The piece was first played without any sound processing, mixing or other sound transformations, to focalise on musical tradition and authentic sound of the instrument, we call this version Jasmine 1. A second version of the same piece was performed, but this time accompanied by signal processing techniques mentioned above such as granulation – this is called Jasmine 2. Finally, the musician was asked to improvise, without taking into account the previous interpretations and try to be guided by the sounds accompanying the performance, both from the instrument, and the sound effects generated by the computer – this more experimental version is called Jasmine 3. The third component of the experiment was established to determine if the performer would break away from the traditional performance aspects or on the contrary, if new elements of creativity would arise as a result of the disconnect from the more rigid conceptual setting.
MUSICAL INTERPRETATION

Below is an abridged analysis of the three performance excerpts available online www.ivanzavada.com/jasmine

Excerpt 1: Jasmine 1 – duration: 1:50 min
This performance contains all the qualities of a well rehearsed version with the elements of regularity normally expected from an advanced erhu performer. This almost metronomic performance, particularly at the 28 second mark, epitomises the attention to detail and perfection of an experienced musician. From the very onset, a set of musical flourishes, or embellishments, appear in a pattern-like sequence. These ornaments include short glissandis, appoggiaturas, trills and mordents typically found in Chinese traditional music.

Excerpt 2: Jasmine 2 – duration: 2:00 min
In any musical performance, interpretation and emphasis on certain musical gestures emanates a sense of authenticity, musicality and artistry. Jasmine 2 characterises that intention of truthfulness and sincerity. The musical expression can be immediately felt through various deccelerandi, rubato’s and punctuations. Particular attention is given to expressive elements such as phrasing, dynamic contour and glissandi, which all seemed more emphasised than in the previous version. This came at the expense of performance irregularities, which indicated a variation from the original piece. The tuning of some notes was slightly influenced by the accompanying sound effects of the granulation. Although similar embellishments were present they were given less importance. A sense of interaction can be detected from this interpretation as the attention of the performer was led by aspects other than technical accuracy.

Excerpt 3: Jasmine 3 – duration: 6:00 min
In the third and final performance, the improvisation showed a clear break from the previous two interpretations (Jasmine 1, Jasmine 2), but the semantic features of the overall structure remained present throughout the improvisation. In particular, the main theme on the notes B-B-D-E-G-G-E-D, is a simpler version of B-B-D-E-G-G-E-D-E-D which contained many embellishments in the previous two interpretations. The dynamic range is much wider, indicating a variation from the original piece. The tuning of some notes was slightly influenced by the accompanying sound effects of the granulation. Although similar embellishments were present they were given less importance. A sense of interaction can be detected from this interpretation as the attention of the performer was led by aspects other than technical accuracy.

CONCLUSION

As broadband networks become ubiquitous, at least in educational settings, it will have the effect of accelerating the emergence of new performance techniques and creative systems. This particular network music experiment with erhu demonstrated spontaneity and interactivity in the performance as well as reciprocity in the dialogue between the performers, in this case the composer with a redefined role and erhu performer. As described in (Helmut, 2005, p. 207) “the unexpectedness of unique, personal materials from a remote composer actually seemed to stimulate more interesting improvisations”. It has been shown that an integrated experimental approach in performance and creativity may offer new conduits to artistic development, provided that adequate technologies are used for high quality transmission of audiovisual information. Henceforth, network music performance challenges the traditional modes of music performance and composition, no longer dependant on acoustic performance spaces. Instead, new performance paradigms are formed, leading toward new research questions to further our understanding of localised individual characteristics and how we can forge new aesthetic territories by linking ancient values and past histories to new technologies. New types of artistic collaborations may be invaluable in redefining the cultural identities of local artistic networks and trends and perhaps shed light on the universal properties of music as a form of communication and transmission of a unifying cultural code.

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INITIATING PARTICIPATORY DESIGN: MULTICULTURALISM, WOMEN, CHILDBIRTH AND RESILIENCE

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ABSTRACT
This paper presents reflections on a scoping research project which sought to consider the appropriateness of the contemporary public health setting in Australia for the diversity of women accessing maternity care. In the process of hospital design and evaluating influential factors upon health outcomes, context and culture have often been overlooked as background, taken for granted elements.

In childbirth, the alchemy of one body becoming two is a threshold experience, at the heart of which lie a multitude of customary, linguistic and culturally informed practices. By contrast, in accepting that a hospital is the safest setting for childbirth, the ability of the dominant culture to respond to this diversity has been significantly reduced. What does this say of our culture and its capacity to embrace diversity and support cultural resilience? The research seeks to address this by considering ways to engage diverse and expectant mothers in the process of determining appropriate maternity service and facility design.

This paper will reflect on experiences from south east Arnhem Land, as well as reports of culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) women accessing public maternity care in Australia. The literature addresses a specific but only latently acknowledged correlation between place/context and resilience, and this paper begins to speculate on how this correlation may be better understood.

Participatory action research is discussed as an important mechanism to engage diverse and expectant mothers in the process of determining appropriate maternity service and facility design. The challenges, opportunities and issues it reveals are considered in an attempt to better understand how we can create services and facilities that respond to a diversity of cultural needs for clients of those services.

This paper considers the event of childbirth and attends to consideration of the conditions which affect and support resilience among expectant and new mothers, particularly those from CALD backgrounds. As a trained architect, with an interest in the design of public places, this work began with the question: Could we present a correlation between the influence of culture and health facility design such that the design of hospitals might be compelled to consider that more culturally appropriate facility design could affect better health outcomes? The setting of particular focus and consideration was Sydney but the impetus to investigate this situation began for me in Ngukurr.

Ngukurr is a remote Aboriginal community in Arnhem Land in north Australia and whilst living there in 2004, my young pregnant friend wept beside me as she described to me her fear of being sent away to have her baby. Ngukurr, a settlement of 1500 residents (and 400kms from the next nearest district hospital in Katherine) had a small health clinic, which hosted a fortnightly visit from a GP via a flying doctor service, a long time resident nursing ‘sister’ who had been there since the Mission days and three local Aboriginal health workers. My friend was advised that it would be in her best interests to be transferred to Darwin, 700kms away for the birth of her first child. For safety, it was proposed she be transferred at 21 weeks and due to complexities in her own family, it was unlikely anyone would be able to accompany her to Darwin to support her through the last stages of pregnancy and birth. She was devastated and terrified at the prospect of being separated from the support of her familiar surroundings, friends and family during such a significant moment of her life. Her fear of the unknown in Darwin and being alone there was greater than any fear she held for the pending birth.

This paper approaches an understanding of the impact and influence of a dominant cultural lens upon the lived experiences of the diverse clients who access public maternity services. It begins by establishing the cultural horizon relative to the birthing setting, and considering the impact of culture and physical setting. It then considers the design of both maternity facilities and services and then proceeds to examining maternity and cultural influence. In this context ‘design’ of the maternity service is of reciprocal and symbiotic importance with the ‘design’ of the physical setting and this will be explored in the paper. The paper promotes the use of participatory action research as a mechanism to overcome to dominant culture’s blindness in considering a diversity of client cultural needs. The paper concludes with reflection on the challenges encountered when seeking to engage greater patient participation and agency in the process of determining appropriate design.

1. ESTABLISHING THE CULTURAL HORIZON RELATIVE TO THE BIRTHING SETTING
Aboriginal Australians account for approximately two percent of Australia’s population and the failure of the public health system to adequately support the wellbeing of Indigenous Australians is well documented (see particularly Couzons & Murray, 2008). Australia also has one of the largest proportions of immigrant populations in the world, with an
estimated 24 percent of the total population (4.96 million people) born overseas (ABS 2007). Well over half (61 percent) of these – one in seven Australians – were born in a non-English speaking country (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare [AIHW], 2008, p. 91). Given the proportion of cultural and linguistic diversity of Australia’s population, it is important to examine how effective the current health facilities and services are in meeting the needs of different cultures, language groups and consequent variations in attitudes and beliefs surrounding health and wellbeing.

When this research began, it was focused on a distinct metropolitan area of New South Wales with dense populations of CALD women from non-English speaking backgrounds. In New South Wales, where 33 percent of Australia’s population reside, 25 percent of the population were born overseas (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2007). The range of current maternal and newborn services offered is comprehensive, yet as Shi (1999) suggests, many of these may be underutilised by CALD women. With New South Wales’s population exhibiting such diversity it is clear that a ‘one size fits all’ approach to maternity service provision is inadequate. Though the numbers of births in New South Wales remained stable between 2001–2004, in 2005, the number of births increased by 5.8 percent and this increase occurred mainly in the Sydney South West area, where over 1000 more births were reported in that area alone. In 2005, 62 percent of births in that area were from mothers of English speaking backgrounds. Of the 38 percent of births by mothers from non-English speaking backgrounds, 10 percent of births were by mothers of Middle Eastern and African origin and 11.7 percent of mothers were of South East Asian origin. NSW Health staff whom I spoke with expressed concern at the underutilisation rates of antenatal care and education for those groups. Discussions with midwives at the hospitals in these areas indicated that particular cultural groups of mothers would present late for care and often as a result of this, experienced poor outcomes which further reinforced their concern or reticence to present to hospital. The research was initiated to determine whether the design of the facility was an influencing factor.

In recalling the predicament of my friend in Ngukurr, I am reminded of Spelman’s observation that “compassion, like other forms of caring, may also reinforce the very patterns of economic and political subordination responsible for such suffering” (Spelman, 1997, p. 7). As private midwife (for over 25 years) Shea Caplice explains “The best environment to birth in is one in which the woman feels safe” (http://www.sheacaplice.com). My friend in Ngukurr did not feel safe to be transferred to Darwin. I wondered whether it was possible that this experience was shared by other culturally and linguistically diverse expectant mothers.

2. THE IMPACT OF CULTURE AND PHYSICAL SETTING

It has long been recognised that the built environment can and does influence human behaviour (Brebenner, 1982; Baum & Singer, 1984; Stokols, 1995; Bell et al., 1996, as cited in Symon, Paul, Butchart, Carr & Dugard, 2008a). Within the context of health care, a number of studies have attempted to identify what works best and least well. The outcomes measured include clinical outcomes, and patient and staff wellbeing. Research demonstrates that patients do experience a positive outcome in an environment that incorporates natural light, elements of nature, soothing colours, meaningful and varying stimuli, peaceful sounds, pleasant views and a sense of beauty (Robin, Owens & Golden in Martinez (Ed.), 1997, as cited in Stichler, 2001; and Ulrich et al., 2008). One’s culture can also influence the significance or preference for particular environmental elements. Yet the delivery of healthcare does not occur in an acultural or asocial setting but rather within a specific cultural and social setting.

Public health care is delivered by the State and the modern State is “not a culturally neutral instrument of order and stability as it is often assumed to be, [rather] it is embedded in a particular vision of political order” (Parekh, 2006, p. 179). Whilst historically a polity was distinguished by identifying around a common way of life as its locus of identity and primary object of loyalty, in contemporary times, territory enjoys unprecedented importance in the constitution of a polity (Parekh, 2006, pp. 179–180). This territorial identity which constitutes the identity of the contemporary modern State has several limitations, one of which is “its preoccupation with political and cultural homogeneity” (Parekh, 2006, p. 184).

Kopec (2008) notes that:

The complex and interwoven nature of culture and religion as they relate to one’s identity is an important consideration when designing the physical environment of a healthcare setting. However, consideration of culturally appropriate visual, auditory, and tactile opportunities as parts of the overall healthcare plan is often neglected in the design of patient rooms. (p. 111)

As Julian and Easthope (1999) noted:

The cultural definitions of health and illness of the powerful form the basis for the way in which all health care is structured to deal with health needs. Some migrants bring socially approved definitions of health and illness that match the healthcare system in their country of origin but do not match the Australian system. The Australian system was constructed using the individualistic, biocentric model of man prevalent in western societies (Lock & Gordon 1988). It is supported by a vast institution we call modern medicine. The migrants’ health care practices may be in direct conflict with the Australian health care system. (p. 96)

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1 No data more recent than 2001 was available for overseas born in NSW. (ABS, 2007)

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Culture provides an individual with a perception of understood behavioural systems which form the basis for an individual’s identity and systematic way of interacting in society. And yet as Parekh (2006) reminds us, in the modern State:  

All citizens are expected to privilege their territorial over their other identities; to consider what they share in common as citizens far more than what they share with other members of their religious, cultural or other communities. In short the State expects all its citizens to subscribe to an identical way of defining themselves in relation to each other and the State, in this important sense it is a deeply homogenising institution. (p. 184)  

Goodacre and Follers (1987) explain that people from different cultural backgrounds:  

Have different sets of values which lead them to see the relative importance of events or actions quite differently; hold different views as to how things should be done, how people should relate to each other and in what activities particular people should participate; regard behaviour considered acceptable by people of one culture as being unacceptable to them; have thoughts and feelings that are very similar to those of people of other cultures; but they have significantly different ways of expressing them. (p. 28)  

In a public health setting, the impact of overlooking these differences has the potential to create undesirable outcomes. As Parekh (2006) suggests more emphatically, such oversight means that “the modern State can easily become an instrument of injustice and oppression” (p. 185).  

As Shi (1999) noted, applied to health and illness, different cultural perspectives will lead to different definitions of health, aetiology of illness and medical care. Manderson (1990) also suggests that “cultural factors are important to our understanding of patterns and experiences of health and disease” (p. xi). Shi (1999) stated:  

That Cultural rules govern most ordinary actions, including our behaviour and thinking that affects our health, eg. Dietary habits, attitudes towards health promotion behaviour, the ability to recognise signs of illness, the way people react to sickness, and the utilisation of health resources. (p. 22)  

Fine (1989) stated “Culture directly and indirectly affects the development of disease and illness, as well as the provision of healthcare” (p. 10). Despite the acceptance of the impact that culture has on an individual’s understanding of their health and wellbeing and thus consequently the experience of illness or being unwell, there has been little research which addresses the influence of cultural differences on what constitutes appropriate design in the healthcare setting.  

Whilst documentation of variations in cultural practices and beliefs exists, there has been little assessment of particular cultural needs which translates the impact of these beliefs into an understanding, and strategy for provision of the services and facilities in a healthcare setting. Reports commissioned by the Federal Government in Australia and published in 1978, identified significant problems for Non English Speaking Background (NESB) migrants and their health care provision. Despite this few mechanisms exist at the health service delivery level to identify and address the needs of NESB clients (Shi, 1999, p. 27). Whilst it is known (Young & Coles, 1992) that immigrants are generally underserved in health matters compared with the population in general, it is also recognised that the major barrier to NESB persons receiving appropriate health care is that the health system does not adequately address the linguistic and cultural needs of its clients (Kahn, 1994, as quoted in Shi, 1999, p. 28).  

As de Koning and Martin (1996) describe, “the biomedical interpretation and understanding of diseases, supported by studies carried out in laboratories, is in many cases different from the understanding embedded in local culture and history” (p. 1), and this contributes to the increasing popularity of participatory research models to address this gap. Before discussing participatory design further, I’ll briefly discuss the situation within the focus area of maternity service and facilities.  

3. DESIGN OF MATERNITY FACILITIES AND SERVICES  

Despite research which addresses the appropriateness of Models of Maternity Service Provision, to date there has been limited research examining the role of facility design in maternity (Symon et al., 2008a), and even less that addresses the influence that culture and religion exert on appropriate design in maternity units. To address the gap in general investigation regarding the role of design in maternity units, a recent UK study undertook a three year, nine site study examining the perceptions and experiences of 559 mothers and 227 ward staff using and working in maternity units (Symon et al., 2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2008d). This study reported that despite the limited empirical research on the relationship between hospital design and behaviour, a few influential studies into the effects of hospital design on patient health suggest causal links which warrant further investigation.  

Within existing evidence base for maternity service provision, regular prenatal care is associated with increased birth weight and decreased incidence of preterm deliveries (Klein & Goldenberg, 1993). Dissatisfaction with prenatal care services often results in decreased utilisation of those services (Oakley, 1991). Scheduling difficulties and long waits (Petitti, Hiatt, Chin & Coughran-Minihane, 1991), an impersonal clinic atmosphere (Campbell, Mitchell, Stanford & Ewigman, 1995), lack of information (Kojo-Austin, Malin, & Hemminki, 1993), and a lack of continuity of care (Graveley & Littlefield, 1992) lead to dissatisfaction with prenatal care (Omar, Schiffman & Bingham, 2001). Research regarding patient satisfaction underpins efforts to improve health care services through understanding and addressing the needs of health care consumers (Mahon, 1997). This effort has been guided by the recognition that greater satisfaction with care is closely associated with better health care utilisation.
compliance and outcome (Aharony, & Strasser, 1993; Calnan, 1988; Dye & Wojtowycz, 1999; Higgins, Murray, & Williams, 1994). The need for a measure of understanding the impact of facility design on these issues of patient experience of service delivery, evaluated for particular cultural user groups, is vital to ensuring better health care utilisation and improved health care outcomes.

4. MATERNITY AND CULTURAL INFLUENCE

Ali (2001) noted in a study in Malaysia “that the unhappiness towards current maternity services is the reason for the declining uptake of antenatal care” (p. 3). Ali suggests that underutilisation occurs because the western system focuses on women’s bodies but not on their minds (2001, p. 2). Ali suggests women’s minds contribute to the physical well-being of their bodies (Oakley, 1984 as cited in Ali, 2001, p. 2). Despite this pregnancy has come to be perceived as an illness and a pregnant woman afforded patient status (Parkes, 1991 as quoted in Ali, 2001, p. 59), where social and emotional factors that do not fit the physiological illness are more likely to be ignored (Ali, 2001, p. 59). Pregnancy and childbirth do not belong in the medical domain only. They are affected by a combination of socio-psychological, psychosocial, cultural, ethnical, religious, social economic and political factors (Schott & Henley, 1996; Waldenstrom, 1996) and appropriate facility design must account for the influence of these factors on what will constitute an appropriate environment.

Thus, though biologically the processes of pregnancy and childbirth are universal among women, the cultural contexts of these processes are not. Rather they are steeped in the cultural beliefs of the woman, her family and the culture with which she identifies. The stratigraphy of self-understanding during childbirth exerts significant influence, indeed it is how the birthing woman makes sense of what is happening. If the public health setting and system are not in alignment with the birthing mother’s self-understanding, perhaps it is not surprising that some women are underrepresented in the statistics that describe utilisation rates.

For migrant women, the cultural beliefs and family with which she identifies is most often her country of origin, rather than the country in which she gives birth. This conflicts with the modern State’s requirement of allegiance to the territorially informed cultural homogeneity determined by her new home. In addition, a strict bio-medical approach which focuses on clinical outcomes alone is unlikely to adequately reflect or accommodate the broader health picture and satisfaction of outcomes for women evaluating their maternal health care experience (NSW Health, 2003, p. 8; NSH, 2002). Thus since a physical facility should support the delivery of appropriate care (the preferred models of care), and in order to support utilisation of services by different cultural/ethnic groups, the facility should be designed to accord with the cultural expectations of these groups if it seeks to attract them to use the services provided. "Women’s groups, not all of them feminists, have highlighted the patriarchal basis of the dominant liberal culture and pressed for its radical reassessment. There is no reason why cultural minorities should be denied that right.” (Parekh, 2006, p. 203)

In medicine, the use of religion has not been widely studied, but in medical anthropology, religion has been shown to play a vital role in the human life, including pregnancy (Adentunji, 1992; Beachy, Hershberger, Davidhizar, & Giger, 1997; Levin, 1994; Najman, Williams, Keeping, Morrison, & Andersen, 1998). It has been shown that religious beliefs have a strong influence on pregnant women (Adentunji, 1992). In one of the most comprehensive studies conducted on cross-cultural childbirth in Chinese (in Taiwan) and Australian Women in Australia, Chu discusses how reproductive beliefs and behaviour are governed by cultural, social and individual factors and suggests that the lack of understanding of different cultural beliefs and practices of Chinese women in Australia can lead to misunderstandings between health practitioners and their clients (Chu, 1993). The methodology and findings of Chu (1993) and Shi (1999) suggest that more needs assessments of NESB women should be carried out in order to reveal the gaps in service provision, such that they can be addressed effectively and supported by appropriate facility design.

5. PARTICIPATORY DESIGN MODELS; ENGAGING MULTICULTURAL WOMEN TO HAVE THEIR SAY

Patient engagement and participation in health policy design has been highlighted as increasingly important to ensure appropriate and effective health care delivery (Gregory, 2007) within which facility design considerations are critical. The importance of the need to link culturally specific user needs analysis with patient experience, patient satisfaction and utilisation rates, in correlation with health outcomes and hospital design, has been prioritised in Australia by the NHMRC Health Advisory Committee (HAC). In 2005 the NHMRC HAC developed the Cultural Competency in Health guidelines to increase competence of the health sector and partners working with CALD communities to improve health (NHMRC, 2005). With respect to this paper’s focus on maternity, NSW Health also stated in Models of Maternity Service Provision 2003 report that, “there is a growing awareness of the need for a greater focus on equity of access to ensure that the service provided to women from marginalised groups, who have the poorest outcomes, are more appropriate and better utilised” (NSW Health, 2003, p. 4). (The call for a focus on equity of access will be discussed further.) In discussing maternity services in Australia, Shi (1999) suggests that “because of the predominantly monolingual, monocultural nature of the health care workforce, NESB women are disadvantaged in accessing the same range of education regarding their options for childbirth” (p. 19). Furthermore Shi suggests that the opportunity to exercise choice by migrant women is often further hindered by their inadequate knowledge of the health care system, the barrier of communication and
different cultural beliefs in childbirth (Shi, 1999, p. 19). In
addition, fear about differences has stopped many CALD
women from following their own cultural birthing practice,
resulting in their suffering stress (McHugh, 1991; Rice,
1994; Kahn, 1994). There is clear acknowledgement of
the need to broaden patient participation in the design of
appropriate service and facilities. This raises the questions
of ‘participation by whom?’, and ‘participation in what?’

Participatory engagement and power relations
Boyes et al. (2002, as quoted in Gregory, 2007, p. 17) identify
five possible purposes of consumer engagement ranging
from public dissemination of information regarding decisions
that have already been made, through to involving the public
directly in making decisions and allowing them opportunity
to influence decision making from outside the policy process.
Draper and Hill (1995) suggest that there are four different
approaches to consumer engagement; scientific approaches,
market solutions, legal approaches and democratic
participation. Andrea Cornwall (1996, p. 96) outlines six
‘modes’ of participation in participatory research. Each of
these authors highlight that approaches to participation
operate from different theoretical underpinnings and offer
different outcomes.

Rowe and Shepherd (2002, as quoted in Gregory, 2007)
argue that consumer engagement is typically underpinned by
two competing political ideologies: the consumerist model or
the democratic model. The fundamental difference concerns
the distribution of power; the consumerist model is service
led and will be conducted as an organisation-initiated activity
designed to produce higher-quality and more closely targeted
outcomes. The democratic model is citizen-led and whilst it
may be initiated by organisations or citizens, it is seen as part
of the democratic decision making process.

Production of knowledge
Participatory research (as an alternative to research
determined by the dominant groups), aims to produce
knowledge from the perspectives of marginalised, deprived
and oppressed groups of people and classes, and in so doing
aims to transform realities. In Foucauldian theory there is a
direct relationship between,

- the production of knowledge, social practices and
  ways of being. Dominant knowledge systems can be
  resisted, consciously or subconsciously, by alternative
  perceptions and forms of knowledge. Alternative forms
  of knowledge exist and/or are produced at individual
  and group levels and their social power is increased
  through sharing and a winning over of others to accept
  these forms of knowledge. (Weedon 1987, as cited in De
  Koning & Martin, 1996, p. 14)

Thus research to engage CALD women in participatory design
for maternity facilities must be mindful of the production of
knowledge and power bound in such processes if it is to be
successful in empowering those women. As Cornwall (1994,
as cited in De Koning & Martin, 1996) describes:

The idea of giving people information implies that
knowledge is a thing that can be acquired or lost, rather
than a process which is always in the making. We know
our bodies in many different ways; our knowledge is
dynamic, changing with new experiences; they too are
in flux. (p. 15)

‘Equity of Outcome’ or ‘Equity of Access’?
To address the importance of cultural influence on a patient’s
experience, it is vital that research examines equity of
outcomes, in addition to equity of access. Though CALD
patients may enjoy the same opportunity to access these
services on a clinical level, there is a need to determine
what factors cause the underutilisation of these services by
CALD patients and how this impacts upon health outcomes.
As Shi (1999) observed, many of the patients in focus have
an inadequate knowledge of the health care system, or feel
uncomfortable expressing their beliefs thus despite the same
access, they do not enjoy an equity of outcome. As Parekh
(2006) states:

If some groups have long been marginalised or
suppressed, lack the confidence and the opportunity
to participate as equals in mainstream society, or are
subjected to vigorous assimilation, we might need to
give them rights not available to others... The purpose of
such additional rights is to draw the groups involved into
the mainstream of society and give substance to the
principle of equal citizenship. (p. 263)

For these reasons engaging CALD women in participatory
research to better understand their needs, is a vital step if

equity of outcomes is to be achieved.

Interactive modelling techniques in participatory design
Nolan (2004) explained that “community engagement tends
to follow the naming of a problem rather than preceding
it. This confines the process of engagement to a boundary
defined by the organization and can restrict its capacity
to generate solutions” (as quoted in Gregory, 2007, p. 25).
To that end the participatory design process we planned
was adapted from a participatory planning model, in which
participants are able to exert influence over the process and
its outcomes. This method involves engaging participants
with physical scaled models of a given environment and
inviting them to participate in the process of modification
and discussion of the model indicating their preference for
settings and behaviour within those settings.

In many fields beyond architecture, planning and community
development, the modeling occurs in digital form and in
military training, aviation and many medical fields is referred
to as ‘simulation’ (Watkins, Myers & Villasante, 2008, p.
167). Watkins et al. (2008) discuss their utilisation of ‘mock
ups’ of inpatient rooms to test potential design solutions
with respect to patient and staff responses. They outline
numerous benefits of utilising this research method and if
sensitively adapted in physical models, it could also assist
in engaging CALD patients in participatory modeling of
health facility environments appropriate to their needs. Furthermore with respect to participatory research in developmental contexts, “Visualization methods such as body mapping combined with individual and group interviews have emerged as useful in documenting and understanding local people’s concepts of their body, providing a starting point for improved communication about sexual practices between health professionals and the women in the communities involved in the research”. (MacCormack, 1985 as quoted in De Koning & Martin, 1996, p. 4)

Participatory research goes beyond documenting local people’s needs and perspectives. It emphasizes the process of knowledge production. [ ] helps especially marginalized and deprived people to gain self confidence and pride in being able to provide a useful contribution to community life. It builds respect and empathy in professional groups for the insights and knowledge people have and the problems they face. [listening to local people] also helps to avoid mistakes and to develop programmes that take into account the specific situation and conditions which will influence the outcomes of programmes. (Chambers, 1983, as quoted in De Koning & Martin, 1996, p. 4)

The aim of the participatory process itself is to enable a capacity building, positive and empowering experience, thus the research design should also be mindful that it needs to “address inequalities and for this reason needs to become a continuing process of learning which integrates research, reflection and action” (De Koning & Martin, 1996, p. 7). For these reasons, the research method would need to be designed with an approach that considers patient engagement as an iterative process that continues throughout, with engagement from one phase informing what comes next. As O’Keefe and Hogg (1999) have noted “though ongoing engagement may be more resource-intensive, it delivers information which cannot be obtained through a snapshot approach of a one-off consultation” (as quoted in Gregory, 2007, p. 26). Ryan et al. (2001) suggest that techniques which encourage deliberation, such as focus groups and citizens’ juries will help people to refine and reflect on their ideas, and may produce more valid outcomes than snapshot studies based on closed question interviews (as quoted in Gregory, 2007, p. 26).

Participatory Action Research can succeed in or through organisations whose ultimate objective is empowerment. The chances for success are less in organisations whose ultimate goal is efficient service delivery. This is because the values which govern the two kinds of organisation are different. (p. 69)

This poses significant challenges in a public health context since the ultimate objective will always contain an interest in efficient service delivery and, as Lasker and Weiss explain, since “consumer engagement is rarely amenable to the ‘gold standard’ of evaluation – the randomised, controlled trial” (as quoted in Gregory, 2007, p. 46), advocating for the importance of a participatory research process of the type discussed here can be met with challenges particular to the medical context and its preference for particular forms of

Concluding methodological notes

Putting participatory ideals into practice brings about a number of practical, political and professional dilemmas. Conventional structures may be entirely inadequate to cope with the implications of participatory practice. Far reaching institutional changes are needed if these processes are to be supported. (Pretty & Chambers, 1993, in De Koning & Martin, 1996, p. 104)

As reported by the Department of Human Services in Victoria (Australia), “Consumer engagement programs are frequently designed in isolation – designed by people with no particular expertise in engagement, in isolation from consumers, and without the benefit of knowledge from other engagement programs” (DHS, 2005). Abelson, Forest et al. (2003, as quoted in Gregory, 2007, p. 33) note that while there is extensive discussion on the literature of engagement techniques, there is no rigorous comparison available. The discussion set out in this paper occurs in response to these comments. The contribution of patient engagement in the process of healthcare facility design has the potential to be far greater than is currently the case. It is an approach that offers opportunities to build relationships with more marginalised groups of patients, toward fostering the necessary conditions to provide improved healthcare outcomes. As a research technique, it also has the capacity to further marginalise the patient groups it seeks to assist if the approach is not sensitive or well informed. Similar to action planning, it is an approach to research which can thrive when patients and researchers work together as equally as possible; this can require a redistribution of power during the research process, such that the researchers do not entirely set the agenda, but allow the participants to determine the terms and agenda of their participation. Furthermore as Khanna (in De Koning & Martin, 1996) described:

Participatory Action Research can succeed in or through organisations whose ultimate objective is empowerment. The chances for success are less in organisations whose ultimate goal is efficient service delivery. This is because the values which govern the two kinds of organisation are different. (p. 69)
‘evidence’. Notwithstanding this acknowledgment, there is a need for research which will explore the correlation between culture, context and patient experience as key indicators of health outcomes, granting that randomised controlled clinical trials are unable to deliver the finer grain analysis of understanding which considers the networks of interrelated factors which inform and impact upon patient experience and patient outcomes. Research which furthers our understanding in this area is vital to ensure patient-centred care can be delivered which is appropriate to patient needs.

As De Koning and Martin (1996) remind us, “Enabling people to express their perceptions and concerns forms the basis for a more active engagement in which they are no longer cast as silent, passive recipients” (p. 105). This is important to enable greater resilience in our society. Furthermore, research which engages directly with patients who utilise health facilities can work toward closing the gap between user and designer, by engaging with specific user groups and canvassing their feedback on their particular needs which inform appropriate design guidelines for public health settings.

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Blurring the Boundaries: A Collaborative Approach to Language and Learning Support for Social Work Students

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Abstract
Victoria University in Melbourne, Australia attracts students with diverse histories and cultural backgrounds. Academic staff of the Social Work Unit have a long history of working with staff from Learning Support Services to assist students to develop their academic skills. In 2011, social work and learning support staff have worked together to develop a new collaborative approach to learning support, characterised by an ‘outreach’ approach of bringing highly contextualised learning support to the students in their social work course, rather than trying to encourage the students to attend separate learning support services. This new approach blurs the boundaries between the discipline-specific teaching and the learning support. It was stimulated by the University’s pilot of a language literacy and numeracy (LLN) strategy. Underpinning this approach is the idea that all students are being apprenticed into a new discursive space. Situated and explicit LLN support is the focus, and staff approach LLN in developmental rather than deficit terms. This paper describes the outreach approach and explores what made this collaborative approach possible. Some of the factors identified include shared commitment to a student-centred approach that works with strengths rather than deficits, and the compatibility of the critical social work approach of the social work staff with the critical literacy approach of the learning support staff.

Introduction
Social work at Victoria University has a particularly diverse student body, within a university that values diversity, and a region, Melbourne’s west, that is one of Australia’s most culturally diverse areas. At least half of our students are mature aged, and many of them did not attend school in Australia. They bring richly diverse backgrounds and understandings to the study of social work. Language and learning support are essential to the success of these students at university, and in the field. They need to learn the language of the discipline of social work, within English which may be their second, third or fourth language.

Since the 1990s, the Social Work Unit staff have worked with the University’s Student Learning Unit (SLU) within Learning Support Services to support students’ learning. Individual social work lecturers would invite SLU lecturers to attend one or two classes and present sessions tailored to the unit content. These sessions would cover topics such as academic honesty and preventing plagiarism, and planning essays. These class sessions would effectively introduce SLU staff to the students, and promote the opportunity to make appointments for individual sessions with the SLU lecturers. In social work lecturers’ feedback on students’ written work, individual students would be advised to seek assistance from the SLU by telephoning the receptionist and making an appointment. Over the years, SLU staff built up their expertise in relation to social work content and expectations, and social work lecturers developed their skills for sequencing and scaffolding assessment tasks in order to ensure that students could gradually build their skills and confidence for completing written work. In 2010, when we thought that students were not accessing the service
enough, one of the SLU lecturers offered sessions specific to social work at Footscray Nicholson campus, but students did not engage with this opportunity.

Social Work Unit staff have undertaken two relevant research projects on the experiences of Bachelor of Social Work (BSW) students. One explored the experiences of students from the higher education equity target groups, and was linked with a broader international project (Noble, Egan & Martin, 2009). The second research project focussed on the experiences of culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) students (Noble, Egan, Testa & Walker 2010). Both projects included a focus, from the student perspective, on literacy needs and the types of extra academic support which the students found most useful. Based on this research different strategies have been integrated into the BSW curriculum. Social work staff have also had discussions across the Faculty of Arts, Education and Human Development in an attempt to understand how other areas of the faculty are supporting students from CALD backgrounds and those who are having difficulty with academic work.

In 2011, Victoria University introduced a Language Learning and Numeracy (LLN) pilot with the following aims:

- to build the language, literacy and numeracy capabilities that underpin students’ Victoria University course achievement and which provide a foundation for further learning and for future careers and life choices
- to build the capacity of Victoria University teachers, curricula developers and LLN support mechanisms to identify and address the LLN development needs of students
- to evaluate and document the impact of interventions, enabling sustained growth.

Following Week 5 assessment results, and LLN pilot feedback, Social Work Unit staff approached the SLU to develop more outreach strategies, in an effort to bring the support to the students instead of referring the students and hoping they would seek out the support. The previous collaborative working relationships with SLU made it possible to develop a much more embedded approach to learning support than in the past.

This paper focuses on the collaborative, outreach approach developed in 2011, and explores what made this collaborative approach possible. Some of the factors identified include shared commitment to a student-centred approach that works with strengths rather than deficits; having access to findings of previous research that sheds light on student experiences and the compatibility of the critical social work approach of the social work staff with the critical literacy approach of the learning support staff. Before providing further description and discussion of the approach, we present a review of recent international literature on embedding support, and collaborative approaches in learning support.

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

The Australian vocational education sector has a long history of embedding language, literacy and numeracy (LLN) into their vocational courses (see for example, Wignall, 1998; McKenna & Fitzpatrick, 2005). This approach has gained traction more slowly in higher education. However we have been able to learn from the vocational education work. While there are different models for this embedding in both vocational education and higher education, they share the notion of bringing together content teaching and LLN teaching (Casey et al., 2006). The embedding of LLN support rests on a collaborative approach with content teachers or lecturers. Shared features of these different models, some structural and some attitudinal, include:

- team work
- shared understandings, values and beliefs
- aspects of teaching and learning that connect LLN explicitly with discipline content
- enabling policies and organisational features at an institutional level (Casey et al., 2006, p. 5).

As Bowler and Street (2008, p. 439) state, embedded approaches strive to ‘build a lasting bridge’ between what Badke (2005) has called ‘two solitudes’. They are about content teachers and LLN teachers planning and working closely together as a teaching partnership. In this dialogue, both inside and outside the classroom, they bring their different expertise together in explicit ways for the benefit of students. ‘They have different insights, drawn from their own and others’ personal experience, into how outsiders gain, and position themselves in relation to insider knowledge’ (Shrubshall & Roberts, 2005, p. 62). Jacobs (2005) uses this metaphor of insider and outsider to demonstrate the discrete yet complimentary roles the collaborating teachers play – the content teacher who, as an insider has a mastery of the unit material, and the LLN teacher in this role of the outsider, who can work with the content teacher’s insider knowledge to help make it more explicit to the students as they transition into the discursive space of social work.

Cooper and Baynham (2005) point to the complexity of successful embedding:

Embedding is not just a matter of mapping a basic skills curriculum to a vocational curriculum and then finding time to teach and ways to teach them but is a living, dynamic developmental process which involves the students, the tutors of the courses in the contexts in which they work. (p. 37)

The way in which this embedding is enacted is dependent on a variety of interactive factors including the student cohort and their current needs, the approach to skills development over the length of the course as well as the teaching and personal resources of the teachers involved in the collaboration. It can and will change as these factors play out and are reviewed over the lifetime of the collaboration.
Building partnerships takes both time and goodwill. Roberts et al. (2005) in their case study of successful embedding within vocational education stressed the significance of the time commitment in developing and maintaining the relationship, but also the reciprocal benefits.

The characteristic of the successful teacher teams in the case studies was that they were strongly motivated to provide embedded provision; they had the time to work and plan together; and both sorts of teachers were willing to learn from each other. (Roberts et al., 2005, p. 9)

While conceptualisations of embedding across these sectors has differed, academic skills or Learning Support centres in universities have worked in collaboration with lecturers for more than a decade in responding to the shifting higher education student population (Skillen, Percy, Trivett & James, 2001). This shift has recognised the increasing importance of providing academic skills development for all entering students, in a developmental model which advocates for the benefit of explicit teaching of these skills for the majority of students (Skillen et al., 2001; Percy & Skillen 2000).

Consideration of the advantages of these approaches in supporting learners has focused on the potential for the development of discipline specific discourses afforded by closer collaboration between faculty and academic skills staff, and this has been widely documented (see for example Skillen et al., 2001; Percy & Skillen 2000; Einfalt & Turley 2009).

Underpinning the emerging collaborative approach and various models of embedding is a pedagogy based on socio-cultural theories of learning. These view ‘knowledge’ as what is shared between knowledgeable people within their discourse (characteristic ways of using language, acting, interacting, behaving and believing). This knowledge is expressed and maintained within ‘discourse communities’ (Bruner, 1996; Wells, 1999). Knowledge thus arises out of a process of discoursing, situated within communities (Wenger, 1998). The primary target of learning becomes the ability to participate within a chosen knowledge community. Consequently, to teach is to enable participation in these discourse communities, enabling access to the intellectual and social power inherent in prestigious and powerful knowledge communities (Northedge, 2005).

An academic discipline is a discourse community which discourses primarily through highly focused, analytical and critical writing (Olsen, 1996). Culturally and linguistically diverse students in higher education can find this obscure and alienating, putting them at a significant disadvantage in the education process. The pedagogic challenge is to ensure that the conventions and linguistic patterns inherent in the discourse are made explicit to students, in order to enable them to participate in the discipline discourse and access the knowledge contained within it (Rai, 2004). Constructive collaboration between discipline experts and language and learning specialists can enable this to happen. The blurring of the boundaries between discipline and language and learning experts enables the features of the discipline discourse to be deconstructed and made explicit to the students by the language and learning specialists. Critical literacy adds further weight to this approach as it recognises all text as socially constructed with inherent power dimensions; text is not neutral. Literacy is seen as enabling the functional reading of text, and also learning how language works and applying a critical approach to text, deconstructing how it might reflect or reinforce existing power structures (Lankshear, 1993, 1997).

The evolutionary development of collaborative relationships between the lecturers and academic skills staff in this case study can be viewed within the range of possible models of collaboration identified by Dudley-Evans (2001). He has argued that cooperation around sharing information about discipline demands is at the first level of collaboration, followed by collaboration on workshops or other support run outside the curriculum as a second level. He advocates however, for a third level in which subjects are co-developed and co-taught. The value of a ‘co productive’ relationship (Einfalt & Turley, 2009) has been highlighted by Jones, Bonanno and Scouller (2002) who have argued convincingly for the need to reflect critically on the nature of collaborative partnerships, and how they empower those working in such collaborative spaces. In reviewing partnerships within their own context they use a continuum to describe the nature of faculty and learning support staff relationships, commencing with adjunct support programs informed by faculty staff, through stronger adjunct programs which are co-designed and highly context specific to integrated in-curriculum models, and finally embedded programs in which academic skills are interlinked with content knowledge. Learning support programs flexible enough to meet institutional and student needs, they argue, may be developed at multiple points along this continuum.

Finally Jones et al. (2002) point to the way in which collaborations around learning support interventions can be conceptualised more fully as three way partnerships among academic staff, learning support staff and students. who can be seen to be in a dynamic partnership in the teaching and learning space around achieving objectives arising directly from the needs of students.

Figure 1. Approaches to collaboration (adapted from Jones et al., 2002)
However, such partnerships have not generally extended to collaborations around supporting those students identified as at risk and in need of more intensive support than can be provided through these embedded approaches. At risk students have in many cases been referred either to workshop based support, one to one assistance or in some cases, special elective subjects designed for underachieving students, taught by academic skills lecturers rather than content or discipline experts. In effect, developmental approaches, developed collaboratively and delivered within the curriculum have been abandoned and deficit based models have been reintroduced. It may be argued that the level of support required by such students was seen by some to be beyond that which could be provided within the developmental model, and that lecturers saw such specialised assistance as being beyond the boundary of their role as content specialists.

THE EMBEDDED OUTREACH APPROACH

In 2011 we have used three different versions of an outreach approach, moving gradually towards a more embedded version. The LLN pilot feedback, along with lecturers’ feedback on students’ Week 5 assessments alerted us that in 2011 we have a cohort of international students who came to us with diplomas from private education providers, but lower than the expected level of English language proficiency. In Year 2, we had a group of about 20 who either failed or nearly failed their Week 5 assessment. In response, we worked with the SLU to offer four specific learning support tutorials. The SLU lecturer worked with a group of students to assist them with preparation of their end of semester assignments. The class was scheduled on a different day from their class that the LLN strategy educational developer had been attending. Individual students were invited to attend, and about half of them attended. The second model we used was in Winter School. We directed students to a particular tutorial that was attended by the LLN strategy educational developer and an SLU lecturer in addition to the regular tutor, and the students had an additional tutorial for one hour at the end of the day. The third model is being used in Semester 2, with the LLN strategy educational developer and an SLU lecturer attending one tutorial in each of two subjects. Once again, particular students have been directed to these ‘learning support’ tutorials, although it includes other students as well. This model offers an additional hour of support following the regular tutorial, and a small number of students have taken advantage of this opportunity.

We are very enthusiastic about the model of bringing the support to the students, rather than trying to send the students to the support. This makes it more likely that individual students will engage with the support, since it is right there, in their regular tutorial. It has the additional benefit of delivering support in a group setting, which is an efficient use of SLU lecturer’s time. The team teaching approach means that the learning support is more cognizant of the unit content and requirements, and the social work lecturer has the opportunity to learn from the LLN and SLU staff.

SHARED THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

Victoria University’s social work course takes an approach that is explicitly grounded in critical social theory. At the heart of contemporary critical social theory is the view that there is no objective or value free perspective on the world, and that the dominance of particular perspectives, such as that of white culture, reflects unearned power and privilege. It contests standards and discourses of normality, such as those that underpin contemporary discourses about health, particularly those influenced by positivistic or scientific practices. Critical thought extends beyond what might ordinarily be seen as content and into the processes and terms on which different knowledges are developed and maintained. Similarly, the foundations of Victoria University’s Student Learning Unit and LLN Project in critical learning theory provide for an engagement in matters that might, for those drawing on other theoretical traditions, appear to be outside their domain. The shared values and theoretical foundation between Victoria University’s social work, student learning, and LLN strategy staff has been a key contributor to the depth of collaboration necessary to embed LLN support on the ‘outreach’ model trialled at Victoria University. This model involves a blurring of the boundaries in what might otherwise seem a clear division between content and skills, extending the interests and skills of both content and learning support lecturers into the bounds of what might otherwise appear to be the domain of the other.

STUDENT ENGAGEMENT

Anecdotal evidence to date suggests that the outreach model increases students’ engagement with learning support resources, as compared with the conventional model’s reliance on students independently making appointments and visiting the services. Students have previously perceived learning support staff as lacking familiarity with discipline specific content. Without the shared understanding of the unit content, students have reported difficulty in applying the skills offered by the learning unit to their assessments. The location of the support within the usual teaching space reduces the stigma or embarrassment students sometimes experience in seeking support. The outreach model relieves students of the need to self-identify as somehow deficient, not only in physically attending the service location, but in explaining their particular learning needs. While some risk of stigma attaches to the allocation of students to the learning support tutorials, undertaking that processing via the timetabling system has avoided the need to discuss those allocations more publicly.

The outreach model appears to be an appropriate response to the increasing demands on students’ time. We have noted that a very high proportion of those students targeted for these tutorials have substantial waged work (and sometimes non-waged work) commitments that tend to promote a very instrumentalist approach to attendance; these students appear to be balancing external commitments by reducing their academic commitments to the absolute minimum.
This appears to typify the situations of many international students, and working against their likelihood of taking up supports offered outside their mandatory class times.

About 52 students, or half of the Year 2 social work students were involved in the embedded support in some way. We are in the process of gathering feedback from students. Early feedback suggests that:
1. students have found the integration of content and skills useful
2. students demonstrated greater confidence/readiness to approach literacy lecturer/tutor and seek individual help, as compared with independently organising meetings with the SLU
3. there is a clear improvement in the structure and organisation of written work by a number of the students
4. support with language, structure and ideas was normalised
5. students developed confidence in deconstructing text – making claim/evidence connections.

RESOURCING
The outreach model, with its blurring of boundaries between discipline content and learning support has resource implications. The collaborative work necessitates the development of good working relationships outside the classroom, and reasonably wide-ranging discussions between social work and learning support staff, even with the advantage of shared theoretical foundations. The ideal preparation for each unit of study involves collaboration from the earliest design of the unit, including:
– the scaffolding of the content
– the content and layout of the unit guide
– the selection of weekly readings
– the design and explanation of assessment tasks.

Ideal preparation involves weekly meetings to review the efficacy of learning activities and to plan forthcoming activities. On occasion, this will involve changing the planned readings, with the additional time and effort involved for the content lecturer. Of course, the consultations that make the collaborative work possible also involve the time of the learning support lecturer. While assisting groups of students has some economies of scale, a weekly commitment to supporting and inducting different teachers to consider the students’ work, together with longer meeting times to settle the assessment and feedback to be given to students.

We have some concerns in relation to sustainability of the collaborative outreach model of embedded learning support. The staff involved would like to continue working collaboratively to develop and refine embedded practice. However 2011 resourcing was in the form of a pilot, and did not account for the time required of the discipline lecturers. Sustainability would require both ongoing resourcing of specialised learning support, academic workload recognition of the additional time that lecturers put into embedding this kind of support in their classrooms.

CONCLUSION
Social work is a very language and communication based occupation. With many students, both international and domestic, who did not complete their schooling in Australia, language and learning support is vital to enable these students to reach the required standard of English language communication in order for them to succeed in their classroom based units of study, and meet the expectations of the field when they go on placement. Social work students need to assimilate and appropriate the suitable ‘voice’ for the different contexts and discourses that they must traverse in daily life and in their course. For example, they may inhabit the world of everyday discourse with media references to the profession and the rhetoric around social issues; the more constrained ‘voice’ in work contexts, where the focus is on keeping institutions and systems functioning and the academic ‘voice’ which is governed by rules of evidence-based logical analysis and structured debated (Northedge, 2005). Students may have to learn very unfamiliar strategies and skills in order to participate effectively in their academic study and field placements.

The collaborative outreach model, with its use of team teaching in the tutorial space, enables students to gain academic skills and discipline knowledge as they are supported and inducted into the new discourse. Extending and blurring the boundaries of the collaborative partnership, beyond that which may usually occur, designs a teaching response in which students from differing cultural backgrounds and experiences can be supported to achieve their educational goals, while studying their chosen field. It seems to be an inclusive, socially just and efficient way of introducing diverse learners into the discipline discourse.

As indicated in the literature review, many LLN practitioners are moving towards embedding learning support with content teaching. What is distinctive about the Victoria University collaborative outreach model is that it goes beyond embedded approaches that provide classroom-based assistance to all students, but then expect students requiring additional assistance to use the conventional method of making appointments and attending individual sessions.

The approach described in this paper establishes one of the unit of study scheduled tutorials as a learning support
tutorial. Thus students requiring additional support receive this in their regular tutorial. Relationships between LLN staff and students become ongoing and engaged rather than instrumental in relation to a particular task. This leads to the re-making of the learning and discursive space of the tutorial as discussed by Northeridge (2005). The idea of student access to learning support moves to a new dimension, as students become actors in the co-construction of their professional knowledge, in this approach that takes seriously the idea of deep learning (Noble, 2011).

The shared philosophical approach of critical social work and critical literacy has underpinned and inspired the development of the collaborative outreach model of learning support for social work students at Victoria University in 2011. Social work and learning support staff share a mutual recognition that language and discourse are socially constructed and hold power that can serve to exclude and disempower. The shared philosophical perspective of both professions ensures that students from diverse cultural backgrounds not only access privileged knowledge (held in discourse) to achieve their educational goals, but that their own cultural values and experiences are also valued and not subordinated to those of more dominance. This collaboration pays careful and considered attention to ensuring that students from differing backgrounds emerge from their social work course both prepared for their professional lives, and honouring their own biographies, stories and cultural discourses. This paper has captured some of our experiences as we navigate this tension and learn from our students and colleagues.

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BRIDGING TWO DIFFERENT WORLDS: A CASE STUDY OF SOCIAL IDENTITY OF MIGRANT CHILDREN AT A PUBLIC SCHOOL IN BEIJING

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ABSTRACT
This study examined the social identity of migrant children integrated into a Beijing public school. Migrant children chose different self-categories (Beijingers or outlanders), depending on the social context. They had more interactions within their own group and expressed future goals in terms of ‘willingness for individual mobility’ to respond to challenges in public school, particularly pupil subcultures and social identity threats. Findings suggest that improved educational measures, increased group interaction and reduced social comparisons are needed so that harmony in intergroup relations and positive social identity of migrant children can be promoted.

1. INTRODUCTION
Many rural laborers have flocked to urban areas since economic reform and opening-up policies began in the 1980s in China. School-age children have moved into cities with their parents with the increasing trend of whole family migration since the 1990s. However, where migrant workers’ children should go to school became a significant problem in the education system under the leadership of the State Council and local governments. It has been a challenge not only for migrant workers’ families, but also for local governments confronted with the responsibility of ensuring the stability of society and avoiding conflict between migrant families and local residents. The Chinese government has stressed that migrant children should “mainly go to state-funded schools and be primarily accepted by cities” (ECB, 2011). According to this policy, the Beijing municipal government issued related orders in 2002 and 2004 stating that governments must ensure the privilege of education for children (ECB, 2005). With more and more migrant schools closing due to safety concerns, migrant children learning with local pupils has become mainstream.

However, an important question emerged after the problem regarding schooling for migrant children had initially been solved. What is the status of migrant children’s social identity? This study aims to address that question based on the theoretical framework of social identity theory (SIT).

SIT stresses that individual behavior reflects individuals’ larger societal units (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). That is, overarching societal structures such as groups, organizations, cultures and most importantly, individuals’ identification with these collective units guide internal structures and processes. Tajfel (1978) and Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher and Wetherell (1987) argued that the social categorization of individuals in a minimal group paradigm creates a social identity for them. Individuals accept the assigned social category memberships as a relevant self-definition. Social identity is conceptualized as that aspect of a person’s self-concept based on group memberships. It is a person’s definition of self in terms of social group memberships with the associated value connotations and emotional significance (for example a self-definition as ‘our group’ or ‘our class’). It has been argued that because people evaluate themselves in terms of their ingroup memberships, there is a psychological requirement inherent in social identification that relevant ingroups are more desirable than relevant outgroups (Major & Crocker, 1993). There is, in effect, a need for positive social identity, expressed through a desire to create, maintain, or enhance the positively valued distinctiveness of ingroups compared to outgroups on relevant dimensions, and in conditions where people define and evaluate themselves in terms of their group memberships.

Studies on the social identity of migrant children are scarce. Zhou (2008) reported that these children have dual social identities when they are enrolled in public schools with city students. They appear to exaggerate their differences from rural children and city students, and tend to minimize the individual differences among their own groups. (Zhou, 2008). In a comparative study, Sun (2006) argued that migrant children who attend state-funded schools show better adaptability to school life. Other research reveals that classroom integration with local students helps migrant children, and they are less likely to experience loneliness and depression (Yuan, 2009).

Based on SIT, the research questions of this study are the following: How do migrant children identify themselves? How do they compare themselves with local children and teachers? What kinds of group relations do they have in the process of identification, and what social identity threats confront them? Moreover, how do these children respond to those threats?

A qualitative research method was employed in this study. The researcher spent nearly four months carrying out fieldwork at a public school in Beijing from March to June 2010. The analysis was based on data from participant observations, informal interviews and essays of 15 third grade pupils.

2. METHOD
2.1 Participants
Fielding (2007) emphasized the need to move beyond the notion of pupils’ voices, which has several limitations as “a metaphor for student engagement” (p. 306). Arnott and
Reay (2007) observed that pupils talk differently about their experiences in response to investigation in front of researchers. “In this respect, adults will often act as the gatekeepers for children’s voices, the quality of their mediation determining the form in which those pupil voices can be expressed” (Thompson, 2009, p. 672).

2.2 Procedures
This research project studied migrant children’s experiences under the policy of integration of migrant and state-funded schools (public schools). Fifteen pupils (seven boys and eight girls, with an average age of 10.6 years) from city and countryside areas were involved in the research. The majority of the pupils’ parents were migrant workers. School A was a typical public primary school in the area, and since 2007 migrant children had been unconditionally enrolled in this school.

These 15 participating pupils comprised a focus group representing the full range of opinions of migrant pupils as observed within the school. There were four classes in grades three and four, and each class had 14 to 16 migrant children learning alongside local Beijing pupils. Classroom observations began in the middle of March 2010 after the researcher spent two weeks getting acquainted with the pupils. A focus group strategy was used to create a permissive environment so that pupils could share their ideas and comment on their own experiences or others’ stories. Pupils gradually became interested after the researcher explained the procedure and research questions. It took the researcher approximately 40 minutes each day to develop sub-questions with focus group pupils at the end of May 2010.

2.3 Data analysis
The data analysis began in the middle of June 2010 after the researcher had spent two months with the migrant children. The researcher observed the focus group students in science and math classes and then interviewed them individually. These interviews generated different perspectives on issues that took place in the classroom and during group activities. The researcher read over transcribed interviews and reproduced students’ learning diaries, highlighting their experiences in the new schooling context. In addition, the researcher interviewed their teachers and some students’ parents at the end of the term. The researcher had been working at this school for almost two years as a coordinator of classroom improvement when this research was started. The relationship between teachers and the researcher contributed to obtaining teachers’ perspectives in this study.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Social categorization of migrant children into four groups: ‘Beijingers’, ‘New Beijingers’, ‘Beijinger Juniors’ and ‘Half Beijingers’
To help these migrant children integrate into the local pupils’ group, School A developed a series of activities. One of the most representative was the recitation of a poem entitled

*We love our new hometown: Beijing* (adapted from a Beijing nursery rhyme).

The video of classroom observations indicated that these migrant children from School A accepted their new categories when they were reciting the poem. For example:

- Hi, you come from Sichuan, he comes from Hebei and I come from Beijing;
- We come from all corners of the land and are a whole family ... Beijing is my hometown, and Beijing is my homeland;
- Cuz I am so happy, I am so proud because my Dad and Mum contributed to the construction of this beautiful and prestigious city;
- What I am doing is adding a splendid luster to this scenic city, and Beijing is my hometown as we sing for it, praise it, and build it. Beijing is our homeland forever, forever...

In some public activities, the migrant children asserted that they were Beijingers. One of them gave this speech:

- Beijing is a huge city, and we are all citizens in this city. Our Dad and Mum sell vegetables in the morning. They help to build high buildings and large mansions. We changed our lives in this city...

Some migrant parents said their children were ‘half Beijingers’ in the interview:

- Girl’s aunty: “Both of these girls were born in Beijing and have been living here since then, though we have no Hukou (registered residence in China). But just look at them, they stay in Beijinger’s schools. They are half Beijingers, aren’t they?”
- Girl’s uncle: “Yes, she has never gone to school in our hometown because she was born here, so she is a Beijinger, isn’t she? We really wish she could stay in this city.”

3.2 Outlanders
Besides the category of ‘Beijingers’ for public occasions, the migrant children categorized themselves as ‘outlanders’ when they were by themselves. They said, for example, “I come from Hebei”, “I am from Sichuan”, or “I come from Shandong” when they were asked by the researcher in the informal interview. They always stressed that their parents’ birthplace was their hometown, rather than Beijing.

Interestingly, for these migrant children, their self-category, for example, ‘outlanders’ or ‘Beijingers’, depended on the social context rather than their birthplace, living place, or registration place. When they were at school or in public, unconsciously, they tended to hide their own social identity. However, when they were with their family or fellow pupils, the category of ‘Beijinger’ transformed to ‘outlander’ because this social category was decided by their father’s kinship.
What determined which social category they chose? This study revealed that social contexts create meaningful group boundaries, and social identities are socially construed categories that shift depending on situational pragmatics. As a result, the salience of these social categories provide perceptual filters for organizing outgroups and ingroups for these migrant children. The consequence is that situational factors guide their understanding of their identity, and as such, self-categorization theory suggests that their choice forms the basis for ensuing intergroup interaction. According to Festinger’s study, people's social identifications are guided by two core human motives: the need to be unique and the need to belong (Festinger, 1957). Having a social identity (eg Beijinger or outlander) satisfies individuals’ simultaneous needs for inclusion and differentiation. In other words, migrant children need to simultaneously fill the need to belong to a social group (eg Beijingers on public occasions) whilst maintaining their distinctiveness from this group (eg being from Hubei or Shandong). In this way, they identify with social groups in which they feel that they are integrating into mainstream society, but still belong to the same groups as their parents and feel a part of their family.

#### 3.3 Social comparisons of migrant children

Individuals look towards other people with whom they can identify, and make comparisons between themselves and others based on their social categorization (Festinger, 1957). It has been traditionally thought that upward comparisons may result in low self-esteem, and downward comparisons may increase feelings of self-worth. Upward comparisons may result in positive social identity, while downward comparisons may lower the expectations of the individual and threaten their social identity. According to the data collected, the researcher found that migrant children often compare themselves with children in Beijing and their counterparts in their hometown. The following essays of migrant children indicate social comparisons:

- **When I was in my hometown, my family house was made from limestone. So, it was pretty cold in winter, and our house was too small, just one room. I like the rooms my parents rent in Beijing. I was excited when I first saw the house. Gee, there are three rooms and we have a toilet and kitchen. But you know, I was so disappointed because my Mum told me that here is not our home, we are just renting it. This huge house doesn’t belong to us. This is like Beijing pupils’ homes. They have huge rooms and are richer than us. They can go to excellent schools but we cannot.** (essay, Xiao, 4th grade pupil, 15/06/2010)

Some interview transcripts showed that migrant children tended to deny their identity when they went back to their hometown:

- **Our children were born in Beijing, but they occasionally go back to our hometown. They are proud that they are growing up in Beijing rather than Sichuan. They prefer to declare that they are Beijingers. But when they are in school, they basically keep silent.**

According to classroom observations, the migrant children had little interaction with Beijing children after class. The researcher recorded their interaction time during the fieldwork (see Table 1).

The interaction time between migrant children and Beijing pupils was less than that among migrant children. In addition, according to the interviews, migrant children compared themselves with Beijing pupils regarding economic status and educational chances.

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(Migrant children were coded as A/B/C/D (Four girls in 4th grade) and E/F/G/H (Four boys in the same class); Beijing pupil represents their desk mates; – represents no interaction.)
There were several features in the comparison:

1. Homogeneous characteristics in the Beijing ingroup. Too often migrant children regard themselves in the outgroup. Beijing pupils have homogeneous characteristics, such as living in high buildings, being richer than migrant children and having access to excellent schools.

2. Sense of superiority in their ingroup. To some extent, migrant children have a sense of superiority when they go back to their ingroup. This indicates that downward comparisons may increase feelings of self-worth among them.

3. Negative evaluation resulting from comparison. Although migrant children have opportunities to learn in public school, compared with Beijing pupils they still have fewer chances for educational development and improved socioeconomic status. This comparison results in a negative evaluation of themselves and might explain why they have little interaction with Beijing pupils. They feel a sense of inferiority and deprivation.

3.4 Intergroup relations among migrant children

Intergroup relationships represent an important feature of social integration. Based on the researcher’s observations, interaction was limited in the classroom. The following interviews indicate that interactions outside of school were not sufficient either.

Sun: “I am happy when my parents are not at home, particularly on the weekend. I have enough time to play with my friends, as I have no true friends in my class. I don’t know what they are talking about. Those Beijing pupils are likely chatting about the latest computer games or movies that I have never heard about.”

(interview, Sun, 4th grade, 30/04/2010)

Yu: “There are in total less than 30 of us. We are migrant children, and everyone in school knows that. Do we play with Beijing pupils? No way. We do not get along well with each other.”

(interview, Yu, 4th grade, 30/04/2010)

Feng: “Basically, I don’t allow my children to play with those Beijing pupils as they have only a boy or girl in their home. I have two boys, and they tend to misbehave. It is dangerous for them because inevitably, there are conflicts and fights among the children. I told my children, stay away from them. So, they just play with other migrant children.”

(interview, Feng, parent of migrant children)

It appeared that communication was between migrant children and their ingroup members. Moreover, most of their communicative targets were relatives, other migrant classmates, and neighbors’ children. Even though there was some communication between migrant and local children, the level of communication was shallow.

3.5 Teachers’ stereotypes of migrant children

Stereotyping is a cognitive part of group prejudice. According to Dweck (1999), stereotypes are oversimplified mental images of a social category of persons or events shared by large numbers of people. In addition, stereotypes are efficient knowledge structures that govern understanding of a social group (Augoustinos & Ahrens, 1994). Teachers in public schools understand the difficulties of migrant workers’ families and take measures to protect these kids. In this study, teachers did not show discrimination toward migrant children or their parents. However, the researcher found obvious stereotypes about migrant families held by teachers, including negligence of hygiene and low-level careers (for example selling vegetables or cleaning).

Teacher A: “You know, heredity is vital to a pupil’s development. There is a proverb that says ‘like father, like son’ (lowers her voice). Don’t repeat my words to the headteacher. You know, the quality of migrant children is pretty low because their parents are street vendors who sell fish, meat and bean sprouts, for example. Could you expect them to become useful people?”

Teacher B: “As a teacher, I have low expectations of those pupils. It is obvious they come from the rural areas. Their parents do not push these kids to learn, and you know, they neglect hygiene, and they have a deep-rooted connection to small-scale farming. Just like at their dirty low-rent housing.”

Based on the above interview data, we identified stereotypes held by teachers based on two common features:

A. Similarities of the outgroup are exaggerated.

Neglecting hygiene was regarded as something migrant children and their family members have in common. Some teachers link this feature with migrant children’s low level of general education. However, the researcher’s interviews with both migrant children and their parents indicated that the majority of them have good handwashing habits. For example, one girl from the 3rd grade said the following in her essay entitled ‘My Mum’:

“My mum likes cleanliness, though she is a peddler at an open market. She frequently takes a bath, and my home is always clean. She asks us to wash our hands before meals.”

B. Information not in accordance with stereotypes is attributed to non-typical members of the group.

While conducting fieldwork in School A, the researcher reported information on migrant children and their families. However, some teachers and school administrators still believed that information that did not accord with their original stereotypes was totally wrong. For example, when the researcher told one math teacher that Yu’s parents always checked their child’s homework and pushed her to learn, the teacher looked at the researcher with an expression of disgust and said: “No way, impossible, they are just peddlers, how could they help with their daughter’s homework?”
According to Major and Crocker (1993), social stigma is a function of having an attribute that conveys a devalued social identity in a particular context. In the case of migrant children, attributes that may cause negative stigmatization include poor hygiene, accented speech, inexpensive apparel and low-level career of parents. These attributes are generally associated with minority standing in the public school context in Beijing despite the policy of “integrating migrant children with local pupils”.

A dimension of social stigma of critical importance is migrant children’s visibility. Visible stigmas such as their hygiene, accents, or low expectations cannot be hidden easily from Beijing pupils. Thus, for migrant children with visible attributes, the stigmas can provide the primary schema from which teachers make assumptions about these children (Goffman, 1963). The awareness that others judge children and their families based on these visible stigmas may influence teachers’ perspectives, feelings and classroom performance in public schools.

Stigmatized migrant children are sensitive to information about their home environment that would increase the likelihood of negative reactions or evaluations from public school teachers. In this study, the researcher found that migrant children are relatively reluctant to blame their social identity threats and threats to group value.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

This qualitative study employed social identity theory and focused on the social identity status of migrant children in Beijing where the government has attempted to integrate these children and local pupils in state-funded public schools since 2002. Even though educational approaches have been adopted to facilitate this process, migrant children choose different social categories to match different social contexts, according to discrepancies and similarities of the situation. As a result, these children have more interactions with their own groups and take steps such as “willingness for individual mobility” to respond to the challenges from public schools, particularly the influence of pupils’ sub-cultures, category threats and threats to group value.

The study reveals that policies implemented in public schools are not yet achieving the goal of successful integration; local public school teachers have not responded to related multicultural training and workshops. The researcher therefore suggests the following:

1. Further group contracts should be promoted.

Allport noted that “diverse societies are particularly vulnerable to intergroup clashes because salient group differences help define group boundaries and mark others as potential competitors” (Allport, 1954, p. 48). In this case, different living conditions of migrant pupils and their pupils or teachers. Therefore, simple contact (in this case study, government-integrated schools for migrant children and state-funded schools) cannot solve the problems of different classes and cultures. Vulnerable groups should have an equal social position with advantaged groups (in this case, Beijing pupils and their teachers belong to the advantaged group). When they struggle for the same vision and aims, their prejudices can be reduced. Hence, the researcher suggests that there should be long-term, comprehensive and meaningful contact between teachers and migrant children outside the classroom. In this way, teachers can be motivated to give up stereotypes of migrant children.

2. There should be less comparison between migrant children and Beijing pupils.

The original purpose of some activities in School A was to enhance migrant children’s social self-esteem. However, some phrases such as “Beijing is my hometown, and Beijing is my homeland” strengthened children’s social comparisons. It is clear that these comparisons represented social identity threats. Typically, when teachers stressed pupils’ individual characteristics, they tended to compare migrant children with local pupils in terms of advantages, like clothing, hygiene and family background.

Findings suggest that to bridge the two different worlds of migrant and local children, improving educational measures, increasing group interaction, decreasing social comparisons and reconstructing social categories should be adopted. Then, harmony in intergroup relationships and positive social identity of migrant children can be promoted.
REFERENCES


FLORIAN ZNANIECKI’S HUMANISTIC SOCIOLOGY IN AUSTRALIAN STUDIES ON CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

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AUSTRALIA

ABSTRACT
Florian Znaniecki’s humanistic approach to sociology was introduced into the Australian context and extended by Jerzy Smolicz, from the School of Education at the University of Adelaide, South Australia. Humanistic sociology has been used to investigate social and cultural life from the perspective of human beings as active participants in the dynamic process of creating and maintaining the cultural values of their group. The main aims of this paper are to review some key humanistic sociological studies related to Australian cultural and linguistic diversity approach and consider their implications for languages education in Australia. Smolicz and his research students began to use Znaniecki’s humanistic sociological approach to investigate the attitudes of minority individuals from communities, such as Polish, Italian, Ethiopian, Indian, Arabic and Uighur, toward maintaining their cultural values, especially their ethnic language. The attitudes of individuals from the mainstream Anglo-Celtic Australian group towards cultural and linguistic diversity has also been studied. A more recent study has focused on the diverse cultural identities and home language use of year 11 students from six secondary schools. The findings from these studies provide support for the most recent draft of the Australian curriculum on languages and its plans to develop curriculum in nine key languages.

INTRODUCTION
When the policy of multiculturalism was adopted by the Australian government in 1973 (Jupp, 1996), there was little systematic knowledge of the nature and extent of cultural and linguistic differences in Australia. Research was needed to understand the languages and cultures of the various immigrant groups and their relationship to the Anglo-Celtic-Australian majority and its dominant culture. Jerzy Smolicz from the School of Education at the University of Adelaide introduced the humanistic sociology of Florian Znaniecki (1969), the Polish-American sociologist as the most appropriate framework for investigating issues of ethnic cultural differences within Australian society. The theory and method of humanistic sociology enabled social and cultural life to be investigated from the perspective of human beings as active participants in the dynamic process of creating and maintaining the cultural life of their group (Maniam, 2011; Smolicz, 1979).

Smolicz and his research students adopted Znaniecki’s humanistic approach to studying respondents from a range of ethnic groups in South Australia, particularly in relation to their maintenance of key values, such as language and patterns of family life, and their participation in mainstream Australian life. The implication of these studies for the education of all Australian children, particularly in relation to the teaching of languages in schools, was an important focus of Smolicz’s writings (Smolicz & Secombe, 1989; South Australian Ministerial Taskforce on Multiculturalism and Education, 1984). The main aim of this paper is to analyse some of the key Australian research studies based on Znaniecki’s humanistic sociological approach and consider the relevance of their findings for languages education in Australian schools, essential if Australia is to remain a multicultural society.

THE CONCEPTS OF HUMANISTIC SOCIOLOGY
Humanistic sociology has a strong anti-positivistic approach towards the study of society. It links the study of the social and the cultural by seeing culture as made up of the shared meanings (or cultural values) which members of a particular social group create, maintain and modify as the basis of the things that they do together. A fundamental principle of the whole theory of humanistic sociology is that cultural values and individuals’ attitudes to them must be taken as facts in their own right, and looked at in the way that particular individuals, viewed as active social agents, themselves identify and acknowledge them (Murugaian, 1988; Smolicz, 1994).

“Znaniecki, in particular, has stressed the need to interpret all social and cultural activities from the standpoint of the actors themselves, and not merely that of the outsider observer” (Smolicz, 1979, p. 21).

In this way Znaniecki believed that humanistic sociology could take account of the double dilemma in understanding social and cultural life: “The problem of dependence of the individual upon social organisation and culture; the problem of the dependence of social organisation and culture on the individual” (Smolicz, 1979, p. 26).

Humanistic sociological theory was further elaborated by Smolicz, who contended that all human beings are active agents in a particular group, and that participation defined the group’s culture. However, to become active members and be recognised among other group members, individuals have to learn the shared meanings or cultural values which make up the group’s culture. The group members’ own thoughts, expressions, and behaviours are then influenced by the group’s values. When an object, word, or person’s action has a meaning in the life of a group, in addition to its concrete existence in the natural world, Znaniecki called it a
‘cultural value’. Most often a particular cultural value is linked to others like it in a group system. For example, words are part of a linguistic system. People in relation to one another form a group system of social values. The system of sporting values relates to the various meanings given to playing particular sports.

It is helpful to give Smolicz’s term “personal cultural system” to the systems of cultural values which individuals develop for their own use, based on those meanings they have learned from their participation in the group’s activities (Smolicz, 1979). The group’s shared meanings which develop from one generation to the next, are sustained and changed as individuals actively participate in the groups’ culture and its evolution (Secombe, 1997). “Humanistic sociology tries to take account of the essential interplay between the members of the group as individual persons and the life and activities of the group as a whole” (Secombe, 1997, p. 45).

The concept of the humanistic coefficient was developed by Znaniecki as an important part of a humanistic sociological investigation. Znaniecki (1968) emphasised that sociological data needs to be interpreted with the humanistic coefficient, that is, from the standpoint of the conscious human agents as social persons who experience the phenomenon being investigated.

Based on this idea, Znaniecki believed that all cultural data must be viewed as facts that belong to somebody and not in the abstract, as belonging to nobody. To understand cultural phenomena, researchers use the humanistic coefficient in their investigations. Every social and cultural activity is understood and interpreted from the participant’s point of view and not from perspective of the researcher who is studying the cultural phenomenon (Murugaian, 1988). The application of the humanistic coefficient puts the focus on the motives and experiences of individual agents, and how they see themselves in their cultural situation and social roles (Znaniecki, 1969).

THE METHOD OF HUMANISTIC SOCIOLOGY

The meanings shared by a group of the participants can be investigated through what Znaniecki called ‘cultural data’, where the participants are asked to explain their experience and comment on their thoughts, feelings and actions in their own words (Secombe, 1997). Such data are different from natural data which are derived from direct observation which can be measured and counted quantitatively. In the case of cultural data, researchers can study a cultural item by tapping into individuals’ comments on their participation of experiences in it. From cultural data, interpreted through the humanistic coefficient from the participants’ perspective, the researcher can find evidence of cultural meanings or values which make up individuals’ personal cultural systems (Smolicz, 1994, 1999).

For Znaniecki (1968), personal documents provided the best source of cultural data. His pioneering study with W. I. Thomas, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (1927), analysed correspondence between peasants who had migrated to America and their families who were still living in Poland. In later research, he asked participants to write memoirs, about their lives as peasants, or living in the city of Poznan, for example (Chalasinski, 1938; Dulczewski, 2000). Smolicz and his colleagues in Adelaide adopted the method of written or oral memoirs, but with some modifications. Participants were asked to write (or speak) about those aspects of their lives and experiences in which the researcher was interested, rather than provide their whole life history. In those studies which used secondary school students as respondents, personal statements were written in response to open-ended guideline questions, which suggested a topic to be discussed, but left students free to respond in their own ways (White, 2003; Lancione, 2009; Maniam, 2011b).

In the 1990s, Smolicz and his research colleagues began to make use of the distinction between “emic” and “etic” analysis adopted by Kloskowska (1994) from work done by Pike in 1967 (in Kloskowska, 1994, p.87). “Emic” referred to analysis based only on the participants’ statements, while “etic” analysis made use of knowledge and concepts from outside the research documents. As Kloskowska (1994) pointed out, “If the analysis seeks to clarify problems transcending the text itself, resorting to the etic approach is necessary to make use of additional data from outside the system” (p. 87).

In the practice of Smolicz and his colleagues, “etic” analysis was used to complement the “emic”, without losing the focus on the respondents’ personal perspective.

Smolicz (1979) considered that Znaniecki’s humanistic sociological concepts and method were well suited to investigating how individuals of different ethnic communities, as well as those of the Anglo-Celtic majority, viewed the reality of cultural and linguistic diversity in Australia and what it meant to them personally. It was an approach that could lead to understanding individuals’ feelings and aspirations toward English, on the one hand, and Australian community languages, on the other.

STUDIES ON LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIAN ETHNIC COMMUNITIES

This section reviews seven studies which investigated the Australian language experiences of participants from different ethnic communities. The details of these research studies are summarized in Table 1. All adopted a humanistic sociological approach, collecting data through written or oral memoirs, and analysing them with the humanistic coefficient. One of the first humanistic sociological studies involved the analysis of submissions to the Committee for the Teaching of Migrant Languages in 1974. By grouping these statements according to their authors, as originating from Anglo-Australian individuals and institutions or ethnic minority individuals and institutions, Smolicz was able to identify the different attitudes of the authors to the teaching of minority ethnic languages in schools. The attitudes of those from
minority ethnic groups were overwhelmingly in favour. The quotations given below are examples of the arguments they provided. They represent just two of the reasons it was possible to identify in the submissions:

The individual’s right to maintain and study his mother tongue and culture has been acknowledged by civilized societies all over the world. [Hungarian organization] (Smolicz, 1979, p. 339)

Ethnic languages need to be taught in Australia so that the second generation is enabled to appreciate the full beauty of their parents’ mother tongue, and to see it not as something to be ashamed of, but rather to be proud of. [Polish organization] (Smolicz, 1979, p. 335)

The attitudes of those from the Anglo-Australian group varied; some were opposed to the teaching of any other language, except English. Others showed an understanding of the importance of home languages from the ethnic minority perspective, recognising in particular, its benefits to the acquisition of English:

While English must remain the sole official language of Australia, instruction of migrant children in the mother tongue during the various stages of education can only be of benefit to the acquisition of English. [Anglo-Australian individual] (Smolicz, 1979, p. 337)

The task for schools may now be seen as jointly “language continuation” for the basic language of young migrants as the true language of thought and learning, and a gradual induction to English as a second language. [Anglo-Australian individual] (Smolicz, 1979, p. 337)

The 1981 study of language usage among young people of Polish background investigated their experiences of learning English at school and of maintaining Polish at home. From the English language perspective, some of the memoir writers described their experiences of learning English at school when they came from a Polish speaking background at home:

I worked twice as hard as the other children. At home sitting with my mother, I read through my reading books page by page, reading very new page three times and repeating the two previous pages twice. In this way I had continual practice and it was not long before I was as good, if not sometimes even better, than other boys or girls in my class. (Smolicz & Secombe, 1981, p. 70)

Through the hard work the put into learning the English language, the respondent was able to master the language in a comparatively short time. Knowledge of English gained in the Australian school system enabled some of these young people to continue their education at tertiary level.

At the same time, some of the memoir writers expressed their desire to maintain their Polish culture:

Personally I have the hope of never losing my Polish identity. Although I do to feel the least bit prejudiced about Australians (or any other nationality), I would like to marry a Polish Australian and bring up my children in the Polish spirit ... There is a very good chance that our culture will survive in this country, and that it will even develop in the course of time. (Smolicz & Secombe, 1981, p. 105)

I have always regarded myself as a true Pole, and have never regretted to have been born into a Polish family ... I believe that Polish culture will never be lost in the Australian way of life. (Smolicz & Secombe, 1981, p. 58)

These two examples show how the application of the humanistic coefficient enabled the researchers to gain an in-depth understanding of the respondents’ cultural and linguistic aspirations and their preference for a bilingual solution to their situation in Australia, that is knowing both English and Polish.

The study of cultural adaptation of Ethiopian community in South Australia by Debela (1995) also looked in-depth into one particular ethnic group’s cultural maintenance and adaptation to mainstream Anglo-Australian society and their success in learning English language. The study based on Znaneicki’s humanistic approach of oral memoirs was conducted among minority Ethiopians in South Australia. This study highlighted the respondents’ strongly positive attitudes towards their own Ethiopian culture, especially in the aspect of Amharic language maintenance. Most of the adult Ethiopian respondents indicated that they had a very strong feeling towards Amharic language being learnt by their children as essential to their cultural identity. One of the respondent’s ideas, which were similar to views expressed by several other respondents, is quoted below:

In the Australian setting the likelihood to use Amharic out of home is very rare. My children should learn Amharic. Because I suspect that my children might ask about the culture of their mother and father when they get older and recognise their identity, I believe that their language can serve as a better means of explaining the culture and customs of their ancestors. Even though we are not able to show them all the Ethiopian culture to our children living far away from our home land, at least, it would be of help for the kids to know we try to teach them even though we are not, as such, successful as much as we want. (Debela, 1995, p. 200)

Chiro’s 1998 study investigated the maintenance of core values and cultural activation among the Italians. Several respondents talked about Italian language being one of the main core values of their cultural identity especially for the younger generation.

I believe that the Italian language ... should be maintained among those of Italian background so that they don’t lose touch with their Italian heritage. Not only those of Italian background should be taught these but those who are not aware of the Italian way of life, so they can appreciate what Italians contribute to Australia in a multicultural country (Chiro, 1998, p. 293).
In Chiro’s study, the majority of the Italian respondents indicated that the Italian language was the second most important of their core values after family ties. At the same time, those participants who were studying Italian language at university level had a higher level of commitment to maintaining the Italian language, as part of their cultural identity, than those who had not studied the language.

The Uighur language and culture investigated by Damian (2002) also revealed the strongly positive attitudes of the respondents from this small immigrant group towards maintaining Uighur language in Australian environment. The comments of the Adelaide respondents revealed the important role which reading played in keeping the Uighur language alive for them. “Twenty three (100 per cent) of respondents believed that reading Uighur books was the most important activity for maintaining Uighur in Australia” (Damian, 2002, p. 33).

In addition, all the respondents said that the speaking Uighur language with other family members in their household was an important part of maintaining their cultural identity. Although there was strong commitment to the preservation and use of the Uighur language they recognised that learning the English language was an essential element for survival in Australian context. There was a considerable support from the adults in the community that the younger generation of Uighurs should be bilingual and master both English and Uighur.

Murugiaan’s (1988), study involved 26 young adults of Indian ethnic background, living in Adelaide at the time of the investigation, either as international students or newly arrived migrants. The findings from the memoirs written by the respondents about their cultural experiences in Australia provided some important insights. Indian students involved in university study, talked briefly about the issue of language, especially English:

The one thing that I have noticed here is that if you are not a white, Australians automatically assume that you do not know English, but when they do find out that you speak English their attitude somehow changes.

(Murugiaan, 1988, p. 96)

Another respondent claimed that knowing English language was critical to developing friendships with mainstream Australians. “The fact that I had the advantage of knowing the language English made it easy for me to interact and mix with my Anglo-Australian friends” (Murugiaan, 1988, p. 95).

The Murugian study provided a different dimension to this discussion, because it highlighted the attitudes of Indians who are of non-English speaking background but usually have good command of English language and can participate in mainstream Australian life.

The study by Maadad (2009), investigated the experiences of Arab immigrants in their encounter with the very different social and cultural context aftermath their arrival in to the Australian context. In this particular research, among the 40 Arab respondents 16 of them were immigrants to Australia from Middle Eastern countries, while the other 24 were born to Arab families in Australia and grew up in Australian society. One of the key elements highlighted by this research was the maintenance of Arabic language as a core value of Arab communities in the Australian context, even among the younger generation. The other related to the difficulties expressed by the immigrant generation in learning English.

None of the 16 immigrant respondents had learnt English before they arrived to Australia. Some described the difficult time they had in Australia without knowing the language and the expression of their frustration seems to be very strong. One of the respondent’s said, “The stressor of assimilation into my new culture was mostly the language barrier. It was so frustrating to not be able to ask for anything” (Maadad, 2009, p. 37).

The difficulties of learning the English language was also explained by a few of the respondents:

It was terrible, very depressing having to listen to a language for the whole day and not be able to understand a word. You don’t only feel that you can’t understand, you will also feel that you have been terminated. You have lost your culture, language, values, family and the lot. (Maadad, 2009, p. 37)

For the children born into Arab families in Australia the maintenance of Arabic language was the major issue. Most the young respondents had no problem in regards to English language skills because of their education in Australian schools. Most, however, saw the need to speak and learn to write the Arabic language as an important part of their Arabic cultural identity. One of the respondents stated:

I am proud to keep up the use of the Arabic language in my everyday routine with friends, partner and children too. It is so valuable to hang on to along with traditional values and customs. This is what identifies each one and connects them back to a certain culture. (Maadad, 2009, p. 39)

The most recent study employing the humanistic sociology approach was conducted in 2011 by Maniam, who gathered personal statements from six classes of year 11 students. Even though this study was focused on sport participation and cultural identity, respondents’ comments on their sense of cultural identity highlighted languages other than English spoken by respondents at home.

This study of year 11 students differed from earlier studies because it included respondents from a wide range of cultural backgrounds, as they occurred within the classes of the six schools who agreed to participate in the study. The proportion of those who indicated that they spoke a language other than English at home, 33 out of 111 respondents (30 percent) was rather higher than the figure reported in the most recent multicultural policy document, The People of Australia (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011, p. 2). It claimed that “out of Australia’s 22 million population, four million speak languages other than English”, which represents 18 percent.
Eighteen of the year 11 respondents spoke European languages, such as German, Croatian, Serbian and Polish, while another twelve spoke Asian languages, Chinese, Korean and Filipino. One spoke an Aboriginal language and two others the Papua New Guinean Pidgin language.

An “etic” dimension was added to this analysis by categorizing the respondents according to the number of groups they identified with. Among those who revealed a minority monocultural, bicultural or polycultural identity some indicated clearly that an ethnic language was an important part of their home life and central to their identity.

I think of myself as a Polish Australian because my mum’s side of the family speaks it fluently and because we can all understand each other. It is what separates us from normal Australians which is making us unique. (Maniam, 2011, p. 341)

I think I am Serbian Australian because my parents were born there and I still speak Serbian to them and I was born here. (Maniam, 2011, p. 339)

One respondent from mainstream Australian background also talked about speaking a language other than English:

Well even though I was born here I grew up in France because we moved there when I was one. So I think more French because I have [been] there longer or, since I am fluent in both [languages] I don’t have problems to fit in with everybody. (Maniam, 2011, p. 321)

Table 1. Summary of humanistic sociological studies discussed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STUDY NO</th>
<th>ETHNIC GROUP</th>
<th>NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS</th>
<th>RESEARCHERS</th>
<th>REFERENCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Anglo-Celtic and various minority ethnic groups</td>
<td>126 adults and organisations; 36 Anglo-Celtic; 90 various minority ethnic groups</td>
<td>Jerzy Smolicz</td>
<td>Smolicz, 1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>43 young people; 20 parents</td>
<td>Jerzy Smolicz and Margaret Secombe</td>
<td>Smolicz &amp; Secombe, 1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>26 young people</td>
<td>Malathi Murugaian</td>
<td>Murugaian, 1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ethiopian</td>
<td>52 young people and adults</td>
<td>Nega Worku Debela</td>
<td>Debela, 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>90 young people</td>
<td>Giancarlo Chiro</td>
<td>Chiro, 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Uighur</td>
<td>23 adults</td>
<td>Rachmat Damian</td>
<td>Damian, 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>16 young people; 24 adults</td>
<td>Nina Maadad</td>
<td>Maadad, 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mainstream Australian and diverse cultural identities</td>
<td>101 Year 11 students</td>
<td>Vegneskumar Maniam</td>
<td>Maniam, 2011a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The majority group in Australia has been variously referred to as Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Australian and Anglo-Celtic. The term Anglo-Celtic is generally used to indicate the inclusion of Australians of English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh and Cornish origins, who jointly make up some three quarters of the population on ancestry criteria (Smolicz, 2002).
to Australian schools, it in no way guarantees their ready availability to all the families and students who wish to study a particular language.

The studies discussed above suggest two important qualifications which need to be taken into account. The first is the ongoing provision of effective teaching of English as a second language for all new arrivals who do not know English. This would include newly arrived adults and school-age children, as well as children born in Australia to parents who use another language exclusively at home.

The second is the recognition of the educational needs of those whose home languages do not fall into the nine catered for in the Australian curriculum. This was the situation in the Maniam study of the majority of the 33 students who spoke another language at home. The Languages Draft deals with such cases only in a brief footnote which indicates that existing state arrangements for teaching these languages would continue. These arrangements in the past have taken the form of ethnic community language schools or specialised government schools of languages, designed to cater specifically for smaller community languages.

In order to maintain their important contribution to Australia as ongoing multicultural society, it is important to ensure that these language teaching initiatives continue to receive financial support and educational recognition. The policy of providing some government support for community languages has been an important recognition that linguistic diversity is a valuable resource for Australian society as a whole. It is this dimension which has distinguished the Australian approach to multicultural education from those policies adopted in other countries.

REFERENCES


MULTICULTURAL INTERNATIONAL MINDEDNESS: PEDAGOGIES OF INTELLECTUAL E/QUALITY FOR AUSTRALIAN ENGAGEMENT WITH INDIAN (AND CHINESE) THEORISING

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ABSTRACT
This paper addresses challenges for Australian multicultural education in the ‘Asian Century’. It explores the disconnection between Australian multiculturalism and international mindedness in terms of educational policies, programs and pedagogies. In doing so, it contributes to the development of the significant concepts of multicultural international mindedness and pedagogies of intellectual e/quality. To advance its argument, this paper also introduces the concepts of ‘Eurocentric multiculturalism’, ‘Asia illiterate multiculturalism’, ‘AA rated multiculturalism’ and ‘multicultural international absent mindedness’. Developed through and against these concepts, ‘multicultural international mindedness’ is used to interrogate the silence of Australian universities with respect to engaging the non-Western intellectual assets accessible to bi- or multilingual students from non-Western countries. The concept, ‘pedagogies of intellectual e/quality’ provides practical strategies to deal with this gap in Australian multicultural international mindedness. This means redefining the internationalisation of Australian education in terms of producing worldly linguistic and theoretical connectivity, which is seen as a necessary feature of Australian multicultural im/permanence in the ‘Asian Century’. By presenting a novel provocation to thinking about pedagogies that focus on multiculturalism in terms of its im/permanence, absent/mindedness and in/equality, this paper brings renewed significance to the cultural politics of Australian educational research – and research education.

INTRODUCTION
A central problem for multicultural and multi-racist Australia is the suitability and effects of the notion of conceptual or theoretical deficiency with respect to international, immigrant and refugee students from continental Asia. This is a challenge for ‘Australia in the Asian Century,’ and in particular a challenge for its national/international – and its local/global – teacher education agenda and the societal values driving the regulation and marketing of this field. These are important issues for any approach to multiculturalism which sees national/international teacher education as a site of intellectual connections, political and economic forces and sources of imagination. From an educational perspective key concerns are: What does this mean for students to learn non-Western concepts (all students)? How to make non-Western concepts learnable?

More specifically, for international, migrant and refugee students from China (and other ‘non-Western’ educational cultures) the problem concerns the uses of their linguistic capabilities for performing intellectual tasks in their education in Australia. This relates to extending their capability for engaging in scholarly, critical argumentation using conceptual tools from their homeland (Green, 2007; Grimshaw, 2007). Similar concerns have been raised in Canada (Mayuzumi, Motobayashi, Nagayama, & Takeuchi, 2007; Zhou, Knoke & Sakamoto, 2005). Here a key question is whether Chinese students’ knowledge of two (or more) languages, and the conceptual tools they might access from China’s intellectual assets count as knowledge in multicultural Australia (Bullen & Kenway, 2003; also see Edwards, 2006; Kuokkanen, 2008; Pavlenko, 2003). Alternatively, Australian multiculturalism may license a (taken for granted) division between Australian and Chinese knowledge, and more generally between Western and non-Western knowledge (Arkoudis & Tran, 2007; also see Mike, 2006; Tomaney, 2010). A similar focus for contestation has been (and remains) vocational and academic knowledge. To further explore this problem it is necessary to define ‘multicultural international mindedness’ well as least in so far as it relates to the Australian research education in the ‘Asian Century.’

There are multiple conceptions of multiculturalism ranging from conservative, liberal, pluralist and essentialist (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1998) through to critical, revolutionary and insurgent multiculturalism (Hall, 2000; Goldberg, 1994; McLaren, 1997; Wright, Singh & Race, 2012). These typologies embrace and privilege one version of multiculturalism over another (Singh, 1988). Here I define multiculturalism as a philosophy underlying Australia’s official multicultural policy, that together drive educational programs that address ethno-cultural and linguistic diversity, and legitimise the commoditisation of everyday ethnic lifestyles. However, it must be emphasised that Australian multiculturalism has not had, nor does it have any fixed and given features. Instead my predilection is to characterise Australian multiculturalism in terms of a contested and sometimes polarising agenda, haunted by the long entrenched hegemony of ‘White Australia politics’ (Singh, 2000).

The concepts I have developed to provide a focus for the first premise in my argument are intended to characterise the growth in the sediments which now jostle for a place in forming, informing and transforming Australian multiculturalism. Beginning in the early 1970s, Australian multiculturalism started with a focus on Eurocentric multiculturalism and the celebration of European immigrants’ ethnic identities. This was then compounded in with the arrival of Vietnamese refugees by Asia illiterate
multiculturalism. Later Australia saw the growth of self-interested, greed-driven AA rated multiculturalism. More recently multicultural international absent-mindedness has given rise to considerations of ‘quality and equality’. In terms of the nation state, these concepts see it as having a certain degree of solidity and givenness, being a key source of policy in a world of international policy flows, as well as continuing to be a primary focus for nation-centred identification and allegiances through claims on shared values and history making. Thus, rather than shunning the notion as passé, the concept of ‘multicultural international mindedness’ sees the nation state as a key mediator of local/global ‘forces, imaginings and connectivities’ (Burawoy et al., 2000).

Here I have formulated the concept of ‘multicultural international mindedness’ to speak of the ‘global forces, connections and imaginings’ (Burawoy et al., 2000) being engaged with and responded to nationally – and – locally. A useful source of ideas for giving meaning to ‘multicultural international mindedness’ is Nietzsche’s engagement with Indian Buddhism. Morrison (1997) argues that the Buddhist notion of cittaa-bhavana (sounds like ‘chith bhavna’) means more than the cultivation or nourishment of the mind, and speaks of theorising as being dependent upon, and conditioned by the affective, conative and cognitive aspects of ideas, that together produce transformative insights.

Multicultural education in Australia has done little to absorb or engage critiques of its nation-centredness. Despite overlooking the need to put an end to White Australia politics (Singh, 2010; Singh & Han, 2010), Australia is on the road to becoming a successful Eurasian nation, as a mix and match nation state where ‘everything goes with that at SuAnhs’. However, my interest is in conceptualising a mode of (Australian) education which willingly recognises as valuable intellectual engagement with non-Western theories, while critically investigating and explaining what a worldly 21st century Australian education could be about.

Thus, in this paper, I both provide an analysis of ‘multicultural international mindedness’, sketching the outlines of Australian multiculturalism configured as a project that aims to internationalise Australian teacher education in general, and the education of teacher-researchers in particular. My efforts over three decades across various levels of education in differing educational institutions represent a three-point move to reconstitute multiculturalism (or something like it). The first was a focus on White Australia politics and its concerns for European immigrants to non-Western immigrants and refugees; the second entailed a move beyond the local and national to the transnational; and the third involves a continuing exploration of a conceptual framework that links intellectual e/quality1 with the exchange of theoretical knowledge – metaphors, images and concepts – through Australia’s engagement with Asia.

Thus, the purpose of this paper is to contribute to the debate over the problem of fostering reciprocity in theorising between Western and non-Western intellectual cultures. In doing so it provides a basis for transformative knowledge exchange which fuses intellectual resources from different educational cultures while interrogating Western intellectual hegemony. In the second section I explain my approach to foregrounding and limiting methodological nationalism in my research process. Then I proceed to complicate Australia’s national/international education agenda through the refractions provided by the prism of ‘multicultural international mindedness’.

**Disjunctions Between Multiculturalism and International Mindedness**

Disjointed international flows of ideas, including policies are a defining key feature of contemporary globalisation. A pertinent example concerns multiculturalism. Canada, as the first country to adopt an official multicultural policy in 1971, was the source of Australia’s multiculturalism policy. Canada’s multicultural policy grew out of the 1963 Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission which espoused a bilingual framework (Kymlicka, 1998). In contrast, the Australian multiculturalism opened spaces for community or heritage languages, while retaining a strong allegiance to English. This is not unlike Canada where multiculturalism and interculturalism are as much interconnected as they are competing and confounding approaches to ethnic-cultural and linguistic diversity. In both Canada and Australia official multicultural policy has evolved over five decades from promoting tolerance, through managing systemic discrimination, to a focus on securing a socially inclusive, cohesive nation (Fleras & Elliot, 2007). Likewise, as the following analysis indicates, in Australia there are disjunctions between multiculturalism and international mindedness. In part, this is due to the nebulous conceptualisation and characteristics of Australian multiculturalism and multicultural education. In part, this less than sure-footed trajectory for multiculturalism and international mindedness is due to the recurrent confrontations with efforts to resuscitate and revivify the hegemony of White Australia politics. Multiculturalism itself has generated a diversity of claims on its meaning; the following analysis captures some of its differing manifestations.

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1 Equality is a recurring concept in many debates about education and multiculturalism. For the Canadian Commission on Integration and Cohesion (2009, n.p.) states: ‘Canadan multiculturalism is fundamental to our belief that all citizens are equal.” However, typically equality is vaguely conceived and taken as a goal to be achieved, whereas in my research and research education, the focus is on the presupposition and the verification of ‘intellectual e/quality’. Specifically, the presupposition is that non-Western intellectual cultures have metaphors, images and concepts which are, or can be used as theoretical tools to provide novel interpretations of evidence, and moreover that students from non-Western educational cultures are the capabilities for making, extending and deepening their scholarly argumentation using these theoretical resources. Thus, the presupposition and the verification of ‘intellectual e/quality’ works to declassify the theory/date divide that constructs Europe and North America as the source of ‘theory’, and the rest of the world as sites for data mining. In doing so, I work with students who are interested in, and elect to contribute to the formation of bi- and multilingual researchers from Western and non-Western countries who are less inclined to being theoretically dependent, and more inclined producing on worldly theoretical connectivities.
Eurocentric multiculturalism

Multiculturalism was a second generation policy response to the resistance of post-World War 2 immigrants to Australia’s questionable policy of assimilation. That Australian multiculturalism was founded on a Eurocentric agenda helps to explain the reticence for engaging the inequities or injustice in terms of racism and sexism directed at (or engaged by) non-Western peoples in this country – Indigenous (Singh, 1983; 1986) and immigrant peoples alike. Australia’s post-World War 2 immigrants from Europe, especially Southern Europe, were recruited under the White Australia policy and its program of ‘populate or perish’. Specifically, this meant populating Australia with Europeans or perishing in the face of Asian militarism. The war against Japan and the cold-war ‘domino theory’ of Asian expansionism captured Australia’s fear of perishing. This provided the rationale for participating in the US/American war against the peoples of Vietnam, as ‘communists’ and ‘reds’ were substituted for ‘Asians’ and ‘yellow’.

Understood historically, Australia’s Eurocentric multiculturalism for post-World War 2 European immigrants arose from their resistance to the Government’s assimilation policy. These changes were informed national and international critiques of the anti-Asian White Australia policy, critiques that were responses to, and accompanied the civil rights movement in the USA. Both assimilation and White Australia politics reflected Australia’s Eurocentric nation-building policies which refused any kind of admixture with non-European peoples (Singh, 1987a; 1987b). In so far as Australia’s Eurocentric multiculturalism was meant to engage European immigrants in the workings of the Australian nation-state, and to provide Anglo-Australians with info-bites about these newly arrived foreigners, it is not unreasonable to see it as having been successful.

Asia illiterate multiculturalism

While there have been modest efforts to re-conceptualise Australia’s geo-political sensibilities with respect to Asia, there has been little attempt to revise Australia’s Eurocentric multiculturalism to accommodate Asian immigrants. Asian refugees and immigrants, Asia literacy and international education (Singh, 1996a; 2005a) tend not to be taken up as integral to reconstituting this Eurocentric multiculturalism. They are not even seen as complementary and supplementary to Australia’s Eurocentric multiculturalism. In the face of the residues of White Australia politics, refugees, immigrant labour and students have been recruited from continental Asia. At the same time there arose the push for Asia literacy (Singh, 1992, 1995, 1996a, 2010; Singh & Henry, 1998). Now, 80 percent of Australia’s international students come from Asia. However, despite these developments Australia’s Eurocentric multiculturalism has proven to be a gauche but durable policy and program. For example, Pauline Hanson translated her objections to immigrants from Asia into personal ‘successes in carrying forward the agenda of White Australia politics.

Migrants have always been a cause for concern, at least for some. Flows of migrants, refugees and international students have increased the Muslim presence in Australia, and the ‘war on terror’ has fed Islamophobia. For the moment it seems to be able to distinguish between Muslim Australians and terrorists. Australia has not resorted to the US/American ‘clash of civilizations’ politics, nor has it made burqas illegal as in France. There is now a growing concern that the approach to education adopted by Asian immigrants produces a single-minded parental desire and narrow focus on producing children who are good employees who conform to authority and are hard-working. However, the concern is that this does not necessarily give the intellectual training for leadership, creativity, risk-taking and lack appropriate social skills, for instance engaging with non-Western Australians as equals (Milburn, 2011). However, apart from licensing new versions of a citizenship test (as in Holland), Australia’s Asia illiterate multiculturalism has done little to come to grips with these changes.

AA rated multiculturalism

Australia now promises a welcoming, inclusive and safe environment for non-Western students, local and overseas alike. However, the rise of AA rated multiculturalism presents a range of new challenges. Here AA rated multiculturalism signifies Ayn Rand, a leading novelist/philosopher for the neoliberal movement, and Alan Greenspan who as head of the US Federal Reserve for 18 years enacted the neoliberal movement, and Alan Greenspan who as head of the US Federal Reserve for 18 years enacted the neoliberal movement’s agenda for the USA throughout the world. The challenges of Australia providing for the well-being of non-Western students have arisen with the deregulation of private enterprise under neoliberal disinvestment by what I term a serial coalition of State and Federal Labor and Liberal Government over the past three decades (Singh, 1998/1994; Singh, Kenway & Apple, 2005).

3 “Asians talk among ourselves about how the Asian approach to education produces good employees who conform to authority [they are driven and hard-working] … but its narrow focus … doesn’t develop the sort of … intelligence required for leadership – creativity, risk taking … [lack social skills e.g. for mixing with Indians and Africans]. Asians [do not going into professions that] demand a lot of creativity. So [Asian] people seek well-defined domains with prescribed responsibilities” (Zhuo cited in Milburn, 2011, p. 15).

4 Ayn Rand was novelist/philosopher for conservative movement in the 20th century USA who argued for a conservative identity that combined radical individualism and capitalism; she inspired market-friendly political order, with her ideas were assimilated and modified by key figures such as Alan Greenspan (Burns, 2004). “Alan Greenspan, head of the U.S. Federal Reserve for 18 years and seen by many as the maestro of the neoliberal global financial system … Greenspan, the former protégé of Ayn Rand, had through his admission fundamentally changed the way we talk about politics and the economy” (Chakravorty, P. & Schilir, 2010, p. 670). Giroux & Giroux (2009, pp. 1–2) report that, “Alan Greenspan, erstwhile disciple of Ayn Rand, recently admitted before a Congressional committee that he may have made a mistake in assuming ‘that enlightened self-interest alone would prevent bankers, mortgage brokers, investment bankers and others from gaming the system for their own personal financial benefit’. [The Greenspan/Rand] market fundamentalism … dismantled the historically guaranteed social provisions provided – however partially and imperfectly – by the welfare state; defined consumerism and profit-making as the essence of democratic citizenship; and equated freedom with the unrestricted ability of markets to govern economic relations free of government regulation.”
There is debate over Australian Labor/Liberal Governments’ establishment of, and increasing emphasis on defining schooling as a consumer good (Singh, 2005). The neoliberal project for effecting self-interested streaming through selective-entry, public secondary schools has resulted in producing public policy debate over the “narrow ethnic” base in these exclusionary schools which are characterised as “unnatural and unhealthy bubbles” (“What makes selective schools different”, 2011, p. 12). Milburn (2011, p. 15) states: “Children from migrant families, mainly from Asian backgrounds make up more than 80 per cent of enrolments at most selective [government high] school.”

Given the entrenched hegemony of White Australia politics, Indigenous Australians (as non-Western peoples) and their education was never configured as part of Australia’s Eurocentric multiculturalism (Singh, 1990, 1993, 2001, 2005). However, reflecting the continuing neoliberal dismantling of the state’s guarantee of socio-economic security to its citizens (and non-citizens), social security payments to Indigenous families in across Australia’s Northern Territory have been linked parental responsibility for ensuring their children’s school enrolment and attendance. That social security payments will “be withheld or reduced if parents did not send their children to school” (Gordon, 2011, p. 6) is the subject of public policy debate.

The neoliberal agenda of creating a market-friendly political order promoted the unrestricted ability of the private sector to govern economic relations free of government regulation, unlike government micro-management of the marketisation of public sector institutions. AA rated multiculturalism has seen the emergence of private enterprises being operated by ethnic minority women – as well as men – engaging in the exploitation of people from their homelands, and in some instances being involved in a range of criminal activities (McKenzie & Baker, 2011). For instance, international education has been linked, via migration agents and international student visas, to concerns about human trafficking and slavery in a range of industries (Beck & McKenzie, 2011). Multicultural international absent-mindedness

Australian multiculturalism has also demonstrated a degree of international absent-mindedness. Australian multicultural international absent-mindedness takes the nation-state as central. However, it is not clear, officially at least, whether it engages either internationalisation or globalisation. Articulating a nation-centred approach, Australian multicultural international absent-mindedness ignores any national/international or local/global frameworks that might license widespread learning of second languages or the transnational exchange of theoretical knowledge outside of English and Euro-American intellectual traditions (Singh, 2011; 2005b; Singh & Meng, 2011). Australian multiculturalism seems to have given little attention to the linguistic and intellectual assets represent in the international flows of people. For instance, Australia’s recruitment of international students from non-Western countries sees ‘difference’ for focus for celebration and marketing. Perhaps more often, ‘difference’ is a euphemism for deficiencies in English or signifies inferiority with respect to learning strategies or educational culture (Singh, 2002; Singh, Abbott, Preece & Elliott, 1999). Any challenges international students from non-Western countries pose with respect to scholarly argumentation is attributed to deficiencies in the educational cultures of their homeland. From a study of doctoral education in six inner city universities in Australia, Neumann (2007) found that there is an “avoidance of international students [from Asia] and a preference for local Australian, or at least native speaking candidates” (p. 469). This multicultural international absent-mindedness means that the bi- and multi-lingual capabilities of international students from non-Western countries are ignored when Australian universities nominate graduate attributes or theses are examined. They are labelled as ‘non-English speaking background’ students or speakers of English as a foreign language rather than their bi- or multilingualism being seen as a value and valued.

Australia’s non-Western students are experienced participants in an intellectual life, albeit not necessarily a monolingual, Anglophone, Euro-American one. Multicultural international mindedness would position these students, and invite them to take a position on accessing and using languages and intellectual assets from their varying educational cultures.

Australian multicultural in/permanence

Lived reality is not static and its path is unpredictable. As such the Australian Government’s multicultural policy, programs and philosophy could never have been expected to have followed a linear trajectory. Australian multiculturalism could not be expected to have acquired an immutable permanence. As a policy, program or philosophy, Australian multiculturalism was always destined to be otherwise. The dynamics of Australian multiculturalism was borne of mediating and mitigating factors associated with intergenerational changes in the nation-state’s economic visions and divisions, as much as forceful changes in privilege.
and subordination associated with the relative decline of Western empires and the rise of post-colonial nation-states (Singh, 1991, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c). Together Eurocentric multiculturalism, Asia illiterate multiculturalism, AA rated multiculturalism and multicultural international absent-mindedness express the impermanence in government policy, program or philosophy. But every day, lived reality of multiculturalism – of linguistic diversity for instance – is now a permanent feature of Australian society. Australia is now a Euro-American centred nation with ever increasing non-Western characteristics – in terms of culture, demographics, economics and politics. This everyday super-complexity of Australian multicultural im/permanence confronts Australian education as it deals with the asymmetrical interactions and connections among the impermanence in government policy, program or philosophy, and Australia’s changing culture, demographics, economy and politics.

This im/permanence in Australia’s multiculturalism(s) has stimulated Australian educators to question the assumption that immigrants are culturally, linguistically and intellectually deprived; to move beyond the romanticism of promoting in-group authenticity and self-pride; and to critique the social structuring of their disadvantages by adverse policies. In redressing the problems of distortion and fragmentation in Australian multicultural im/permanence, Australian educators now see identity issues associated with race, class, gender and sexuality as analytical categories whose empirical realities are contradictory, discontinuous and changing. The complexities posed by nationalism and fundamentalism have interrupted this unquestioning privileging of, and investments in identity politics. Australian multicultural im/permanence sees them engage with cultural diversity, harmony, global citizenship, human rights, anti-discrimination, race relations and anti-racism through education (Singh, 1996b, 1997). Over the years these produced a range of educational principles and pedagogies, especially those in literacy relating to writing counter-contructions, mimicry and contrapuntal reading (Singh & Greenlaw, 1998; Singh & Miller, 1995). Working within and against the perplexities of Australian multicultural im/permanence, I have employed a developmental, interventionist research approach to investigate the prospects for developing multicultural international mindedness.

**ENGAGED RESEARCH: A DEVELOPMENTAL, INTERVENTIONIST PROCESS**

A key issue central to the study reported here and elsewhere (see Singh, 2009, 2010, 2011), has been finding an innovative way of conceptualising the research problem. Methodologically, problem construction is important in shaping research questions, methods and eventual findings. “Methodological nationalism” (Beck & Sznaider, 2006) provides a conceptual framework which takes for granted the world’s division into nation-states, and takes nation-states as the unit of analysis and comparison. Where the design, implementation and evaluation of educational research are nation-centred, comparative educational research offers accounts of the curricula or pedagogy of a particular nation-state for comparison. The nation-state is used to frame research, being naturalised as the context. The nation-state is taken up with little reflexivity when the unit of analysis is the ‘local’, ‘place’ or ‘community’ – whether it be the state/province, region, district, school or classroom. Mistaken claims about the death of the nation-state now parallel those made about the death of multiculturalism (Allen, 2007; Joppke, 2004; McGhee, 2008). However, “methodological nationalism” is challenged by the historically nuanced concept of multicultural international mindedness which speaks to inter/nationalism, trans/nationalism, diaspora and the local-global. In contrast, engaged research reflects Freire’s (1972) ideas on the process of action and reflection with respects to one’s words and one’s world. For Freire dialogical cultural action is essential to education, educational research and research education. When knowledge is claimed to be the field of intellectual labour dialogical cultural action suggests the potential for, but offers no guarantee of intellectual liberation – of multicultural international mindedness. As such engaged research strives not just for knowledge in books, but as Gloria Watkins (aka bell hooks, 1993) contends ‘knowledge about how to live in the world. [Making connections] between ideas learned in university settings and those learned in life practices. [This means] striving to create participatory spaces for the sharing of knowledge that is meaningful’ (p. 15). Engaged research into pedagogies of intellectual e/quality (Singh, 2011) offers the potential changes in education policies (and potentially social transformation). This contrasts with research and pedagogy (informed by Australian Eurocentric multiculturalism that sustains a Euro-American centred curriculum through the celebration of ‘ethnic’ differences in ‘costumes, cuisine and music’. Engaged research carries forward Mohanty and Russo’s (1991) research program to uncover and reclaim subjugated knowledge, specifically by investigating pedagogical strategies and scholarship which have the potential to produce multicultural international mindedness through engaging non-Western linguistic and theoretical knowledge.

The category of ‘pedagogies of intellectual e/quality’ (Singh, 2011) offers the potential for an Australian multicultural international mindedness that provides a fresh new basis for dialogical engagement with non-Western languages and theorising, in Rancière’s (1991) terms, the presupposition of intellectual e/quality speaks to those whose theoretical knowledge does not count in ‘an’ Australia wedded to Eurocentric multiculturalism, Asia illiterate multiculturalism, AA rated multiculturalism and/or multicultural international absent-mindedness. Thus, the presupposition of intellectual e/quality speaks to Westerners and ‘Reformers’, Muslims and Christians, Indigenous and non-Indigenous Indians, Francophones and Anglophones, Latin Americans and Middle Easterners, male and female alike. Rancière’s (1991)
concept of verifying intellectual e/quality speaks to the pedagogical challenge for educators operating on the basis of ‘multicultural international mindedness’. Multicultural international mindedness is not a matter solely of East/West or North/South or East/South intellectual dialogues. Multicultural international mindedness means making sense of, and dealing with the complementary and complex worldly linguistic and theoretical connectivities made possible by the presence in Australia of people from diverse educational cultures having diverse intellectual assets. This does not mean classifying students by national origins and relegating them to some arbitrary ethno-specific identity. In contrast, it is a matter of declassification. This means engaging students’ sense and sensibilities with respect to the multi-dimensional ‘forces, connections and imaginings’ (Burawoy et al., 2000) of worldly linguistic and theoretical connectivities which structure their options, negotiations and trajectories. Multicultural international mindedness embraces a local-global vision of the world’s demos, and especially the claims of those among the demos who do not count when making claims that they do count. This moves beyond ethno-specific identity politics which lends itself to neo-nationalism and fundamentalist separatism (Sen, 2006). University students’ learning experiences have involve negotiating possibilities for engaging in worldly linguistic and theoretical connectivities, as they learn how to deal with fractures created by schemes that classify and relegate some to having fewer options for knowledge production, critical argumentation and theorising rather than others. The following section foregrounds evidence of non-Western research candidates’ uses of Indian and Chinese intellectual resources as theoretical tools in studying Australian education. Their research is contributing to, and gives meaning to multicultural international mindedness.

MULTICULTURAL INTERNATIONAL MINDEDNESS THROUGH PEDAGOGIES OF INTELLECTUAL E/QUALITY

The need for the Western academy’s meaningful intellectual engagement with non-Western theoretical knowledge is well established (Mile, 2006; Sen, 2006; Tomaney, 2010). This is particularly so in critiques advanced by international students from non-Western countries (Mayuzumi, Motobayashi, Nagayama & Takeuchi, 2007; Zhou, Knoke, & Sakamoto, 2005). A key problem is the absence of pedagogies for making the interventions necessary to producing multicultural international mindedness. To interrupt the intellectual dominance of the Euro-American theoretical resources that prevails in Australian teacher education, I have developed a four-part analytical process whereby non-Western metaphors, images and concepts can be (re)constituted as theoretical tools by non-Western teacher-researcher theorists undertaking research into Australian education (Singh, 2011). Pedagogically, the intention is to make visible students’ bi- or multilingual capabilities, to co-construct a more open framework for embracing various worldly theoretical connectivities, and to engage with honour the critiques that come with contesting Euro-American theoretical hegemony, and in particular to undertake self-critiques of all tendencies towards, or licensing of neo-nationalism or reverse orientalism. Consider the following illustrations drawn from a team of doctoral research candidates who came from India and China. They are either international students or migrant labour attending a university for a Western education in Sydney (Australia). Each of these candidates is working to verify our shared presupposition that they have or can access concepts, metaphors and diagrams from India and China which they can use to develop scholarly arguments which theoretically analyse evidence of education in Australia. This is what I mean by worldly theoretical connectivities.

The following illustrations are but brief excerpts from the candidates’ more elaborate arguments developed in their theses.

The first analytic involves research candidates identifying a potential conceptual tool and providing a literal translation. Consideration is given to metaphors or concepts which Western Anglophone readers might be able to comprehend and engage; thus the focus is on cross-linguistic similarities, not differences (Ringbom & Jarvis, 2009). In this illustration an Indian-Australian doctoral candidate, Neera Handa is concerned with defining the Indian (Hindi/Sanskrit) concept of knowledge ज्ञान (Jnāna):

Indian theorist, Kapoor (1998, p. 7) defines knowledge as a construct of language whereby it is “through the word that the object is constructed”9. Kapoor presents the three-fold structure of knowledge (Jnāna) in literature (kavyajnana), which proved useful for analysing the process of knowledge production:

1. Prījanata: the knower – who knows and wants to know
2. Jñāna sadhna/karana: means of knowledge – though which knowledge is transferred and received

The second analytic move encourages research candidates to provide contextual knowledge which explains the concept’s history and its current usage in their homeland. In part, this benefits English language readers who are not proficient in the candidates’ language. Who can expect Australian academics to be proficient in the hundreds of languages spoken by the students we teach? However, this should not lead us to accept as our pedagogical starting point that these students – or their diverse educational cultures do not provide them access to intellectual assets that might enhance their education – and our own. The second analytic encourages them, as beginning teacher-researchers, to develop precise elaborations of their conceptual tools:

9 Knowledge is a linguistic construct “... all kinds of meaning depend on the power of words... it is through words that all this difference is perceived... there is no cognition in the world in which language does not figure... it is through the word that that the object is established...” (Kapoor, 1998, p.7).
To reach the object of knowledge, the knower depends on the means of knowledge through which knowledge is revealed. Means of knowledge (epistemologies) can be of different types. For example, in literature these means are perception, inference and observation (first hand) for example a poet observed a scene, used his inference and wrote about it. The poet the knower who has then “constituted/represented this knowledge in language, in the form of the poem” (p. 89). Then there is another knower, the reader who gets this knowledge (second hand) through the sabda, the language used by the poet through which “he is invited to “see” and “hear” through words” (Kapoor, 1998, p. 89) what the poet had actually seen and heard. This involves “two linguistics processes of coding and decoding the experience”. Meaning is made and understood through this complex process. For this process to be successful, reader’s imagination needs to resonate with the description of the poet.

The third analytic strategy requires the candidates to use the concepts they have identified as theoretical tools. Here the candidates test just how far these ideas can travel by analysing the primary evidence they have generated about Australian education:

Kapoor (2000) argues for “re-locating the Indian mind in the Indian thought” by engaging with Indian theoretical resources. By elaboration, I contend that by re-locating Indian theoretical resources in Australian educational thought provides a way for engaging non-Western and Western theoretical knowledge, as much as non-Western and the Western minds.

The fourth analytic strategy invites the research candidates to engage in critical reflections on making theoretical connections between Western data and non-Western theoretical resources by showing how conceptual tools from their homeland can offer useful insights into their study of Australian education.

The main purposes of this activity were to make an original contribution to knowledge, to bring a fresh perspective to Western higher education and to shift the division of intellectual labour (Alatas, 2006). In this case Anglophone academics are invited to engage with the presupposition, and to verify the presumption that non-Western and non-English knowledge (in this case Hindi/Sanskrit concepts) can be brought into a worldly theoretical connectivities which make explicit their students’ multilingual capabilities.

Elsewhere I have developed the concept of ‘double knowing’ (Singh, 2005; Singh & Shrestha, 2008) to provide international research candidates from Asia (and other non-Western localities) with a language for positioning themselves in at least two intellectual societies. The ‘double knowing’ is a strategy for openly engaging Asian international research candidates’ and Asian academics’ knowledge gained overseas as well as the transnational knowledge networks they can access from within Australia. Lalitha Lloyds, an Indian-Australian doctoral candidate, writes:

Singh’s concept of “double knowing” can be captured in the Sanskrit (ancient Indo-Aryan language) metaphor न हि ज्ञाने जनसद्ध पवित्रमहि ददिष्यले – Na he Gyannena sahash pavithrami vidhyathe which means here (in this world), there is nothing as pure (sublime) as knowledge where knowledge serves as a guiding star in the journey of life. As one journeys through life the knowledge one accumulates informs that gained as the journey unfolds ... This has parallels with the Tamil metaphor முயற்சி உடையார் இகழ்ச்சி அடையார் – (Muyarchi udayar igalchi adayar) which means there is no downward journey for those who keep trying ... Together these ideas – Western and non-Western – provide me the impetus to contribute through this research to identifying the means for making connections between intellectual projects in Australia and the homelands of international research candidates and academics from Asia.

Being multilingual, Lalitha Lloyds also uses concepts from Thirukural, a classic work of Tamil literature on dialogue in social life. South Indian Tamils consider Thirukkural as a precious gem among their intellectual classics. Selected Tamil concepts pertaining to கூளி (kalvi) which means learning and education are used in her thesis to analyse evidence and to argue for the exchange of theoretical knowledge between Australia and Asia via international students:

Couplet 426 from the Thirukural affirms that “எவ்வும் தொன்து இல்லையார் கூள் கொடிகளுள் கூளி கூளும் – eva Thuraiadhu Ulakam Ulakathhotru Avva ThuraiVa Tharivu and which literally means: “As dwells the world, so with the world to dwell in harmony,” or more colloquially, “live wisely and well.” Here the concept “to live as the world lives, is wisdom” is used to analyse the flow of knowledge (diffusion) between intellectual cultures of the world in order to facilitate collaborative learning in Western higher education environment. This metaphor speaks to potential of Asian international research candidates’ and Asian academics’ to tap into their homeland knowledge and offer newer insights useful to internationalisation of Australian teacher and research education.
The following excerpt from Meng Hui indicates the possibilities for shaping ‘multicultural international mindedness’ based on the presupposition and verification of intellectual equality. She has pursued the use of Tao Xingzhi’s concepts in her thesis based on the presupposition that China has intellectual resources which she can ratify for their value as analytical tools in Australian educational research.

The pedagogy developed in this chapter is informed by the concept of “教学做合一” (Fang, 2005; Tao, 2008) proposed by Chinese contemporary scholar Tao Xingzhi. “教” means teaching; “学” means learning; “做” means doing, and “合—” means to combine, to unite. This concept means to combine or unite teaching, learning and doing. Tao (Fang, 2005) argues that effective pedagogies entail the interactive efforts from both teacher and student. Teaching, learning and doing are “not three separate processes, but one combined process” (Fang, 2005, p. 176), and “doing is the centre for teaching and learning” (Tao, 2008, p. 91). Both teaching and learning could be developed and improved through doing. His understanding of pedagogy addresses the significance of doing, of practice. Therefore, to develop strategies that might help democratis Western research education, this chapter explores what to teach, what to learn and what to do.

The metaphors and concepts, the theoretical tools used in these candidates’ doctoral theses contribute to the argument that it is for Australian education in the ‘Asian Century’ to expand Australia’s intellectual horizons through engaging the theoretical knowledge possessed by, or accessible to Asian research candidates and Asian immigrant academics. These candidates are working to make theoretical knowledge from their homelands count wherever it presently does not count in Australian education, specifically in regards to language education, teacher education and internationalising education. No claim is being made here that Indian or Chinese concepts are different from, or in any way superior to those of Western concepts. To take such a view is to miss the rationale of this interventionist pedagogy. Let me be explicit about the contestation over knowledge that is at stake here:

First, this exercise deliberately makes bi- and multilingualism a presence in Australia universities, and provides a basis for claiming that this intellectual asset should count as a ‘graduate attribute’ in Australian universities where it does not count as such. The intention here is to raise the question: how are Australian universities in the ‘Asian Century’ mobilising students’ bi/multilingual capabilities for double knowing?

Second, this exercise forms and informs non-Western students – international, migrant and refugees – that in the face of endless criticisms of their educability in and by Western universities, that they have the intellectual agency to contribute to, if not transform the debates over the West’s much celebrated student-centred education and life-long learning. This raises the question: how are Australian universities programming linguistic and theoretical contact zones?

Third, working with the presupposition and verification of the intellectual equality of bi- and multilingual students’ capabilities for scholarly argumentation using non-Western theoretical tools, poses a challenge for Australian universities to establish the academic value of this knowledge. This raises the question: how are Australian universities accrediting evidence of cross-linguistic bridgeheads?

There are several interesting features about the cultivation of multicultural international mindedness that this evidence suggests are emerging from using these pedagogies of intellectual equality. These are considered in the following section.

CULTIVATING MULTICULTURAL INTERNATIONAL MINDEDNESS

Pedagogies of intellectual equality have provided these beginning teacher-researchers the chance to demonstrate their capability to recollect or access metaphors and conceptual tools from their intellectual culture as a basis for fulfilling their research desires. This addresses the ambivalences and contradictions in the feelings non-Western (and Western) research candidates have for Western and non-Western theoretical knowledge. However, seeing multicultural international mindedness as the cultivation of citta-bhavana (Morrison, 1997) provides a focus for considering further elaborations of pedagogies of intellectual equality. As the following points suggest, pedagogies of intellectual equality might be further developed to speak to the unfolding of multicultural international mindedness – citta-bhavana – which recognises and engages the serial production of interrelated selves.

First, based on this increased sense of healthy regard they have for their own intellectual culture, in a world where Western theories and ways of theorising reign supreme, these students are in a position to work with colleagues – friends – to share ideas and develop new strategies and arguments for carrying forward this agenda of East/West, North/South, East/South intellectual engagements. This means opening themselves to the intellectual interests of someone like themselves (for example another woman, immigrant, non-Western student) so as to extend students’ own field of intellectual interest outside their own personal direct and immediate interests. Pedagogically, as the students construct worldly theoretical connectivities using their intellectual assets they also make visible their bi- or multilingual capabilities.

Second, there are the prospects for extending this feeling of intellectual camaraderie beyond one’s friends or members of one’s immediate intellectual community, to other persons with differing intellectual heritages. This represents a major intellectual shift to opening the students’ intellectual
considerations to others who are not like themselves. Contrary to AA rated multiculturalism, this creates the chance to see others from differing intellectual cultures in a different way from what they may have done previously by expanding their focus beyond their own self-interest and intellectual interests.

Beyond this there remains the challenge of having research candidates develop collegial intellectual relations – kind and friendly connections – with those whom varying kinds of politics – neo-conservative nationalism, fundamentalism – have made enemies. For worldly theoretical connectivities, the controls the institutions of nation-states exercise over constructions of the self, and who one sees as friends and enemies, are likely to benefit from critically analysis and thoughtful, tactful disengagement. Hostilities based on nationalism or religion, tied into antagonisms based on race, gender and/or ethnicity, can undermine and subvert the grounding of multicultural international mindedness in transnational intellectual networks and worldly theoretical connectivities. This may mean overcoming expressions of the self which tend towards reverse orientalism, neo-nationalism or fundamentalism. This is where the prospects for transformative insights lie, for changing one’s intellectual orientations and creating a worldly intellectual disposition. Key questions to be addressed here are: Under what conditions of control has my sense of self as friend and hated other been constituted? How can this self be reconstituted to be ‘other wise’? One not only expects to see the world differently, but for the world to be different in one’s self.

CONCLUSION

I chose to name Australian multiculturalism in terms of Eurocentric multiculturalism, Asia illiterate multiculturalism, AA rated multiculturalism and multicultural international absent-mindedness. I chose these ways of naming Australian multiculturalism(s) to draw attention to and contest Australian university silences with respect to linguistic and theoretical engagement with the ‘Asian Century’. These names provide an appreciation of the multi-layered, overlapping, contested elements in Australian multicultural im/permanence. This latter concept may help explain why Australia’s multicultural policy, program or philosophy is variously seen as no longer necessary, a thing of decades past, dead and buried, even though the increasing presence of non-Westerners makes everyday multiculturalism a permanent feature of Australia society. However, it is not clear that a key concern for Australian multicultural education has been students’ learning. In particular, it is not at all clear that the languages and theoretical knowledge they can bring from their homeland to further their education and the education of Australia is made learnable. It is not clear how that knowledge – and the rules governing its uses – is made learnable by Australian universities.

Accordingly, I have spoken of the prospects for multicultural international mindedness as offering a framework for Australian universities to position their programs as linguistic and theoretical contact zones, and for pedagogies which give non-Western students the opportunity, should they elect to do so (and not all will) to position themselves as intellectual agents of worldly theoretical connectivity. Other may benefit from the possibilities of shaping ‘multicultural international mindedness’ around the presupposition and verification of intellectual e/quality.

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